Dio's Roman history

Cassius Dio Cocceianus, Earnest Cary, ...
DIOS

ROMAN HISTORY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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ON THE BASIS OF THE VERSION OF
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IN NINE VOLUMES

III

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MCMXIV
Xiphilinus

1a. Κληρουμένων δὴ τῶν ὑπάτων Ὄρτήσιος τὸν πρὸς Κρήτας ἐλαχεῖ πόλεμον. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὑπὸ τῇ εὐτῷ αὐτῶν δικαστηρίων, ἐν οἷς πλείον τῶν κατ' αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων μετὰ γε τὸν Κικέρωνα ἡδυνήθη, τῷ τε συνάρχοντι τῆς στρατείας ἐθελοντής ἐξέστη καὶ αὐτῶς κατὰ χώραν ἐμεινεν· ο ὅ δε ὅ เมτελλος ἐστείλατο τε ἐς Κρήτην . . .—Xiphil. p. 1, 5–12 Dind.

Xiphilinus

1b. Λούκουλλος δὲ Λούκιος κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς τοῦτοις τοὺς τῆς Ἁσίας δυνάστας Μιθριδάτην τε καὶ Τιγράνην τὸν Ἀρμένιον πολέμῳ νικήσας καὶ φυγομαχεῖν ἀναγκάσας τὰ Τιγρανόκερτα ἐπολι- ὅρκει. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ βάρβαροι τῇ τε τοξείᾳ καὶ τῇ νάφθα κατὰ τῶν μηχανῶν χεομένη δεινῶς 2 ἐκάκωσαν. ἀσφαλτάδες δὲ τὸ φάρμακον τούτο, καὶ διάπυρον οὕτως ὁσθ' ὅσοις ἄν προσμέξῃ, πάντως αὐτὰ κατακαίειν, οὐδ' ἀποσβέννυται ὑπ' οὐθενὸς ὕγροῦ ραδίως. ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ Τιγράνης
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

BOOK XXXVI

Xiphilinus

When 1 the consuls drew lots, Hortensius obtained the war against the Cretans. But on account of his fondness for residence in the capital and on account of the courts, in which he had greater influence than any of his contemporaries with the exception of Cicero, he voluntarily relinquished the campaign in favour of his colleague and remained at home himself. Metellus accordingly set out for Crete . . .

Xiphilinus

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

1 The beginning of this book is missing in the MSS. The gist of the lost portion is doubtless contained in the two following passages from Xiphilinus' Epitome.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Xiphilinus

ἀναθαρρήσας τοσαύτη χειρι στρατού ἡλασεν ὡστε καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἐκείσε παρόντων καταγελάσαι· λέγεται δ’ οὖν εἴπειν ὡς ἐὰν μὲν πολεμήσοντες ἦκοιεν, ὀλύγοι, εἰ δὲ πρεσβεύσοντες, πολλοὶ παρείεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ Ἦσθη, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς ἐξέμαθεν ὅσον ἦ τε ἀρετή καὶ ἡ τέχνη παντὸς ὁμίλου κρατεῖ. φυγόντος δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν τιάραν τὸ τε ἀνάδημα τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν εὐρόντες οἱ στρατιώται τῷ Δουκούλλῳ ἐδώκαν· δείσας γὰρ μὴ γνωσθεῖς ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἄλῳ, περιεσπάσατο αὐτὰ καὶ ἀπέρριψεν.—Xiphil. p. 1, 20–2, 15 Dind.

1 ... καὶ ὅτι ἰσχυρὰ τῇ τύχῃ ἐπ’ ἀμφότερα ἐκέχρητο, ἐπέτρεψεν ἠτηθεὶς τῇ γάρ πολλὰ καὶ κρατήσας οὐκ ἔλαττο καὶ στρατηγικότερος ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἐπεπίστευτο γεγονέναι. αὐτοὶ τε οὖν ὡς καὶ τόσε ἀρχόμενοι τοῦ πολέμου παρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς περικώρους, τοὺς τε ἄλλους καὶ Ἀρσάκην τὸν Πάρθον, καὶ περ ἐξήρων τῷ Γιγράνῃ διὰ χώραν τινὰ ἀμφισβητήσιμον ὄντα, ἐπρεσβεύσοντο, καὶ ταύτης τε αὐτῶ ἀφίσταντο, καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διέβαλλον λέγοντες ὅτι, ἄν μονωθέντων σφῶν κρατήσωσιν, καὶ ἐπ’ ἐκείνουν εὐθὺς ἐπιστρατεύσουσιν φύσει τῇ γὰρ πάν τὸ νικῶν ἀπληστον τῆς εὐπραγίας εἶναι καὶ μηδένα ὅρον τῆς πλεονεξίας ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τούτους, ἄτε καὶ ἐν κράτει πολλῶν δὴ γεγονότας, οὐκ ἐθελήσειν αὐτοῦ ἀποσχέσθαι.

1 ὡς added by H. Steph.
BOOK XXXVI

Xiphilinus

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

... and since [Mithridates] had experienced both extremes of fortune, [Tigranes] entrusted [the supreme command to him(?)] For after his many defeats and victories no fewer, he was believed to have become in consequence better versed in generalship. These two rulers, accordingly, not only set about making preparations themselves, as if they were then for the first time beginning the war, but also sent embassies to their various neighbours, including Arsaces the Parthian, although he was hostile to Tigranes on account of some disputed territory. This they offered to yield to him, and they also went to maligning the Romans, declaring that the latter, in case they conquered their present antagonists while these were left to fight single-handed, would immediately make a campaign against him. For every victorious force was inherently insatiate of success and set no bound to its greed; and the Romans, who had won the mastery over many, would not choose to leave him alone.
2 Καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ’ ἐπραττόν, Δούκουλλος δὲ Τιγράνην μὲν οὐκ ἐπεδίωξεν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνω κατὰ σχολὴν σωθήναι εἰσα, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἰτίαιν ὡς οὐκ ἔθελήσας τὸν πόλεμον, ὅτως ἐπὶ πλείον ἄρχῃ, καταλύσαι παρὰ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ παρὰ τοὺς πολίτας ἔσχε· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τότε τε ἐς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τὴν ἄρχὴν τῆς Ἄσιας ἐπανήγαγον, καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ’, ὡς καὶ αὕθις τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι ἐδοξῆ, τὸν ὑπατὸν αὐτῷ τὸν κατ’ ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ὑντα διάδοχον ἐπέμψαν.
3 τὰ δὲ δὴ Τιγρανοκερτα στασιασάντων πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους τῶν ξένων τῶν συνοικούντων αὐτοῖς εἰλε. Κύλικες τε γὰρ οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἀνάσπαστοι ποτὲ γεγονότες, καὶ ἐσήγαγον εἰσῳ 4 νυκτὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαῖοις. καὶ ἐκ τοῦτο τὰ μὲν ἄλλα διηρπάσθη πλή τῶν ἐκείνων ὑπαρχόντων, τὰς δὲ δὴ γυναῖκας τῶν δυνατώτατων πολλὰς ἀλούσας ἀνευ ὕβρισμον ὁ Δούκουλλος ἐφύλαξε, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας σφῶν προσεποιήσατο. τὸν τε τῆς Κομμαγνηνῆς βασιλεάν Ἀντίοχον (ἡ δὲ δὴ χῶρα αὐτῇ τῆς Συρίας πρὸς τε τῷ Εὐφράτῃ καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ταύρῳ ἔστι) καὶ τινὰ Αράβιον δυνάστην Ἀλχαυδόνιον ἄλλους τε ἐπικηρυκευσάμενος οἱ ἐδέξατο.
5 Καὶ μαθὼν παρ’ αὐτῶν τὴν πρεσβείαν τὴν υπὸ τε τοῦ Τιγράνου καὶ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου πρὸς τοῦ Ἀρσάκην πεμφθείσαν, ἀνταπέστειλε τινὰς ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπειλάς τε ἀμα αὐτῷ, ἃν ἐκείνους ἐπικουρήσῃ, καὶ ὑποσχέσεις, ἃν τὰ σφέτερα ἀνθέ- 2 ληται, φέροντας. οὐ οὖν Ἀρσάκης τότε μὲν (ἐτὶ γὰρ τῷ τε Τιγράνῃ ὄργῃν εἰχε καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαῖο- 1 τε added by Bk
BOOK XXXVI

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

Learning now from them of the embassy sent by Tigranes and Mithridates to Arsaces, he in his turn sent to him some of the allies with threats, in case he should aid the foe, and promises, if he should choose the Roman side instead. Arsaces at that time, since he was still angry with Tigranes and felt no suspicion toward the Romans, sent back envoys.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

μαίνουσι οὐδὲν ὑπόττευεν) πρὸς βεισι τέ οί ἀντέπειμψε καὶ φιλίαν τε καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐσπείσατο. ὑστερον δὲ τὸν Σηκίλιον ἠλθόντα πρὸς ἐαυτῶν ἱδῶν ὑπε-
τότης κατάσκοπον τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως
3 αὐτοῦ παρεῖναι (τούτου γὰρ ἔνεκα, ἀλλ' ὦ τῆς ὁμολογίας ἡδὴ γεγενημένης, ἄναδρα ἐπιφανῆ τὰ
πολέμικα πεμφθῆναι), καὶ οὐδεμιᾶν ἐτ' αὐτῷ θεοῦ
βοήθειαν ἐποίησάτο. οὐ μὴν οὖν ἦμαντιώθη τι,
ἀλλ' ἐκ μέσου ἀμφοῖν ἐστή, μηδετέρους, ὀστρε
εἰκός, ἑθελήσας αὐξήσαι τὸν γὰρ πόλεμον αὐτῶν
ἰσοπαλή ὅπτα ἄσφαλείαν οἱ μεγίστην οἴσειν
ἐνόμεζεν.

Τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τῷ ἦτε ταῦθ' ὁ Δούκουλλος
ἐπραξε, καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας συχνά προσηγάγετο.
4 ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ Κύντου Μαρκίου (οὗτος γὰρ, καίπερ
οὐ μόνον ἀποδειχθεὶς, μόνον ὑπάτευσεν. ὁ τε γὰρ
σὺν αὐτῷ χειροτονηθεὶς Δούκιος Μέτελλος ἐν
ἀρχή τοῦ ἔτους ἀπέθανε, καὶ ὁ ἐφαρεθεὶς 2 πρὶν
ἐπιβῆναι τῆς ἀρχῆς μετῆλλαξε, καὶ διὰ τούτοι
2 οὔδεις ἀλλος ἀπεδείχθη)—ἐν οὔν τῷ ἦτε τούτῳ ὁ
Δούκουλλος μεσούντως ἡδὴ τοῦ θέρους (ὑπὸ γὰρ
τοῦ ψυχοῦ ἀδύνατον ἢν ἢρι ἐστὶν τὴν πολεμίαν ἡν
ἐσβαλείν) στρατεύσας τινὰ τε τῆς γῆς ἐπόρθησεν,
ὅπως ἀμύνοντας αὐτῇ 3 τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς μάχην
ὑπαγάγηται, καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐκυδνύντο, ἕπτ
5 αὐτοὺς ὄρμησε. καὶ τούτῳ τοῖς μὲν ὀπισθεὶς τῶν
Ῥωμαίων χαλεποί οἱ τῶν ἐναντίων ἰππῆς ἔγι
γνωτο, τῷ δὲ πεξὶ οὔδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐς χεῖρας ἦνε,
ἀλλ' ὃποτε ἡ ἄστις τοῦ Δούκουλλου τῇ ἤπιπα

1 αὐτῇ H. Steph., αὐτῶν VP.
2 ἐφαρεθεῖς Dind., ἀφερωθεῖς V, ἀφηρωθεῖς P.
3 αὐτῇ Rk., αὐτὴν VP.

8
BOOK XXXVI

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

Besides these achievements, Lucullus this year subdued many parts of Armenia; and in the year of Quintus Marcius—this man held office alone, although not the only consul appointed, since Lucius Metellus, elected with him, died in the early part of the year, and the man chosen in his stead died before entering upon office, in consequence of which no one else was appointed—in this year, I say, Lucullus entered upon his campaign when summer was already at its height, since in the spring it had been impossible to invade the enemy’s country because of the cold. He devastated a part of their land, purposing to draw the barbarians imperceptibly into battle while defending it; but when even then they made no move, he marched against them. In this engagement the opposing cavalry gave the Roman cavalry hard work, but none of the foe approached the infantry; indeed, whenever the foot-soldiers of Lucullus assisted the
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

προσβοθήσειςεν, ἔτρέποντο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ δεινὸν
tι ἔπασχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιδιώκοντάς σφας
ἐς τούτοις τοξεύοντες πολλοὺς μὲν παραχρήμα
2 ἀπεκτίνυναν, παμπληθεῖς δὲ ἐτίτρωσκον. καὶ ἦν
τὰ τραύματα χαλεπὰ καὶ δυσίατα· ταῖς τε γὰρ
ἄκις διπλαῖς ἔχρωντο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐφάρμοσ-
tον 1 αὐτάς, ὡστε τὰ βέλη, εἶτε ἐμένοι 2 τῇ τοῖς
σώμασιν εἶτε καὶ ἐξέλκοιτο, τάχιστα αὐτὰ διολ-
λύναν· τὸ γὰρ ἔτερου 3 σιδήριον ἐνδοῦ, ἀτε μηδε-
μάν ἀνθολκὴν ἔχον, ἐγκατελείπετο.

6 Ὁ οὖν Δούκουλλος, ἐπειθή τε πολλοὶ ἠτραυ-
mατίζοντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐθνηνοί, οἱ δὲ ἀνάπηροι
γοῦν ἐγυμνοῦντο, καὶ ἀμα καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια αὐτοὺς
ἐτέλιπεν, ἐκείθεν τε ἀπεχώρησε καὶ ἔπι Νίσιβιν
2 ὀρμησεν. ἡ δὲ πόλις αὕτη ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμία
καλουμένη πετόλισται (οὗτῳ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ μεταξὺ
τοῦ τε Τιγρίδος καὶ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ὄνομάζεται)
καὶ νῦν μὲν ἡμετέρα ἐστὶ καὶ ἀποικὸς ἡμῶν νομί-
ζεται, τότε δὲ ὁ Τιγράνης τῶν Πάρθων αὐτὴν
ἀφελόμενος τοὺς τε θησαυροὺς ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ 4 τὰ
πλεῖστα τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπετέθεετο, 5 φύλακά οἱ τῶν
3 ἀδελφὸν προστάξας. πρὸς οὖν ταῦτῃ ὁ Δούκουλ-
λος ἔλθων ἐν μὲν τῷ θέρει, καὶ περὶ μὴ παρέργους
tὰς προσβολὰς ποιησάμενος, οὐδὲν ἐπέρανε· τὰ
γὰρ τείχῃ καὶ διπλὰ καὶ πλίνθων ἄντα, τὴν τε
παχύτητα πολλὴν ἔχοντα καὶ τάφρο βαθεία
dιειλημένα, οὐτε κατασκευήναι τῇ οὔτε διο-
ρυχθῆναι ἡδυνήθη, διόπερ οὖν ὁ Τιγράνης ἐπήμυνε·
7 σφίσων· ὅς δ' ὁ τε χαμόν ἐνέστη καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι

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

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

very probable, however, that some words have been lost at
this point.

4 καὶ Ῥκ., καὶ τὰ ἄλλα VP.
5 ἀνετίθετο Ῥκ., ἀνετίθετο VP.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ραθυμότερον, ώτε ἐπικρατοῦντες τοὺς τε Ῥω-
μαίους ὅσον οὐκ ἀπαναστησθεῖσθαι προσδοκῶντες,
διήγου, ἐτήρησε νῦκτα ἁσέληνον καὶ ὠτῆ φάβρω
2 βρονταῖς τε χειμέριον, ὡστε μήτε τι προϊδέσθαι
μήτε τι ἐπακούσαι αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας τὸν τε ἔξω
περίβολον πλὴν ὀλόγων καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ
τάφρον ἐκλιπτεῖν, καὶ προσέμιξε πολλαχῇ τῷ τει-
χει, καὶ ἐκείνου τε οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπὸ τῶν χωμάτων
ἐπέβη, καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας
ἐν αὐτῷ ῥαδίως ώτε μὴ πολλοὺς ὄντας ἀπέκτεινε.
3 καὶ οὖτω τῆς τε τάφρου μέρους τι (τὰς γὰρ γεφύρας
οἱ βάρβαροι προκατέρρησαν 3) συνέχωσεν (οὔτε
γὰρ τῇ τοξείᾳ οὔτ᾽ αὐτῷ πυρὶ λυπεῖσθαι εἰν τῷ
πολλῷ ωτῆ ἑδύνατο), καὶ διαβᾶς αὐτὴν τὰ μὲν
ἀλλά, οὐ πάνω ἰσχυροῦ τοῦ ἐνδον κύκλω πίστει
τῶν ἐξωθεὶν αὐτοῦ προβεβλημένων 4 οὖτος, εὖθὺς
4 εἶλε, τοὺς δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀκραν ἀναφυγόντας, ἀλλοὺς
τε καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Τιγράιου, μετὰ τούτο καθ᾽
ὀμολογίαν παρεστήσατο, καὶ χρήματα τε πολλὰ
ἐλαβε καὶ ἐκεῖ διεγείρασε.

8. Τὴν μὲν οὖν Νίσιβιν οὕτως ἐχειρώσατο, τῆς δὲ
᾿Αρμενίας τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν περὶ τῶν Πόιτων
συχνὰ ἀπέβαλεν. ὡ γὰρ Τιγράνης ἐκεῖνὴ μὲν ὡς
οὐκ ἤν ἀλούσῃ οὐκ ἐπεκούρησε, πρὸς δὲ τὰ προει-
ρημένα ὁρμησεν, εἰ πως ἀσχόλων περὶ τὴν Νίσιβιν
2 αὐτοῦ οὖτος φθάσειν αὐτὰ κομσάμενος. καὶ
Μιθριδάτην μὲν πρὸς τὴν οἰκεῖαν ἀπέστειλεν,
αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐαυτὸ ᾿Αρμενίαν ἥλθε, κανταῦθα

1 ραθυμότερον Xyl., ἄθυμότερον VP.
2 ἐπικρατοῦντες H. Steph., ἐπικρατοῦντας VP.
3 προκατέρρησαν Xyl., προσκατέρρησαν VP.
4 προβεβλημένων Leund., προσβεβλημένων VP.

12
BOOK XXXVI

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

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

9 Ἔν δὲ δὲ ταύτ', ἐγίγνετο, Μιθριδάτης ἐσ τῇ τὴν ἐτέραν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ ἐς τὰ ἀλλα ἑσβαλών πολλοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων τοὺς μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν πλανωμένους ἀπροσδόκητος σφίσι προσπεσὼν ἐφθείρε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκ μάχης κατέκοψε, κἀν τούτῳ καὶ τῶν χωρίων τὰ πλείω διὰ ταχέων ἄνε- 2 κτήσατο, ὦ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι ἐκεῖνοι τε εὐνοιαν ἐκ τε τοῦ ὁμοφύλου καὶ ἐκ τῆς πατρίου βασιλείας καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μίσος διὰ τὸ ὅθεν καὶ διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφεστηκότων σφίσι κακονχείσθαι ἔχοντες, προσεχωρημένως τοι οὐτὸς, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν ἐκεί Ῥωμαίων Μάρκον Φάβιον 3 ἐνικήσαν. οὗ τε γὰρ Ὁράκες οἱ πρότερον μὲν τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ μυθοφορήσαντες, τότε δὲ τῷ Φαβίῳ συνόντες, καὶ οἱ δούλοι οἱ ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίω οἱ στρατοπέδῳ ὄντες ἱσχυρῶς αὐτοῖς ἐβοήθησαν. οὗ τε γάρ Ὁράκες ὑπὸ τοῦ Φαβίου ἐς προσκοπὴν πεμφθέντες 4 οὕτω τι χιᾶς ἀνήγγειλαν αὐτῷ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐκείνου τε ἀφυλακτότερον προϊόντος καὶ τοῦ Μιθριδά- του εξαίφνησις οἱ προσπεσόντος συνεπέθεντο τοῖσ Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ οἱ δούλοι ἕλευθεραν σφίσι τοῖς βαρβάρους κηρύξαντο συνεπελάβοντο 5 τοῦ ἔργου. καὶ ... ἀνάλωσαν ἁν, εἰ μὴ ὁ Μι- θριδάτης ... τοῖσ πολεμίωσις ἀναστρεφόμενοι (καὶ γάρ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐβδομήκοντα ἐτῆ γεγονός ἐμάχητο) λίθῳ τε ἐπλήγη καὶ δέος τοῖσ βαρβάροις μὴ καὶ ἀποθανεὶ παρέσχεν ἐπισχύοντον γάρ σφών

1 καὶ οἱ δούλοι supplied by Reim.
2 καὶ γάρ καὶ βς., καὶ γάρ VP.
Lucius Fannius, whom he surrounded, however, and besieged, until Lucullus learned of it and sent assistance.

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

10 Καὶ μετὰ τούτ’ ἐς τὰ Κάβειρα κατακλείσθεις ἐπολιορκήθη μὲν, ἐσώθη δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τριαρίου. οὕτος γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ταύτη πρὸς τὸν Δούκουλ-λον διώκει, καὶ γροῦς τὰ πετραγμένα, δύναμίν τε
2 όσην οἶον τ’ ἂν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἠθροίσε, καὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην ὡς καὶ Ῥωμαίοις στρατοῖς πλήθει προσιόν ἐξέπληξεν, ὡστ’ ἀναστήναι ποιῆσαι πρὶν καὶ ἐς ὁψιν αὐτοῦ ἔλθειν. καὶ τούτου ἐπιθαρσήσας καὶ μέχρι τῶν Κομάνων1 ὑποψηφίοντα αὐτὸν ἐπε-
3 δίωξε, κἀνταῦθα ἐνίκησεν. ἦν λίζετο μὲν γὰρ ὁ Μι-
θριδάτης ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἢ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι προσήσαν, βουληθεὶς δὲ σφισὶ κεκηκόσιν ἐκ τῆς
πορείας συμμίξας αὐτὸς τε προσπήνησε καὶ ἐτέ-
ρους δι’ ἄλλης γεφύρας ἐν τῷ τῆς μάχης καιρῷ
dιαβάντας ἐπιθέσθαι προσέταξε· καὶ αὐτὸν ἀγχώ-
μαλα ἐπὶ πλείοντον ἀγανικόμενον ἢ γέφυρα πολ-
λῶν τε καὶ ἄθρόιν ἀμα δι’ αὐτῆς ἐπειγομένων . . .
τῆς τε ἐπικουρίας ἀπεστέρησε καὶ προσδιετάραξε.

11 Καὶ οἱ μὲν μετὰ τούτ’ (.FindAsync γὰρ χειμῶν ἢν) ἀπεχώρησαν ἐς τὰ ἔαυτῶν τείχη ἀμφότεροι, καὶ
ἣνύχαζον τὰ δὲ Κόμανα τῆς τε νῦν Καππα-
δοκίας ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐδόκει τὸ τε τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος
βρέτας τὸ Ταυρικὸν καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ Ἀγαμε-
νόνειον δεύρο ἀεὶ ἔχειν. καὶ ὅπως μὲν ἐσ τούτω
5 σαφῆς πολλῶν λεγομένων εὑρεῖν· ὃ δ’ ἀκριβῶς

1 Κομάνων Anon. in Reim.’s ed., κομαγηνῶν VP.
BOOK XXXVI

account Fabius and others were able to escape to safety.

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

Later they both retreated to their own fortifications and rested, for it was now winter. Comana belongs to the present district of Cappadocia and was supposed to have possessed clear up to that time the Tauric statue of Artemis and the descendants of Agamemnon. As to how these reached them or how they remained there I cannot discover the truth, since there are various stories; but what I understand clearly I will

VOL. III. C
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐπίσταμαι, φράσω. δύο αὐταὶ πόλεις ἐν τῇ Καπ-
pαδοκίᾳ ὁμόωνμοι οὐτὲ πάνιν πόρρω ἀπ' ἀλλήλους εἰσὶ καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν περιέχονται. καὶ γὰρ μνθο-
λογοῦσι καὶ δεικνύουσι τά τε ἄλλα πάντα ἐκ τοῦ ὀμοίου, καὶ τὸ ξίφος ὡς αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνο τὸ τῆς Ἰφυγε-
νείας ὃν ἀμφότερα ἔχουσί.

12 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω· τῷ δὲ ἐπιγυγομένῳ ἔτει, ἐπὶ τῇ Μανίων Ἀκιλίου καὶ ἐπὶ Παῖσον ὑπατών, ὁ μὲν Μιθριδάτης τῷ Τριαρχῷ πρὸς Γαζιούροις ἀντεκάθιστο, προκαλοῦν·

2 μενὸς τε ἀμα αὐτῶν ἐς μάχην καὶ ἑξοργίζον (τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑπόθετι τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐτός τε ἔγινε καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ ὑγινασίας ἑπολει-
eιτο), ὅπως πρὶν τὸν Δούκαλλου ἐπελθέσθω ἐκείνων τοις συμβαλῶν, ὡσπερ ἠλπίσε, κρατήσῃ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀνασώσῃ. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐκι-
νεῖτο, πέμπει τινὰς πρὸς Δάδασα φρούριον, ἐν ὧ τὰ σκεύη τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέκειτο, ὡς ἐκείνοις γε·

3 ἐπαμύνοντα αὐτὸν ἐς χεῖρας ὑπαγάγειται. καὶ ἐσχεν οὔτως. ὁ γὰρ Τριάρχος τέως μὲν τὸ τε πλῆθος τοῦ Μιθριδάτου φοβούμενος καὶ τὸν Δού-
καλλού (μετεπέμπτο γὰρ αὐτὸν) προσδεχό-
μενος ἤσυχαν εἴχεν· ὡς δὲ τὰ τε Δάδασα πολι-
ορκούμενα ἐπύθετο, καὶ οἱ στρατιώται δέοντες περὶ αὐτοῖς ἐταράττοντο, καὶ ἐπηπείλουν, εἰ σφας μηδεῖς εξάγοι, καὶ αὐτοκελευστοι βοηθήσειν σφίστε. καὶ ἀκῶν ἔξανεστη. καὶ αὐτῷ οἱ βαρβαροὶ προ-
χωροῦντι ἤδη προσπέσαντες τοὺς μὲν ἐν χερσί τῷ τε πλῆθεί σφῶν περιεύχουν καὶ κατειργάσαντο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἐκφυγόντες ἀγνοίας τοῦ

1 περιέχονται Bk., περιέχονται VP. 2 ge Leuncl., τε VP. 3 μετεπέμπτο Cobet, μετεπέμπτο VP.
BOOK XXXVI

state. There are two cities of this same name in Cappadocia, not very far apart, and they covet the same honours; for the stories they tell, and likewise the relics they exhibit, are the same in every case, including the sword, which each possesses, supposed to be that which belonged to Iphigenia. So much for this matter.

The following year, in the consulship of Manius Acilius and Gaius Piso, Mithridates encamped opposite Triarius near Gaziura, with the purpose of challenging and provoking him to battle; in particular, he not only took his own exercise but also drilled the army in plain sight of the Romans. His hope was to engage and vanquish Triarius before Lucullus should come up, and thus recover the rest of his realm. But when the other did not stir, he sent some men to Dadasa, a stronghold where the Romans' baggage was deposited, in order that his opponent might at least go to its defence and so be drawn into conflict. And thus it came about. Triarius, who feared the numbers of Mithridates and was awaiting Lucullus, whom he had sent for, was remaining quiet for the time; but when news came of the siege of Dadasa, and the soldiers in their fear for the place were becoming excited and were threatening that if no one would lead them forth they would go to the rescue at their own bidding, he reluctantly left his position. As he was now moving forward, the barbarians fell upon him, surrounded and overwhelmed by their numbers those near at hand, and then riding around, killed those who had fled into
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς αὐτὸ ἐκτετράφθαι περιελαύνοντες
13 ἐκτεινον. καὶ πασοῦδὶ ἀν σφας διέφθειραν, εἰ μὴ
τῶν Ἡρωαίων τις πλασάμενος ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ
Μιθριδάτου συμμαχίδος ὄν (ἐν γὰρ τῷ αὐτῷ αὐτοῖς
τρόπῳ συστατευμένους, ὡσπερ εἶπον, οὐκ ὀλί-
γοις εἴχε) προσήλθε τέ οἱ ὡς καὶ εἰπεῖν τι βουλό-
μενος, καὶ ἔτρωσεν αὐτόν. οὐτὼ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος μὲν
συλληφθεῖς ἀπεσφάγη, ταραχθέντων δὲ πρὸς
τούτῳ τῶν βαρβάρων συνροί τῶν Ἡρωαίων δι-
2 ἐφυγον. Μιθριδάτης μὲν δὴ τὸ τε τραύμα ἦτο,
καὶ προσυποτεύσας καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν πολε-
μίων ἐν τῷ στρατόπεδῳ εἶναι, ἔξετασιν τῶν στρα-
τιωτῶν ὡς καὶ κατ' ἄλλο τί ἐποίησατο, καὶ κελεύ-
σας σφᾶς ἐς τὰς ἑαυτῶν σκηνὰς ὡς ἑκάστους
catat táchos ἀναχωρῆσαι κατεφώρασε, καὶ τοὺς
Ἡρωαίους μονωθέντας διέφθειρε.

14 Κἂν τούτῳ ὁ Δούκουλλος ἐπελθὼν δόξαν μὲν
tisi parésthein ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖνον μακραίως κρατήσων
καὶ πάντα τὰ προειμένα δι’ ὀλίγου κομμοῦμενος,
2 οὐ μέντοι καὶ κατέπραξε τι. ὁ τε γὰρ Μιθριδάτης
ἐς τὰ μετέωρα τὰ ἐν τῷ Ταλαύρῳ ὁντα ἱδρυθεῖς
οὐκ ἀντεπῆξε αὐτῷ, καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης ὁ ἄτερος ὁ
ἐκ Μηδίας γαμβρὸς τοῦ Τιγράνου ἐσκεδασμένοις
toῖς Ἡρωαίους ἐξαίφης προσπεσόν συχνοὺς ἀπέ-
kteunen, ὁ τε Τιγράνης αὐτὸς προσιῶν ἡγγέλθη,
3 καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐστασίασεν. οἱ γὰρ Ὧλαλερίεωι
οὶ τῆς τε στρατείας ἀφεθέντες καὶ μετὰ τούτ
αὐτῇς στρατευσάμενοι ἐκκυψήθησαν μὲν καὶ εἰν τῇ
Νισίβι ἐκ τε τῆς νίκης καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἱσυχίας, τοῦ

1 τὰ supplied by Bs. 2 ὁ inserted by Bk.
3 Ὁλαλερίεωi Leunol., Ὁλαλερίwι VP.
BOOK XXXVI

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

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

1 The Twentieth Legion was called the Valeria. (See Livy vi. 9.)
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

tε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀφθονα ἔχειν, καὶ ἀνευ τοῦ Δου-
κοῦλλου τὰ πολλά, διὰ τὸ πολλαχόσε ἐκδημεῖν
4 αὐτὸν, διαιτάσθαι, καὶ μάλιστ' ὅτι Πούπλιος τις
Κλαύδιος, δυν Κλαύδιον τινα ἐκάλεσαν, συνεστα-
σίαζας σφας ὑπ' ἐμφύτου νεωτεροποιίας, καίτερ
τῆς ἁδελφῆς αὐτοῦ τῷ Δουκούλλῳ συνοικούσης·
ἐταράχθησαν δὲ καὶ τότε ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸν
Ἀκίλλου τὸν ὑπατόν, δυ τῷ Δουκούλλῳ διάδοχος
dι' ἄπερ εἶπον ἐξεπέμφθη, πλησιάζοντα ἐπύθοντο·
ἐν γὰρ ὀλυγωρία αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ ἰδιωτέωντα ἤδη
15 ἐποιοῦντο. ὁ οὖν Δοῦκοουλλος ἐκ τοῦ τούτων, καὶ
ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ Μαρκίου1 τοῦ πρὸ τοῦ Ἀκίλλου
ὑπατέωντος, ἐς Κιλικίαν ἦς ἀρχεῖν ἐμελλε παρ-
ίοντος, ἐπικουρίαν αἴτησας οὐκ ἔτυχεν, ἐν ἀτόρφ
2 ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁκυνήσας μὲν διὰ κενῆς ἀναστήναι,
δείχνει δὲ καὶ κατὰ χώραν μεῖναι, ἐπὶ τὸν Τιγράνην
ἀρμῆσεν, εἰ πως ἐκείνου τε ἀπροσδόκητον τε ἄμα
καὶ κεκμηκότα ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τρέψατο, καὶ τοὺσ
στρατιώτας τρόπον τινα διὰ τοῦτο παύσειε
στασιάζοντας, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐπιτυχής οὐδετέρου
3 ἐγένετο· ἀκολούθησαν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ στρατευμα
μέχρι ποὺ τινος ὀθεν ἐς τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἐκτρα-
πέσθαι ἤν, ἐκείσε πάντες ὁμοθυμαδύν, μὴδὲ φθεγ-
ξάμενοι τι, ἀπετράπυντο. καὶ οἱ γε Οὐαλερίειοι,
μαθόντες ὅτι τῆς στρατείας παρὰ τοῖς οἴκοι τέλε-
σιν ἀφεῖναι, παντελῶς ἀπεχώρησαν.
16 Καὶ θαυμάσῃ μηδεῖς ὅτι στρατηγικότατος2
ἀνδρῶν ὁ Δοῦκοουλλος γενόμενος, καὶ πρῶτος τε
Ῥωμαίων τὸν Ταύρον σὺν τε στρατῷ καὶ ἐπὶ
πολέμῳ διαβάς, καὶ δύο βασιλέας οὐκ ἀσθενεῖς

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

Let no one wonder that Lucullus, who had proved himself most skilful of all men in generalship, who was the first Roman to cross the Taurus with an army for warfare, and who had vanquished two power-
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐπικρατήσας, ἔλὼς τ' ἄν εἰπερ ταχέως διαπολεμήσαι ἐβεβούλητο, οὐκ ἔδυσατο τῶν συντρατευμένων οἱ ἄρχειν, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τε ἐστασίαζον καὶ τέλος

2 ἐγκατέλυμπον αὐτῶν. πολλά τε γάρ σφισι προσεταττε, καὶ δυσπρόσοδος ἀκρίβης τε ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἔργων ἀπαιτησει καὶ ἀπαραίτητος ἐν ταῖς τιμωρίαις ὧν οὐκ ἡπίστατο οὔτε λόγῳ τινά 1 προσαγαγέσθαι οὔτε ἐπιεικεία ἀναρτήσασθαι, οὐ τιμαῖς, 2 οὐ χρημάτων μεταδόσει προσεταιρίσασθαι, ὧν πάντων ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν πλῆθει, καὶ μάλιστα

3 στρατευομένῳ, δει. καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' οἱ στρατιώται, ἔως μὲν εὔ τε ἐφέροντο καὶ τὰς ἀρπαγὰς ἀνταξίας τῶν κινδύνων ἔλγου, ἥκροντο αὐτοῦ, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔπτασαι καὶ ἐς φόβου ἀντὶ τῶν ἐπιθυμῶν ἀντικατέστησον, οὔδεν ἔτι προετίμησαν. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι τοὺς αὐτούς τούτους ὁ Πομπήιος λαβὼν (καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Οὐαλεριείους αὐθίς κατελέξατο) οὐδὲ ὅπωςον στασιάζοντας ἔσχε. τοσοῦτον ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὸς διαφέρει.

17 Ὡς δ' οὖν τοῦθ' οἱ στρατιώται ἐπραξαν, πᾶσαν τε ὅλην τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἀνεκτήσατο καὶ τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἱσχυρῶς ἐλυμήνατο, μήτε Λουκουύλλου, προφάσει τοῦ τῶν Ἀκίλλου ἐγγύς εἶναι, μήτε ἑκείνου προσαμύνοντος αὐτῇ 3 ἐπειγόμενος γὰρ πρότερον ὡς καὶ τὴν τοῦ Λουκουύλλου γίκην υφαρτᾶσων, τότε, ἐπειδὴ τῶν γεγονότων ᾑσθετο, οὔτε πρὸς τὰ στρατόπεδα ἠλθε καὶ ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ

2 ἐχρόνισε. Μάρκιος δὲ Λουκουύλλῳ μὲν οὐκ ἐπεκύρησε, πρόσχημα τοὺς στρατιώτας ὡς οὐκ ἐθελησαντὰς οἱ ἀκολουθήσαι ποιησάμενος, ἐς δὲ τὴν

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

After this action of the soldiers Mithridates won back almost all his domain and caused great havoc in Cappadocia, since neither Lucullus defended it, on the ground that Acilius was near, nor yet Acilius himself. For the latter had been hurrying in the first place to rob Lucullus of the victory, and now, when he learned what had taken place, he did not come to the camp, but delayed in Bithynia. As for Marcius, the pretext which he gave for not assisting Lucullus was that his soldiers refused to follow him. Instead, he went to Cilicia,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Κιλικίαν ἀφικόμενος Μενέμαχον τινα ἀπαυτομολήσαντα ἀπὸ τοῦ τεγράνου ἐδέξατο, καὶ τὸν Κλώδιον ἀποστάντα ἀπὸ τοῦ Δούκούλλου δεεὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Νισίβει γενομένων ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐπέστησεν ἀδελφὴν γάρ τινα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκείνος 3 γυναῖκα εἴχε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄλοις τε ἐς καταποντιστὰς, καὶ ἀφεθεὶς ύπ’ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πομπηίου φόβον, ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν τῆς Συρίας ἠλθεν ὡς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀραβίους, πρὸς ὁδὸν τὸτε διεφέροντο, συμμαχήσων σφίσι, κἀνταῦθα στασιάζων τινὰς ὀμοίως ὅλιγον διεφθάρη.

Xiphilinus

17a Καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἀπασαν ἐχειρώσατο μετὰ τοῦτο, καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τοῦ Πομπηίου του Μάγνου, ἦδη τὴς θαλάσσης ἐξυμπάςης ἀρχοντος καὶ τῆς ἥτειρον ὅσον ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τριῶν, ἐμποδίζομενός τε καὶ κωλυόμενος ὡς αὐτῷ προσηκουσῶν καὶ τῶν νῆσων. ἀλλ’ ὠμοι καὶ ἀκοντος Πομπηίου τῷ Κρητικῷ πολέμῳ τέλος ὁ Μέτελλος ἐπιθεὶς θρίαμβον τε ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ κατῆγαγε καὶ Κρητικὸς ἐπεκλῆθη. — Xiphil. p. 1, 13–20 Dind.

18 . . . φείδεται. δυναστείας τε ἐρῶν καὶ τοῖς Κρηστίοι τοῖς ὀμολογήσασιν αὐτῷ προσέβαλε, καὶ οὕτε τὰς σπονδὰς προτεινομένων σφῶν ἐφρόντιζε, κακῶσαι τε αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν Πομπηίου ἐπελθεῖν ἠπείγετο. ὁ τε γὰρ 'Οκτάυοις ἀνευ δυνάμεως παρῶν (οὔτε γὰρ οὔτε ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τινὶ ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ παραλήψει τῶν πόλεων ἐπέπεμπτο) ἠσυχίαν ἤγε·

1 ἀπαυτομολήσαντα H. Steph., ἐπαυτομολήσαντα VP.
2 ἀπὸ τοῦ Bs., τοῦ VP.
3 υπ’ St., ἀπ’ VP.

26
BOOK XXXVI

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

Xiphilinus

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

... [Metellus] spared. In his eagerness for power he attacked even the Cretans who had come to terms with the other [Pompey], and heedless of their claim that there was a truce, hastened to do them injury before Pompey should come up. Octavius, who was there, had no troops and so kept quiet; in fact he had not been sent to do any fighting, but
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

καὶ Κωρνήλιος Σισέννας ὁ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀρχών ἤλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν Κρήτην, ὡς ταύτ' ἐπύθετο, καὶ παρήγγεισε τῷ Μετέλλῳ φείσασθαι τῶν δήμων, οὐ 2 μέντοι καὶ ἀντέπραξε τι μὴ πείσασ. ἄλλοις τε οὖν πολλοῖς ἐκείνοις ἐλυμήματο, καὶ Ἔλευθέραν τὴν πόλιν ἐκ προδοσίας ἔλων ἡγυρολόγησε· πύργον γάρ τινα οἱ προδιδόντες ἐκ τε πλίνθων πεποιημένου καὶ μέγιστον δυσμαχώτατον τε ὅντα ὀξεῖ συνεχῶς νυκτὸς διέβρεξαν, ὡστε θραυστὸν γενέσθαι. καὶ μετὰ τούτο Λάππαν, καίτοι τοῦ Ὀκτανοίου αὐτὴν κατέχοντος, ἐκ προσβολῆς εἰλε, καὶ ἐκείνον μὲν οὐδὲν κακὸν εἰργάσατο, τοὺς δὲ δὴ 19 Κιλικας τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ὄντας ἐφθειρείν. ἀγανακτήσας οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Ὀκτάνοιος οὐκέθα ἱσύχασεν, ἀλλὰ πρότερον μὲν τῷ τοῦ Σισέννου στρατῷ (νοσήσας γὰρ ἐκείνος ἐτεθνήκει) χρώμενος ἐπεβοήθη τῇ τοῖς κακουμένοις, ἐπειτὰ δ' ἀνακομισθέντων αὐτῶν πρὸς τε τοῦ Ἀριστίωνα ἐς Ἰεράπτυνα ἦλθε καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐπολέμει· οὕτως γὰρ ὡς τότε ἐκ τῆς Κυδωνίας ἀπεχώρησε Λούκιον τε τῖνα Βάσσον ἀνταναχθέντα οἱ ἐνίκησε καὶ 2 τὰ Ἰεράπτυνα κατέλαβε. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἐκαρτέρησαν, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Μετέλλου ἐπιόντος σφίσι τὸ τε ἔκχος ἐξέλιτον, καὶ ἐξαναχθέντες χειμῶνε τε ἐχρήσαντο καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἑκπεσόντες συχνοὺς ἀπέβαλον. κάκ' τούτον ὁ Μετέλλος πᾶσαν τὴν 3 νῆσον ἑχειρώσατο. Κρῆτες μὲν οὖν οὕτως, ἐλεύθεροι τε πάντα τὸν ἐμπροσθὲν χρόνον γενόμενοι καὶ δεσπότην ὅθεν οὐκ εἰς κτησάμενοι, κατεδούλωσαν. Μετέλλος δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐπικλησίων ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔλαβε, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Πανάρη τὸν τε Δασθένη

1 Ἰεράπτυνα R. Steph., ἱερὰ πυθνα and ἱερὰ πυθνα L.
to take over the cities. Cornelius Sisenna, the
B.C. 67
governor of Greece, did, to be sure, when he heard
the news, come to Crete and advise Metellus to spare
the towns, but on failing to persuade him offered
no active opposition. Metellus in addition to many
other injuries captured the city of Eleuthera by
treachery and extorted money from it; for those who
betrayed it had by night repeatedly saturated with
vinegar a very large brick tower, most difficult of
capture, so that it became brittle. Next he took
Lappa by storm, in spite of Octavius' occupancy of
the place, and while he did the latter no harm, he
put to death the Cilicians who were with him.
Octavius, incensed at this, no longer remained quiet,
but first used the army of Sisenna (that general had
fallen sick and died) to aid here and there the
victims of oppression, and then, when these troops
had retired, proceeded to Aristion at Hierapydna
and aided him in fighting. Aristion had just
withdrawn from Cydonia, and after conquering one
Lucius Bassus who sailed out to oppose him, had
gained possession of Hierapydna. They held out
for a time, but at the approach of Metellus left the
stronghold and put to sea; they encountered a storm,
however, and were driven ashore, losing many men.
After this Metellus conquered the entire island. In
this way the Cretans, who had been free through all
preceding ages and had never had a foreign master,
became enslaved; and from their subjugation
Metellus obtained his title. He was, however,
unable to have Panares and Lasthenes, whom he had
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

(καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον εἶλεν) οὐκ ἤδυνήθη πέμψαι ἐν τοῖς ἐπινικίοις· ο̣ γὰρ Πομπήιος ἀναπείθα τῶν δημάρχων τινὰ προσφείλετο αὐτούς ὡς καὶ ἑαυτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁμολογίαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνος προσχωρήσατας.

20 Δὲξὼ δὲ ἣδη καὶ τὰ 1 κατὰ τοῦτον πῶς ἐγένετο. οἱ καταποντίσται ἐλύσουν μὲν ἀεὶ τοὺς πλέοντας, ὥσπερ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ γῇ οἰκούντας οἱ τὰς ληστείας ποιοῦμενοι· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε ταύτ' οὐκ ἐγένετο, οὐδ' ἂν παύσατό ποτε ἔως δὰν ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις ἐνθρώπων ἢ. ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τοῖς τισὶ καὶ τῇ ὥραις, καὶ τῇ ὅλιγος, καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ μακρασφήνῃ ἐλπίδευσαν· τότε δὲ, ἐξ οὐ πολλαχῇ τε ἀμα καὶ ἱν διαφέρονων αὐτῶν οἱ ἡμέρας ἐπὶ προστάτου καὶ ἀδεὶς ἑν τὸ πάμπολλον πρὸς ἱστεῖαν ἐστρα-3 ποντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἡπείροις ληστικὰ, ἁτε καὶ ἐν ὁφθαλμοῖς τῶν δήμων μᾶλλον δύτα, καὶ τὴν τε αἰσθησίαν τῆς ἀργύρουσ ἐγγύδεον καὶ τὴν σύλληψιν οὐ πάνυ χαλεπὴν ἔχοντα, οὐδ' ὥς καταλύετο, τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ μακρασφῇ ἐπί πλείστον ἐπηρείηθη. τῶν γὰρ Ῥωμαίων πρὸς τοὺς ἀντι-πολέμους 3 ἀσχολίαν ἀγώνων ἐπὶ πολὺ ἤκμαζαν, πολλαχόσετε τε περιπλέοντες καὶ πάντας τοὺς ὀμοίους σφόν προσπιθέμενοι, ὡστε τινὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν συμμαχίας λόγῳ συννοις ἐπικουρήσατε. 21 καὶ εἰρήτα τοῖς ὅσις μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπραξαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὖν καὶ ἐκεῖνα διελύθη, οὐκ ἔπαυσαντο, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ καὶ ἑαυτῶν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ τοὺς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους σφόν ἔκακουργη-

1 ἔντελευθέρω, τὸ Λ. 2 ὥραι Rk., ὥρα L. 3 ἀντιπολέμους Bernhardy, ἀντιπολεμός L.
BOOK XXXVI

also captured, march in his triumph; for Pompey got them away beforehand by persuading one of the tribunes that it was to him they had submitted in the settlement and not to Metellus.

I will now relate the progress of Pompey's career. Pirates always used to harass those who sailed the sea, even as brigands did those who dwelt on land. There was never a time when these practices were unknown, nor will they ever cease probably so long as human nature remains the same. But formerly free-booting was limited to certain localities and small bands operating only during the summer on sea and on land; whereas at this time, ever since war had been carried on continuously in many different places at once, and many cities had been overthrown, while sentences hung over the heads of all the fugitives, and there was no freedom from fear for anyone anywhere, large numbers had turned to plundering. Now the operations of the bandits on land, being in better view of the towns, which could thus perceive the injury close at hand and capture the perpetrators with no great difficulty, would be broken up with a fair degree of ease; but those on the sea had grown to the greatest proportions. For while the Romans were busy with their antagonists, the pirates had gained great headway, sailing about to many quarters, and adding to their band all of like condition, to such an extent that some of them, after the manner of allies, assisted many others. Indeed, I have already related how much they accomplished in connection with others. When those wars had been ended, the pirates, instead of desisting, did much serious injury alone by themselves both to the Romans and to their
σαν. οὔτε γὰρ κατ᾽ ὀλίγους ἔτι ἄλλα στόλοις μεγάλοις ἐπελευ, καὶ στρατηγοῦς εἶχον, ὡστε καὶ
dονομα αὐτοὺς μέγα κεκτήσατι· ἦγον τε καὶ ἐφερον πρώτοις μὲν καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς πλέοντας (οὐδὲ γὰρ
tὴν χειμερινὴν ὥραν ἀσφαλῆ αὐτοῖς παρεῖχον, ἁλλ’ ὑπὸ τῇ τῆς τόλμης καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔθους τῆς τε
eὐπραγίας καὶ τοῦ ἐπ’ ἀδείας ταῖς ναυτιλίαις ἔχρώντο), ἔπειτα καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς λιμέσιν ὄντας.
καὶ γὰρ εἰ τις ἀνταναχθηναι σφισιν ἐτόλμησε, μάλιστα μὲν ἠτηθείς ἀπώλετο, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐνίκησεν,
ἀλλ’ ἔλειν γε αὐτῶν οὐδένα ὑπὸ τοῦ ταχυναυτειν σφας ἐδύνατο, καὶ οὕτως ὑποστρέφοντες διὰ βρα-
χέως ὡς καὶ κεκρατηκότες, τὰ μὲν ἔτεμνον καὶ κατε-
πίμπρων, οὐχ ὅτι χωρία καὶ ἀγρούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πό-
λεις ὀλας, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἑκείοντο, ὡστε καὶ χειμᾶδια καὶ ὀρμητήρια καθάπερ ἐν φιλίᾳ γῆς ποιεῖσθαι.

22 Προχωροῦντων δὲ αὐτοῖς τούτων καὶ ἐς τὴν ἥπειρον ἀνέβαινον, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἑκείνους τοὺς
μηδὲ χρωμένους τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐλύπουν. καὶ ταῦτα
οὐ τὴν ἔξω συμμαχίδα αὐτῶν μόνον ἄλλα καὶ τὴν
2 Ἰταλίαν αὐτὴν ἐποίουν· τὰ τε γὰρ κέρδη τὰ
αὐτόθεν μείζων σχῆσειν καὶ πάντας τοὺς λοιποὺς
ἔπι πλέον ἐκφοβήσειν, ἄν μηδὲ ἑκείνης ἀπέχωνται,
νομίζοντες, ἐς ταὶς ἄλλας τὰς ταὐτὴ πόλεις καὶ
ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ Ὑστια ἐσέπλεον καὶ τὰς τὸ ναῦς
3 ἐκαίνων καὶ πάνθρο ἦρπαζον. καὶ τέλος, ὡς οὐδεμία
σφῶν ἐπιστροφῆ ἐγίγνετο, τὰς τε διατριβὰς ἐν
tῇ γῆ ἐποιούντο, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὅσους μὴ
dιώλυσαν, τὰ τε σῦλα, ὃσα ἐλάμβανον, ἀδείας
4 ὡς γε καὶ ἐν οἰκείᾳ διετίθεντο. καὶ ἐλήστευν
allies. They no longer sailed in small force, but in great fleets; and they had generals, so that they had acquired a great reputation. First and foremost they robbed and pillaged those sailing the sea, no longer permitting them any safety even during the winter season, since as the result of their daring, practice, and success they made voyages in security even then; and next they despoiled even those in the harbours. For if any one ventured to put out against them, he would usually be defeated and perish; but even if he conquered, he would be unable to capture any of the enemy by reason of the speed of their ships. Accordingly, they would return after a little, as if victors, and would ravage and set in flames not only farms and fields, but also whole cities; some places, however, they conciliated, so as to gain naval stations and winter quarters in a friendly land as it were.

As these operations of theirs met with success it became customary for them to go into the interior, and they inflicted many injuries on those even who had nothing to do with the sea. This is the way they treated not only the distant allies of Rome, but even Italy itself. For, believing that they would obtain greater gains in that quarter and also that they would terrify all the others still more if they did not even keep their hands off that country, they sailed into the very harbour of Ostia as well as other cities in Italy, burning the ships and pillaging everything. Finally, as no attention was paid to them, they took up their abode on the land, disposing fearlessly of whatever men they did not kill, and of whatever spoils they took, just as if they were in their own land. And though


ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

μὲν ἄλλοι ἄλλοθί (οὐ γὰρ ποὺ ἐν πάσῃ ἀμα τῇ θαλάσσῃ οἱ αὐτοὶ κακουργεῖν ἔδυναντο), τοσαυτὴ μέντοι φιλία πρὸς ἄλληλους ἔχρωντο ὡστε σφᾶς καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἐπικούρίας καὶ τοὺς πάνυ ἀγνῶ-5 σιν ὡς καὶ οἰκειοτάτοις πέμπειν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γε οὔχ ἦκιστα ἰσχυσαν, ὅτι τοὺς τε θεραπεύοντάς τινας αὐτῶν πάντες ἐτίμων καὶ τοὺς προσκού- σαντάς τις πάντες ἐλεηλάτουν.

23 Ἐσ τοσοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὰ τῶν καταποντιστῶν ἥρθη ὡστε καὶ μέγαν καὶ συνεχῆ καὶ ἀπροφύ- λακτον καὶ ἄπιαστον τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῶν γενέσθαι· οἵ δὲ δὴ Ρωμαιοὶ ἤκουσαν μὲν ποὺ αὐτὰ, καὶ τινα καὶ έώρων (οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐπακτῶν ἐφοίτα σφίσι καὶ ἡ σιτοπομπία παντελῶς ἀπεκέκλειτο), 2 οὐ μέντοι καὶ μεγάλην, ὅτε γε ἐχρῆν, φροντίδα αὐτῶν ἐποιήσαντο, ἀλλ’ ἐξέπεμπον μὲν καὶ ναυτικὰ καὶ στρατηγοὺς, ὡς ποὺ καθ’ ἐκαστοῦ τῶν προσαγγελλομένων ἐκινώντο, ἐπραττόν δ’ οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πλεῖο τοὺς συμμάχους δι’ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐταλαιπώρουν, μέχρις οὗ ἐν πάντε ἐγένοντο. τότε δὲ συνελθόντες ἐβούλευσαντο ἐπὶ 3 πολλὰς ἥμερας ὃ τι καὶ χρῆ πράξαι. τῇ τε γὰρ συνεχέια τῶν κινδύνων τετρυχωμένοι, καὶ μέγαν καὶ πολὺν τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον ὅροιτες ὄντα, καὶ οὐθ’ ἄμα πᾶσι σφίσιν οὔτ’ αὐτ’ καθ’ ἐκάστους προσπολεμήσαι δυνατὸν εἶναι νομίζουσε (ἀλλήλους τε γὰρ συνεβοήθουν, καὶ πανταχοῦ ἄμα ἁμήχανον ἢν αὐτοὺς ἀμύνασθαι) ἐν τε ἀπορία καὶ ἀνελπιστία τοῦ κατορθώσεων τι πολλῆ ἐγέ-4 νοντο, πρὶν δ’ Ἀδλόσ τις Γαβίνιος ἡμαρχὸς

1 Γαβίνιος Βκ., γαβίνιος Λ regularly.
some plundered here and some there, since of B.C. 67
course it was not possible for the same persons to
do harm throughout the whole length of the sea at
once, they nevertheless showed such friendship one
for another as to send money and assistance even to
those entirely unknown, as if to their nearest of kin.
In fact, this was one of the chief sources of their
strength, that those who paid court to any of them
were honoured by all, and those who came into
collision with any of them were despoiled by all.

To such an extent did the power of the pirates
grow that their hostility became a grave and con-
stant menace, admitting of no precaution and
knowing no truce. The Romans, of course, heard
of these deeds from time to time, and even saw a
little of what was going on, inasmuch as imports in
general ceased coming in and the corn supply was
shut off entirely; but they paid no serious attention
to it at the proper time. Instead, they would send
out fleets and generals only as they were stirred by
individual reports, but accomplished nothing; on the
contrary, they caused their allies all the greater dis-
tress by these very means, until they were finally
reduced to the last extremity. Then at length they
came together and deliberated for many days as to
what really should be done. Wearied by the con-
tinued dangers and perceiving that the war against
the pirates would be a great and extensive one,
and believing, too, that it was impossible to assail
them all at once or yet individually, inasmuch as
they helped one another and there was no way of
driving them back everywhere at once, the people
fell into great perplexity and despair of making any
successful move. In the end, however, one Aulus
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

γνώμην ἔδωκεν, εἰτ' οὖν τοῦ Πομπηίου καθέντος αὐτῶν, εἰτε καὶ ἄλλως χαρίσασθαι ὦι ἥθελήσας (οὐ γάρ ποιεῖν καὶ ὑπ' εὐνοίας αὐτὸ τῆς τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐποίησε: κάκιστος γὰρ ἀνήρ ἦν), στρατηγὸν ἔνα αὐτοκράτορα ἐφ' ἁπαντας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευ-κότων. ἔλεσθαι, τρωί τε ἔτεσιν ἄρξοντα καὶ δυνάμει παμπληθεῖ διὰ ὑποστρατήγων πολλῶν ἥρρωσόμενον. ἀντίκρης μὲν γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου ὅνομα οὐκ εἰπεν· εὐθὺς δὲ ἦν ὅτι, ἂν ἀπαξ τι τοιοῦτον ὁ ὅμιλος ἁκούσῃ, ἐκείνων αἱρήσεται.

24. Καὶ ἔσχεν οὖτω· τὴν τε γὰρ ἐσήκησιν αὐτοῦ ἀπεδέξαντο, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπηίου παραχρῆμα πάντες πλὴν τῆς γεροσκίας ἀπέκλιναν. αὕτη γὰρ πᾶν οὐτοῖον ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνῳ τοσούτῳ ἠγεμόνιαν ἐγχειρίσατι ἠρείτο· καὶ ὅλιγον καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τὸν Γαβίνων ἐν αὐτῷ

2 τῷ συνεδρίῳ. ὑπεκδράντος δ' οὖν πη αὐτοῦ μαθόντες οἱ πολλοὶ τὴν τῶν βουλευτῶν γνώμην ἐθορύβησαν, ὡστε καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς συγκαθημένους ἐφορμήσαν· καὶ εἰ γε μὴ ἐξεκεκρήκησαν, πάν·

3 τῶς ἂν αὐτοὺς διεφθάρκεσαν. οἱ μὲν δὲ οὖν ἄλλοι σκεδασθέντες διέλαθον, Πίσωνα δὲ τῶν Γαίου τὸν ὑπατον (ἐπὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων τοῦ τε Ἀκιλίου ταῦτ' ἐγώγυντο) συλληφθέντα καὶ μέλλοντα καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπόλλυσαν ὁ Γαβίνως ἐξητή- σατο. ἐκ δὲ τούτων οἱ δυνατὸι αὐτοὶ μὲν 1 τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἦγουν, ἀσμενίζοντες ἂν τὴν σφας ζῆν εάση, τοὺς δὲ δημάρχους τοὺς ἐννέα ἀνέπεσαν ἐναντιω-

4 θῆναι τῷ Γαβίνῳ. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι φοβηθέντες τὸ πλῆθος οὖθεν ἀντείπον, Δούκιος δὲ δὴ τῆς Τρεβέλλιος καὶ Δούκιος Ρώσκιος ἐτόλμη-

1 μὲν added by Rk.
BOOK XXXVI

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

And so it came about. They adopted his motion and immediately all except the senate turned to Pompey. But that body preferred to suffer anything whatever at the hands of the freebooters rather than put so great command into Pompey's hands; in fact they came near slaying Gabinius in the very senate-house, but he eluded them somehow. When the people learned the feeling of the senators, they raised an uproar, even going so far as to rush upon them as they sat assembled; and if the senators had not gotten out of the way, they would certainly have killed them. So they all scattered and secreted themselves, except Gaius Piso the consul—for it was in the year of Piso and Acilius that these events took place; he was arrested and was about to perish for the others when Gabinius begged him off. After this the optimates themselves held their peace, happy if only they might be allowed to live, but tried to persuade the nine tribunes to oppose Gabinius. None of these, however, except one Lucius Trebellius and Lucius Roscius, would say a word in opposition, through fear of the multitude;
5 Ὅ Πομπήιος ἐπιθυμοῦν μὲν πάνω ἄρξαι, καὶ ἢδη γε ὑπὸ τε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φιλοτιμίας καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ δήμου σπουδῆς οὖν ἄρχην ἔτει τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἀτιμίαν τὸ μὴ τυχεῖν αὐτοῦ νομίζον εἶναι, τὴν δὲ ἀντίταξιν τῶν δυνάτων ὅρων, ἡβουλήθη δοκεῖν
6 ἀναγκάζεσθαι. ἦν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ὡς ἦκεστα προσποιούμενος ἐπιθυμεῖν ὅν ἤθελε· τότε δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον, διὰ τὸ ἐπίθεσθαι ὃν γε ἔκειν τῆς ἁρχῆς ἀντιποίησθαι, καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐνκλεῖς ἂν γε καὶ ἄκων ὡς γε καὶ ἀξιοστρατηγητῶτατος ὑπὸ ἀποδειχθή, ἐπιλάττετο.

25 Καὶ παρελθὼν ἔφη ὁ Χαῖρω μὲν τιμώμενος ύφ' ὕμων, ὁ Κυρίται· φύσει τε γὰρ πάντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἐγκαλλωπιζόμενοι ταῖς παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν εὐεργεσίαις, καὶ ἐγώ, ἄτε δὴ πολλάκις τῆς παρ' ὕμων τιμῆς ἀπολελαυκός, οὐκ ἔχω πῶς κατ' ἄξιαν ἥσθω τοὺς παροῦσιν οὐ μέντοι οὖθ' ὑμῖν νομίζον προσήκειν ἀπάλητως οὕτω πρὸς μὲ διὰκείσθαι, οὔτε ἔμοι διὰ παντὸς ἐν τινὶ ἤγεμονία ἐννυ. αὐτὸς τε γαρ ἐκ παῖδων κέκμηκα, καὶ ὑμᾶς δεῖ καὶ περὶ
2 τους ἄλλους σπουδάζειν. ὡς μέμνησθε δοσα μὲν ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν Κύναν πολέμων ἑταλαπώρησα, καὶ τοιοῦ κομιδῆ νεός ὦν, ὡς δὲ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ἐκαμοί, μηδέποτε καθαρῶς ἐν ἐφήβους τελῶν, ὡς δὲ ἐν τῇ Ιβηρίᾳ ἐκινδύνευσα, μηδὲ βουλεύων πω; ἐφ' οίς ἄπασιν οὐχ ὅτι

1 τὸ Leouncl., τοῦτο τὸ L.  
2 ἀξιοστρατηγητῶτατος Bk., ἀξιοστρατηγητῶτατος L.
BOOK XXXVI

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

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

He now came forward and said: “I rejoice, Quirites, in being honoured by you. All men naturally take pride in benefits conferred upon them by their fellow-citizens, and I, who have often enjoyed honours at your hands, scarcely know how to be properly pleased on the present occasion. Nevertheless, I do not think it fitting either that you should be so insatiable with regard to my services or that I myself should continually be in some position of command. For I have toiled since boyhood, and, as for you, you ought to be favouring others as well. Do you not recall how many hardships I underwent in the war against Cinna, though I was the veriest youth, and how many labours in Sicily and in Africa before I had as yet come fully of age, or how many dangers I encountered in Spain before I was even a senator? I will not
3 ἀχάριστοι πρὸς με ἐγένεσθε ἔρω. πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεί· πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἰν πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων παρ᾿ ὑμῶν ἡζιώθην, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ πιστευθῆναι με τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν Σερτώριον στρατηγίαν, μὴ δὲν ἄλλου μὴ ἔθελήσαντο μήτε δυναθέντος αὐτὴν ὑποστῆναι, τὸ τε ἐπινίκια καὶ ἐπ᾿ ἐκεῖνῃ παρὰ τὸ νεομισέμουν πέμψαι μεγίστην μοι τιμὴν
4 ἠνεγκεν. ἀλλ᾿ ὅτι πολλὰς μὲν φροντίδας πολλὸν δὲ κινδύνους ὑπέμεινα, κατατέθημα μὲν τὸ σῶμα, πεπόνημαι δὲ τὴν γνώμην. μὴ γὰρ ὅτι νέος ἔτ᾿ εἰμι λογίζομαι, μὴν ὅτι ἐτὴ ¹ τόσα καὶ τόσα
5 γέγονα ἀριθμεῖςθε. ἃν γὰρ τοι καὶ τᾶς στρατείας ἃς ἐστρατευμα καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους οὓς κεκινδύνευσαν ἀναριθμήσῃ, πολὺ γε πλείονοι αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐτῶν εὐρίσκετε, καὶ μᾶλλον οὔτω πιστεύσετε ὅτι οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς πόλους οὔτε πρὸς τὰς φροντίδας καρπερεῖν ἔτι δύναμαι.

26 "Εἰ δ᾿ οὖν τις καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντέχοι, ἀλλ᾿ ὅρατε ὅτι καὶ ἐπίθυμα καὶ μισητὰ πάντα τὰ τοιαύτα ἐστιν· ἀπερ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τίθεσθε (οὐδὲ γὰρ καλῶς ἔχει προσποιεῖσθαι τὰ ὑμᾶς αὐτῶν), ἐμοὶ μέντοι βαρύτατα ἃν γένοιτο,
2 καὶ ὁμολογῶ γε μὴν ὅσοι ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις δεινῶν μῆτε ἐκταράττεσθαι μῆτε λυπεῖσθαι ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων. τίς μὲν γὰρ ἄν εὐ φρονῶν ἥδεως παρ᾿ ἀνθρώποις φθονοῦσιν αὐτῷ ἔφη, τίς δ᾿ ἄν δημόσιον τὶ διωκήσαι προσβηθεία ἡμέλλων, ἂν μὲν ἀποτύχῃ, δίκην ὑφέξειν, ἂν δὲ
3 κατορθώσῃ, ξηλοτυπηθήσεσθαι; ἀλλ᾿ ἐμοὶ μὲν

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

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

1 Pompey was the first knight to celebrate a triumph.
καὶ διὰ ταύτα καὶ διὰ τὰλλα συνχωρήσατε τὴν τε ἡσυχίαν ἁγείν καὶ τὰ ἐμαυτού πράττειν, ἵνα ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἐπιμεληθῶ καὶ μὴ κατατριβέθης ἀπόλολομαι. ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τοὺς καταποντιστὰς ἄλλον χειροτονήσατε. συγχοῦ δὲ εἰς καὶ βουλόμενοι νααρχήσατε καὶ δυνάμενοι, καὶ νεώτεροι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, ὡστε τὴν αἴρεσιν ὑμῖν ῥαδίαν ἐκ πολλῶν γενέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ποτε ἐγώ μόνος ύμᾶς ἢ καὶ μόνος ἐμπείρως τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐχω, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ δεῖνα καὶ ὁ δεῖνα, ἵνα μη καὶ χαρίζεσθαι τις δόξῳ όνομαστὶ καταλέξας.

27 Ταύτα αὐτοῦ δημηγορήσαντος ὁ Γαβίνιος ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν "Πομπήιος μὲν, ὁ Κυρίται, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἄξιον τῶν ἐαυτοῦ ἡθῶν ποιεῖ, μήτε ἐφιέμενος τῆς ἀρχῆς μήτε διδομένην οἱ αὐτὴν ἐξ ἑπιδρομῆς δεχόμενος. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως ἀγαθῷ ἀνδρός ἐστιν ἀρχεῖν ἐπιθυμεῖν καὶ τὰ 1 πράγματ' ἔχειν ἑθέλειν κἂν. τούτῳ προσήκει πάντα τὰ προστατόμενα μετ' ἐπισκέψεως ύποστάσθαι, ἵν' αὐτὰ καὶ ἁσφαλῶς ὁμοίως πράξῃ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ προπετέει ἐν ταῖς ὑποσχέσεις, ἔξυπτερον καὶ ἐν ταῖς πράξει τοῦ καρυοῦ γυγρόμενον, πολλοὺς σφάλλει, τὸ δ' ἀκριβὲς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ὁμοίων διατελεῖ ὅν καὶ πάντας ὄννησιν.

3 ύμᾶς δὲ δὴ χρῆ μὴ τὸ τούτῳ κεχαρισμένον ἀλλὰ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον ἐλέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ποτὸς στουδαρχοῦντας ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους προστάττειν τοῖς πράγμασι προσήκει· ἐκεῖνοις μὲν γὰρ πάνυ πολλοὺς, τοσοῦτον δὲ δὴ τίνα ἄλλον 4 οὐδένα εὐρήσετε. μέμνησθε δὲ ὅσα καὶ οία

1 τὰ added by Bs.
BOOK XXXVI.

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

When he had delivered this speech, Gabinius answered him, saying: "Pompey's behaviour in this very matter, Quirites, is worthy of his character: he does not seek the leadership, nor does he accept it off-hand when offered to him. For a good man has no business, in any case, to desire to hold office and to manage public affairs; and in the present instance it is fitting that one should undertake all the tasks imposed only after due consideration, in order that he may accomplish them with corresponding safety. Rashness in making promises, which leads to inopportune haste also in carrying them out, causes the downfall of many; but sureness at the outset remains the same in action, and is to the advantage of all. You, however, must choose not what is pleasing to Pompey, but what is of benefit to the state. Not office-seekers, but those who are capable should be put in charge of affairs; the former are very numerous, but you will not find any other such man as Pompey. Recall, furthermore, how many reverses and how serious we

43
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐπάθομεν ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν Σερτόριον πολέμῳ στρατηγοῦ δεόμενοι, καὶ ὧτι οὐδένα ἔτερον οὔτε τῶν νεωτέρων οὔτε τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀρμόζοντα αὐτῷ εὑρομεν, ἀλλὰ¹ τούτοι καὶ τότε μηδέποτε μὴδ' ἠλυκίαν ἔχοντα μήτε βουλεύοντα καὶ ἀντὶ 5 ἀμφότερων τῶν ὑπάτων ἐξεπέμψαμεν. Βουλοῖμην μὲν γὰρ ἂν πολλοὺς υμῖν ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας εἶναι, καὶ εἰγε καὶ εὐξάσθαι δει, εὐξαίμην ἀν' ἐπει δ' οὔτ' ἐυχὴς τὸ πράγμα τούτο ἐστιν οὔτ' αὐτόματον τῷ παραγίγνεται, ἀλλὰ δεὶ καὶ φύναι τινα πρὸς αὐτὸ ἐπιτηδείως, καὶ μαθεῖν τὰ πρόσφορα, καὶ ἀκοίησαι τὰ προσηκούντα, καὶ παρὰ πάντα ἀγαθὴ τύχῃ χρήσθαι, ἀπερ που σπανιώτατα ἄν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀνδρὶ συμβαίην, χρὴ πάντας υμᾶς ὁμοθυμαδοῖν, ὅταν τις τοιοῦτος εὑρέθῃ, καὶ σπουδαζεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ καταχρῆσθαι αὐτῶ, καὶ μὴ βούληται. καλλίστῃ γὰρ ἡ τοιαύτη βία καὶ τῷ ποιήσαντι καὶ τῷ παθοῦντι γίγνεται, τῷ μὲν ὅτι σωθεῖν ἄν υπ' αὐτῆς, τῷ δὲ ὅτι σώσειν ἄν τοὺς πολίτας, ὕπερ δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὅ γε χρηστὸς καὶ φιλόπολις ἔτοιμοτάτα ἄν ἐπιδοθῇ.

28 ὡς ὁ ὀφειθεὶς ὅτι Πομπήιος οὔτος ἐν μὲν μειρακίῳ καὶ στρατεύεσθαι καὶ στρατηγεῖν καὶ τὰ ύμέτερα αὐξεῖν καὶ τὰ τῶν συμμάχων σώζειν τὰ τῶν ἀνθισταμένων προσκέτασθαι ἐδύνατο, νῦν δὲ ἀκμάζων καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἠλυκίᾳ δὲν ἐν ἑνὶ πᾶς τις ἁριστος αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ἡγύγνεται, καὶ ἐμπειρίαν ἐκ τῶν πολέμων πλείστην ὅσην προσειληφῶς, οὐκ ἄν υμῖν 2 χρησιμότατος γένους; ἀλλ' ἐν ἑφηβοῖ ὑμῖν ἄρχειν εἰλεθε, τούτοις ἄνδρα γεγονότα ἀποδοκιμάσετε;

¹ ἀλλὰ Bk., ἀλλὰ καὶ L. ² οὔτ' Bk., οὔτ' L. ³ εὐχής Xyl., εὐχαῖς L. ⁴ αὐτοῦ R. Steph., αὐτοῦ L.
BOOK XXXVI

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

"Or do you think that this Pompey who in his boyhood could make campaigns, lead armies, increase your possessions, preserve those of your allies, and acquire those of your adversaries, could not now, in the prime of life, when every man is at his best, and with a great fund of added experience gained from wars, prove most useful to you? Will you reject, now that he has reached man's estate, him whom as a youth you chose as leader? Will you not confide

45
καὶ φ’ ἵππεῖ ἔτ’ ὄντι τοὺς πολέμους ἐκείνους ἐνεχειρίσατε, τούτῳ βουλής γεγονότι τὴν στρα-
3 τείαν ταύτην οὐ πιστεύσετε; καὶ οὐ καὶ πρὶν ἀκριβῶς πειραθήναι, μόνον πρὸς τὰ τότε κατ-
επείξαντα ύμᾶς ἐδεήσθητε, τούτῳ νῦν, ἵκανότατα αὐτοῦ πεπειραμένου, τὰ παρόντα οὐδὲν ἤττον ἐκεῖνων ἀναγκαία ὄντα οὐκ ἐπιτρέψετε; καὶ δὲν οὐδὲ ἄρχειν ἔτι πω καὶ τότε δυνάμενον ἐπὶ τὸν 
4 Σερτῶμον ἐχειροτονήσατε, τούτον ὑπατευκότα 
29 ἡδὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς καταπονητιστὰς οὐκ ἐκπέμψετε; ἀλλὰ 
μηθ’ ὑμεῖς ἄλλως πως ποιήσητε, καὶ σὺ, ὦ 
Πομπήιε, πείσθητι καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ τῇ πατρίδῃ. 
ταύτη γὰρ γεγένησαι καὶ ταύτῃ τέθραψαι καὶ 
δεὶ σε τοὺς τε συμφέρουσιν αὐτῇ δουλεύοντι, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μήτε πόνον τινὰ μήτε κίνδυνον ἐξί-
stasθαι, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἀποθανεῖν ἀνάγκη σου γένηται, 
μὴ τὴν εἰμαρμένην ἀναμείναι ἀλλὰ τῷ προστῷ 
2 τὴν πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα εὔνοιαν ἐπιδιδείξατε. πεί-
σθητι οὖν καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῦτος, μηθ’ ὅτι τινὲς 
φθονοῦσι φοβηθῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δ’ αὐτῷ τοῦτο 
μᾶλλον σπούδασον, ὡστε πρὸς τὴν παρὰ τῶν 
πλειόνων φιλιάν καὶ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν 
συμφέροντα καὶ τῶν βασιλείων σε κατα-
3 φρόνει. καὶ εἰγε καὶ λυπήσαι τι αὐτοῦς ἔθέλεις, 
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἄρξον, ἵνα καὶ ἐκείνους ἀνιάσῃ 
παρὰ γνώμην αὐτῶν καὶ ἠγεμονεύεις καὶ εὐδοκε-
μήσας, καὶ αὐτὸς ἄξιον σεαυτοῦ τέλος τοῖς προ-
kateirgiasménois ἐπαγάγῃς, πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων 
κακῶν ἡμᾶς ἀπαλλάξας."

46
this campaign to the man, now become a member of the senate, to whom while still a knight you committed those wars? Will you not, now that you have most amply tested him, entrust the present emergency, no less pressing than the former ones, to him for whom alone you asked in the face of those urgent dangers, even before you had carefully tested him? Will you not send out against the pirates one, now an ex-consul, whom, before he could yet properly hold office, you chose against Sertorius? Nay, do not think of adopting any other course; and as for you, Pompey, do you heed me and your country. For her you were born, for her you were reared. You must serve her interests, shrinking from no hardship or danger to secure them; and should it become necessary for you to lose your life, you must in that case not await your appointed day but meet whatever death comes to you. But truly it is absurd for me to offer this advice to you who have in so many and so great conflicts exhibited both your bravery and your love for your country. Heed me, therefore, as well as these citizens here, and do not fear because some are envious. Rather press on all the more for this very reason, and in comparison with the friendship of the majority and the common advantage of us all, scorn your traducers. And, if you are willing even to grieve them a little, take command for this very reason, that you may vex them by conducting the war and winning applause contrary to their expectations, and that you may yourself set a crown worthy of yourself upon your former achievements, by ridding us of many great evils.”
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

30 Τοιαύτα δὴ τοῦ Γαβινίου εἰπόντος ὁ Τρεβέλλιος ἐπειράθη μὲν ἀντειπεῖν, ὡς δ’ οὐδενὸς λόγου ἔτυχεν, ἡμαντιοῦτο μὴ¹ τὴν ψήφου δοθήναι. ὁ οὖν Γαβινίος ἀγανακτήσας τὴν μὲν περὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου διαψήφισιν ἐπέσχεν, ἐτέραν δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου ἀντεσθῆγεν καὶ ἔδοξεν ἐπτακαίδεκα φυλαῖς ταῖς πρώταις χρηματισάσας ἅδικεῖν τε αὐτὸν καὶ μηκέτι χρῆναι δημαρχεῖν. μελλοῦσης οὖν καὶ τῆς ὀκτωκαιδεκάτης τὰ αὐτὰ ψηφιεῖσθαι

3 μόλις ποτὲ ὁ Τρεβέλλιος ἐσιώπησεν. ἱδ’ οὖν δὲ τούτο ὁ Ρώσκιος φθέγξασθαι μὲν οὐδὲν ἐτόλμησε, τὴν δὲ δὴ χειρὰ ἀνατείνων δύο ἀνδρῶν ἐκέλευε σφας ἐλέσθαι, ὅπως ἐν γε τούτῳ τῆς δυναστείας τι ² τῆς τοῦ Πομπηίου παρατέμοιτο. ταύτ’ οὖν αὐτοῦ χειρονομοῦντος ὁ δμόλος μέγα καὶ ἀπειλητικὸν ἀνέκραγεν, ὡστε κόρακα τινα ὑπερπετόμενον σφών ἐκπλαγῆναι καὶ πεσέναι

4 ὁσπερ ἐμβρύοντον. γενομένου δὲ τούτου ἐκεῖνος μὲν τὴν ἥσυχιαν οὐ τῇ γλώττῃ ἔτι μόνον ἄλλα καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἠγαγεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτουλος ἄλλως μὲν ἔσωσα, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Γαβινίου προτρεψαμένου τι αὐτὸν εἰπείν, ὅτι τά τε πρώτα τῆς βουλῆς ἦν καὶ ἐδόκει δι’ ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων

5 ὁμογυμνομένης σφίσι (καὶ γὰρ ἦλπιζεν αὐτοῦ, ἐξ δὲ τοὺς δημάρχους πάσχοντας εἰδε, συνεπανέσεως), λόγου τε ἐτυχεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἦδοντο πάντες αὐτὸν καὶ ἔτιμον ως τὰ συμφέροντα σφίσι καὶ λέγοντα ἀεὶ καὶ πράττοντα, καὶ ἐδημηγόρησε τοιάδε.

31 “Οτι μὲν ἐς ὑπερβολήν, ὁ Κυρίται, πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ὑμῶν ἐσπούδακα, πάντες τοὺς σαφῶς

¹ μὴ Bk., τὸ μὴ L. ² τι added by St. from Xiph.
BOOK XXXVI

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

"That I have been exceedingly zealous, Quirites, in behalf of you, the people, you all, no doubt, clearly
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐπίστασθε: τούτου δὲ δὴ οὔτως ἔχοντος ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀναγκαίον ἦστι πάντα ἀπλῶς, ἄ γιγνόσκοι συμφέρειν τῇ πόλει, μετὰ παρρησίας εἰπεῖν, καὶ ὑμῖν προσήκοι ἄκουσαι τε μεθ’ ἴσων εἰς τοὺς μετὰ τούτου βουλεύσασθαι. θορυβήσαντες μὲν γὰρ ἱσως τι καὶ χρήσιμον δυνηθέντες ἀν μαθεῖν οὐχὶ λήψεθε, προσέχοντες δὲ τοῖς λεγομένοις πάντως τι τῶν συμφερόντων ὑμῖν ἀκριβῶς 3 εὐρήσετε. ἐγὼ τούπιν πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μάλιστα φημὶ δεῖν μηδὲν ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ 1 τοσαῦτας κατὰ τὸ ἔξης ἀρχὰς ἐπιτρέπειν. τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἀπηγόρευται καὶ πείρα σφαλερωτάτων ἤν πεφώραται. οὔτε γὰρ τὸν Μάριον ἀλλὰ τὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν τοιοῦτον ἐποίησεν ἤ ὅτι τοιοῦτος τε ἐν ὅληστῳ χρόνῳ πολέμους ἐνεχειρίσθη καὶ 4 ὑπατος ἐξάκις ἐν βραχυτάτῳ ἐγένετο, οὔτε τὸν Σύλλαν ἢ ὅτι τοσοῦτος ἔφεξῆς ἔτεις τὴν ἄρχην τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐσχε καὶ μετὰ τούτο δικτάτωρ, εἰθ’ ὑπατος ἀπεδείχθη. οὐ γὰρ ἐστιν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσει ψυχήν, μὴ ὅτι νέαν ἄλλα καὶ πρεσβυτέραιν, ἐν ἑξούσιαις ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐνδιατρίψασαι τοῖς πατρίοις ἐθεσιν 2 ἐθέλειν ἐμ- 32 μένειν. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν οὐχ ὡς καὶ κατεγωνικῶς τι τοῦ Πομπηίου λέγω, ἀλλ’ ὅτι μὴ ἄλλως συνενεκόν ποτε ὑμῖν φαίνεται μήτε ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐπιτρέπταιν. καὶ γὰρ εἶτε τιμὴν τοῖς ἄξιοι-μένοις αὐτοῦ φέρει, πᾶσιν αὐτῆς, οἷς γε ἐπι- βάλλει, προσήκει τυχάναιν (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶν ἢ δημοκρατία), εἰτε κάματον, καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ μέρος πάντας μεταλαμβάνειν δεῖ (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶν ἢ ἰσομοιρία).

1 μηδενὶ ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ Rk., μηδενὶ ἀνδρὶ L. 2 ἐθεσιν Turn., ἐθεσιν L.
understand. This being so, it is incumbent upon me to set forth in simple fashion and with frankness what I know to be for the good of the state; and it is only fair for you to listen calmly and then deliberate afterwards. For, if you raise an uproar, you will perhaps fail to receive some useful suggestion which you might have heard; but if you pay attention to what is said, you will be sure to discover something definitely to your advantage. I, for my part, assert first and foremost that it is not proper to entrust to any one man so many positions of command one after another. This has not only been forbidden by the laws, but has also been found by experience to be most perilous. What made Marius what he became was practically nothing else than being entrusted with so many wars in the shortest space of time and being made consul six times in the briefest period; and similarly Sulla became what he was because he held command of the armies so many years in succession, and later was appointed dictator, then consul. For it does not lie in human nature for a person—I speak not alone of the young but of the mature as well—after holding positions of authority for a long period to be willing to abide by ancestral customs. Now I do not say this in any disparagement of Pompey, but because it does not appear ever to have been of advantage to you in any way, and in particular because it is not permitted by the laws. Indeed, if the command brings honour to those deemed worthy of it, all whom it concerns ought to obtain that honour,—this is democracy,—and if it brings labour, all ought to share that labour proportionately,—this is equality.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

2 "Ετι τούνν ἐν μὲν τῷ τοιούτῳ πολλούς τε ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐγγυμναξέσθαι, καὶ ραδίαν ὑμῖν τὴν αἴρεσιν τῶν πιστευθῆναι δυναμένων πρὸς πάντα τὰ πρακτέα ἀπὸ τῆς πείρας ὑπάρχειν συμβαίνει, ἐκείνως δὲ δὴ πολλὴν τὴν σπάνιν καὶ τῶν ἀσκησόντων τὰ προσήκοντα καὶ τῶν ἐπιτρα.

3 πησομένων ἀνάγκη πάσα γίγνεσθαι· καὶ διὰ τούτο γε οὐχ ἤκιστα ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν Σερτώριον πολέμῳ στρατηγοῦ ἡγορήσατε, ὅτι τὸν πρὸ τούτου χρόνου τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πολὺ ἔχρησθε. ὡστ' εἰ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἄξιός ἦστι Πομπήιος ἠπὶ τοὺς καταποντιστὰς χειροτονηθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὅτι γε παρὰ τε τὰ διατεταγμένα ἐν τοῖς νόμοις καὶ παρὰ τὰ διελεγμένα ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αἴρεθείη ἂν, ἤκιστα καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ τούτῳ προσήκει αὐτὸ πρα-
χθηναι.

33 "Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τούτο καὶ μάλιστα λέγω, δεῦτε-
ρον δὲ ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι τεταγμένως ἐκ τῶν νόμων τάς τε ἀρχὰς καὶ τάς ἡγεμονίας λαμβανόντων καὶ ὑπά-
tων καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν ἀντι τούτων ἀρχό-
tων, οὐτ' ἄλλως καλῶς ὑμῖν ἔχει παρεδόντας αὐτοὺς καὶ
νὴν τινα ἀρχὴν ἐπεσαγαγήσθαι οὐτὲ

2 συμφέρει. τίνος μὲν γὰρ ἕνεκα καὶ τοὺς ἐνιαυ-
σίους ἀρχοντας χειροτονεῖτε, εἰγε μηδὲν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τούτα χρῆσθε; οὐ γὰρ ποὺ ἤν, ἐν τοῖς περιπορφύροις ἵματισιν περινοστῶσιν, οὐδ' ἵνα τὸ όνομα μόνον τῆς ἀρχῆς περιβεβλημένοι τοῦ

3 ἔργον αὐτῆς στέρωνται. πῶς δ' οὖχι καὶ τούτως καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπασί τοὺς τι πράττειν τῶν πολι-

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1 ἡγορήσατε R. Steph., ἡγορήσατο L. 2 τοῖς Xyl., ἐν τοῖς L. 3 ὑπάτων Reim., ὑπάτων L. 4 παριδόντας Turn., παραδόντας L. 5 οὕτε added by R. Steph. 6 οὐ γὰρ ποὺ inserted by Bk.
BOOK XXXVI

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

"This is the first and most important point I have to mention. Second, there is the consideration that so long as consuls and praetors and those serving in their places are receiving their offices and commands conformably to the laws it is in no wise fitting, nor yet advantageous, for you to overlook them and introduce some new office. To what end, indeed, do you elect the annual officials, if you are going to make no use of them for such occasions? Surely not that they may stalk about in purple-bordered togas, nor that, clothed with the name alone of the office, they may be deprived of its duties. How can you fail to arouse the enmity of these and all the rest who have a
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τικῶν προαιρομένοις ἀπεχθήσεσθε, ἀν τὰς μὲν πατρίους ἀρχὰς καταλύστε καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων χειροτονουμένοις μηδὲν ἐπιτρέπτετε, ξένην δὲ τινα καὶ μηπώποτε γεγενημένην ἡγεμονίαν ἰδιώτῃ προσ-
34 τάξεν; ει γάρ τοι καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἐπετησίους ἀρχὰς ἀνάγκη τις εἰὴ ἐτέραν ἑλέσθαι, ἐστὶ καὶ τούτου παράδειγμα ἀρχαῖον, λέγω δὲ τῶν δικτά-
tора. καὶ τούτων μέντοι 1 τουούτων οὔτα οὔτε ἐπὶ πᾶσι ποτὲ τοῖς πράγμασιν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν 2 οὔτε
2 ἐπὶ πλείω χρόνον ἐξαμήνου κάτεστήσαντο. ἤστ' εἰ μὲν τουούτων τινὸς δεῖος, ἕξεστιν ὑμῖν, μήτ' παρανομήσασι μήτ' ὀλγώρως ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν βουλευσαμένοις, δικτάτορα εἴτε Πομπῆιον εἴτε καὶ ἄλλου τινὰ προχειρίσασθαι, ἐφ' ὅ μήτ' πλείω τοῦ τεταγμένου χρόνου 3 μήτ' ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀρξῆν. οὐ γάρ που ἀγνοεῖτε ὁτι καὶ τούτο δεινῶς οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐφυλάξαντο, καὶ οὐκ ἂν εὑρεθείη δικτάτωρ οὔδεις ἄλλοσ 4 πλὴν ἐνὸς ἐς Σικελίαν,
3 καὶ ταῦτα μηδὲν πράξαντος, αἱρεθεῖς. εἰ δ' 5 οὔτε ἐκταῖ ἡ Ἰταλία τοιούτου τινός, οὔτ' ἂν υμεῖς ὑπο-
μείναιτε ἐτί οὐχ ὅτι τὸ ἄργον τοῦ δικτάτορος ἄλλ' οὔδε τὸ ὄνομα (δὴλον ἀδ' ἐξ ὁν πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν ἡγα-
νακτήσατε), τῶς δ' ἂν ὀρθῶς ἔχοι καὶνὴν ἡγεμονίαν, καὶ ταῦτην ἐς ἔτη τρία καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὡς εἰπεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἐξω πράγμασιν,
4 ἀποδειχθῆναι; οὗσα γάρ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου δεινὰ ταῖς πόλεσι συμβαίνει, καὶ ὅσοι διὰ τὰς παρανόμους φιλαρχίας τὸν τε δῆμον ἡμῶν πολλάκις ἐτάραξαν

1 μέντοι Turn., μὲν L. 2 ἡμῶν R. Steph., ἡμῶν L.
3 χρόνον Naber, χρόνον L. 4 ἄλλοσ Bk., ἄλλος L.
5 εἰ δ' Rk., ἡ L.
BOOK XXXVI

purpose to enter public life at all, if you overthrow the ancient offices, and entrust nothing to those elected by law, but assign some strange and hitherto unheard-of command to a private individual? Yet if there should be any necessity of choosing another in addition to the annual officials, there is for this, too, an ancient precedent—I refer to the dictator. However, because this official held such power, our fathers did not appoint one on all occasions nor for a longer period than six months. Accordingly, if you require any such official, you may, without either transgressing the laws or forming plans in disregard of the common welfare, elect Pompey himself or any one else as dictator—on condition that he shall not hold office longer than the appointed time nor outside of Italy. For surely you are not unaware that this second limitation, too, was scru-

pulously observed by our forefathers, and no instance can be found of a dictator chosen for another country, except one who was sent to Sicily and who, moreover, accomplished nothing. But if Italy requires no such person, and you would no longer tolerate, I will not say the functions of the dictator, but even the name,—as is clear from your anger against Sulla,—how could it be right for a new position of command to be created, and that, too, for three years and embracing practically all interests both in Italy and outside? For you all alike understand what disasters come to cities from such a course, and how many men on account of their lawless lust for

¹ Aulus Atilius Calatinus in B.C. 249.
καὶ αὐτὸι αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν κακὰ εἰργάσαντο, πάντες ὁμοίως ἐπίστασθε.

35 "Ωστε περὶ μὲν τῶν ταύτων παύομαι λέγων· τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι οὔτ' ἄλλως καλῶς ἔχει οὔτε συμφέρει ἐνι τινὶ τὰ πράγματα προστάσσεσθαι καὶ ἕνα τινὰ πάντων τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν κύριον γίγνεσθαι, καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἁριστός τις ἦ; αἱ τε γὰρ μεγάλαι τιμαὶ καὶ αἱ ὑπέροχαι ἐξουσίαι καὶ τοὺς τουρώσων ἐπαίρουσι καὶ διαφθείρουσι.

2 ἔκεινο δὲ δὴ σκοπεῖν ὑμᾶς ἄξιον, ὅτι οὐδὲ οἶων τέ ἑστιν ἑνὰ ἄνδρα πάσης τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπάρξαι καὶ πάντα τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον ὁρθῶς διοικῆσαι. δεὶ μὲν γὰρ ὑμᾶς, εἴπερ τι τῶν ὑπόντων ποιήσετε, πανταχῦ ἀμα αὐτοῖς πολεμῆσαι, ἵνα μὴ συνιστάμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, μηδὲν αὐτὰς ἀναφεύγας πρὸς τοὺς οὐ πολεμομενοὺς ἑχοντες, δύσληπτοι 3 γένονται. τοῦτο δὲ οὐδέναι ἂν τρόπον εἰς τις ἁρξας πρᾶξαι δυνηθεὶς πῶς γὰρ ἂν ὑπὸ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Κιλίκιᾳ, τῇ ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ καὶ τῇ Συρίᾳ, τῇ ἐν Ἑλλάδι καὶ τῇ Βηθενίᾳ, τῷ ἐν Ἰονίῳ καὶ ταῖς νῆσοις πολεμήσεις, πολλοὺς μὲν δὴ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ στρατῶτας καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἐπιστήμην δεὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν, 36 εἴπερ τι ὁφελὸς αὐτοῦν ἔσται· εἰ δὲ δὴ τις ἐκεῖνο φησιν, ὅτι κἂν ἐνὶ τῷ πάντᾳ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτρέψῃ, πάντως τοῦ καὶ νανάρχους καὶ ὑπάρχους πολλοὺς ἔξει, πῶς οὐ πολύ δικαιότερον καὶ συμφορώτερον (ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν εἴπομι) καὶ τῇ κολύει τοῦτοι αὐτὸς ὑπάρξειν ἐκεῖνο μέλλοντας καὶ προχειρισθῆναι ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν 2 ἡγεμονίαν παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτοτελῆ λαβεῖν; οὕτω μὲν 1 αὐτοὺς added by Rk. 2 μηδ' Bk., μην' L. 3 πῶς Bk., τοὺ L.

56
rule have often disturbed our populace and brought upon themselves countless evils.

"About this, then, I shall say no more. For who does not realize that it is in no wise fitting, nor yet advantageous, to entrust affairs to any one man, or for any one man to be put in control of all the blessings we have, however excellent he may be? Great honours and excessive powers excite and ruin even such persons. And what is more, I ask you to consider this fact also, that it is not really possible for one man to hold sway over the whole sea and to manage the whole war properly. For you must, if you are going to accomplish any of the needful results, make war on them everywhere at once, so that they may not, either by uniting or by finding a refuge among those not involved in war, become hard to capture. But no one man in command could by any manner of means accomplish this. For how could he fight on the same days in Italy and in Cilicia, Egypt and Syria, Greece and Spain, in the Ionian Sea and the islands? Consequently it is necessary for many soldiers and generals also to be in command of affairs, if they are going to be of any use to you. And in case any one urges that, even if you confide the entire war to some one man, he will in any case have many admirals and lieutenants, my reply would be: Is it not much more just and advantageous that these men destined to serve under him be chosen by you beforehand for this very purpose and receive independent authority from you? What prevents such a course? By this plan they will pay better heed to the
 Dio's Roman History

γάρ καὶ φροντισμοὶ τοῦ πολέμου μᾶλλον, ἀτε καὶ
ἵδιαν ἐκάστος αὐτῶν μερίδα πεποιθημένος καὶ ἐς
μηδένα ἔτερον τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀμέλειαν ἀνενεγ-
κεῖν δυνάμενος, καὶ φιλοτιμήσονται πρὸς ἄλλη-
λος ἀκριβέστερον, ἀτε καὶ αὐτοκρατεῖς ὄντες καὶ
τὴν δόξαν ὄν ἀν ἐργάζονται αὐτοὶ κτησόμενοι·
ἐκείνως δὲ τίνα μὲν ὁμοίως οἶκεθε... ἀλλὰ τῷ
ὑποκείμενον, τίνα δ' ἀπροφασίστως ὅτι οὕν ποιή-
σεων, μέλλοντα μή ἐαυτῷ ἀλλ' ἐτέρῳ κρατήσειν;

3 "Ὄσθ᾽ ὅτι μὲν εἰς οὖν ἄν δύνατο τοσοῦτον ἀμα
πόλεμον πολεμήσαι, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ Γαβινίου
ἀμολογηται: πολλοὺς γονύ τῷ χειροτονηθησομένῳ
συνεργοὺς ἀξιοὶ δοθήναι. λοιπὴ δὲ δὴ σκέψις
ἐστὶ πότερον ποτε ἀρχοντας αὐτοὺς ἢ ὑπάρχοντας,
καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἢ ὑποστρατήγους, καὶ πρὸς τοῦ
δήμου παντὸς ἐπ' αὐτοκράτορός τινος ἡγεμονίᾳ
ἐρα ἐκείνων μόνου ἐφ' ὑπηρεσίᾳ αὐτοῦ, πεμ-

4 φθηναὶ δεῖ. οὐκοῦν ὅτι μὲν καὶ νομμῶτερον καὶ
συμφωρώτερον καὶ συμφωρώτερον καὶ δρᾶσιν τὰ
τάλλα πάντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοὺς ληστὰς τοῦθ᾽ ὅπερ ἐγὼ λέγω ἐστὶ,
πᾶς ἄν τις ὁμολογήσει. χωρὶς δὲ τούτου
καὶ ἐκείνω ὀρᾶτε οἶλὸν ἐστι, τὸ πᾶσας ὑμῶν τὰς
ἀλλὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν καταποντιστῶν προ-
φάσει καταλυθήναι, καὶ μηδεμίαν αὐτῶν μήτε
ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ μήτε ἐν τῇ ὑπηκόῳ τῶν χρόνων
τούτων... 3

1 ἢ ὑποστρατήγους supplied by Bs.
2 καὶ συμφωρώτερον supplied by Reim.
3 The following two fragments would seem to belong here
if the number of the book is correctly given:—

Δίων λς' βιβλίων "οὐτε ἀνετίφθανον ἦσται αὐτῷ πάντων τῶν
ὑμετέρων μοναρχήσαι."—Bekk. Aneod. 157, 30.

Δίων λς' βιβλίων "δεὶ δὲ δήσου καὶ τοῦ τοιούτου τῶν φρόνιμον
ἀνδρα προνοεῖσθαι."—Ib. 166, 21.

58
BOOK XXXVI

war, since each of them will be entrusted with his own particular part in it and cannot lay upon any one else the responsibility for neglect of it, and there will be keener rivalry among them because they are independent and will themselves get the glory for whatever they achieve. But by the other plan what man, do you think, subordinate to some one else, will [show] the same [zeal], what man will perform any duty readily, when he is going to win victories not for himself but for another?

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

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

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

Dio, Book XXXVI. "And naturally the prudent man must take thought for such a contingency."
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Xiphilinus

36. Κάτλου δὲ τίνος τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν εἰρηκότος πρὸς τὸν ὤμον “ἐὰν ἔπι ταῦτα ἐκπεμφθεις σφαλῆς, ὅλα ἔν γε ἁγὼσι πολλοίς καὶ τούτοις θαλαττίοις φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, τίνα ἄλλου ἀντ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰ ἀναγκαίοτερα εὑρήσετε;” ὁ ὦμολος σύμμετα ὅσπερ ἀπὸ συγκειμένου τίνος ἀνεβόσεαν εἴποιν “σέ.” καὶ οὕτω Πομπήιος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς θαλάσσης τῶν τε νήσων καὶ τῆς ἤπειρον ἔς τετρακοσίώνστα ἡμίδεας ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀνω εἰλήφει.—

Xiphil. p. 4, 2–11 Dind.

37. . . . τῆς δὲ 'Ἰταλίας ἀντὶ ὑπάτου ἐπὶ τρία ἑτη, προσέταξαν αὐτῷ ὑποστρατήγους τε πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀπύσας, τὰ τε χρήματα καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ὅσα ἂν ἐθελήσῃ λαβεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ ἐκείνα τε καὶ ἡ γερουσία καὶ ἀκούσα ἐπεκύρωσε, καὶ τὰλα ὅσα πρόσφορα ἐς αὐτὰ ἢν. 2

2 ἐκάστοτε ἐγίγνοσκεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοῦ Πίσωνος μὴ ἐπιτρέψαντος τοῖς ὑπάρχοις καταλόγους ἐν τῇ Γαλατία τῇ Ναβσυνίσσῃ, ἦς ἤρχε, πονήσασθαι, δεινῶς ὁ ὦμολος ἡγανάκτησε καὶ εὐθὺς γ' ἂν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ἄρχης ἐξήλασαν, εἰ μὴ ὁ

3 Πομπήῖος παρατήσατο. παρασκευασάμενος οὖν ὃς τὸ τε πράγμα καὶ τὸ φρόνημα αὐτοῦ ἀπήτει, πάσαν ἁμα τὴν θάλασσαν, ὅσην οἱ καταποντίσαι δῆλον τού, τὰ μὲν αὐτός, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων περιέπλευσε, καὶ τὰ πλείως αὐτής

4 αὐτοσετές ἡμέρωσε. πολλή μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῇ παρασκευῇ τῇ τε τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καὶ τῇ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐχρῆτο, ὀστε καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ

1 γ' Bk., τε VC. 2 ᾿Η Bs., εἶναι ἦν L.
BOOK XXXVI

Xiphilinus

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

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

\(^1\) Literally four hundred stades; here eight stades is taken as the equivalent of the Roman mile. Cf. p. 237 and note.
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

ἀνυπόστατος εἶναι, πολλῇ δὲ καὶ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμολογούντας οἱ, ὡστε καὶ ὑπὸ τού 5 τοιούτου παμπόλλους προσποιήσασθαι· οἱ γὰρ ἀνθρωποὶ ταῖς τε δυνάμεσιν ἦττώμενοι καὶ τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ πειρώμενοι προθυμότατα αὐτῷ προσεχόρουν. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα αὐτῶν ἐπεμελεῖτο, καὶ ὅπως μηδ’ αὐθίς ποτε ἐς ἀνάγκην πονηρῶν ἐργῶν ὑπὸ πενίᾳ ἀφίκωνται, καὶ χώρας σφίσιν ὅσα ἐρήμους ἔωρα, καὶ τόλεις ὅσαι.

6 ἐποίκων ἔδεοντο. ἐδίδουν. καὶ ἄλλαι τε ἐκ τούτου συνοικίσθησαν καὶ ἡ Πομπηία τοῖς ἐπικληθείσαι· ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ τῇ παραθαλασσίᾳ καὶ ἑπεφόρητο ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιγράνου, Σόλοι πρότερον ἰδομασμένη.

38 Ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἀκιλίου τοῦ τε Πίσσωνος ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἐγένετο, καὶ κατὰ τῶν δεκασμοῦ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀληθεμένων ἐνομοθετήθη πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν ὑπάτων μῆτ’ ἀρχεῖν μῆτε βουλεύειν σφόν μηδένα, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα προσφύγει-

2 κάνειν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἢ τε τῶν δημάρχων δυναστεία ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπανελθήθει, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν τιμητῶν διαγεγραμμένων ἀναλαβέειν τρόπον τινὰ τὴν βουλείαν ἐσπούδαζεν, συνεδρείς καὶ παρακελευσμοὶ παμπληθεῖς ἐφ’ ἀπάσαις ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐγένυντο. ἔπραξαν δὲ τούθ’ οἱ ὑπατοὶ οὕς ὅτι καὶ ἥχοντο τῷ πράγματι (αὐτοὶ γὰρ διασπουδάσαντες ἀπεδείχθησαν, καὶ ὅ γε Πίσσων καὶ γραφεῖς ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ πρὸς ἑνὸς καὶ πρὸς

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

Besides these events in the year of Acilius and Piso, a law directed at men convicted of bribery in seeking office was framed by the consuls themselves, to the effect that any such person should neither hold office nor be a senator, and should incur a fine besides. For now that the power of the tribunes had been restored to its ancient status, and many of those whose names had been stricken off the list by the censors were aspiring to regain the rank of senator by one means or another, a great many factions and cliques were being formed aiming at all the offices. Now the consuls did not take this course because they were displeased at the practice; in fact they themselves were shown to have conducted a vigorous canvass, and Piso had actually been indicted on this charge, but had escaped being
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐτέρου τινὸς ἔξεπράτο τὸ μὴ κατηγορηθήναι)

4 ἀλλ' ὅτι ἤναγκάσθησαν ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας. αἰ-

tινον δὲ ὅτι Γάιος τις Κορνήλιος δημαρχὼν πικρό-
tata ἐπιτίμημα τάξαι κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπεχείρημε καὶ

αὐτὰ καὶ ὁ ὅμιλος ἤρειτο. ἡ γὰρ Βούλα συνυ-

dούσα ὅτι τὸ μὲν ύπερβάλλον τῶν τιμωρημάτων

ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς ἐκπληξῖν τινα ἔχει, οὔτε δὲ

tῶν κατηγορήσουσας οὔτε τοὺς καταψηφίσου-

μένους τῶν ύπαιτίων, ἄτε καὶ ἀνηκέστων αὐτῶν

5 ὀντων, ῥάδιως εὐρίσκει, τὸ δὲ δὴ μέτριον ἐς τὰ τὰς

cατηγορίας συχνοὺς προῶγει καὶ τὰς καταψη-

φίσεις οὐκ ἀποτρέπει, μεταρρυθμίσας τὴν τὴν

ἐσήγησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ύπάτους νομοθετήσαι

39 αὐτὴν ἐκέλευσεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῇ ἀρχαιρείσαί

προεπηγγελμέναι ἦσαν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ὦδεν

προνομοθετήσαι πρὸ αὐτῶν ἔχει, καὶ οἱ σπουδα-

κριότερες πολλὰ καὶ κακὰ ἐν τῷ διακέφαλῳ τοῦτῳ

ἐποίουν, ὡστε καὶ σφαγὰς ἄγγυνεσθαι, τὸν τὸ νόμον

ἐγηφίσαντο καὶ πρὸ ἑκείνων ἑσευχθήμαι καὶ

2 φυσικῶν τοῖς ύπάτοις δοθῆναι. ἀγανακτήσας

σὺν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Κορνήλιος γνώμην ἐποίησατο

μὴ ἔξειναι τοῖς βουλευταῖς μήτε ἀρχὴν τῶν ἔξω

tῶν νόμων αἱτήσαντι διδόναι μὴ τ' ἀλλο πολὺν

tῶν τῷ δήμῳ προσηκόντων ψηφίζεσθαι τούτῳ

γὰρ ἐνενομοθέτητο μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πάντων ἀρχαίον, οὐ

3 μέντοι καὶ τῷ ἐργῷ ἐτηρεῖτο. θορύβου τε ἑπ'

αὐτῷ τούτῳ πολλοῦ συμβάντος (καὶ γὰρ ἀντε-

πρασσον τῶν τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας

συναμε καὶ ὁ Πίσων) τὰς τῇ βάσιδος αὐτῶν ὁ

ὀχλὸς συνέτριψε καὶ αὐτῶν διασπάσασθαι ἐπε-

1 τοῦτον Βσ., τοῦτον χρόνον L. 2 πρὸς Τυρν., πρὸς L.

3 ψηφίζεσθαι Turn., φημίζεσθαι L.

4 αὐτῷ St., αὐτῷ L. 5 καὶ Xyl., οὗ L.
BOOK XXXVI

brought to trial by bribing one man after another; it was rather because they were forced to it by the senate. The reason for this was that one Gaius Cornelius while tribune undertook to lay very severe penalties upon those guilty of bribery, and the populace adopted them. The senate, however, realizing that while excessive punishments have some deterrent force as threats, yet men are not then easily found to accuse or condemn those on trial, since the latter will be in desperate danger, whereas moderation encourages many to accusations and does not prevent condemnations, was desirous of modifying his proposition somehow, and bade the consuls frame it as a law. But since the elections had already been announced, and accordingly no law could be enacted till they were held, and the canvassers were doing much mischief in the meanwhile, to such an extent even that assassinations occurred, the senators voted that the law should be introduced before the elections and that a body-guard should be given to the consuls. Cornelius, angry at this, proposed that the senators should not be allowed to grant office to any one seeking it in a way not prescribed by law, nor to usurp the people's right of decision in any other matter. This, indeed, had been the law from very early times, but it was not being observed in practice. When a great uproar arose at this, since Piso and a number of the senators opposed him, the crowd broke the consul's fasces to pieces and threatened
 Dio's Roman History

4 χείρησεν. ἰδὼν οὖν τὴν ὀρμὴν αὐτῶν ὁ Κορνήλιος τότε μὲν, πρὶν ἐπιψηφίσαι τι, διαφηκε τὸν σύλλογον, ὕστερον δὲ προσέγραψε τῷ νόμῳ τὴν τε βουλὴν πάντως περὶ αὐτῶν προβούλευεν καὶ τοῖς 40 δήμοις ἐπάναγκες ἐπικυρῶν τὸ προβούλευμα. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνον τε διενομοθέτησε καὶ ἔτερον τοιόνδε.

Οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάντες τὰ δίκαια καθ' ἄδικάσεις ἐμελλον, αὐτὸς ἑνὶ συγγραφοῦτες ἐξετίθετον. οὐ γάρ πω πάντα τὰ δικαίωματα τὰ περὶ τὰ συμβολαία διετέκτατο. ἐπεὶ οὖν ὡς ἐσάπαξ τοῦτο ἐποίουν οὔτε τὰ γραφέντα ἔτηρον, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις αὐτὰ μετέγραφον καὶ συχνὰ ἐν τούτῳ πρὸς χάριν ἢ καὶ κατ' ἐχθρὰν τῶν, ὅσπερ εἰκός, ἐγέρνετο, ἐσηγήσατο κατ' ἀρχάς τε εὐθὺς αὐτοῦς τὰ δίκαια οἷς χρήσωνται προλέγειν, καὶ μὴδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν παρατρέπειν. τὸ τε σύμπαν οὕτως ἐπιμελεῖς τοῖς Ἁρμαίοις κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον τὸ μηδὲν δωροδοκείσθαι ἐγένετο ὡστε πρὸς τῷ τοὺς ἐλεγχομένους κολάζειν καὶ τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας αὐτῶν ἐτίμων. τοῦ γοῦν Κόττου τοῦ Μάρκου τὸν μὲν ταμίαν Πούπλιον Ὄππιον ἐπὶ τε δῶροι καὶ ἐπὶ υποψία ἐπιβουλῆσ ἀποπέμψαντος, αὐτοῦ δὲ 4 πολλὰ ἐκ τῆς Βιθυνίας χρηματισαμένου. Γάλιον Κάρβωνα τὸν καθηγορήσαντα αὐτοῦ τιμαίς ύπατικαίς καὶ περὶ δεδημαρχικά μόνον, ἐσέμεναν. καὶ οὕτως μὲν τῆς τε Βιθυνίας καὶ αὐτὸς ὕστερον ἄρξας, καὶ μετρίωτερον οὐδὲν τοῦ Κόττου πλημμελήσας, ἀντικαθηγορήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ νεός αὐτοῦ καὶ 5 ἀνθεάλω: πολλῷ γάρ που ῥάνον ἄλλως ἐπιτιμάσι

1 αὐτὸς Leunc., αὐτοῖς L. 2 τὰ Bk., & L. ἑπεὶ οὖν Bk., ἐποίουν L. χρήσονται R. Steph., χρήσωνται L.
to tear him limb from limb. Cornelius, accordingly, B.C. 67 seeing their violence, dismissed the assembly for the time being before calling for any vote; later he added to the law a provision that the senate should invariably pass a preliminary decree concerning these matters and that it should be necessary for this decree to be ratified by the people. So he secured the passage of both that law and another now to be explained.

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

tines ή έαντος παρανοούσι, καὶ προχειρότατα γε ἐφ' οἷς τυμωρίας ἀξίους τους πέλας εἶναι νομίζου-σιν αὐτοῖς ποιούσιν, ὅστε μηδεμίαν πόστιν ἐξ διν ἑτέρους ἐγκαλούσιν, ὅτι καὶ μισοῦσιν αὐτά, λαμ-
βάνειν. Δοῦκιος δὲ δὴ Δοῦκουλλος τὴν μὲν στρα-
tηγίαν τὴν οἰκοὶ διήρξε, τῆς δὲ δὴ Σαρδώος ἀρξαὶ μετ' αὐτὴν λαχών οὐκ ἦθέλησε, μισήσας τὸ πρᾶγμα διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τοὺς οὓτεν ἤγερες ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι δρόμως. ὅτι γὰρ ἐπιεικὴς ἦ, ἰκανῶτατα
2 διδείξειν τὸν γὰρ Ἀκιλίου συντριβήναι τὸν δί-
φρον αὐτοῦ, ἐφ' οὗ ἐδίκαζε, κελεύσαντος ὅτι παρα-
ίοντα ποτὲ αὐτὸν ἰδὼν οὖκ ἐξανέστη, οὔτ' ὀργῇ
ἐχρήσατο καὶ ὀρθοστάδην μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς
καὶ οἱ συνάρχουτες αὐτοῦ δ' ἐκείνου διεδικασαν.

42 Ἐσήνεγκε μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ Ρώσκιος νόμον, ἐσή-
νεγκε δὲ καὶ ὁ Γάιος ὁ 1 Μάλλιος, ὅτε ἐδημάρχη-
σεν. ἀλλ' ἐκείνος μὲν (τὰς γὰρ τῶν ἱπτέων τὰς
ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἔδρασι ἀκριβῶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων
2 ἀφώρισε) καὶ ἔπαινον ἐπ' αὐτῷ 2 ἔλαβεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ
Μάλλιος καὶ δίκην θλίψευ ὑπέσχε. τῷ γὰρ ἔθει
τῷ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ τοῦ ἔτους
ἡμέρα καὶ πρὸς ἐστέραν, παρασκευάσας τινὰς ἐκ
τοῦ ὄμιλου, ὑπῆρξασθαὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐξελευθερω-
3 σάντων σφᾶς ἐδωκεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ βουλὴ εὑθὺς τῇ
ὐστεραίᾳ, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νομηνίᾳ 3 ἐν ἡ 4 Δοῦκιος τῇ
Τούλλιος καὶ Αἰμίλιος Λέπιδος ὑπατεύειν ἡρ-
ξαντο, τὸν νόμον αὐτοῦ ἀπεψηφίσατο, 5 φοβηθεῖς,

1 ὁ inserted by Rk. 2 αὐτῷ R. Steph., αὐτῶν L.
3 νομηνίᾳ Bk., νομηνίᾳ ἐπύθετο L 4 ἡ St.
5 ἀπεψηφίσατο Leunol., ἀπεψηφίσαντο L.
others than admonish themselves, and when it comes a.c. 67
to their own case do very readily the things for
which they think their neighbours deserving of
punishment. Hence they cannot, from the mere
fact that they accuse others, inspire confidence in
their own hatred of the acts in question. Lucius
Lucullus, on the other hand, after finishing his term of
office as praetor urbanus, and being chosen by lot
thereafter to serve as governor of Sardinia, declined
the province, detesting the business because of the
many whose administration of affairs in foreign
lands was anything but honest. That he was of a
mild disposition he had given the fullest proof. For
when Acilius once commanded that the chair on
which he sat while hearing cases should be broken
in pieces because Lucullus, on seeing Acilius pass by,
had not risen, the praetor not only did not give way
to rage, but thereupon both he himself and his col-
leagues on his account gave their decision standing.

Roscius likewise introduced a law, and so did
Gaius Manilius, at the time when the latter was
tribune. The former received some praise for his,
which marked off sharply the seats of the knights
in the theatres from the other locations; but Manilius
came near having to stand trial. He had granted
the class of freedmen the right to vote with those
who had freed them; this he did on the very last day
of the year toward evening, after suborning some of
the populace. The senate learned of it immediately
b.c. 63
on the following day, the first of the month, the day
on which Lucius Tullus and Aemilius Lepidus
entered upon their consulship, and it rejected his law.

1 Dio uses the form Μαλλιος, the Greek for Manlius or
Mallius.
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

ἔπειδὴ τὸ πλῆθος δεινῶς ἡγανάκτει, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐς τὸν Κράσσου καὶ ἐς ἀλλοὺς τινὰς τὴν γνώμην
4 ἀνήγεν, ὡς δ' οὔτεις ἐπίστευν οἱ, τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ ἀπόντα ἐκολάκευσεν, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ὅτι τὸν
Γαβίνιον πλείστον παρ’ αὐτῷ δυνάμενον ἤσθετο·
tὸν τε γὰρ τοῦ Τιγράνου καὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτου
πόλεμον, τὴν τε Βιθυνίαν καὶ τὴν Κιλικίαν ἀμα
43 ἄρχην αὐτῷ προσέταξεν. ἀγανάκτησις μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀντιλογία καὶ τότε παρὰ τῶν δυνατῶν, διὰ τε
τάλλα καὶ διότι ο ὁ Μάρκιος καὶ ὁ Ἀκίλλος
πρὶν τὸν χρόνον σφίσι τῆς ἄρχης ἔξηκεν κατε-
2 λύνοντο, ἐγένετο· ὁ δὲ ὅμηλος, καίτοι μικρὸν
ἐμπροσθεν τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς καταστήσαντας τὰ
ἐπίστατα, ὡς καὶ διαπολεμηκῶς ἐξ ὧν σφίσιν ὁ
Δούκουλλος ἐπεστάλκει, πέμψας, ὃν ἐγκαθίσατο
αὐτά, ἐναγόντων σφας ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τοῦ τε
Καῖσαρος καὶ τοῦ Κικέρωνος τοῦ Μάρκου.
3 Οὕτως γὰρ αὐτοῖς συνηγωνίσαντο οὐχ ὅτι καὶ
συμφέρειν αὐτὰ τῇ πόλει ἐνόμιζον, οὔτε ὅτι τῷ
Πομπήίῳ χαρίσασθαι ἦθελον ἀλλ’ ἔπειδὴ καὶ
ὡς γεννήσεσθαι ἐμελλε, Καῖσαρ μὲν τὸν τε ὄχλον
ἄμα ἐθέραπευσεν ἄτε καὶ ὅρῳν ὅσιον τῆς
4 ἐπικρατέστερον ᾦσαν, καὶ ἐαυτῷ τὸ τὶ τῶν ὅμοιων
ψυχισθήναι ποτὲ παρεσκεύασε, καὶ τούτῳ καὶ τὸν
Πομπήιον καὶ ἐπιφθονώτερον καὶ ἐπαχθέστερον
ἐκ τῶν διδομένων οἱ πουῆσαι, ὅτις σφίσι πρὸς
κόρον θάσσου γένηται, ἡθέλησε, Κικέρων δὲ τὴν
tε πολιτείαν ἄγειν ἢξιον, καὶ ἐνεδείκνυτο καὶ τῷ

1 ἀπόντα Madvig, ἀκόντα L.
3 Μάρκιος R. Steph., μάρκος L.
5 οὕτω Bk., οὕτω L.

2 ἄρχην R. Steph., ἀρχεῖν L.
4 πρὶν R. Steph., ὃς πρὶν L.
6 ὅσι Bk., ὅσι L.
BOOK XXXVI

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

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

πλήθει καὶ τοὺς δυνατοὺς δὴ, ὅπωρέοις ἄν σφων 5 πρόσθηται, πάντως αὐτοὺς ἐπαινεῖσθε. ἔπημφο-
tέρζε τε γάρ καὶ ποτὲ μὲν τὰ τοῦτων ἐστὶ δ’ ὅτε καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων, ἣν' ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέρων σπουδάζεται, ἔπραττε.² τοὺς γοῦν βελτίων πρότερον προαιρεῖ-
σθαι λέγων, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ ἀγορανομῆσαι μᾶλ-
λον ἡ δημαρχῆσαι ἐθελήσας, τότε πρὸς τοὺς 44 συρφετῶδεις μετέστη. καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ δίκης τέ-
tινος τῷ Μαλλίῳ πρὸς τῶν δυνάτων παρασκευα-
σθείσης, καὶ ἐκείνου χρόνῳ τινὰ ἐμποίησαι αὐτὴν σπουδάζοντος, τὰ τε ἄλλα κατ’ αὐτοῦ ἔπραττε, καὶ μόλις αὐτὸν (ἐστρατήγη γὰρ καὶ τὴν ἡγεμο-
νίαν τοῦ δικαστηρίου εἶχεν) ἐς τὴν ἱστεραίαν ἀνεβάλετο, πρόφασιν ἐπ’ ἔξοδο τὸ ἔτος εἶναι ποιη-
2 σάμενος. κἂν τούτῳ δυσχεράναντος τοῦ ὀμίλου ἐσῆλθε τε ἐς τοῦ σύλλογον αὐτῶν, ἀναγκασθεὶς δῆθεν ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων, καὶ κατὰ τὴν βουλῆς κατέδραμε καὶ συναγορέυσειν τῷ Μαλλίῳ ὑπέ-
σχετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τούτου τὰ τε ἄλλα κακῶς ἠκουὲ καὶ αὐτόμολος ὠνομάζετο, τάραχος δὲ τις εὐθὺς ἐπιγενόμενος ἐκώλυσε τὸ δικαστηρίου συν-
αχθῆναι.

3 Πούπλιος τε γὰρ Πάντος καὶ Κορυνήλιος Σύλ-
λας, ἄδελφειδοὺς ἐκείνου τοῦ πάνιν Σύλλου, ὑπατοὶ τε ἀποδειχθέντες καὶ δεκασιμοῦ ἀλῶντες ἐπεβούλευ-
σαν τοὺς κατηγορήσαντάς σφων Κότταν τε καὶ Τορκονατὸν Δουκίους, ἀλλος τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ αὐτοὶ 4 ἀνθρεβθησαν,³ ἀποκτεῖναι. καὶ παρεσκευάσθησαν μὲν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Γναῖος Πίσων καὶ Δούκιος Κατιλίνας ἀνὴρ θρασύτατος (γῆτηκε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς

¹ ἐπ' R. Steph., ὑν L. ² ἐπραττε R. Steph., πράττειν L. ³ ἀνθρεβθησαν Xyl., ἀναραθήσεαι L.
plebs and the optimates that he was sure to make whichever side he should join preponderate. He was accustomed to play a double rôle and would espouse now the cause of one party and again that of the other, to the end that he might be courted by both. For example, a little while before he had said that he chose the side of the optimates and for that reason wished to be aedile rather than tribune; but now he went over to the side of the rabble. Soon after, when a suit was instituted by the optimates against Manilius and the latter was striving to gain some delay in the matter, Cicero tried in every way to thwart him, and only after obstinate objection did he put off his case till the following day, offering as an excuse that the year was drawing to a close. He was enabled to do this by the fact that he was praetor and president of the court. Thereupon, when the crowd showed their displeasure, he entered their assembly, compelled to do so, as he claimed, by the tribunes, and after inveighing against the senate, promised to speak in support of Manilius. For this he fell into ill repute generally, and was called "turn-coat;" but a tumult that immediately arose prevented the court from being convened.

Publius Paetus and Cornelius Sulla, a nephew or the great Sulla, who had been elected consuls and then convicted of bribery, had plotted to kill their accusers, Lucius Cotta and Lucius Torquatus, especially after the latter had also been convicted. Among others who had been suborned were Gnaeus Piso and also Lucius Catiline, a man of great audacity, who had sought the office himself
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ διὰ τούτο ὅργην ἐποιεῖτο), οὐ μέν-
tοι καὶ ἡδυνὴθησάν τι δράσαι διὰ τὴν τὴν τε
ἐπιβουλὴν προμηνυθήναι καὶ φρουράν τῷ τε
Κόττα καὶ τῷ Τορκουνάτῳ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς
5 δοθῆναι... δόγμα τι καὶ αὐτῶν γενέσθαι, εἰ μή
dήμαρχος τις ἡγαντιώθη. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν καὶ δώς ὁ
Πίσων ἑθραυσόντο, ἐφοβηθῇ τι ἡ γερουσία μή τι
συνταράξῃ, καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ἐς Ἱβηρίαν, πρόφασιν
ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ ἀρχὴν τινα, ἔπεμψε.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τῶν ἑπιχωρίων, ἀδική-
45 σας τι αὐτούς, ἐσφάγη. Πομπήιος δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶ-
tον ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Κρήτην τὸν τε Μέτελλον
πλευσούμενος ἦτοιμάζετο, μαθὼν δὲ τὰ δεδογμένα
προσεποιεῖτο μὲν ἀχθεσθαι ὡς καὶ πρότερον, καὶ
τοῖς ἀντιστασίωταις ὡς καὶ πράγματα ἀεὶ ποτε
αὐτῷ, τοῦ 1 καὶ πταῖσαί τι, παρέχουσιν ἐπεκάλει,
2 ἀσμεναίτατα δὲ αὐτὰ ἀναδεξάμενος Κρήτην μὲν
καὶ 2 τάλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, εἰ ποὺ τι ἄδιοικητὸν
κατελέειπτο, παρ' οὐδὲν ἔτ' ήγαγε, πρὸς δὲ δή
tὸν τῶν βαρβάρων πόλεμον παρεσκευάζετο.

Καὶ τούτῳ βουληθεὶς τῆς τοῦ Μιμρίδατον
dιανολᾶς πειρᾶσθαι, πέμπει τοῦ Μητροφάνη
3 φίλους 3 αὐτῷ λόγους φέροντα. καὶ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν
ἐν ὀλγυρία αὐτὸν ἐποίησατο (τοῦ γὰρ Ἀρσάκου
τοῦ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλέως ἀποθανόντος ἐν τῷ
χρόνῳ τοῦ Φραάτη τοῦ διάδοχου αὐτοῦ προσε-
dόκησεν οἰκεῖος μετεσταθεῖν), ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Πομπήιος τὴν
φίλιαν τῷ Φραάτῃ διὰ ταχέως ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς
προσυνέθετο καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν αὐτὸν τὴν
τοῦ Τιγράνου προεμβάλειν ἀνέπεισε, πυθόμενος

1 τοῦ Rk., τὸ L.  2 καὶ Rk., ἃ L.
3 φίλους St., φίλους L.
BOOK XXXVI

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

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

Meanwhile, wishing to test the disposition of Mithridates, he sent Metrophanes to him with friendly proposals. Now Mithridates at that time held him in contempt; for as Arsaces, king of the Parthians, had recently died, he expected to conciliate Phraates, his successor. But Pompey anticipated him by quickly establishing friendship with Phraates on the same terms and persuading the latter to invade promptly the part of Armenia belonging to Tigranes. When Mithridates ascen-
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

toúto katédeise, kai preseβευσάμενος eúthýs
4 σύμβασιν ἔπραττε. κελεύσαντος δὲ 1 αὐτῶ τοῦ
Πομπήίου τά τε ὄπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ τοὺς
αὐτομόλους ἐκδοῦναι οὐκ ἔσχε καὶρόν βουλεύ-
σασθαί. ἀκούσαντες γὰρ ταῦτα οἱ ἐν τῷ στρατο-
πέδῳ αὐτοῦ ὄντες, καὶ φοβηθέντες οἱ τε αὐτόμολοι
(πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν) μὴ ἐκδοθῶσι, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι
μὴ ἄνευ ἑκείνων πολεμεῖν ἀναγκασθῶσι, ἔθορυ-
5 βησαν. 2 καὶ ἐξειργάσαντο τὸ τῶν Μιθριδάτην, εἰ
μὴ ψευσάμενος ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ σπουδαῖς ἀλλ' ἐπὶ
cataκοπῇ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων παρασκευῆς τοὺς
πρέσβεις ἐπεμψε, μόνις αὐτοὺς κατέσχεν.

46 Ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος ἐπειδὴ πολεμητέα οἱ ἐγνω
εῖναι, τά τε ἄλλα παρασκευάσατο καὶ τοὺς
Οὐαλεριέους προσκατελέξατο. καὶ αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ
Γαλατίᾳ ἦδη ὅτι ὁ Δούκουλλος ἀπαντήσας
diαπεπολεμήθηκαί τε πάντα ἐφ' ἑκαὶ μηδὲν ἐξτὶ
strarείας δεῖσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας
τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς πρὸς τὴν διοίκησιν αὐτῶν
2 περιθέντας ἤδη παρεῖναι. ὡς δ' οὖν ἐπείσθη
ἐπαναχωρῆσαι, πρὸς λοιδορίας ἐτράπετο, τά τε
ἄλλα καὶ πολυπράγμονα καὶ φιλοπόλεμον καὶ
φιλαρχοῦντα αὐτὸν ἀποκαλῶν. ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος
βραχὺ αὐτοῦ φροντίσας ἀπείπε μηδένα ἐτ' αὐτῷ
πεθαρχῆσαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Μιθριδάτην ἡπείχθη,
σπουδὴν ἐχὼν ὅτι τάχιστα οἱ συμμιμέκαν.

47 Καὶ δὲ τέως μὲν ἐφευγε (ταῖς γὰρ δυνάμεσιν
ἡλαττοῦτο) καὶ τὴν τε ἐν τούτῳ ἀεὶ ἑκείρε, καὶ
ἐπιλάνα τε αὐτῶν 3 ἀμα καὶ ἐπὶ ἐκείνους τῶν ἐπιτη-
δείων ἐποίειν ἐπεῖτ' δὲ ἑκείνος ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν διά
1 δὲ Bk., τε LÜo. 2 ἔθορυβησαν v. Herw., ἔθορυβήθησαν LÜo.
3 αὐτῶν Xyl., εαυτῶν L.
tained this, he was alarmed and straightway sent an
embassy and tried to arrange a truce. But when
Pompey demanded that he lay down his arms and
deliver up the deserters, he had no opportunity to
deliberate; for the large number of deserters who
were in his camp, hearing of it and fearing they
should be delivered up, and likewise the barbarians,
fearing that they should be compelled to fight with-
out them, raised an uproar. And they would have
done some harm to the king, had he not by pretend-
ing that he had sent the envoys, not for a truce, but
to spy out the Roman strength, with difficulty held
them in check.

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

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

tetoutokaiwsērēmēnautēnairēshōnevēbalen,
2outōwdηdeisasmūπροκαταληφθηήλθεtéeṣ
aутēn,kaillōfouantichostalabōwnχυροντῷmēn
pautistratohsūχαζεν,ελπίζωνtousoinmēnΡω-
maiōnāporiātontroflōnēktrukhōsen(aυτός
γὰράτεnυπηκοφχώραπολλαχόθενaυτών
eupōrei),tōνδεδηippeōnαιtinasēsotopediōn
φιλονδυκαταπέμπωντουστεπροστυγχάνουντας
σφισινέκακο,καίεξαιτωμολούνταςἐπὶτούτω
3συχνούσεδέχετο.οοὐνΠομπῆιαοινταῦθαmēn
ουκἔθαρσησενaυτούςσυμβαλεῖν,μεταστρατο-
πεδεσάμενοςδεέτερωσε,οθενυλόδουστοπέρικ
χωρίουοντοσήττουνὑπότετοιἱππικοῦκαίὑπὸ
tοτοξικοῦτοτῶνἐναντίωνλυπηθήσεσθαι
4ἐμελλεῖν,ἐλόχισενἡκαιροςην,καὶὁλίγουςτισῖν
έκτούπροφανοῦστῷστρατοπέδῳτῶνβαρβάρων
προσμίξαςἐτάραξετεαυτούς,καὶὑπαγαγόνεσω
οἐβούλετο1πολλοῦςἀπέκτεινε.θαρσήσασετε
έκτούτουκαίκατατὴνχώρανἀλλοὺςἀλλὴἐπὶ
tάἐπιτηθείαἐπεμπεν.

48ΟοὐνΜιθριδάτης,ἐπειδήταυτατευσφαλῶς
ἐπορίζετο,καὶτὴν'Αναίτιν2χώραντῆσετ'Αρ-
μενίασοῦσανκαίθεφτινιἐπωνύμοιἀνακειμένην
2διάτινωνἐχειρώσατο,κάκτούτουκαίἀλλοι
συγχοιπρὸςαυτοῦἀπέκλινον,καίαυτῷκαίι
τοῦΜαρκίουστρατιῶταιπροσεγένοντο,ἐφοβῆθη
cαίοὐκέτικατάχωρανἐμεινεν,ἀλλ’αυτίκα
tetīsνυκτοςάραςἐλάθε,καίμεταταύτανυκτο-
3πορῶνἐςτὴντοῦΤιγράνου'Ἀρμενίανπροῆι.καί
ο🥕οΠομπήιοςἐπηκολούθηεμὲνἐπιθυμοῦνδια

1ἐβούλετοReim.,ἐβουλευέτοL.
2'ΑναίτινFabr.,μανᾶτινL(tavātīdīch.53,5).

78
this reason and because he expected to capture it while abandoned, Mithridates, fearing it would be occupied before his arrival, also entered that country. He seized a strong hill opposite the Romans and there rested with his entire army, hoping to exhaust them by the failure of their provisions, while he could secure an abundance from many quarters, being among his own subjects. But he kept sending down some of his cavalry into the plain, which was bare, and attacking those who fell in with them, as a result of which he was receiving large numbers of deserters. Pompey did not dare to assail them in that position, but moved his camp to another spot where the surrounding country was wooded and where he would be troubled less by the foe's cavalry and archers, and there he set an ambuscade where an opportunity offered. Then with a few troops he openly approached the camp of the barbarians, threw them into disorder, and luring them to the point he wished, killed a large number. Encouraged by this success, he also sent men out in various directions over the country after provisions.

When Pompey continued to procure these in safety and through certain men's help had become master of the land of Anaitis, which belongs to Armenia and is dedicated to a certain goddess of the same name, and many others as a result of this kept revolting to him, while the soldiers of Marcius were added to his force, Mithridates became frightened and no longer kept his position, but immediately set out unobserved in the night, and thereafter by night marches advanced into the Armenia of Tigranes. Pompey followed after him, eager to engage in battle; yet he
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

μάχης ἐλθεῖν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πρότερον οὔτε μεθ' ἡμέραν (οὐ γὰρ ἔξηγεν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου) οὔτε νύκτωρ ἔτολμησε τοῦτο ποιησαι (τὴν γὰρ ἀγνωσίαν τῶν χωρίων ἔδειξε) πρὸς τῇ μεθορίᾳ γενέσθαι τὸτε γὰρ εἰδὼς αὐτοὺς διαφεύγειν μέλλοντας ἡμαγκάσθη νυκτομαχῆσαι.

4 γνώνοις οὖν τοῦτο προαπήρε, μεσημβριάζοντας τοὺς βαρβάρους λαθῶν, ἡ πορεύεσθαι ἐμελλον καὶ ἐντυχὼν των χωρίων κοίλῳ μεταξὺ γηλόφων τεῦχων ὄντι, ἐνταῦθα τὸ τε στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὰ μετέωρα ἀνεβιθάσε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπέμεινεν. ἔπειδὴ τε ἐκείνοι μετὰ τε ἀδείας καὶ ἀνευ σφυκτικῆς, ἀτε μῆτε ἐμπροσθεθεὶ τευχώντες καὶ τότε ἐστὶ τὸ ἀσφάλεια ἦδη προχωροῦντες ὡστε μηδὲ ἐφέθεσθαι σφισίν ἐτὶ τούς Ῥωμαίους ἐλπίζειν, ἐς τὸ κοίλου ἐσῆλθον, ἐπέθετο αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ σκότῳ ὀὔτε γὰρ ἄλλο τι φῶς εἶχον οὔτε ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τι ἔλαμπεν.

49 Ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ μάχη τοιάδε. πρώτον μὲν οἱ σαλπικταῖ πάντες ἀμα τὸ πολεμικὸν ἀπὸ συνδήματος ἐβόησαν, ἐπείτα δὲ οἱ τε στρατιώται καὶ ο λοιπὸς ὀχλὸς πᾶς ἐπηλάλαξε, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὰ δόρατα πρὸς τὰς ἄσπιδας, οἱ δὲ καὶ λίθους πρὸς 2 τὰ χαλκὰ σκεῦη προσεπέκρουσαν. καὶ σφων τὴν ἤχην τὰ όρη ἔγκοιλα ὄντα καὶ ὑπεδέξατο καὶ ἀνταπεδέκτη φρικωδεστάτην, ὡστε τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐξαπιναῖος ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἔρημᾳ αὐτῶν ἀκούσαντας δεινὸς ἐκπλαγήναι ὡς καὶ 3 δαιμονῶι των πάθει περιπέπτωκότας. καὶ τούτῳ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πανταχόθεν ἀπὸ τῶν μετεώρων λίθους τοξεύμασιν ἀκούτιοις βάλλοντες πάντως γέ τινας 1 μῆτε Bk., μηδὲ L.

80
BOOK XXXVI

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

The course of the battle was as follows: First, all the trumpeters together at a signal sounded the attack, then the soldiers and all the multitude raised a shout, while some clashed their spears against their shields and others struck stones against the bronze implements. The mountains surrounding the valley took up and gave back the din with most frightful effect, so that the barbarians, hearing them suddenly in the night and in the wilderness, were terribly alarmed, thinking they had encountered some supernatural phenomenon. Meanwhile the Romans from the heights were hurling stones, arrows, and javelins upon them from every side, inevitably wounding some by reason of their num-

81
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

υπὸ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτῶν ἐτίτρωσκον καὶ ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ σφας κατέστησαν οὔτε γὰρ ἐς παράταξιν ἀλλ’ ἐς πορείαν ἐσταλμένοι, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τοῖς τε ἱπποῖς καὶ ταῖς καμήλαις καὶ παντοδαποῖς σκέψεις καὶ οἱ άνδρες καὶ αἱ γυναίκες ἀναστρέφουμεν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ κελήτων, οἱ δὲ ἐφ’ ἀρμάτων τῶν τε καμαρῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρμαμαξῶν ἀναμίξῃ χοῦμενοι, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἦδη τετρωσκόμενοι, οἱ δὲ προσδεχόμενοι τρωθήσεται, ἑταράσσοντο, κακὸς τούτων ῥάου, ἀτε καὶ ἀλλήλους ἔμπελαξάμενοι, ἐφθείρωντο. καὶ ταύτα μὲν, ἔως ἀποθεέει ἔβαλλοντο, ἔπασχον. ἔπει δὲ ἐξαναλώσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν πόρρωθεν ἄλκην ἐπικατέδραμον σφίσων, ἐφονεύετο μὲν τὰ περιέσχατα (καὶ ἐξήρκει πρὸς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῖς μία πληγή ἀτε καὶ ψυλλὸς οὕτοι τοῖς πλείσσαι), συνεπείξετο δὲ τὰ μέσα, πάντων ἐπ’ αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ πέριξ δέος χωρὸς ρούντων. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ὑπ’ ἀλλήλους ὠθοῦμενοι καὶ συμπατοῦμενοι διώκλυντο, οὔδ’ εἶχον οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπαρκέσαι οὔτε ἐς τοὺς πολέμιους τολμήσαν οἶπτὴς γὰρ καὶ τοξόται τὸ πλεῖστον οίντες ἀποροί μὲν ἐν τῷ σκότῳ προδέσθαι τι, ἀποροὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ στενοχωρίᾳ μηχανήσασθαί ἐγώγωντο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ σελήνη ἀνέτειλεν, οἱ μὲν ἔχαριον ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ φωτὶ πάντως τινὰs ημῶν μιμοῦμενοι. κἀκεῖ ὧφελήθησάν τι, εἰ μὴ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι κατόπιν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες, πολλὴν σφίσι πλάνην, τοτε μὲν τῇ τοτε δὲ τῇ προσπιπτοῦστες, καὶ ἐν τῇ ὃψιν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐνεποίουν. πάμπολλοι

1 σκέψει: Naber, οὖσι L.
2 ἐπικατέδραμον Leuncl., ἐπιτα κατέδραμον L.
3 ἐπ’ αὔτὰ Leuncl., ὑπ’ αὔτὰ L. 4 τινὰs Ba., τινά L.
BOOK XXXVI

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

τε γὰρ ὄντες καὶ ἐπὶ βαθύτατον κοινῆ πάντες ἀποσκιάζοντες ἐσφαλλοῦν αὐτοὺς, ἐν φιλικῷ οὖν ὁ προσέμασθαι τὸ κενὸν οἱ βάρβαροι, ὡς καὶ ἠγγὺς αὐτῶν ὄντων, μάτην ἔπαινον, καὶ ὁμόσε χωρήσαντες ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ μὴ προσδεχόμενοι ἐτιτρώσκοντο. καὶ οὕτως ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν πολλοὶ καὶ έάνωσαν οὐκ ἐλάττουσι, συνκοί δὲ καὶ διεφύγουν, ἄλλοι τε καὶ οἱ Μιθριδάτης.

50 Καὶ τότε μὲν πρὸς τὸν Τιγράνην ἦπείγετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ προπέμψας πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲν φίλιον εὑρετο, ὅτι τοῦ νίεος αὐτῷ Τιγράνου στασιάσαντος ἐκεῖνον μὲν πάππον αὐτοῦ ὄντα αἴτιον τῆς διαφορᾶς ὑπετόπησε γεγονέναι, καὶ διὰ τούτο οὐχ ὅπως αὐτὸν ἐδέξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς προπεμφθέντας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συνέλαβε καὶ κατέδησε, διαμαρτῶν δὲν ἢπισεν 2 ἐς τῇ Κολχίδα ἀπετράπετο, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν πεζῇ πρὸς τῇ Μαιῶτιν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Βόσπορον, τοὺς μὲν πείθουν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ βιαζόμενοι, ἀφίκετο, καὶ τῇ τῇ χώρᾳν ἐκομίσατο, τὸν Μαχάρην τὸν παῖδα τὸν τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀνθελόμενον καὶ τότε αὐτῆς κρατοῦντα καταπλῆξας ὡστε μηδὲ ἐς ὅψιν αὐτῶ ἐλθεῖν, καὶ ἐκεῖνον διὰ τῶν συνόντων οἱ, τὴν τῇ ἀδειάν σφίσι καὶ χρήματα δώσειν ὑπ' 3 σχυνόμενος, ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐν φιλικῷ δὲ ταύτῃ ἐγέγυγετο, ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπεμψε μὲν τοὺς ἐπιδιώξοντας αὐτὸν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐφθέ για τὸν Φάσιν ἐκδράδικον, πόλιν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐν φιλικῷ δὲ ἐνυικῆς μετονομάσει, τοῖς τραυματίαις καὶ τοῖς ἀφηλικοστέροις τῶν

1 γε St., τε L. 2 οὖκος Bk., οὖκος L.
3 δὲν Reim., οἶνον καὶ L. 4 μὲν added by Bk.
5 ἐπιδιώξοντας H. Steph., ἐπιδιώξειτας L.

84
assailants, being very numerous, and all of them B.C. 66 together casting the deepest shadow, baffled their opponents before they had yet come into conflict with them. The barbarians, thinking them near, would strike vainly into the air, and when they did come to close quarters in the shadow, they would be wounded when not expecting it. Thus many of them were killed and no fewer taken captives. A considerable number also escaped, among them Mithridates.

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


51 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἐποίει· ὁ δὲ ἡ Βενετονς ὁ τοῦ Βενετονς παῖς παραλαβὼν τινας τῶν πρώτων, ἔπει οὔ 3 καθ' ἡδονὴν αὐτοῖς ὁ γέρων ἤρχε, πρὸς τοῦ Φραάτην κατέφυγε, καὶ περισκοποῦντα αὐτοῖς διὰ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον γενομένας ὁ τι χρή πρᾶξαι, ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐμβαλεῖν ἀνέπεσε. καὶ ἠλθὼν μὲν μέχρι τῶν Ἁρμενίων, πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν ποσὶ χειροῦνειν, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνοι προσέβαλον· ὁ γὰρ Βενετος ὁ γέρων ἐς τὰ ὄρη φοβοθεῖς σφας ἀνέφυγεν· ἔπει μέντοι χρόνου τῇ προσεδρείᾳ δεῖν ἔδοξε, καὶ διὰ τούτο ὁ Φραάτης μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως τῷ παιδί αὐτοῦ καταληκτῶν ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀνεχόμενον, ἀντεπήλθε τῇ ἐνταῦθα ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ μονοθέντι καὶ ἐνίκησε. φυγὼν οὐν ἐκεῖνος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πρὸς τὸν Μιθριδάτην τὸν πάππον ὄρμησεν, ἔπει δὲ ἐμαθεν αὐτὸν ἠττημένοι καὶ βοηθείας μάλλον δεόμενον ἡ τινι ἐπικουρῆσαι δυνάμενοι, προσεχώρησε τοῖς Ρωμαίοις, καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Πομπήιος ἤγεμόν προσάμενος ἐς τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ καὶ ἔπὶ τῶν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἐστράτευσε.

52 Καὶ δὲ μαθὼν τούτο καὶ καταδείκτας ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο τῇ εὐθὺς αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἐξέδωκεν. ἐπειδὴ τῇ, ἑναντιωθέντως ἵνα τοῦ νιέος, συνεφεύρησεν ἐντεύχειν, ἀλλ' ἔπει
BOOK XXXVI

Many also of the neighbouring people voluntarily joined the settlement and later generations of them are in existence even now, being called Nicopolitans\textsuperscript{1} and belonging to the province of Cappadocia.

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

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

Nicopolis = "City of Victory."
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

καὶ δὲ ὁ Πομπήιος τὸν τε Ἀράξην διέβη καὶ

2 τοὺς Ἀρταξάτους ἐπλησίασεν, οὕτω δὴ τὴν τε

πόλιν αὐτῷ παρέδωκε καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον

αὐτοῦ ἰθελοντῆς ἦκεν, ἐν μέσῳ ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι μά-

λιστα τοῦ τε προτέρου ἀξιώματος καὶ τῆς τότε

ταπεινότητος σκευάσας, ὅπως αἰδέσεως τε καὶ

3 ἔλεος ἀμα ἄξιος αὐτῷ φανεῖν τὸν μὲν γὰρ χιτῶνα

τὸν μεσόλευκον καὶ τὸν κάνδυν τὸν ὀλοπόρφυρον

ἐξέδω, τὴν δὲ δὴ τιάραν τὸ τε ἀνάδημα εἶχεν.

Πομπήιος δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱπποῦ κατεβίβασεν

αὐτὸν, ῥαβδοῦχον τινα πέμψας (προσήλαυνε

γὰρ ὡς καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ ἐρυμα κατὰ τὸ σφέτερον

ἐθος ὑπεύθυνον), ἐσειδόντα δὲ αὐτοποδία καὶ

tὸ τε διάδημα ἄπορρίζαντα καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν

4 πεσόντα προσκυνοῦντα τε ἱδὼν ἠλέησε, καὶ ἀνα-

πηδήσας ἐξανέστησε τε αὐτόν, καὶ ταινιώσας

τῷ ἀνάδηματι ἐς τε τὴν πλησίαν ἔδραν ἐκάθισε

καὶ παρεμυθήσατο, εἰπὸν ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι ὅπειρο

τῶν Ἀρμενίων βασιλείαν ἀπολωλεκὼς ἄλλα καὶ

tὴν τῶν Ρωμαίων φιλίαν προσειληφὼς εἶη. καὶ

ὁ μὲν τοῦτοι τε αὐτὸν ἀνεκτήσατο καὶ ἔπει

53 ἔδιπτον ἐκάλεσεν· ὁ δὲ νόσος (ἐκάθητο δὲ ἐκ τοῦ

ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ Πομπηίου) οὐθεν ὑπανέστη τῷ

πατρί οὐτ' ἄλλο τι αὐτὸν ἐδεξιώσατο, ἄλλα καὶ

ἔπει τὸ ἔδιπτον κληθεὶς οὐκ ἀπηύνησεν. ὅθεν ὑπὸ

γε τοῦ Πομπηίου μάλιστα ἐμμόηθη.

2 Τῇ γοῦν ὑστεραίᾳ διακόουσα αὐτῶν τοῦ μὲν

πρεσβυτέρῳ τὴν πατρίαν πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν ἀπέδωκε·

τὰ γὰρ προσκητηθέντα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ (ἡν δὲ ἄλλα

tε καὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας τῆς τε Συρίας μέρη, ἡ

1 γε St., τε Λ.
BOOK XXXVI

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

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

\(^1\) The outer garment of the Persians, provided with sleeves.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τε Φουίκη καὶ ἡ Σωφανηή χώρα τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις πρόσορος οὗ σμικρά) παρείλετο αὐτοῦ, καὶ προσέτι καὶ χρήματα αὐτοῦ ἤτησεν· τῷ δὲ νεωτέρῳ

3 τῆς Σωφανηῆς μόνην ἀπένειμε. καὶ ἔτυχον γὰρ οἱ θησαυροὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ὄντες, ἡμφεσθητήσε τε περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ νεανίςκος, καὶ ἄμαρτων (οὗ γὰρ εἴχεν ὁ Πομπήιος ὅποθεν ἀλλοθεν τὰ ὁμολογημένα κομίστηκαὶ) ἤγανάκτησε καὶ δρασμὸν ἐβούλευσατο. ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος προμαθῶν τοῦτο ἐκεῖνον τε ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ ἐποίησατο, καὶ πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς τὰ χρήματα φυλάττοντας τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ

4 πάντα σφᾶς δοῦναι ἐκέλευσεν. ἐπειδὴ τε μὴ ὑπῆκουσαν, λέγουσε τὸν νεανίσκον, οὕτε ἡ χώρα ἢδη ἐνομίζετο, χρῆναι σφαίρα τοῦτο προσταξαί, ἐπεμψεν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὰ φρούρια. καὶ ὁ μὲν κεκλειμένα αὐτὰ εὐρῶν προσήλθε τε ἐγγύς, καὶ ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἄκων αὐτὰ ἀνοιχθῆναι· ὡς δ' οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐπείδοντο, προϊσχόμενοι ὅτι μὴ ἐκούσιος ἀλλ' ἀναγκαστὸς τὴν πρόσταξιν ἐποιεῖτο, ἔχαστην ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ ἐδήσε τὸν Τυγράννη.

5 Καὶ οὖν ὁ τε γέρων τὸις θησαυροῖς παρέλαβε, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τε τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ 'Ανατίτιδι καὶ πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Κύρνῳ τριχῇ νέιμας τὸν στρατὸν παρεχείμασε, τὰ τέ ἄλλα παρὰ τοῦ Τυγράννου συνδρ. καὶ χρήματα πολλῶν πλείω τῶν

6 ὁμολογηθέντων λαβών, ἀφ' οὕτε οἷς ἥκιστα καὶ ἐκείνων ἐς τέ τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους οὗ τοῖς πολλῷ ὑστερον ἐσέγραψε, καὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Ρώμην μετὰ φρουρᾶς ἐσήγαγεν.

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

Thus the old king secured the treasures, and Pompey passed the winter in the land of Anaītis and near the river Cyrrus, after making three divisions of his army. From Tigranes he received plenty of everything and far more money than had been agreed upon. It was for this reason particularly that he shortly afterward enrolled the king among the friends and allies of the Roman people and brought his son to Rome under guard.
Ου μέντοι καὶ ἐν ἑσυχίᾳ διεκείμασεν. Ὅροισις γὰρ Ἀλβανῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κύρνου οἴκοιντων βασιλεύς, τὸ 1 μὲν τι καὶ τῷ Τιγράνῃ τῷ νεωτέρῳ φίλῳ οἱ ὄντι χαρίσασθαί βουληθεὶς, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλείστον δείχας μὴ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀλβανίδα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐσβάλωσιν, καὶ νομίσας οὐ, ἀν ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι ἀδοκήτως σφίζει καὶ μὴ καθ’ ἐν στρατοπεδευμένους προσπέσῃ, πάντως τι ἐξεργάσεται, ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς παρ’ αὐτὰ τὰ Κρόνια, 2 καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ Μέτελλον Κέλερα, παρ’ ὦ ὁ Τιγράνης ἢν, ἠλάσεν, ἄλλους δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ ἄλλους ἐπὶ Δούκιον Φλάκκον τὸν τῆς τριτημορίδος ἄρχοντα ἐπεμψεν, ὅπως πάντες ἀμα 3 ταραχθέντες μὴ συμβοηθήσωσιν ἀλλήλως. οὐ μὴν καὶ διεστράξατο οὐδαμόθεν οὐδὲν ἔκεινον τε γὰρ ὁ Κέλερ ἴσχυρός ἀπεκρούσατο, καὶ ὁ Φλάκκος ἑπειδή πολὺν τὸν περίβολον τῆς ταφρείας ἄν να ἀδύνατος ἦν ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους σῶσαι, ἔτεραν ἐνδόθεν ἐποίησατο, καὶ δόξαν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὡς καὶ φοβηθεὶς ἐμβαλὼν, ἐπε- 4 σπάσατο αὐτοὺς εἰσῳ τῆς ἐξωθεῖν τάφρον, κανταύθα μὴ προσδεχομένους σφίζειν ἐπεκδραμῶν πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν χερσὶ, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ φεύγοντας ἐφόνευσε. καὶ τοῦτο ὁ Πομπήιος προμαθῶν τε τὴν 2 πείρασιν τῶν βαρβάρων ἦν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπεποίητο, προοπήνητῃ τοῖς ἐφ’ ἐαυτοῦ ἐπι- ούσιν 3 ἀπροσδόκητος, καὶ κρατήσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ὁροίσθην εὐθὺς ὥσπερ εἰχὲν ἡπείχῃ. καὶ ἔκεινον μὲν οὐ κατέλαβεν (ἀποσθεῖς τε γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κέλερος καὶ μαθῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων πταίσματα

1 τὸ Xyl., τῷ L. 2 τῇ τὴν Bk., τῇ τῇ L. 3 ἐπισώσιν R. Steph., ἐπισώσιν I.
BOOK XXXVI

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

\(^1\) This river is called the Cyrus by other writers.
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

5 ἔφυγε), τῶν μέντοι Ἀλβανῶν συχνὸς περὶ τὴν τοῦ Κύρνου διάβασιν συλλαβῶν ἔφθειρε. κὰκ τούτου δεήθεισιν αὐτοῖς ἐσπείσατο. ἄλλως μὲν γὰρ καὶ σφόδρα ἐπεθύμει ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἀντεμβάλειν, διὰ δὲ δὴ τὸν χειμῶνα ἦδεως τὸν πόλεμον ἀνεβάλετο.
BOOK XXXVI

seized and destroyed many of the Albanians near the crossing of the Cyrrhus. He then made a truce at their request; for although on other accounts he was extremely anxious to invade their country out of revenge, he was glad to postpone the war because of the winter.
BOOK XXXVII

Τάδε ἔστω ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ ἕβδομῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαίων
α. Ὦς ὁ Πομπήιος πρὸς Ἰθηρᾶς τούς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἐπολέμησεν.
β. Ὦς Πομπήιος τὸν Πόντον τῇ Ἐλληνίδᾳ προσέφειμεν.
γ. Ὦς Πομπήιος τὴν τε Συρίαν καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην ὑπηγάγατο.
δ. Ὦς Μιδριδάτης ἀπέθανε.
ε. Περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.
EXTERNAL TEXT

Τάδε ἔστω ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ ἕβδομῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαίων
α. Ὦς ὁ Πομπήιος πρὸς Ἰθηρᾶς τούς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἐπολέμησεν.
β. Ὦς Πομπήιος τὸν Πόντον τῇ Ἐλληνίδᾳ προσέφειμεν.
γ. Ὦς Πομπήιος τὴν τε Συρίαν καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην ὑπηγάγατο.
δ. Ὦς Μιδριδάτης ἀπέθανε.
ε. Περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

Ξρόνου πλήθος ἦτη ξένος, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμοῦμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο

Δ. Αὐρήλιος Μ. ὦ. Κόττας ὂπ.
Δ. Μάλλιος Δ. ὦ. Τορκοῦτος
Δ. Ἰούλιος Δ. ὦ. 1 Καῖσαρ ὂπ.
Γ. Μάρκιος Γ. ὦ. Φίγουλος
Μ. Τούλλιος Μ. ὦ. Κικέρων ὂπ.
Γ. Ἀντώνιος Μ. ὦ.
Δέκιμος Ἰούλιος Μ. ὦ. Σιλενός ὂπ.
Δ. Λικίνιος Δ. ὦ. Μουρήνας
Μ. Πούκιος 2 Μ. ὦ. Πίσσων
Μ. Οὐαλέrios 3 Μ. ὦ. Μεσοδας Νιγρός 4 ὂπ.
Δ. Ἀφράνιος Αθλ. ὦ.
Κ. Κακίλιος Κ. ὦ. Μέτελλος Κέλερ ὂπ.

Τότε μὲν δὴ ταύτ' ἐπραξε, τῷ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένῳ ἔτει, τοῦ τε Κόττου τοῦ Δουκίου καὶ τοῦ Τορ-
κοῦτοῦ τοῦ 6 Δουκίου ὑπατεύόντων, ἐπολέμησε μὲν καὶ τοῖς Ἀλβανοῖς, ἐπολέμησε δὲ καὶ τοῖς

1 Τορκοῦτος Δ. Ἰούλιος Δ. ὦ. supplied by Palm.
2 Πούκιος Palm., πούκιος L.
BOOK XXXVII

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

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

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

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

2 ὀδαλέριος R. Steph., γαλερίος L. 4 Νιγρός Palm., νιπρός L.
5 Α. added by H. Steph., space left in L.
6 τοῦ added by Bk.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

1 Ἰβηροῦ. καὶ προτέρους γε τούτους καὶ παρὰ
2 γυνώμην ἡναγκάσθη συνενεχθῆναι. Ἀρτώκης γὰρ
ο ὑπασιλεὺς αὐτῶν (νέμονται δὲ ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τοῦ
Κύρνου, τῇ μὲν τοῖς Ἀλβανοῖς, τῇ δὲ τοῖς Ἀρ-
μενίσις πρόσοροι) φοβηθεῖς μὴ καὶ ἐφ' ἐαυτὸν
τράπηται, πρέσβεις μὲν ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ φιλίᾳ πρὸς
αὐτὸν ἐπεμψε, παρεσκευάζετο δὲ ὅπως ἐν τῷ
θαρσοῦντι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀνελπίστω ὦ ἐπιθηται.
3 προμαθῶν οὖν καὶ τούτο ὁ Πομπήιος ἐς τε τὴν
χώραν αὐτοῦ προενέβαλε, πρὶν ἰκανὸς τε αὐτὸν
ἔτοιμασθαι καὶ τὴν ἐσβολὴν δυσχερεστάτην
οὖσαν προκατασχεῖν, καὶ ἐφθα καὶ πρὸς τὴν
πόλιν τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν ὁμομασμένην προχωρήσας.
4 πρὶν καὶ αἰσθέσθαι τὸν Ἀρτώκην ὧτι παρειῆ.
ἂν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς στενοῖς, ἐνθεν μὲν1 . . . τοῦ
Καυκάσου παρατείνοντος, οὐ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῆ
τῶν ἑσβολῶν ὑψώτω. ὅ τε οὖν Ἀρτώκης
ἐκπλαγεὶς οὖν ἐνα καὶ ὁ συνών εἰσεθαὶ
ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ διὰβας τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν
5 κατέπρησε, καὶ οἶ ἐν τῷ τείχει πρὸς τε τὴν
φυ-
γὴν2 αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀμα καὶ μάχη νικηθέντες, ἐνέδοσαν.
κατῆσας οὖν τῶν διόδων ὁ Πομπήιος φρουράν
τε ἐπ' αὐταῖς κατεστήσατο, καὶ ἐκείθεν ὁμομένων
πᾶσαν τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατεστρέψατο.
6 Μέλλοντος δ' αὖ καὶ τὸν Κύρνον διαβήσεσθαι,
πέμπει πρὸς αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀρτώκης εἰρήμην τε αὐτῶν,
καὶ γέφυραν τὰ τε ἐπιτίθεον ἐκὼν οὶ παρέξειν
2 υπισχρούμενοι. καὶ ἐποίησε μὲν ἐκάτερον ὡς καὶ
συμβησόμενος, δεῖσας δὲ, ἐπειδή εἶδεν αὐτὸν
diabēthēkōta, πρὸς τὸν Πέλαρον, ἐν τῇ ἄρχῃ καὶ

1 Bk. supplied τοῦ Κύρνου παραρέοντος, ἑνθεν δὲ, adopted in
the translation. 2 φυγὴν Leuncl., φυλακῆν L.

98
BOOK XXXVII

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

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

1 Armastica ("Citadel of Armaz") is meant.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐκείνου τῇ αὐτοῦ ῥέοντα, ἀπέφυγεν διὰ γὰρ ἑξῆν ἀυτῷ κωλύσαι διαβῆναι, τούτων ἐπιστασάμενος ἀπεδίδρασκεν. ἰδὼν οὖν τοῦ θ' ὁ Πομπηίος ἐπέδιωξε τε αὐτὸν καὶ καταλαβὼν ἐνίκησε δρόμῳ γάρ, καὶ πρῖν τοὺς τοξότας αὐτοῦ τῇ σφετέρᾳ τέχνῃ χρήσασθαι, ὡμόσε σφίσων ἐχώρησε καὶ δὲ ἐλαχίστον αὐτοῦς ἐτρέψατο. γενομένου δὲ τούτου Ἀρτώκης μὲν τὸν τε Πέλωρον διαβᾶς καὶ τὴν γέφυραν καὶ τὴν ἑκείνου καύσας ἐφυγε, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ἐν χερσίν, οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν πεζῇ περαιούμενοι ἀπέθανον· συνειδό δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ὕλας σκεδασθέντες ἡμέρας μὲν τινας ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων ὑπερψήλων ὄντων ἀποτοξεύοντες διεγένυτο, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑποτιθησάντων τῶν δένδρων ἐφθάρσαν. καὶ οὔτω καὶ ὁ Ἀρτώκης ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο μὲν αὐθίς τῷ Πομπηίῳ καὶ δόρα ἐπεμψεν· ἑκείνου δὲ δὴ ταύτα μὲν, ὅπως τὰς σπονδὰς ποιήσεσθαι 1 ἐλπίσας μὴ περαιτέρω ποι προχωρῆσῃ, λαβόντος, τὴν δ' εἰρήνην ὑοχ όμολογήσαντος δώσειν ἄν μὴ τοὺς 2 παίδας οἱ ὀμήρους προαποστείλῃ, χρόνον τινὰ ἐπέσχε, μέχρις οὗ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τὸν Πέλωρον διαβάτων τὴ τοῦ θέρους γενόμενον οὐ χαλέπως, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ μηδενὸς κωλύοντος, ἐπεραίωθησαν. οὔτω δὲ δὴ τοὺς τε παίδας αὐτῷ ἐπέμψε, καὶ μετὰ τούτο καὶ συνηλλάγη.

3 Κακὸς τούτων μαθὼν ὁ Πομπηίος οὐ πόρρω τῶν Φάσιν ὄντα, καὶ νομίζας ἐς τῇ τὴν Κολχίδα παρ’ αὐτὸν καταβήσεσθαι καὶ ἑκείθεν ἐπὶ τῶν Μιθριδάτην ἐς τὸν Βόσπορον πορεύσεσθαι, 3 προῆλθε

1 ποιήσεσθαι Turn., ποιήσασθαι LU. 2 τοὺς Rk., τοὺς τε LU. 3 πορεύσεσθαι H. Steph., πορεύσεσθαι L.

100
BOOK XXXVII

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

Pompey, learning now that the Phasis was not far distant, decided to descend along its course to Colchis and thence to march to Bosporus against Mithridates. He advanced as he intended, traversing
2 μὲν ἦ διενεμότο, καὶ τοὺς τε Κόλχους καὶ τοὺς προσχώρους, σφίσι, τὰ μὲν πείθων, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκφοβῶν, δὴ ἐνθαρρύνοντος καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὅτι ἦ τε ἐπὶ τῆς ἡπείρου κομιδὴ διὰ πολλῶν καὶ ἀγνόστων καὶ πολεμικῶν ἔθνων, καὶ ἦ διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης χαλεπωτέρα διὰ τὸ ἀλίμουν τῆς

3 χῶρας καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας αὐτὴν εἰς, τῷ μὲν Μιθριδάτῃ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐφορμεῖν ἐκέλευσεν ὡστε ἐκείνον τε τηρῆσαι 1 μηδαμόσε ἐκπλεῦσαι καὶ τὴν ἐπαγωγήν 2 αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐπιτηθείων ἀφελέσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀλβανοὺς οὐ τὴν συντοµοπτάτην, ὅτις σφᾶς καὶ ὑπὸ τούτου πρὸς ταῖς σπουδαῖς ἀνελπίστους καταλάβῃ, ἀλλ’ ἐς 4 τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐπανελθὼν ἐτράπετο. καὶ τὸν τε Κύρνον, ἦ πορεύσιμος ὑπὸ τοῦ θέρους ἐγεγόνει, πεζῇ διέβη, τὴν τε ἱππον κατὰ τῶν ροῦν καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα ἔξης, εἰτα τοὺς πεζοὺς διεναι κελεύσας, ἐν οἷς τε ἱππον τὸ σφοδρὸν αὐτοῦ τοῖς σώμασι σφῶν διαχέωσι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν σκευοφόρων εἰ ποῦ τι καὶ ὅσ περιτραπεῖ, ἐς τε τοὺς ἐπὶ θάτερα παρακολουθοῦντας ἐμπίπτῃ καὶ μὴ περαιτέρω κατα- 5 φέρθαι· κἀντεύθεν πρὸς τὸν Καμβύσην πορεύόμενος ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων οὐδὲν δεινὸν ἐπαθεῖν, ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ καύματος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ δίψους ἰσχυρῶς μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ, καίτοι νικτὸς τὸ πολὺ τῆς ὅδοι διενθοῦ, ἐταλαιπώρησεν· οἱ γάρ ἄγωγοι σφῶν, ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὄντες,

6 οὐ τὴν ἐπιτηθεισατάτην αὐτοῦ ἀγαγον. οὐ μὴν οὐδ’ ὁ ποταμὸς ἐν δεότι σφίσιν ἐγένετο· ψυχρό-

1 τηρῆσαι Rk., τηρεῖσθαι L.; perhaps Rk. should be followed further in reading μὴ μηδαμόσε ἐκπλεῦσαι.
2 ἐπαγωγήν Reim., ἐπαγωγὴν L.

102
the territory of the Colchians and their neighbours, using persuasion in some quarters and fear in others. But, perceiving at this point that the route on land led through many unknown and hostile tribes, and that the voyage by sea was still more difficult on account of the lack of harbours in the country and on account of the people inhabiting the region, he ordered the fleet to blockade Mithridates so as to see that he did not sail away anywhere and to prevent his importing provisions, while he himself directed his course against the Albanians. He did not take the most direct route, but first turned back into Armenia, in order that by such a course, taken in connection with the truce, he might find them off their guard. He forded the Cyrnus at a point where the summer had made it passable, ordering the cavalry to cross down stream, with the baggage animals next, and then the infantry. His object was that the horses should break the violence of the current with their bodies, and if even so any one of the pack-animals should be swept off its feet it might collide with the men crossing on the lower side and not be carried farther down. From there he marched to the Cambyses, without suffering any injury at the hands of the enemy; but as a result of the heat and consequent thirst both he and the whole army suffered severely, notwithstanding the greater part of the march was covered at night. For their guides, who were from among the captives, did not lead them by the most suitable route, nor indeed was the river of any advantage to them; for the water, of
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τατόν τε γὰρ τὸ ὤδωρ ὃν, καὶ ἀθρόου ὑπ' αὐτῶν ποθὲν, συχνοὶς ἐλυμάνατο. ὡς δ' οὖν οὐδὲ ἐν- ὑπαύθα αὐτιπαλόν τε αὐτοῖς ὁφθη, πρὸς τὸν Ἀβαντὰ προσεχώρησαν, ὤδωρ μόνον ἐπιφερό- μενοι· τὰ γὰρ ἀλλὰ παρ' ἐκόντων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐλάμβανον, καὶ διὰ τούτῳ οὐδὲ ἐκακούργουν οὐδὲν.

4. Καὶ σφισὶ διαβεβηκόσιν ἥδη τῶν ποταμῶν ὁ Ὠρόισης προσών ἡγγέλθη. ὁ οὖν Πομπῆιος βουλήθεις αὐτῶν, πρὶν τὸ τών Ῥωμαίων πλῆθος γενώναι, ἐς 1 μάχην ὑπαγαγέσθαι, μὴ καὶ αἰσθό- 2 μενος αὐτοῦ ἀναχωρήσῃ, τοὺς τε ἱππέας προέταξε, προειπόν σφισιν ἄ ποιήσοντι, καὶ τοὺς λυποῦς ὁπισθεν αὐτῶν ἐς τα γόνατα κεκλίμενους καὶ ταῖς ἀπειλὲς συγκεκαλυμμένους ἔχων ἀτρεμεῖν ἐποίησεν, ὡστε τὸν Ὠρόισην μὴ πρότερον μαθεῖν

3 αὐτοὺς παρόντας πρὶν ἐν χειρὶ γενέσθαι. κάκ τούτου ἐκείνος τε τῶν ἱππέων ὡς καὶ μόνων ὄντων καταφρονήσας συνέμιξε σφισὶ, καὶ δι' ὁλίγου τραπέντας ἐξεπίτηδες ἀνὰ κράτος ἐπεδίωξε· καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ ἀναστάντες ἔξαφνης καὶ διαστάντες τοῖς μὲν σφετέροις ἀσφαλῆ τὴν φυγὴν διὰ μέσου σφῶν παρέσχων, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἀπερισκέπτως τῇ διώξει χρωμένους ἐσεξάμενους ἐκυκλώ- 4 σαντο. καὶ οὐτοὶ τε τοὺς ἐνδον ἔκοπτον, καὶ οἱ ἱππῆς, οἱ μὲν ἔπι δεξιά, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα αὐτῶν περιελθόντες, κατὰ νάτον τοὺς ἐξω τῆς κυκλώ- σεως προσέπεσον. καὶ ἐκεῖ οἱ πολλοὶς ἑφόνευσαν ἕκατεροι, καὶ ἔτεροις 2 ἐς τὰς ὑλὰς καταφυγόντας

1 ἐς Βο., πρὸς Λ. 2 ἐτέρους Ῥκ., ἐκατέρους Λ.

104
which they drank great quantities, was very cold and proved injurious to many. When no resistance was offered to them at this place either, they marched on to the Abas, carrying supplies of water only; for they received everything else by the free gift of the natives, and for this reason they committed no depredations.

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

κατέπρησαν, "ιω 1 Κρόνια 2" πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν σφῶν τὴν τὸτε γενομένην ἐπιλέγοντες. 3

5 Πρᾶξας δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ Πομηνίος καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπιδραμὼν τοῖς τε Ἀλβανοῖς εἰρήνην ἔδωκε, καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ τῶν παρὰ τῶν Καύκασου μέχρι τῆς Κασπίας βαλάσσης, ἐς ἴνα ἀπὸ τοῦ Πόντου τὸ όρος ἀρξάμενον τελευτά, κατοικοῦντων ἐπικηρύ-

2 κενσαμένους ἐσπείσατο. Φραάτης δὲ ἐπέμψε μὲν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνανεώσασθαι τὰς συνθήκας ἐθέλων· ωσ γὰρ ἐκεῖνόν τε οὕτω χερόμενον ἐώρα, καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας τοῦ τε Πόντου τοῦ Ταύτης οἱ ὑποστρα-

4 τηγοὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ λοιπὰ προσκατεστρέφοντο, ὁ τε Γαβίνιος καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Εὐφράτην μέχρι τοῦ Τίγρι-

3 διεπράξατο τι. ὁ γὰρ Πομηνίος πρὸς τὸ τὰ παρ-

όντα καὶ πρὸς τὰς τὰς ἔλπίδας κατεφρό-


3 ἐπιλέγοντες Xyl., ἐπιλέγοντας L. 4 τοῦ supplied by Reim.
BOOK XXXVII

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

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

¹ Called Gordyene by most writers.
Καρραίοι, Μακεδόνων τε ἀποικοὶ ὄντες καὶ ἐν-
tαῦθα ποὺ οἰκοῦντες, ὑπέλαβον τε αὐτῶν καὶ
παρέπεμψαν.
6 Ταῦτα τε πρὸς τὸν Φραάτην ἀπὸ τῆς παρούσης
οἱ δυνάμεως ἐπραξε, σαφέστατα τοὺς πλεονεκτεῖν
βουλομένους ἐπιδείξας ὅτι πάντα ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων
ηρτῆται, καὶ ὡς αὐτοῖς κρατῶν νομοθέτης ὁ
βούλετας ἀναγκαῖος γίγνεται, καὶ προσέτι καὶ
πρὸς τὴν ἐπίκλησιν αὐτοῦ ὑβρισεν, ἦπερ πρὸς τε
τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ἡγάλλετο καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς
τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, οὕτω τα αὐ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἅε ποτε
2 ἐκέχρησε. βασιλέως γὰρ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως κα-
λουμένου, τὸ τε τῶν βασιλέων ὅνομα περιέκοψε
καὶ βασιλεὶ αὐτῷ μόνον ἐπιστέλλων ἔγραψε,
καὶ τῷ Τιγράνῃ τῷ αἰχμαλώτῳ καὶ τούτῳ παρὰ
τὸ νομιζόμενον αὐτός 1 δοὺς, ὅτε τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτοῦ
3 ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπεμψεν. ὁ οὖν Φραάτης καὶ περ
δειός τε αὐτῶν καὶ θεραπεύων, ἡγανάκτησεν ἐπὶ
tοῦτῳ ὡς καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐστερημένος, καὶ
πέμψας πρέσβεις πάντα τε ὅσα ἢδίκητο ἐπε-
κάλει οἱ, καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἀπηγόρευε μὴ
diaβαίνειν.
4 Ἐπειδὴ τε οὐδὲν μέτριον ἀπεκρίνατο, εὐθὺς
ἐπὶ τὸν Τιγράνῃ μετὰ τοῦ νυός αὐτοῦ, ὥς τὴν
θυγατέρα ἐδεδώκει, ἐστράτευσεν, ἐν τῷ ἦρι ἐν ὧ
Δούκιος τε Καϊσαρ καὶ Γάιος Φίγουλος ὑπάτευν,
καὶ νικηθεὶς μάχῃ ἐπειθ' ὑστερον ἀντεπεκράτησε.
Macedonian colonists who dwelt somewhere in that vicinity, received him and helped him forward.

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

When Pompey gave him no conciliatory reply, Phraates immediately began a campaign in the spring against Tigranes, being accompanied by the latter's son, to whom he had given his daughter in marriage.¹ This was in the consulship of Lucius Caesar and Gaius Figulus. In the first battle Phraates was beaten, but later was victorious. And

¹ Dio here records as a fresh event what he has already described at length as one of the occurrences of the year 66 (Book XXXVI. 51). This was probably due to the use of a second authority; cf. Intr. to vol. i. p. xvi.
5 τοῦ τε Τιγράνου τὸν Πομπήίου ἐν Συρίᾳ ὄντα ἐπικαλεσαμένου, πρέσβεις τε αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέστειλε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐκείνου κατηγόρησε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐσ τοὺς Ἡρωμαίους ὑπεσήμηνεν, ὡστε τὸν Πομπήίου καὶ αἰσχυνθῆναι καὶ καταπλα-γῆναι. οὐκούν οὔτε τῷ Τιγράνῃ ἐπεκούρησεν οὔτε πρὸς τὸν Φραάτην πολέμιον τι ἐτ ἔπραξε, πρό-φασιν ποιησάμενος τὸ μῆτε ἐκείνην ὦ τὴν στρα-τείαν προστετάχθαι καὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἐν ὁπλοῖς ἐτ ἐνία. ἀρκεῖοι τε τοῖς κατειργα-σμένοις ἔφασκε, καὶ οὐκ ἔβούλετο . . . , μὴ πλη-όνων ὑρεγόμενος καὶ περὶ ἐκείνοις, ὦσπερ ποι καὶ
2 ὁ Δοῦκολλος, πταῖσθ. τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἐφιλοσοφεῖ, καὶ τὸ τε πλευνεκτείν δεῖναν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀλλο-τρίων ἐφίεσθαι ἄδικον εἶναι τότε ἐλεγεν ὃτ' ὦκέτ' αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι ἐδύνατο. τάς τε γὰρ τοῦ Πάρ-θου δυνάμεις δείσας, καὶ τὸ ἀστάθμητον τῶν πραγμάτων φοβηθεῖς, οὔτε τὸν πόλεμον καίτοι πολλῶν ἐναγόντων ἀνείλετο, καὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα
3 τοῦ βαρβάρου ἐφαύλισεν, ἀντεπίπτον μὲν οὐδέν, φήσας δὲ ὑπὲρ ὀρίων τινῶν τῆς διαφορᾶν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Τιγράνην εἶναι, περὶ δὲν δικάσειν σφίσιν ἄνδρας τρεῖς. οὔς καὶ ἔπεμψεν καὶ αὐτοῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐκείνου διαίτητας ἐπιγραφάμενοι πάντα τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγκλήματα διελύσαντο, ὀργι-ζόμενος μὲν ὁ Τιγράνης ὃτι τῆς ἐπικουρίας οὐκ
4 ἐτυχε, βουλόμενος δὲ ὁ Φραάτης περιεῖπαι τὸν Ἅρμενίον, ὅπως καὶ συμμάχῳ ποτὲ αὐτῷ, εἰ δεηθεῖ, κατὰ τῶν Ἡρωμαίων χρῆσαιτο. καὶ γὰρ εὗ ἡπίσταντο ἀμφότεροι ὃτι, ὀπότερος ἄν αὐτῶν τοῦ ἐτέρου κρατήσῃ,1 τῶν τε πραγμάτων τοῖς
1 κρατήσῃ Bs., κρατήσει L.
BOOK XXXVII

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

'Ῥωμαίοις προκόψει ἱ καὶ αὐτὸς εὐχειρωτότερός σφισι γενήσεται.

5 Ἑκεῖνοι μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα κατηλλάγησαν, Πομπήιος δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀσπίδι καὶ τότε ἔχειμασε, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐτὶ ἀνθιστάμενα προσηγάγετο, καὶ Συμφόριον τείχος Στρατονίκης οἱ προδούσας ἔλαβεν. αὐτὴ δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου οὔσα, καὶ ὥργην αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐγκατελείφθη ἔχουσα, τοὺς τε φρούρους ἐσ παρασκευήν ἡ προφῆς ἐξέπεμψε καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐδέξατο, καίτοι παιδὸς αὐτῆς παρὰ...

Xiphilinus

7a Ἔποτστρέψας δὲ ἐξ Ἀρμενίας, καὶ τοῖς βασιλεύσι καὶ τοῖς δυνάσταις τοῖς προσιόυσιν αὐτῷ διαιτήσας καὶ χρηματίσας, καὶ τοῖς μὲν τὰς βασιλείας βεβαιώσας, τοῖς δὲ τὰς δυναστείας ἐπαυξήσας, τῶν δὲ καὶ τὰς ύπεροχὰς κολούσας καὶ ταπεινώσας, τὴν τε κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην ἀρτὶ τε βασιλέων ἀπηλλαγμένας καὶ ὑπὸ τε τῶν Ἀραβίων καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τσυράνου κεκακομένας συνεστήσατο. ἐτόλμησε μὲν γὰρ ὅ Ἀντίοχος ἀπαιτήσα αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἀπέλαβε δὲ, ἀλλ' ἐσ τε ἄρχην μίαν συνετάχθησαν καὶ νόμους ἔλαβον ὡστε τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων τρόπον πολιτεύεσθαι.—

Xiphil. p. 6, 26—7, 5 Dind.

8 ... τοῦτο μόνον ἐν τῇ ἀγορανομίᾳ ἐπηνέθη, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαία καὶ τὰ Μεγαλήσια πολυτελέστατα ἐποίησεν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ μονομάχων ἀγώνας

1 προκόψει: Rk., προσκόψει: L.
2 εὐχειρωτότερος: Leunc., εὐχειρωτότερός: L.
3 τὰ added by Bk.
4 κολούσα: Leunc., κολύσας: VC.
5 τε Dind., γε VC.
6 δὲ Dind., τε L.

112
and would himself become easier for them to subdue. b.c. 65

For these reasons, then, they were reconciled.

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

Xiphilinus

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

. . . [Not] for this alone did [Caesar] receive b.c. 65 praise during his aedileship, but also because he exhibited both the Ludi Romani and the Mega-lenses on the most expensive scale and furthermore arranged gladiatorial contests in his father’s honour

¹ A place otherwise unknown; Fabricius suggested reading Anaitis in place of Aspis. ² Properly called Sinoria.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ μεγαλοβρονέστατα διεδθηκεν. ἐγένετο μὲν γὰρ τῶν δαπανηθέντων ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ μὲν κοινὴ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν συνάρχοντα Μάρκον Βί-

2 βουλὴν, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἵδια· τοσοῦτον δὲ δὴ ἐν τούτωι ὑπερῆρεν ὡστε καὶ τὴν ἐπ’ ἐκείνοις δόξαν σφετερίσασθαι καὶ δοκεῖν ἀπαντα αὐτῶς ἀνηλίκεναι. ὁ οὖν Βίβουλος αὐτὸς ἐπισκόπτων ἔλεγεν ὅτι τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ Πολυδεύκεις πεποιθῶς εἰς τὸν γὰρ τοὺς ναοὺς κοινοὶ οί πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Κάστορα ὄντος, ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνοι μόνον ἢ ἐπώνυμα αὐτὸν γίγνεται.

9 Ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τούτωι ἔχαρον οἱ Ρωμαῖοι, τὰ δὲ δὴ τέρατα καὶ πάνυ αὐτῶς ἐθορύβει. ἐν γὰρ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἀνδριάντες τε πολλοὶ ὑπὸ κεραυνῶν συνεχωνεύθησαν καὶ ἀγάλματα ἀλλα καὶ Διὸς ἐπὶ κίονος ἱδρυμένου, εἰκὼν τε τις λυκαίης σύν τε

2 τῷ Ρώμῳ καὶ σὺν τῷ Ρωμύλῳ ἱδρυμένη ἔπεσε, τά τε γράμματα τῶν στηλῶν ἐς δὲ οἱ νόμοι ἐσεγγράφουν το συνεχύθη καὶ ἀμυδρὰ ἐγένετο.1 τά τε οὖν ἀλλα ἐξεδύνοντο τοῖς μάντεσι πειθόμενοι, καὶ τῷ Δεὶ ἀγαλμα μεῖζον, πρὸς τας ἀνατολὰς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀγορᾶν βλέπον, ὅπως αἱ συνωμοσία ὑφ’ ὅν ἐταράττοντο ἐκφαινεῖν, ἱδρυθῆσαι ἐψηφίσαντο.

3 Ταῦτα τε ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἔτει συνέβη, καὶ οἱ τιμηταὶ περὶ τῶν υπὲρ τῶν Ἡρωδανῶν οἰκονότων διενεχθέντες (τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτῶς 2 ἐσάγειν ἐδόκει, τῷ δὲ οὖ) οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων

4 ἐπραξαὶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπείπου. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ διάδοχοι αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ὠστέρῳ ἔτει οὐδὲν 3 ἐποίησαν, ἐμποδισάντων σφᾶς τῶν

1 ἐγένετο R. Steph., ἐγένοντο L. 2 αὐτῶς H. Steph., αὐτοῦ L. 3 οὐδὲν supplied by R. Steph.
BOOK XXXVII

in the most magnificent manner. For, although the cost of these entertainments was in part shared jointly with his colleague Marcus Bibulus, and only in part borne by him individually, yet he so far excelled in the funeral contests as to gain for himself the credit for the others too, and was thought to have borne the whole cost himself. Even Bibulus accordingly joked about it, saying that he had suffered the same fate as Pollux; for, although that hero possessed a temple in common with his brother Castor, it was named after the latter only.¹

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

Such were the occurrences of that year. The censors also became involved in a dispute about the people living beyond the Po, one believing it wise to admit them to citizenship, while the other did not; so they did not even perform any of their other duties, but resigned their office. And for the same reason their successors, too, did nothing in the following year, inasmuch as the tribunes hindered

¹ Aedes Castoris (or Castorum) was the usual name; yet in Suet. Calig. 22 we read aede Castoris et Pollucis.
ΔΗΜΑΡΧΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΒΟΥΛΗΣ ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΥΝ, ΔΕΕΙ
5 ΤΟΥ ΜΗ ΤΗΣ ΥΕΡΟΥΣΙΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΕΚΠΕΘΕΙΤΩΝ. ΚΑΝ ΤΟΥ-
ΤΩ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΟΙ ΕΝ ΤΗ 'ΡΩΜΗ ΔΙΑΤΡΙΒΟΥΣΤΕΣ, ΠΛΗΝ ΤΩΝ
ΤΩΝ ΝΩΝ 'ΙΤΑΛΙΑΝ ΟΙΚΟΥΝΤΩΝ, ΕΞΕΠΕΣΕΝ ΓΑΙΟΥ ΤΙΝΩΣ
ΠΑΠΙΟΥ ΔΗΜΑΡΧΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΗ, ἘΠΕΙΔΗ ἘΠΕΠΟΛΑΖΩΝ ΚΑΙ
ΟΥΚ ΕΔΟΚΟΥΝ ἘΠΙΤΗΔΕΙΟΙ ΣΦΙΣΙΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΣΥΝΟΙΚΕΙΝ.
10 Τῌ ΔΈ ἘΧΟΜΕΝΩ ΕΤΕΙ, ΤΟΥ ΤΕ ΦΥΓΟΥΛΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ
ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΚΙΟΥ ἈΡΧΟΝΤΩΝ, ΒΡΑΧΕΑ ΜΕΝ,
ΜΨΗΜΗΣ Δ' ΟΥΝ ΑΞΙΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΤΩΝ ἈΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ
2 ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΛΟΓΟΥΣ ΣΥΝΨΗΜΕΘΗ. Δ' ΤΕ ΓΑΡ,
ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΚΡΗΤΙΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΥΛΛΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΤΑΞΕΩΣ
ΑΠΟΚΕΙΝΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΕΤΕΡΟΣ ΤΙΣ ΣΥΧΝΟΥΣ ΤΩΝ ἘΠΙΚΗ-
ΡΥΧΘΕΝΤΩΝ ΥΠ' ΑΥΤΟΥ ΦΟΝΕΥΣΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΗ-
ΘΗΣΑΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΑΙΣ ΣΦΑΓΑΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΟΛΑΘΘΗΣΑΝ, ΤΟΥ
ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΤΟΥ 'ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ ΤΟΥΘ' ΟΤΙ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΠΑΡΑ-
3 ΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΝΤΟΣ. ΟΥΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΑΝΝΥ ΠΟΤΕ ∆ΥΝΗ-
ΘΕΝΤΑΣ ΑΣΘΕΝΕΣΤΑΤΟΥΣ ΑΙ ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΑΓ-
ΜΑΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΛΑΚΙΣ ΠΟΙΟΥΣΙ. ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΕ ΟΥΝ ΠΑΡΑ-
ΔΟΞΑΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΟΛΛΟΙΣ ΕΧΩΡΗΣΕ, ΚΑΙ ΟΤΙ ΚΑΙ Ο
ΚΑΤΙΛΙΝΑΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΙΣ ΑΙΤΙΑΝ (ΠΟΛ-
ΛΟΥΣ ΓΑΡ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΤΩΝ ὈΜΟΛΩΝ ἈΠΕΚΤΟΝΕΙ) ΛΑΒΘΟΝ
ΑΠΕΛΥΘΗ. ΚΑΙ ΔΗ ΚΑΙ ΕΚ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΧΕΙΡΩΝ ΤΕ ΠΟΛΛ'
4 ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ, ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΚΑΙ ἈΠΩΛΕΤΟ. ΤΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΔΗ
ΚΙΚΕΡΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΜΆΡΚΟΥ ΜΕΤΑ ΓΑΙΟΥ 'ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ
ὙΠΑΤΕΥΣΑΝΤΟΣ, ὌΤΕ ΜΙΘΡΙΔΑΤΗΣ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΕΤΙ ΔΕΙΝΟΥ
ΤΟΥΣ 'ΡΩΜΑΙΟΥΣ ΕΙΡΓΑΣΑΤΟ ΆΛΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ
ΔΙΕΦΘΕΙΡΕΝ, ἘΠΕΧΕΙΡΗΣΕΝ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΤΕ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΝ
ΝΕΩΤΕΡΙΖΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΥΣ ἘΠΙ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΣΥΝ-
ΙΣΤΑΣ ΕΣ ΦΟΒΟΝ ΣΦΑΣ ΟΥ ΣΥΜΚΡΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ ἘΝ-
ΕΒΑΛΕΝ. ἘΠΡΑΧΘΗ ΔΕ ΩΔΕ ΕΚΑΤΕΡΟΝ.
11 Ὅ ΜΙΘΡΙΔΑΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΧ ὙΠΕΙΚΕ ΤΑΙΣ
1 δὲ Τυρν., τέ Λ.
BOOK XXXVII

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

In the following year, when Figulus and Lucius Caesar were in office, the events were few, but worthy of remembrance in view of the contradictions in human affairs. For the man\(^1\) who had slain Lucretius\(^2\) at the instance of Sulla, and another\(^3\) who had slain many of the persons proscribed by him, were tried for the murders and punished, Julius Caesar being most instrumental in bringing this about. Thus changing circumstances often render very weak even those once exceedingly powerful. This matter, then, turned out contrary to most people's expectation, as did also the case of Catiline, who, although charged with the same crimes as the others (for he, too, had killed many of the proscribed), was acquitted. And from this very circumstance he became far worse and even lost his life as a result. For, when Marcus Cicero had become consul with Gaius Antonius, and Mithridates no longer caused any injury to the Romans, but had destroyed himself, Catiline undertook to set up a new government, and by banding together the allies against the state threw the people into fear of a mighty conflict. Now these two events came about as follows.

Mithridates did not give way himself under his

1 L. Annius Bellienus.  2 Q. Lucretius Osella.  3 L. Luscius.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

συμφοράς, ἀλλὰ τῇ βουλήσει πλέου ἢ τῇ δυνάμει νέμων ἐνενόει, ἀλλως τε καὶ ἔπειδὴ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ διέτριβε, πρὸς τε τοῦ Ἰστρον διὰ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἐλθεῖν, κἀντεύθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔσβαλεῖν· φύσει τε γὰρ μεγαλοπράγμων ὁν, καὶ πολλῶν μὲν πταισμάτων, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ εὔτυχισμάτων πεπεραμένοις, οὔτε ὅπερ ἀτόλμητον οὔτε ἀνέλπιστον οἴ εἶναι ἐνόμιζεν. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ σφαλεῖ, συναπολέσθαι τῇ βασιλείᾳ μετὰ ἀκεραιόν τοῦ φρονήματος μᾶλλον ἡ στερηθεῖσα αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ ταπεινότητι καὶ ἐν ἀδοξίᾳ ζῶν ἦθελεν.

3 αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τούτου ἐρωτότι ὁσφ γὰρ τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἁπθενεία ἀπεμαραϊνετο, τοσοῦτο τῇ τῆς γνώμης ῥώμη ἰσχυριζέτο, ὡστε καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου ἀρρητά τοῖς ταύτης λογισμοῖς ἀναλμβάνειν· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι οἱ συνόντες αὐτῷ, ὡς τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχυρότερα καὶ τὰ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἁπθενακοῦσα ἀεὶ ἐγόγγετο (τὰ τοῦ γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ὁ σεισμὸς μέγιστος δὴ τῶν πάσης συνενεχθεὶς αὐτοῖς πολλὰς τῶν πόλεων ἐφθειρεν), ἥλιονοῦτο, καὶ τὰ τοῦ στρατιωτικῶ ἐκινεῖτο, καὶ παῖδας τινὰς αὐτοῦ συναιρισμάτας τινες πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐκόμισαν.

4 Ἐπὶ οὖν τούτου τοὺς μὲν ἐφώρᾳ καὶ ἐκόλαξε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἔξ ὑποψίας ὑργῆ προκαταλάμβανε, καὶ ἦν πρὸς οὔδεν ἐπὶ πιστότος, ἄλλα καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τέκνων ὑποτοπήσας τινα ἀπέσφαξεν. ἵδοιν οὖν ταῦτα νεός τας αὐτοῦ Φαρνάκης, καὶ ἐκείνων τοὺς ἀμα φοβηθεῖς καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν βασιλείαν (καὶ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἡδη ἦν) λήψεσθαι προσδοκήσας, ἐπεβούλευσεν αὐτῷ. φωραθεῖς δὲ (πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ φανερῶς καὶ λάθρα πάντα τὰ
BOOK XXXVII

misfortunes, but relying more on his will than on his power, he planned, especially as Pompey was now tarrying in Syria, to reach the Ister through Scythia, and from there to invade Italy. For, inasmuch as he was by nature given to great projects and had met with many successes as well as many failures, he felt there was nothing which might not be ventured or hoped for. And if he was to fail, he preferred to perish along with his kingdom, with pride undiminished, rather than live deprived of it in humility and disgrace. On this idea, then, he himself grew strong; for in proportion as he wasted away through weakness of body, the more steadfast did he grow in strength of mind, so that he even offset the infirmity of the former by the reasonings of the latter. But his associates, on the other hand, became estranged, as the position of the Romans was ever growing more secure and that of Mithridates weaker. Among other things the greatest earthquake ever experienced destroyed many of their cities; the soldiery also mutinied, and some of Mithridates' sons were kidnapped and conveyed to Pompey.

Thereupon he detected and chastised some, while others he punished on mere suspicion, before they could accomplish anything; he no longer trusted anybody, but even put to death some of his remaining children who incurred his suspicion. Seeing this, one of his sons, Pharnaces, impelled at once by fear of the king and the expectation of receiving the kingdom from the Romans, as he had now reached manhood, plotted against him. He was detected, for many both openly and secretly were concerning themselves with all that he was doing; and if the body-
 Dio's Roman History

πραττόμενα ὧν αὐτοῦ ἐπολυπραγμόνων) εὐθὺς ἄν, ἐξερευνήσας τὸ βραχύτατον εὐνοίας οἱ δορυφόροι τῷ γέροντι εἶχον, ἐδικαιώθη ὑν δὲ καὶ τοις σωφρότατοι οἱ Μιθριδάτης ἐστὶ πάντα τὰ βασιλικὰ γενόμενος, οὐκ ἔγνω ὅτι οὐδὲν οὐδεὶς ὡστε τὰ ὀπλα ὠπτε τὰ πλῆθη τῶν ὑπηκόων ἀνυ λή τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν φιλίας ἤσχυει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡστε τίς ἀν πλείω, μή μέντοι καὶ πιστὰ αὐτὰ ἔχει, χαλε
3 πώτερα αὐτῷ γίγνεται. ὁ γάρ Φαρνάκης μετά τε τῶν προπαρεσκευασμένων καὶ μετὰ τῶν ύπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τὴν σύλληψιν αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντων (ῥᾴστα γαρ αὐτοῦς φιλεισσατο) καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἀντικρυσ τόν πατέρα ἡπείροξα, πυθόμενος δὲ τούτο ὁ γέρων (ἡν δὲ ἐν Παντικαπαίῳ) στρατιώτας τίμάς ἐπὶ τὸν νιῶν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφεψύομενος σφισί, 4 προεπεμψε. καὶ τούτων τε ἐκείνως διὰ βραχέος, ἀτε μηδ' αὐτοῦς φιλούντας τὸν Μιθριδάτην, ἀπετρέψατο, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκούσαν ἔλαβε, τὸν τε πατέρα ἐς τὸ βασίλειον καταφυγόντα ἀπεκτείνειν.

13 Ἔπεχείρησε μὲν γὰρ ἑαυτῶν διαχρῆσασθαί, καὶ τὰς τε γυναίκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς λυποῦς φαρμάκων προσπαλλάξας τὸ λυπῶν ἐξέπειν, οὐ μέντοι οὕτε ἐκείνου οὕτε διὰ εἴφους αὐτό-
2 χειρᾶ ἀποφθαρήτω ἡδυνήθη. τὸ τε γὰρ φάρμα-
κον, καὶ τοῖς θανάσιμον ὅν, οὐ συνεῖλεν αὐτὸν, ἐπειδὴ πολλῇ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν προφυλακῇ ἀλεξιφαρμάκων ἐκεκράτως καὶ ἡ τοῦ εἴφους πληγή διὰ τε τῆς τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τε τῆς ἠλίκιας καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν περιεστηκότων ἀσθένειαν

1 ἀπετρέψατο Pflugk, ἐπετρέψατο L. 2 οὕτε Bk., οὐδὲ L.
3 δι' ἐκείνου R. Steph., δι' ἐκείνου L.

120
guard had had even the slightest good-will toward their aged sovereign, the son would have been punished immediately. But as it was, Mithridates, who had proved himself most wise in all matters pertaining to his royal office, did not recognize the fact that neither arms nor a multitude of subjects is of any real strength to any one without their friendship; on the contrary, the more subjects a ruler has, the greater burden they are to him, unless he holds them faithful. At any rate, Pharnaces, followed both by the men he had made ready and by those whom his father had sent to arrest him,—for he won these over very easily,—hastened directly against his father himself. The old king was in Panticapaeum when he learned this, and sent ahead some soldiers against his son intimating that he himself would soon follow them. These also Pharnaces quickly diverted from their purpose, inasmuch as they too did not love Mithridates, and after receiving the voluntary submission of the city, he put to death his father, who had fled for refuge into the palace.

Mithridates had tried to make away with himself, and after first removing his wives and remaining children by poison, he had swallowed all that was left; yet neither by that means nor by the sword was he able to perish by his own hands. For the poison, although deadly, did not prevail over him, since he had inured his constitution to it, taking precautionary antidotes in large doses every day; and the force of the sword blow was lessened on account of the weakness of his hand, caused by his age and present misfortunes, and as a result of
καὶ διὰ τὴν φαρμάκου ὀποιουδήποτοιν¹ λήψιν
3 ἀπημβλύνθη. ὡς οὖν οὐτε δι’ ἐαυτοῦ ἀνηλίκετο καὶ πέρα τοῦ καιροῦ χρονίζειν ἔδοκεν, προσέπεσον τε αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνοι οὐς ἔπι τὸν ιῶν ἐπετόμηφεν, καὶ συνετάχυναν τοῖς ἔξεσι καὶ ταῖς λόγγας τὸν ὀλέθρον. Μιθριδάτης μὲν δὴ ποικιλώτατη ἀεὶ καὶ μεγάστη τῇ τύχῃ χρησάμενος, οὐδὲ τὴν τελευ-
τὴν τοῦ βίου ἀπλὴν ἔσχεν· ἐπεθύμησε τῇ γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν μὴ βουλόμενος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν ἀπο-
κτείναι στουδάσας οὐκ ἡδυνῆθη, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν φαρμάκῳ τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ξίφει αὐθέντης τε ἄμα
14 ἐγένετο καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπεσφάγη Φαρνάκης
dὲ τὸ τε σῶμα αὐτοῦ τῷ Πομπηίῳ ταριχεύσας, ἔλεγχον τοῦ πεπραγμένου, ἔπεμψε, καὶ ἐαυτὸν τὴν τὰ ἄρχην παρέδωκε. καὶ δὲ τῷ μὲν Μιθρι-
δάτη οὐδὲν ἔλυμήνατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πατρίωσ
ήριοις ταφήναι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε· τὸ γὰρ πολέμοι
αὐτοῦ συναποσβηκέναι τῇ ψυχῇ νομίζων οὐδὲν
2 ἔτι τῷ νεκρῷ μάτην ὠργίζετο· τὴν μέντοι βασι-
λείαν τοῦ Βοστόρου μισθὸν τῷ Φαρνάκῃ τὴς
μαίαννας ἐχαρίσατο, καὶ ἔσ γε τοὺς φίλους τοὺς
tε συμμαχόσι αὐτὸν ἀνέγραψεν.
3 Ὡς οὖν ἐκεῖνος τε ἀπωλὼλει καὶ τὰ τῆς ἄρχης
αὐτοῦ πάντα πλὴν ὅλγων κατέστραπτο (τείχη γὰρ τινα φρουρὸν ἔξω τοῦ Βοστόρου ἔτι καὶ τοτε
ἐχουντες οὐκ εὐθὺς ὁμολόγησαν, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ
ἀνθίστασθαί οἱ διενοῦντο, ἀλλ’ ὅτι ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ
tὰ χρήματα, ἄ ἐφύλασσον, προδιαρπάσαντές
tines ἐκείνοις τὴν αἰτίαν προσθώσει, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
ἀνέμενον, αὐτῷ βουλόμενοι τῷ Πομπηίῳ πάντα
15 ἐπιδείξαι· ὡς οὖν τὰ τε ἐνταῦθα κατείργαστο καὶ
¹ ὀποιουδήποτοιν R. Steph., δποι δῆ τοι’ οὖν L.
BOOK XXXVII

taking the poison, whatever it was. When, there-fore, he failed to take his life through his own efforts and seemed to linger beyond the proper time, those whom he had sent against his son fell upon him and hastened his end with their swords and spears. Thus Mithridates, who had experienced the most varied and remarkable fortune, had not—even an ordinary end to his life. For he desired to die, albeit unwillingly, and though eager to kill himself was unable to do so; but partly by poison and partly by the sword he was at once self-slain and murdered by his foes. Pharnaces embalmed his body and sent it to Pompey as a proof of what had been done, and surrendered himself and his dominions. The Roman showed Mithridates no indignity, but, on the contrary, commanded that he be buried among the tombs of his ancestors; for, feeling that his foe’s enmity had been extinguished with his life, he now indulged in, no vain rage against his dead body. Nevertheless he granted the kingdom of Bosporus to Pharnaces as the wages of his bloody deed, and enrolled him as a friend and ally.

After the death of Mithridates all portions of his dominion except a few were subjugated. A few garrisons which at that time were still holding forts outside of Bosporus, did not immediately come to terms, not so much because they were minded to resist Pompey as because they were afraid that others might seize the money which they were guarding and lay the blame upon them; hence they waited, wishing to show everything to Pompey himself. When, then, the regions in that quarter had been subdued, and Phraates
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ο Φραάτης ήσυχίαν ἤγεν, ἥ τε Συρία καὶ ἦ Φοινίκη καθεστήκει, τρέπεται πρὸς Ἄρεταν. οὔτος δὲ Ἀραβίων μὲν τῶν νῦν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις δουλευόντων μέχρι τῆς Ἑρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης ἑβασίλευε, πλεῖστα δὲ δὴ τὴν Συρίαν πρότερον λυπήσας, καὶ διὰ τούτο μάχῃ πρὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀμυνόντων αὐτὴ νικηθεὶς, ομως καὶ τότε ἔτη 2 ἐπολέμει. ἐπ' οἷν τούτον τούς τε πλησιοχώρους αὐτῷ ὁ Πομπήιος ἑλάσας ἀκονίτε τε αὐτοὺς προσηγάγετο καὶ φρουρᾶ παρέδωκε.

Καντεύθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Συρίαν τὴν Παλαιστίνην ὡς καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην κακώσαντας, ὄρμησεν. ἦρχον δὲ αὐτῶν Ἰρκανὸς τε καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος ἀδελφοί, καὶ ἐτύγχανον ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ σφετέρου θεοῦ, ὡστις ποτὲ οὕτως ἔστων, ἱερωσύνης (οὗτο γὰρ τῇ βασιλείᾳ σφῶν ὑπόμαξον) αὐτοὶ τε δια-

3 βρέμενοι καὶ τὰς πόλεις στασιάζοντες. ὃ οὖν Πομπήιος Ἰρκανὸν μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἀξιόχρεον ἰσχύν ἔχοντα ἀμαχεὶ εὐθὺς προσέβητο, Ἀριστόβουλον δὲ ἔσ χωρίων τι κατακλείσας ὁμολογῆσαι οἰ ἴναγκασε, καὶ ἔπειδὴ μήτε τὰ χρήματα μήτε τὸ φρούριον παρεδίδου, ἔδησεν αὐτῶν. καὶ τούτῳ τούς μὲν ἄλλους βάλον προσεποίησατο, τὰ δὲ Ἰερουσαλήμ πολειρκῶν πράγματα ἐξέχε. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλην πόλιν, ἐσδεξαμένων αὐτῶν τῶν τὰ τοῦ Ἰρκανοῦ φρονούντων, ἀπραγμάνως ἔλαβεν, αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν προκατασχόντων τῶν ἑτέρων οὐκ ἀπόνως ἐδειπν. 2 ἐπὶ τε γὰρ μετεώρον ἦν καὶ περιβόλῳ ἰδίῳ ὁχύρωτο. καὶ εἰ γε ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἡμέραις ὁμοίως ἠμύνοντο, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸ ἔχειρώσατο· νῦν δὲ τὰς τοῦ Κρόνου δὴ ὠνομασμένας διαλείποντες, καὶ

124
remained quiet, while Syria and Phoenicia had become tranquil, Pompey turned against Aretas. The latter was king of the Arabians, now subjects of the Romans, as far as the Red Sea. Previously he had done the greatest injury to Syria and had on this account become involved in a battle with the Romans who were defending it; he was defeated by them, but nevertheless continued the war at that time. Pompey accordingly marched against him and his neighbours, and, overcoming them without effort, left them in charge of a garrison.

Thence he proceeded against Syria Palaestina, because its inhabitants had ravaged Phoenicia. Their rulers were two brothers, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who were quarrelling themselves, as it chanced, and were creating factions in the cities on account of the priesthood (for so they called their kingdom) of their god, whoever he is. Pompey immediately won over Hyrcanus without a battle, since the latter had no force worthy of note; and by shutting up Aristobulus in a certain place he compelled him to come to terms, and when he would surrender neither the money nor the garrison, he threw him into chains. After this he more easily overcame the rest, but had trouble in besieging Jerusalem. Most of the city, to be sure, he took without any trouble, as he was received by the party of Hyrcanus; but the temple itself, which the other party had occupied, he captured only with difficulty. For it was on high ground and was fortified by a wall of its own, and if they had continued defending it on all days alike, he could not have got possession of it. As it was, they made an exception of what are called the days of Saturn, and by doing
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐν αὐταῖς δρῶντες, παρέδωκαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καίρον ἐν τῷ διακένυ τούτῳ τὸ 3 τείχος διασείσαι. μαθόντες γὰρ τὴν πτώσιν 1 αὐτῶν ταύτην τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον οὐδὲν σπουδὴ ἐπραττον, ταῖς δὲ δὴ ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ὅποτε ἐκ τῆς περιτροπῆς ἐπέλθοιεν, ἐντούνωτατά 4 οἱ προσέβαλλον, καὶ οὕτως ἐάλοσάν τε ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρᾳ μηδὲ ἀμυνόμενοι, καὶ πάντα τὰ χρήματα διηρπάσθη. ἦ τε βασιλεία τῷ Τρκανῷ ἐδόθη, καὶ ὁ Ἀριστόβουλος ἀνηνέχθη.

5 Ταῦτα μὲν τότε ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ἐγένετο· οὕτω γὰρ τὸ σύμπαν ἔθνος, ὡςον ἀπὸ τῆς Φοι- νίκης μέχρι τῆς Διήγυπτου παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ἐσω παρῆκε, ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ κέκληται. ἔχονσι δὲ καὶ ἐτερὸν ὅνομα ἐπίκτητον· ἤ τε γὰρ χώρα 17 Ἰουδαία καὶ αὐτῷ Ἰουδαίοι ὄνομάδαται· ἢ δὲ ἐπίκλησις αὐτῇ ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐκ οίδ᾽ ὅθεν ἡρξατο γενέσθαι, φέρει δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ὡςοι τὰ νόμιμα αὐτῶν, καὶ περ ἄλλοεθεῖς δυνεῖς, ἤξιοι· καὶ ἠστὶ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ γένος τοῦτο, κολουσθέν μὲν 2 πολλάκις, αὐξηθέν δὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ὡστε καὶ ἐς παρρησίαν τῆς 2 νομίσεως ἐκνικήσαι. κεχωρίδαται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐς τε τὰλλα τὰ περὶ τὴν διαίταν πάνθ᾽ ὡς εἴπειν, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων θεῶν οὐδένα τιμῶσων, ἐνα δὲ τινα ἰσχυρῶς σέβουσιν. οὐδ᾽ ἀγαλμα οὐδὲν οὐδ᾽ 3 ἐν αὐτοῖς ποτε τοῖς Ἰεροσολύμοις ἐσχον, ἀρρητον δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀειδή αὐτὸν νομίζοντες εἶναι περισσότατα ἀν- 3 θρώπων θρησκεύοντι. καὶ αὐτῷ νεόν τε μέγιστον

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

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

4 Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατ’ ἐκείνου, τῆς τε ἔστι καὶ ὦτως ἐτιμῆθη, ὅπως τε περί αὐτὸν ἐπτόηνται, πολλοὶς τε εἰρήναι καὶ οὐδέν τῇ δὲ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ προσήκει: τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐς τοὺς ἀστέρας τοὺς ἐπτὰ τοὺς πλάνητας ὄνομασμένους ταῖς ἡμέραις ἀνακεῖσθαι κατέστη μὲν ὑπ’ Ἀιγυπτίων, πάρεστι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους, οὐ πάλαι ποτὲ ὡς λόγῳ εἰσεῖν ἀρξάμενοι οἱ γοῦν ἄρχαίοι "Ελλήνες

18 συναφῆς αὐτῷ, ὅσα γε ἐμὲ εἰδέναι, ἦπισταντο. ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ καὶ πάνυ νῦν τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἀπασί καὶ αὐ- τοῖς τοῖς Ἀρωμαῖοι ἐπιχωρίαζοι, καὶ ἡδηκον τοῦτο σφυσι πάτριον τρόπον τινά ἔστι, βραχύ τε περί αὐτοῦ διαλεχθῆναι βούλομαι, τῶς τε καὶ τίνα τρόπον οὕτω τέτακται. ἦκουσα δὲ δύο λόγους, ἀλλως μὲν οὐ χαλεποὺς γνωσθῆναι, θεωρίας δὲ 2

3 τινὸς ἐχομένου. εἰ γὰρ τις τὴν ἁρμονίαν τὴν διὰ τεσσάρων καλομένην, ἦπερ που καὶ τὸ κύρος τῆς μουσικῆς συνέχειν πεπίστευται, καὶ ἔπει τοὺς ἀστέρας τούτους, ύψ’ ὅν ὁ πᾶς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κόσμος διειληπται, κατὰ τὴν τάξιν καθ’ ἦν ἐκαστος αὐτῶν περιπορεύεται ἐπαγάγω, καὶ ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξώ περιφοράς τῆς τῷ Κρόνῳ δεδομένης,

4 ἐπειτα διαλιπών δύο τὰς ἐχομένας τοῦ τῆς τε- τάρτης δεσπότην ὀνομάσει, καὶ μετ’ αὐτὴν δύο αὖ ἐτέρας ὑπερβᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐβδόμην ἀφίκοιτο, καὶ

1 πολλὰ Rk., πολλὰ & L. 2 δὲ added by Xyl. from Xiph. 3 αὐτὴν Bs., αὐτὸν L.
BOOK XXXVII

that was extremely large and beautiful, except in so far as it was open and roofless,1 and likewise dedicated to him the day called the day of Saturn, on which, among many other most peculiar observances, they undertake no serious occupation. "

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

1 This statement would seem to rest upon a confusion of the court (or courts) with the temple itself.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ τρόπῳ αὐτὰς τε ἐπανιών καὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους σφῶν θεοὺς ἀνακυκλών ἐπιλέγοι ταῖς ἡμέραις, εὐρίσκει πάσας αὐτὰς μονσικός πως τῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διακοσμήσει προσηκούσας. εἰς μὲν δὴ οὗτος λέγεται λόγος, ἔτερος δὲ δὲ. τὸς ὀμηρός τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἀρχάμενος ἀριθμεὶν, καὶ ἐκείνην μὲν τῷ Κρόνῳ διδοῦσ, τῇ δὲ ἔπειτα τῷ Δίῳ, καὶ τρίτην Ἀρει, τετάρτῃ ἡλίῳ, πέμπτην Ἀφροδίτῃ, ἐκτιν Ἐρμῆ, καὶ ἐβδόμῃσι σελήνῃ, κατὰ τὴν τάξειν τῶν κύκλων καθ' ἥν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι αὐτὴν νομίζουσιν, καὶ τούτο καὶ αὐθεὶς ποιήσας, πάσας τε οὕτῳ τὰς τέσσαρας καὶ εἰκοσιν ὀμηρῶν περιελθῶν, εὐρίσκεις τὴν πρώτην τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ὄραν ἐς τὸν ἥλιον ἀφικνουμένην. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνων τῶν τεσσάρων καὶ εἰκοσιν ὀμηρῶν κατὰ τὸν αὐτόν τοῖς πρόσθε λόγον πράξας, τῇ σελήνῃ τὴν πρώτην τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας ὄραν ἀναθήσεις, καὶ οὕτῳ καὶ διὰ τῶν λοιπῶν πορευθ' τῶν προσθήκοντα ἑαυτῇ θεόν ἐκάστη ἡμέρα λήψεται.

20 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω παραδέδοται. Πομπήιος δὲ ἔπειδὴ καὶ ἐκείνα κατέγραψεν, πρὸς τὸ τὸν Πόντου καὶ αὐθείς ἤλθεν, καὶ παραλαβὼν τὰ τείχη ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καντεῦθεν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὴν τῇ Ἱταλίᾳν ἐκομίσθη. πολλὰς μὲν δὴ οὐν μάχας ἐνίκησε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ δυνάστας καὶ βασιλέας τοὺς μὲν προσπολεμόσατο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὀμολογίᾳ προσ-

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

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

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

eποιήσατο, πόλεις τε ὁκτὼ ἀπόκισε, καὶ χώρας προσόδους τε συχνὰς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέδειξε, τὰ τε πλεῖστὸ ἔθνη τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῇ ἡπείρῳ τότε αὐτῶν ὑπύρων νόμωις τε ἱδίοις καὶ πολιτείαις κατεστήσατο καὶ διεκόσμησεν, ὡστε καὶ δεύοι αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὑπ’ ἐκείνου νομισθεὶσι χρῆσθαι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, καίπερ μεγάλα τε ὄντα καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν πρὸς τῇ Ῥωμαίοι πρακτὴν, καὶ τῇ τύχῃ καὶ τοῖς συστρατευσαμένοις οἱ ἀναθεί οὐ τίς· δὲ δὴ μάλιστα αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Πομπήιου ἔργῳ ἐγένετο καὶ θαυμάσαι διὰ πάντων ἄξιον ἔστιν, τούτῳ νῦν ἡδη φράσω. πλείστην μὲν γὰρ ἰσχὺν καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἔχων, πλείστα δὲ χρήματα ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων πεπορισμένος, δυνάσταις τε καὶ βασιλεύσι συχνοὶ φιλεωμένος, τοὺς τε δῆμοις ὕπερ πάντας ὡς εἰπεῖν δι’ εὐνοίας ἐνεργείας κεκτημένοις, δυναθείς τ’ ἂν δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν τε Ἰταλίαν κατασχεῖν καὶ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κράτος πᾶν περιποιήσασθαι, τῶν μὲν πλείστων ἐθελοντὶ ἄν αὐτῶν ἐξαμένων, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀντίστησάν τινες, ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ ἀσθενείας γε πάντως ἂν ὁμολογήσων, οὐκ ἡβουλήθη τοῦτο 6 τοιχάσαι, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐστὶ τὸ ὁμεντέσιον ἐπεραιώθη, τὰς δυνάμεις πάσας αὐτής ἐπάγγελτος, μήτε τῆς βουλῆς μήτε τοῦ δήμου ψηφισαμένου τι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀφῆκεν, οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τοῦ ἐστὶ νυκτήρια αὐτάς χρῆσασθαί φροντίσας. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὰ τε τοῦ Μαριοῦ καὶ τὰ τοῦ Σύλλου ἐν μίσει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἡπίστατο ὑπάρχα, οὐκ ἡθέλησε φόβον τινὰ αὐτοῖς οὖν ἐπ’ ὀλύγας.

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

132
BOOK XXXVII

b.c. 63

colonized eight cities, had opened up many lands and sources of revenue to the Romans, and had established and organized most of the nations in the continent of Asia then belonging to them with their own laws and constitutions, so that even to this day they use the laws that he laid down. Yet, great as these achievements were and unrivalled by those of any earlier Roman, one might ascribe them both to his good fortune and to his troops; but the act for which credit particularly attaches to Pompey himself—a deed forever worthy of admiration—I will now relate. He had enormous power both on sea and on land; he had supplied himself with vast wealth from the captives; he had made numerous potentates and kings his friends; and he had kept practically all the communities which he ruled well disposed through benefits conferred; and although by these means he might have occupied Italy and gained for himself the whole Roman power, since the majority would have accepted him voluntarily, and if any had resisted, they would certainly have capitulated through weakness, yet he did not choose to do this. Instead, as soon as he had crossed to Brundisium, he dismissed all his forces on his own initiative, without waiting for any vote to be passed in the matter by the senate or the people, and without concerning himself at all even about their use in the triumph. For since he understood that men held the careers of Marius and Sulla in abomination, he did not wish to cause them any fear even for a few days that they should undergo any similar

in order, beginning with Saturn, as in the list above, and allowing it to be understood that that god who is found by this system to preside over the first hour of each day shall also give his name to that day.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ημέρας, δι τι ἑν τῶν ὀμοίων πείσονται, παρασχεῖν.
21 οὔκ οὖν οὗ τί πυρρό, καὶ τοῦ πολλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν κατεργασμένων λαβεῖν ἄν δυνηθεῖ, προσεκτήσατο.

Τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπινίκια, λέγω δὴ τὰ μείζω νομιζόμενα, καὶ περὶ ο］χ ὅσιον ὦν ἐκ γε τῶν πάνω πατρίων ἀνευ τῶν συνικησάντων τινὶ πεμφθήναι
2 ὁμοίως ψηφισθέντα ἐδέξατο. καὶ αὐτὰ μὲν ἄπαξ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν πολέμων ἡγαγε, τρόπαια δὲ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ καλῶς κεκοσμημένα καθ᾽ ἐκαστὸν τῶν ἔργων καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον ἔπεμψε, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὑν μέγα, πολυτελῶς τε κεκοσμημένου καὶ γραφὴν ἔχου ὡς τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐστίν.

3 οὗ μέντοι καὶ ἐποωνυμίαν τινὰ προσεπέθετο, ἄλλα καὶ μόνη τῇ τοῦ Μάγνου, ἕπερ ποὺ καὶ πρὸ ἐκείνων τῶν ἔργων ἔκεκτητο, ἢρκέσθη. οὐ μὴν οὗ άλλη τινὰ τιμῆν ὑπερογκον λαβεῖν διεπράξατο, ἢ τοῖς γε ψηφισθεῖν ἀπὸντι οἱ πλὴν

4 ἄπαξ ἐχρῆσατο. ἦν δὲ ταύτα δαφνηφορεῖν θε αὐτῶν κατὰ πάσας ἀεὶ τὰς πανηγύρεις, καὶ τῆν στολὴν τῆν μὲν ἀρχικὴν ἐν πάσαις αὐτᾶς, τῆν δὲ ἐπινίκιον ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἔποιων ἄγωσιν ἐνδύνειν. ταύτα γὰρ αὐτῶ, συμπράσσουσον ἐστὶ τὰ μᾶλλον τοῦ Καλάσαρος, καὶ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Κάτωνος τοῦ Μάρκου γνώμην, ἔδοθη.

22 Καὶ περὶ μὲν ἐκείνων, ὡς τὰ τὸ ἦν καὶ ὡς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐθεράπευε, τὸν τε Πομπήιον ἄλλως μὲν καθῆρε, δι’ ὄν δὲ δὴ τῷ τε ὀμίλῳ χαριεῦσθαι καὶ

1 τι inserted by Turn. 2 δαφνηφορεῖν Dind., δαφνοφορεῖν L. 3 ἐσ Rk., ἐσ αὐτὰ L. 4 μὲν Rk., τε L.

134
experiences. Consequently he did not so much as, B.C. 63
assume any additional name from his exploits, although he might have taken many.

As for the triumph,—I refer to the one regarded as the great event,¹—although according to strict precedent it was not lawful for it to be held without the presence of those who aided in winning the victory, he nevertheless accepted it when voted to him. He celebrated the triumph in honour of all his wars at once, including in it many trophies beautifully decked out to represent each of his achievements, even the smallest; and after them all came one huge one, decked out in costly fashion and bearing an inscription stating that it was a trophy of the inhabited world. He did not, however, add any other title to his name, but was satisfied with that of Magnus alone, which, of course, he had gained even before these achievements. Nor did he contrive to receive any other extravagant honour, or even accept such as had been voted him in his absence, except on a single occasion. These consisted in the privilege of always wearing the laurel wreath at all public games, and arraying himself in the cloak of a general at all of them, as well as in the triumphal garb at the horse-races. They had been granted him chiefly through the coöperation of Caesar, and contrary to the advice of Marcus Cato.

As regards the former, I have already stated ² who he was, and how, while paying court to the populace, and while generally striving to destroy Pompey's power, he nevertheless made a friend of him in

¹ A singular expression, especially at this point, but due to the fact that Dio uses ἐπινίκια also for the ovation (in lix. 16, 11 and lix. 23, 2 τὰ ἐπινίκια τὰ σμικρότερα, "the lesser triumph").
² xxxvi. 43.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

αὐτὸς ἰσχύσειν ἐμελλὲ προσεποιεῖτο, προείρηται· ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων οὗτος ἦν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Πορκίων γένους καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα τὸν πάνυ ἔξηλον, πλὴν καθ’ ὅσον πανδείᾳ Ἐλληνικὴ μὰλλον αὐτοῦ

2 ἐκέχρητο. ἦσκε δὲ τὰ τοῦ πλῆθους ἀκριβῶς, καὶ ἕνα μὲν ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα ἑδαύμαζε, τὸ δὲ δὴ κοινὸν ὑπερηγάτα, καὶ πᾶν μὲν τὸ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἀλλούς πεφυκὸς ὑποψία δυναστείας ἐμίσει, πᾶν δὲ τὸ δημοτικὸν ἐλέφα τῆς ἀσθενείας ἐφίλει.

3 καὶ δημεραστῆς 1 τε ὡς οὐδεὶς ἀλλος ἐγέγνετο, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου παρρησίαν καὶ μετὰ κινδύνου ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ ταύτα μὲντοι πάντα ὦτε πρὸς ἰσχὺν ὦτε πρὸς δόξαν ἢ τιμῆν τινα, ἀλλ' αὐτῆς ἐνεκα τῆς τε αὐτονόμου καὶ τῆς ἀντραν-1

4 νεότου διαίτης ἐπραττε. τοιούτος οὖν δὴ τῆς ὧν ἔσ τε τὸ κοινὸν τότε πρὸ τοῦ παρῆλθε καὶ πρὸς τὰ ψηφιζόμενα, καὶ περι ποιμέαν τῷ Πομπηίων ἔχθραν ἔχουν, ἀλλ' ὅτι γε ἔξω τῶν πατρίων ἂν, ἀντεῖπεν.

23 Ἀπόντι μὲν δὴ οὗν αὐτῷ ταῦτ' ἔδοσαν, ἐλθόντι δὲ οὐδέν, πάντως ἂν που καὶ ἔτερα προσθέντες, εἰπερ ἡθελήκει· ἀλλοις γοῦν τίσιν ἐν ἑλάττων αὐτοῦ κράτει γενομένοις πολλὰ καὶ ὑπέροχα πολλάκις ἐνείμαν. καὶ ὦτι γε καὶ ἐκείνα ἄκουτες

2 ἐπραξαν, δὴ λοῦ ἐστιν. ὁ οὖν Πομπηίος εὐ εἴδως ὅτι πάνθ' ὦσα ἐν ταῖς δυναστείαις τοῖς ἰσχύοις τι παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν γίγνεται, τὴν τε ὑπόνοιαν, καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἔθελος τοι διψίσσοντα, ὡς καὶ κατὰ βιὰν ἐκ τῆς τῶν κρατοῦντων παρα- σκευῆς διδόμενα ἔχει, καὶ δόξαν οὐδεμίαν τοῖς

1 δημεραστῆς Naber, δήμοι έραστής L.
2 ἐγέγνετο R. Steph., ἐγένετο L.

136
cases where he would thereby please the populace and gain strength himself. But this Cato belonged to the family of the Porcii and emulated the great Cato, except that he had enjoyed a better Greek education than the former. He diligently promoted the interests of the plebs, and admired no one man, but was thoroughly devoted to the common weal. Suspicious of unlimited power, he hated any one who had grown above his fellows, but loved any one of the common people through pity for his weakness. He was becoming the friend of the people such as no one else, and indulged in outspokenness in behalf of the right, even when it involved danger. Yet he did all this not with a view to power or glory or any honour, but solely for the sake of a life of independence, free from the dictation of tyrants. Such was the nature of the man who now for the first time came forward and opposed the measures under consideration, not out of any hostility to Pompey, but because they were contrary to precedent.

These honours, then, they granted Pompey in his absence, but none when he had come home, though they would certainly have added others, had he wished it. At any rate they had often bestowed many extravagant distinctions upon other men who had possessed less authority than he, but it is clear that they had done so unwillingly. Now Pompey knew well that all the gifts granted by the multitude to the powerful who are in positions of authority contain the suggestion, no matter how willingly they are voted, of being forcibly granted at the instigation of the strong; and that they bring no glory to those who receive them, because
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

labōsant autā, ὡς kai μὴ par' ekōntwv allā anagkasthēntwv, μηδ' ἀπ' εὐνοίας all' ek kolakkeias ὑπάρξαντα σφις φέρει, oun ἐπέτρεπεν

3 ἀρχὴν οὔδενι οὔδεν ἐσηγήσασθαι. καὶ πολὺ γε τοῦτο βέλτιον εἶναι ἔλεγεν ἡ ψηφισθέντα μὴ προσέσχαν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ μήδος τε ἐπὶ τῇ δυναστείᾳ υφ' ἡς ἐγγυνώσκετο, καὶ ὑπερηφανίαν καὶ ὑβριν τῷ μὴ δέχεσθαι τὰ δεδομένα παρὰ τῶν κρειττῶν δήσει ἡ πάντως γε τῶν ὁμοίων ἐνείναι, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ τῷ δημοτικῷ ὄντως καὶ ὄνομα καὶ ἐργον, oun ἀπ' ἐνδείξεως ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀληθείας, ὑπάρχειν. τὰς γὰρ τοῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἐξω τῶν πατρίων ὄληγον πάσας λαβών, τὰ γούν ἄλλα τοιαύτα, ἐξ δὲ μῆτε ὕφελλων τινα μῆτε ὕφελλουμενος φθόνον ἀλλὼς καὶ μῆνος καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν διδοτῶν αὐτὰ σχήσεων ἐμελλεν, oun ἐδέχετο.

24. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι πολέμων ἀνάπαυσιν τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ ἐτοὺς χρόνου ἔσχον, ὡστε καὶ τὸ οἰῶνίμα τὸ τῆς υγείας ὄνομασμένον διὰ πάνω πολλοῦ ποιήσαι. τούτῳ δὲ δὴ μαντείας τις τρόπος ἐστὶ, πῦστιν τινα ἔχων εἰ ἐπιτρέπει σφίςων ὁ θεὸς υγείαν τῷ δήμῳ αἰτήσαι, ὃς οὐχ ὀσιοῦν δὲν οὔδε αἰτησίς αὐτῆς, πρῶν συνχωρηθήματι, γενέσθαι.

2 καὶ ἐπελεύθερο κατ' ἐτός ἡμέρα, ἐν ἡ δὲ μηδὲν στρατόπεδον μῆτε ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἐξῆγε μῆτ' ἀντιπαρετάττετο τισὶ μήτε ἐμάχετο. καὶ διὰ τούτῳ ἐν τοῖς συνεχέσει κινδύνοις, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις, oun ἐποιεῖτο· ἀλλως τε γὰρ παγχα-

1 ὅν inserted by St. 2 ἡμέρα ἐν ἡ Ῥκ., ἡ ἡμέρα ἐν ἡ Λ. 3 τὶς Ῥκ., τὶς Λ.

138
it is believed that they have been obtained, not from willing donors, but under compulsion, and not from good will, but as a result of flattery. Hence he did not permit any one to propose any measure whatever. This course he declared to be far better than to reject what has once been voted you: the one course arouses hatred for the high position that led to such measures being passed, and argues arrogance and insolence in not accepting what is granted you by those who think themselves your superiors or at any rate your equals; whereas by the other course you are truly democratic both in name and in fact, not merely by way of display, but in very truth. Thus Pompey, after having received practically all the offices and positions of command contrary to precedent, was now unwilling to accept any other such honours that were liable to bring him merely envy and hatred, even from the very givers, without enabling him to benefit any one or to be benefited.

All this took place in the course of time. Temporarily the Romans had a respite from war for the remainder of the year, so that they even held the so-called *augurium salutis* after a very long interval. This is a kind of augury, which is in the nature of an inquiry whether the god permits them to ask for prosperity for the people, as if it were unholy even to ask for it until permission is granted. It was observed on that day of each year on which no army was going out to war, or was preparing itself against any foes, or was fighting a battle. For this reason, amid the constant perils, especially those of civil strife, it was not observed. For it was very difficult
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

λεπόν σφισώ ἂν καθαρᾶν ἀπὸ πάντων αὐτῶν
3 ἡμέραν ἀκριβῶς τηρῆσαι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀτο-
pώτατον, κακὰ αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς στάσεσιν ἐκουσίως
ἀμύθητα ἄλληλοις παρέχομεν, καὶ μέλλοντας,
ἀν τε ἦττηθὼς ἄν τε καὶ νικήσωσι, κακοῦσθαι,
ἔπειτα σωτηρίαν παρὰ τοῦ θείου προσώπων.
25 ἀμέλει καὶ τότε ἡδυνήθη μὲν πως τὸ οἰώνισμα
ἔκεινο ποιηθήναι, οὐ μέντοι καὶ καθαρὸν ἐγένετο.
ἐξεδροὶ γὰρ τινες ὄρνιθες ἐπέπταστο, καὶ διὰ
τούτ’ ἀνεμαντεύσαντο. καὶ ἄλλα τε1 αὐτοῖς
2 σημεία οὕτω αἰσία συνηνέχθη κεραυνοὶ τε γὰρ
ἐν αἰθρίᾳ πόλλοι ἔπεσον, καὶ ἡ γῆ ἵσχυρός
ἑσείσθη, εἰδωλά τε πολλαχόθι ἀνθρώπων ἐφαντά-
σθη, καὶ λαμπάδες ἄνεκας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπὸ
τῶν δυσμῶν ἄνεδραμον, ὡστε πάντα τινὰ καὶ
ἰδιώτην τὰ σημαίνομενα ἀπ’ αὐτῶν προγνῶναι.
3 οἱ γὰρ δήμαρχοι τὸν Ἄντωνιον τὸν ὑπατόν ὁμοι-
τροπώτατον σφισώ ὄντα προσλαβόντες, ὁ μὲν
τις τοὺς παιδίς τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου ἐκπεσόντων
πρὸς τὰς ἁρχὰς ἤγεν, ὁ δὲ τῷ τῆς Παύτῳ τῷ
Ποντικῷ καὶ τῷ Σύλλᾳ τῷ Κορηλίῳ τῷ μετ’
αὐτοῦ ἄλοντι τῷ τε βουλεύειν καὶ τὸ ἄρχειν
4 ἔξειναι ἐδίδουν. ἄλλος χρεῶν ἄποκοπᾶς, ἄλλος
κληρουχίας καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ὕπηκορ
γενέσθαι ἐσπηγεῖτο.

Καὶ ταύτα μὲν πρὸς τε τοῦ Κικήρωνος καὶ
πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὁμογενομονούντων οἱ προ-
kαταληφθέντα, πρὸς ἐργον τι ἀπ’ αὐτῶν συμβη-
ναι, ἔπαιδε. Τίτος δὲ δὴ Δαβίδης Γάιον Ῥαβί-
ριον ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Σατουρνίνου φόνῳ γραψάμενος
πλείστον σφισι τάραχον παρέσχεν. ὁ τε γὰρ
1 ἄλλα τε Dind., ἄλλα δὲ L.

140
BOOK XXXVII

for them in any case to determine accurately upon a day free from all such disturbances, and furthermore it would be most absurd, when they were voluntarily causing one another unspeakable woes through party strife and were destined to suffer ills whether they were defeated or victorious, that they should still ask Heaven for safety. Nevertheless, it was in some way possible at that time for the divination to be held; but it did not prove to be regular, since some birds flew up from an unlucky quarter, and so it was repeated. Other unlucky omens, too, occurred. Many thunderbolts fell from a clear sky, the earth was mightily shaken, and human apparitions were visible in many places, and in the west flashes of fire darted up into heaven, so that any one, even a layman, was bound to know in advance what was signified by them. For the tribunes united with Antonius, the consul, who was very much like themselves in character, and one of them supported for office the sons of those exiled by Sulla, while a second wished to grant to Publius Paetus and to Cornelius Sulla, who had been convicted with him, the right to be members of the senate and to hold office; another made a motion for a cancelling of debts, and yet another for allotments of land to be made both in Italy and in the subject territory.

These motions were taken in hand betimes by Cicero and those who were of the same mind as he, and were suppressed before any action resulted from them. Titus Labienus, however, by indicting Gaius Rabirius for the murder of Saturninus caused the greatest disorder. Saturninus had been killed some
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Σατουρνίνος πρὸ ἐξ ποὺ καὶ τριάκοντα ἑτῶν ἐτεθνήκει, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ ὑπατοὶ τότε παρὰ τῆς θουλῆς προσετετάχατο, ὡστε ἡ γερουσία ἀκυρὸς ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ἐκεῖ-
2 νου τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἐγίγνετο. κὰκ τοῦτο πάς ὁ κόσμος τῆς πολιτείας ἐταράττετο. ὡ μὲν γὰρ Ῥαβῖριος οὐδ' ἀμολογεῖ τὸν φόνον, ἀλλ' ἀπαρνοῦ ἢν οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι τὴν τε ἱσχὺν καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν τῆς θουλῆς καταλύσαν παντελῶς ἐςποῦδαζον, καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἐαυτός τοῦ πάνθ' ὡσα βούλωντο
3 ποιεῖν προπαρεσκεύαζον; διὰ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ 1 τὰ τε τῷ συνεδρίῳ δόξαντα καὶ τὰ πρὸ τοσοῦτων ἑτῶν πραχθέντα εὐθύνεσθαι τοῖς τὲ τὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ἐπιχειροῦσι ἀδεια ἔδιδοτο καὶ αἱ τιμωρίαι αὐτῶν ἐκολούθοντο. ἡ ὡν γερουσία δεινὸν μὲν καὶ ἀλλως ἐνομίζετε εἰναι ἄνδρα 2 βουλευτὴν μήτ' ἅδυκούντα τι καὶ ἐς γῆρας ἰδὴ προεληφθότα ἀπολείσθαι, πολλῷ δὲ δὴ μᾶλλον ἠγανάκτει οτι τὸ τε πρὸ-
σχήμα τῆς πολιτείας διεβάλλετο καὶ τὰ πράγματα
27 τοῖς φαυλοτάτοις ἐπετρέπτετο. σπουδάι τε ὡν ταραχώδεις καὶ φιλονεικίας ἀφ' ἐκατέρων περί τε τοῦ δικαστηρίου, τῶν μὲν ὅπως μὴ συναχθῇ, τῶν δὲ ἱνα καθιζὴσῃ δικαιούντων, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τούτο διά τε τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ δὴ ἄλλους τινὰς ἐνίκησε, περὶ γε 3 τῆς κρίσεως αὐθαίρες συνεβησαν.
2 καὶ ἢν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἑκεῖνος καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ Δουκίου δικαζὼν (οὐ γὰρ ἄπλως, ἀλλά τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον περιδουκελλώνος ὁ Ῥαβῖριος ἐκρίθη), κατεψηφίσαντο αὐτοῦ, καὶ τινὸς μὴ πρὸς τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, ἀλλὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατη-

1 τοῦ Leuncl., τοῦτον L. 2 ἄνδρα Bk., καὶ ἄνδρα L. 3 γε Bk., τε L.
thirty-six years earlier, and the fight waged against him by the consuls of the period had been at the direction of the senate. Hence, as a result of the proposed trial, the senate would lose the authority to enforce its decrees. In consequence the whole order of the state was being disturbed; for Rabirius did not even admit the murder, but denied it. The tribunes, however, were eager to overthrow completely the power and the dignity of the senate and were first preparing for themselves authority to do whatever they pleased. For the investigation of acts which had received the approval of the senate and had been committed so many years before tended to give immunity to those who might attempt to imitate Saturninus' conduct, and to render ineffective the punishments for such deeds. Now the senate thought it outrageous in any case that a man of senatorial rank, guilty of no crime and now well advanced in years, should perish, and was all the more enraged because the dignity of the state was being attacked and control of affairs was being entrusted to the vilest men. Hence there arose turbulent factions and contentions about the court, the one party demanding that it should not be convened and the other that it should. When the latter party won, because of Caesar and some others, there was another clash regarding the character of the trial. Caesar himself was judge together with Lucius Caesar, for the charge against Rabirius was no ordinary one, but that of perduellio, as it was called; and they condemned him, although they had not been chosen according to precedent by the people, but by the praetor himself, which was not
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

3 οὐκ ἦν ἐξὸν αἰρεθέντες. καὶ ἐφήκε μὲν ὁ 'Ραβίριος, πάντως δ' ἦν καὶ παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ ἐάλω, εἰ μὴ ὁ Μέτελλος ὁ Κέλερ οἰωνιστὴς τε ὁν καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐνεπόδισεν ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὔτε ἄλλως ἐπείθοντό οἱ, οὐθ’ ὅτι παρὰ τὰ νεομουμένα ἡ κρίσις ἐγένετο ἐνεθυμοῦντο, ἀνέδραμεν ἐς τὸ Ἰανίκουλον πρὶν καὶ οίτιον σφας ψηφίσασθαι, καὶ τὸ σημεῖον τὸ στρατιωτικὸν κατέστασεν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἐτ’ αὐτοῖς ἠξείναι διαγνώσαι.

28 Τούτο δὲ, τὸ κατὰ τὸ σημεῖον, τοιόνδε τί ἐστὶν. πολλῶν τὸ ἀρχαῖον πολεμίων τῇ πόλει προσοκούντων, φοβούμενοι μὴ ποτὲ ἐκκλησίαζόντων σφῶν κατὰ τοὺς λόχους ἐπιθωνταί τινες τῇ πόλει τὸ Ἰανίκουλον καταλαβόντες, ἐνόμισαν μὴ πάντες ἄμα ψηφίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τινὰς ἀεὶ ἑνόπλους τὸ 2 χωρίου ἐκείνου ἐκ διαδοχῆς φυλάττειν. καὶ αὐτὸ, ἡ ἐκκλησία ἦν, ἐφρούρων, ὅποτε δὲ διαλυθήσεσθαι ἐμελλε, τὸ τε σημεῖον καθηρεύτω καὶ οἱ φύλακες ἀπελλάσσοντο· οὐ γὰρ ἦν μὴ φρουρομένου τοῦ χωρίου ἐκείνου οὐδὲν ἔτι χρή.

3 ματισθῆναι. τούτῳ δὲ ἐν μόναις ταῖς κατὰ τοὺς λόχους ἀθροιζομέναις ἐκκλησίαις ἐγίνετο, ὅτι τε ἦσαν τοῖς τείχοις, καὶ ὅτι πάντες οἱ τὰ ὀπλα ἔχοντες ἀνάγκην εἶχον ἐς αὐτὰς συνιεῖν· καὶ ἔτι 1 καὶ νῦν ὅσιάς ἐνεκα ποιεῖται.

4 Οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὸτε ἦ τε ἐκκλησία καθαρεθέντος τοῦ σημείου διελύθη καὶ ὁ 'Ραβίριος ἐσώθη· ἐξῆν μὲν γὰρ τῷ Δαβίδῳ καὶ άθρις δικάσασθαι, οὐ 29 μέντοι καὶ ἐποίησαν αὐτὸ· ὁ δὲ ἦ τῇ Κατιλίνας ὄντε τε καὶ διὰ τάδε ἄπωλετο.

'Εδοξε τῇ βουλῇ, τὴν τε ὑπατείαν καὶ τὸτε 1 ἐτὶ Bk., ἔτι τέ L.

144
lawful. Rabirius appealed, and would certainly have been convicted by the people also, had not Metellus Celer, who was an augur and praetor, prevented it. When nothing else would cause them to heed him and they were unconcerned by the fact that the trial had been held in a manner contrary to custom, he ran up to the Janiculum before they took any vote at all, and pulled down the military flag, so that it was no longer lawful for them to reach a decision.

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

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

As for Catiline, his ruin was brought about in the manner and for the reasons which I shall now narrate. When he was again seeking the consulship at this
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ai'thsanatos autoo 1 kai pan 'otidhipote enedeketo dipsos apodeieichh mhchanwmou, deka etwn phughn, tov Kike'roun ois ta malista enangontos, tois epti tw dekasmw tetagmenous pros 2 vnomodethsai. tout oyn kai ekeinos de eauton, doper pou kai aldeis hyn, enwosthai nomos epecheirise men, cheira tina paraskunasa, ton Kike'rouna kai allous tinas ton prwtot en autais taiz archaireasias, evn upatos euthus cheirotonhth.

foineisai, oyn hdnithi de. o gar Kike'roun proumboun to epibouleuma tis te geronasia emhnusen auto kai kathgorian auton pollln enoishatos epidei te oyn epeise sphas psfiasasthai ti oyn hleou (ouste gar pithanad epignelkenai kai did tihn eauton ekhran katalheusais twn androun upoitteth). efothei ate kai prosparagxwngow

ton Katilinav kai oyn etolmosen aplow es tihn ekklhsian eselthein oster eiwthei alla toux te epitihdeous synephegageto paroskeunasmou nos amvai oi e tis deinov genoito, 2 kai thwarka, tis te eauton asfaleias kai tis ekteinon diabolhcs enhke, upo men tihn esotheta parafoinon o auton

ejepetidhes, enedusato. ek te oyn toutou, kai oti kai allos phil tis egweton oti epibouleuetai, o te demos deinov hgnakitshe kai oi sunomomokites tis Katilina fotheventes auton hsoxasan.

kai owtos upatoi te eteoro hreithsan, kai ekeinos ouketi labra, oude eti ton Kike'roun tois te syn autw monous, alla kai eti pani ton 2 koinon tihn epiboullin synissthe. ek gar tis

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

In this way new consuls were chosen, and Catiline no longer directed his plot in secret or against Cicero and his adherents only, but against the whole commonwealth. He assembled from Rome itself
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Ῥώμης αὐτῆς τοὺς τε κακίστους καὶ καινῶν ἀεὶ ποτε πραγμάτων ἐπιθυμητάς, καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ὡς ὧν πλείστους, χρεῶν τε ἀποκοπᾶς καὶ γῆς ἀναδασμοῦς, ἀλλὰ τε ἔξ ὧν μάλιστα δελεάσειν αὐτὸς ἤμελλεν, ὑποσχυομένος σφίσι συνήγη. καὶ τοὺς γε πρῶτους αὐτῶν καὶ δυνατωτάτους (ὅσαν δὲ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἄνωνος ὁ ὑπάτος) καὶ ἐς ἀθεμέτων ὀρκωμοσίων ἀνάγκην προῆγαγεν παίδα γὰρ τίνα καταθύσας, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σπλάγχνων αὐτοῦ τὰ ὅρκια ποιήσας, ἐπειτε ἐσπλάγχνευσαι αὐτὰ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων. συνεπραττον δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ μάλιστα τὰ μὲν εν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὃ τε ὑπάτος καὶ ὁ Λέντολος ὁ Πούπλιος ὁ μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας ἐκπεσὼν (ἐστρατήγη γὰρ ὅπως τὴν βουλειᾶν ἀναλάβῃ), τὰ δὲ ἐν τάῖς Φαίσουλαις; ἐς ὁ δὲ στασιάται αὐτοῦ συνελέγοντο, Γάιός τις Μάλλιος, τῶν τε πολεμικῶν ἐμπερότατος (μετὰ γὰρ τῶν τοῦ Σύλλου λοχαγῶν ἐστράτευτο) καὶ πολυδαπανότατος ὡς σύμπαντα γοῦν ὡσα τὸτε ἐκτήσατο, καίτερ πάμπολλα ὄντα, κακῶς καταναλώσας ἐτέρων ἐργον ὦμοῖοι ἐπεθύμημεν.

31 Παρασκευαζόμενον οὖν ταῦτα αὐτῶν, μηνύεται τῷ Κικέρωνι πρότερα μὲν τὰ ἐν τῷ ἄστει γεγονόμενα διὰ γραμμάτων τινῶν, ἃ τὸν μὲν γράφαντα οὐκ ἐδήλου, τῷ δὲ δὴ Κράσσῳ καὶ ἄλλοις τοῖς τῶν δυνατῶν ἐδόθη, καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῶς δόγμα ἐκυρώθη, ταραχῆν τε εἰναι καὶ ξήτησιν τῶν αἰτίων αὐτῆς γενέσθαι: δεύτερα δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Τυρσηνίδος, καὶ προσεψηφίζαντο τοὺς ὑπάτους τῆς φυλακῆς τῆς

1 τῇ Xyl., τε καὶ L. 2 καὶ added by Xyl. 3 προῆγαγεν Rk., προῄγαγεν L. 4 καὶ ἑς Steph., alīs L. 5 ἐστράτευτο Turr., ἐστρατεύετο L.
the lowest characters and such as were always eager for a revolution and as many as possible of the allies, by promising them the cancelling of debts, distribution of lands, and everything else by which he was most likely to tempt them. Upon the foremost and most powerful of them, including Antonius the consul, he imposed the obligation of taking a monstrous oath. For he sacrificed a boy, and after administering the oath over his vitals, ate these in company with the others. Those who coöperated with him most closely were: in Rome, the consul and Publius Lentulus, who, after his consulship, had been expelled from the senate and was now serving as praetor, in order to gain senatorial rank again; at Faesulae, where the men of his party were collecting, one Gaius Manlius, who was well-versed in warfare, having served among Sulla's centurions, and also the greatest possible spendthrift. Certain it was that he had run through all that he had gained at that epoch, although a vast sum, by his evil practices, and was now eager for other similar exploits.

While they were making these preparations information came to Cicero, first, of what was occurring in the city, through some letters which did not indicate the writer but were given to Crassus and certain others of the optimates; and upon their publication a decree was passed that a state of disorder existed and that a search should be made for those responsible for it. Next came the news from Etruria, whereupon they further voted to the consuls the custody of the
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

te pòleos kai tòn òloun autìs pragramátωn, katháper eiòthesan kai yáro touýr tò dómhati proseggráphi tò dia froutídos autòus sxheí òste
3 µhdeìµan ápotrìbì tò dìmɔsìfì súmbhìna. geno-
ménou dé toûton kai phouraìs pollaçhóti kata-
stásis tò mèn en tò òsthei óukèt eìnewterísthē, òste kai epì sxuφofantía tòw Kikérwòa diabhrh-
thìna, tò dé ëk tòw Yrsojugi ògghellòmèna tìn
 32 kai ðì tò mèn pròta kai pánu autìn èptoìmos,
òs kai ðì chrìstou tou sunevildòtos, éðexato, kai
 2 parèdïdòu. μì prosoèxaménou dé èkeïnou tì
tòphouraì autòu, parà tò Metéllof tò stratēhphó
tìn díatìan èkouýsiòs èpoxeítoto, òn ωs õkìsta ùp-
opteúbì newterìzewn tìn, mèχrís òûn kai ñèk tòw
3 autòthe sxevowotòwn ìxhúron tì prosoláðh. òs ðì
oudeìn òi proxeîwrói (ò te yàr 'Avtòwios fòbhítheis
ùpestéllèto kai ðì Léntoulòs õkìsta drastìríos
òn), proeîpèn autòus súktòs ò õkìan tòà súl-
exìnaí, kai làðòn tòw Metéllof õlòe te pròs
 4 kai èpî tìn malaçía. kàk toûton dиеxèthòs òsa
tí peîsoúnto fowræntès kai ðòso teùxînto
katóðòsantai, òûtw autòus kai èpérrosose kai
 33 kàntaûtha autòu foneúseis. ϐòs ðì kai tòûto
 3 pròemnûni (ò yàr Kikérwò polò dynámènos,
 1 èðexeì Dīnd., èðexeì L.)
city and of all its interests, as was their custom; for to this decree was added the command that they should take care that no harm came to the state. When this had been done and garrisons had been stationed at many points, there was no further sign of revolution in the city, insomuch that Cicero was even falsely charged with blackmail; but the messages from the Etruscans confirmed the accusation, and led to the indictment of Catiline for violence.

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

151
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

συχνούσ τε ἐκ τῶν συμμετόχων τοὺς μὲν ὀικειούμενος, τοὺς δὲ ἐκφοβοῦν, πολλοὺς τοὺς διαγελλούτας οἱ τὰ τοιαύτα ἐσχε), μεταστήναι ἡ γερουσία τὸν Κατιλίναν ἐγκυρίσατο.

2 Καὶ δὲ ἀσμένως τε ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταῦτῃ ἐξεχώρησε, καὶ πρὸς τὰς Φαισούλας ἔλθων τὸν τε πόλεμον ἀντικρυς ἀνείλετο, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὴν σκευὴν τῶν ὑπάτων λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς προσυνειλεγμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαλλίου συνεκρότει, καὶ τὸν καὶ ἄλλους τινάς, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἔλευσθερων,

3 ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν δούλων, προσεποιεῖτο. Ὕθεν περ καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι τὴν τε βίαν αὐτοῦ κατεψήφισαντα, καὶ τῶν Ἀβυσσίων ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, ἀντιαποιρεῖσθαι τὴν συνωμοσίαν σφῶν, ἐστειλαν, αὐτοί τε τὴν ἐσθῆτα μετέβαλον. καὶ διὰ ταύτα

4 καὶ ὁ Κικέρων κατὰ χώραν ἐμείνειν εἰλήφη γὰρ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἄρξαι, οὐτε δὲ ἐς ἐκεῖνην (τῷ γὰρ συνάρχοντι αὐτῆς διὰ τὴν περὶ τᾶς δίκαιας σπουδῆν ἐξέστη) οὔτε ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν πλησίον, ἢν ἀντέλαβε, διὰ τὰ παρὸντα ἐξῆλασεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν πόλιν διὰ φυλακῆς ἐποιήσατο, ἐς δὲ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὸν Μέτελλον, ὅπως μὴ καὶ ὁ Κατιλίνας αὐτὴν σφετερίσηται, ἔπεμψε.

34 Καὶ ἐν καιρῷ γε ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κατέμενεν. παρασκευαζόμενου γὰρ τοῦ Δευτούλου καταπρήσας τε τινάς καὶ σφαγὰς ἐργάσασθαι μετά τε τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συνομομοκλιτῶν καὶ μετὰ Ἀλλοβρώνων, οὕς καὶ πρεσβείαν παρόντας

1 καὶ R. Steph., καὶ L.
2 τινάς is probably corrupt, though Rk. supplied συνοικίας ("blocks of houses"). Bk. suggested τὸ ἀστὺ ("the city") in place of τινάς.

152
BOOK XXXVII

and one who gained many followers through his speeches, either by conciliation or by intimidation, had many men to report such occurrences to him; and the senate voted that Catiline should leave the city.

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

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

1 The well-known practice on the occasion of a public calamity. Cf. ch. 40, 2; also xxxviii. 14, 7 and xl. 46, 1.
2 ἀνέπεισε συμφρονήσαί τε αὐτῷ... καὶ συλλαβῶν τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτὴν σταλέντας ἐσήγαγε, καὶ ἄδειαν αὐτοῖς δοὺς πᾶσαν οὕτω τὴν συνωμοσίαν ἠλεγξε. καὶ τούτου ὁ Δέντολος ἀπειπεῖν τὴν στρατηγίαν ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας ἀναγκασθεὶς ἐν φρουρᾷ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συλληφθέντων ἔγενετο, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ
3 ἀνέξητοντο. καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ὁμοίως ἤρεσε, καὶ μάλιστ' ἐπειδὴ, τοῦ Κλερώνος δημηγοροῦντός τι περὶ αὐτῶν, τὸ ἀγαλμα τὸ τοῦ Δίως ἐσ τε τὸ Καπιτώλιον παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνδρύθη καὶ κατὰ τὴν ύφήγησιν τῶν μάντεων πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολὰς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀγο-
4 ρὰν βλέπον ἀνετήθη. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο τὸ συνωμοσίαν τινὰ ἐξελεγχθῆσεθαι ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀγάλματος στάσεως 1 εἰρήκεσαν, καὶ ἡ ἀνάθεσις αὐτοῦ τοῖς φωραθεῖσι συνέβαινε, τὸ τε θείον ἐμεγάλυνον καὶ τοὺς τὴν αἰτίαν λαβόντας δι' ὀρ-
γῆς μᾶλλον ἐποιοῦντο.
35 Διήλθε μὲν οὖν λόγος ὅτι καὶ ὁ Κράσσος ἐν αὐτοῖς εἶχε, καὶ τούτο καὶ τῶν συλληφθέντων τις ἐμῆσεν, οὐ μέντοι πολλοὶ ἐπίστευσαν οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ ἥξιον τοιοῦτο τι ἐς αὐτὸν ὑπ-
2 ὁπτεύεσθαι, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαιτίων ὑπετόπουν αὐτό, ὅπως ἑσθείας τινὸς διὰ τούτο παρ' αὐτοῦ, ὅτι πλεῖστον ἐδύνατο, τύχωσε, λογοποιούσθαι. εἰ δ' οὖν τισὶ καὶ πιστῶν ἐδάκει εἶναι, ἄλλ' οὕτως ἡ ἀδικαίαν ἀνδρα τε ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις σφών ὄντα ἀπολέσαι 2 καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἑκταράξαι.
3 "Όστε τούτο μὲν παντελῶς διέπεσε: παρα-
2 σκευαζομένων δὲ δὴ πολλῶν καὶ δούλων καὶ
1 στάσεως θρώς, πράσεως Λ.  2 ἀπολέσαι Rk., ἀπολέσθαι Λ.
him . . . [Cicero] arrested the men sent to carry it out (?) and brought them with their letters into the senate-chamber, where, by granting them immunity, he showed up the whole conspiracy. As a consequence Lentulus was forced by the senate to resign the praetorship, and was kept under guard along with the others arrested while the other conspirators were being sought. These measures were equally pleasing to the people, especially so, because while Cicero was addressing them on the subject the statue of Jupiter was set up on the Capitol, at the very time of the assembly, and by instructions of the soothsayers was placed so as to face the east and the Forum. For these seers had decided that some conspiracy would be brought to light by the erection of the statue, and when its setting up coincided with the discovery of the conspirators, the people magnified the divine power and were the more angry at the accused.

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

Now many slaves and freemen as well, some
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ελευθέρων, τῶν μὲν ὑπὸ δέος, τῶν δὲ καὶ οἰκτρῶ τοῦ τε Δευτούλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἔξαρπάσαι πάντας αὐτούς ὡς ἀποθάνωσι, προπυθόμενος τοῦ θ' ὁ Κικέρων τὸ τε Καπιτῶλιον καὶ τὴν ἁγο-4 ρὰν τῆς νυκτὸς φρουρᾶ προκατέσχε, καὶ τινὰ παρὰ τοῦ δαίμονιν χρηστὴν ἐλπίδα ἀμα τῇ ἕρω βάὼν, ὅτι ἵερῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν αἰειπαρθένων ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου ποιηθέντων τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ μακρότατον παρὰ τὸ ἐκός ἡρθη, τὸν μὲν δήμου τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ὀρκώσαι ἐς τὸν κατάλογον, εἰ δὴ τις χρεία στρατιωτῶν γένοιτο, ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῇ βουλήν ἕθροισε, καὶ σφας συν-ταράξας τε καὶ ἐκφοβῆσας ἐπεισε θάνατον τῶν συνειλημένων καταγγώναι.

36 ᾧ ἐγένοντο μὲν γὰρ ἀμφίβολω, καὶ παρ' ὅλιγον αὐτοὺς ἀπέλυσαν. ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ, πάντων τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ψηφισμακέων ἀποθαναί σφας, γνώμην ἔδωκε δήσαι τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐς πόλεις ἄλλους ἄλλη 2 καταθέσθαι, τῶν οὕσιῶν ἐστερημένως, ἐπὶ τῷ μήτε περὶ ἀδείας ἐτι αὐτῶν χρηματισθῆναι τί ποτε, κἂν διαδρά 1 τις, ἐν πολεμίων μοίρα τὴν πόλιν ἐξ ἢν φύγη εἶναι καὶ τοῦτο πάντες οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀποφημάμενοι μέχρι τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐψηφίζαντο, ὅστε καὶ τῶν προτέρων τινὰς 3 μεταγγώναι. 2 ἐπει δὲ οὗτος αὐτός τε τῶν θάνα-τον αὐτῶν κατεδίκασε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας ὁμογήφους ἑποιήσατο, οὕτω δὴ ἐκεῖνοι τε ἐκ τῆς νικώσης ἐκολάσθησαν, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ θυσία

1 διαδρά Dind., διαδράση L.
2 μεταγγώναι Turn., καταγγώναι L.

156
through fear and others out of pity for Lentulus and the rest, made preparations to deliver them all forcibly and rescue them from death. Cicero learned of this beforehand and occupied the Capitol and the Forum by night with a garrison. At dawn he received some divine inspiration to hope for the best; for in the course of sacrifices conducted in his house by the Vestals in behalf of the populace, the fire, contrary to custom, shot up to a very great height. Accordingly, he ordered the praetors to administer the oath of enlistment to the populace, in case there should be any need of soldiers; meanwhile he himself convened the senate, and by exciting and terrifying the members, he persuaded them to condemn to death those who had been arrested.

Now the senators had been at variance, and had come near setting them free. For while all before Caesar had voted that they should be put to death, he expressed the opinion that they should be imprisoned and placed in various cities after having their property confiscated, on the condition that there should never be any further deliberation concerning their pardon, and that if any one of them should escape, the city from which he fled should be considered in the light of an enemy. Then all who subsequently made known their views, until it came to Cato, voted this same way, so that some of the first also changed their minds. But the fact that Cato gave sentence of death against them caused all the rest to vote similarly. So the conspirators were punished by the decision of the majority, and a sacrifice and period of festival over
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

καὶ ἱερομηνία ἐγκυρίσθη, ὃ μητόποτε ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ των ἤγεγόνει· καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ μηνυθέντες ἔξηγοντο, καὶ τινες καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μελλήσαι συμφωνήσεως αὐτοῖς ὑποπτευτέντες εὐθύνοντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οἱ ὑπατοὶ διώκοντο, Ἀδριανὸς δὲ Φούλιος ἄνδρα βουλεύτην αὐτὸς ὁ πατὴρ ἀπέσφαξεν, οὐτὶ γε καὶ μόνος, ὡς γε τισὶ δοκεῖ, τούτ' ἐν ἰδιωτείᾳ ποιήσας· συνηγοῦν γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι, οὐχ οὗτοι ὑπατοὶ ἄλλα καὶ ἰδιώται, παῖδας σφων ἀπέκτειναν.

37 Τότε μὲν δὴ τόδε ἐγένετο, καὶ τὰς αἰρέσεις τῶν ἱερέων, γράψαντος μὲν τὸν Λαβιήνου, σπουδάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἐς τὸν δῆμον αὕτης ὁ ὄμιλος παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Σύλλου νόμον ἐπανήγαγεν, ἀνανεώσαμεν τὸν τοῦ Δομιτίου. ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ τοῦ Μετέλλου τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς τελευτήσαντος τῆς τε ἱερωσύνης αὐτοῦ, καίτοι καὶ νέος καὶ μηδέπω 2 ἐστρατηγικῶς, ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ ἐν τῷ πλῆθει τὴν ἐλπίδα αὐτῆς, διὰ τὰ τάλλα καὶ ὅτι τῷ τοῦ Λαβιήνου κατὰ τοῦ Ραβιρίου συνηγώνιστοι καὶ τῶν Λέντουλον ἀποθανεῖν οὐκ ἐψήφιστο, λαβών τούτῳ τε ἔπραξε, καὶ ἀρχιέρεως τῶν ποντιφίκων, καὶ περ ἄλλων τε τῆς τιμῆς πολλῶν καὶ τοῦ Κατούλου μάλιστα ἀντιποιουμένων, ἀπεδείχθη.

3 καὶ γὰρ θεραπεύσαι καὶ κολακεύσαι πάντα τινὰ καὶ τῶν τυχόντων ἐτοιμότατος ἐγένετο, καὶ οὗτοι λόγον οὕτε ἐργοῦν οὐδενὸς ἐς τὸ κατατυχεῖν ὅν ἐσπούδασεν 2 ἐξίστατο· οὕτε ἐμελέν οἱ τῆς αὐτίκα ταπεινότητος πρὸς τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπειτα ἵσχυν, ἀλλ' 1 συνηγώνιστο Bk., συνηγωνισάτω L.
2 ἐσπούδασεν R. Steph., ἐσπούδασαν L.

158
them was decreed—a thing that had never before happened from any such cause. Others also against whom information was lodged were sought out, and some incurred suspicion and were called to account for merely intending to join the conspiracy. The consuls conducted most of the investigations, but Aulus Fulvius, a senator, was slain by his own father; and the latter was not the only private individual, as some think, who ever acted thus. There were many others, that is to say, not only consuls, but private individuals as well, who slew their sons. This was the course of affairs at that time.

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

δὲν ἐπεχείρει πρωτεύσαι, τούτους όσα καὶ κρείττονας ὑπήρχετο.

38 Τῷ μὲν οὖν Καίσαρι διὰ ταῦτ’ οἱ πολλοὶ προσφιλεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ δὴ Κικέρωνα ἐν ὀργῇ ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν πολιτῶν θανάτῳ ποιούμενοι τὰ τε ἄλλα ἥχθαιρον, καὶ τέλος ἀπολογεῖσθαι τε καὶ καταλέξαι πάνθ’ ὡσα ἐν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ ἐπεποίηκε τῇ 2 τελευταίᾳ τῆς ἁρχῆς ἡμέρα ἑθελήσαντα (πάνυ γάρ που ἡδέως οὐχ ὅπως υφ’ ἄτερων ἐπῆνεῖτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν ἐνεκκωμίαξεν) ἐσίγασαν, οὐδὲ ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτῷ ἔξω τι τοῦ ὅρκου φθέγξασθαι, συναγωγοῦστῃ Μετέλλῳ Νέπωτι δημαρχοῦντι χρησάμενοι, πλὴν καθ’ ὅσον ἀντιφλοιοεικής προσεπόμοσεν ὅτι σεσωκὼς τὴν πόλιν εἶη.

39 Καὶ ο μὲν καὶ ἐκ τούτου πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐμοσθῆτο, Κατιλίνας δὲ ἐν ἁρχῇ εὐθὺς τοῦ ἔτους ἐν ὧν Ἰούνιος 1 τε Σιλανὸς καὶ Δούκιος Δικίνυνος ἠρξαν ἀπεφθάρη. τέως μὲν γὰρ καίτερ δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην ἔχουν ἐκαραδόκει τὰ τοῦ Δευτούλου καὶ διέμελλεν ἐλπίζων, ἀν φθάσωσιν ὁ τε Κικέρων καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ σφαιρέστε, ῥαδῖς τὰ λοιπὰ 2 προσκατεργάσεσθαι. ἡ ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνον τὸ ἀπολωλότα ἐπὶ θέτο ἐκ τῶν συνόντων οἱ συχνοὶ μεθισταμένους διὰ τούτ’ ἤσθετο, ὁ τε Ἀντώνιος καὶ ὁ Μέτελλος ὁ Κέλερ πρὸς ταῖς Φαισσοὺλαις προσεδρεύουσεν, οὐδαμῇ προελθεῖν 3 αὐτῷ ἐπέτρεπον, ἀποκανδυνεύεσθαι ἣναγκάσθη, καὶ ἡσαν γὰρ δίχα ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐτράπετο,

1 Ἰούνιος Xyl., ioúlios L.
2 προσκατεργάσεσθαι Dind., προσκατεργάσασθαι L.
3 προελθεῖν Leuncl., προσελθεῖν L.

160
BOOK XXXVII

to the very men whom he was endeavouring to dominate.

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

Catiline perished at the very opening of the year in which Junius Silanus and Lucius Licinius held office. For a while, although he had no small force, he had watched the movements of Lentulus and delayed, in the hope that if Cicero and his adherents should be slain in time he could easily carry out his remaining plans. But when he ascertained that Lentulus had perished and that many of his followers had deserted for that reason, he was compelled to risk all on a battle, especially since Antonius and Metellus Celer, who were besieging Faesulae, did not allow him to advance anywhere. As the two were encamped separately, he proceeded against Antonius,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

καίπερ τῷ ἀξιώματι προέχοντα τοῦ Μετέλλου
3 καὶ δύναμιν πλέον περιβεβλημένου. αὐτίνιν δὲ
ὅτι ἐλπίδα αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ συνώμοτον ἑθελοκα-
κήσειν ἔσχεν. ὑποπτεύσας οὖν τοῦτ' ἐκείνος, καὶ
μήτε δι' εὐνοίας ἐτ' αὐτῷ ἀτε ἀσθενεῖ ὄντι ὁ
(πρὸς τε γὰρ τᾶς δυνάμεις τινῶν καὶ πρὸς τὰ
ἐαυτῶν συμφέροντα καὶ τὰς ἔχθρας τὰς τε φιλίας
4 οἱ πολλοὶ ποιοῦνται), καὶ προσκαταδείσας μὴ
πως προθύμως σφας ἀγονιζόμενος ἰδίων ἐξονει-
δίσῃ τι καὶ προενέγκῃ οἵ τῶν ἀπορρήτων, αὐτὸς
μὲν νοσεῖν προεφασίσατο, Μάρκῳ δὲ Πετρείῳ τὴν
40 μάχην ἐπέτρεψε. συμβαλὼν οὖν οὗτος σφίσι
τὸν Κατιλίναν καὶ ἄλλους τρισχίλιοι προθυ-
μότατα ἀγονιζόμενους οὐκ ἀναιμωτὶ κατέκοψεν
οὔτε γὰρ ἐφυγεν αὐτῶν οὐδείς, καὶ ἐν χῶρᾳ πάντες
ἐπεσον, ὡστε καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς κρατήσαντας πολὺ
tῶν κοινῶν ὀδύρασθαι, ὅτι καὶ τοιούτους καὶ
tοσούτους, εἰ καὶ δικαίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολίτας
2 τε καὶ συμμάχους ἀπωλωλέκεσαν. ὁ δὲ οὖν
'Αντώνιος τὴν τε κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ ἁστυ,
ὅπως πιστεύσαντες αὐτὸν τετελευτηκέναι μηδὲν
ἐτι δεδίωσιν, ἐπεμψε, καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπὶ τῇ
νίκῃ, καίτοι τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν 1 πεφονευμένων
ἐλάττωνος παρὰ τὸ νεομοιμένον ὄντος, ἐπεκλήθη.
βουθυτήμαί τε ἐπενίκησθη, καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ὡς
καὶ πάντων τῶν δεινῶν ἀπηλλαγμένοι μετέβαλον.2
41 Οὐ μὴν οὖν σύμμαχοι οἱ μετασχάντες τῷ Κατι-
λίνα τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τότε ἔτι περιόντες ἤσύ-
χαζον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεῖ τῆς τιμωρίας ἑταράττοντο.

1 τῶν Groe, τῶν τε L.
2 μετέβαλον R. Steph., μετέβαλλον L.

162
BOOK XXXVII

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

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

¹ Appian (B.C. ii. 44) gives the number as 10,000; Diodorus (quoted by Photius Bibl. 638 H) as 6,000.
² See chapter 33, 3 above.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

καὶ ἐκείνους μὲν στρατηγοὶ καθ’ ἐκάστους πεμφτέντες προκατέλαβον τρόπου τινὰ ἐσκεδασμένοις
2 καὶ ἐτιμωρήσαντες ἔτεροι δὲ τῶν λαβανόντων μηνύσει Δούκιον Ὀυτετίου ἀνδρὸς ἵππεως, συγκοινωνήσαντος μὲν σφισὶ τῆς συνομοσίας, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ ἀδείᾳ αὐτῶν ἐκφαίνοντος, ἐλεγχόμενοι ἐδικαιοῦντο, μέχρις οὐ ἔσαγγελάς τινὰς τὰ τε ὅνοματα αὐτῶν ἐς δελτίον ἐγγράψας ὑπετερον καὶ ἄλλους
3 συνχῶς προσεγγιάσας ἡθέλησεν. ὑποπτεύσαντες γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁι Βουλανται μηδὲν ὑγιὲς πράπτειν, τὸ μὲν γραμματείον οὐκέτ’ αὐτῷ ἐδωκαν, μὴ καὶ ἀπαλείψῃ τινάς, εἰπεῖν δὲ ἀπὸ γλώσσης ἐκείλευσαν ὅσον παραλειποῦνεν ἔφασκε. καὶ οὕτως αἰδεθεῖς καὶ φοβηθεῖς οὐκέτι πολλοὺς
4 ἐνεδείξε. θορύβου δ’ οὕνεκα καὶ ὅσ’ ἐν τῇ τῇ πόλει καὶ παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν ὄνωμας ἡμῶν ὑπότοις, καὶ τῶν μὲν περὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς μάτην θορυβουμένων, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἐς ἐτέρους οὐκ ὁρθώς ὑποπτευόντων, ἐδοξεὶ τῇ γεροντίᾳ τα ὅνοματα αὐτῶν ἐκτεθήναι. κακὸς τοῦτος οὐ χαίρειν καὶ τοὺς ὑπευθύνοις δίκαιος ἐγένετο. καὶ αὐτῶν ὁι μὲν παρόντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐρήμην ὄφλοι.

42 Κατιλίνας μὲν ταῦτ’ ἐποίησε καὶ οὕτω κατελύθη, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖόν γε τῆς τῶν πραξάθεντων ἄξιας ὁνόμα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος δόξαν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους τοὺς κατ’ αὐτοῦ λεχθέντας ἐσχε. Κικέρων δὲ ὅλιγον μὲν καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Λεντύλου τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν δεδέντων
2 σφαγῆ ἐκρίθη. τὸ δὲ ἐγκλῆμα τοῦτο λόγῳ μὲν ἐκείνῳ ἐπεφέρετο, ἐργῆ δ’ ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ κατε-

1 ἐγγράφας Ba., συγγράφας L. 2 αὐτῷ R. Steph., αὐτῶν L. 3 kal inserted by Bk. 4 γε St., τε L.
BOOK XXXVII

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

Such was the career of Catiline and such his downfall; but he gained a greater name than his deeds deserved, owing to the reputation of Cicero and the speeches he delivered against him. Cicero, on his side, came near being tried then and there for the killing of Lentulus and the other prisoners. This charge, though technically brought against him, was
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

σκευάζετο· ώς γὰρ οὐκ ἔξον σφισών ἀνευ τοῦ δήμου θάνατον πολίτου τινὸς καταψηφίσασθαι, πολλὴν καταβοῆν ἐν τῇ ὀμίλῳ πρὸς τοῦ Μετέλ-3 λου τοῦ Νέπωτος ότι μάλιστα εἶχον. οὐ μὴν καὶ ὥφλε τότε οὐδέν· τῆς γὰρ γερουσίας ἀδειαν πάσι τοῖς διαχειρίσαστι τὰ τότε πραγμένα δούσης, καὶ προσέτι καὶ προεπούσης 1 ότι, κἂν αὐθίς τις εὐθύνα τινα αὐτῶν τολμήσῃ, ἐν τε ἐχθροῦ καὶ ἐν πολεμών μοιρὰ ἔσται, ἐφοβήθη τε ὁ Νέπως καὶ οὐδέν ἐτ' ἐκίνησεν.

43 'Εν τε οὖν τούτῳ ἡ βουλὴ ἐπεκράτησε, καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ 2 ότι τὸν Πομπήιον τοῦ Νέπωτος μεταπεμφθήναι σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι (ἐν γὰρ τῇ 'Ασίᾳ ἐτ’ ἦν) προφάσει μὲν τοῦ τὰ παρόντα κατασταθῆναι, ἔπιθι δὲ τοῦ δι’ αὐτοῦ, ἀτε τὰ τοῦ πλήθους φρονοῦντος, ἵσχύσειν ἐν οἷς ἑταρασ-σεν, ἐσηγησαμένου, διεκάλυσαν αὐτὸ κυρωθῆναι.

2 τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρώτα ὁ τε Κάτως καὶ Κύωνος Μινούκιος δημαρχοῦντες ἀντέλεγον τοῖς γραφεῖσι, καὶ τὸν τε 3 γραμματέα τὸν ἀναγνώσκοντα τὴν γνώμην ἐπέσχον, καὶ τοῦ Νέπωτος τὸ γραμμα-τείον, ὅπως αὐτὸς ἀναλέξῃ, λαβόντος ἐξήρτασαν, ἐπειδὴ τε καὶ ὅς ἀπὸ γλώσσης τινὰ εἶπεῖν

3 ἐπεχείρησε, τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ἐπέλαβον. μάχης δὲ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐκείνων καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ἐκατέρω βοηθησάντων ξύλοις καὶ λίθοις, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ξίφεσι γενομένης, οἱ βουλεύται συνήθθην αὐθημερον ἐς τὸ συνέδριον, καὶ τὰ τε ἰμάτια ἡλλάξαντο καὶ τοῖς υπάτοις τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς

1 προεπούσης Rk., προεπούσης L.
2 ὁ ἐκείνῳ Rk., ὁ ἐκείνῳ L.
3 τε placed after τὸν by Rk., after τὴν by L.

166
really directed against the senate. For its members were violently denounced before the populace, especially by Metellus Nepos, on the ground that they had no right to condemn any citizen to death without the consent of the people. Nevertheless, Cicero escaped on this occasion. For the senate granted immunity to all those who had administered affairs during that period, and further proclaimed that if any one should dare to call one of them to account later, he should be regarded as a personal and public enemy; so that Nepos was afraid and made no further trouble.

This was not the senate's only victory. Nepos had moved that Pompey, who was still in Asia, be summoned with his army, ostensibly for the purpose of bringing order out of the existing confusion, but really in the hope that he himself might through him gain power amid the disturbances he was causing, because Pompey favoured the multitude; but the senators prevented this motion from being adopted. In the first place, Cato and Quintus Minucius, the tribunes, vetoed the proposition and stopped the clerk who was reading the motion. Then when Nepos took the document to read it himself, they took it away, and when even then he undertook to speak extempore, they stopped his mouth. The result was that a battle waged with clubs and stones and even swords took place between them, in which some others joined, assisting one side or the other. Therefore the senators met in the senate-house that very day, changed their raiment and gave the consuls charge of the
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

πόλεως, ὥστε μὴ δὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀποτριβήμαι,
4 ἐπέτρεψαν. φοβηθεὶς οὖν καὶ τότε ὁ Νέπως ἐκ
tε τοῦ μέσου εὐθὺς ἐξεχώρησε, καὶ μετὰ τούτο
γραφήν τινα κατὰ τῆς Βουλῆς ἐκθεῖς πρὸς τὸν
Πομπηίων ἀφώρισθη, καίτοι μηδεμῶν αὐτῷ
νῦκτα ὑπαυλισθήμαι ἔκ τῆς πόλεως ἔξων.

44 Γενομένου δὲ τούτου οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ (ἐστρατήγει
dε) οὐδὲν ἐτ' ἐνεωτέρους. ἐπαρατε μὲν γὰρ ὅπως
tὸ μὲν τοῦ Κατούλου ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ
Δίως τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ἀφαιρεθεῖ (κλοπῆς τε γὰρ
αὐτὸν ἦδυνε, καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν τῶν ἀνηλωμένων
χρημάτων ἀπῆτει), τῷ δὲ δὴ Πομπηίω τὰ λοιπὰ
2 προσεξεργάσασθαι ἐπιτραπεῖ. ἦν γὰρ τινα,
ὡς ἐν τηλικόντω καὶ τοιούτω ἐγραφα, ἥμωτεν
ἡ ἐκεῖνος γε ἐπλάττετο εἶναι, ὅπως ὁ Πομπηίως
ἡ τὴν τέ δόξαν τῆς ἐκποιήσεως αὐτοῦ λάβῃ καὶ τὸ
αὐτοῦ ὄνομα ἀντεπιγράψῃ. οὐ μὴν οὐτὸς
καὶ ἔξω τοῦ ναοῦ ἔθελεν ὅστε καὶ ἐφ' ἐαυτῷ διὰ
tοῦτο ψηφισθῆναι τι ἐκ τοιοῦτος, οὔτ' ἡ τῷ
Νέπωτι ἐδεδοκτο,3 ὑπομείναι. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὖν ἔκεῖνον
ἔνεκα ταύτ' ἐποίει, ἀλλ' ἵνα αὐτὸς καὶ διὰ
3 τούτων τὸ πλῆθος σφετερίσθηται καίτερ οὖτω
πάντες τὸν Πομπηίων ἐδεδισαν4 (οὐδέπω γὰρ τὰ
στρατεύματα ἀφῆσον δήλος ἦν) ὅστε, ἐπειδὴ
Μάρκου Πίσονα ὑποστράτηγον πρὸς αἴτησιν
ὑπατείας προὔπεμψε, τῶς τε ἀρχαῖρεσίας, ὅπως
ἀπαντήσῃ ἐκ αὐτῶς, ἀναβαλέσθαι, καὶ παρόντα
αὐτὸν ὑμισματῶν ἀποδείξει. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος
οὖν ὅτι τοῖς φίλοις ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔχθροις
συνέστησεν αὐτῶν.

1 ὑπαυλισθήμαι Jacoby, ἀπολισθήμαι L. 2 τι R. Steph., ἔτι L.
3 ἐδεδοκτο Bs., ἐδεδοκται L. 4 ἐδεδισαν St., ἐδεδείσαν L.

168
BOOK XXXVII

city, that it might suffer no harm. Then Nepos b.c. 62 once more became afraid and immediately retired from their midst; subsequently, after publishing some piece of writing against the senate, he set out to join Pompey, although he had no right to be absent from the city for a single night.

After this occurrence not even Caesar, who was now praetor, ventured any further innovation. He had been endeavouring to secure the removal of the name of Catulus from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, charging him with embezzlement and demanding an account of the expenditures he had made, and to have Pompey entrusted with the construction of the remainder of the edifice; for many parts, considering the size and character of the work, were but half finished, or at any rate Caesar pretended this was the case, in order that Pompey might gain the glory for its completion and inscribe his own name instead. Caesar was not so anxious, however, to do him a favour that he would run the risk of having passed against himself any such decree as that concerning Nepos. For it was not really for Pompey’s sake that he was doing this, but in order that he himself might win over the populace even by this means. And yet all stood in such fear of Pompey, seeing that it was not yet clear whether he would give up his legions, that when he sent ahead Marcus Piso, his lieutenant, to seek the consulship, they postponed the elections so that he might attend them; and on his arrival they elected him unanimously. For Pompey had recommended the man not only to his friends, but also to his enemies.

169
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

45  Καὶ τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ, τοῦ Κλωδίου τοῦ Πον- 
πλίου 1 τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ οίκῳ καὶ 
παρὰ τὴν ποίησιν τῶν ἱερῶν, ἀπερ αἱ ἀειπαρθένου 
παρὰ τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ παρὰ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς 
ἀγνωστα ἐκ τῶν πατρίων ἐς πᾶν τὸ ἄρρεν ἐπετέ- 
λουν, αἰσχύνατος, ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὐδὲν ἐνεκάλεσεν 
(καὶ γὰρ εὖ ἦπιστατο ὅτι οὐχ ἀλώσεται διὰ τὴν 
2 ἔταιρεῖαν), τὴν δὲ δὴ γυναῖκα ἀποτέμψατο, εἰπὼν 
ἄλλως μὲν μὴ πιστεύειν τῷ λεγομένῳ, μὴ μέντοι 
καὶ συνοικήσαι 2 ἐτέ αὐτὴ ἰδύνασθαι, διότι καὶ 
ὑπωπτεύθη ἄρχῃ μεμοιχεύσαι τὴν γὰρ σώ- 
φρονα χρῆναι μὴ μόνον μηδὲν ἀμαρτάνειν, ἀλλὰ 
μηδὲ ἐς υποψίαν αἰσχρῶν ἀφικνεύσαται.

3  Τότε μὲν ταύτα τε ἐγένετο, καὶ ἡ γέφυρα ἡ 
λι- 
θίνη 3 ἐς τὸ νησίδιον τὸ 4 ἐν τῷ Τιβέριδι ὅπι 
46  ῥουσα κατεσκευάσθη, Φαβρικία κληθεῖσα; τῷ δὲ 
ἐξῆς ἐτεί 5 ἐπὶ τὰ Πίσιων καὶ ἐπὶ Μάρκου Μεσ- 
σάλου ὑπάτων μισοῦντες τὲ ἄλλως οἱ δυνατοὶ τὸν 
Κλωδίον, καὶ ἀμα καὶ τὸ μίσσαμα αὐτοῦ ἀπο- 
διοποιοῦμενοι, ἐπειδή οἱ ποντίφικες ἀνατυθήναι 
tὰ ἱερὰ ὡς οὐχ ὀσίως διά τοῦτο τελεσθέντα 
2 ἐγνώσαν, δικαστηρίῳ αὐτὸν παρέδωκαν, καὶ κατ- 
ηγορηθῆ ἡ ἡ τῆς τε μοιχείας, καίπερ τοῦ Καῖ- 
σαρος σιωπῶντος, καὶ τῆς μεταστάσεως τῆς περὶ 
Νίσιβιν, 6 καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὁτι τῇ ἀδελφῇ συγ- 
γίνοντο, ἀφείθη δὲ, καίτοι τῶν δικαστῶν φρον- 
ράν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, ὅπως μηδὲν κακον ὑπ' 
αὐτοῦ πάθωσι, καὶ αἰτησάντων καὶ λαβόντων.

3 ἐφ' ὑπερ καὶ ὁ Κάτουλος ἐπισκόπτων ἐλεγεν

1 Ποπλίου R. Steph., ποπλίου L.
2 συνοικῆσαι Ba., συνοικήσειν L.
3 ἡ inserted by St. 4 τὸ Leuncl., τότε L.
5 ἐτει supplied by Bk. 6 Νίσιβιν R. Steph., νίσιβι L.
BOOK XXXVII

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

Following these events the stone bridge, called the Fabrician, leading to the little island in the Tiber, was constructed. The next year, in the consulship of Piso and Marcus Messalla, the optimates showed their hatred of Clodius and at the same time made expiation for his crime by bringing him to trial, since the pontifices had decided that in view of his act the rites had not been duly performed and should be repeated. He was accused of adultery, in spite of Caesar's silence, and of mutiny at Nisibis, and furthermore of holding guilty relations with his sister; yet he was acquitted, although the jurymen had requested and obtained of the senate a guard to prevent their suffering any harm at his hands. With reference to this Catulus jestingly remarked
DIOS ROMAN HISTORY

ὅτι τὴν φυλακὴν ἦτησαν οὐχ ἵνα ἀσφαλῶς τοῦ Κλωδίου καταψηφίσωνται, ἀλλ’ ἵνα αὐτοὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐδεδωροδοκίκεσαν διασώσωνται. καὶ ὁ μὲν διαφανέστατα τῶν πώποτε τὸ δημόσιον ἀεί πρὸ παντὸς προτιμήσας ἐτελεύτησεν οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον’ ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ οὗ τε τιμηταὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς γευομένους ἐς τὸ βουλευτικὸν καὶ ύπὲρ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐσέγαγαν, καὶ ὁ δήμος ἀπαντᾷ μέχρι τότε τὰς ὀπλομαχίας θεώμενος ἔξανεστῃ τε μεταξὶ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ ἀριστον εἴλετο. καὶ τούτ’ ἐκείθεν ἀρξάμενον καὶ νῦν, ὀσκίς ἂν ὁ τὸ κράτος ἔχων ἀγωνισθεὶ, γύνεται.

47 Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ πόλει ταῦθ’ οὔτως ἐπράξθη, τῶν δὲ Ἀλλοβρίγων τὴν Γαλατιάν τὴν περὶ Νάρβωνα πορθοῦντον Γάιος Πομπήιος οἱ ἀρχῶν αὐτῆς τοὺς μὲν υποστρατήγους ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπεμψεν, αὐτῶς δὲ ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ ἱδρυθεὶς ἐπετήρει τὰ γυνόμενα, σπorestation καὶ καιρὸν πρὸς τὸ αἰεὶ χρήσιμων καὶ γνώμην σφίσι διδόναι καὶ ἐπαμώνειν δύνηται. καὶ Μάλλιος μὲν Δεινίνος ἐπὶ Οὐαλεντίαν1 πόλιν στρατεύσας οὔτως αὐτοῦ κατέπληξεν2 ὥστε τοὺς πλείους ἐκδρᾶναι καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης προσβεύσασθαι. καὶ τοῦτο συμβοηθησάντων τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς οὐτῶν καὶ προσπέσοντων αἰφνιδίως τοῦ μὲν τείχους ἀπεώσθη,3 τῆν δὲ δὴ χώραν ἀδεοὺς ἐλεηλάτει, μέχρις οὗ οἱ τοῦ Κατούγνατος4 ὁ τοῦ παντὸς αὐτῶν ἔθνων στρατηγὸς καὶ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν παρὰ

1 Οὐαλεντίαν Heller, Oevoentian L.
2 κατέπληξεν Rk., κατέπληξεν L.
3 ἀπεώσθη St., ἀπέώσθη L.
4 Κατούγνατος R. Steph., καὶ τοῦ γνατος L.

172
BOOK XXXVII

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

The Allobroges were devastating Gallia Narbonensis, and Gaius Pomptinus, the governor, sent his lieutenants against the enemy, while he himself took up his quarters at a convenient spot for keeping watch of what occurred, so that he might be able to give them opportune advice and assistance, as their advantage might from time to time dictate. Manlius Lentinus made a campaign against the city of Valentia and so terrified the inhabitants that the majority ran away and the rest sent ambassadors regarding peace. Just then the country population coming to their aid suddenly fell upon him; and he was repulsed from the wall, but ravaged the land with impunity until Catugnatus, the leader of their whole tribe, with some of those dwelling along the
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

tōn Ἰσαρα οἰκούντων ἐπεκούρησάν σφισι. τότε γὰρ οὐκ ἑτόλμησε μὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν πλοίων περαιωθῆναι κωλύσαι, μὴ καὶ συ-στραφῶσιν ἱδόντες σφᾶς ἀντιπαρατεταγμένους, 4 ὑλόδους δὲ τοῦ χωρίου μετὰ τὸν ποταμὸν εὐθὺς ὄντος, ἐνέδρας ἐν αὐτῷ ἐποιήσατο, καὶ τοὺς ἀεὶ διαβαίνοντας ὑπολαμβάνων ἐφθείρε. φεύγουσι ϊ τέ τισιν ἐπισπόμενοι περιέπεσεν αὐτῷ Κατουγνάτῳ κἀν πασσοῦδι διώλετο, εἰ μὴ χειμῶν σφοδρὸς ἕξαιφνης ἐπιγενόμενος ἐπέσχε τοὺς βαρ-βάρους τῆς διώξεως. καὶ ὁ μὲν μετὰ τοῦτο, τοῦ Κατούγνατον πόρρω ποι ἀφορμήσαντος, τήν τε χώραν αὐτὸς κατέδραμε καὶ τὸ τεῖχος παρ’ φ’ ἐδυστύχησαν ἔξειλε. Δούκιος δὲ δὴ Μάριος καὶ Σέρυνιος Γάλβας τὸν τε Ῥωδανὸν ἐπεραιώθησαν, καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἀλλοβρῶν ὁμηχανόμενο τέλος πρὸς 2 Σολώνιον πόλιν ἤλθον, καὶ χωρίον μὲν τί ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἵσχυρὸν κατέλαβον, μάχη τε τοὺς ἀντι-στάντας σφίσων ἐνίκησαν, καὶ τινα καὶ τοῦ πολίσματος ἐφιλίνου πη ὄντος ἐνέπρησαν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ εἶλον αὐτό. ὁ γὰρ Κατούγνατος ἐπελθὼν ἐκώλυσε. μαθὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Πομπήι-νος ἐπεστράτευσε τε ἐπ’ αὐτὸ παυτὶ τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ πολιορκήσας σφᾶς ἔχειρώσατο πλὴν τοῦ Κατούγνατον.

49 Καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ βάον ἐκ τοῦτο προσ-κατεστρέψατο, Πομπήιος δὲ ἤλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ, καὶ τὸν τε Ἀφράνιον τὸν Δούκιον καὶ τὸν Μετέλλον τὸν Κέλερα ὑπά-τους ἀποδειχθῆναι ἐποίησεν, ἐλπίσας δὲ αὐτῶν 2 μάτην πάνθ’ ὃσα ἐβούλετο καταπράξειν. ἦθελε

1 μέν τι R. Steph., μέντοι L.
BOOK XXXVII

Isara came to their aid. For the time being he did not dare to hinder them from crossing, by reason of the number of their boats, for fear they might gather in a body on seeing the Romans arrayed against them. As the country was wooded, however, right down to the river bank, he planted ambuscades there, and captured and destroyed the men as fast as they crossed. While following up some fugitives he fell in with Catugnatus himself, and would have perished with all his force, had not a violent storm suddenly come up and prevented the barbarians from pursuing. Later, when Catugnatus had retired to some distant point, Lentinus overran the country again and destroyed the town before which he had met with his reverse. Lucius Marius and Servius Galba crossed the Rhone and after ravaging the possessions of the Allobroges finally reached the city of Solonium and occupied a strong position commanding it. They conquered their opponents in battle and also set fire to portions of the town, which was partly constructed of wood; they did not capture it, however, being prevented by the arrival of Catugnatus. Pomptinus, on learning of this, proceeded against the place with his entire army, besieged it, and got possession of the defenders, with the exception of Catugnatus. After that he more easily subjugated the remaining districts.

At this time Pompey entered Italy and had Lucius Afranius and Metellus Celer appointed consuls, vainly hoping that through them he could effect whatever he desired. He wished in particular to have some
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

μὲν γὰρ ἀλλὰ τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα χάραν τὲ τινα τοῖς συνεστρατευμένοις οἱ δοθῆναι καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα αὐτῷ πάντ᾽ ἐπικυρωθῆναι, διήμαρτε δὲ σφων τότε. οἵ τε γὰρ δυνατοί, μηδὲ ἔκ τοῦ πρὶν αὐτῷ ἀρεσκόμενοι, διεκώλυσαν αὐτὰ ψηφι-3 σθῆναι καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ὑπάτων Ἀφράνιος μὲν (ἀρχείοισαι γὰρ βέλτιον ἢ τι διαπράσσειν ἡπι-στατο) πρὸς οúdeν αὐτῷ συνήρατο, Μέτελλος δὲ ὀργῇ, ὅτι τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ, καίτοι παῖδας ἔξ ἀυτῆς ἔχων, ἀπεπέπεμπτο, καὶ πάνυ πρὸς πάντα 4 ἀντέπραξεν. ὁ τε Δοῦκουλλος ὁ Δοῦκιος, ὃς τοτε ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ὁ Πομπῆγιος ἑντυχὼν ὑπερφρόνως ἐκέχρητο, πολὺς τε αὐτῷ ἐνέκειτο, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀδια καὶ καθ᾽ ἐκαστὸν ὄν ἐπράξεν ἐπεξε-ελθεῖν καὶ μὴ πᾶσιν ἅμα αὐτοῖς τὴν κύρωσιν 5 αἰτεῖν. ἀλλὰς τε γὰρ δικαίων εἶναι ἐλεγε μὴ πάντα ἀπλῶς ὅσα ἐπετοιήκει, καὶ ἃ μηδὲς σφων ἡπιστατὸ ὅποια ἤν, βεβαιωθῆναι ὥσπερ ὕπο δεσπότου τυνδρὸς γεγενημένα· καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν ἕαυτοῦ ἐργῶν κατελευκῆ τινά, ἥξιον ἐξετασμὸν ἐκατέρων ἐν τῇ βουλῇ γενέσθαι, ἵνα ὅποτε ἂν 4 50 αὐτοῖς ἀρέσῃ κυρώσωσι. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Κάτων ὁ τε Μέτελλος οὐ τε ἄλλοι οἱ τὰ αὐτὰ σφῶ- βουλόμενοι ἵσχυρος συνεμάχουν. τοῦ γούν δημάρχου, τοῦ τὴν γῆν τοῖς τῷ Πομπῆγιῳ συνεξητα- σμένοις κατανείμασι ἐσηγομένου, προσγράψαντος τῇ γνώμῃ τὸ καὶ πάσιν τοῖς πολίταις, ὅπως τούτο τε αὐτὸ ὑπὸν ψηφίσωσιν καὶ τὰ πραξάντα αὐτῷ βεβαιώσωσι, κλῆρους τινὰς δοθῆναι, ἐπὶ πὰν ὁ Μέτελλος ἀνθιστάμενος ἐπεξήλθεν, ὥστε 1 μηδὲ Ρκ., μήτε Λ. 2 ἀπεπέπεμπτο Melber, ἀπεπέμπετο Λ. 3 ἤν τι. Herw., εἶναι Λ. 4 ὅποτε ἂν Pflugk, ὅποτα Λ.

176
BOOK XXXVII

land given to his soldiers and to have all his acts approved; but he failed of these objects at that time. For, in the first place, the optimates, who even before this had not been pleased with him, prevented the questions from being brought to vote. And as for the consuls themselves, Afranius, who understood how to dance better than to transact any business, did not assist him at all, and Metellus, in anger that Pompey had divorced his sister in spite of having had children by her, vigorously opposed him in everything. Moreover, Lucius Lucullus, whom Pompey had once treated with contempt when he met him in Galatia, was very bitter against him, demanding that he render an account individually and separately of everything that he had done instead of asking for the approval of all his acts at once. He maintained that it was only fair, in any case, that Pompey's acts, as to the character of which no one knew anything, should not all be confirmed by a single vote, as if they were the acts of a master. And since Pompey had furthermore set aside some of Lucullus' own arrangements, he demanded that an investigation of the acts of each should be made in the senate, in order that they might ratify whichever suited them. He was strongly supported by Cato and Metellus and the rest, who were of the same mind with them. Accordingly, when the tribune who moved that land be assigned to the followers of Pompey added to the measure a provision that grants should be made to all the citizens likewise, in order that they might more readily accept this particular feature and also ratify Pompey's acts, Metellus contested every point.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

καὶ ἐς τὸ οὐκῆμα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐμβληθήναι καὶ τὴν
2 γερουσίαν ἐνταῦθα ἀθροίσαι ἑθελῆσαι. ἔπει τε
ἐκείνος (Δούκιος δὲ δὴ Φλάουιος ὄνομάζετο) τὸ τε
βάθρον τὸ δημαρχικὸν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐσόδῳ αὐτοῦ
ἐθηκε, καὶ ἔπ' αὐτῷ καθεξόμενος ἐμποδῶν ὡστε
μηδένα ἐνείναι ἐγήγεντο, τὸν τε τοίχον τοῦ δειμω-
τηρίου διακοπῆναι ἐκέλευσεν ὅπως δι' αὐτοῦ ἡ
βουλή ἐσέλθῃ, καὶ ὡς νυκτερεύουν κατὰ χρόνων
3 παρεσκευάζετο. μαθῶν οὖν τοῦτον ὁ Πομπήιος,
καὶ αἰσχυνθεῖς τε ἁμα καὶ δεῖγας μη καὶ ὁ δήμος
ἀγανακτήσῃ, προσέταξε τῷ Φλαουίῳ ἀπαναστή-
ναι. ἔλεγε μὲν γὰρ ὡς τοῦ Μετέλλου τούτῳ
ἀξιώσαντος, οὐ μὴν ἐπιστεύετο τὸ γὰρ φρόνημα
4 αὐτοῦ κατάδηλον πᾶσιν ἦν. ἀμέλει τῶν ἄλλων
dημάρχων ἐξελέσθαι αὐτὸν βοηθήτων οὐκ ἠθέ-
λησεν. οὐκοῦν οὐδ' αὐθεὶς ἀπειλήσαντι τῷ Φλα-
ουίῳ μηδὲ ἐς τὸ ἔθνος δ' ἐπεκεκλήρωτο ἐπιτρέψειν
αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ συγχωρήσειν οἱ διανομοθετήσαι,
ἐξελθεῖν, ὑπείξειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνω ἁσμενός ἐν τῇ
πόλει κατέμενεν.

5 Ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος ἔπειδὴ μηδὲν διὰ τε τοῦ
Μετέλλου καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἄλλους διεπράξατο, ἐφ' ἡ
μὲν φθονεῖσθαι τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ πλῆθει τούτῳ
dηλώσειν, φοβηθεῖς δὲ μὴ καὶ ἐκείνου διαμαρτῶν
μείζων αἰσχύνην ὀφλη, 1 κατέβαλε τὴν ἄξιωσιν.
6 καὶ ο.SOCK ὦτως γνωσ ὃτι μηδὲν ὄντως 2 ἵσχεν,
ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ὅνομα καὶ τὸν φόνον ἐφ' 3 οἷς ἡδυ-
νῆσθι ποτε εἴχεν, ἔργω δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀπώ-
νυτο, μετεμέλετο ὃτι τὰ τε στρατόπεδα προαιρήκε
51 καὶ ἑαυτὸν τοὺς ἑχθροῖς ἐξέδωκε· Κλώδιος δὲ ἐπε-

1 ὀφλη Dind., ὀφλησθ L. 2 ὄντως Rk., οὐτως L.
3 ἐφ' Pflugk, ἐν L.

178
with him and attacked him so persistently that the latter had him put in prison. Then Metellus wished to assemble the senate there. When the other, whose name was Lucius Flavius, set the tribune's bench at the very entrance of the cell, and sitting upon it, offered an obstacle to any one's entrance, Metellus ordered the wall of the prison to be cut through so that the senate might gain entrance through it, and made preparations to pass the night on the spot. When Pompey learned of this, he was ashamed as well as afraid that the people might take offence, and so directed Flavius to withdraw. He spoke as if this were a request from Metellus, but was not believed; for the latter's pride was well known to all. Indeed, Metellus would not give his consent when the other tribunes wished to set him free. Nor would he yield even when Flavius later threatened that he would not allow him to go out to the province which he had drawn unless he would permit the law to be passed; on the contrary, he was very glad to remain in the city.

Pompey, therefore, when he could accomplish nothing because of Metellus and the rest, declared that they were jealous of him and that he would make this clear to the plebs. Fearing, however, that he might fail of their support also, and so incur still greater shame, he abandoned his demands. Thus he learned that he did not possess any real power, but merely the name and envy resulting from his former authority, while in point of fact he received no benefit from it; and he repented of having let his legions go so soon and of having put himself in the power of his enemies.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

θύμησε μεν διὰ . . . τοὺς δυνατοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ δίκῃ δημαρχῆσαι, καὶ τίνας τῶν δημαρχοῦντων προκαθήκεν ἐσηγησασθαι τὸ¹ καὶ τοὺς εὐπατρίδας τῆς ἀρχῆς μεταδίδοσθαι, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐπείσε, τὴν τε εὐγένειαν ἐξωμόσατο καὶ πρὸς τὰ τοῦ πλῆθους δικαιώματα, ἐς αὐτὸν σφων τὸν σύλλογον ἐσελ. 2 θῶν, μετέστη. καὶ ἦτησε μὲν εὐθὺς τὴν δημαρχίαν, οὐκ ἀπεδείχθη δὲ ἐναντιωθέντος οἱ τοῦ Μετέλλου ἐν γένει τε γὰρ αὐτῷ ἦν, καὶ τοὺς πραττομένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἥρεσκετο. πρόφασιν δὲ ἐποιησατο ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἡ ἐκποίησις αὐτοῦ ἐγεγόνει· ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐσφορᾷ τοῦ φρατριατικοῦ νόμου μόνως ἔξην τούτο γίγνεσθαι.

3 Ταύτα τε οὖν οὕτως ἐπράξθη, καὶ ἔπειδὴ τὰ τέλη δεινῶς τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἀλλην Ἰταλίαν ἐλύπει, ὁ μὲν νόμος ὁ καταλύσας αὐτὰ πάσιν ἀρεστὸς ἐγένετο, τῷ δὲ στρατηγῷ τῷ ἐσενεγκόντε αὐτὸν ἀχθόμενοι οἱ βουλευταὶ (ὁ γὰρ Μετέλλος ὁ Νέπτως ἦν) ἤθελησαν τὸ τε ὅνομα αὐτοῦ ἀπαλέψαι ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἐτέρου ἄντεγγράψαι.

4 καὶ οὖν ἐπράξθη μὲν τούτο, καταφανεῖς μέντοι πάσιν ἐγένετο ὅτι μηδὲ τὰς εὐεργεσίας παρὰ τῶν φαύλων ἀνδρῶν ἥδεως ἐδέχοντο. κακός τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ Φαῦστος ὁ τοῦ Σύλλου παῖς ἀγώνα τε μονομαχίας ἐπὶ τῷ πατρί ἐποίησε, καὶ τῶν δήμων λαμπρῶς εἰστίασε, τὰ τε λουτρὰ καὶ τὸ² ἐλαιὸν προίκα αὐτοῖς παρέσχεν.

52 Ἡκὲν μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ τῆς τε Λυσιτανίας μετὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἦρξε, καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἀν τὰ ληστικά, ἀπερ ποι ἀεὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἦν, ἀνευ μεγάλου τινὸς πόνου ¹ τὸ Leuncl., τῇ L. ² τὸ added by Rk.

180
BOOK XXXVII

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

Since the taxes were proving oppressive to the city and the rest of Italy, the law that abolished them was acceptable to all.\(^1\) The senators, however, were angry at the praetor who proposed it (Metellus Nepos) and wished to erase his name from the law, entering another one instead. And although this plan was not carried out, it was still made clear to all that they received not even benefits gladly from base men. About this same time Faustus, the son of Sulla, gave a gladiatorial contest in memory of his father and entertained the people brilliantly, furnishing them with baths and oil gratis.

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

\(^1\) Compare Cicero's words (ad. Att. ii. 16, 1) in 59 B.C.: portoriis (duties on exports and imports) Italiae subiatis.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

καθήρας¹ ἦσυχαν ἔχειν, οὐκ ἥθελησε· δόξης
tε γὰρ ἐπιθυμῶν, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τοὺς
tὸς ἀλλοὺς τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ μέγα ποτὲ δυνηθέντας
2 ξηλῶν, οὐδὲν ὅλιγον ἔφρονει, ἀλλ' ἥλπιζεν, ἃν τι
tότε κατεργάζηται, ὅπως τε εὐθύς αἱρεθήσεσθαι
καὶ ὑπερφυὰ ἔργα ἀποδείξεσθαι, διὰ τε τάλλα
καὶ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς Γαδεῖροις, ὦτε ἐταμίευε, τῇ μητρὶ
συγγύρωσθαι ὁναρ ἔδοξε, καὶ παρὰ τῶν μάντων
ἐμαθεν ὅτι ἐν μεγάλῃ δυνάμει ἔσται. ὅθενπερ καὶ
eἰκόνα Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείους
ἀνακειμένην ἵδων ἀνεστέναξε, καὶ κατωδύρατο
ὅτι μηδὲν πω μέγα ἐργον ἐπετοιῆκε.

3 Ἡπ' οὖν τοῦτων, ἔξων αὐτῷ εἰρηνείν, ὡσπερ
eἰπον, πρὸς τὸ ὅρος τὸ Ἐρμίνιον ἐπέρατετο καὶ ἐκεῖ
λευσε τοὺς υἱῆτορας αὐτοῦ ἔς τα πεδινὰ μετα-
στήναι, πρόφασιν μὲν ὅπως μὴ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔρυμνῶν
ὀρμῶμεν οὐσίως στενώσων, ἔργῳ δὲ εὖ εἰδῶς ὅτι οὐκ
αὐτὸ ποτὲ ποιήσειαν, κἂν τούτου πολέμου τινὰ
4 ἀφορμὴν ἴνα σταυτεῖ. ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο. τούτους τε
οὖν ἐς ὅπλα ἔλθοντας ὑπηγάγετο· καὶ ἐπειδὴ
tῶν πλησιοχώρων τινές, δεῖσαντες μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ
σφάς ὀρμήσῃ, τοὺς τε παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας
tά τε ἀλλὰ τά τιμιώτατα ὑπὲρ τῶν Δώριον
ὑπεξέθεντο, τάς πόλεις σφῶν ἐν δ' τούτ' ἐπράττον
προκατέσχε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἔκεινοις προσ-
5 ἐμβελλοῦμενοι τα τάς ἀγέλεαν αὐτῶν,
ὅπως σκεδάσθεισι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς τὴν τῶν
βοσκημάτων ἀρπαγὴν ἐπίθυμηταί, τά τετράποδα ²
53 παρῆκα καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπολαβῶν ἐνίκησε. κἂν τούτω

¹ καθήρας Rk., καθήρας L.
² τά τετράποδα Rk., τά τε στρατόπεδα L.

182
have kept quiet, he was unwilling to do so. He was eager for glory, emulating Pompey and his other predecessors who at one time or another had had great power, and his aspirations were anything but small; in fact, he hoped, if he should at this time accomplish something, to be chosen consul immediately and to display mighty achievements. He was especially encouraged in this hope by the fact that while at Gades, when quaestor, he had dreamed of intercourse with his mother, and had learned from the seers that he should enjoy great power. Hence, on beholding there a likeness of Alexander dedicated in the temple of Hercules, he had groaned aloud, lamenting that he had performed no great deed as yet.

Accordingly, though he might have been at peace, as I have said, he proceeded to the Herminian Mountains and ordered the inhabitants to move into the plain, in order, as he claimed, that they might not use their fastnesses as a base for marauding expeditions, but really because he well knew that they would never do what he asked, and that as a result he should have some ground for war. This was exactly what happened. After these men, then, had taken up arms, he overcame them. When some of their neighbours, fearing that he would march against them too, carried off their children and wives and most valuable possessions out of the way across the Durius, he first occupied their cities, while they were thus engaged, and next joined battle with the men themselves. They put their herds in front of them, with the intention of attacking the Romans when the latter should scatter to seize the cattle; but Caesar, neglecting the animals, attacked the men and conquered them. Meanwhile he learned
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

μαθὼν τούς τὸ Ἑρμίουν οἰκούντας ἀφεστηκέναι τε καὶ ἐπανίστατα αὐτὸν ἐνεδρεύειν μέλλειν, τότε μὲν ἔτεραν ἀνεχώρησεν, αὐθίς δὲ ἐπεστράτευσέ σφισιν, καὶ κρατήσας πρὸς τὸν ὥκεανον φεύγοντας

2 αὐτοὺς κατεδίωξεν. ἔπειδὴ τε τὴν ἡπειρον ἐκλιπόντες ἐς νῆσον τινα ἐπεραιώθησαν, αὐτὸς μὲν (οὐ γὰρ ποὺ πλοῖων εὐπόρει) κατὰ χώραν ἐμεινε, σχεδίας δὲ συμπήξας μέρος τι τοῦ στρατοῦ δ’ αὐτῶν ἔπεμψε, καὶ συχνοὺς ἀπέβαλε. χηλή 2 γάρ τινι πρὸς τῇ νῆσῳ οὐσὶ προσσκὼν 3 ὁ τὴν ἤγεμονιαν σφῶν ἔχων, καὶ ὅ 4 καὶ πεζῆ διαβαδίσουντας αὐτοὺς ἐκβιβάσας, ἔπειτα αὐτὸς τε ὑπὸ 5 τῆς ἀναρρόιας ἐκβιβασθεὶς ἤξανήχθη καὶ ἐκέινος

3 ἐγκατέλυπτε, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι γενναίοις ἀμυνόμενοι ἔπεσον, Πούπλιος δὲ ὑπὸ Σκαίοιος μόνος τε περιλειφθεὶς καὶ τῆς ἀστιδος στερηθεὶς πολλά τε τραυματισθεὶς ἐς τε τὸ ὕδωρ ἐσεπήθησε

4 καὶ διείνησατο. τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτ’ ἐγένετο. ύστερον δὲ ὁ Καίσαρ πλοῖα ἀπὸ Γαδείρων μεταπεμψάμενος ἐς τὴν νῆσον παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπεραιώθη, καὶ ἀκούσα αὐτοὺς, κακῶς ὑπὸ σιτοδείας ἔχοντας, παρεστήσατο. καντεύθεν ἐς Βρυγαύνιον πόλιν Καλλακίας παραπλεύσας τῷ τε ῥοβίῳ 6 σφᾶς τοῦ πρόσπλου, οὐπόσποτε ναυτικὸν ἐορακότας, ἐξεφόβησε καὶ κατεστρέψατο.

54 Πράξας δὲ ταῦτα καὶ νομίσας ἱκανὴν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἐπιβασίλευν 7 πρὸς τὴν ὑπατείαν εἰληφέναι σπουδὴ πρὸς τὰς ἅρχαιρες καὶ πρὶν τὸν διάδοχον ἔλθειν, ὠρμήσε, καὶ ἤξιον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πέμψαι τὰ

1 oū inserted by Bs. 2 χηλή Schenkl, γη L.
3 προσσκὼν Bk., προσσκὼν L. 4 ὁς Bk., ἰτε ὡς L.
5 ὑπὸ St., ἀπὸ L. 6 ῥοβίς Turn., ῥιβίς L.
7 ἐπιβασίλευν St., ἐπὶ βασιλεύειν L.

184
that the inhabitants of the Herminian Mountains had withdrawn and were intending to ambush him as he returned. So for the time being he withdrew by another road, but later marched against them and, being victorious, pursued them in flight to the ocean. When, however, they abandoned the mainland and crossed over to an island, he stayed where he was, for his supply of boats was not large; but he put together some rafts, by means of which he sent on a part of his army, and lost a number of men. For the man in command of them landed at a breakwater near the island and disembarked the troops, thinking they could cross over on foot, when he was forced off by the returning tide and put out to sea, leaving them in the lurch. All but one of them died bravely defending themselves; Publius Scaevius, the only one to survive, after losing his shield and receiving many wounds, leaped into the water and escaped by swimming. Such was the result of that attempt; later, Caesar sent for boats from Gades, crossed over to the island with his whole army, and reduced the people there without a blow, as they were hard pressed for want of food. Thence sailing along to Brigantium, a city of Callaecia, he alarmed the people, who had never before seen a fleet, by the breakers which his approach to land caused, and subjugated them.

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

ἐπινίκια, ἔπειδὴ μὴ οἶα τε προδιεορτασθῆναι ἦν,

2 αἰτήσαι αὐτὴν. μὴ τυχῶν δὲ, τοῦ Κάτωνος ὅτι
μάλιστα ἐναντιωθέντος, ἐκέινα μὲν εἰσῆκε καὶ γὰρ
ήλπιζε πολὺ πλεῖω καὶ μεῖζω ὑπάτου ὑποδειχθεῖς
καὶ ἔργα πράξειν καὶ ἐπινίκια πέμψειν. πρὸς
γὰρ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ἐφ' οίς μέγα ἂεὶ ποτε ἐφρόνει,
ὑπὸ τὸς αὐτὸς διαφύγαι ἐν ταῖς τῶν προσβών
ποδῶν ὁπλαῖς ἑχὼν ἐγεννηθῇ, καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν
γαυρούμενος ἔφερεν, ἄλλον δὲ ἀναβάτην οὐδένα

3 ἀνεδέχετο. ὥστε καὶ εἰ τούτῳ μικρῶν οὐδὲν
προσδόκων τὰ μὲν νικητῆρα ἐκὼν ἀφήκεν, ἐς δὲ
τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθὼν καὶ ἐπαγγελμένος τὴν ἁρχὴν
οὖτω τούς τε ἄλλους καὶ τὸν Πομπήλην τὸν τε
Κράσσον ἐξεθεράπευσεν, ὥστε δὲ ἐχθραὶ ἀλλη-καὶ τότε αὐτοῦς ὄντας καὶ τὰς ἐταιρείας
εἴοντας, καὶ πρὸς πάνθ' ὅσα ὅ ἐτερος τὸν ἕτερον
ἐθέλοντα αἰσθατο ἀντιστασίαζοντας, προσπονύ-
σασθαί, καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων αὐτῶν ὁμοθυμαδόν

4 ἀποδειχθῆναι. καίτοι τοῦτο τὴν σοφίαν ἐς τὰ
μάλιστα αὐτοῦ τεκμηριω, ὅτι τὸν τε καιρὸν καὶ
tὸ μέτρον τῆς ἑραπείας αὐτῶν καὶ ἐγνώ καὶ
dιέθετο ὀὕτως ὅστ' ἀμφότεροις ἀμα καὶ περὶ ἀντιπράττοντάς σφαι προσθέμαι.

55 Καὶ οὐδὲ τούτῳ αὐτῷ ἀπέχρησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
αὐτοῦς ἔκεινους συνήλλαξεν, οὕτω ὅτι συνενεχθήναι
σφαι ἥθελεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι δυνατοτάτους τε ἑώρα
ὀντας, καὶ εὗ ἠπίστατο ὅτι οὕτε χωρὶς τῆς παρ'
ἔκεινων ἀμφότερων ἦ καὶ θατέρου βοηθείας μέγα
τι ἵσχύσει, κἂν τὸν ἕτερον ὀποτερονοῦν αὐτῶν
προσεταιρίσηται, ἀνταγωνιστὴν τε διὰ τούτῳ τὸν

1 ὁπλαῖς R. Steph., ὁπλὰς L. 2 καὶ περ Reim., καθάπερ L.
3 ἱσχύσει Bk., ἱσχύσει L.

186
BOOK XXXVII

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

He was not even content with this, but actually reconciled the men themselves, not because he was desirous that they should agree, but because he saw that they were most powerful. He understood well that without the aid of both, or at least of one, he could never come to any great power; and if he made a friend of either one of them alone, he would by that very fact have the other as his opponent and
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

2 ἄνθρωποι τοὺς ἐκθροῖς ἀντιπράττειν ὢν κατ’ ἐκείνο μόνον ὅτι ἢ τῇ ὀργῇ καὶ τῷ μέσῳ σφοδροτέρας τὰς σπουδὰς πάσης φιλίας ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι ὁ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ ὁ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἑτέρου πράττων τῆς τῇ ἡδονήν κατορθώσας καὶ τὴν λύπην σφαλεῖς οὐχ ὁμοίας ἐξουσίων τούτω ἐποδόζειν τῇ τινας καὶ κωλύειν ὡς ἡμείμας αὐξήσιν λαβεῖν ἡ ἐπὶ μέγα προάγειν ἐθέλειν, διὰ τὰ τάλλα καὶ μάλιστ' ὅτι ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἦν τίνα αὐξηθῆναι τοῖς τῇ ἄλλοις ἀμα καὶ ἑαυτὸ χαρίζεται, ὁ δὲ ἐξαιρών τινὰ ἐπαχθῇ αὐτὸν ἀμφοτέροις σφίσει ποιεῖ.

56 Τούτων δὴ οὖν ἕνεκα καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τότε τε ἀυτοὺς ὑπῆλθε καὶ μετὰ τούτο ἄλληλους κατῆλξεν. οὔτε γὰρ δίχα τούτων δυνήσεσθαι τι ἄει καὶ οὐκ ἄν θατέρω ποτὲ ἀυτῶν προσκρούσαι εὐνομίζειν, οὔτ' ἀυ ἐφοβῆθη μὴ καὶ συμφρονήσαντες κρείττους αὐτοῦ γένονται. πάνω γὰρ εὖ ἡ πίστιν ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων εὐθὺς διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων φιλίας, αὐτῶν δ' οὖ πολλῷ ύστερον δ'] ἄλληλων κρατήσει.

2 καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως καὶ γὰρ ὁ Πομπήιος δ' τε Κράσσος ὃς ἀπ' οἰκείας καὶ αὐτοὶ αἰτίας πρὸς τε ἄλληλους, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ὀρμησαν, κατελύσαντο καὶ ἐκείνων ἐς τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν πραγμάτων προσέλαβον. Πομπήιος μὲν γὰρ οὔτ' αὐτὸς

1 τε added by Rk. 2 αὐτού Bs., αὐτοῦ L.
3 There follows in L, τούτων μὲν οὖν ἕνεκα καὶ συνεβίβασεν αὐτοὺς καὶ προσεποίησα, rejected by Bk. as due to a copyist.
4 Πομπήιος Bk., ὁ τομπήιος L.
BOOK XXXVII

would meet with more failures through him than successes through the support of the other. For, on the one hand, it seemed to him that all men work more zealously against their enemies than they coöperate with their friends, not merely on the principle that anger and hatred impel more earnest endeavours than any friendship, but also because, when one man is working for himself, and a second for another, success does not involve the same degree of pleasure, or failure of pain, in the two cases. On the other hand, he reflected that it was easier to stand in people’s way and prevent their reaching any prominence than to be willing to lead them to great power, owing to the circumstance that he who keeps another from becoming great pleases others as well as himself, whereas he who exalts another renders him burdensome to both sides.

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

¹ There follows in the Ms. the sentence, “For these reasons, then, he both united them and won them over,” probably the addition of some copyist.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

όσον ἦλπισεν ἰσχύων, καὶ τὸν Κράσσον ἐν δυνάμει όντα τὸν τε Καίσαρα αὐξανόμενον όρῶν, καὶ ἐδειχε μὴ παντάπασιν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν καταλυθῆ, καὶ ἐπηλπίσε, προσκομιωµήσας σφίσι τῶν παρόντων, τὴν ἀρχαίαν δὴ αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν ἀναλη-4 ψεθαί. Κράσσος δὲ ἦξεν τοῖς πάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοῦτον περιείναι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοῦ τε Πομπηίου παρὰ πολὺ ἠλλαττοῦτο καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπὶ μέγα ἀρθήσεθαι ἐνόμιζεν, ἐς ἀντίπαλον αὐτοῦς ἄλληλοις καταστήσαι ἥθελθησεν, ὅπως μηδέτερος 2 σφὼν ὑπέρσχη, προσδοκήσας ἐκεῖνος τε ἀνταγωνιστάς ἰσοκρατεῖς ἔσεθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τούτῳ τήν τε ἐκατέρους φιλίαν ἐκκαρπώσεθαι καὶ ὑπέρ ἀμφότερους τιμηθῆσε-5 σθαι. ἀκριβῶς μὲν γὰρ οὕτε τά τοῦ πλῆθους οὕτε τά τῆς βουλῆς ἐπολίτευεν, τῆς δὲ ἴδιας αὐτοῦ δυναστείας ἐνεκα πάντ’ ἑπραττε, καὶ διὰ τούθ’ ὑπήρχετο τε ἀμφότερους σφᾶς ὁμοίως καὶ τήν πρὸς ἐκατέρους ἔχθραν ἐξέκλινεν, ἑπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐν τῷ μέρει κεχαρισμένα ἀμφότεροι σπουδαζόν ἐφ’ ὅσον ἦμελλε τοῦ μὲν καταθυμιόν παντὸς ἐκατέρους αἰτιαθήσεθαι, τῶν δὲ δυσχερεστέρων 3 μὴ μεταλῆψεθαι.

57 Ὅμως μὲν δὴ καὶ διὰ ταύτα οἱ τρεῖς τήν τε φιλίαν συνέθετο, καὶ ὅρκοις αὐτὴν πιστοσάμενοι τά τε κοινὰ δὴ ἑαυτῶν ἐποιήσαντο, κὰκ τούτου καὶ ἀντεδίδοσάν σφισι καὶ ἀντελάμβανον παρ’ ἀλλήλων ὁσα ἐν τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ εἶχον καὶ πρὸς τά 2 παρόντα ήμοττεν αὐτοῖς πράττεσθαι. 4 συμ-

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

Thus the three for these reasons formed their friendship and ratified it with oaths, and then managed public affairs among themselves. Next they gave to each other and received in turn one from another, whatever they set their hearts on and whatever it suited them to do in view of the circumstances.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

φρονησάντων δὲ ἐκείνων καὶ τὰ ἑταῖρικά σφῶν ὁμολόγησαν, καὶ ἔποιον καὶ οὕτωι μετὰ ἀδείας ὅσα ἦθελον, ἤγεμόσι πρὸς πάντα αὐτοῖς χρώμενοι, ὡστε τὸ σωφρονοῦν ὁλίγον ἐν τῇ κατωτεῖ, καὶ εἰ δὴ τις ἄλλος τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτῷ φρονεῖν δοκεῖν

3 ἔβουλετο, καταλειψθῆναι. καθαρῶς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀνευ τινὸς ἱδίας πλεονεξίας οὐδεὶς τῶν τοῦτο τὰ κοινά πλῆν τοῦ κατώτερος ἐπραττεν αἰσχυνόμενοι δὲ τινὲς τοῖς δρωμένοις, καὶ ἔτεροι καὶ ξηλοῦν αὐτῶν ἐφιέμενοι, προσήπτουντο μὲν τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τὶ τῶν ὦμοιων οἱ διεδείκνυον, οὐ μὴν καὶ διαρκεῖς, ἀτε ἐξ ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἄλλα ὀνεὶ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς ἐμφύτου ὀρμώμενοι, ἤσαν.

58 Ἐσ τούτο μὲν δὴ τότε τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πράγματα οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκεῖνοι προῆγαγον, ἔπι πλεῖστον ὅσον τὴν συνωμοσίαν σφῶν ἀποκρυψάμενοι. ἔποιον μὲν γὰρ ὅσα ἐδεδοκτὸ σφίσθι, ἐσχηματίζοντο δὲ καὶ προεβάλλοντο τὰ ἐναντιώτατα, ὅπως ἐτ' ἐπὶ μακρῶτατον διαλάβομαι, μέχρις ἄν ἱκανῶς παρα-

2 σκευάσωμαι. Οὐ μὲντοι καὶ τὸ δαμόνιον τὰ πραττόμενα ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἤγνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνω τοῖς τι συνεῖναι τῶν τοιούτων δυναμένοις εὐθὺς τότε πάντα τὰ ἑπείτα ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐσώμενα ἐξέφηνεν· χειμῶν το γὰρ τοιοῦτος ἐξαίφνης τὴν τε πόλιν

3 ὅλην καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀπασαν κατέσχεν ὡστε πάμπολλα μὲν δένδρα πρόρριζε ἀνατραπῆναι, πολλὰς δὲ οἰκίας καταρραγῆναι, τὰ τε πλοῖα τὰ ἐν τῷ Τίβεριδι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἁστυ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκβολὰς αὐτοῦ ναυλοχυτά ναυπτισθῆναι, καὶ τὴν γῆν

1 ἔβουλετο Rk., ἔβουλευσα L.
2 διαρκεῖς R. Steph., ἄδιαρκεῖς L.
3 τὸ ἁστυ R. Steph., τώ ἁστεῖ L.

192
BOOK XXXVII

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

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

1 θυρῶν Jacoby, σύρων L.
BOOK XXXVII

and a theatre built of timbers for some festival B.C. 60 collapsed, and in the midst of all this great numbers of human beings perished. These signs were revealed in advance, as an image of what should befall the people both on land and on water.
BOOK XXXVIII

Τάδε ἔνεστιν εν τῇ τριακοστῇ ὅγδοῃ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαῖκῶν

α. Ὅσεπ χασασαν Καίσαρ καὶ Βίβουλος.
β. Ως Κικέρων ἔφυγεν.
γ. Ὅσεπ Κικέρων ἐπὶ τῇ φυγῇ Φιλίσκος παρεμφθεται.
δ. Ὅσεπ Καίσαρ Ἑλονητίος καὶ Ἀριουλιστῆ ἐπολέμησεν.

Χρόνου πλήθος ἦτη δύο, ἐν αἷς ἔρχοντες οἱ ἄρχιμονεοι οἴδε ἐγένοντο

Γ. Ἰούλιος Γ. υἱ. Καίσαρ
Μ. Καλπούρνιος Γ. υἱ. 1 Βίβουλος 2 ὑπ.
Α. Καλπούρνιος 2 Α. υἱ. Πίσων ὑπ.
ΑΘΛ. Γαβίνιος ΑΘΛ. υἱ.

Τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἦτε ὁ Καίσαρ τό σύμπαν θεραπεύσαι πλήθος ἦθελησεν, ὅπως σφᾶς ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον σφετερίσηται. Βουληθεῖς δὲ καὶ τα τῶν δυνατῶν δοκεῖ, ὅταμή καὶ δὲ ἀπεχθείας αὐτῷ ὥσι, πράττειν, εἰπὲ σφίσι πολλάκις ὅτι οὔτε 2 γράψοι τι μὴ καὶ ἐκείνους συνοίσει καὶ δὴ γνώμην τινὰ περὶ τῆς χώρᾶς, ἢν παντὶ ἔτι ὀμίλω κατένεμεν, οὕτω συνέγραψεν ὡστε μηδὲ μικρὸν τι αὐτῆς αἰτιαθῆναι καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτην μέντοι ἐσοίσειν, εἰ μὴ βουλομένους σφίσιν εἰς, ἐπιπλάττετο. τοῦ μὲν δὴ οὐν νόμου ἑνεκα οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ οὐδὲν ἐπικαλέσαι ἐδύνατο· τό τε γὰρ πλήθος τῶν 3 πολιτῶν ὑπέροχου ὅν, ἀφ' οὔπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα

1 Γ. υἱ. supplied by Bs.
2 Βίβουλος and Α. Καλπούρνιος supplied by Palm.

196
BOOK XXXVIII

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

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

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

The following year Caesar wished to gain the favour of the whole multitude, that he might make them his own to an even greater degree. But since he was anxious to seem to be advancing the interests also of the optimates, in order to avoid incurring their enmity, he often told them that he would propose no measure which should not also be to their advantage. And, indeed, he so framed a certain measure concerning the land, which he wished to assign to the whole populace, as not to incur the least censure for it; yet he pretended he would not introduce even this measure, unless it should be according to their wishes. So far as this law went, therefore, no one could find any fault with him. The swollen population of the city, which was chiefly responsible for the frequent rioting, would
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἔστασιαζον, πρὸς τε τὰ ἔργα καὶ πρὸς γεωργίας ἐτρέπετο, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἥρμωμένα αὕτης συνοικίζετο, ὡστε μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις τεταλαιπωρημένους ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντας διαρκὴ τῆν τροφὴν ἔχειν μήτε τῆς πόλεως οἰκοθέν τι δαπανωμένης μήτε τῶν δυνατῶν ζημιουμένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῆν καὶ ἄρχην πολλὰν προσλαμβανόντων. τὴν δὲ χώραν τὴν τε κοινὴν ἀπασαν πλὴν τῆς Καμπανίδος ἔνεμε (ταῦτῃ γὰρ ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ἐξαιρετοῦ διὰ τὴν ἄρετὴν συνεβολέυσεν εἶναι), καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν οὕτε παρὰ ἀκοντός τινος οὔτ' αὐτὸν ᾧν οἱ γεωνόμοι βουληθῶσιν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν παρ' ἐκόντων, ἔπειτα δὲ τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἐν ταῖς ἀπο-

γραφαῖς ἐτετίμητο, ἀγορασθήναι ἐκέλευσε. χρήματὰ τε γὰρ πολλὰ ἀπὸ τε τῆς λείας ἡν ὁ Πομπήιος εἰλήφει καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φόρων τῶν τε τελῶν τῶν προσκαταστάντων περείναι σφισιν ἔλεγε, καὶ χρῆναι αὐτά, ἀτε καὶ τοῖς τῶν πολεωτῶν κινδύνοις πεπορισμένα, ἐσ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ἀναλαθήναι. καὶ μένουτι καὶ τοὺς γεωνόμους οὔτ' ὄλγους, ὡστε καὶ δυναστείᾳ τινὶ ἐοικέναι, οὔτ' ἐξ ὑπευθύνων, ὡστε τινὰ δυσχεραίναν, καθιστή, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ συχνῶς τῆς τιμῆς μετασχεῖν εἰκοσιν, ἐπείτα δὲ τοὺς ἐπιτηδειτάτους, πλὴν ἐαυτοῦ. πάνω γὰρ τι τούτο προδιώκουσιν ὁπως μὴ δι' ἐαυτοῦ τι γράφειν νομισθείη αὐτός μὲν γὰρ τῇ τε εὐρήσει

1 ἐτρέπετο Cobet, ἐτρέπετο L. 2 οὔτ' Βκ., μητ' L. 3 τοῦ συχνοῦ τῆς τιμῆς μετασχεῖν εἰκοσιν Reim, τοῦ συχνοῦ τῆς τιμῆς εἰκοσιν μετασχεῖν L. 4 τι Βκ., τοι L.

198
BOOK XXXVIII

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

καὶ τῇ ἐσηγήσει τοῦ πράγματος ἦρκείτο, ὡς γε ἔλεγε, τῷ δὲ δὴ Πομπηίῳ καὶ τῷ Κράσσῳ τοῖς τὲ ἄλλοις φανερῶς ἔχαρίζετο.

2 Ἑνεκα μὲν οὖν τῶν γραφέντων ἀνάιτιος ἦν, ὡστε μηδὲ διάραι τὸ στόμα ὑπεναυτόν ὦ καὶ δέν τοις τολμήσαι· καὶ γὰρ προανέγγυν αὐτὰ ἐν τῇ Βουλῇ, καὶ ὅμωςτὶ ἐνα ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν ἀνακαλῶν ἐπηρωτήσει μὴ τὶς αἰτιᾶται, μεταγράψειν ἢ καὶ παντελῶς ἀπαλέψειν, εἴ γέ τῳ μὴ ἀρέσει τι,

2 ὑποσχόμενος. τὸ δὲ δὴ σύμπταν καὶ πάνω πάντες οἱ δυνατοὶ οὐ γε ἐξώ τῆς συνωμοσίας οὐντες ἐδυσχέραιν. καὶ αὐτὸ γε τοῦτο αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐλύπει, ὅτι τοιαῦτα συγγεγραφῶς ἦν ὡστε μήτε τινα 2 αἰτίαν δύνασθαι λαβεῖν καὶ

3 πάντας σφᾶς βαρύνειν ὑπόπτην οὖν γὰρ αὐτῶν, ἕφ᾽ ὕπερ που καὶ ἐγίγνετο, τὸ τε πλῆθος ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀναρτήσεσθαι καὶ ὀνομα καὶ ἱσχὺν καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἔξειν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, εἰ καὶ μηδεὶς οἱ ἀντέλεγεν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐτί γε καὶ 3 συνεπήνου. τοῖς μὲν δὴ οὐν ἄλλοις ἐξήρκει τοῦτο, καὶ ἐπηγγέλλοντο 4 μὲν ἀεὶ αὐτῷ προβουλεῦσειν, ἐποίουν δὲ οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ διατριβῆ καὶ ἀναβολαὶ τὴν

3 ἄλλως ἐγίγνοντο· ὃ δὴ δὴ Κάτων ὁ Μάρκος 5 (ὁν δὲ ἄλλως μὲν ἐπιεικῆς καὶ οὐδενὶ νεοχόρῳ ἀρεσκόμενος, οὐ μὴν καὶ ῥώμην τινὰ οὔτε ἐκ φύσεως οὗτε ἐκ παιδείας ἔχων) τοῖς μὲν γεγραμμένοις οὐδὲν οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸς ἐπεκάλει, τὸ δ᾽ ὄλον ἤξιον τῇ τε παρούσῃ σφᾶς καταστάσει χρήσθαι καὶ μηδεν ἐξώ αὐτῆς

2 ποιεῖν. καὶ ἐμβάλλεις μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Καίσαρ

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1 μηδὲ v. Herw., μη L. 2 μήτε τινὰ Bk., μηδένα L. 3 οὕτι γε καὶ Dind., οὕτι καὶ L. 4 ἐπηγγέλλοντο H. Steph., ἐπηγγέλλεσθε L. 5 Μάρκος Reim., Μάρκος ὁ ὅστας L.

200
BOOK XXXVIII

was satisfied with originating and proposing the matter; at least he said so, but clearly he was doing a favour to Pompey and Crassus and the rest.

So far as his measure went, then, he could not be censured, and, indeed, no one ventured to open his mouth in opposition; for he had read it beforehand in the senate, and calling upon each one of the senators by name, had inquired whether he had any criticism to offer; and he promised to alter or even to strike out entirely any clause which might displease anybody. Nevertheless, practically all the optimates who were outside the league were greatly irritated; and they were grieved especially by the very fact that Caesar had drawn up such a measure as would admit of no censure, even while it embarrassed them all. For they suspected that by this measure he would attach the multitude to him and gain fame and power over all men; and this was, in fact, his very purpose. For this reason, even though no one spoke against him, no one expressed approval either. This sufficed for the majority, and while they kept promising him that they would pass the decree, they did nothing; on the contrary, fruitless delays and postponements kept arising. Marcus Cato, however, even though he had no fault to find with the measure, nevertheless urged them on general principles to abide by the existing system and to take no steps beyond it. He was a thoroughly upright man and disapproved of any innovation; yet he had no influence either as the result of natural gift or training. At this Caesar was
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

"ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον τὸν Κάτωνα ἔξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐξελκύσας ἐμβαλεῖν· ἐπεί δὲ ἐκεῖνος τὸ ἐτοιμότατα ἐαυτὸν ἀπάγεσθαι 1 ἐπέδωκε, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ὀλίγοι οἱ ἐφέσπευτο, καὶ τίς αὐτῶν Μάρκος Πτερέιος ἐπιτιμηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὅτι μηδὲν διαφειμένης τῆς Βουλῆς ἀπαλλάττω, ἐφῇ ὅτι μετὰ Κάτωνος ἐν τῷ οἴκήματι μᾶλλον ἡ μετὰ 3 σοῦ ἐνταῦθα εἶναι βούλομαι, κατηδέσθη, καὶ τὸν τε Κάτωνα ἄφηκε καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν ἀπῆλλαξε, τοσοῦτον μονὸν ὑπείπὼν ὅτι ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς καὶ δικαστὰς τοῦ νόµου καὶ κυρίους ἐποιησάµην, ὡστε, εἰ τι μὴ ἀρέσειν ὑμᾶς, µηδ' ἐσ τὸν δῆμον ἐσευκρηνεῖ· ἐπεί δ' οὐκ ἠθελεῖ προσβουλεύσαι, ἐκεῖνοι αὐτὸς αἰρήσεται.

2 ἂντικρυς πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλετο ἐσέφερεν. ἐθελῆσας δ' οὖν καὶ ὅσα ὁμογνώµονας τῶν πρῶτων τινὰς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ λαβεῖν (καὶ γὰρ ἦλπιζε μετεγγραφέως τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τη καὶ τὸ πλῆθος φοβηθήσεσθαι) ἤξατο ἀπὸ τοῦ συνάρξοντος, καὶ ἐπὶ θετο αὐτοῦ.

3 εἰ τὰ τοῦ νόµου μέμφοιτο. ἐπεί τ' ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο πλὴν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἁνάσχοιτο ἐν τῇ ἐαυτοῦ ἁρχῇ νεωτερισθῆναι τι, αὐτὸς τε πρὸς ἰκετείαν αὐτοῦ ἐτράπετο καὶ τὸν ὁμίλου συνδεθῆναι οἱ ἐπείσεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι ἐξεῖ τὸν νόµον ἄν οὗτος ἑθελήσῃ. ὁ οὗν Βίβουλος μέγα ἀναβούσας "οὐχ ἔξετε," ἐφῄ, "τὸν νόµον τούτου ἐν τῷ ἐστιν τούτῳ, οὐδ' ἂν πάντες ἑθελήσητε."

4 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταύτ' εἰπὼν ἀπηλλάγη· ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἁρχαῖς οὗτων ἀπάγεσθαι Reim. and Xiph., ἐπάγεσθαι L.

202
on the point of dragging Cato out of the very senate-
house and casting him into prison. But the other
offered himself with the greatest readiness to be led
away, and not a few of the rest followed him; and
one of them, Marcus Petreius, upon being rebuked by
Caesar because he was taking his departure before
the senate was yet dismissed, replied: "I prefer to
be with Cato in prison rather than here with you."
Abashed at this reply, Caesar let Cato go and ad-
journed the senate, merely remarking: "I have
made you judges and masters of this law, so that
if anything did not suit you, it should not be brought
before the people; but since you are not willing
to pass a preliminary decree, they shall decide for
themselves."

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

οὐδένα ἐτὶ διήρετο, δείσας μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνων τις ἐναντιωθῇ οἱ, τὸν δὲ δὴ Πομπήιον τὸν τε Κράσσον καίπερ ἰδιωτεύοντας παραγαγὼν ἐκέλευσε γνώμην

5 περὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἀποφήνασθαι, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἦπιστατο τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν (σύμπαντα γὰρ κοινῇ ἐπραττον) ἀλλ’ ἵνα αὐτοῖς τε ἐκεῖνοις τιμῆν, ὅτι καίτοι μηδεμίαν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσι συμβούλους περὶ τοῦ νόμου χρῆτο, προσθείη, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσκαταπλῆξῃ, ὁμογνώμονας τοὺς πρῶτους τε ὀμολογομένους ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε ὄντας καὶ μεγιστοῦ παρὰ πάντας δυναμένους

6 λαβὼν, τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ κατ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο χαρίσαιτο, τεκμηριῶν ὅτι μήτ’ ἀτόπου μήτ’ ἥδικου τινὸς ὁρέγοντο, ἀλλ’ ὥν καὶ ἐκείνοι καὶ δοκιμασταὶ καὶ ἑπανέται γύνοντο.

5 "Ὁ τε οὖν Πομπήιος μάλα ἀσμένως "οὐκ ἐγώ," ἔφη, "μόνος, οὖ Κυρίται, τὰ γεγραμμένα δοκιμάζω, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη βουλὴ πάσα, δι’ ὅτι οὐ ότι τοῖς μετ’ ἐμοῦ ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς μετὰ τοῦ Μετέλλου συστρατευσάμενοι ποτὲ γήν δοθήναι ἐγη-

2 φίσατο. τότε μὲν οὖν (οὔ γὰρ ἦπυρος τὸ δη-μόσιον) εἰκότως ἡ δόσις αὐτῆς ἀνεβλήθη· ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ παρόντι (παμπλούσιον γὰρ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ γέγονε) προσήκει καὶ ἐκείνοις τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὴν ἐπικαρπίαν τῶν κοινῶν πόλων ἀπόδο-

3 θῆναι." ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἐπεξήλθε τε καθ’ ἐκαστον τῶν γεγραμμένων, καὶ πάντα αὐτὰ ἐπῆνεσεν, ὥστε τὸν ὀμιλοῦ ἱσχυρῶς ἔσθηναι. ο οὖν Καίσαρ ἰδὼν τοῦτο ἐκεῖνον τε ἐπῄρητο εἰ βοηθήσοι οἱ προ-

4 θύμως ἐπὶ τοὺς τάναντία σφίσι πράττοντας, καὶ τῷ πλήθει παρῆνεσε προσδεηθῆναι πρὸς τοῦτο αὐτοῦ. γενομένου δὲ τούτου ἐπαρθεὶς ο Πομ-
BOOK XXXVIII

might oppose him; but he brought forward Pompey and Crassus, though they were private citizens, and bade them express their views concerning the measure. This was not because he was not acquainted with their view, for all their undertakings were in common; but he purposed both to honour these men, by calling them in as advisers about the law although they were holding no office, and also to frighten the others by securing the adherence of men who were admittedly the foremost in the city at that time and had the greatest influence with all. By this very move, also, he would please the populace, by giving proof that they were not striving for any unnatural or unjust end, but for objects which those leaders were willing both to approve and to praise.

Pompey, accordingly, very gladly addressed them as follows: "It is not I alone, Quirites, who approve this measure, but the whole senate as well, inasmuch as it has voted for land to be given not only to my soldiers but to those also who once fought with Metellus. On the former occasion, to be sure, since the treasury had no great means, the granting of the land was naturally postponed; but at present, since it has become exceedingly rich through my efforts, it is but right that the promise made to the soldiers be fulfilled and that the rest also reap the fruit of the common toils." After this preamble he went over in detail every feature of the measure and approved them all, so that the crowd was mightily pleased. Seeing this, Caesar asked him if he would willingly assist him against those who were working in opposition, and he also urged the populace to join in asking his aid for this purpose. When they had done so, Pompey felt
DIONISIUS OF PRAXEIS

πήμος, ὦτι τῆς παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπικουρίας, καίπερ μεδεμίαν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντος, καὶ ὁ ὤπατος καὶ ὁ ὀμιλὸς ἔχορζεν, ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ ἀνατιμῶν τε καὶ ἀποσεμνύνων ἑαυτὸν διελέξατο, καὶ τέλος εἶπεν ὦτι, ἀν τις τολμήσῃ ἔφος ἀνελέσθαι, 5 καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀναλήψωμαι. ταῦτ' οὖτως ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου λεχθέντα καὶ Κράσσος ἐπηγγερείν. ὡστ' εἰ καὶ τισὶ τῶν ἄλλων μὴ ἤρεσκεν, . . . οἱ ἄλλως τε ἄνδρες ἀγαθὸν νομίζομενοι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἔχθρος, ὡς γε καὶ ἔδοκον σφίσιν, ἔχοντες (οὐ γὰρ τῷ ή καταλλαγή αὐτῶν ἐκδηλοῦ ὣν) συνήνουν οὐς ἔγεγράφει, πρόθυμοι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ νόμου κύρωσιν ἐγένοντο.

6 Οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὁ Βίσβουλος ἐνεδίδον, ἀλλὰ τρεῖς δημάρχους συναγωνιστὰς προσθέμενος ἐκόλυσε τὸ νομοθέτημα, καὶ τέλος, ἐπειδὴ μηκέτ' αὐτῷ μυθεμία ἄλλη σκῆψις ἀναβολῆς ὑπελείπετο, ἱερομυθίαν εἰς πάσας ὁμοίως τὰς λοιπὰς τοῦ ἑτους ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς οὐδὲ ἐς ἐκκελεσίαν ὁ δήμος ἐκ τῶν 2 νόμων συνελθεῖν ἐδύνατο, προηγορεύετο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ τε Καίσαρ βραχὺ αὐτοῦ φροντίσας ῥήτην τινα ἡμέραν προείπεν ἵν' ἐν αὐτῇ νομοθετήσῃ, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος νυκτὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν προκάτελαβεν, ἐπήλθε μετὰ τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὸ Διοσκόρειον, ἀφ' οὔπερ ἔκεινος ἐδημηγορεί, διέπεσεν, τὰ μὲν αἰδοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπεικόνων 3 οἱ, τὰ δὲ καὶ νομιζόντων αὐτὸν μὴ καὶ ἐναντιωθήσεθαι σφίσιν, ὡς δὲ ἄνω τε ἐγένετο καὶ ἀντιλέγειν ἐπειράτο, αὐτὸς τε κατὰ τῶν ἀναβασμῶν

206
elated over the fact that both the consul and the multitude had desired his help, although he was holding no position of command, and so, with an added opinion of his own worth, and assuming much dignity, he spoke at some length, finally declaring: "If any one dares to raise a sword, I also will snatch up my shield." These words of Pompey were approved by Crassus too. Consequently, even if some of the rest were not pleased, they nevertheless favoured the passage of the law [when these men,] who were not only accounted good citizens in general but were also, as they supposed, hostile to Caesar, (for their reconciliation was not yet manifest,) joined in approving his measure.

Bibulus, however, would not yield, but having gained the support of three tribunes, hindered the enactment of the law. Finally, when no other excuse for delay was any longer left him, he proclaimed a sacred period for all the remaining days of the year alike, during which the people could not legally even meet in their assembly. Caesar paid but slight attention to him and appointed a fixed day for the passage of the law. And when the populace had already occupied the Forum by night, Bibulus came up with the following he had got together and succeeded in forcing his way through to the temple of Castor,¹ from which Caesar was delivering his speech. The men fell back before him, partly out of respect and partly because they thought he would not actually oppose them. But when he appeared above and attempted to speak in opposition to Caesar he was thrust down

¹ Literally, the temple of the Dioscuri. Officially it was called aedes Castoris; cf. xxxvii. 8, 2.
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

εώσθη καὶ αἱ 1 ράβδοι αὐτοῦ συνετρίβησαν, πληγάς τε καὶ τραύματα ἀλλοι τε καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι ἔλαβον.

4 Καὶ ὁ μὲν νόμος οὗτος ἐκυρώθη, Βίβουλος δὲ τότε μὲν ἀγαπητῶς ἐσώθη, τῇ δ’ ύστεραῖα ἐπείρασε μὲν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ αὐτοῦ λύσαι, ἔπεραν δ’ οὐδέν τῇ γὰρ τοῦ πλήθους στουδὴ δεδουλω.

5 μένοι πάντες ἥσύχασον. ἀνεχώρησε τε ὁ οἶκαδε, καὶ ὀυκέτι τὸ παράπαν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρας παρῆλθεν, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ καταμένοις ἀεὶ τῷ Καύσαρι, ὅσκις γε ἐνεωτέριξε τῷ, ἐνετέλεσε δὲ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ὅτι ἱερομνημία τε εἰῇ καὶ οὐδὲν ὁσῶς ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐν

6 αὐτῇ δύναιτο δρᾶσθαι. ἐπεχείρησε μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις Πούπλιος τις Οὐατίνιος 2 δήμαρχος ἐς τὸ οἰκήμα καταθέσθαι, τῶν δὲ συναρχόντων οἱ ἐναντιωθέντων οὐκ ἐνέβαλεν, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνος τε οὕτω τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐξέστη καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι οἱ συνεξετασθέντες αὐτῷ οὐκέτ’ οὐδὲν δημόσιον ἔτραχαν.

7 Ὁ δ’ οὖν Μέτελλος ὁ Κέλερ ὃ τε Κάτων, καὶ Μάρκος τις δὲ αὐτοῦ Φαουώνιος, ξηλωτὴς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα αὐτοῦ ὄν, τέως μὲν οὖτ’ ὄμοσαν 3 περὶ τοῦ νόμου (τούτῳ γὰρ ἄρξαμενον ποτε, ὡσπερ εἶπον, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀτόπων ἐγένετο) καὶ ἁπισχυρύζοντο, ἀλλὼς τε καὶ ὁ Μέτελλος ἐς τὸν Νουμιδικὸν ἀναφέρων, μηδέποτε

2 αὐτῶν συνεπαινίζεσθαι· ὡς μέντοι . . . ἡμέρα ἦ καὶ ἔμελλον τὰ 4 τεταγμένα ἐπιτίμια ὀφλήσειν,

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

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

Now Metellus Celer and Cato, and through him one Marcus Favonius, who imitated him in everything, for a time did not take the oath of obedience to the law (a custom which began, as I have stated, on an earlier occasion, and was then continued in the case of other preposterous measures) and stoutly refused to approve it, Metellus, for instance, referring to Numidicus as an example.¹ When, however, the day [came] on which they were to incur the

¹ Apparently a reference to the year B.C. 100, and to the refusal of Metellus Numidicus to swear to the lex Apuleia.
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

όμοσαν, ήτοι κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον, ύφ’ οὐ πολλοὶ ὑπισχυοῦνται τῇ τι ναὶ ἀπειλοῦσι βάθ’ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐπεξέλαιν, ἢ καὶ ὅτι μάθην ζημιωθῆ- σεθαι ἐμελλὼν, μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς ἵσχυρογνωμοσύνης

3 σφῶν τὸ κοινὸν ὀφελήσαντες. 1 ὦ τε οὖν νόμος οὕτως ἐκυρώθη, καὶ προσέτει καὶ ἦ τῶν Καμπανῶν γῆ τοῖς τρία τε πλεῖο τε ἐτε τέκνα ἔχουσιν ἔδοθη. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀποικὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡ Κατύη τότε πρῶτον ἐνομίσθη.

4 Τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος ἐκ τούτων ὁ Καίσαρ ἀνηρ- τήσατο, τοὺς δ’ ἵππας τὸ τριτημορίον 2 σφίσι τῶν τελῶν ἐμεμίσθιον 3 ἅφεις: πᾶσαι τε γὰρ αἱ 4 τελωνίαι δι’ αὐτῶν ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ πολλάξις τῆς βουλῆς δεθέντες ὅπως ἐκδικίας τινὸς τύχω- σιν οὐχ εὐροντο, ἀλλον τε καὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος

5 ἀντιπραξάντων. ὥς δ’ οὖν καὶ τούτο τὸ ἔθνος μηδ’ ἀντειπόντος τινὸς φιλεωσάτο, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ πραξθέντα 5 υπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου πάντα, μῆτε τοῦ Δούκουλλου μὴ τ’ ἄλλον τινὸς ἀντιστάντος, ἔβε- βαίωσεν, ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολλά διενομισθὲ-

6 τησο μηδενὸς ἐναντιομένου. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ’ ὁ Κάτων ἀντειπε τι, καίτερ ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ, ἢν μετὰ ταῦτα οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον ἔσχε, μηδαμοῦ τῆς τῶν νόμων αὐτοῦ προσηγορίας, ὡς καὶ Ἰουλίων ἐπικαλομένων, ἐπιμνησθεὶς: τὰ γὰρ δικαστήρια κατ’ αὐτοὺς ἀποκληρῶν 6 τὸ ὅνωμα αὐτῶν γελοῖοτατα ἀπεκρύπτετο.

Τούτους μὲν οὖν, οτι πάμπολλοι τε εἰς καὶ

1 ὀφελήσαντες Bk., ὀφεληθήσεσθαι L.
2 τριτημορίον R. Steph., τριτημέριον L.
3 ἐμεμίσθιον Leuncl., ἐμεμίσθιο L.
4 αἰ Bk., αὖ L.
5 πραξθέντα Xyl., προσταξθέντα L.
6 ἀποκληρῶν Bk., ἀπεκλήρου L.
BOOK XXXVIII

established penalties, they took the oath, perhaps because it is but human nature for many persons to utter promises and threats more easily than they actually carry them out, or else because they were going to be punished to no purpose, without helping the state at all by their obstinacy. So the law was passed, and in addition the land of Campania was given to those having three or more children. For this reason Capua was then for the first time considered a Roman colony.

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

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

1 Compare the similar statement in Appian B.C. ii, 13.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν τῇ δὲ τῇ συγγραφῇ συμβάλλονται,
8 παραλείψω. Κύντος δὲ δὴ Φούφιος Καλήνος
ἀναμίξ πάντων τὰς ψήφους ἐν γε¹ ταῖς φιλο-
νεικίαις (τὰ τε κρέιττω πρὸς σφᾶς ὡς ἐκάστων
tῶν γενών ἁγοντος καὶ τὰ ἀτοπώτερα² ἐς ἐτέρους
ἀπωθοῦντος) οὕτως εὑρόν, ἐνομοθέτησε στρα-
tηγών χωρὶς αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐκάστους ψηφίζεσθαι,
ὶν' εἰ μὴ καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα, τῷ κρύφα σφᾶς τοῦτο
ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὰ γε ἔδην ³ αὐτῶν ἐκδηλα ὅπως
φρονοῦτ' γίγνοιτο.⁴

2 Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα αὐτὸς ὁ Καίσαρ καὶ ἐσηγεῖτο
καὶ συνεβούλευε καὶ διέταττε πάντα καθάπαξ
τὰν τῇ πόλει, ὡς καὶ μόνος αὐτῆς ἄρχων. ὁθενπερ
χαριευτικέμενοι τινες τὸ μὲν τοῦ Βιβούλου δόμων
παντάπασιν ἀπεσιώτων, τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίσαρα δις⁵
καὶ ὠνόμαζο καὶ ἐγραφοῦν, Γαίον τε Καίσαρα
3 καὶ Ἰούλιον Καίσαρα ὑπατεύειν λέγοντες: τὰ
δὲ δὴ καθ' ἐαυτὸν δι' ἐτέρων διήγε. τοῦτο γὰρ
δὴ καὶ πάνυ ἑσχύνως ἐφυλάξατο, μηδὲν αὐτὸς
ἐαυτῷ δοῦναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἱκανὸν τὰν ὅσων
ἐπεθύμει κατευγάζατο. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ οὐδενὸς
προσδείκτας ἐλεγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα τοῖς παρ-
4 οὕσων ἀρείεσθαι ἐσκήπτετο. ἐτεροὶ δὲ, ὡς καὶ
ἀναγκαῖον καὶ χρήσιμον τοῖς πράγμασιν αὐτοῦ
ὀντος, καὶ ἐσηγήσαντο ὡσα ἡθέλησε καὶ κυρώ-
θηναι ἐποίησαν, οὐκ ἐν τοι πλήθει μόνον ἄλλα
5 καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ γερουσίᾳ. οἱ τε γὰρ ὦμλος τοῦ
τε Ἰλλυρικοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῆς Ἐλλάτας τῆς
Ἀλπεων ἄρξαι αὐτῷ μετὰ τριῶν στρατοπέδων

¹ γε Rk., τε L. ² ἀτοπώτερα R, Steph., ἀπώτερα L.
³ ἔδη Leuncl., ἔδη L. ⁴ γίγνοιτο St., γίγνοιτο L.
⁵ δίς Rk., δύο L.
BOOK XXXVIII

tribute nothing to this history, I will omit them; but one other I will mention. Quintus Fufius Calenus, finding that the votes of all were hopelessly confused, at least in party contests, since each of the orders attributed the good measures to itself and referred the preposterous ones to the others, proposed a law while praetor that each order should cast its vote separately. His purpose was that even if their individual opinions could not be revealed, by reason of their taking this vote secretly, yet it might become clear how the orders, at least, felt.

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

1 The reference is to the three orders of which the juries were composed—senators, knights, and tribuni aerarii.
ΔΙΟΣ ΒΟΜΗ" ΠΟΜΠΗΩΝ ΒΩΝ ΒΔΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΠΕΔΩΝ ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΠΡΟΣΕΠΕΤΡΕΨΕ.
2 ΦΩΒΗΘΕΙΣ Δ' ΌΥΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΩΣ ΜΗ ΤΙ Ο ΠΟΜΠΗΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΑΠΟΥΣΙΑ ΑΥΤΟΥ, ΕΠΕΙΔΗ Ο ΓΑΒΩΝΟΣ Ο ΑΥΛΟΣ ΥΠΑΤΕΥΣΕΙΝ ΕΜΕΛΛΕ, ΝΕΩΤΕΡΙΣΗ, ΕΚΕΙΝΟΝ ΤΕ ΑΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΥΠΑΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΚΙΟΝ ΠΙΣΩΝΑ ΣΥΓΓΕΝΕΙΑΙς
2 ΑΝΑΓΚΗ ΠΡΟΣΗΨΑΙΡΙΣΑΣΤΟ σ' ΤΩΝ ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΠΟΜΠΗΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ ΚΑΙΣΠΕΡ ΆΛΛΩ ΤΕΙΝΗ ΗΓΓΥΗΚΩΣ ΣΥΝΩΛΚΙΣΕ, ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΠΙΣΩΝΑΣ ΕΥΓΗΜΕ. ΚΑΙ Ο ΜΕΝ ΟΥΤΩ ΠΑΝΤΑΧΟΘΕΝ ΕΚΡΑΤΟΝΗ, ΚΙΚΕΡΩΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΔΟΥΚΟΥΛΛΟΣ ΟΔΗΚΑΡΕΚΟΜΕΝ ΤΟΤΟΥΣ ΑΠΟΚΤΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΠΟΜΠΗΩΝ ΔΙΑ ΔΟΥΚΙΟΥ ΤΙΝΟΣ ΟΥΛΕΤΤΙΟΝ ΕΠΕΧΕΙΡΗΣΑΝ ΜΕΝ, ΟΥΚ ΗΔΥΝΗΘΕΙΑΝ ΔΕ, ΆΛΛΟ ΔΟΞΑΥΓΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΙ ΠΡΟΣΑΠΩΛΟΝΤΟ. ΠΡΟΜΗΤΕΙΣ ΓΑΡ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΛΛΗΨΘΕΙΣ ΠΡΩΝ ΤΙ ΔΡΑΣΑΙ, ΚΑΤΕΙΤΕΠΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΙΓΕ ΜΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΒΙΒΙΟΥΛΟΥ ΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΕΠΕΒΟΥΛΕΥΟΝΤΑ ΣΦΙΣΙΝ ΕΥΓΔΟΧΟΚΕΙ, ΠΑΝΤΩΣ ΑΝ ΤΙ ΔΕΙΝΟΝ ΕΠΕΠΩΘΕΣΑΝ ΒΝΩΝ ΔΕ, ΟΤΙ ΤΟΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΜΠΗΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΡΑΤΤΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΥΠΕΛΩΣΑΝΤΑ ΑΜΝΙΑΚΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΗΓΙΑΙΟΤΟ, ΥΠΟΠΤΕΥΘΗ ΜΗΔΕ ΕΠΙ ΤΩΝ ΛΟΙΤΩΝ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΕΝ, ΆΛΛΩΣ ΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΨΑΜΟΥ ΤΙΝΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΣΥΝΟΦΑΝΤΙΑΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΤΙΣΤΑΣΙΩΤΩΝ ΣΦΩΝ ΠΑΡΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΙ. ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΜΕΝ ΤΟΤΩΝ ΑΛΛΩΣ ΑΛΛΑ ΔΙΕΘΡΟΛΟΥΝ. ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΠΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΗΛΕΓΘΗ ΤΙ, ΆΛΛΑ ΕΣ ΤΟ ΠΛΗΘΟΣ Ο ΟΥΛΕΤΤΙΟΝ ΕΣΑΧΘΕΙΣ, ΚΑΙ ΜΟΝΟΥΣ ΟΔΗΚΑΙΠΟΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΣΑΙ, ΕΣ ΤΟ ΟΙΚΗΜΑ ΕΣΕΠΕΣΕ, ΚΑΝΤΑΙΘΑ ΟΥ ΠΟΛΛΩ ΥΣΤΕΡΟΝ ΕΔΟΛΟΦΟΥΘΗ. ΟΥΠΟΤΟΤΟΥ ΤΟΥΝ ΕΚ ΤΟΤΩΝ Ο ΚΙΚΕΡΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΜΠΗΩΝ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΒΕΒΑΙΩΣΑΤΟ ΤΗΝ ΥΠΟΝΟΙΑΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΣΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ.

1 συγγενελας Rk., συγγενείς L.
BOOK XXXVIII

while the senate entrusted him in addition with Transalpine Gaul and another legion. B.C. 59

But fearing even then that Pompey might make some change during his absence, inasmuch as Aulus Gabinius was to be consul, he attached to himself both Pompey and the other consul, Lucius Piso, by ties of kinship: upon the former he bestowed his daughter, in spite of having betrothed her to another man, while he himself married Piso's daughter. Thus he strengthened himself on all sides. Cicero and Lucullus, however, little pleased at this, undertook to kill both Caesar and Pompey through the help of a certain Lucius Vettius; but they failed of their attempt and all but lost their own lives as well. For Vettius, upon being exposed and arrested before he had accomplished anything, denounced them; and had he not charged Bibulus also with being in the plot against the two, it would certainly have gone hard with them. But as it was, owing to the fact that in his defence he accused this man who had revealed the plan to Pompey, it was suspected that he was not speaking the truth in the case of the others either, but had been prompted in the matter as the result of a plot of the other side to calumniate their opponents. Concerning these matters various reports were current, since nothing was definitely proven. Vettius was brought before the populace, and after naming only those whom I have mentioned, was thrown into prison, where he was treacherously murdered a little later. In consequence of this affair, Cicero became suspected by Caesar and Pompey, and he confirmed their suspicion in his defence of Antonius.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Οὗτος γὰρ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ δεινὰ καὶ τὸ ὑπῆκοον τὸ ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ, ἄρξας αὐτὴς, καὶ τὸ ἐνσπον-
δὼν εἰργάσατο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀντέπαθε. τὰ τε γὰρ τῶν Δαρδάνων καὶ τὰ τῶν πλησιοχώρων σφίσι πορθήσας οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ἐπιώντας αὐτοὺς ὕπομείναι, ἀλλὰ ὡς καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἄλλο τι μετὰ τῶν ἱπ-
pέων ὑποχωρήσας ἐξυγενεὶ, καὶ οὕτω τοὺς πεζοὺς ἑκεῖνοι περισσόντες ἐκ τε τῆς χώρας βιαῖως ἔξη-
3 λασαὶ καὶ τὴν λείαν προσαφείλοντο. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ τούτο καὶ περὶ τοὺς συμμάχους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ 2 ποιήσας ἤττηθη πρὸς 3 τῆς τῶν Ἰστριανῶν πόλει πρὸς τῶν Σκυθῶν τῶν Βασταρνῶν, ἐπιβοηθησάν-
tων αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀπέδρα. οὐ μὲντοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ-
tοις αἰτιὰν ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ ἐγράφη μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Κατιλίνου συνωμοσία, ἐάλω δὲ δι᾽ ἑκείνα, καὶ συνέβη αὐτῷ, ὃν μὲν ἐκρίνετο, μὴ ἐλεγχθῆναι, ὅσ᾽ 4 ὦν ἡτιάζετο, κολασθῆναι. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἀπήλλαξεν, ὁ δὲ ἡ Κἰκέρων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τότε, ἀτε καὶ συνάρξαντός 4 οἱ, ὑπερδικῶν, πλείστην κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὡς καὶ αἰτίου τῆς δίκης αὐτῷ γεγενημένου καταδρομήν ἐπονήσατο, καὶ τινὰ αὐτὸν καὶ προσελοδόρησεν.

11 'Ο δὲ ἠκριβω ἢ μὲν ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς ὡσπερ εἰκός ἦν, οὐ μὴν οὐτ᾽ εἴπετε οὐτ᾽ ἔπραξεν ὑβριστικῶν ἐς αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν, καὶ περ ὑπατεύων, τοὺς γὰρ πολλοὺς ἐλεγει συχνὰ καὶ μάταια ἐξπετίθησε ἐς τοὺς κρεῖτ-
tονας σφών ἐς φιλονεκίαν αὐτοὺς ὑπάγοντας 5... ἵνα ἵσοι σφίσι καὶ ὁμοίου, ἃν γέ τι ὁμοιότροπον

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1 ἐνσπονδόν Oddey, ἐνσπονδόν L.
2 Μυσία R. Steph., μυσίαι L.
3 πρὸς added by Leuncl.
4 συνάρξαντος Rk., συνάρχοντος L.
5 ὑπάγοντας Bk., ὑπαγογόντας L.

216
BOOK XXXVIII

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

Caesar was naturally indignant at this, but, although consul, refused to be the author of any insolent speech or act against him. He said that the multitude often purposely [cast] many idle [slurs] upon their superiors, in the effort to draw them into strife, so that they might seem to be their equals and of like importance with them, in case they should get anything similar said of themselves; and he
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

ἀντακούσωσι, δόξωσιν εἶναι· καὶ οὐκ ἢξιον ἀν-
2 τίπαλον ἐκ τοῦτον οὐδένα ἑαυτῷ ποιεῖν. καὶ διὰ
τοῦτο τοῖς τε ἄλλοις τοῖς τι προπηλακιζούσιν
αὐτὸν οὗτῳ προσεφέρετο, καὶ τότε τὸν Κικέρωνα
ὁρῶν οὐχ ἑαυτῷ τι τοσοῦτον λοιδορήσασθαι
ἔθελοντα ὅσον ἀντακούσαι τι τῶν ὁμοίων, ὡστε
καὶ παρισσωθῆναι οἱ, ἐπιθυμοῦντα, βραχὺ
tе ἑαυτοῦ ἐφρόντισε καὶ οὐδὲν ὃν ἔλεγε προσποιή-
σατο, ἀλλ’ εἰα αὐτῶν ἁφθόνος, καθάπερ τισίν
3 ἐπαίνοις ἑαυτοῦ, ταῖς λοιδορίαις χρήσθαι. οὐ
μέντοι καὶ παντάπασιν ὁλγώρως αὐτοῦ ἔσχεν.
ἐπιεικεστέραν μὲν γὰρ ὄντως φύσιν εἰλήχει, καὶ
οὐ πάνω ὑδίως ἑθυμοῦτο· συχνος δ’ οὖν, ἀτε καὶ
ἐν τοσοῦτοις πράγμασιν, ἐδικαίων, οὐ μὴν ὡστε
καὶ δ’ ῥγῆς ἢ καὶ παραχρήμα πάντως αὐτὸ
4 ποιεῖν. θυμῷ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν ἐχαρίζετο, τοῦ δὲ δὴ
καιροῦ διεσκόπει, καὶ τούς γε πλείους οὐδὲ
αἰσθανομένους μετῆι. οὐ γὰρ ὅπως δόξειν
ἀμύνεσθαι τινας ἐπράσσεν, ἀλλ’ ὅπως ὅτι ἀνεπι-
θυμοῦτα πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἑαυτῷ πάντα
dioikήσει. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀδήλως, καὶ ἐν οἷς
5 ἦκιστα ἂν ταῖς προσεδόκησε, τὰς τιμωρίας ἐπῆγε,
tῆς τε φήμης ἑνεκα, τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ὀργίλως ἑχει,
καὶ τοῦ μὴ τινα προαισθανόμενον προφυλάξασθαι
ἡ καὶ προποίησαι τι δεινὸν αὐτὸν, πρὶν παθεῖν,
ἐπιχειρῆσαι. οὐ γὰρ τῶν ἢδη γεγονότων μᾶλλον
ti αὐτῷ ἔμελεν ἢ ἦνα τὰ μέλλοντα κωλυθεῖν.3
6 καὶ τοῦτον πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ τῶν μεγάλα αὐτὸν
λυπησάντων συνεγίγνωσκεν ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ βραχὺ

1 ἔμελεν R. Steph., ἔμελεν L.
2 τὰ μέλλοντα κωλυθεῖν Rk., καὶ λυθεῖ L.

218
BOOK XXXVIII

did not see fit to make anybody his rival in this manner. This, then, was his attitude toward others who insulted him in any way, and so now, when he saw that Cicero was not so anxious to abuse him as to receive similar abuse in return, so that he might be placed on an equality with him, he paid little heed to his traducer, ignoring all he said; indeed, he allowed him to indulge in abuse without stint, as if it were so much praise showered upon him. Still, he did not disregard him entirely. For, although Caesar possessed in reality a rather mild nature, and was not at all easily moved to anger, he nevertheless punished many, since his interests were so numerous, yet in such wise that it was not done in anger nor always immediately. He did not indulge in wrath at all, but watched for his opportunity, and his vengeance pursued the majority of his foes without their knowing it. For he did not act in such a way as to seem to be defending himself against anybody, but so as to arrange everything to his own advantage while arousing the least hatred. Therefore he visited his retribution secretly and in places where one would least have expected it, both for the sake of his reputation, in order to avoid seeming to be of a wrathful disposition, and also to the end that no one should learn of it beforehand and so be on his guard, or try to inflict some serious injury upon him before being injured. For he was not so much concerned about what had already occurred as he was to prevent future attacks. As a result he would pardon many of those, even, who had vexed him greatly, or pursue them only to a limited extent, because he believed they would do
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐπεξῆγεν, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔτι κακουργήσειν αὐτοῦς ἐπίστευεν· πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον τοῦ καθῆκοντος ἦσαν ἀσφάλειαν ἐτεμωρεῖτο, λέγον ὅτι τὸ μὲν . . . οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἀγένητον . . . τῆς κολάσεως ὑπερβολὴ πάντως τι δεινὸν πείσεται.

12 Ἐξ οὖν τούτων τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ τότε αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν ἤσυχίαν ἦγε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Κλώδιον ἀντιχαρίσασθαι τι αὐτῷ, ὅτι τῆς μοιχείας αὐτοῦ οὐ κατηγόρησε, βουλόμενον αἰσθόμενος παρεσκέυασε κρύφα κατὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνος. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐς τὰ τοῦ πλήθους δικαιώματα αὕτης αὐτοῖς, ὅπως νομίμως ἐκποιηθῇ, συμπράττοντος αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου μετέστησεν, ἐπείτῃ δὲ δήμαρχον εὐθὺς ἀποδειχθῆναι διεπράξατο. οὕτως οὖν ὁ Κλώδιος ἐπεστάμασε μὲν καὶ τὸν Βίβουλον ἐσελθόντα τε ἐς τὴν ἁγορὰν ἐπ’ ἐξὸδῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ διανοούμενον μετὰ τῆς τοῦ ὄρκου πιστώσεως καὶ περί τῶν παρόντων δημηγορήσαι, ἐπέθετο δὲ καὶ τῷ Κικέρωνι. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἐδόκει οἱ ῥάδιοι εἶναι ἄνδρα πάμπολυ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ διὰ τὴν τῶν λόγων δεινότητα δυνάμενον καταλύσαι, τρέπεται πρὸς οἰκείωσιν οὐχ ὅτι τοῦ πλῆθους; ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἱππεῶν τῆς τε θυελῆς, παρ’ οἷσπερ ποῦ καὶ ὁ Κικέρων πλείστος ἐφέρετο, ἐλπίσας, δὲν τούτους σφετερίσεται, ῥάδιος αὐτὸν, ἀτε καὶ διὰ φόβον μᾶλλον ἢ δὲ εὐνοιαν ἵσχύοντα, καθαίρειν.

5 ρήσεις. παμπληθεῖσις γὰρ ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἐλύπει, καὶ οὐκ ἂς τοσοῦτον οἱ τῷ ὅφελούμενοι ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ φιλειόντο ἐς ὅσον οἱ βλαστάμενοι ἠλλοτριοῦντο. πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς τοῦς πλείους τῶν ἀνθρώπων προχειρώτερον ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀψιχερεστέροις ἀγανακτεῖν ἢ τῶν ἁμεινῶν χάριν τισὶν ἔχειν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν 220
no further injury; whereas upon many others he took vengeance, even beyond what was fitting, with an eye to his own safety. What was once done, he said, [he could] never [make] undone [by any penalty], but because of the severity of the punishment he would for the future at least suffer no harm.

In view of these considerations he was inclined to do nothing on this occasion also; but when he ascertained that Clodius was willing to do him a favour in return for the fact that he had not accused him of adultery, he set this man secretly against Cicero. In the first place, in order that he might be lawfully excluded from the patricians, he transferred him with Pompey's coöperation to the plebeian status once more, and then immediately had him appointed tribune. This Clodius, then, silenced Bibulus, when at the expiration of his office he entered the Forum and intended in connexion with taking the oath to deliver a speech about the existing state of affairs; and he attacked Cicero also. But since he decided that it was not easy to overthrow a man who had very great influence in the state by reason of his skill in speaking, he proceeded to conciliate not only the populace, but also the knights and the senate, by whom Cicero was held in the highest regard. His hope was that if he could make these men his own, he might easily cause the downfall of the orator, whose strength lay rather in the fear than in the good-will which he inspired. For Cicero annoyed great numbers by his speeches, and those whom he aided were not so thoroughly won to his side as those whom he injured were alienated; for most men are more ready to feel irritation at what displeases them than to feel grateful to any one
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

συναγορεύσασι σφίσιν ἀποδεδωκέναι τὸν μισθὸν νομίζειν, τοὺς δ' ἀντιδικήσαντας ἀμύνεσθαι τρό-
6 πον τινὰ προαιρέσθαι, πικροτάτους ἐχθροὺς ἐαντῳ ἐποίει 1 περιείναι τε καὶ τῶν κρατίστων ἀεὶ ποτε ἐπιχειρῶν καὶ τῇ παρρησίᾳ πρὸς πάντας ὁμοίως ἀκράτω καὶ κατακορεὶ χρώμενος, ἀτε καὶ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ δύνασθαι συνείναι τε καὶ εἰπεῖν ἄμηθεῖς ἄλλος, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ χρηστὸς εἶναι δοκεῖν, 7 θηρώμενος. ἐκ τε οὖν τοῦτον, καὶ διότι μέγιστον τε ἀνθρώπων ήχει καὶ οὐδένα ἐξ ἵσον ἐαυτῷ ἦγεν, ἀλλὰ ἐν τε τοῖς λόγοις ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῷ βίῳ πάντας τε ὑπερεφρόνει καὶ ὑσοδίατος οὐδενὶ ἡξίου εἰναι, φορτικὸς τε καὶ ἐπαχθῆς ἡν, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνων οἷς ἤρεσκε, καὶ ἐφθονεῖτο καὶ ἐμσεῖτο.

13 Ὅ οὖν Κλώδιος ἐλπίσας αὐτὸν διὰ ταῦτα, ἀν τὴν τε βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας τὸν τε ὁμιλοῦν προπαρασκευάσθαι, ταχὺ κατεργάσεσθαι, 2 τὸν τε σῖτον προῖκα εὐθὺς 3 διέειμε (τὸ γὰρ μετρεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀπόροις, τοῦ τε Γαβινίου ἦδη καὶ τοῦ 2 Πίσσωνος ὑπατευόντων, ἐσθήγησατο) καὶ τὰ ἐπαυ-
ρικά, κολλήγια ἐπιχωρίως καλούμενα, ὀντα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχαῖον, καταλυθέντα δὲ χρόνον τινὰ, ἀνενεώσατο· τοῖς τε τιμηταῖς ἀπηγορεύσε μὴ ἀπαλείφειν ἐκ τινῶν ἁλευν ἡμῖν ἀτιμάζεειν μηδένα, χωρὶς ἡ εἰ τις παρ' ἀμφότερος σφίσι κριθεὶς ἀλοίπη.

3 Τούτως οὖν αὐτοῖς δελεάσας καὶ ἔτερον τινὰ νόμον ἐγραψε, περὶ οὖ διὰ πλειόνων ἀναγκαῖον

1 ἐπολεῖ: Reim., ἐπεπολεῖ L.  
2 κατεργάσεσθαι Dind., κατεργάσεσθαι L.  
3 εὐθὺς Be., ἐθίς L.  

222
for kindnesses, and they think that they have paid their advocates in full with their fee, while their chief concern is to get even with their opponents in some way or other. Cicero, moreover, made for himself very bitter enemies by always striving to get the better of even the most powerful men and by always employing an unbridled and excessive frankness of speech toward all alike; for he was in pursuit of a reputation for sagacity and eloquence such as no one else possessed, even in preference to being thought a good citizen. As a result of this and because he was the greatest boaster alive and regarded no one as equal to himself, but in his words and life alike looked down upon everybody and would not live as any one else did, he was wearisome and burdensome, and was consequently both disliked and hated even by those very persons whom he otherwise pleased.

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

After offering them this lure he proposed another law, concerning which it is necessary to speak at
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐστιν εἴπειν, ὅπως σαφέστερος τοῖς πολλοῖς γένηται. τῆς γὰρ μαντείας τῆς δημοσίας ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων τινῶν, ὥσπερ εἰπον, ποιουμένης, τὸ μέγιστον κύρος ἢ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἶχεν, οὕτως ὥστε τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οἰωνίσματα πολλὰ καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην πρᾶξιν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἐσάπαξ

4 ἐπὶ πάση τῇ ἡμέρᾳ γίγνεσθαι. τούτῳ τε οὖν ἱδιώτατον ἐν αὐτῷ ἦν, καὶ δὴ ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἢ ἐπέτρεπε πραχθῆναι τινα, καὶ ἐγίγνετο μηδενὸς ἐτί καθ’ ἐκαστὸν οἰωνίσματος ἐπαγομένου, ἢ ἐκώλυνε, καὶ ἀνεχερίζετο τί, τὰς δὲ δὴ τοῦ δήμου διανηφίσεις πάντως ἐπισχεν, καὶ δὴ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἀεὶ διοσημίᾳ, εἶτε ἐναισχόν εἴτε

5 ἐξαισίους ἐγένετο. καὶ τὸ μὲν αἰτίου τῆς νομίσεως ταύτης οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι, γράφω δὲ τὰ λεγόμενα. ἐπει δὴν πολλοὶ ἐμποδίζειν ἢ νόμων ἐσφορὰς ἢ ἀρχόντων καταστάσεις ἐς τὸν δήμου ἐσαγομένας βουλόμενοι προεπήγεγελλον ὡς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην μαντευσόμενοι, ὧστε μηδὲμίαν

6 ἐν αὐτῇ κύρωσιν τὸν δήμον σκέιν, φοβηθεὶς οὖν Κλώδιος μὴ γραψαμένου αὐτοῦ τῶν Κικέρωνα ἀναβολῆν τε τινες ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτον καὶ τριβὴν τῇ δίκῃ ἐμποιησάσιον, ἐσήνεγκε μηδένα τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐν αἰς ψηφίσασθαί τι τῶν δήμων ἀναγκαίων εἴη, τὰ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ γυνώμενα παρατηρεῖν.

14 Τοιαῦτα μὲν τότε ἐπὶ τῶν Κικέρωνα συνέγραψε καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος, συνεἰς τὸ γυμνόμενον, Δούκιον Νίννιον Κουαδράτον δημαρχουῦντα ἐναντιωθῆναι πᾶσι σφισιν ἀντιπαρεσκευάσει, ἐδεισε μὴ καὶ

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

Such were the measures which he then drew up with reference to Cicero. The latter understood what was afoot and induced Lucius Ninnius Quadratus, a tribune, to oppose every move; so
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

θόρυβος ἐκ τοῦτον καὶ διατριβὴ τις γένηται, καὶ 2 ὑπῆλθεν αὐτὸν ἀπατήσας. προδομομολογησάμενος γὰρ αὐτῷ μηδ᾽ ὀτιοῦν, ἀν μηδὲν τῶν νομοθετουμένων ἐμποδίσῃ, καὶ αὐτὸν γράψειν, ἔπειτα τὴν ἰσοχίαν καὶ ἐκείνου καὶ τὸν Νινίου ἀγονος διενομοθέτησεν αὐτά, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ
3 Κικέρων ἐπεχείρησεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὖτω, καίτοι φρονιμότατος ἄξιον εἶναι, τότε ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλαύδιου, εἶ ὡς ἐκείνου ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸν Καίσαρα τοὺς τε ἀλλούς τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν συνεστηκότας δεὶ λέγειν,
4 ἡπατήθη; ὁ δὲ δὴ νόμος ὁν μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Κλάωδιος ἐσήγηκεν, ἀλλὰς μὲν όυκ ἐδόκει ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ τίθεσθαι (οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐξεχάρα κατὰ πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν πολίτην 1 τινὰ ἀνευ τῆς τοῦ δήμου καταγρώσεως ἀποκετεύοντων ἥ καὶ ἀπεκτούσων ἐσήγητο), 2 ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ὅτι
5 μάλιστα συνενεγράφετο. ἕφερε μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν βουλήν, ὅτι τοὺς τε ὑπάτους τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως, δι᾽ ἡσπερ καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα σφικτὶ ποιεῖν ἐξὸν ἐγίγνετο, προσετεθάχει, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ Δευτούλου καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν
6 τῶν τότε θανατωθέντων κατεψύχοστον οὐ μὲντοι ἀλλ᾽ ὁ Κικέρων, ἐπειδή καὶ ἐσήγηκεν περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσήγητο 3 ἀεὶ καὶ ἐπεντείκηκε καὶ τέλος καὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν σφῶν διὰ γε τῶν τὰ τοιαύτα ὑπηρετοῦντων ἐπετοίητο, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν μόνος ἢ
7 καὶ μάλιστα ἔσχε. 4 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ τὸ ἀλλὰ ἵσχυρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιπρασσε, καὶ τὴν βουλευτικὴν ἐσβάζει ἀπορρίπτας ἐν τῇ ἵππαδι περιενότετε, πάντας τε τοὺς τε δυναμένους, όυχ ὅπως τῶν

1 πολίτην Rk., πολιτῶν L. 2 ἐσήγητο Bk., συνεσήγητο L.
3 ἐσήγητο Rk., ἐσηγείτο L.  4 ἔσχε R. Steph., έσχε L.

226
BOOK XXXVIII

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

έπιτηδεύων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν, καὶ μάλιστα τὸν τοῦ Πομπῆίου καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἄτε μηδὲ τὴν ἔχθραν αὐτοῦ προσποιούμενον, καὶ ἥμερας καὶ νυκτὸς ὀμοίως περιών ἔθεράτευεν. 1

15 Καὶ ἐβούλοντο γὰρ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὴ τὸν Κλωδίου αὐτοῦ παρεσκευακένα μὴ τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἀρέσκεσθαι δοκεῖν, τοιάνδε τινὰ ἐπὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα ἀπάτην, σφίξει μὲν εὐπρεπῆ

2 ἐκεῖνος δὲ δὴ ἀφανῆ, προσεζεύρων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Καίσαρ ὑπείκειν αὐτῷ συνεβούλευε, μή καὶ κατὰ χώραν μείνας ἀπόληται. καὶ ἕνα γε καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπ’ εὐνοίας τοῦτο ποιεῖν πιστευθῆ, ὑποστρατήγῳ οἱ χρήσεσθαι ὑπισχεῖτο, ὅπως μὴ μετ’ οὐνείδους ὡς καὶ ὑπεύθυνος ἄν, ἀλλὰ ἑπὶ τὸν ἀρχής καὶ μετὰ

3 τιμῆς ἐκπολέον δὴ τῷ Κλωδίῳ γένεται. ὁ δὲ δὴ Πομπῆίος τούτου μὲν αὐτοῦ, τό τε πράγμα ἀποδρασίν ἀντικρυσ ὄνομαζεν, καὶ ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ὀστε καὶ κατ’ ἔχθραν οὐκ ἐπιτηδεῖς οἱ συμβουλεύοντα ὑποσημαίνων, ἀπέτρεπε, γνώμην δὲ ἐδίδου καταμείναι καὶ ἐαυτῷ τε ἅμα καὶ τῇ βουλῇ μετὰ παρρησίας βοηθῆσαι, τὸν τε Κλωδίου εὐθὺς ἀμύ.

4 νασθαν. οὔτε γὰρ διαπράξασθαι τι αὐτὸν παρόντος τε ἐκείνου καὶ ἐναντιουμένου δυνῆσεσθαι ἔλεγε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ δίκην 2 δῶσειν καὶ ἐαυτοῦ τι πρὸς τούτο συμπράξαστος. τοιούτῳς αὐτῶν 3 λόγους λεγόντων οὐχ ὅτι ἐναντία ἀλλήλοις ἐγίγνοσκον ἀλλ’ ἐν ἐκείνων ἀνυπότπως ἀπαθήσωσι, τῷ Πομπῆίῳ προσέθετο. οὔτε γὰρ προϋπόπτευε τὶ ἐς αὐτόν, καὶ ἐπίστευε πάντως ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ σωθῆσεσθαι. τῶν τε γὰρ ἄλλων πολλοῖ καὶ ἰδούντο

1 ἔθεράτευε H. Steph., ἔθεράτευες L.
2 δίκην supplied by Oddey. 3 αὐτῶν Reim., αὐτῶι L.

228
BOOK XXXVIII

day and night alike, to all who had any influence, not only of his friends but also of his opponents, and especially to Pompey and even Caesar, inasmuch as the latter concealed his enmity toward him.

Now these men, indeed, did not wish to appear to have instigated Clodius themselves, or even to be pleased with his measures, and so they devised the following plan, involving no discredit to themselves but obscure to Cicero, for deceiving him. Caesar, for his part, advised him to yield, for fear he might lose his life if he remained in the city; and in order to have it believed the more readily that he was doing this through good-will, he promised to employ him as his lieutenant, so that he might retire out of Clodius' way, not in disgrace, as if under investigation, but in a position of command and with honour. Pompey, however, tried to turn him aside from this course, calling the act outright desertion, and uttering insinuations against Caesar to the effect that through enmity he was not giving sound advice; as for himself, he advised him to remain and boldly defend both himself and the senate and thus avenge himself at once upon Clodius. The latter, he declared, would not be able to accomplish anything with Cicero present and confronting him, and would furthermore meet his deserts, since he, Pompey, would also coöperate to this end. Now when these two expressed themselves thus, not because their views were opposed, but for the purpose of deceiving their victim without arousing his suspicion, Cicero attached himself to Pompey. Of him he had no previous suspicion and was absolutely confident of being saved by his assistance. For in the first place, many respected and
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

αὐτὸν καὶ ἑτίμων ὡστε καὶ κινδυνεύοντας συνχοῦσ
tοὺς μὲν παρὰ τῶν δικαστῶν τοὺς δὲ καὶ παρ'
6 αὐτῶν τῶν κατηγόρων ρύόμενον1 καὶ ὁ Κλώδιος,
ἀτε καὶ ἐν γένει ποτὲ αὐτῷ γενόμενος καὶ συντρα-
teύσας ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον, οὐδὲν ὃ τι ὦ κατὰ
γνώµην αὐτοῦ ἔδοκεν ποιήσειν. τὸν τε Γαβίνιον
ἀντικρού, ἀτε καὶ πάνυ φίλον αὐτῷ ὄντα, καὶ τὸν
Πίσωνα ἀπὸ τε τῆς ἐπιεικείας καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ
Καίσαρος συγγένειαν ὑπάρξειν οἱ προσεδόκησε.
16 τούτους τε ὦν τοῖς λογισμοῖς κρατήσειν ἐλπίσας
(καὶ γὰρ ἐθάρσει παρὰ λόγου ὡσπερ ἀνεξετάστως
ἐδεδεί), καὶ φοβηθεῖς μὴ καὶ ἐκ ποιηροῦ συνει-
dότος τὴν ἀποδημίαν πεποιήθαι δόξη, τῷ μὲν
Καίσαρι χάριν δὴ τινα ἔχειν ἔλεγε, τῷ δὲ δὴ
Πομπηίῳ ἐπείσθη.

2 καὶ ὁ μὲν οὖτως ἀπατηθεὶς παρεσκευάζετο ὡς
καὶ πολὺ τῶν ἑχθρῶν ὑπεροίσων. πρὸσ γὰρ δὴ
τοῖς εἰρημένοις, οἱ τε ἰππῆς συνελθόντες ἕσ τὸ
Καπιτώλιον πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τε τοὺς
ὑπάτους καὶ τὴν γεροσιναν, ἀλλούς τε τινας ἕκ
3 σφῶν καὶ βουλευτὰς τὸν τε Ὁρτήσιον τὸν Κύ-
ιντον καὶ Γάιον Κουρίωνα, ἐπεμφαν. καὶ ὁ
Νίνιος τὰ τε ἀλλα αὐτῷ συνήρετο, καὶ τὴν
ἐσθήτα τῷ πλῆθει ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τινι κοινή συμφορά
μεταβαλέιν2 παρήγεσε. καὶ πολλοὶ3 τούτο καὶ
τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐποίησαν,4 καὶ οὐ πρότερον γε
μετεβάλοντο5 πρὶν τοὺς ὑπάτους σφίσι διὰ προ-
γραφῆς ἐπιτυμῆσαι.

4 Ἀλλ' ἦν γὰρ τὰ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν αὐτοῦ

1 ρύόμενον Cary, ῥύεσθαι L. 2 μεταβαλέιν Bk., μεταβάλλειν L.
3 πολλοὶ R., Steph., πολῇ L. 4 ἐποίησαν supplied by Xyl.
5 μετεβάλοντο Bk., μετεβάλλοντο L.

230
BOOK XXXVIII

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

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

The forces of his adversaries were more powerful,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

δυνατότερα, οὔτε ὁ Κλώδιος χρηματίσασθαι τι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῷ Νινιὼ1 ἔπετρεψεν, οὔτε Γαβίνος τὴν πρόσοδον τοῖς ἵππεσιν ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕνα τινὰ αὐτῶν, ὥς πολὺς ἐνέκειτο, καὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως2 ἐξῆλασε, τῷ τῇ Ὀρτησίῳ καὶ τῷ Κουρίῳ, ὥστε καὶ ἄδροισθείσι σφίσι συνεγένοντο

καὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν ὑπέστησαν, ἐπεκάλει. καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Κλώδιος ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐσαγαγὼν πληγαὶς ἐπὶ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ διά τινων προπαρεσκευασμένων συνέκοψε. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ τῇ Πίσων, καὶ περευνοίκῳς τῷ Κικέρωνι δοκών ἔχειν, καὶ συμβουλεύσας γε αὐτῷ, ὥς ἐώρα ἀδύνατον ὅν ἀλλὰς αὐτῶν σωθῆναι, προωπεζέχειν, ὃμως ἐπειδὴ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνος ὁμοίῳ παρήλθεν ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὅτε πρῶτον ἡδυνήθη (τὰ γὰρ πολλὰ ἠρρώστει), καὶ πυθομένου3 τοῦ Κλωδίου τίνα γράμμην περὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἔχοι, εἶπεν ὅτι οὐδέν μοι οὔτε ὤμοιον, οὔτε4 σκυθρωπόν ἐργὸν ἀρέσκει. καὶ ὁ Γαβίνος ἐρωτηθεὶς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐχ ὅπως ἐκεῖνον ἐπήγεισεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἵππων τῆς τε βουλῆς προσκατηγόρησεν.

17 Ὅ μὲντοι Καίσαρ (ἐξώ γὰρ τοῦ τείχους ὁ Κλώδιος δι' αὐτοῦ, ἔπειδηπερ ἐξεστράτευτο, τὸν ὄμιλον συναγαγὼν καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐπιγνώμονα τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐποίησατο) τὴν μὲν5 παρανομαίαν τῶν περὶ τῶν Δεντουλοῦ πραξθέντων κατεψήφισεν, τὴν μέντοι τιμωρίαν τὴν ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς γραφομένην ὑπὲρ ἐδοκίμασεν. ὥσα μὲν γὰρ περὶ

1 τῷ Νινιῷ Leuncl., τοῦ νινιὼν L.
2 πόλεως Cobet, πολιτείας L.
3 πυθομένου Xyl., πυθόμενος L.
4 οὔτε ὤμοιον Viciarius, οὔτω μόνον L.
5 οὔτε St., οὔδε L. 6 μὲν St., μὲν γὰρ L.

232
however. Clodius would not allow Ninnius to take any action in his behalf, and Gabinius would not grant the knights access to the senate; on the contrary, he drove one of them, who was very insistent, out of the city, and rebuked Hortensius and Curio for having been present in the assembly of the knights and for having undertaken the mission. Moreover, Clodius brought them before the populace, where they were soundly belaboured for their mission by some appointed agents. After this Piso, though he seemed well-disposed towards Cicero and had advised him, on seeing that it was impossible for him to attain safety by any other means, to slip away in time, nevertheless, when the other took offence at this counsel, came before the assembly at the first opportunity (he was too ill most of the time) and to the question of Clodius as to what opinion he held regarding the proposed measure said: “No deed of cruelty or sadness pleases me.” Gabinius, too, on being asked the same question, not only failed to praise Cicero but even accused both the knights and the senate.

Caesar, however, who had already taken the field, and whom Clodius could therefore make arbiter of the measure only by assembling the populace outside the walls, condemned the illegality of the action taken in regard to Lentulus, but still did not approve the punishment proposed for it. Every one knew, he said, all that had been in his mind con-
τῶν τότε γενομένων ἐφρονήσε, πάντας εἰδέναι ἔφη (τήν γὰρ σώζουσαν σφας ψῆφον δεδωκὼς ἦν), οὐ μὴν καὶ προσήκειν ἐπὶ τοῖς παρελθηλυθόσι τοιοῦτοιν
3 τινα νόμον συγγράφεσθαι. Καὶ αὐτῷ οὖν ταῦτ' εἴπε, Κράσσος δὲ διὰ μὲν τοῦ νόεσ βοηθείαν τινα τῷ Κικέρωνι ἐνεδείκνυτο, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ τοῦ πλῆθους ἐπρασσε. καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ὑπισχυοῖτο μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν ἔπικουρίαν, σκήψεις δὲ τινας ἄλλατε ἄλλας ποιούμενος καὶ ἀποδημίας συχνὰς ἐπίτηδες στελλόμενος οὐκ ἐπήμυνε.
4 Ἡ δὲν οὖν ταυθ' ὁ Κικέρων καὶ φοβηθεὶς αὐθίς ἐπεκείρησε μὲν ὀτιο άρασθαι (τα τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον φανερῶς προεπηλάκιζε), καλυπθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Κάτωνος καὶ τοῦ Ὁρτησίου, μὴ καὶ ἐμφύλιος ἐκ τοῦτο πόλεμος γένηται, τότε δὴ καὶ ἀκὸν μετά τε αἰσχύνης καὶ μετὰ κακοδοξίας, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἑυοῦσιτος ἑθελοντῆς 5 πεφευγὼς, μετέστη. πρὶν δὲ δὴ ἀφορμησαί, ἐς τα ἀπὸ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνέβη καὶ ἀγαλμάτιον τι Ἀθηνᾶς ἀνέθηκε, Φυλακίδα αὐτὴν ὀνομάσας. ὑπεξήλθε δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν προστάτης τε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐγεγονεί, καὶ ἐπίδα τολλὴν ἐν τε τοῖς δῆμοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἰδιώταις τῷ τε ἀρχονταί αὐτῶν εἴχε τιμηθή-
6 σεσθαί. φυγόντωσ d' αὐτοῦ ὁ νόμος τὸ κύρος, οὐχ ὅπως οὐκ ἐναντιωθέντος τινός, ἀλλὰ καὶ σπουδασάντων ἅλλων τε καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ὀπέρ τὰ 1 τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀνὰ πρώτους πράττειν ἐδοκοῦν, ἐπειδήτερ ἀπαξ ἐκποδῶν ἐγεγονεί, ἐλαβε' καὶ ἦ τε οὕσι αὐτοῦ ἐδημεύθη, καὶ ἤ οἰκία ὅπερ τινὸς πολεμίου κατεσκάφη, τὸ τε ἔδαφος αὐτῆς ἦν νευν 7 Ἔλευθερίας ἀνέθηκαν. αὐτῷ τε ἐκείνῳ ἦ τε φυγή

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

Cicero, perceiving this, became afraid and again undertook to resort to arms, among other things even abusing Pompey openly; but he was stopped by Cato and Hortensius, for fear a civil war might result. Then at last he departed, against his will, and with the shame and ill-repute of having gone into exile voluntarily, as if conscience-stricken. But before leaving he ascended the Capitol and dedicated a little image of Minerva, whom he styled "Protectress." And he set out secretly for Sicily; for he had once been governor there, and entertained a lively hope that he should be honoured among its towns and private citizens and by their governor. On his departure the law took effect; so far from meeting with any opposition, it was supported, as soon as he was once out of the way, by those very persons, among others, who had seemed to be the most active workers in Cicero's behalf. His property was confiscated, his house was razed to the ground, as though it had been an enemy's, and its site was dedicated for a temple of Liberty. Against Cicero himself a decree of exile
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐπετιμήθη καὶ ἦ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ διατριβή ἀπετρήθη: τρισχιλίουσ τε γαρ καὶ ἐπτακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους ύπερ τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπερωρίσθη, καὶ προσεπέκηρύχθη ἵν' εἴ δὴ ποτε ἐντὸς αὐτῶν φανείη, καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ὑποδεξάμενοι αὐτῶν ἀνατὶ διόλωνται.

18 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν διὰ τούτο μετέστη καὶ ἐκεῖ διέτριβεν ὄδυρόμενος· ἐντυχὼν δ' αὐτῷ Φιλίσκος τις ἀνήρ ἐν τε ταῖς Ἐθναίσσης συγγεγογοῦσι οἱ καὶ τότε κατὰ τύχην ἱσυντυχῶν, "οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ," ἔφη, "ὁ Κικέρων, θρηνῶν καὶ γυναικεῖως διακείμενος; ὡς ἔγγυες οὕτωτ' ἄν σε προσεδόκησα οὕτω μαλακισθήσεσθαι, πολλής μὲν παιδείας καὶ παντοδαπῆς μετεσχηκότα, πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ συνήγορηκότα."

2 Καὶ δὲ υπολαβὼν εἶπεν, "ἄλλῃ οὖν τοι ὅμοιόν ἐστίν, ὁ Φιλίσκε, ὑπὲρ ἀλλων τε τινα λέγειν καὶ ἐαυτῷ συμβουλεύειν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλωτρίων λεγόμενα, ἀπὸ ὀρθῆς καὶ ἀδιαφθόρου τῆς γνώμης προίντα, καιρῶν ἐστὶ τὰ μάλιστα λαμβάνει· οταν δὲ δὴ πάθημα τι τὴν ψυχὴν καταλάβῃ, θολοῦται καὶ σκοτοῦται καὶ οὐδὲν δύναται καλῶν ἐννοῆσαι. οἴθεν ποι πάνω καλῶς εἴρηται ὅτι ράον παρανέσαι ἑτέρους ἐστὶν ἢ αὐτὸν παθόντα καρτερήσαι."  

3 "Δέγεις μὲν τι," ἔφη ὁ Φιλίσκος, "ἀνθρώπων οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἥξιον σε, τοσαύτη μὲν φρονήσει κεχρημένον τοσαύτην δὲ σοφίαν ἡσυχίατο, μὴ οὐ προπαρεσκευάσθαι πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἀνθρώπων, ἵν' εἴ τι καὶ παράλογον σοι προσπέσοι, μήτι γε  

1 τύχην Bs., τὴν τύχην L.  
2 μήτι γε Dind., μήτοι γε L.
BOOK XXXVIII

was passed, and he was forbidden to tarry in Sicily; for he was banished five hundred miles\(^1\) from Rome, and it was further proclaimed that if he should ever appear within those limits, both he and those who harboured him might be slain with impunity.

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

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

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

\(^1\) Literally 3,750 stades; Dio regularly reckons 7½ instead of 8 stades to the (Roman) mile. Cf. p. 61 and note. The distance here given agrees with Plutarch's statement (Cic. 32), but Cicero himself (ad Att. iii. 4) says 400 miles.
4 καὶ ἀφρακτῶν σε εὐροί. ἐπεὶ δ’ οὖν ἐν τούτῳ καθέστηκας... καὶ γὰρ ἂν τι ὠφελήσαιμι σε διαλεξάμενος τι τῶν προσφόρων, ἵνα ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ φορτία συναρέμουν τισιν ἐπικού-φίζουσιν αὐτούς, καὶ ἐγὼ σοι τὸ πάθος τούτο ἐπελαφρύναιμ, τοσοῦτῳ ῥαν ἐκείνων ὅσῳ μηδὲ
5 τὸ βραχύτατον αὐτοῦ μεταλήψωμαι. οὐ γὰρ που καὶ ἀπαξιώσεις παραμβῆλον τινὸς παρ’ ἐτέρου τυχεῖν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτάρκης ἐαυτῷ ἡσθα, οὐδὲν ἂν ἡμῖν τῶν λόγων τούτων ἐδεί νῦν ἄ ὁμοιον πέποιθας ὥσπερ εἰ Ἰπποκράτης ἢ Δημοκρίτης ἢ καὶ ἄλλος τις τῶν πάντων ιατρῶν νοσήματι δυσιάτῳ περιπέσον ἀλλοτρίας χειρὸς πρὸς τὴν ἀκεσίων αὐτοῦ προσεδήθη.1"

19 "Ἀλλ’ εἰ γέ τινα," ἐφη ὁ Κικέρων, "τοιούτων ἔχεις λόγον ὡστε τὴν ἁχλίν μου ταύτην ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀφελεῖν καὶ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον με φῶς ἐπανα-γαγεῖν, ἐτοιμότατοι εἰμι ἀκούειν. ἀσπερ γὰρ τῶν φαρμάκων, οὐτω δὴ καὶ τῶν λόγων καὶ διαφοραῖ πολλαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις ποικίλαι εἰςίν, ὡστ’ οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν εἰ καὶ ἐμὲ τὸν λαμπρὸν ἐν τῇ γεροντίᾳ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῖς τε δικαστη-ρίοις σοφία τινὶ καταλογήσεις." 2

2 "Φέρε ὅνυ," ἐπεν ὁ Φιλίσκος, "ἐπειδήπερ ἀκούειν ἐτοιμός εἰ, σκεφώμεθα πρῶτον μὲν εἰ κακὰ ως ἀληθῶς ἐστὶ ταῦτα τὰ περιστηκότα σε, ἐπειτα δὲ τίνα τροπὸν αὐτὰ ἀκεσόμεθα. ἓνω τούν πρῶτον μὲν ἀπάντων ὁρῶ σε ὑγιαίνοντα τῷ σώματι καὶ εὐ μάλα ἔρρωμένον, ὅπερ που πρῶτον κατὰ φύσιν ἀγαθόν ἔστιν ἀνθρώπως, ἐπειτα δὲ τὰ

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

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

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

1 The gap may be filled by some such words as, “I will endeavour to offer you some encouragement,” or “Listen to me,” as suggested by Bs.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

3 ἐπιτήδεια αὐτάρκη κεκτημένων, ὡστε μήτε πεινὴν μήτε δυσφήν ἡ ῥυγοῦν ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἀτοποῦν ὑπ' ἀπορίας ὑπομένειν, ὅ δὴ καὶ δεύτερον εἰκότως ἂν τίς ἁγαθὸν ἀνθρώπῳ φύσει τιθεῖν. ὅταν γὰρ τινὶ ἢ τε τοῦ σώματος σύστασις εὔπορος ἦγε Κικέρων ὑπολαβὼν ἐφη, "ἄλλ' οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων ὑφελός ἦστιν, ὅταν τὴν ψυχὴν λυπή τι καὶ δάκνη. πολλῷ γὰρ πλεῖον αἰ ἐκείνης φροντίδες ταλαιπωροῦσι τινα ἢ αἱ τοῦ σώματος εὐπάθειαι τέρπουσιν. ὥσπερ καὶ ἐγὼ νῦν οὐδὲν οὔτε τῆς τοῦ σώματος ὑγείας προτιμῶ, νοσῶν γε τὴν γνώμην, οὔτε τῆς τῶν ἐπιτήδειῶν εὐπορίας: πολλῶν γὰρ ἀπεστήρημαι."

20 Καὶ οἶς, "καὶ τούτο σε," ἐφη, "λυπεῖ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐνδεήσεσθαι τῶν ἀναγκαῖων ἐμελλές, λόγον ἀν τινα εἴχεν ἀχθεσθαί σε τοῖς ἀπολογοῦσιν, εἰ δὲ ἐκπελεύσομαι πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὑπάρχει, τί ἄνα ὅτι μή καὶ πλεῖῳ κέκτησαι; πάν γὰρ τὸ ύπερ τὴν χρείαν τινὶ ὁπερὶ περιττῶν ἔστι, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἵππῳ καὶ

2 Παρὼν καὶ ἀπὸν καθέστηκεν, ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ πρότερον οὐδὲν δῆτον τοῖς μή ἀναγκαῖοις ἐχρῶ, ὡστε καὶ τότε μή εἶναι ὅν μή ἐχρῆς ἢ καὶ νῦν εἶναι ὅν μή δή νόμιζε. καὶ γὰρ οὔδὲ πατροφά σοι τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν γέγονεν, ὡστε σε σπουδῆν ἰδιωτέραν περὶ αὐτὰ ποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ υπὸ τῆς γλώττης καὶ υπὸ τῶν λόγων σου πεπόρισται, δι' οὖς καὶ

3 παρὼν καὶ ἀπὸν καθέστηκεν, ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ πρότερον οὐδὲν δῆτον τοῖς μή ἀναγκαῖοις ἐχρῶ, ὡστε καὶ τότε μή εἶναι ὅν μή ἐχρῆς ἢ καὶ νῦν εἶναι ὅν μή δή νόμιζε. καὶ γὰρ οὔδὲ πατροφά σοι τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν γέγονεν, ὡστε σε σπουδῆν ἰδιωτέραν περὶ αὐτὰ ποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ υπὸ τῆς γλώττης καὶ υπὸ τῶν λόγων σου πεπόρισται, δι' οὖς καὶ

4 ἀπόλωλεν. οὐκουν ἀγανακτεῖν προσήκει εἰ καθά-

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

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

“And does this grieve you?” replied the other. “Now if you were going to be in want of things needful, there would be some reason for your being annoyed at your loss. But since you have all the necessaries in full measure, why do you distress yourself because you do not possess more? For all that one has beyond one’s needs is superfluous, and amounts to the same thing whether present or absent; since surely you did not make use formerly of what was not necessary. Consider, therefore, either that then what you did not need you did not have, or else that you now have what you do not need. Most of these things, indeed, were not yours by inheritance, that you should be particularly exercised about them, but were acquired by your own tongue and by your own words—the very things which caused you to lose them. You should not, therefore, be vexed if things have
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

περ ἐκτῆθη τινά, οὕτω καὶ ἀπεβλήθη. οὗδε γὰρ οὐδ’ οἱ ναύκληροι πάνυ χαλεπῶς φέρουσι πολλὰ ξημιούμενον: λογίζεσθαι γάρ, οἷμαι, φρονίμως ἐπιστανται ὅτι ἡ θάλαττα ἡ διδοῦσα σφίσων αὐτὰ καὶ ἀφαίρεται.

21 “Καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἵκανα· ἀποχρὴν τε γὰρ ἀνθρώπων πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν τὸ τὰ ἀρκοῦντα κε-κτήσθαι καὶ μηδενὸς ὄν τὸ σῶμα χρήζει προσδεί-σθαι νομίζω, καὶ πάν τὸ περπτὸν καὶ φροντίδας καὶ πράγματα καὶ φθόνοις ἔχειν ἥγουμαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐφήσαθα ὅτι οὐδεμία ἀπόλαυσις τῶν τοῦ σώματος ἁγαθῶν ἐστιν, ἀν μὴ καὶ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς προσυπάρχη τινί, ἐστὶ μὲν ἀληθῆς ὁ λόγος (ἀδύνατον γάρ, κακῶς αὐτῆς ἐχούσης, μὴ οὐ καὶ τούτ’ αὐτῇ συννοσεῖν), ἐγὼ μὲντοι πολλῷ ῥαῖν οἷομαι ἐναὶ τῆς εὐεξίας τῆς γνώμης ἐπιμειληθήναι 3 τινὶ ἢ τῆς τοῦ σώματος. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ, ἀτε καὶ σάρκινον ὄν, πολλὰ μὲν ἀτοπα ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχει, πολλῆς δὲ ἐπικούριας παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου δεῖται· ἐκείνη δὲ δὴ, ὥσαθετερας φύσεως οὖσα, καὶ ῥυθμίζεσθαι καὶ νουθετεῖσθαι ῥάδιως δύναται. οὐκοῦν κἀνταῦθα ἱδομεν τί τε σοι τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἁγαθῶν ἀπέστη, καὶ τί τῶν κακῶν προσγενομένων οὐκ ἂν ἀποτριψαίμεθα.

22 “Ὅρῳ τοῖνυν ἔγογγε πρῶτον μὲν φρονιμώτατόν σε ἀνθρώπων ὄντα· τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι πλείστα μὲν καὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δήμου, ἐν ὥς συνεβου-λευσάς τι αὐτοῦς, ἐπεισάς, πλείστα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἰδιώτας, ἐν ὥς συνηγόρησας σφισών, ὄφελησας· ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ δικαιότατον πανταχοῦ γοῦν ὑπέρ τε τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῶν φίλων ἀνταγωνιζόμενος τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐξήτασαι· καὶ αὐτὰ
been lost in the same manner in which they were won. Ship-masters, for example, do not take it greatly to heart when they suffer great losses; for they understand, I suspect, how to take the sensible view of it, namely, that the sea which gives them wealth takes it away again.

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

"First, then, I see that you are a man of the greatest sagacity. The proof is that you so often persuaded both the senate and the people in cases where you gave them advice, and so often helped private citizens in cases where you acted as their advocate. And secondly, I see that you are a most just man. Certainly you have always been found contending for your country and for your friends against those who plotted their ruin. Indeed, this
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

γε1 ταύτα ἄ νυν πέπονθας, οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι συμβέβηκέ σοι ἡ ὅτι πάνθυ ὑπέρ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς
3 πολιτείας καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων διετέλεις. καὶ μὴν ὅτι καὶ σωφροσύνης ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἀνήκεις,
αὐτὸ τὸ ἐπειτήδευμα σοῦ δηλοῦν: οὐ γὰρ οἶδον ἃ
ἐστὶ δουλεύοντά τινα ταῖς τοῦ σώματος ἡδοναῖς
ἐν μέσῳ τε ἀεὶ φαύνεσθαι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀνα-
στρέφεσθαι, μαρτύρω τὰ ἡμερῶν ἔργα τῶν νυ-
4 κτερινῶν ποιούμενον. ὅτω ἔ ὅ τούτων ἐχόντων
ἐγὼ μὲν σε καὶ ἀνδρειότατον ὄμην εἰναί, τοσαύτη
μὲν ρώμη διανοίας τοσαύτη δὲ καὶ ἰσχυὶ λόγου
χρόμενον· σὺ δὲ, ὡς ἑοκασ, αὐτὸς ἕαυτοι ἐκ-
πλαγεῖς ὅτι παρὰ τε τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ παρὰ τὴν
ἀξίαν ἐπταῖσας, παρῆρησαί τι τοῦ σφόδρα ἀν-
5 δρεῖον. ἀλλὰ τούτο μὲν εὔθυς ἀπολήψῃ τοιούτων
δὲ τῶν κατὰ σε ὄντων, καὶ εὐ μὲν ἕκοντος τοῦ
σώματος εὐ δὲ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, οὐχ ὁρῶ τί τοῦ
νυτοῦν ἔστι σε.”

23 Ταύτα αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος ὁ Κικέρων ἔφη “οὐ
dοκεῖ ὁν σοι μέγα κακὸν εἶναι ἀτιμία καὶ φυγή,
cαὶ τὸ μήτ’ οἰκοι διατίβεων μήτε2 μετὰ τῶν
φίλων εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος μεθ’ ὑβρέως
ἐκπεπτωκότα ξῆν ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γῆ καὶ ἀλάσθαι,
φυγάδα προσαγορεῦμενον, καὶ γέλωτα μὲν τοῖς
ἐχθροῖς αἰσχος δὲ τοῖς οἰκείοις παρέχοντα;”

2 “Οὐδαμὴ ἐμοιγη” εἶπεν ὁ Φιλίσκος. “δύο
γὰρ τούτων ὄντων ἐξ ὧν συνεστήκαμεν, ψυχῆς τε
καὶ σώματος, καὶ ἰδιῶν ἐκατέρω παρ’ αὐτῆς τῆς
φύσεως καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν δεδομένων, εἰ μὲν
tι περὶ ταῦτ’ ἀμαρτάνοιτο, καὶ βλαβερὸν ἀν

1 γε H. Steph., τε L. 2 μήτε supplied by Gros.

244
BOOK XXXVIII

very misfortune which you have now suffered has b. c. 58
befallen you for no other reason than that you con-
tinued to say and do everything in behalf of the
laws and of the constitution. Again, that you have
attained the highest degree of self-mastery is shown
by your very course of life, since it is not possible
for a man who is a slave to sensual pleasures to
appear constantly in public and to go to and fro in
the Forum, making his deeds by day witnesses of
those by night. This being the case, I, for my part,
supposed you were also very brave, enjoying, as you
did, such force of intellect and such power of oratory.
But it seems that, startled out of yourself through
having failed contrary to your hopes and deserts,
you have fallen a little short of true courage.
But you will regain this immediately, and as you
are thus equipped as I have pointed out, with a
good physical endowment as well as mental, I
cannot see what it is that is distressing you."

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

"Not in the least, so far as I can see," declared
Philiscus. "There are two elements of which we
are constituted, soul and body, and definite blessings
and evils are given to each of the two by Nature
herself. Now if there should be any defect in these
two, it would properly be considered injurious and

245
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

εἰκότως καὶ αἰσχρῶν νομίζοιτο, εἰ δ' ὀρθῶς ἔχοι, 3 καὶ μᾶλλον ἄν ὠφέλιμον εἴη. δ' καὶ σοι νῦν ὑπάρχει. τὰ γὰρ δὴ ἀλλ' ἐκείνα, αἱ φυγαί 1 καὶ αἱ ἀτιμίαι, καὶ εἰ δὴ τι τοιοῦτον ἔτερον, νόμῳ τε καὶ δοκήσει τινὶ καὶ αἴσχρα καὶ κακὰ ἐστι, καὶ οὔτε τῷ σῶματι οὔτε τῇ ψυχῇ λυμαίνεται. ποίον μὲν γὰρ ἄν 2 σῶμα εἰπεῖν ἔχοις νενοσθικός ἢ καὶ ἀπολογός, ποίαν δὲ ψυχὴν ἀδικωτέραν ἢ καὶ ἀμαθεστέραν γεγονούν ἂν ἀτιμίας καὶ φυγῆς ἢ καὶ ἄλλου τιμὸς τῶν τοιούτων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ 4 οὐχ ὀρώ. τὸ δὲ αἴτιον ὅτι οὔτε σφῶν φῦσει κακὸν ἔστιν, ὡσπερ οὐδ' 3 ἡ ἐπιτιμία οὐδ' ἡ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι διατριβῇ φῦσει χρηστή, ἀλλ' ὀποῖα ποτ' ἂν τις ἔκαστος ἦμων περὶ αὐτὰ δοξάσῃ, τοιαῦτα 5 καὶ δοκεῖ εἶναι. αὐτίκα τῆν ἀτιμίαν οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς παντελῶς ἀνθρώποι νομίζουσιν, 4 ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἄ τῶν ἔργων ἐπαίτησα παρὰ τισίν οὖν παρ' ἄλλοις ἐπαίνειται, καὶ ἐτέρα πρὸς τισίν τιμῶμεν πρὸς ἐτέρων κολάζεται: εἰσὶ δὲ οὗ καὶ τὴν ἀρχήν 6 οὔτε τὸ ὅνομα οὔτε τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς ἰσασί. καὶ τὰν εἰκότως: ὅσα γὰρ μὴ προσάπτεται 5 τῶν τῆς φύσει τοῦ ἀνθρώπου προσηκόντων, οὐδ' ἀνήκειν ἐς αὐτὸν νομίζεται: ὡσπερ ἄν οὖν, εἰ 6 κρίσις τις ἢ καὶ ψυζισμᾶ ἡ ἐγένετο τὸν δείνα νοσεῖν ἢ τὸν δείνα αἰσχρῶν εἶναι, γελοιοτάτον ἄν δῆπουθεν ἦν, οὕτω καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀτιμίας ἔχει.

24 "Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τούτο καὶ περὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ἐγώγη ὁρῶ ὅν. ἀποδημία γάρ τις ἀτιμός ἔστιν, ὡστ' εἰπερ αὐτῇ καθ' αὐτὴν ἡ ἀτιμία μηδεμιὰν κακίαν

1 ai phygai supplied by Bk. 2 as added by Pflugk.
3 ovd' Bk., ovd' L. 4 nomizousin Bk., nomizousin epitimian L. 5 prosaptetai R. Steph., prosaptetai L. 6 ei H. Steph., h' L.
BOOK XXXVIII

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

"The same thing I find to be true in regard to exile. It is a sojourn abroad involving disfranchisement; so that if disfranchisement in and of itself
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

έχει, οὖν δὲ τῇ φυγῇ δῆπον προστρίψασθαί τι
2 κακῶν δύναται, ἐπεὶ τὴν γε ἄλλως συχνὸν πλεῖ-
στον ὅσον χρόνον οἱ μὲν ἄκοντες οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκόντες
ἀποδημοῦσί, καὶ τινὲς καὶ πάντα τὸν βίον καταν-
αλίσκοντες περινεπτούντες, ὡσπερ ἀεὶ πανταχό-
θεν ἐξελαυνόμενοι, καὶ οὐδὲν μὲντοι παρὰ τούτο
3 βλάπτεσθαι νομίζουσιν. οὐ μὴν οὖν διαφέρει τι
ἐκούσιόν τινα ἡ μὴ τούτο ποιεῖν· οὖν δὲ γὰρ οὖν ὁ
ἄκων σωμασκῶν ἦττόν τι ἔρρωται τοῦ ἐθελοῦν
αὐτὸ δρόωντος, οὖδ' ὃ ἄκων ναυτιλλόμενος ἦττων
1 τινά ὄφελιαν τοῦ ἐτέρου κτάται. καὶ αὐτὸ γε
τούτο τὸ ἀκούσιον οὐχ ὀρῶ δυνάμενον ἄνδρι
4 φρονίμῳ συμβῆναι. ὥστ' εἶπερ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ
dιάφορον τοῦ τε εὖ καὶ τοῦ κακῶς πρᾶττειν ἐστὶν
ὅτι 2 τὰ μὲν ἐθελοῦνται ἐτοίμως τὰ δ' ἄκοντες
χαλεπῶς ποιοῦμεν,3 εὐθεράπευτον.4 ἐὰν γάρ τοι
πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαία ἐκούσιοι ὑπομένωμεν καὶ
πρὸς μηδὲν αὐτῶν ἡττώμεθα, συνανήρχεται5 πάντα
5 κάκευνα, ὅσα ἂν ἐν τῷ ἀκούσιῷ θῇ τις εἶναι. καὶ
γάρ ποιοὶ καὶ ἄρχαιος λόγος καὶ μᾶλα εὐ ἐχὼν
ἐστίν ὅτι δεῖ ἡμᾶς μὴ ὅσα ἂν βουλώμεθα ἀξίουν
γίγνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ὅσα ἂν ἐκ τινος ἀνάγκης γίγνεται
βουλέσθαι. οὔτε γὰρ αὐθαίρετον τὸν τοὺς βίον
τρόπον ἔχουμεν οὐθ' αὐτῶν ἕσμεν· ἀλλ' ὅπως ἂν
6 τῇ τύχῃ δόξῃ, καὶ ὅποιος ἂν ἐκάστῳ ἡμῶν δαίμων
ἐκπληρωτῆς τοῦ τεταγμένου δοθῇ, τοιοῦτον ἀνάγκη
cαὶ ἐκείνον ἡμᾶς ποιεῖσθαι.

25 "Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοιαύτα ἐστὶν, ἂν τ' ἐθέλωμεν ἂν

1 ἦττω Bs., ἦττωνa L. 2 οτί added by Leuncl.
3 ποιοῦμεν R. Steph., ποιῶμεν L.
4 εὐθεράπευτον R. Steph., εὐθεράπευτος L.
5 συνανήρχεται Rk., συνανήρχεται L.
6 οὐθ' αὐτῶν R. Steph., οὐθ' αὐτῶν L.

248
contains no evil, surely no evil can be attached to exile either. In fact, many live abroad anyway for very long periods, some unwillingly, but others willingly; and some even spend their whole life travelling about, just as if they were expelled from every place in turn; and yet they do not regard themselves as being injured in doing so. Nor does it make any difference whether a man does it voluntarily or not; the man who trains his body unwillingly is no less strong than he who does it willingly, and one who goes on a voyage unwillingly obtains no less benefit than another. And as regards this unwillingness itself, I do not see how it can exist with a man of sense. Accordingly, if the difference between being well and badly off is that we do some things readily and voluntarily, while we perform others unwillingly and grudgingly, the trouble can easily be remedied. For if we willingly endure all necessary things and allow none of them to conquer us, all those matters in which one might assume unwillingness have been done away with at a single stroke. There is, indeed, an old saying and a very good one, to the effect that we ought not to demand that whatever we wish should come to pass, but to wish for whatever does come to pass as the result of any necessity. For we neither have free choice in our manner of life nor are we our own masters; but according as it may suit chance, and according to the character of the fortune granted each one of us for the fulfilment of what is ordained, we must also shape our life.

"Such is the nature of the case whether we like it
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

te kai μή ei de se ouxh hè atimia authe 1 oude h fugh authe 1 lutei, all' oti mh mono mou mhdeun 
deinakous thn patrida alla kai polla euhrge-
tekous htimosai te kai exeiliasai, logiasai tou', 
odh epieidhper apaze epéprato oso toiopt o 
padein, kalistoun dhtoun kai aniston symbevtheke 
to mhdeun adikhsant a se epireasthai. 2 ou 3 men 
gar pant a kathkounta tois politas synheboul-
leusas kai epitrias, ouk idwteous all' upatevwn, ou 
' idia ti polupragmoun alla tois ths 
bourh's doymasi pei'hommeos, ou kata stasin 

3 epiv tò beltistow genoménois 4 o deina de kai 
deina ek dynasteias kai epireias pant a kata 
sou syneseuanant, ost' ekainous men kai akthe-
sthai kai luntei'sai ep i t' adikia proshkei, soi 
de dh an dreios ferein t a doxant a t o 
daimoun kai 

4 kalo'n kai anagkaio'n estin. ou gar pou malkov 
av ethelhsai 5 tò te Katilina synpraxas kai 
tò Leontoulw synomosas, kai pant a men tanantia 
ton synferonton th patridi paraivosas, mhdeun 
de twn prostaichentwv sou up' auth' pouhsas, 
oikoi menewn adikhsas 6 kataorbhsas fyngei'n. 

5 ouko'n ei kai ths doexhs sou melei, pollw pou 
airetotheron esti mhdeun adikhsant a se exekpwo-
kvenai 7 kakourghsanta ti oikoi memenkekvena' t 
te gar alla kai h ai'skhv thois adikos ekbas-
lousit 7 tina, alla ou tò kai ep'herein exelaebent 8 
prosyngnetai.

1 authe Rk., auth L. 2 epireasthai Bk., epiresthai L. 
3 ou Pflugk, kai ou L. 4 genomemos Pflugk, genomenos L. 
5 ethelhsai H. Steph., ethelhsai L. 6 h added by Xyl. 
7 ekballoson Bk., ekballoson L. 
8 exelaebent Dind., exelaebent L.
BOOK XXXVIII

or not. If, now, it is not disfranchisement in itself or exile in itself that troubles you, but the fact that you have not only done your country no injury but have actually benefited her greatly, and yet you have been disfranchised and expelled, look at it in this way—that, when once it was destined for you to have such an experience, it has surely been the noblest and the best fortune that could befall you to be spitefully used without having committed any wrong. For you advised and carried out all that was proper for the citizens, not as an individual but as consul, not meddling officiously in a private capacity but obeying the decrees of the senate, which were not passed as party measures but for the best ends. This and that person, on the contrary, out of their superior power and insolence devised everything against you; hence they ought to have trouble and sorrow for their injustice, but for you it is noble as well as necessary to bear bravely what Heaven has determined. Surely you would not prefer to have joined with Catiline and conspired with Lentulus, to have given your country the exact opposite of useful counsel, to have performed none of the duties laid upon you by her, and thus remain at home as the reward of wickedness, instead of saving your country and being exiled. Accordingly, if you care at all about your reputation, it is far preferable, I am sure, for you to have been driven out, after doing no wrong, than to have remained at home by performing some base act; for, apart from other considerations, the shame attaches to those who have unjustly cast a man forth, rather than to the man who has been wantonly expelled.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

26 "Καὶ τοι ἐγὼ γε ἄκου ῥοτῇ, ὅτι οὐκ ἄκων οὐδ' ἄλων;" μετέστης, ἀλλ' ἐθελοῦσα ἐμὴσας τὸν μετ' αὐτῶν βλον, ἄτε μῆτε βελτίωσα σφᾶς ποίησαι δυνάμενος μῆτε συναπολέσθαι σφίσιν ὑπομένων, καὶ ἠφυγες οὐ τὴν πατρίδα ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτῆ. ὡστ' ἐκείνοι μὲν καὶ ἄτιμοι καὶ ἔξωριστοι εἰεν ἃν, πάντα τάγαθα ἐκ τῶν ψυχῶν ἐκβεβληκότες, σὺ δὲ ἐπιτίμως καὶ εὐδαίμων, ἢτη ἀτόπως τινὶ δουλεύων καὶ πάντα τὰ προσήκουντα ἔχων, ἃν τε ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἃν τε ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ἃν τε καὶ ἄλλοις ποι τῆς οἰκουμένης γῆν ἐθελήσῃς. οὐ γὰρ δὴπον τὰ χωρία οὐτε εὐτυχίαν οὔτε κακοδαιμονίαν τινὰ δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκαστὸς αὐτῷ καὶ πατρίδα καὶ εὐδαίμονιαν ἄει καὶ παν-

3 ταχοῦ ποιεῖ. καὶ ταῦθ' ὁ Κάμιλλος ἐννοήσας ἡδέως ἐν Ἀρδέα κατφίκησε, ταῦθ' ὁ Σκιτίων λογισάμενος ἀλύτως ἐν Διέρνω κατεβίω. τὸ γὰρ δεῖ τὸν Ἀριστείδην, τὶ δὲ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα λέγειν, οὔς εὐδοξετέρους ἡ φυγὴ ἐποίησεν, τὶ τὸν Ἀννι... πὼς τὸν Σόλωνα, ὃς έκὰν εἴη δέκα ἀπεξενωθῇ.

4 "Μὴ οὖν μηδὲ σὺ μῆτε χαλεπῶν τὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ἃ μῆτε τῇ τοῦ σώματος μῆτε τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν φύσει προσήκει, νόμιζε εἴναι, μῆτ' ἀγανάκτει τοῖς προσπεπτωκώσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' αἱρεσὶς τῆς ἐπὶ χαίρετον ἡμῖν τοῦ εἶπος ἃν ἐθελησμεν, ἀσπερ εἴποι, ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ὑπο-

5 μένειν ἡμᾶς τὰ δοκοῦντα τῷ δαιμονίῳ. τοῦτο δὲ ἀν μὴν ἐθελονταί ποιώμεν, οὐ λυπησόμεθα, ἃν δὲ

1 ἄλων R. Steph., ἄλλους L.  2 μετέστης Bk., μετέστησας L.  3 ἐννοήσας Rk., οὖ νοήσας L.  4 "Ἀνισιον L, Ἀνισιβας Fabricius.  5 τῇ supplied by Leuncl.
BOOK XXXVIII

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

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

¹ Annius, the Ms. reading, is corrupt; perhaps Hannibal is meant. In any case a relative clause appears to have been lost after the name.
DIOS ROMAN HISTORY

ἀκόντως, οὔτε ἐκφευξόμεθα τι τῶν πεπρωμένων, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν προσεπικτησόμεθα, 6 τὸ μάτην ἀνιάσθαι. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι οἱ μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀτοπώτατα εὐκόλως φέροντες ἐν οὐδενὶ δεινῷ καθεστηκέναι νομίζουσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐλαφροτάτοις βαρυνόμενοι πάντα τὰ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων κακὰ ἔχειν ὑποπτεύουσιν καὶ ἑτέρους, οἱ μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀμείνων κακῶς οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ χεῖρω καλῶς μεταχειρίζομενοι, τοιαῦτα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκάτερα δοκεῖν εἶναι ποιοῦσιν ὅλα αὐτοῖς εἶναι παρασκευά- 27 ξοῦσι. καὶ σὺ οὖν ταῦτα λογιζόμενος μήτε τοῖς παρούσιν ἄχθου, μὴ τ', ἀν τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας σε εὐπυκούντας πυθάνῃ, λυποῦ. κοφαί 3 μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐφήμεροι καὶ ἄλλως αἱ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐὑπραγιάζει εἰς, καὶ ὁσφ' ἄν μάλλον τις ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπαύξῃ, ῥῶν ὄσπερ πνεῦμα πίπτει, μάλιστα 2 δὲ ἐν ταῖς στάσεσιν. ἀτε γὰρ ἐν τεταραγμένοις καὶ ἀκαταστάτοις πράγμασι φερόμενοι 4 μικρῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδέν, τῶν χειμαζομένων διαφέρουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀνω τε καὶ κάτω, τοτε μὲν ἰδίοις τοτε δὲ ἐκείσε, ἄττονυς 5 καὶ ἄρα τι καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον 3 σφαλῶσι, παντελῶς βαπτίζονται. καὶ ἴνα γε μήτε τὸν Δροῦσον μήτε τὸν Σκιπίωνα μήτε τοὺς Γράκχους ἢ καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς εἰπω, μέμνησο 6 μὲν ὅπως ὁ Κάμμελος ὁ φυγας ἀμεινον τοῦ Καπιτωλίνου 7 μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπήλλαξε, μέμνησο 8 δὲ ὅσον 'Ἀριστείδης τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ύστερον διήνεγκεν. 4 "Ωστε καὶ σὺ μάλιστα μὲν ἐλπίζε καὶ κατ- αχθήσεσθαι (οὔτε γὰρ ἐξ ἁδικίας ἐξελήλυσαι, καὶ

1 οὔτε Rk., οὔτε, L. 2 ἄλλοι supplied by Rk.
3 κοφαί Leuncl., κοφα L. 4 φερόμενοι R. Steph., φερόμενος L.
5 ἄττονυς supplied by Reim. 6 μέμνησο Rk., μέμνησο L.
7 Καπιτωλίνου Wesseling, Καπιτωλίου L.

254
BOOK XXXVIII

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

"Do you also, then, hope, first and foremost, for your restoration; for you have not been expelled
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐπιξητήσουσι μὲν σε, ὃς πυνθάνομαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ
oi ἐκβεβληκότες, ποθήσουσι δὲ πάντες); ἀν δὲ δὴ
cαι ἐν τοῖς παρούσιν ἐμμείνης, μήτι γε1 καὶ
28 ἀνιαθῆς παρὰ τούτο μηδέν. ἀν μὲν γὰρ μοι
πεισθῆ, καὶ πάνω ἀγαπήσεις χωρίον τέ τι παρα-
thalassídon ἔξω πάτου ἐκλεξάμενος, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ
gεωργῶν τε ἅμα καὶ συγγράφων τι, ὡς Ξενοφῶν,
2 ὡς Ὃουκυδίδης. τὸ τε γὰρ εἶδος τούτο τῆς σοφίας
diarkéstátovn ἐστι καὶ παντὶ μὲν ἀνδρὶ πᾶσῃ δὲ
πολιτεία ἀρμοδιώτατον, καὶ ἡ φυγὴ φέρει τινὰ
σχολὴν γοιμωτέραν. ὡστε εἴπερ οὕτως ἀθάνατος
καθάπερ ἐκείνοι γενέσθαι ἐθέλεις, ξῆλωσον αὐ-
3 τοὺς. τὰ τε γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια ἄρκοντα ἐχεῖς καὶ
οὕτ' ἀξιώματος τινος προσδέη, εἴ γὰρ τι καὶ ἐν
τούτοις ἀγαθόν ἐστιν, ὑπάτευκας καὶ πλέων
οὐδὲν τοὺς καὶ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον ἢ καὶ τέταρτον
ἀρξας, πλὴν γραμμάτων ἀρμοῦ κενῶν, ὑπάρχει,
ἀ μήτε ζῶντα μήτ' ἀποθανόντα τινὰ ὀφελεῖ.
4 οὐκοῦν ἂν ἐλοιο οὕτε Κοροινίος οὕτε Μάριος ο
ἐπτάκις ὑπατεύσας μᾶλλον ἡ Κικέρων εἰναι. οὐτ'
αὐ ἡγεμονίας τινος ἐπιθυμεῖς, ὦς γε καὶ τὴν δο-
θείαν σοι ἐξέστης, καταφρονῆσας μὲν τῶν ἀπ'
αὐτῆς κερδῶν, καταφρονῆσας δὲ καὶ τῆς ὀλυγo-
χρονίου τε καὶ ὑπευθύνου πᾶσι τοῖς συκοφαντεὶν
5 ἔθελουσιν ἐξουσίας. καὶ ταύτ' εἶπον οὐχ ὅτι καὶ
ἀναγκαίον τι 2 αὐτῶν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἐστίν,
ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς, ἐπέπεερ ἐ게ρη,
ικανῶς ἐξῆπτας, ἦνα καὶ ἤ ἐκεῖνων τὸ διάφορον
τῶν βίων μαθῶν τὰ μὲν ἔλη τὰ δὲ ἀπώθησιν 3 καὶ
τὰ μὲν διώξεις τὰ δὲ φύγης. σμικρὸς γὰρ ὁ βίος

1 μήτι γε Dind., μήτοι γε L. 2 τι supplieed by Oddey.
3 ἀπώθησι Dind., ἀπώθησι L.

256
on account of wrong-doing, and the very ones who drove you forth will, as I learn, seek for you, while all will miss you. But even if you continue in your present state, do not distress yourself at all about it. For if you will take my advice, you will be quite satisfied to pick out a little estate in some retired spot on the coast and there carry on at the same time farming and some historical writing, like Xenophon and like Thucydides. This form of learning is most enduring and best adapted to every man and to every state; and exile brings with it a kind of leisure that is more fruitful. If, then, you wish to become really immortal, like those historians, emulate them. You have the necessary means in sufficiency and you lack no distinction. For if there is any virtue in such honours, you have been consul; nothing more belongs to those who have held office a second, a third, or a fourth time, except an array of idle letters which benefit no man, living or dead. Hence you would not choose to be Corvinus, or Marius, the man seven times consul, rather than Cicero. Nor, again, are you anxious for any position of command, seeing that you withdrew from the one bestowed upon you, because you scorned the gains to be had from it, scorned a brief authority that was subject to the scrutiny of all who chose to practise blackmail. These matters I have mentioned, not because any one of them is requisite for happiness, but because, since it was necessary, you have occupied yourself sufficiently with public affairs to learn therefrom the difference in lives and to choose the one course and reject the other, to pursue the one and avoid the other. Our life is but short, and you

1 M. Valerius Corvus (less properly Corvinus), consul for the sixth time in B.C. 299.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

6 ἢμῶν, καὶ δεῖ σε μὴ πάντα αὐτὸν ἄλλους βιῶναι, ἀλλ' ἦδη τι καὶ σεαυτῷ χαρίσασθαι. σκέψαι δὲ ὅσον ἦ τε ἤσυχία τῆς ταραχῆς καὶ ἡ έυροία τῶν θερόβων ἢ τέ έλευθερία τῆς δουλείας καὶ ἡ ἀσφάλεια τῶν κινδύνων διαφέρει, ἵν' ἐπιθυμήσῃς ζῆσαι ὡς ἐγώ σοι παραίνω.

"Οὔτω μὲν γὰρ εὐδαιμονήσεις, καὶ σον μέγα ὄνομα καὶ τοῦτο ἀεί καὶ ζῶντος ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ τελευτήσαντος ἔσται· ἀν δὲ δὴ τήν τε κάθοδον σπουδάσῃς καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ λαμπρότητα ζηλώσῃς, δυσχερὲς μὲν οὔδεν εἰπεῖν βούλομαι, φοβοῦμαι δὲ, ἐς τα τὰ πράγματα ἀποβλέπων καὶ τὴν σὴν παρρησίαν ἐννοοῦν, τὴν τε δύναμιν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν σου θεωρῶν,

2 μὴποτέ τι καὶ αὐθις σφαλής. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐν φυγῇ γένοιο, μεταγνώσῃ μόνον, εἰ δὲ τὰ ἔτερα ἄνηκεστὸν πάθοις, οὔδε μετανοήσαι δυνήσθη. καὶ τοι πῶς μὲν οὐ δεινόν, πῶς δ' οὐκ ἀισχρῶν ἀποτριθήναι τε τινὸς τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν τεθήναι, καὶ οὔτω τύχη, καὶ ἀνδρά τινα αὐτή

3 καὶ γυναικα ἐνυβρίσαι; καὶ με μὴ ὡς φαίλα σοι οἰωνιζόμενον μισής, ἀλλ' ὡς διοσκυμίαν τινὰ προδεικνυόντα φύλαξαι. μηδε σε ἐξαπατάτω οὕτω, οτι καὶ φίλους τινὰς τῶν δυνατῶν ἔχεις· οὔδεν γάρ σε ὡφελήσουσιν οἱ δοκούντες φίλειν πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθρῶς διακείμενους, ὡσπερ

4 πον καὶ πεπείρασαι. οἱ γὰρ δυναστείας ἐρώτητες παρ' οὔδεν πάντα τὰλλα πρὸς τὸ τυχεῖν ὃν

1 εὐροία R. Steph., εὐρεία L.  2 καὶ R. Steph., εἰ καὶ L.
3 μόνον Bk., μὲν L.
4 καὶ ἀνδρά—καὶ γυναικα Bk., καὶ α.—καὶ γ. L.
5 ἐξαπατάτω R. Steph., ἐξαπάτω L.
6 ἐχθρῶς R. Steph., ἐχθρῶς L.  7 οὔδεν Reim., οὐδὲν L.

258
BOOK XXXVIII

ought not to live all yours for others, but by this time to grant a little to yourself. Consider how much better quiet is than turmoil, and tranquillity than tumults, freedom than slavery, and safety than dangers, that you may feel a desire to live as I am urging you to do. In this way you will be happy, and your name shall be great because of it—and that for evermore, whether you are living or dead.

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

259

s 2
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

βουλοῦνται τίθενται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους καὶ τοὺς συγγενεστάτους πολλάκις ἀντὶ τῶν ἐχθρίστων ἀντικαταλάσσονται."

30 Καὶ Κικέρων μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ῥάων ἐγένετο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἔφυγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Πομπήλου τοῦ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἐκβαλόντος κατήχησε. αὐτίον δὲ ὅτι ὁ Κλώδιος τῶν τε Γαβίνου ἀγανακτήσαντας ἐπὶ τούτων περιύβρισε, τοὺς τε ἅμφων αὐτούς οὕσω καὶ πληγάζας καὶ τραύματα ἐδώκει, καὶ τοῦ ὑπάτου τάς τε ῥάβδους συνέτρυψε καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν καθιέρωσεν.

3 ἄργισθεις γὰρ διὰ ταῦθ’ ὁ Πομπήλιος, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ὅτι τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ, ἢν αὐτός τοῖς δημάρχοις ἀπεδέδωκε, κατ’ αὐτοῦ ὁ Κλώδιος ἐκέχρητο, ἀνακαλε-σασθαί τὸν Κικέρωνα ἡθέλησε, καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν κάθοδον εὐθὺς διὰ τοῦ Νιννίου πράττειν ἡρξατο.

4 καὶ ὃς ἐσήγευξε μὲν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γνώμην, ἀπόντα τοὺς Κλώδιου τηρήσας· ἀντιστάντος δὲ οἱ ἔτεροι τινὸς δημάρχου, ἐκείνην τε ὡς καὶ τῷ πλῆθει κοινώσων ἐξέθηκε, καὶ τῷ Κλωδίῳ πρὸς πάντα καθάπαξ ἡναντιοῦτο. κάκα τούτου καὶ φιλονεικίας καὶ τραύματα ἀπ’ αὐτῶν

5 πολλὰ ἐκατέρωσε ἐγίγνετο. πρὶν δὲ ἢ ἐς τοῦτο ἀφικέσθαι, βουλήσθης ὁ Κλώδιος τὸν τε Κάτωνα ἐκποδών, ὃπως ῥάων διὰ ἐπραττε κατορθώσῃ, ποιήσασθαι, καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαίῳ τὸν τῶν τὸτε τὴν Κύπρου ἔχοντα ἀμύνασθαι ὅτι αὐτὸν παρὰ τῶν

1 ῥάων Rk., ῥαδίως L. 2 τῇ Xyl., εὖ L. 3 τῶν added by Rk.

260
they desire, and often give up their dearest friends
and closest kin in exchange for their bitterest
foes."

On hearing this Cicero grew somewhat easier in
mind. His exile, however, did not last long, but
he was recalled by Pompey himself, who had been
chiefly responsible for his expulsion. The reason was
this. Clodius had taken a bribe to deliver Tigranes
the younger, who was still at that time in confine-
ment at the house of Lucius Flavius, and had let
him go; and when Pompey and Gabinius became
indignant at this, he wantonly insulted them, in-
flicted blows and wounds upon their followers, broke
to pieces the consul’s fasces, and devoted his
property to the gods. Pompey, enraged at this, par-
ticularly because the authority which he himself had
restored to the tribunes had been used against him
by Clodius, desired to recall Cicero, and immediately
began through Ninnius to work for his restora-
tion. The latter waited for Clodius to be absent,
and then introduced in the senate the motion in
Cicero’s behalf. When another one of the tribunes
opposed him, he not only posted up his measure, indi-
cating that he would communicate it also to the
people, but he furthermore set himself in unqualified
opposition to Clodius at every point. From this
there arose contentions and many wounds in con-
sequence for both sides. But before matters reached
that point Clodius wished to get Cato out of the
way, so that he might more easily succeed with
his schemes, and likewise to avenge himself upon
Ptolemy, who then held Cyprus, because the latter
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

καταποντιστῶν οὐκ ἐλύσατο, τὴν τε νῆσον ἐδήμοσίωσε καὶ πρὸς τὴν διοίκησιν αὐτῆς τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ μάλα ἄκουσα ἀπέστειλε.

31 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν ἑνὶ τῇ πόλει ἐγγύνετο. Καίσαρ δὲ εὑρε μὲν οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ πολέμου, ἀλλὰ ἀκριβῶς πάντα ἡσύχαζεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ διεγένετο, ἀλλὰ αὐτομάτου τὸ πρῶτον πολέμου τινὸς αὐτῷ συμβάντος έτερος συνηνέχθη, ὡστ' αὐτόν, ὅπερ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπεθύμει, πάντα...

2 καὶ πολεμήσαι καὶ καταρθῶσαι. Ἐλονήτιοι γὰρ πλήθει τα ἀκμάζοντες καὶ χάραν οὐκ αὐτάρκη τῇ πολυαιρωπίᾳ σφῶν ἐχοντες, μέρος μὲν τι ἐκπέμψαν ἐς ἀποικίαν οὐκ ἡθέλησαν, μὴ καὶ διασπασθέντες ἐνεπιβουλευτότεροι τοῖς λυπηθεὶσι ποτε ὑπ' αὐτῶν γένωνται, πάντες δὲ δὴ ἀπαναστήματα βουληθέντες, ὡς καὶ ἐς ἐτέραν τινὰ καὶ πλείω καὶ βελτίω χάραν μετοικισθησόμενοι, τάς τε κόμας καὶ τὰς πόλεις σφῶν ἀπάσας ἔκαυσαν ὡστε μηδένα

3 μετάμελον τῆς ἀναστάσεως ποιήσασθαι. καὶ τινὰς καὶ ἐτέρους τῶν αὐτῶν δεομένους προσλαβόντες ἀπῆραν. Ὀρκετόρυγοι σφῶν ἧγουμένου, ἐν νῦν ἐχοντες τὸν τῷ Ῥωδανῷ διαβίβασαι καὶ πρὸς ταῖς Ἀλπεῖς που κατοικισθῆναι. καὶ ἐπεδή ο Καίσαρ τὴν τε γέφυραν διέκοψε καὶ τάλλα ὡς κωλύσων αὐτοὺς διαβίβασαι ἥτοιμαζότω, ἐπεμψαν πρὸς αὐτὸν διόδον τε αὐτούμενοι καὶ προσπυχνούμενοι μηδέν τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων γῆν κακώσειν. 4 καὶ ὡς, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μῆτε ἐπίστευεν αὐτοῖς μῆτε προχωρήσαι ποι ἐπιτρέψειν ἐμελλέν, ἀλλ'

1 ἐν added by R. Steph.  
2 τινὰς Bk., τινὰς μὲν L.  
3 ἐν νῦ supplied by Leuncl.  
4 ἐπίστευεν H. Steph., ἐπίστευεν L.  

262
BOOK XXXVIII

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

While this was going on in the city, Caesar found no hostility in Gaul, but everything was absolutely quiet. The state of peace, however, did not continue, but first one war broke out against him of its own accord, and then another was added, so that his greatest wish was fulfilled of waging war and winning success for the whole [period of his command (?)]. The Helvetii, who were strong in numbers and had not sufficient land for their large population, were unwilling to send out a part to form a colony for fear that if separated they might be more exposed to plots on the part of the tribes whom they had once injured; instead, they decided to migrate all together, with the intention of settling in some larger and better country, and they burned all their villages and cities, so that none should regret the migration. After adding to their numbers some others who felt the same needs, they set out with Orgetorix as their leader, intending to cross the Rhone and settle somewhere near the Alps. When Caesar destroyed the bridge and made other preparations to hinder them from crossing, they sent to him asking permission to cross and also promising to do no injury to the Roman territory. And though he had the greatest distrust of them and had not the slightest idea of allowing them to proceed, nevertheless, because he
DIOS' ROMAN HISTORY

οτι γε ουδέπω καλώς παρεσκεύαστο, βουλεύσε- 
σθαί τε ὑπέρ ὣν ἦξιον μετά τῶν ὑποστρατήγων 
ἐφη καὶ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἐν ῥήτῃ τῖνι ἡμέρα δώσειν. 
καὶ τι καὶ ἐπιτίθος, ὡς καὶ ἐπιτρέψων σφίσει τὴν 
δίοδον, ὑπετείνατο. καὶ τούτῳ τὰ ἐπικαιρότατα 
διετάφρευσε καὶ ἀπετείχισεν, ὅστ' ἀπορον αὐτοῖς 
τὴν ὀδὸν γενέσθαι.

32 Οἱ οὖν βάρβαροι χρόνον μὲν τίνα ἐπέσχον, 
ἐπετί ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἦκουσαν κατὰ τὸ συγκείμενον, 
ἀραντε τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διὰ τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων 
ἐπορεύοντο ὑπὲρ ἁρμηνυτό, ἐπετί ἐνυχώντες τοῖς 
καλύμμασιν ἢ Σηκουανούς ἀπετράπωντο, καὶ διά 
τε τούτων καὶ διὰ τῶν Αἰδούων ἐθελοντὶ σφισὶ 
τὴν δίοδον, ἐφ' ὃ μηδὲν ἀδικήθωσί, παρεχόντων 
διώντες οὐκ ἐνέμειναν τοῖς ὑμολογημένοις, ἀλλὰ 
τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἑλεγλάτον. πέμψαντες οὖν οἱ 
τε Σηκουανοί καὶ οἱ Αἰδοῦοι πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα 
ἐπικουρίαν τε παρ' αὐτοῦ ἠτούν, καὶ ἐδέοντο μὴ 
σφας περιδεῖριν ἀπολομένους. 2 καὶ ἔλεγον μὲν 
οὐδὲν ὁμοια οἷς ἐπραξαν, ἐνυχὼν δ' οὖν ὅμως ὃν 
ἐξίον: ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ φοβηθεῖς μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν 
Τόλοσαν οἱ Ἐλουητίοι τράπωνται, εἶλετο μετ' 
ἐκείνων αὐτούς ἀμύνασθαι μᾶλλον ἡ συμφρονη-
σασί σφισίν, ὅπερ εὐδηλον ἣν ἔσωμεν, πολεμησαῖ. 
4 προσπεσών οὖν διὰ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἐλουητίοις τὸν 
Ἀραβίν διαβαίνουσι, τοὺς μὲν τελευταίους ἑπακο-
λουθοῦντας ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πόρῳ διέφθειρε, τοὺς δὲ 
προκεχωροκότας ἐσ τοσοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου καὶ 
ἐκ τοῦ τάχους τῆς διώξεως καὶ ἐκ 3 τῆς πύστεως 
τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἐξεπληξεν ὡστε ἐσ ὑμολογίαν

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

264
BOOK XXXVIII

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

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

88 ἐπὶ χώρα των ἔθελῆσαι ἔλθεῖν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ συνέβησαν ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁμήρους ἦττῆσαν, ἡγανάκτησαν οὐχ ὅτι ἤπιστοντο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀπηξίουν ὀμήρους τις δούναι.

Καὶ τῶν μὲν σπουδῶν κατεφρόνησαν, προχωροῦντες δὲ αὕθις τὴν τε ἢππον τοῦ Καῖσαρος, ἀπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ πόλι προδραμοῦσαν καὶ τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας αὐτῶν παραλυποῦσαν, ὑποστάντες

2 τῷ ἱππικῷ ἐνίκησαν, κὰκ τούτου αὐτοὶ τε φρόνημα λαβόντες καὶ ἐκείνουν φυγεῖν διὰ τε τὴν ἔλαττωσιν, καὶ ὅτι σπανίσας τῶν ἐπιτηδείων πρὸς πόλιν τινὰ ἐξω τῆς ὁδοῦ οὖσαν ἐξετάσπετο, νομίζοντες

3 τοῦ τε πρῶτο ἄφεντο καὶ ἐπεδίωξαν αὐτὸν. ἴδων οὖν τούτο ο Καῖσαρ, καὶ φοβηθεῖς τὴν τε ὀρμὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος, τῷ μὲν πεζῷ πρὸς μετέωρῳ τὴ ὀρμήσῃ, τοὺς δὲ ἢππας προεβάλετο1 προκυν- δυνεύσαι σφισίν, ἐως ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ παρατάξῃ. τρεφαμένων τε αὕθις αὐτοὺς ἐκείνων, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ὀρθὸν θυμὸ φερομένων, ἐπικατέδραμε σφισίν ἔξαιρησις, καὶ ἄτε συντεταγμένος σποράδας

4 ἐξ ὑπερδεξών οὖ χαλεπῶς ἀπεώσατο. τραπομένων δὲ τούτων, ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν μη μαχομένων (ὑπὸ τε γὰρ τοῦ πλῆθους καὶ υπὸ τῆς σπουδῆς οὐ πάντες ἀμα παρεγένοντο) προσεμέξατο ἔξαιρήσεις κατὰ νότον τοῖς ἐπιδιώκουσι σφας, καὶ ἑθορύθησαν

5 μὲν αὐτοὺς, πλεῖον δὲ οὖδὲν ἔσχον· ο γὰρ Καῖσαρ τοῖς ἢππεύσει τοὺς φεύγοντας προστάξας αὐτῶς τῷ ὀπλιτικῷ πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐτράπετο, καὶ κρατήσας πρὸς τὲ τὰς ἀμάξας ἀμφοτέρους σφίσι συγκαταφυγοῦσιν ἐφέσπετο, κανταῦθα αὕθις ἵσχυρὸς

1 προεβάλετο Rk., προσεβάλλετο L.
BOOK XXXVIII

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

When Caesar's cavalry galloped far ahead of the infantry and proceeded to harass their rear-guard, the enemy withstood them with their own cavalry and conquered them. Filled with pride in consequence, and thinking that he, too, had fled, both because of the defeat and because, owing to lack of provisions, he turned aside to a city that was off the road, they abandoned further progress and pursued after him. Caesar, seeing this and fearing the violence of their attack as well as their numbers, hurried with his infantry to some higher ground, but first threw forward his horsemen to bear the brunt of the fighting until he could marshal his forces in a suitable place. The barbarians routed them a second time and were making a spirited charge straight up the hill, when Caesar with his forces in battle-array dashed down upon them suddenly from his superior position, while they were scattered, and so repulsed them without difficulty. After these had been routed, some others who had not joined in the conflict—for owing to their multitude and their haste not all had arrived at the same time—attacked the pursuers in the rear and threw them into some confusion, but gained no advantage. For Caesar, leaving the fugitives to his cavalry, and turning himself with his heavy-armed troops to the others, defeated them and followed both bodies as they fled together to the waggons; and there, though from these vehicles they made a
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

έπ’ αυτῶν ἀμυνομένους σφάς ἐνίκησε. παθόντες δὲ ταῦθ᾽ οἱ βάρβαροι δίχα διηρέθησαν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὁμολόγησαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἔστησαν τὴν οἰκείαν ὅθεν ἔξοδος ἐκεῖνης ἐπανήλθοι, κανταῦθα τὰς πόλεις ἀνορθώσαντες ἤκησαν. οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐθελήσαντες τὰ ὀπλα παραδόθωσι πρὸς τὸν Ῥήμου, ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀρχαίαν σφὸν χὴν ἐπανελθέντων δυνάμενοι, ὤρμησαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων δὴ ὄντως διήσαν ῥάδιως, ἀτε καὶ ὀλίγους καὶ νεικημένους, ἐφθείραν.

34. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὸν πρῶτον πόλεμον ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπολέμησεν, ἀρξάμενος δὲ ἐκεῖθεν οὐχ ἠτύχασεν, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς τε τὸ ἐαυτοῦ βούλημα ἅμα ἀπεπλήρωσε καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐχαρίσατο. οὐ τε γὰρ Σηκουανοὶ καὶ οἱ Αἰδοῦνοι τὴν τε ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτοῦ ὤντες καὶ τὰ ἔργα ὁμολογοῦντα ταῖς ἐλπίσεις οἰκόμενοι, ἐκεῖνο τε ἐνεργείαν ἅμα καταδέσθαι καὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς τοὺς ὁμοχώρους σφῖν τιμωρήσας σασθαί ἔθελησαν. τὸν γὰρ Ῥήμου πάλαι ποτὲ διαβάντες τῆς τε χώρας αὐτῶν των παρετέρων καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑποτελεῖ ἐπεποίησε, ὁμόρους σφὸν ἔχοντες. καὶ ἐτύγχανον γὰρ δεόμενοι ὃν ὦργετο, ῥάδιως αὐτὸν ἀνέπεισαν ἐπικουρῆσας σφῖν.

3 Ἡρχε μὲν γὰρ Ἀριόουστος τῶν Κελτῶν ἐκεῖνον, καὶ τὴν τε κύρωσιν τῆς βασιλείας παρὰ τῶν Ρωμαίων εἰλήφει, καὶ ἐς τοὺς φίλους τοὺς τε συμμάχους αὐτῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπατεύοντος ἐσεγέγραπτο. πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου δοξαν καὶ τὴν ἀτ’ αὐτῆς ἑσχῦν οὖδὲν

1 βούλημα Bk., βούλευμα L.
2 αὐτοῖς Bk., ἐαυτοῖς L, ἐαυτοῖς Ua.
3 ἐσεγέγραπτο Bs., ἐγραπτο L. 4 ἀτ’ αὐτῆς Bk., ἀτ’ αὐτῶν L.

268
BOOK XXXVIII

vigorou s defence, he vanquished them again. After this reverse the barbarians divided into two parties. The one came to terms with him, and going back again to their native land, whence they had set out, they rebuilt and occupied their cities there. The others refused to surrender their arms, and, with the idea that they could get back again to their old home, set out for the Rhine; but being few in numbers and labouring under a defeat, they were easily annihilated by the allies of the Romans through whose territory they passed.

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

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

1 Dio regularly uses the word "Celts" in place of "Germans"; to avoid confusion, however, the usual term has been adopted in the translation.

269
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

toútwv ἐφρόντισε, πλὴν καθ’ ὅσον παρὰ τοῦ βαρ-
βάρου προφασίσην τῆς διαφορᾶς, μὴ καὶ προὔπαρ-
χειν τι ἐς αὐτὸν νομισθῇ, λαβεῖν ἠθέλησε. καὶ
diὰ τούτῳ μετεπέμψατο αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ διαλεχθῆ
ναι τι αὐτῷ δεόμενος. ἔπειδή τε οὖν ὑπήκουσεν, ἀλλὰ
cal ἐφὶ ὁτι "ἐὰν τί μοι βούλεται Καίσαρ εἰπεῖν,
αὐτὸς πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔλθετώ· οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως κατα-
deésestereos αὐτοῦ εἰμι, καὶ τὸν χρείαν τινὸς ἔχοντα

5 αὐτὸν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀφικνεῖσθαι δει", ὄργην τε ᾧς
καὶ πάντας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους προπεπηλακικότος
αὐτοῦ ἐν τούτῳ ἐποίησατο, καὶ παραχρῆμα τοὺς
tε ὀμήρους τῶν συμμάχων ἀπήτθησαν αὐτὸν, καὶ
προσαπηγόρευσεν αὐτῷ μήτε τῆς χώρας σφῶν
ἐπιβαίνειν μὴτ ἑπικουρίας οἰκοθεν ἐπάγεσθαι.

6 ταιτά δὲ ἔπραξεν οὖχ ὅτι καὶ καταπλήξειν αὐτὸν,
ἄλλ’ ὅτι ἐξοργιεῖν κάκ κατούτω προφασιν τῷ
πολέμῳ καὶ μεγάλην καὶ εὐπρεπὴ λήψεθαι
:" ὅπερ ἐγένετο, ἀχθεσθεὶς γὰρ ὁ βάρ-
βαρος τῶν ἐπιτάγμασι πολλα καὶ δευνὰ ἀπεκρί-

νατο, ὡστε τὸν Καίσαρα λόγους μὲν μηκέτ’ αὐτῷ
ἀντιπέμψαι, τὸν δὲ δὴ Ὀμεσοντίωνα, τὴν τῶν
Σηκουανῶν πόλιν, εὖθυς, καὶ πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι

1 τινά, προκατασχεῖν.

35 Καὶ τοῦτῳ ὦι στρατιῶται, ἀγγελίας ἐλθούσης
ὅτι τε ὁ Ἀρίσονστος ἱσχυρῶς παρασκεύαζεται,
καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἔτεροι τῶν Κελτῶν πολλοὶ οἱ μὲν δια-
βεβήκασιν ἢδη τὸν Ῥήμνον ὡς ἐπὶ βοήθειαν αὐτοῦ,
οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τῇ ποταμῷ συνειλέχαται

2 ὅπως ἔξαίφνης σφίσιν ἐπίθωνται, δεινῶς ἡθομή-

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

1 αἰσθέσθαι Uo, αἰσθηθέσθαι L.
2 συνειλέχαται St., συνειλέχαται L.

270
BOOK XXXVIII

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

Meanwhile reports reached the soldiers that Ariovistus was making vigorous preparations, and also that many other Germans had either already crossed the Rhine to assist him or had collected on the very bank of the river to attack the Romans suddenly; hence they fell into deep dejection. Alarmed by the stature of their enemies, by their numbers, their boldness, and
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τε θράσος καὶ τὰς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προχέιρους ἀπειλὰς ἐκπλαγέντες οὗτοι διετέθησαν ὡς μηδὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους τινὰς ἀλλὰ πρὸς θηρία ἄπορα καὶ ἀγρία προσοιόμενοι. καὶ ἔθρυλουν ὅτι πόλεμον οὔτε προσήκοντα οὔτε ἐψηφισμένον διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν τοῦ Καίσαρος φιλοτιμῶν ἀναιροῦτο, καὶ προσηπείλουν ἐγκαταλείψειν αὐτόν, ἀν μὴ μετα-

3 βάληται. μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνος τῷ μὲν πλήθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐδὲν διελέξατο (οὔτε γὰρ καλὸν ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι τοιαύτα πρὸς πολλοὺς λέγειν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους μέλλοντα ἐκφοιτήσειν, καὶ ἐδεισε μὴ πως ἀπειθήσαντες θορυβήσωσι καὶ κακὸν τι ἐξεργάσωσι), τοὺς δὲ δὴ ὑπάρχους καὶ τοὺς ὑπομείνους ἀθροίσας τοιάδε ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔλεξεν.

36 "Οὐ τῶν αὐτῶν, ὥ ἄνδρες φίλοι, τρόπον ἡγοῦμαι δεῖν ἡμᾶς περί τε τῶν ἱδίων καὶ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν βουλεύσθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν ὅρω σκοτῶν ἱδία τε ἐκάστῳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ ἀπασιν ὤντα. ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἐπιεικέστατα καὶ ἀσφαλέστατα, τῷ δὲ δήμῳ τὰ κράτιστα καὶ προαιρεῖσθαι καὶ πράττειν

2 προσήκει. δεὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἕν τοῖς ἱδίοις δραστηρίοις εἶναι· τὸ γὰρ ἐπιεικὲς οὐκ ἔθελεν εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐκ τοῦτον σώζεσθαι· ὡς μὴν ἀλλὰ ἀνήρ μὲν ὅστις ἀπραγμονέστατος ἐστι, καὶ ἀσφαλέστατος εἶναι δοκεῖ, πόλις δὲ, ἀλλωσ τε καὶ ἀρχὴν ἔχουσα, τάχιστ' ἄν ὑπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου κατα-

3 λυθεῖ. ταῦτα γὰρ οὕτως οὐχ ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων ταχθέντα ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως νομοθετη-
θέντα καὶ ἢν ἂεὶ καὶ ἐστι, καὶ ἐσται μέχριτέρ ἀν καὶ τὸ θυτῶν γένος συνεστήκη.

1 kal added by "B" (in Litt. Centralbl. 1891, p. 1319).
2 ei μὴ Reim., μὴ L.

272
consequent ready threats, they were in such a mood as to feel that they were going to contend not against men, but against uncanny and ferocious wild beasts. And the talk was that they were undertaking a war which was none of their business and had not been decreed, merely on account of Caesar's personal ambition; and they threatened also to desert him if he did not change his course. So he, when he heard of it, did not make any address to the common soldiers, since he thought it was not a good plan to discuss such matters before a crowd, and that if he did, these things would get out and reach the enemy, and since he feared his soldiers might perchance refuse obedience, raise a tumult, and do some harm, but he assembled his lieutenants and subalterns and spoke before them as follows:

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

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

VOL. III.
"Toútov oûn útwos échóntωn, ou'd υμῶν ou'déna χρή tò idion ἦδυ kai ásfalēs en tō parónti mάllon h tō tois pάsi Rωmαιοις kai εύπρεπέσ
4 kai sýmφερον προσκοπεῖν. logízei swe yár tā te álλa ósa eikόs ēstī, kai máliosθ' òti deúro ħlýthomeν αὐτοί te tosoútoι kai toioútoi ēk te tῆs bouλῆs kai ēk tōn ēptέωn òntes, kai plῆθos poul sýstratwtoùn χρήmattā te ἀφθονα λαβόντες,
5 ouχ ἵνα ραθυμάμεν, ou'd' ἵνα ἀμελάμεν, ἀλλ' ὁπως tā te tōn ὑπηκόωn ὀρθός διοικήσωmεν kai tā tōn ēνσπόνδων ἀσφαλῶς διασώσωmεν, τούς te ἄνωκεν ἑπιχειροῦντας σφας ἀμνώμεθα, kai
6 tā ħmētera ἐπαυξήσωmεν. ὡς ei γε μὴ ταύθ' ouw fρονοῦntes ἡλθομεν, tī pōte kai ἄρχην εξεστρατεύσωsmeν, ἀλλ' ou τρόπoν γἐ 1 tīna oīkoi kai ēπὶ tois idiois kατεμεύnαmεν; kai γάρ ποu kai āmeiōn ħn međ' υποστῆn tīn sýstratēn
7 ἡ προσταχθέντας αὐτήν προδοῦναι. ei δ' oi mέn ύπo tōn νόμων ἀναγκαζόμενοι tō προστατόμενον ύπo tῆs πατρίδος πράττειν, oi de δή πλεῖous sθελονται δία te tās tīmāς kai δία tās ὀρφείας tās ἀπo tōn polēmōn περιγγυνόμενας πάρεσμεν, πῶs ἄν ἡ καλῶs ἡ οἰσίωs ἡμῶν ἔχω ψεύσασθαι kai tās tōn εκπεμψάντων ἡμᾶs ἀμα kai tās
8 ἡμετέραs αὐτῶν ἐλπίδαs; ἴδια mέn γάρ ou'd' ἀν eis ouwos eu prάζειν ὡste μή ou tō koinou πταίσαντι συναπολέσθαι: tō de δημόσιoν εύτυ-
χοῦn πάσαs kai tās ἐκάστου συμφοράς ἀναφέρει.
37 "Δέγω δε ταύτα ou πρὸς υμᾶs, ἄνδρες ἐταῖροι te kai φίλοι, tōus ἐνταῦθα ὄνταs (ouτe γάρ ἄλλωs áγνωείτε αὐτά ὡste kai mαθεῖν δεῖςθαι, ouτ'

1 γὲ Bk., τὲ L.
BOOK XXXVIII

"This being the case, no one of you at this juncture should have an eye to what is privately agreeable and safe so much as to what is creditable and advantageous to all the Romans. For, apart from the other considerations that may naturally arise, reflect in particular that we who are so many and of such rank—members of the senate and knights—have come here accompanied by a great multitude of soldiers and with money in abundance, not that we may take our ease or neglect our duties, but for the purpose of managing rightly the affairs of our subjects, preserving in safety the property of those bound to us by treaty, repelling any who undertake to do them wrong, and increasing our own possessions. For if it was not in this spirit that we came, why in the world did we take the field at all instead of contriving in some manner or other to stay at home attending to our own affairs? Surely it were better not to have undertaken the campaign than to give it up after being assigned to it. If, however, some of us are here because compelled by the laws to do what our country ordains, and the majority of us voluntarily, on account of the honours and rewards that come from the wars we wage, how could we either honourably or rightly cheat not only the hopes of the men who sent us forth but also our own? For no one can fare so well individually as not to be ruined with the republic, if it should fall; but if the state prospers, it sustains all the misfortunes of each individual citizen.

"I do not say this with reference to you who are here, my comrades and friends; for you are not ignorant of these things, that you need to be instructed
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

όλιγώρως αὐτῶν ἔχετε ὡστε καὶ προτροπῆς χρῆ-ζειν), ἀλλ' ὅτι τινὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἡσθημα
αὐτούς τε θρυλοῦντας ὡς οὐ προσήκοντα τόνδε
τῶν πόλεμον ἀνηρῆμεθα, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσ-
2 στασιάζοντας, ὅπερ αὐτοὶ τε βεβαιοτέραν ἐκ τῶν
παρ' ἐμοῦ λόγων τῆς ὑπερ τῆς πατρίδος προθυ-
μίαν ποιήσοντε, καὶ ἐκείνους πάνθ' ἑ προσήκῃ
διδάξετε πλεῖο γὰρ ἄν παρ' ὑμῶν ἱδία καὶ
πολλάκις ἀκούοντες αὐτὰ ὕφελθεῖν ἢ παρ'
3 ἐμοῦ ἀπαξ πυθόμενοι. λέγετε τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅτι
οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν οὐκ οἰκοι μένοντες, οὐδὲ τὰς
στρατείας ὁκνοῦντες, οὐδὲ τοὺς πολέμους φεύ-
γοντες, οὐδὲ τὰς ῥάθυμαις διάκοντες τηλικαύτην
τὴν πόλιν ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς γρώμαις πάντα
τὰ προσήκοντα προχείρως τολμῶντες καὶ τοῖς
σώμασι πάντα τὰ ἀρέσαστα προθύμως ἔκπο-
νοῦντες, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἱδία ὡς ἀλλότρια αἰὲ ποτὲ
παραβαλλόμενοι, τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν πέλας ὡς καὶ
οἰκεῖα ἐτοίμως κτόμενοι, καὶ μήτε εὐδαιμονίαν
ἄλλο τι ἢ τὸ τὰ δέοντα πράττειν νομίζοντες,
μήτε δυστυχήν ἄλλο τι ἢ τὸ μετ' ἀπραξίας
ἡσυχάζειν ἡγούμενοι.

4 Ἡ παγαροῦν ἐκ τούτων τῶν λοιπενμάτων αὐτοῖ
te, ὡς λιγότοι τοῦ κατ' ἀρχὰς γενόμενοι καὶ πόλιν
οὐδεμίαν ἢ οὐκ ἐλάττω τὸ πρῶτον νεμόμενοι,
Λατίνους ἐκράτησαν, Σαβίνους ἐνίκησαν, Τυρση-
νοὺς Οὐήλσκους Ὀπικοὺς Δευκανοὺς Σαυνίτας
ἐχειρώσαντο, πᾶσαν ἐνι λόγῳ την ἐντὸς τῶν
Ἀλπέων γῆν κατεστρέφαντο, πάντας τοὺς ἄλλο-
38 φύλους τοὺς ἔπελθόντας σφίσιν ἀπεώσαντο, καὶ

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

"It was in consequence of these principles, therefore, that those men, who were in the beginning very few and dwelt in a city as small as any at first, conquered the Latins, subdued the Sabines, mastered the Etruscans, Volscians, Oscans, Lucanians and Samnites, in a word, subjugated the whole land south of the Alps, and repulsed all the foreign tribes that came
 Dio's Roman History

άυτούς καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα Ῥωμαῖοι οἳ τε πατέρες ἡμῶν ἔγιναν τοῖς παρόνιν, οὐδ' ἡγάπησαν οἷς παρέλαβον, ἀλλ' ὁλόθρον μὲν αὐτῶν σαφῆ τὴν ῥαστώνιν, σωτηρίαν δὲ ἀκριβῆ τὴν ταλαίπωρίαν νομίσαντες εἶναι, καὶ φωβηθέντες μὲν μὴ μείναντα αὐτὰ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν 1 κατατριβείη καὶ καταγράσειεν, αἰσχυνθέντες 2 δὲ εἰ τοσαῦτα παραδεξάμενοι μηδὲν ἐπικτῆσαντο, 2 πολλῷ πλείῳ καὶ μείζῳ προσκατεργάσατο. τί γὰρ ἀν τις καθ’ ἑκαστὸν λέγοι τὴν Σαρδώ, τὴν Σικελίαν, τοὺς Μακεδόνας, τοὺς Ἰλλυρίους, τὴν Ἐλλάδα, τὴν Ἀσίαν τὴν περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν, Βιθυνίαν, Ἰβηρίαν, Ἀφροῦς; καίτοι συχνὰ μὲν ἀν χρήματα ἔδοσαν αὐτοῖς Καρχηδόνων ὡστε μὴ ἐκεῖσε ἐκπλεύσαι, συχνὰ δὲ Φίλιππος καὶ Περσεὺς ὡστε μὴ ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς στρατεύσαι, πολλὰ Ἀντίοχος, πολλὰ οἱ παιδεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐγγονοὶ ὡστε ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης καταμείναι. ἀλλ' οὕτε ἐκείνου πρὸ τε τῆς δόξης καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀργεῖν τε ἀκλεῦς καὶ πλουτεῖν ἀδεῶς εἶλοντο, οὔτ' αὐτῶν ἡμῶν οἱ προσβύτεροι οἱ καὶ νῦν ἑτ’ ὡντες, ἀλλ' ἀτε 3 εὔ εἰδότες ότι διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ κτάται τὰ ἁγαθὰ καὶ σῶζεται, πολλὰ μὲν ἐβεβαιώσαντο τῶν προὔπαρχόντων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ προσεκτή- 4 σαντο. τί γὰρ δὲν κανταύθα καθ’ ἑκαστὸν ἐπεξενεία τὴν Κρήτην, τὸν Πόντου, τὴν Κύπρου, τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τὴν Ἀσιανὴν, τὴν Ἀλβανίαν τὴν ἐκεῖ, Σύρους ἀμφοτέρους, Ἀρμενίους ἐκατέρους,

1 ἐφ’ ἑαυτῶν Rk., ἐφ’ ἑαυτὰ L.
2 καταγράσειεν αἰσχυνθέντες Bk., καταγράση ἐναισχυνθέντες L.
3 ἀλλ’ ἀτε Bk., ἀλλὰ τε L.
4 διὰ Bk., διὰ τε L.
5 Ἀσιανὴν Bk., ἀσιαν L.

278
against them. The later Romans, likewise, and our own fathers imitated them, not being satisfied with what they had nor content with what they had inherited, but regarding sloth as their sure destruction and hardship as their certain safety. They feared that if their treasures remained unaugmented they would waste away of themselves and wear out with age, and were ashamed after receiving so rich a heritage to add nothing to it; accordingly they effected much greater and more numerous conquests. But why mention individually Sardinia, Sicily, Macedonia, Illyria, Greece, Ionian Asia, Bithynia, Spain, and Africa? And yet the Carthaginians would have given them much money not to extend their voyages thither, and much would Philip and Perseus have given to keep them from making campaigns against them; Antiochus would have given much, his sons and grandsons would have given much, to have them remain in Europe. But those men in view of the glory and the greatness of the empire did not choose to be ignobly idle or to enjoy their wealth in security, nor did the older men of our own generation who even now are still alive; nay, as men who well knew that advantages are preserved by the same methods by which they are acquired, they made sure of many of their original possessions and also acquired many new ones. But here again, why catalogue in detail Crete, Pontus, Cyprus, Asiatic Iberia, Farther Albania, both Syrias, the two
Αραβλοὺς, Παλαιστίνους; δὲν οὖδε τὰ ὅνόματα πρότερον ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες νῦν τῶν μὲν αὐτοὶ δεσπόζομεν, τὰ δὲ ἐτέροις ἐχαρισάμεθα, ὡστε ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ προσόδους καὶ δυνάμεις καὶ τιμὰς καὶ συμμαχίας προσειληφέναι.

39 "Τοιαύτα γούν ἔχοντες παραδείγματα, μήτε τὰ τῶν πατέρων ἔργα κατασκύλητε μήτε τὴν ἀρχὴν μεγίστην ἤδη οὐδὲν προῆσθε. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὖν ἢ ὅτι ημῖν τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς μη-δὲν τῶν ὁμοίων κεκτημένοις βουλευτέοι ἐστίν. 2 ἐκείνοις μὲν γὰρ ἐξαρκεῖ ῥάστωνεν καὶ μετὰ ἀσφαλείας ἄλλοις ὑποπεπτωκέναι, ἦμῖν δὲ ἀν- αγκαίον ἐστὶ καὶ πονεῖν καὶ στρατεύεσθαι καὶ μετὰ κινδύνων τὴν παροῦσαν εὐδαιμονίαν φυλάττειν. πολλοὶ ἡ γὰρ ἐπιβουλεύουσιν 2 αὐτῷ πάν γὰρ τὸ ὑπεραιρόν τινα καὶ ξήλωται καὶ φθονεῖται, κάκ τούτων πόλεμος ἀδίδος ἐστὶν ἀπασὶ τοῖς καταδεστέροις πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τινι

3 αὐτῶν ὑπερέχοντας. ἥ 3 οὖν ἀπὸ πρώτης ἔχρην μηδὲν διαφερόντως ἡμᾶς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἡξίζοθαί, ἡ, ἐπείπερ τηλικοῦτοι γεγόναμεν καὶ τοσαῦτα κεκτήμεθα, πεπρωτάι τε ἡ ἀρχεῖν τῶν ἄλλων ἐγκρατῶς ἢ καὶ αὐτοὺς παντελῶς ἀπολέσθαι (τοῖς γὰρ ἔστε τε ἡξίαμα τοσοῦτον καὶ ἐς δύναμιν τηλικαύτην προκεχωρηκόσιν ἀδύ- νατον ἐστιν ἀκινδύνως ἰδιωτεύσατο), πειθώμεθα τῇ τύχῃ, μηδὲ ἐκούσαν αὐτὴν καὶ αὐτεπάγγελτον τοῖς τε πατράσιν ἡμῶν ὑπάρξασαν καὶ ἡμῖν

4 παραμένουσαι ἀπωσώμεθα. ἔσται δὲ τούτο ὥσκ ἀν τὰ ὅπλα ῶψωμεν, οὖν ἀν τὰς τάξεις ἐκλύσω-

1 πολλοὶ Bk., πολλοὶ τε L.
2 ἐπιβουλεύοντας Wagner, ἐπιθυμοῦσιν L. 3 ἦ Rk., μη L.

280
BOOK XXXVIII

Armenias, Arabia, and Palestine? Countries whose very names we did not know precisely in former times we now rule, lording it over some ourselves and having bestowed others upon various persons, so that we have gained from them revenues and troops and honour and alliances.

"With such examples before you, now, do not bring shame upon the deeds of the fathers nor let slip the empire which is already the greatest. We cannot even deliberate in like manner with the rest of mankind who have no possessions like ours. For them it suffices to live in ease and, with safety guaranteed, to be subject to others, but for us it is necessary to toil, to make campaigns, and to incur danger in guarding our existing prosperity. Against this prosperity many are plotting, since everything that lifts people above their fellows arouses both emulation and jealousy; and consequently an eternal warfare is waged by all inferiors against those who excel them in any way. Hence either we ought not in the first place to have grown powerful beyond other men, or else, since we have become so great and have gained so many possessions, it is fated for us either to rule our subjects firmly or to perish utterly ourselves. For it is impossible for men who have advanced to such distinction and to power so vast to live to themselves without danger. Let us therefore obey Fortune and not repel her, seeing that she voluntarily and at her own behest was present with our fathers and now abides with us. But this result will not be attained if we cast away our arms or desert
μεν,1 οὖδ' ἀν διὰ κενής οἴκων καθώμεθα 2 ἢ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις πλανώμεθα, ἀλλὰ ἀν τά τε ὅπλα διὰ χειρὸς ἀεὶ ἔχωμεν (οὗτῳ γὰρ μόνῳς εἰρήνη σῶζεται) καὶ τά ἔργα τοῦ πολέμου διὰ κυνίων ἀσκῶμεν (οὗτῳ γὰρ μόνῳς οὐκ ἀεὶ πολεμὸς ἡμῶν), τοῖς τε δεομένοις τῶν συμμάχων ἀπροφασίστως ἐπικουρόμεν (οὗτῳ γὰρ πολὺ πλείους ἔχομεν) καὶ τοῖς ἀεὶ τῷ παρακινοῦσι τῶν πολεμίων μή ἐπιτρέπομεν (οὗτῷ γὰρ οὔδεις ἐθ' ἡμᾶς ἀδικεῖν ἐθελήσει).

40 "Εἰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν θεῶν ἔγγυτής ἦμιν ἐγένετο ὅτι, κἂν ταῦτα μηθ' ποιῶμεν, οὔτε τις ἡμῖν ἐπιβουλεύσει καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα κεκτήμεθα ἀσφαλῶς ἂν καρπωσόμεθα, αἰσχρὸν μὲν ἂν ἦμι ἐπεί τίνων ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἔχωμι, ὃμως ἐν ἐνίοτε ἂν τινα σκῆψιν εὑπρεπή ἢ μηδὲν τῶν δεόντων πράττειν. 2 τειν βουλόμενοι, εἰ δ' ἀνάγκη τε τοὺς κεκτημένους τινὰ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐπιβουλεύσει, καὶ προσῆκε τὰς ἐπιθέσεις αὐτῶν προκαταλαμβάνεσθαι, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς οἴκειοις ἡσυχάζοντες καὶ περὶ τούτως κινδυνεύουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐκ περιουσίας τῶν πολέμων καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων 6 χρόμενοι καὶ ἐκεῖνα φυ- 3 λάσσουσιν (οὔδεις γὰρ περὶ τοῖς έαυτοῦ δεδίως τῶν τοῦ πέλας ἔφεσται· ὃ γὰρ περὶ τῶν ὑπαρχον- τῶν οἱ φόβος ἵσχυρος τοῦ πολυπραγμονεῖν τὰ μὴ προσήκουσα αὐτῶν ἀποτρέπει), τῷ τούτῳ λέγει τις,7 ὥς οὐ χρὴ ἡμῖν ἂεὶ τι προσκτάσθαι;

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

"What though some god had become our surety that even if we should fail to do all this, no one would plot against us and we should forever enjoy in safety all that we have won, it would still be disgraceful to say that we ought to keep quiet; yet those who are willing to do nothing that is requisite would then have some show of excuse. But if, as a matter of fact, it is inevitable that men who possess anything should be plotted against by many, and if it behooves them to anticipate their attacks; if those who hold quietly to their own possessions risk losing even these, while those who without any compulsion employ war to acquire the possessions also of others are protecting their own as well,—for no one who fears for his own goods covets those of his neighbour, since his fear concerning what he already has effectually deters him from meddling in what does not belong to him,—if all this be true, why, then, does any one say that we ought not always to be acquiring something more?"
"Οὐ μέμνησθε, τα μὲν ἀκηκοότες τὰ δὲ ἑορακότες, ὅτι οὔτε τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδᾳ νεών οὔδεν πρότερον ἀπέσχετο τοῦ τῇ πατρίδι ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλεύειν πρὶν τοὺς πολέμους ἐν τῇ ἐκείνων χώρᾳ τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν ποιήσασθαι, οὔτε οἱ Ἡπείρωται πρὶν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδας αὐτοῦς περαιωθήναι; οὐ δὲ Ἐλλάττων, μελλήσας καὶ ἔπειτ' ἐκ τῆς 'Ιταλίας στρατεύσεως, πρὶν φθάσαντας τὴν ἐκείνων κακῶς ποιῆσαι, οὐκ Ἡπείρωται, οὐκ Ἡπείρωται, οὐκ 'Ασίαχος, οὐκ Ἡπείρωται, πρὶν τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτοὺς ἑργάσασθαι. καὶ τὰ τάλλα λέγοι τις ἄν;

6 ἀλλ' οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, τεώσ μὲν οὔδεν δεινῶν ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ εἰχον, ἐς τῇ 'Ιταλίαν διέπλεον καὶ τὴν χώραν κατέτρεχον τὰς τὸ πόλεις ἐπόρθουν καὶ παρ' ὅλην καὶ τὸ ἄστυ αὐτὸ εἰλον, ἐπειδὴ δ' αὐτοὺς ἑργάσασθαι ἤξαυτον, παντάπασιν

7 ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἡμῶν ἐξέδρασαν. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν Γαλατῶν καὶ Κελτῶν ἄν τις εἰπεῖν ἔχοι. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι, μέχρι μὲν ἐντὸς τῶν 'Αλ- πεων ἐμένομεν, πολλάκις αὐτὰς ὑπερβῆσαν καὶ πολλὰ τῆς 'Ιταλίας ἐπόρθησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐστομῆ- σαμεν ποτὲ ἔξω τοῦ ὅρου ἐκστρατεύσαι καὶ τὸν πόλεμον σφιζε περιστῇσαι, καὶ τῶν καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἀπετεμῷμεθα, οὐκέτ' οὔδένα πόλε- μον ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ 'Ιταλίᾳ, πλην ἀπαξ, εἴδομεν.

8 ὅταν οὖν τούτων οὖτως ἐχόντων λέγῃ τις ὅτι οὐ χρή πολέμειν ἡμᾶς, οὔδεν ἄλλο φησὶν ὅτι οὐ χρή πλουτεῖν, οὐ χρὴ ἔτέρων ἄρχειν, οὐκ ἑλευ- 9 θέρους, οὐ τρωμαίοις εἶναι. ὀσπερ οὖν ἄν, εἴπερ τι τούτων εἰπέ τις, οὐκ ἄν ἴσχεσθε ἄλλα καὶ ἐν χερσίν αὐτῶν ἀπεκτείνατε, οὔτω καὶ νῦν, οὐ ἀνδρεὶς ἐταῖροι, πρὸς τοὺς ἑκείνα λέγοντας δια-

1 ἐμένομεν Oddey, ἐμενον L.
BOOK XXXVIII

"Do you not recall, partly from hearsay and partly from observation, that none of the Italian races stopped plotting against our country until our ancestors carried the wars into their territory, nor yet the Epirots until our fathers crossed over into Greece? Nor Philip, who intended to make a campaign even against Italy, until they harried his land first; nor Perseus, or Antiochus, or Mithridates, until they treated them in the same way? And why mention the other instances? But take the Carthaginians; so long as they suffered no disaster at our hands in Africa, they kept crossing into Italy, overrunning the country, sacking the towns, and almost captured the city itself; but when they began to have war made upon them, they fled altogether from our land. One might instance the same results in the case of the Gauls and Germans. For these peoples, while we remained on our side of the Alps, often crossed them and ravaged a large part of Italy; but when we ventured at last to make a campaign beyond our own borders and to bring the war home to them, and also took away a part of their territory, we never again saw any war begun by them in Italy, except once. When, accordingly, in the face of these facts, anybody declares that we ought not to make war, he simply says that we ought not to be rich, ought not to rule others, ought not to be free, ought not to be Romans. Therefore, just as you would not endure it if a man should say any of these things, but would kill him even as he stood before you, so now also, comrades, you must feel the same way toward those who make these other
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τίδεςθε, μὴ τοῖς ρήμασί σφων ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν νοῦν τεκμαιρόμενοι.

"Οὐκοῦν ὅτι μὲν οὕτω χρὴ φρονεῖν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἂν 1 ἀντεπείν ύμῶν 2 νομίζω· εἰ δ' ὅτι μήτε ἐξήτα-
斯塔 περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου παρὰ 3 τῇ βουλῇ καὶ παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ μὴ ἐψήφισται, διὰ τοῦτο τις
ήττον οἶεται δεῖν ἡμᾶς προθυμηθῆναι, λογισάσθω τούθ', 4 ὅτι πάντες οἱ πόλεμοι ὅσοι πώποτε γεγόνα-
σιν ἡμῖν, οἱ μὲν ἓκ παρασκευής καὶ προεπαγ-
γέλασεις οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ καιροῦ συμβεβήκασι. καὶ
dιὰ τούτο ὅσα μὲν ἂν 5 οἴκοι τε μενόντων ὕμῶν
cαὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀγόντων κινηθῇ καὶ ἐκ προσβείας
tίνος τὴν ἄρχην τῶν ἐγκλημάτων λάβῃ, καὶ
σκέψων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ δεὶ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶ
gίγνεσθαι καὶ ψήφον ἐπάγεσθαι, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
tοὺς τε ὑπάτους ἢ καὶ στρατηγοὺς προστά-
tεσθαί σφισι καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκπέμπεσθαι· ὅσα
d' ἂν ἐξεληλυθότων ἣδη καὶ ἐξεστρατευμένων
tίνος ἐκφανῇ, ταῦτ' οὖκ ἐστείλε· ἐς διαγωνώμην ἁγεσθαι
χρῆ, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ δεδογμένα καὶ κεκυρωμένα ὑπ' αὐτῆς
tῆς χρείας προκαταλαμβάνεσθαι πρὶν
αὐξηθῆναι.

4. "Ἡ τίνος μὲν ἔνεκα ύμῶς ἐνταῦθ' ὁ δήμος
ἐξεπεμψεν, τίνος δ' ἔνεκα ἐμὲ μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν
eὔθυς ἐστείλε, τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ πέντε ἐτη καθάπαξ,
ὁ µήπω πρότερον ἐγεγόνει, ἀρχεῖν ἐλόμενος, τοῦτο
dὲ τέσσαρι στρατοπέδοις ὀπλίσας, εἰ µὴ καὶ
5 πολεμήσαι πάντως ύμᾶς δεῦσειν ἐνόμιζεν· οὐ γάρ
που ἰνα μάτην τρεφόμεθα, οὔτ' ἰνα τὰς τε πόλεις

1 οὐδὲν ἂν Pflugk, οὐδένα L. 2 ύμῶν Bk., ύμῶν L.
3 παρὰ Rk., παρά τε L. 4 τοῦθ' Pflugk, ταῦθ' L.
5 ἂν added by Bk.

286
BOOK XXXVIII

statements, judging their disposition not by their words but by their deeds.

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

"Else for what reason did the people send you hither, for what reason did they send me immediately after my consulship? Why did they, on the one hand, elect me to hold command for five years at one time, as had never been done before, and on the other hand equip me with four legions, unless they believed that we should certainly be required to fight? Surely it was not that we might be supported in idleness, or that making visits to the allied cities
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τὰς συμμαχίδας καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν ὑπήκοουν περιόντες χαλεπώτεροι καὶ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτοῖς γυνώμεθα,—οὔτε ἂν εἰς ταῦτα φήσειν,—ἀλλ' ἦνα τὴν οἰκείαν φυλάξωμεν, ἵνα τὰ τῶν πολεμίων πορθήσωμεν, ἵνα ἄξιόν τι καὶ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῶν ἀναλαμμάτων ἐργασώμεθα. οὐκοῦν ἐν τούτῳ καὶ οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος καὶ πᾶς ὡστισοῦν ἄλλος καὶ ἐπιτέτραπται ἡμῖν καὶ ἐγγεκεχείρισται. καὶ πάνω ἐν τούτῳ μὲν ἐκεῖνος ἐποίησεν ἐφ' ἡμῖν τὸ τίς πολεμι- τέον εἶναι διαγνώσι με καταλεπόντες καὶ μὴ αὐτοί τῶν πόλεμον ψηφισάμενοι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὔτ' ἀκριβῶς τὰ τῶν συμμάχων τοσοῦτον 2 αὐτῶν ἀφεστηκότες ἠδονήθησαν ἄν, καὶ πρὸς εἰδότας καὶ προπαρεσκευασμένους 3 τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἂν ἦν ὡμοίως ἐπιτηδείως προσηνέχθησαν ὡμεῖς δὲ δὴ κριταὶ ἄμα καὶ λειτουργὸν τοῦ πολέμου γυνώμενοι, καὶ προσεῖται καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοφόροις τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τὰ ὀπλα εὔλογα ἐπιφέροντες, οὔτε ἀνεξετάστως οὔτε ἀδίκως οὔτε ἀπροφυλάκτως αὐτὸν ποιησόμεθα.

42 Καὶ μοι εἰ τις ὑμῶν ἐκεῖνο ὑπολαμβάνει, τί δὴ τηλικοῦτον ὁ Ἀριῶνυστος πεπλημμέληκεν ὡςτ' ἀντὶ φίλου καὶ συμμάχου πολέμου ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, σκοπεῖτω τοῦτο, ὅτι τοὺς ἁδικεῖν τι ἐπιχειροῦντας οὐκ ἐφ' οἷς ποιοῦσί μοῦν ἄλλα καὶ ἐφ' οἷς φρο- νοῦσιν ἀμύνασθαι δεί, καὶ τὴν τε αὐξήσιν αὐτῶν πρὶν καὶ βλαβῆναι τι προκαταλαμβάνειν, καὶ μὴ περιμείναντας κακῶς ἔργο παθεῖν, τότε τιμω- 2 ρεῖσθαι. ὅτι τοῖς καὶ ἐχθρός καὶ ἐχθιστῶς ἐστὶν ἢμῖν, πῶς ἂν ἄλλως μᾶλλον ἐλεγχθείῃ ή ἐξ ὑμών ἐποίησεν; πέμψαντος γάρ μου πρὸς αὐτὸν φι-

1 ἵνα added by Bk. 2 τοσοῦτον Cobet, καὶ τοσοῦτον L. 3 προπαρεσκευασμένους Pflugk, πρὸς παρεσκευασμένους L.

288
BOOK XXXVIII

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

"But suppose, now, some one of you should answer me with this objection: 'What wrong has Ariovistus done so great that he should have become an enemy of ours in place of a friend and ally?' Let any such man consider the fact that one has to defend one's self against those who are undertaking to do a wrong not merely on the basis of what they do, but also on the basis of what they intend, and has to check their growth promptly, before suffering any injury, instead of waiting until the wrong is actually done and then taking vengeance. Now how could it better be proved that he is hostile, nay, most hostile toward us than by what he has done?" I sent
λικὼς ὀπως ἐλθη τε πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ κοινῇ μεθ' ἡμῶν βουλεύσηται περὶ τῶν παρόντων, οὔτ' ἦλθεν
3 οὖθ' ἤξειν ὑπέσχετο. καὶ τοι τί μὲν ἐγὼ ἄδικον ἢ ἀνεπιεικὲς ἢ φορτικὸν ἐποίησα μεταπεμψάμενος
αὐτὸν ὡς φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον; τί δὲ ἐκεῖνος ὑβρεως καὶ ἀσέλγειας, οὐκ ἐθελήσας ἐλθεῖν, ἐκλέλειπεν; ἂρ' οὗ δυοῖν ἀνάγκη θάτερον, ἦτοι ὑπωπτευκότα αὐτὸν τι κακὸν πείσεσθαι οὐ περ-
4 πεφρονηκότα ἡμᾶς τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι; οὐκοῦν ἔτει τι ὑποτετόπηκεν, σαφέστατα αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐξελέγχει ἐπιβουλεύοντα ἡμῶν οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡμῖν μηδὲν δεινὸν παθὼν ὑποττός ἐστιν, οὖδ' ἀπ' ὀρθῆς καὶ ἀδόλου τῆς γνώμης γίγνεται, ἀλλ' οἱ προπαρη-
σκευασμένοι τινὰς ἀδεικήσαι ἐτοίμην τὴν ὑποψίαν
5 κατ' αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνειδότος σφῶν ἔχουσιν. εἰτ' αὐ μηδείς τοιοῦτον ὑπόντος ὑπερεόρακε τε ἡμᾶς καὶ λόγοις ὑπερηφάνων ὑβρικε, τί 1 χρὴ τοῦτον, ἔπειδαν ἔργον τινὸς ἐπιλάβηται, προσδοκήσαι πράξειν; ὁ γὰρ ἐν ὦς μηδὲν κερδανεὶς ἐμελλε τοσαύτη ὑπεροπία κεχρημένος πῶς οὐ πόρρωθεν ἐξελήλεγκται μηδὲν δίκαιον μήτε φρονῶν μήτε πρᾶσσων;

"Οὐ τούτων ἀπέχρησεν αὐτῷ τούτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔμε ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν 2 ἐκέλευσεν, εἰπέρ τι αὐτῶ
43 δεοίμην. καὶ μὴ μοι μικρὰν τὴν προσθήκην ταῦτην εἶναι νομίςθεν· μεγάλη γὰρ ἐστώ ἐπὶ-
δείξεις τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν μὴ ἐθελήσας πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφικέσθαι τάχ' ἀν τις καὶ
δκνὼ καὶ ἄρρωστία καὶ φόβω, ἀπολογούμενος
2 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, ἀνέθηκε· τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐμὲ μετα-
pέμψασθαι οὔτε σκῆψιν οὐδεμίαν ἐνδέχεσται, καὶ

1 τι Bk., τίνα L. 2 αὐτὸν Bk., αὐτὸν L.
BOOK XXXVIII

to him in a friendly way to bid him come to us and consult with us about present conditions, and he
neither came nor promised that he would appear. And yet what did I do that was unfair or unseemly or arrogant in summoning him as a friend and ally? What insolence and wantonness, on the other hand, has he failed to show in refusing to come! Is it not inevitable that he did this for one of two reasons—either that he suspected he should suffer some harm or that he felt contempt for us? Now if he felt any suspicion, he convicts himself most clearly of conspiring against us; for no one, when he has suffered no injury, is suspicious towards us, nor does one become so with an upright and guileless mind; rather, it is those who have prepared themselves to wrong others because of their own conscience that harbour suspicion against them. If, on the other hand, nothing of this sort was at the bottom of his action, but he merely looked down on us and insulted us with overweening words, what must we expect him to do when he lays hold of some real project? For when a man has shown such disdain in matters where he was not going to gain anything, does he not stand convicted from afar off of utter injustice both in thought and in deed?

"Not content, now, with this, he further bade me come to him, if I wanted anything of him. Do not, I beg of you, regard this addition as any light matter; for it is weighty as an indication of his disposition. As for his refusing to come to us, one speaking in his defence might ascribe this to hesitation, or infirmity, or fear; but his summoning me admits of no excuse, and furthermore proves that he

291
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

προσεξελέγχει καὶ ἐκεῖνο αὐτῶν οὐ κατ' ἄλλο τι πεποιηκότα ἢ ὅτι οὐθ' ὑπακούειν ἐς οὐδὲν ἦμὲν καὶ προσέτι καὶ προσαντεπτιτάττειν πάντα παρε-3 σκεύασται. καίτοι καὶ αὐτὸ τούτο πόσης ὑβρεως καὶ πόσον προπηλακισμοῦ μεστόν ἐστιν; μεταπέμπται τινα ὁ ἀνθύπατος ὁ Ῥωμαῖων, καὶ ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἔρχεται· μεταπέμπτεται τις1 τὸν ἀνθύπατον τὸν2 Ῥωμαίων Ἀλλόβριξ ὁν. μὴ γὰρ ὅτι ἐμὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος οὐκ ἐπείσθη, μηδ' ὅτι ἐμὲ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐκάλεσε, σμικρὸν τι τούτο καὶ 4 φαύλον εἶναι νομίσῃτε. οὔτε γὰρ ἔγω αὐτὸν μετεπεμψάμην, ἀλλ' ὁ Ῥωμαίος, ὁ ἀνθύπατος, αἱ ῥάβδοι, τὸ ἀξίωμα, τὰ στρατόπεδα, οὔτε ἔγω μετεπέμψειν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα. ἰδία μὲν γὰρ ἔμοι πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἐστὶ συμβόλαιον.3 κοινὴ δὲ δὴ πάντες καὶ εἰπομέν τι καὶ ἐποιήσαμεν καὶ ἀντηκούσαμεν καὶ ἀντεπάθομεν.4

44 "Ὡσθ' ὅσῳ τις ἂν αὐτῶν ἐν τε τοῖς φίλοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς συμμάχουσι ἦμῶν ἀναγεγράφθαι φήσῃ, τοσοῦτοι μᾶλλον ἄξιομόσητον ὡντα ἀποδείξει. διὰ τί; ὅτι οία μηδὲ τῶν ἔχθιστων τις ὁμολογοῦντων ἦμῖν εἶναι ἐτόλμησέ ποτε ποιήσαι, ταύτ' ἐκεῖνος ἐν τε τοῖς τῆς φιλίας καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῆς συμ-μαχίας ὁνόμασιν ἐξειργασταί, καθάπερ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τούτο πεποιημένος αὐτάς, ἢ ἦμᾶς ἀδικεῖν ἀδεῶς

2 ἔχε. ἀλλ' οὔτε τότε ἐπὶ τῷ προπηλακίζεσθαι καὶ ἐπιβουλευόμεθα ἐσπεισάμεθα αὐτῷ, οὔτε νῦν αὐτοὶ τὰς σπουδὰς λύσομεν ἢμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ὡς πρὸς φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον ἐτ' αὐτῶν ὁντα ἐπρε-

BOOK XXXVIII

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

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

1 Possibly an error on the part of Dio himself.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

σβενσάμεθα, ὁ δ' ὀράτε ὅπως ἦμων κέχρηται. 3 ὅσπερ οὖν ἥνικα ἐνεργετεῖν τε ἡμᾶς ἐβούλετο κάντι εὗ πᾶσχειν ἦξιον, δικαίως ἐκείνων ἔτυγχανεν, οὕτω καὶ νῦν, ἐπειδὴ τάναντι αὐτῶν πάντα ποιεῖ, δικαιότατα ἂν ἐν ἔχθροι μέρει νομισθεῖν. καὶ μὴ θαυμάσσητε εἰ αὐτός ἐγὼ πρότερον ποτε καὶ ἐν τῷ βουλῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ χρηματίσας 4 τινὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, εἷτα ταυτί νυνὶ λέγω. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχω καὶ οὗ μεταβάλλομαι. τίς δὲ ἐστιν αὐτῇ; τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς καὶ πιστοὺς καὶ τιμᾶν καὶ ἀμείβεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς καὶ ἀπίστους καὶ ἀτιμάζειν καὶ ἀμώνεσθαι. ἐκείνος δὲ ἐστιν ὁ μεταβαλλόμενος, ὁ μήτε καλῶς μήτε δεόντως τοὺς δοθείσων αὐτῷ παρ' ἦμων χρώμενος.

45 "Ωσθ' ὅτι μὲν δικαιότατα ἂν αὐτῷ πολεμήσαμεν, οὐδένα ἀμφισβητήσειν οἴομαι: ὅτι δὲ οὕτε ἄμαχος οὕτε δυσπολέμητος ἐστιν, ὅρατε μὲν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὀμοφύλων αὐτῷ, οὐδὲ πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον, βάστα δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐνικήσαμεν, λογίζομαι δὲ καὶ εἴδων περὶ αὐτοῦ 2 ἐκείνων πυθανάμεθα. οὕτε γὰρ ἄλλως δύναμιν τινα οἰκείαν συνεστηκίαν καὶ συγκεκρυπτημένην ἔχει νῦν τε, ἀτε μηδὲν δεινὸν προσδοκοῦν, καὶ παντελῶς ἀπαράσκευος ἐστιν. οὐ τούτων οὐδὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀμοχώρων ἂν τις αὐτῷ 1 προθύμως, οὐδ' εἰ 3 πάνυ ἐπαγγέλλεται, βοσθήσειε' τίς μὲν γὰρ ἂν ἐξουτε ἐκείνῳ συμμαχήσας πολεμήσαι ἦμων, μηδὲν υφ' ἦμῶν λευτημένος; πῶς δ' οὖκ ἂν μᾶλλον ἦμῖν πάντες ἢ ἐκείνῳ συναράμενοι τὴν τε τυραννίδα αὐτοῦ δομοῦν σφισιν οὖσαν καταλύσαι καὶ

1 autē R. Steph., autēn L.
BOOK XXXVIII

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

"Therefore, that we should go to war with him most justly, no one I think will dispute. And that he is neither invincible nor even a difficult adversary, you can see both from the other members of his race, whom we have often conquered before and have recently conquered very easily, and you can reason further from what we learn about the man himself. For he has no force of his own at any time that is united and welded together, and at present, since he is looking for nothing serious, he is utterly unprepared. Hence, no one of his countrymen even would readily aid him, not even if he makes most tempting offers; for who would choose to be his ally and fight against us, if he had not received any injury at our hands? Would they not all, rather, coöperate with us, instead of with him, in the desire of overthrowing his
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

tής χώρας μέρος τι παρ' ἡμῶν προσλαβεῖν ἠθελή-4
σειαν; εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ συσταίειν τινες, οὔτε γε καὶ
κρείττους ἃν ἡμῶν γένοιτο. Ἡν γάρ ταλλα ἐάσω,
τὸ πλήθος ἡμῶν, τὴν ἤλεκταν, τὴν ἐμπειρίαν, τὰ
ἐργα, ἐκείνο γε τίς οὐκ οἴδεν, ὅτι ἡμεῖς μὲν κατὰ
πάν1 ὀμοίως τὸ σώμα ὀπλόσμεθα, ἐκείνοι δὲ δὴ
γυμνοὶ τὸ πλείστον εἶσι, καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν καὶ λο-
γισμῷ καὶ τάξει χρώμεθα, ἐκείνοι δὲ δὴ θυμῷ
5 πρὸς πάντα ἀσύντακτοι φέρονται; μὴ γάρ τοι
μήτε τὴν ὀρμήν αὐτῶν μήτε τὸ μέγεθος ἤ τῶν
σωμάτων ἤ τῆς θοις φοβηθῆτε. φωνὴ τε γάρ
οὐδένα πώποτε ἀνθρώπων ἀπέκτεινα, καὶ τὰ σώ-
ματα αὐτῶν δρᾶν μὲν οὐδέν πλέον, ἀτε τὰς αὐτὰς
ἡμῶν χείρας ἔχοντα, πάσχειν δὲ πολὺ πλεῖον, ἀτε
καὶ μεγάλα καὶ γυμνὰ ὄντα, δυνῆσται; ἢ τε ὀρμὴ
ἀμετρος καὶ προπετῆς τὸ κατ’ ἀρχὰς οὔσα καὶ
46 ἐκκενοῦται ῥάδιως καὶ ἐπ' ὁλίγων ἀνθεὶ. πε-
πειραμένοις δὲ ποι ὁ ὅν λέγω καὶ νενικηκόσιν ύμῖν
τοὺς ὀμοίους αὐτοὺς ταυτὶ παραίνω, ὡσθ' ύμᾶς
μήτε τῷ λόγῳ δοκεῖν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ παράγεσθαι, καὶ
tὸ ἔργον ἐχυρωτάτην τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς νίκης ἑκ
2 τῶν προκατεργασμένων ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ μέντοι
καὶ τῶν Γαλατῶν αὐτῶν τῶν ὀμοίων σφίσι συγχοῖ
ἡμῖν συμμαχήσουσιν, ὡστ' εἰ καὶ τι φοβερόν τὰ
ἐθνη ταύτα εἰχε, τούτο καὶ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐκείνοις2
ὑπάρξει.

"Ταύτ' οὖν αὐτοὶ τε οὕτω λογίζεσθε καὶ τοὺς
3 ἄλλους διδάσκετε' ὃς εἰ γε καὶ ύμῶν τινες ἄλλως
ποι φρονοῦσιν, ἂλλ' ἔγωγε καὶ ὃς πολεμήσω,
οὐδὲ ἐγκαταλείψω ποτὲ τὴν τάξιν ἢν ἐτάχθην
1 πάν Rk., παρθ' L. 2 ἐκεῖνοι R. Steph., ἐκεῖνων L.
BOOK XXXVIII

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

"Do you, then, look at matters in this light yourselves, and also instruct the rest. For that matter, even if some of you do feel differently, I, for my part, will fight just the same and will never abandon the post to which I have been assigned by my country."
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

υπὸ τῆς πατρίδος. καὶ μοι 1 τὸ δέκατον στρατо-
πεδον ἀρκέσει· καὶ γὰρ εὐθεῖα ὑπὸ τῶν διὰ πυρὸς
4 δὲ καὶ γυμνὸς χωρήσουσι προθύμως. οἱ δὲ δὴ
ἀλλοι τὴν ταχιστὴν ἀπαγάγετε, μηδὲ μοι μάθην
ἐνταῦθα τρύχεσθε, 2 τὰ τε κοινὰ εἰκὴ ἀναλύσκοντες
καὶ τῶν ἄλλοτρίων πόνων μεταποιοῦμενοι, τὴν τε
λείαν τὴν 3 υφὶ ἐτέρων κτωμένην σφετερίζομενοι.”

47 Ταῦτα τοῦ Καίσαρος εἰπόντος οὐ μόνον οὐδεὶς
ἀντείπειν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τινες 4 τάναντια
σφίσειν ἑγίγνωσκον, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνήγεσαν πάντες,
καὶ οὐχ ἦκιστα οἱ 5 δὲ ὑποψίας αὐτῷ ὄντες,
λογοποιεῖν ἢ ἡκουσαν. καὶ τοὺς γε 6 στρατιώτας
οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐπείσαν πειθαρχῆσαι, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ
tοῦ προκεκρίσθαι προθυμομένους, τοὺς δ’ ἀλλους
2 δὲ ἐκεῖνοις φιλοτιμομένους. ἔξαίρετον δὲ δὴ τὸ
δέκατον στράτευμα ἐποιήσατο, ὅτι εὐνοίαν ποὺς
ἀεὶ αὐτοῦ εἰχείν. οὕτω δὲ δὴ τὰ πολιτικὰ στρατό-
pεδα πρὸς τὴν τῶν καταλόγων τὰξιν ὁμομάζετο:
ὁθεντερ καὶ νῦν ὀμοίως τὰ νῦν ὄντα τὰς ἐπικλή-
σεις ἔχει.

3 'Ωρμημένων οὖν αὐτῶν ὁ Καίσαρ οὐκέτι κατὰ
χῶραν ἔμεινε, μὴ καὶ χρονίσαντες ἀμβλύτεροι
ἀδικίς γένονται, ἀλλὰ εὐθὺς ἁρας ἐπὶ τὸν 'Αρισ-
τοκρατὸν ἤλασε. καὶ οὕτω γε 6 αὐτὸν τῷ αἰφνιδίῳ
τῆς ἑφόδου κατέπληξεν ὅστε καὶ ἐς λόγους οἱ
4 υπὲρ εἰρήνης ἐλθεῖν κατηνάγκασεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ
συνήβησαν αὐτός τε γὰρ πάντα προστάξαι καὶ
ἐκεῖνοι οὐδὲν ὑπακούσας ἤθελεν. δ’ τε οὖν
πόλεμος συνερρώγη, καὶ μετέωροι οὐ μόνον αὐτοῦ

1 καὶ μοι Pflugk, καὶ τοι L. 2 τρύχεσθε Bk., ἑντρύχεσθε L.
3 τὴν Rk., καὶ τὴν L. 4 tines Rk., tines εἰς L.
5 οἱ R. Steph., ἢ L. 6 γε Bk., τε L.

298
The tenth legion will be enough for me; I am sure that, if there should be any need of it, they would readily go through fire naked. The rest of you be off, the quicker the better, and let me not see you wearing yourselves out here to no purpose, recklessly spending the public money, laying claim to other men’s labours, and appropriating the plunder gathered by others.”

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

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

ἐκάτεροι ἂλλα καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι οἱ τε πολέμοι σφῶν οἱ ἐκείνη πάντες ἦσαν, τὴν τε μάχην αὐτῶν ὁτι τάχιστα ἔσεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἀπαξ κρατήσασι
5 καὶ τάλλα δουλεύσειν[1] νομίζοντες. προεῖχον δὲ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τοῖς μεγέθεσιν, οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἡρωμαῖοι τῇ τε ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ ταῖς ὀπλί-
σεις καὶ πῶς καὶ πρὸς τὸν θυμὸν τῶν Κελτῶν, τὴν τε ἄκριτον καὶ προπετῆ αὐτῶν ὄρμην, ἀντίρ-
ροπον τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρόνημα εὐρίσκετο, ὡστε ἱσοπαλεῖς ἢ καὶ τούτων ὄντες καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας τὴν τε ἐπ’ αὐτῶν προθυμίαν ἱσοστασία ἐπουσῴμενο.

43 Ἀντικαθημένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἄλλοις, αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπηγορευόμεναι σφῶν θειάσασαι μηδεμίαν πρὸ τῆς νέας σελήνης μάχην συνάγας.
2 καὶ διὰ τούτο ὁ Ἀριώσιστος (πάνω γὰρ αὐτῶς προσείχεν ὃποτε τοιοῦτό τι ποιήσειαν) οὐχ ἀπάσης εὔθυς τῇ δυνάμει, καίτοι τῶν Ἡρωμαίων προκαλου-
μένων σφῶς, συνέμιξεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἱππεὰς μετὰ τῶν συντεταγμένων σφίσι πεζῶν μόνους ἐκπέμ-
πων ἵσχυρῶς αὐτῶς ἐλύπει. κάκ τούτων κατα-
φρονήσας χωρίον τι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταφρεύματος σφῶν
3 καταλαβεῖν ἐπεχείρησε. καὶ κατέσχε μὲν αὐτῷ, ἀντικαταλαβόντων δὲ καὶ ἐκείνων ἐτερόν, ἐς μὲν μάχην, καίτερ καὶ μέχρι τῆς μεσημβρίας τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔξω τοῦ Καίσαρος παρατάξας, οὐχ ἀρμῆσαι, ἐπανακαταργήσας τὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἐστέ-
ραν ἐπὶ θῆλθε τοῖς ἐξαιτιαίως σφίσι καὶ ὀλύνω καὶ
4 τὸ χαράκωμα αὐτῶν εἶλε. προχρονίζων οὖν ὅτως οἱ τῶν πραγμάτων συμφόροι τε ἐτὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐφρόντισε, καὶ τῇ ύστερᾳ παρατάξα-

[1] δουλεύσειν H. Steph., δουλεύσειν L.

300
BOOK XXXVIII

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

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

301
μένων τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὃπερ ποιν καθ’ ἡμέραν ἔποιοῦντο, ἀντεπεξήγαγε.

49 Καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους προϊόντας ἐκ τῶν σκηνωμάτων ἴδοντες οὐχ ἡσύχασαν, ἀλλ’ ἐξάζωντες οὔτε συντάξασθαί σφισιν ἀκριβῶς ἐπέτρεψαν, καὶ τὴν ἀκόντισιν αὐτῶν, ἐφ’ ἦ σὰ τὰ μάλιστα ἑθάρσουν, δρόμῳ μετὰ βοῆς προσπεσοῦντες ὑπετέ-2 μοντο, καὶ οὔτω γε ὡμόσε αὐτοῖς ἐχώρησαν ὡστε σφᾶς μήτε τοῖς κοντοῖς μήτε τοῖς ξίφεσι τοῖς μακρότεροις χρήσασθαι. ἀθλίωτον τε οὖν, καὶ τοῖς σώμασι τὸ πλείον ἢ τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ἐμάχοντο, ἀνατρέψαι τε τὸν προσκείμενον καὶ καταβαλεῖν τὸν 3 ἀνθεστηκότα ἀγώνα ποιούμενοι. καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ τὴς τῶν βραχυτέρων ξιφῶν χρήσεως στερηθέντες ταῖς 1 τε χερσὶ καὶ τοῖς στόμασιν ἀντ’ ἐκείνων ἡγονείζοντο, καταστάσεις τοὺς ἀντιπάλους, δάκ-νοντες, σπαράττοντες, ἄτε καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν σω-4 μάτων πολὺ αὐτῶν ὑπερέχοντες. οὐ μέντοι καὶ μεγάλα τινά ἐκ τούτου σφᾶς ἔβλαψαν συμπλεκό-μενοι γὰρ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἵσορροποί πως τῇ τε ὀπλίσει καὶ τῇ τέχνῃ ἐγίγνοντο. καὶ τέλος ἐπὶ μακρότατον τοιούτοτροπῳ μάχῃ χρησάμενοι ὡστε ἐπεκράτησαν τά τε γὰρ ἡφίδια καὶ σμικρότερα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ὄντα καὶ τὰς προσβολὰς χαλυ-5 βικαὶ ἔχοντα χρησιμώτατα σφισιν ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ αὐτῶ πόνῳ ἐπὶ πλείον συγχεθέντες μᾶλλον τῶν βαρβάρων ἀντήρκεσαν, ἄτε οὖν ὃμοιον ταις ἄξυντοι τῶν ἐφόδων τὸ διαρκὲς σφων ἐχόντων. διὰ μὲν οὖν ταύτα ἡττήθησαν ἐκείνοι,
been drawn up in battle array, according to their daily custom, he led out his forces against them.

The Romans on seeing them advancing from their tents did not remain quiet, but rushing forward, gave them no chance to form strictly in line, and by attacking with a charge and shout prevented them from hurling their javelins, in which they had especial confidence; in fact, they came to so close quarters with them that the enemy could not employ either their pikes or long swords. So the barbarians pushed and shoved, fighting more with their bodies than with their weapons, and struggled to overturn whomever they encountered and to knock down whoever withstood them. Many, deprived even of the use of their short swords, fought with hands and teeth instead, dragging down their opponents, and biting and tearing them, since they had a great advantage in the size of their bodies. The Romans, however, did not suffer any great injuries in consequence of this; they closed with their foes, and thanks to their armour and skill, somehow proved a match for them. At length, after carrying on that sort of battle for a very long time, they prevailed late in the day. For their daggers, which were smaller than the Gallic daggers and had steel points, proved most serviceable to them; moreover, the men themselves, accustomed to hold out for a long time with the same sustained effort lasted better than the barbarians, because the endurance of the latter was not of like quality with the vehemence of their attacks. The Germans were accordingly defeated, though they
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐτράποντο, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἤθέλησαν ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἤδυνήθησαν φυγεῖν ὑπ' ἀπορίας τε ἀμα καὶ ἐκλύσεως. συστρεφόμενοι οὖν κατὰ τριακοσίους καὶ πλείους καὶ ἐλάττους, τὰς τε ἀσπίδας ἀπανταχόθεν σφῶν προεβάλλοντο, καὶ ὁρθοὶ ιστάμενοι ἀπρόσμεκτοι 1 μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλέισεως 2 δυσκίνητοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς πυκνότητος ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ οὔτε ἔδρων οὐδὲν οὔτε ἔπασχον.

50 Οἱ οὖν Ἡρωμαῖοι, ἔπειδὴ μὴ ἐκεῖνοι ἀντεπήσαν σφῶν ἢ καὶ ἐφευγον, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῦτῳ μένουτε ὡσπερ ἐν πύργοις εἰστήκεσαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ τε δοράτα κατὰ πρῶτας εὔθυς ἀτε μηδεμίαν χρῆσιν ἔχοντα ἀπετέθευστο, καὶ τοὺς ξίφεσιν οὖν ἐδύναντο οὔτε συστάδην μάχεσθαι οὔτε τῶν κεφαλῶν αὐτῶν, ἦπερ καὶ μόνον ἀλωτοὶ οἷς πον γυμναῖς αὐτάις μαχόμενοι ἦσαν, ἐφικνεῖσθαι, τὰς τε ἀσπίδας ἀπέρριψαν, καὶ προσπίπτοντες σφισιν, οἰ μὲν ἦς ἐπιδρομὴς οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐγγύθεν, ἐνῆλλοντο 3 τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ἐκοπτον αὐτοὺς. καὶ τοῦτον πολλοὶ μὲν εὐθὺς ἀτε καὶ μᾶς ἐπικοπῆς ὡστε ἔπιπτον, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸν πεσεῖν ἀπέθυνακον ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς πυκνότητος τῆς συστάσεως καὶ τεθηκότες ὁρθοὶ ἀνείχοντο. τοῦ μὲν οὖν πεζοῦ τὸ πλείστον οὔτω καὶ ἐκεῖ καὶ πρὸς ταῖς ἀμάξαις, ὅσον γε καὶ ἐξωθηθέν ἐς αὐτὰς ἐτύγχανε, σὺν τε ταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ σὺν τοῖς παισὶν αὐτῶν ἐφθάρησαν· ὁ δὲ 4 Αριόνουστος μεθ' ἰππέων . . . τὴν τε χώραν παραχρῆμα ἔξελιπε, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ῥήνον

1 ἀπρόσμεκτοι Xyl., πρόσμεκτοι L.
2 συγκλέισεως Leuncl., συγκλίσεως L.
3 ἐνῆλλοντο Cobet, ἐνῆλλοντο L.
4 ὁ δὲ R. Steph., ὁ δὲ ὁ L.

304
BOOK XXXVIII

did not turn to flight—not that they lacked the wish, but simply because they were unable to flee through helplessness and exhaustion. Gathering, therefore, in groups of three hundred, more or less, they would hold their shields before them on all sides, and standing erect, they proved unassailable by reason of their solid front and difficult to dislodge on account of their denseness; thus they neither inflicted nor suffered any harm.

The Romans, when their foes neither advanced against them nor yet fled, but stood immovable in the same spot, as if in towers,¹ had likewise put aside their spears at the very outset, since these were of no use; and as they could not with their swords either fight in close combat or reach the others' heads, where alone they were vulnerable, since they fought with their heads unprotected, they threw aside their shields and rushed upon the foe. Some by taking a running start and others from close at hand leaped up as it were upon the tower-like groups and rained blows upon them. Thereupon many fell immediately, victims of a single blow, and many died even before they fell; for they were kept upright even when dead by the closeness of their formation. In this way most of the infantry perished either there or near the waggons, back to which some had been driven; and with them perished their wives and children. Ariovistus with [a few]² horsemen straightway left the country and set out for the

¹ Apparently the solid walls of shields, as the men stood in groups facing outward, are conceived of as the towers of a city wall.
² A word of this meaning seems required.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

5 ὅρμησας ἔπεδιώχθη μέν, οὕτω κατελήφθη δὲ. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ πλοίου προεξέφυγε, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσβαίνοντες ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὑπολαβὼν ἀπήνειγεν.

1 ὅρμησας Rk., παραρήμα ὅρμησας L.
2 ἐσβαίνοντες Bk., ἐσβαίνοντας L.
BOOK XXXVIII

Rhine. He was pursued, but not overtaken, and escaped on a boat ahead of his followers; of the rest some were killed by the Romans who advanced into the river, while others were seized and borne away by the river itself.
Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ ἐνάτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν.

α. Ὁ Καίσαρ Βελγικοῖς ἐπολέμησεν.
β. Ὁ Κικέρων κατηλθεν.
γ. Ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐκπεσὼν ἐξ Ἀιγύπτου ἐς Ῥώμην ἀνήλθεν.
δ. Ὁ Κάτων οὗ ἐν Κύπρῳ κατεστάθησατο.
ε. Ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ Κράσσος ὅπως ἦρέθησαν.
ζ. Ὁ τῷ θεάτρων τῷ Πομπήιου καθιερώθη.
η. Ὁ Δέκιμος Βροῦτος Καίσαρος ὑποστράτηγος Οὐενετοὶς ναυ-μαχία ἐνίκησεν.
θ. Ὁ Πούπλιος Κράσσος Καίσαρος ὑποστράτηγος Ἀκυτανοὶς ἐπολέμησαν.
ι. Ὁ Καίσαρ Κελτῶν τισὶ πολεμήσας τοῦ Ρήνου διέβη καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ρήνου.
κ. Ὁ Καίσαρ ἐς Βρεττανίαν ἐπεραιώθη καὶ περὶ τῆς νῆσου.
λ. Ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ὑπὸ Γαβίνιον ἐς Ἀιγύπτον καθήκη, καὶ ὃς ὁ Γαβίνιος ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐκρίθη.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἐτή τέταρτα ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμοῦμενοι οἴδε ἐγένοντο

Π. Κορήλιος Π. ὑπ. Δεντούλος Σπινθήρ
Κ. Κακάλιος Κ. ὑπ. Μέτελλος Νέπως
Γυ. Κορήλιος Π. ὑπ. Δεντούλος Μαρκέλλιον
Δ. Μάρκιος Δ. ὑπ. Φίλιππος
Γυ. Πομπήιος Γυ. ὑπ. Μάγνος τὸ Ὁ
Μ. Δικινίος Μ. ὑπ. Κράσσος τὸ Β.
Δ. Δομίτιος Δ. ὑπ. ’Ανώβαρβος
’Ἀπ. Κλαύδιος ’Απ. ὑπ. Πούλχρος

Οὔτω μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνα διεπολεμήθη, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐν οὗ Κορνήλιος τε Σπινθήρ καὶ ὁ Μέτελλος ὁ Νέπως ὑπατεύειν ἦρξαντο

1 Βελγικοῖς Leuncl., βελτικοῖς L, and so just below.
2 Δέκιμος R. Steph., δεκίμος L.
BOOK XXXIX

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

How Caesar fought the Belgae (chaps. 1–5).

How Cicero came back from exile (chaps. 6–11).
How Ptolemy, expelled from Egypt, came to Rome (chaps. 12–16).

How Cato settled matters in Cyprus (chaps. 22–23).

How Pompey and Crassus were chosen consuls (chaps. 27–37).
How Pompey's Theatre was dedicated (chap. 38).
How Decimus Brutus, Caesar's lieutenant, conquered the Veneti in a sea-fight (chaps. 40–43).
How Publius Crassus, Caesar's lieutenant, fought the Aquitanis (chap. 46).
How Caesar, after warring with some of the Germans, crossed the Rhine; and concerning the Rhine (chaps. 47–49).
How Caesar crossed over into Britain; and concerning the island (chaps. 50–53).
How Ptolemy was restored to Egypt by Gabinius, and how Gabinius was brought to trial for this (chaps. 55–63).

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

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

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

3 Μάρκιος Χυλ., μάρκος L.
4 Ἀννδβαρβος R. Steph., ἀννδβαρβος L.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

dielθόντος, τρίτος τις πόλεμος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο. οἱ γὰρ Βελγικοὶ τῷ τε Ῥήνῳ πολλοὶς καὶ συμμίκτοις 2 γένεσι προσοικοῦντες, καὶ ἔπει τοὺς ὦκεανὸν τὸν κατὰ Βρεττανίαν καθήκοντες, ἐν μὲν τῷ πρὶν οἱ ἐνυπονδοί τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἦσαν οἱ δὲ ἐφρόντι-
ξοι αὐτῶν οὐδὲν, τότε δὲ τὸν Καίσαρα εὗ φερό-
μενον ἵδοντες καὶ δείσαντες μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ σφάς ὀρμήσῃ, συνεστράφησαν, καὶ κοινῷ πλῆθῳ Ῥημῶν 1 λόγῳ χρησάμενοι συνεβουλεύσαντο τε ἐπὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ συνώμοσαν, Γάλβαν 2 προστησά-

3. Ταῦτ’ οὖν ὁ Καίσαρ παρὰ τῶν Ῥημῶν 1 μαθὼν ἐν φρονῇ τε αὐτοὺς ἔποιησάτο, κἀνταῦθα πρὸς τῷ Αὐξόννωφ ποταμῷ στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἦ-

θροίζε τῇ ἁμα τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἐξῆσκει. οὐδὲ ἐτόλμησε πρὸτερον τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ τοῖς τὴν χώραν σφῶν κατατρέχονσιν, ἐς χείρας ἔλθειν,

4 πρὶν ὡς καὶ δεδιότοι αὐτοῦ καταφορνῆσαντες ἐπεχείρησαν τὴν τε γέφυραν καταλαβεῖν καὶ τὴν σιτοπομπίαν, ἢν δὲ αὐτῆς παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐποιεῖτο, ἀφελέσθαι. τούτο γὰρ καὶ ἐξ αὐτομόλων προούσος ἐσώμενον, ἐπεμψεν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς νυκτὸς 2 τοὺς τε ψυλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας. καὶ οἱ μὲν προσπεσόντες τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπροσδόκητοι πολ-

λοὺς ἀπέκτειναν, ὡστε πάντας τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ οἱ Αἴδωνοι ἐσβεβληκότες ἐς αὐτὴν ἡγεῖλλοντο, ἀπαναστήμα. Καίσαρ δὲ ἦσθετο μὲν τὸ γιγνό-

μενον, οὐκ ἐτόλμησε δὲ σφας εὐθὺς, ἀγνοία τῶν

1 Ῥημῶν Xyl., Ῥημῶν L.

2 συνώμοσαν Γάλβαν Bk., συνώμοσαν ἄδραν L.

310
BOOK XXXIX

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

Caesar learned this from the Remi and stationed outposts to watch them; later he encamped beside the river Axona, where he concentrated his troops and drilled them. Yet he did not venture to come to close quarters with the enemy, though they were overrunning Roman territory, until in their contempt for him, believing him to be afraid, they undertook to occupy the bridge and to put a stop to the conveyance of grain, which the allies brought across it. He was apprised beforehand by deserters that this was to be done, and so at night sent against the foe the light-armed troops and the cavalry. These fell upon the barbarians, taking them by surprise, and killed many of them, so that the following night they all withdrew to their own land, especially since the Aedui were reported to have invaded it. Caesar perceived what was going on, but through ignorance of the country did not venture to pursue
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

2 χωρίων, ἐπιδίωξαι. ἀλλ' ἄμα ἢφ' τὴν τε ἱππον ἔρσον καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἑπακολουθεῖν κελεύσας κατέλαβεν αὐτούς, καὶ ὑποστάτας ἐσε μάχην (ἐνομίζετο γάρ σὺν μόνη τῇ ἱππῳ εἶναι) διέτριψε μέχρις οὗ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἠλθε, καὶ οὕτω παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ περισσῶς τοὺς τε πλείους κατέκοψε καὶ τοὺς περιλόπους ὀμολογία παρεστήσατο. κάκ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν δήμων τοὺς μὲν ἀμαχεῖ προσηγάγετο τοὺς δὲ πολέμῳ.

3 Νέρουνοι οὖν τῇς μὲν πεδιάδος (οὐ γάρ ἦσαν ἀξιόμαχοι) ἐκόντες αὐτῷ ἐξέστησαν, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰ ὁρη τὰ ἑλωδέστατα ἀνακομισθέντες, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκείθεν εἰπακεδαμον ἀνέπλησιν, καὶ καθ' ὁ μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ Καὶσαρ ἦν ἐτράποντο καὶ ἔφυγον, τῷ δὲ δὴ πλείον τοῦ στρατοῦ καθυπέρτεροι τε ἐγένοντο καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοβοι ἐδολ.

2 αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τοῦτ' ἐκείνοις (προσεκεχώρηκει γάρ ἐπὶ τὶ τοὺς τετραμμένους διόκους) ἀνέστρεψε, καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτοῦς ἐν τῷ ἐρύματι ἀρπαγήν ποιούμενον περιστοιχίσατο καὶ κατεφώνευσε. πράξας δὲ ταύτα, οὐδὲν ἐτί μέγα ἔργον τοὺς λοιποὺς Νερόνους χειρούμενος ἔσχε.

4 Καὶ τοῦτῳ Ἀτονατικῷ, πλησίονχωροῖ τε αὐτοῖς ὄντες καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ τε φρόνημα τὸ τῶν Κλίμ- βρος ἐχοῦτε, ὄρμησαν μὲν ὡς καὶ βοηθησοῦσι σφίσιν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐφθησαν προαλώσεις, ἀνεχώρη- σαν, καὶ πάντα τάλλα χωρία ἐκλιπότεντες ἐς ἐν 2 τεῖχος τὸ κράτιστον ἀνεσκευάσαντο. καὶ αὐτῷ

1 ἢφ supplied by Bk.
2 The text is corrupt here, some words having fallen out.
3 προσεκεχώρηκε Oddey, προσεκεχώρηκε L.
4 γάρ added by Oddey. 5 ἐπὶ τὶ Rk., ἐπὶ τὲ L.
6 ἐπὶ Xyl., ὅτι L.
BOOK XXXIX

them immediately. At daybreak, however, taking the cavalry, and bidding the infantry follow on behind, he came up with the fugitives; and when they offered battle, supposing he had come with his cavalry alone, he delayed them until his infantry arrived. In this way, having his whole army, he surrounded them, cut down the larger part, and received the surrender of the remainder. Thereupon he won over a number of their towns, some without fighting and some by war.

The Nervii voluntarily retired before him from the level country, as they were no match for his forces, and betook themselves into the most densely wooded mountains; then, when . . . . . . they charged down upon them unexpectedly.¹ In the part of the battle where Caesar himself was they soon turned and fled, but with the larger part of their army they proved superior and captured the camp without a blow. When Caesar, who had advanced a little way in pursuit of those he had routed, became aware of this, he turned back and came upon them as they were engaged in pillage within the entrenchments, where he surrounded and slaughtered them. After this success he found it no great task to subdue the rest of the Nervii.

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

¹ Cf. Caesar B.G. ii. 19. Editors have filled the lacuna with a variety of readings.
τὸν Καίσαρα προσβάλοντα ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἀπεκρούσαντο, μέχρις οὗ πρὸς μηχανῶν ποίησιν ἐτράπετο. τότε γὰρ, τέως μὲν τὴν τε ὑλὴν τέ-μυντας καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα συμπηγνύντας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐώρων, γέλωτα τῇ ἀπειρίᾳ τῶν γυνο-μένων ἐποιοῦντο, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνα τε ἐξειργάσθη καὶ ὀπλιτάι σφισί πανταχόθεν ἀμα ἐπὶ αὐτῶν προσήγουν, κατεπλάγησαν ἀτε μηπώποτε τοι-ούτο τι ἑορακότες, καὶ διεκηρυκέσαντο, τά τε ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς στρατιώταις πέμψαντες καὶ ὀπλα-γέλωτα τῇ ἀπειρίᾳ τῶν γυνο-μένων ἐποιοῦντο, ὑπὸ μέντοι τά τε μηχανήματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν γυνωθέντα αὕτης εἶδον καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς θυμηδίαν οἷα ἐπὶ νῖκη τετράμ-μένους ὑσθόντο, μετέγεινον, καὶ ἀναθαρσήσαντες τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπέξοδον ὡς καὶ ἀνελπίστους σφᾶς κατακόψουντες ἐποιήσαντο. περιπεσόντες δὲ τοῖς προφύλαξιν (ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ ἀκριβῶς πάντα ἀεὶ διόκει) ἐσφαλήσαν. καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν οὐδεὶς ἔτι συγγνώμης ἔτυχεν, ἄλλα πάντες ἐπτράθησαν. 5 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὕτω οὐκ ἔπεσαν κατεστράφατο, καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ μὲν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ οἱ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστράτηγον συχνὸι ἐκεχείρωντο, ὁ τε χειμὼν ἐνέστη, ἀνεχώ-ρησεν ἐς τὰ χειμάδια. μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ οἴκοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ῥωμαίου ἐθαύμασαν ὅτι έθυνε τοσαῦτα, διὸ οὐδὲ τὰ όνόματα πρότερον ἥκριβον, ἥρικε, καὶ ἐγκαντονεύον τεντεκαίδεκα ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἡμέρας θύσαι, ὅπερ οὕτω πρότερον ἐγεγόνει.

1 γιγνομένων H. Steph., γενομένων L.
2 πρὸς θυμηδίαν οἷα Βκ., προσθυμηδίανοι L.
3 ἐπτράθησαν H. Steph., ἐπέχαθησαν L.
4 οὕτω κατεστράφατο Leuncl. (τε added by Rk.), οὕτως ἐστράφατο L.
5 οἴκοι supplied by Βκ.
6 οὕτω R. Steph., οὕτως Πο. L.

314
for many days repulsed, until he turned to the construction of engines. Then for a time they gazed at the Romans cutting wood and constructing the machines and in their ignorance of what was taking place, scoffed at them. But when the machines were finished and heavy-armed soldiers upon them were advanced from all sides at once, they became panic-stricken, since they never before had seen anything of the kind; so they made overtures, supplied the soldiers with provisions, and threw some of their arms from the wall. When, however, they saw the machines stripped of men again and noticed that the latter had given themselves over to pleasure, as after a victory, they changed their minds, and recovering courage, made a sortie by night, thinking to cut them down unawares. But Caesar was carefully managing everything all the while, and when they fell on the outposts from every side, they were beaten back. Not one of the survivors could any longer obtain pardon, and they were all sold.

When these had been subjugated and others, too, some by him and many by his lieutenants, and winter had now set in, he retired to winter-quarters. The Romans at home when they learned of these achievements, were astonished that he had seized so many nations, whose names they had known but imperfectly before, and voted a thanksgiving of fifteen days because of his achievements—a thing that had never before occurred.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

2 Καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ Γάλβας ὁ Σέρουιος ὁ Ἵππος ὁ τῶν στρατηγῶν αὐτῆς, μέχρι μὲν ἡ τε ὑφαί παρατείνετο καὶ τὸ στρατευμα συνεστος ἔχετο, Οὐαράγγος παρὰ τῇ Δεμάνῳ λίμνῃ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς Ἀλλο-βριξι μέχρι τῶν Ἀλπεων οἰκούντας, τοὺς μὲν βία τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὁμολογία παρεστήσατο, ὡστε καὶ καὶ χειμάσαι κατὰ χώραν παρασκευάσασθαι. ἔπει μέντοι οἱ πλείους τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὲν παρέμενοι οὐδέ χάρῃ τῆς Ἰταλίας ὄντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἀλλοστέ ἀπεχώρησαν, καὶ αὐτῷ ἀπροσδόκητο κατὰ τοῦτο οἱ επιχώρῳ ἔπεθεντο, πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν ὑπὸ ἀπορρώσεως προή-χθη, καὶ ἐκτητόρας ἐκ τοῦ χειμαδίου ἄφω τοὺς τε προσκειμένους οἱ τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ τολμή-ματος ἐξέπληξεν, καὶ δὲ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα διέπεσε. γενόμενος δὲ ἐν τῷ ἁσφαλεί ἡμώνατο μὲν αὐτοῖς μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐδουλώσατο, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐχείμασεν αὐτόθι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν Ἀλλο-βρίγων μετέστη.

6 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ἐγένετο, Πομπήιος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῇ κάθοδο τῷ Κικέρων ψηφι-σθήναι διεπράζετο. ὃν γὰρ διὰ τοῦ Κλωδίου ἐξεληλάκη, τούτου ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείσθη ἐπαυρρήγαγεν-οῦτω που τὸ ἀνθρώπειον δὲ ὅλγου τε ἐστὶν ὅτε μεταβάλλειται, καὶ ἄφ' ἅ των ὀφθαλμδεσθαὶ τινες ἤ καὶ βλαβήθεσθαι νομίζουσι, τὰ ἐναντιώτατα ἀντιλαμβάνουσι. συνέπραττον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν στρα-τηγῶν καὶ τῶν δημάρχων ἅλλοι τε καὶ Τίτος Ἀννίος Μίλων, οὗπερ τοῦ καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἐς τὸ

1 Γάλβας ὁ Σέρουιος Ρ. Steph., γαρδαραγγούς L.
2 ἡν added by Oddey.
3 Οὐαράγγος Ρκ., οδαράγγος L.
4 παρέμενοι Ba., παρέμενον L.
5 Γαλατία Ρ. Steph., ἱταλίαι L.
BOOK XXXIX

During the same period Servius Galba, who was serving as his lieutenant, had, while the season lasted and his army remained a unit, brought to terms the Veragri, who dwelt along Lake Leman and beside the Allobroges as far as the Alps; some he had gained by force and others through surrender, and he was even preparing to winter where he was. When, however, the majority of the soldiers had departed, some on furlough because they were not far from Italy, and others elsewhere for reasons of their own, the natives took advantage of this situation and unexpectedly attacked him. Then Galba, driven mad by despair, suddenly dashed out of the winter camp, astounding his besiegers by the incredible boldness of his move, and passing through them, gained the heights. On reaching safety he fought them off and later subjugated them; he did not winter there, however, but transferred his quarters to the territory of the Allobroges. These were the events in Gaul.

Pompey meanwhile had brought about a vote for the recall of Cicero. Thus, the man whom he had expelled through Clodius, he now brought back to help him against that very individual. So quickly does human nature sometimes change, and from the persons by whom people are expecting to be helped or injured, as the case may be, they receive the very opposite treatment. Assisting him were Titus Annius Milo and others of the praetors and tribunes, who also brought the measure before the populace.
 Dio's Roman History

πλήθος ἐσήμεναν ὁ γὰρ Σπινθὴρ ὁ ὑπατος τὸ μὲν τι καὶ τῷ Πομπήῳ χαρίζομενος, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἔξ ἰδίας ἐξήρασ τῶν Κλάδιων ἀμυνόμενος, ὥστε ἦσ καὶ τὴν μοιχείαν αὐτοῦ δικάζων κατεγνώκει, καὶ . . .

3 ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἄλλοι τε τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὑπῆρχοι ὑπὲρ ᾧν καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀππιος Κλαύδιος στρατηγῶν, ὁ τε Νέπως ὁ ὑπατος ἀπ' οἰκείας τινὸς ἐξήρασ τῶν Κεκέρωνα μισῶν. οὗτοι τε οὖν ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ πρὶν, ἀτε καὶ ἠγεμόνας τοὺς ὑπάτους ἔχοντες, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει διαστάντες πρὸς ἑκατέρους ἐδορύβουν. καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐκ

2 τούτου οὐκ ἐν κόσμῳ πολλὰ ἐγέγυντο, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ διαψηφίσει ὁ Κλάδιος γνοῦς τὸ πλήθος πρὸς τοῦ Κεκέρωνος ἐσώμενον, τοὺς μονομάχους ὅσον ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἀγώνας ἐπιταφίους ἐπὶ τῷ Μάρκω τῷ συγγενεῖ προπαρεσκεύαστο λαβὼν ἐσετήθησεν ἐς τὸν σύλλογον καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν

3 ἔτρωσε πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκτείνειν. οὔτ' οὖν ἡ γνώμη ἐκυρώθη, καὶ ἐκείνοις ὡς δορυφόροις συνὼς φοβερὸς καὶ ἐς τάλλα πᾶσιν ἦν, ἀγορανομάν τε ἦτει ὡς καὶ τὴν δίκην τῆς βίας, ἀν ἀποδειχθῇ.

4 διαφευζόμενος. ἐγράψατο γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὁ Μίλων καὶ οὐκ ἐσήγαγε μὲν (οὔτε γὰρ οἱ ταμίαι, διὸ ἔπληθος ὑπεράσσων τῶν δικαστῶν γενέσθαι ἔχρην, ἦρηθον, καὶ ὁ Νέπως ἀπείπε τῷ στρατηγῷ μηδεμίαν πρὸ τῆς κηρύσσεως αὐτῶν δίκην προσέσθαι ἐδεῖ δὲ ἄρα τοὺς ἀγοράνομους πρὸ τῶν ταμίῶν καταστήσειν, καὶ διὰ τούτῳ διὰ μαλλιστα

8 ἡ διατριβή ἐγένετο), μαχόμενος δὲ καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ

1 διαφευζόμενος Dind., διαφευζόμενος L.

318
BOOK XXXIX

Spinther, the consul, [aided Cicero’s cause in the senate ¹(?),] partly as a favour to Pompey and partly to avenge himself upon Clodius, by reason of a private enmity which had led him as a juror to vote to condemn Clodius for adultery. Clodius, on the other hand, was supported by various magistrates, including Appius Claudius, his brother, who was praetor, and Nepos, the consul, who had a private grudge against Cicero. These men, accordingly, now that they had the consuls as leaders, made more disturbance than before, and the same was true of the others in the city, as they championed one side or the other. Many disorderly proceedings were the result, chief of which was that during the very taking of the vote on the measure Clodius, knowing that the multitude would be on Cicero’s side, took the gladiators that his brother held in readiness for the funeral games in honour of Marcus,² his relative, and rushing into the assemblage, wounded many and killed many others. Consequently the measure was not passed, and Clodius, both as the companion of those armed champions and otherwise, was dreaded by all. He then stood for the aedileship, thinking he would escape the penalty of his violence if he were elected. Milo did, indeed, indict him, but did not succeed in bringing him to trial, since the quaestors, by whom the allotment of jurors had to be made, had not been elected, and Nepos forbade the praetor to allow any trial before their allotment. Now it was necessary for the aediles to be chosen before the quaestors, and this proved the principal cause of delay. While contesting this very point Milo caused much dis-

¹ Cf. Cicero post red. ad Quir. 5, 11; Pis. 15, 34; Sest. 33.
² Perhaps Marcius should be read, as Bs. suggests.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

toúτον πολλά ἔταραττε, καὶ τέλος μονομάχους
τινὰς καὶ αὐτός καὶ ἄλλους τῶν τὰ αὐτά οἱ βου-
λομένων ἀθροίσας ἐς χεῖρας τῷ Κλωδίῳ συνεχὼς.
ηεῖ, καὶ σφαγαὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν ὡς εἶπεῖν τὴν πόλιν
2 ἐγάνυντο. ὁ οὖν Νέπως φοβηθεὶς πρὸς τε
τοῦ συνάρχοντος καὶ πρὸς τοῦ Πομπηίου τῶν
τε ἄλλων τῶν πρώτων μετεβάλετο, καὶ οὕτως
ἣ τε γερουσία κατελθείν τὸν Κικέρωνα τοῦ Σπιν-
θήρος ἐσαγηγαμένου προεβούλευσε, καὶ ὁ δήμος
ἄμφωτερω τῶν ὑπάτων ἐσενεγκόντων ἐψηφίσατο.
3 ἀντέλευε μὲν γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς Κλώδιος, ἀλλὰ
ἐκείνῳ τε ὁ Μίλων ἄντεκειτο ὡστε μηδὲν βίαιον
dρᾶσαι, καὶ τῷ νόμῳ ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Πομπηίος
συνείπου ὡστε πολὺ κρείττους αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι.

9 Κατηλθὲ τε οὖν ὁ Κικέρων καὶ χάριν τῇ τε βουλῇ
καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, παρασχόντων αὐτῷ τῶν ὑπάτων
καὶ τὸ συνέδριον καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἔγνων. τῷ
τὲ Πομπηίῳ τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ φυγῇ μεθὲς
συνηλλάγη, καὶ τὴν γε ἐνεργεῖσθαι παραχρῆμα

2 ἀπέδωκεν λιμοῦ γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἵσχυρον γενο-
μένου, καὶ τοῦ ὀμίλου παντὸς ἐς τὸ θέατρον
(ἀυτῷ δὲ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐτὶ θεάτρῳ ἐς τὰς πανηγύρεις
ἔχρωτο) καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὸ Κατιπώλιον
eπὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς συνεδρεύοντας ἐστηθήσαντος,
καὶ τοτε μὲν ἐν χερσὶν αὐτοὺς ἀποσφάζειν τοτὲ
δὲ καὶ καταπρῆσειν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ναὸς ἀπειλοῦν-
3 τος, ἐπεισὲ σφας ἐπιμελητὴν τοῦ σίτου τὸν

1 μετεβάλετο Bk., μετεβάλλετο L. 2 καὶ Bs., καὶ κατὰ L.
3 γε R. Steph., τε L. 4 αὐτοῖς Bs., σὺν αὐτοῖς L.

320
turbance, and at last himself collected some gladiators and others like-minded with himself and kept continually coming to blows with Clodius, so that bloodshed occurred throughout practically the whole city. Nepos, accordingly, inspired with fear by his colleague and by Pompey and by the other leading men, changed his attitude; and thus the senate decreed, on the motion of Spinther, that Cicero should be restored, and the populace, on the motion of both consuls, passed the measure. Clodius, to be sure, spoke in opposition to the others, but he had Milo as an opponent, so that he could commit no violence, and Pompey, among others, spoke in favour of the enactment, so that that side proved much the stronger.

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

1 A word of this meaning seems required in place of "such a theatre as," the reading of L. Dio alludes to the fact that Pompey's theatre had not yet been erected; see chap. 38 below.
 Dio's Roman History

Πομπήιον προχειρίσασθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ ἀνθυπάτου καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἔξω ἐπὶ πέντε ἐτῆς δοῦναι. καὶ ὁ μὲν, ὦσπερ ἐπὶ τοῖς καταποντισταῖς πρότερον οὕτω καὶ τότε ἐπὶ τῷ σίτῳ 1 πάσης αὐθεν τῆς οἰκουμένης τῆς υπὸ τοῖς Ρωμαίοις τότε οὐσίας ἀρξεῖν ἐμελέκει.

10 Καίσαρ δὲ καὶ Κράσσος ἄλλως μὲν ἥχοντο τῷ Κικέρωνι, σπουδὴν δ' οὐν τινα αὐτοῦ ἐσχόν, ἐπειδὴ πάντως καθήξοντα αὐτὸν ἥχοντο (καὶ γὰρ ὁ Καίσαρ καὶ ἀπὸν εὐνοιάν τινα αὐτῷ ἐνεδεί-ξατο), οὐ μέντοι καὶ χάριν οὐδεμίαν ἀντέλαβον.

2 ἑκείνος γὰρ τοῦτο τε οὐκ ἀπὸ γνώμης σφαῖς πεποιηκότας εἰδὼς, καὶ τῆς φυγῆς αἰτιωτάτους γεγονότας νομίζων, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς οὐ πάνω πρὸσ αὐτοῦς ἔδρασύνετο, ἀτε καὶ τῶν τῆς ἀκράτου παρρησίας ἐπικαρπίων νεώστι πεπερα-μένος, βιβλίων μέντοι τι ἀπόρρητον συνέθηκε, καὶ 2 ἐπέγραψεν αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ

3 βουλευμάτων ἀπολογισμῶν τινα ἔχοντι, πολλὰ δὲ δὴ καὶ δεινὰ ἐς αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ ἑκείνων καὶ περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν συνένευσε, 3 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φοβηθεῖς μὴ καὶ ξόντος αὐτοῦ ἐκφοιτήσῃ, κατεσμηνάτο τε αὐτὸ καὶ παρέδωκε τῷ παιδί, προστάξας οἱ μὴν ἀναγνώριν μῆτε δημοσιεύσαι τὰ γεγραμμένα πρὶν ἄν μεταλάξῃ.

11 Κικέρων μὲν οὖν αὐθεὶς ἀνεβλάστανε, καὶ τὴν τε ἄλλην οὐσίαν καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος τῆς οἰκίας, καίτοι τῇ Ἐλευθερίᾳ ἀνειμένον, καὶ τοῦ Κλαδίου καὶ ἐπιθειάζοντος καὶ ἐς ἐνθυμίαν αὐτῷ 4 προβάλ-

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

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

¹ Cf. Cicero ad Att. ii. 6; xiv. 17, 6.
2 λοντος, ἐκομίσατο. τὴν γὰρ ἐσφορᾶν τοῦ φρατριακοῦ νόμου, παρ’ ἂν ἐκ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν ἐς τὸ πλήθος ἐπεποίητο, διαβάλλων ὡς οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ἀρισμένοις ἐκ τῶν πατρίων χρόνοις ἐκτεθέντος αὐτοῦ, τὴν τε δημαρχίαν τοῦ Κλωδίου πᾶσαν, ἐν ἦ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐδέδοκτο, κατέλευ, λέγων οὖν οἷον τ’ εἶναι, τῆς μεταστάσεως αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐς τὸν ὁμιλον παρανόμως γεγενημένης, ἵνας
3 τὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πραχθέντων νομίζεσθαι, καὶ ἐπεισε διὰ τούτου τοὺς ποντίφικας τὸ ἔδαφος οἱ ὅσοι καὶ ὁσιον καὶ βέβηλον ὓν ἀποδοῦναι. καὶ οὗτοι καὶ ἐκεῖνο καὶ χρήματα ἐς τῇ τῆς οἰκίας κατασκευὴν, καὶ εἰ δὴ τὶ ἀλλο τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ ἐλεύμαντο, ἐλαβε.

12 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ τούτο ¹ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἔνεκα αὐθεις ἐκινήθησαν. ἐπεἰδὴ γὰρ πολλὰ τις τῶν Ρωμαίων χρήματα, τὰ μὲν οἰκοθεν τὰ δὲ καὶ δανεισάμενος, ὅπως τὴν τε ἀρχὴν βεβαιώσῃται καὶ φίλοις καὶ σύμμαχοι όνομασθή, καταναλώκει, καὶ αὐτὰ παρὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βιαίως ἥγυρο-2 λόγει, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐχάλεπαίνετο καὶ ὦτι τὴν Κύπρον ἀπαίτησαι παρὰ τῶν Ρωμαίων ἢ καὶ τὴν φιλίαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπειπεῖν κελευόντων αὐτῶν οὐκ ἡθέλησε, καὶ οὗτε πεῖσαι σφας ἰσουχάζεων οὗτ’ αὐ βιάσασθαι (ξενικὸν γὰρ οὕκ
3 εἰχεν) ἡδυνῆθη, διέδρα τε ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἱρωμὴν ἐλθὼν κατηγόρησε τε αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐκβεβληκότων, καὶ ἔτυχεν ὡστε ὑπὸ τοῦ Σπινθῆρος, ὡς ἡ Κιλικία

1 τούτου supplied by Reim.
BOOK XXXIX

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

After this there was further disturbance on account of King Ptolemy. He had spent large amounts upon some of the Romans, part of it out of his own purse and part borrowed, in order to have his rule confirmed and to receive the name of friend and ally; and he was now collecting this sum forcibly from the Egyptians. They were accordingly angry at him both on this account and also because when they had bidden him demand back Cyprus from the Romans or else renounce his friendship for them, he had been unwilling to do so. And since he could neither persuade nor yet compel them to be quiet, as he had no foreign troops, he fled from Egypt, and coming to Rome, accused his countrymen of having expelled him from his kingdom. He was successful in having his restoration entrusted to Spinther,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

13 ἐπετέτραπτο, καταχθήναι. ¹ ἐν ὦ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγένετο, ² οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς τέως μὲν ἀγνοῆσαντες ὅτι ἐς τὴν ᾿Ιταλίαν ἀπηρκὸς ³ ἦν, ἢ τεθνηκέναι αὐτῶν νομίσαντες, Βερενίκην τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἀντικατέστησαν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τάληθες μαθόντες ἄνδρας ἐκατόν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπεμψαν πρὸς τε τὰ ἐγκλήματα αὐτοῦ ἀπολογισμόνοις καὶ ἀντικατηγορηθοῦσαν ὡσα ἡδί-κηντο. προμαθῶν οὖν ταῦτ᾽ ἐκεῖνος (ἐτὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἦν) ἐνήδρευε τοὺς πρέσβεις, πρὸν ἐλθείν, ἀλλοὺς ἀλλὰ διαπέμψας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλείους αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν ὄδον ἐφθείρε, τῶν δὲ δὴ λοιπῶν τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ ἀστεί αὐτῷ ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ καταφθέγγας ἐκ τούτων ἡ χοῦμασι διαφθείρας ἐπεισε μὴτε ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐστάλατο ⁵ ἐντυχεὶν μὴθ' ὅλος μειλαίν τινὰ περὶ

14 τῶν ἀπολωλῶτων ποιήσασθαι. καίτοι τὸ πρᾶγμα οὕτω περιβόητον ἐγένετο ὡστε καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἀγανακτῆσαι δεινῶς, ἐνάγοντός σφας ὅτι μάλιστα Φαουνιών τοῦ Μάρκου καθ' ἐκάτερον, ⁶ ὅτι τε πολλοὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων πρέσβεις πεμφθέντες βιαίως ἀπωλώλεσαν, καὶ ὅτι συχνοὶ καὶ τότε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐδεδωροδοκήσαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν Δίωνα τῶν τῆς προσβείας αὐτοκράτορα (περιῆν γὰρ) μετεπέμψαντο ὡς καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν παρ′ αὐτοῦ μαθησόμενοι: οὕτω δὲ ἀρα καὶ τότε

¹ The reading of L is: ἐστυχεν ὡστε ὡστε ὑπάτου σπινθήρος διὶ Κιλία ἐστετράπτευ καταχθήναι. ὡστε (once only) and Κιλία are correctly given in the later Mss. ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτου is due to Reim., ἐστετράπτο to St. Perhaps some words have fallen out after ἐστυχεν. ² ἐγένετο supplied by Reim. ³ ἀπηρκός Leuncl., ἀπηρηκῶς L. ⁴ μὲν St., μὲν αὐτῶν L. ⁵ ἐστάλατο St., ἐστάλαντο L. ⁶ ἐκάτερον Reim., ἔτερον L.
BOOK XXXIX

to whom Cilicia had been assigned. While this was going on, the people of Alexandria, who for a while did not know that he had departed for Italy, or supposed he was dead, placed Berenice, his daughter, on the throne in his place. Then, learning the truth, they sent a hundred men to Rome to defend them against his charges and to bring counter-complaints of all the wrongs they had suffered. Now he heard of it in season, while still in Rome, and sent men out in various directions to lie in wait for the envoys before they could arrive. Thus he caused the majority of them to perish by the way, while of the survivors he had some slain in the city itself, and others he either terrified by what had happened or by administering bribes persuaded them neither to consult the magistrates touching the matters for which they had been sent nor to make any mention at all of those who had been killed. The affair, however, became so noised abroad that even the senate was mightily displeased; it was urged to action chiefly by Marcus Favonius, on the double ground that many envoys sent by their allies had perished by violence and that numerous Romans had again on this occasion taken bribes. So they summoned Dio, the leader of the envoys, who survived, in order to learn the truth from him. But this time, too, Ptolemy had such influence with his
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

3 καὶ αὐτὸς παρῆν, γενέσθαι. καὶ μέντοι τοῦ Δίωνος μετὰ ταῦτα δολοφονηθέντος οὐδεμιᾶν οὐδέ ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ δίκην ἔδωκε: 1 τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος τῇ τε οἰκίᾳ αὐτὸν ὑπεδέδεκτο καὶ 4 ἵσχυρῶς οἱ συνήρετο. 2 τῶν γε μὴν ἄλλων τῶν αὐτόθεν ἐνεκλήθησαν μὲν ἐν ὑστέρῳ συχνοί, εἶλοσαν δὲ δίλαγο: τό τε γὰρ δεδωροδοκηκός πολὺ ἦν, καὶ ἄλληλοις διὰ τὸ ἰδιον ἕκαστος δέος συνεμάχουν.

15 Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀνθρωποὶ τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν χρημάτων ἔπολον, τὸ δὲ δὴ θεῖον κεραυνῷ καὶ ἀρχαὶ εὐθὺς τοῦ ἐχομένου ἔτους τὸ ἀγαλμα τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ 3 ἰδρυμένου βαλὸν τὴν κάθοδον τοῦ Πτολεμαίου χρόνον τινὰ ἐπέσχε. 2 τοῖς γὰρ Σιβυλλείοις ἔπεσεν ἐνυχώντες εὔρον ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγγεγραμμένον αὐτὸ τοῦτο “Ἀγὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασίλειος βοηθείας τῶν δεόμενος ἔλθη, τὴν μὲν φιλίαν οἱ μὴ ἀπαρνήσασθαι, μὴ μέντοι καὶ πλῆθει τινὶ ἐπικουρῆσητε· εἰ δὲ μὴ, καὶ 3 πόνους καὶ κινδύνους ἔχετε.” κάκ τούτου τὴν συντυχίαν τῶν ἐπῶν πρὸς τὰ τότε γενόμενα θαυμάσαντες ἀπεψηφίσαντο πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐγγραφοῦ, Γαίῳ Καίτων πεισθέντες δημάρχῳ. ταῦτα δὲ ἐχρήσθη μὲν οὕτως, ἐδημοσίευθη δὲ (οὐ γὰρ ἔξην οὐδὲν τῶν Σιβυλλείων, εἰ μὴ ἡ βουλὴ ἴσης τοῦ πλῆθος ἔξαγγέλλεσθαι) διὰ τοῦ

1 ἔδωκε Plfuk, δέδωκε L.
2 οἱ συνήρετο, Bk., συνήρετο Xyl., ἕρετο L.
3 Ἀλβανῷ R. Steph., λαβανῷ L.

328
BOOK XXXIX

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

While mortals were acting thus under the influence of money, Heaven at the very beginning of the next year struck with a thunderbolt the statue of Jupiter erected on the Alban Mount, and so delayed the return of Ptolemy for some time. For when they read the Sibylline verses, they found written in them this very passage: “If the king of Egypt come requesting any aid, refuse him not friendship, nor yet succour him with any great force; else you shall have both toils and dangers.” Thereupon, amazed at the coincidence between the verses and the events of the time, they rescinded all their action in his case, following the advice of Gaius Cato, a tribune. Such was the nature of the oracle; and it was made public through Cato. Now it was unlawful to announce to the populace any of the Sibylline verses, unless the senate voted it; yet as soon

329
4 Κάτωνος. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τάχιστα ὁ νοῦς τῶν ἐπών διεθρυλήθη, ὥσπερ εἰώθε γίγνεσθαι, ἔδεισε μὴ συγκρυφθεῖν, καὶ ἐς τε τὸν ὁμιλοῦ τοὺς ἱερέας ἐσήγαγε, κάνταϊθα, πρὶν ὁτιοῦν τὴν γερουσίαν ἐτ' αὐτοῖς χρηματίσαι, ἐξεβιώσατο σφας ἐκλαλήσαι τὸ λόγιον· ὅσφ' γὰρ τοί μᾶλλον οὐκ ἐδοκεὶ σφίς εἰν 16 ἐξεῖναι τοῦτο, . . . τὸ πλήθος ἐσχε. καὶ ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἐσχεν οὕτως, καὶ ἀν 1 ἐς τὴν τῶν Δατίνων γλῶσσαν μεταγραφέν ἀνεκπρύχθη· γνώμας δὲ αὐτῶν μετὰ τοῦτο ποιομένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄνευ στρατοῦ τῷ Σπινθήρῳ τὴν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου κάθοδον προστατήσωμεν, τῶν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῶν Πομπήιον μετὰ 2 ραβδούχων δύο καταγαγεῖν αὐτῶν κελεύσωμεν (ὁ τε γὰρ Πτολεμαῖος μαθὼν τὸ χρησθὲν ἠξίωσε τοῦτον τυχεῖν, καὶ τὰ γράμματα αὐτοῦ Αὔλος Πλαύτιος 3 ἔστε το Κοινὸν δημαρχῶν ἄνεγγυ), δείκνυτε οἱ βουλευταὶ μὴ μείζων ἐθ' οἱ Πομπηίοι καὶ ἀπ' ἐκεῖνον γένηται, ἀντέπραξαν αὐτῷ τῇ τοῦ σίτου προφάσει χρησάμενοι.

3 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ Δοσιάου Φιλίππου καὶ ἐπὶ Γναίου Μακελλίου ὑπάτων ἐγένετο· καὶ αὐτὰ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος μαθὼν τὴν τοῦ κάθοδον ἀπέγγυ, καὶ ἐς Ἐφεσον ἐλθὼν παρὰ τῇ θεῷ δυνάτο.

17 Ἔτι δὲ δὴ προτέρῳ ἔτει καὶ τουίνδε τι, ἔδιον μὲν, φέρουν δὲ πῶς ἐς τὴν συγγραφήν, ἔπραξθη. τοῦ γὰρ νόμον διαρρήδην ἀπαγορεύοντος μηδένας 4 δύο ἁμα ἐκ τῆς αὐτὴς συγγενείας τὴν αὐτήν ἐτετειάσαν ἔχειν, ὁ Σπινθήρῳ ὁ ὑπάτως ἐπιθυμήσας Κορυήλιον Σπινθήρᾳ τῶν νῦν ἐς τοὺς οἰκουστὰς ἐσαγαγεῖν, 2 ἐπειτ' ἐπειδὴ ὁ Φαῦστος ὁ τοῦ Σύλλου παῖς ἐκ

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

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

The year before there had occurred an incident of a private nature which, however, has some bearing upon our history. It was this. Although the law expressly forbade any two persons of the same gens to hold the same priesthood at the same time, Spinther, the consul, was anxious to place his son Cornelius Spinther among the augurs, and since Faustus, the son of Sulla, of the Cornelian gens, had
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

tou tou KorifiLiwv 1 φυλου δων προενεγεγραπτο, ἐξεποίησεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ Μαλλίων Τορκουατοῦ γένος, καὶ οὕτως ὁ νόμος ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ῥήμασι μείνας ἔργω κατελύθη.

18 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο ὁ Κλάδιος ἐπειδή τάχιστα ἐς τὴν ἀγορανομίαν ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Φιλίπτου καὶ ἔπληκτε τοῦ Μαρκελλίου παρεληλύθη 2 (πρὸς γὰρ τὴν ἀπόδρασιν τῆς δίκης παρακελευστὸς ἤρέθη), γραφὴν κατὰ 3 τοῦ Μίλωνος τῆς τῶν μονομάχων παρασκευὴς ἀπήνεγκε· ἀ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐπραττε καὶ

2 ἔφʼ οίς ἐκρίνετο, ταῦτʼ ἐκεῖνῳ ἀντενεκάλει. ἐποίει δὲ τοῦτο ὁ υἱὸς τῆς Μίλωνα προσεδόκα 4 πάρησεν ἀντὶ καὶ συναγωνιστὰς ἰσχυροὺς ἀλλοὺς τε καὶ τὸν Κερένα τοῦ τε Πομπήιον ἔχοντα, ἀλλʼ ἵνα ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταῦτη τῷ τε Μίλωνι προσπολέμοι παρακελευσεὶ τὸ βῆμα αὐτὸν ἤρέθη. πρὸς γοῦν τοῖς ἀλλοῖς τοιοῦτοι τί τε ἐμημηχάνη τοις παρασκευασσας τοῖς ἑταίροις 6 ἰνʼ, ὅποτε πόθοι αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς συλλόγοις “τίς ὁ 6 ποιῶν ἢ καὶ λέγων 7 τοιοῦτο τε ὁ ἐν 9” συνεκβολῷ ὁτι Πομπήιος, ἐπηρώτα τοπολάκες ἐξαιρούσῃ πάνθ᾽ ὅσα ἑπαίται περὶ αὐτοῦ ἢ κατὰ τὸ σώμα ἢ κατὰ ἀλλο τι ἢν, ἰδία καὶ καθ᾽

19 ἐκαστον, ὡς ὁ περὶ ἐκεῖνον ἄλλον λέγων κάκ τοῦτον τῶν μὲν ἐξαρχοῦσαν τῶν δὲ συνεπισταστῶν σφίσιν, οἱ διὰ τοῦ τοιούτους γίγνεσθαι, καὶ λεγόντων ὁτι Πομπήιος, χλευασίᾳ πολλῇ συνέβαλεν, ὡστε ἐκεῖνον μὴ τὴν ἰσορροπίαν ἀγείν

1 KorifiLiwv Leuncl., korifiLiwv L.
2 paraeLihu Bk., paroleLiude L.
3 katat Leuncl., kal L. 4 prosedok Bk., prosedok L.
5 etairos B. Steph., etairos L.
6 ὁ added by Bk.
7 tis ... kal legon Leuncl., ti ... katalegon L.
8 toioune ti St., toiSede tis L. 9 ἢn Bk., ἀν L.

332
been enrolled before him, he transferred his son to the \textit{gens} of Manlius Torquatus; thus, though the letter of the law was observed, its spirit was broken.

After this Clodius attained the aedileship in the year of Philippus and Marcellinus; for, being anxious to avoid the lawsuit, he had got himself elected by a political combination. He immediately instituted proceedings against Milo for providing himself with gladiators, actually charging him with the very thing he was doing himself and for which he was likely to be brought to trial. He did this, not in the expectation of convicting Milo, inasmuch as the latter had many strong champions, among them Cicero and Pompey, but in order that under this pretext he might not only carry on a campaign against Milo but also insult his backers. For example, the following was one of his devices. He had instructed his clique that whenever he should ask them in the assemblies: "Who was it that did or said so-and-so?" they should all cry out: "Pompey!" Then on several occasions he would suddenly ask about everything that could be taken amiss in Pompey, either in the way of physical peculiarities or any other respect, touching upon such topics individually, one at a time, as if he were not speaking of him particularly. Thereupon, as usually happens in such cases, some would start up and others would join in with them, crying "Pompey!" and there was much jeering. Now Pompey could not control himself and keep
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

καρτερούντα μήθ' ὅμοιόν τι ποιεῖν αὐτῷ ὑπομένουν περιοργὴ τε γίγνεσθαι καὶ ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ καθίστασθαι, καὶ λόγῳ μὲν τὸν Μιλωνα κατακρίνεσθαι, ἐργῳ δὲ αὐτοῦν μηδ' ἀπολογούμενον ἀλλ'].$3 σκέσθαι. ὁ γὰρ Κλώδιος, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀποροή,1 οὐκ εἰά τὸν φρατριμακόν νόμον ἐσενεχθήναι τρίτω γὰρ ἐκείνων τεθῆναι οὕτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν σπουδαίων ἐν τῷ κοινῷ πραχθῆναι οὕτε δίκην οὐδεμίαν ἐσαχθῆναι ἔξην.

20 Τέως μὲν οὖν ὁ Μιλων τῶν λοιδορίων καὶ τῶν σφαγῶν πρόσχημα αὐτοῖς ἡν τεράτων τε τινῶν ἐν τούτῳ γενομένων (ἐν τε γὰρ τῷ Ἀλβαίῳ νεὼς Ἡρας Βραχὺς ἐπὶ τραπέζης τινὸς πρὸς ἀνατολῶν ἱδρυμένος πρὸς τὴν ἄρκτον μετεστράφη, καὶ λαμπάς ὑπὸ τῆς μεσημβρίας ὄρμησεσαῖα πρὸς βορεάν διεξεῖ, λύκος τε ἐσ ὑπὸ πόλιν ἐσῆλθε, καὶ σεισμὸς ἐγένετο, τῶν τε πολιτῶν τινῶς κεραυνοὺς ἐφθάρησαν, καὶ θόρυβος ἐν τῷ Δατίῳ ὑπὸ γῆς ἑξηκούσθη καὶ αὐτὰ οἱ μάντεις ἀκέσσασθαι2 ἐθελεσαντες ὀργίζεσθαι σφίσι δαιμόνιον τι ὣς καὶ ἰερὸν τινὸν ἡ χωρίων οὐχ ὅσιον ἐποικομένων ἐφασαν) ἐνταῦθα ὁ Κλώδιος τὸν Κικέρωνα μεταλαβὼν τῷ τε λόγῳ πολὺς3 ἐνέκειτο, ὅτι τὸ ἔδαφος τῆς οἰκίας ἱερωμένον τῇ Ἐλευθερίᾳ κατηκοδόμησε, καὶ ἐπιθῆς ποτε ἐπ' αὐτὸ ὡς καὶ ἐκ θεμελίων αὐθις αὐτὴν ἀναιρήσων. καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησε μὲν τούτῳ, ὁ γὰρ Μιλων ἐκώλυσεν ὁ δ' οὐν Κικέρων ὡς καὶ παθῶν αὐτὸ ὄργην τε ἔχε καὶ κατηγορίας ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ τέλος τὸν τε Μιλωνα καὶ δημάρχους τινὰς παραλαβὼν ἀνήλθε τε ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον

1 ἀποροίη Bk., ποιηή L. 2 ἀκέσασθαι Xyl., ἀκουσάσθαι L. 3 πολὺς Rk., πολύ L.
quiet, nor would he stoop to a trick like that of Clodius, and so he grew exceedingly angry, yet could not stir; thus nominally Milo was the defendant, but in reality Pompey was being convicted without even offering a defence. For Clodius, in order to embarrass him the more, would not allow the lex curiata to be introduced; and until that was enacted no other serious business could be transacted in the state or any suit instituted.

For a season, then, Milo served as an excuse for their taunts and assassinations. But about this time some portents occurred: on the Alban Mount a small temple of Juno, set on a kind of table facing the east, was turned around toward the north; a blaze of light darted from the south across to the north; a wolf entered the city; an earthquake occurred; some of the citizens were killed by thunderbolts; in the Latin territory a subterranean tumult was heard; and the soothsayers, being anxious to find a remedy, said that some divinity was angry with them because some temples or consecrated sites were being used for residence. Then Clodius substituted Cicero for Milo and not only attacked him vigorously in a speech because the site of the house he had built upon was dedicated to Liberty, but even went to it once, with the intention of razing it anew to the ground; but he did not do so, as he was prevented by Milo. Cicero, however, was as angry with him as if he had actually accomplished his purpose, and kept making accusations. Finally, taking with him Milo and some tribunes, he ascended
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

καὶ τὰς στήλας τὰς ἐπὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ φυγῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλωδίου σταθείσας καθεῖλε. καὶ τὸτε μὲν αὐτὰς ἐκείνου σὺν Γαίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ στρατηγοῦντι ἐπελθόντος ἀφηρέθη, μετὰ δὲ τούτω φυλάξας ἐκ- δημοῦντα τὸν Κλώδιον ἀνέβη τε αὐθις ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὰς οὐκαδε ἀπεκόμισε.

3 γενομένου δὲ τούτου οὐδὲν ἔτ' ἀπώμοτον οὐδετέρω ἀυτῶν ἦν, ἀλλὰ ἐλοιδόρουν ἀλλήλους καὶ διεβαλ- λον ἄλλα τε ὁσα ἐδύνατο, μηδενὸς τῶν αἰσχίστων ὑπεχομένου, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν τε δημαρχίαν τὴν τοῦ Κλωδίου ώς καὶ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους γενομένην καὶ τὰ πραγμένα ἐν αὐτῇ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ ἀκυρὰ ὑπτα, ὁ δὲ τὴν τε φυγήν τὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος ὡς καὶ δικαίως ἐγνωσμένην καὶ τὴν κάθοδον αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ παρανόμως ἐγνωσμένην.

22 Μαχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῦ Κλωδίου πολὺ τῇ στάσει ἐλαττουμένου, οἱ Κάτων ὁ Μάρκος ἐπελθὼν ἀνίσωσεν αὐτοὺς. τῷ τε γὰρ Κικέρωνι ἀχθομένος, καὶ φοβηθεὶς ἀμα μὴ καὶ ὥσα αὐτῶς ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ ἐπεποιηκεί καταλυθεὶ, ὅτι πρὸς τοῦ Κλωδίου δημαρχοῦντος ἐπέπεμπτο, προθύμως αὐτῷ συνήρατο. μέγα γὰρ ἔτ' αὐτοῖς ἐφρόνει, καὶ περὶ παντὸς τὸ βεβαιωθῆναι αὐτὰ ἐποιεῖτο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Πτολεμαῖοι ὁ τῶν νῆσων τότε κατέχω, ἐπειδὴ τὰ τε ἐψηφισμένα ἄσθενο καὶ μὴ ἀντάραι τοῖς Ρωμαίοις ἐτόλμησε μὴ τ' αὐτερθεῖς τῆς ἄρχης ὥν ὑπέμεινεν, φάρμακον πιὸν ἀπέθανε, καὶ οἱ Κύπριοι τῶν Κάτων τάκου ἄκουσίως, ἀτε καὶ

1 τὰς added by Pfugk. 2 ὑπὸ Leuncl., ἐπὶ L.
3 τῷ added by Rk. 4 αὐτὰs R. Steph., αὐτὰ L.
5 οὐδετέρῳ Βκ., οὐδὲ έτέρῳ L.
6 ἀνίσωσεν Oddey, ἀνίσωσεν L.
7 ὑπέμεινε R. Steph., ὑπέμενε L.

336
the Capitol and took down the tablets set up by Clodius to commemorate his exile. This time Clodius came up with his brother Gaius, a praetor, and took them away from him, but later he watched for a time when Clodius was out of town, and going up to the Capitol again, took them and carried them home. After this occurrence no quarter was shown on either side, but they abused and slandered each other as much as they could, without refraining even from the basest means. The one declared that the tribuneship of Clodius had been contrary to the laws and that therefore his official acts were invalid, and the other that Cicero’s exile had been justly decreed and his restoration unlawfully voted.

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

¹ This was a younger brother of the Ptolemy (Auletes) who was expelled from Egypt and subsequently restored (see chap. 55), and is the same one mentioned in Book xxxviii. 30.
Φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀντὶ δούλων εὐσεβέστατο. ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἐπὶ μὲν τούτοις οὐδὲν εἴχε σεμώνουσαί, ὅτι δὲ δὴ τά τε ἄλλα ἁριστα διόρκησε, καὶ δούλους καὶ χρήματα πολλά ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀθροίσας οὐδὲν ἤταν ἀνεπικλήτως πάντα ἀπέδειξεν, ἀνδραγάθιας οὐδὲν ἦττον ὦ εἰ πολέμῳ τινὶ ἐνενικήκει μετεποιεῖτο. ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ πολλοῦς δωροδοκείν σπανιότερον τὸ τῶν χρημάτων καταφρονεῖν τινα τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων κρατεῖν εὔμοιξε.

23 Τότε οὖν ὁ Κάτων ἐν δόξῃ τινὶ ἐπινικίων διὰ ταῦτ' αἰσίων ἔγενετο, καὶ οἱ ὑπερτοὶ γνώμην ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἐποίησαντο στρατηγίαν αὐτῷ δοθήναι καὶ περὶ μηδὲν ἐκ τῶν νόμων προσήκουσαν. καὶ οὐκ ἀπεδείχθη μὲν (αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀντεῖπε), τὴν δὲ δὴ εὐκλείαν καὶ ἐκ τούτου μείζονα ἔσχε. Κλάδιος δὲ ἐπεχείρησε μὲν τοὺς οἰκέτας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Κύπρου ἀχθέντας Κλαδίους, ὅτι αὐτὸς τὸν Κάτωνα ἐκεῖσε ἐπετόμηκεν, ὃνομῶσαι, οὐκ ἡδυνῆθη δὲ ἐναντιωθέντος αὐτοῦ. καὶ οἱ μὲν Κύπροι ἐπεκλήθησαν, καὶ τοῖς τινῶν Πορκίων σφᾶς προσεπτεῖν ἐθέλησαν.

3 σάντων (ὁ γὰρ Κάτων καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκώλυσεν). ὁργῇ δ' οὖν ὁ Κλάδιος τὴν ἐναντίωσιν αὐτοῦ φέρων, τὰ τε διοικηθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διέξαλλε καὶ τοὺς λογίσμους τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπῆτε, οὐχ ἂν ὅτι καὶ διελέγχα τί αὐτὸν ἀδικοῦντα ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ὑπὸ ναυαγίας τὰ γράμματα σχεδὸν τι πάντα διέφθαρτο, καὶ ἐδοκεὶ κατὰ τοῦτο τι ἰσχύσειν.

4 ἐβούθει δὲ καὶ τότε τῷ Κλάδιῳ ὁ Καίσαρ κατὶς μὴ παρόν, καὶ τὰς γε κατηγορίας αὐτῷ τὰς κατὰ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐπιστολομαίους, ὦς γε τινὲς φασίν.

1 ei added by Leuncl. 2 ναυαγίας Bk., ναυαγίου L.
BOOK XXXIX

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

So at that time Cato for these reasons had created some expectation that he would receive a regular triumph, and the consuls proposed in the senate that he be given the praetorship, although by law he could not yet hold it. And though he was not appointed, for he spoke against the measure himself; yet he obtained greater renown from this very circumstance. Clodius undertook to name the slaves brought from Cyprus Clodians, because he himself had sent Cato there; but he failed because the latter opposed it. So they received the title of Cyprians, although some wished to call them Porcians; but Cato prevented this too. So Clodius became angry at his opposition and proceeded to attack his administration; he demanded the accounts of the transactions, not because he could prove him guilty of any wrongdoing, but because nearly all of the documents had been destroyed by shipwreck and he expected to gain some advantage from this circumstance. And Caesar, although not present, was again aiding Clodius at this time, and according to some was sending him in
24. Oũtōi te oũn ēmáxontο, kai ó Pοmptímos ēsche mēn kai ēn tē tou sītou diadōsei triβhīn tīn ēpōlōn gār trōs tās ēpē kai αὐτοῦ ἐλπίδας ἐλευθερωθέντων, ἀπογραφήν σφων, ὅπως ēn te kōsmō καὶ ēn tāξεi τινι συποδοτηθῶσιν, ἡθέλησε 2
2 ροφήσασθαι. Ōū μὴn ἄλλα τούτο μὲn tē tē ēanτοῦ σοφία kai ēk tou plήθουs tou sītou rāōn pōs diwēkēse, tēn ēdē ὑπατείαν αἰτῶν πράγματα 3 ἐσχε kai αἴτιαν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ 4 ἐλαβεν.
3 élūpeī mēn gār αὐτοῦ kai tā ὑπὸ tou Klōdion γυγνόμενα, kai máliost’ ǒtī kai ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερερωτάō ἤν διέφερε, διά tē tō ἄξιωμα kai diā tās ἐλπίδαs ἀφ’ ὅν kai ἰδιωτεύων ὑπὲρ πάντας αὐτοῦς τιμηθήσεσθαι προσεδόκησεν ὑβριζόμενος.
4 ἄλλα τούτων mēn ēsθ’ ǒtē kai kατεφρόνει: παραχρῆμα mēn gār kaκῶs ἀκούων ἐνυσχέραινεν, διαλπῶν dē kai ἐς ἀναλογισμὸν τῆς tē ēanτοῦ ἀρετῆς kai τῆς tōn ἐναντίων κακίαs ἀφικνούμενος 25 ouskēt’ αὐτῶν προστίμα: ὁ dē dē Kaἰσαρ αὐξανόμενος, kai ὁ δῆμος tā tē kατεργασμένα αὐτῶθαυμάζων ὡστε kai ēκ 5 tῆς βουλῆς ἀνδρᾶs ὡς kai ἐπὶ δεδουλωμένους παντελῶς tōs Καλάταιs

1 ἐπεφέρετο St., ἐπεφέροντο L.
2 ἡθέλησε Leuncl., ἐθέλησε L.
3 ὑπατείαν αἰτῶν πράγματα Xyl., ὑπατείαν τῶν πραγμάτων L.
4 ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ Bss., ἀπ’ αὐτῶν L.
5 In place of καὶ ēκ Cobet plausibly suggested καὶ i ēk ("ten men").
letters the accusations brought against Cato. One of the attacks upon Cato consisted in the charge that he himself had persuaded the consuls (so they affirmed) to propose the praetorship for him, and that he had then pretended to give it up voluntarily, in order not to appear to have lost it unwillingly.

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

1 Perhaps we should read "ten men" with Cohet; cf. Cicero, *Prov. cons.* 11, 28; *Balb.* 27, 61; *ad Fam.* I, 7, 10. Dio is wrong in attributing this action to the people instead of to the senate.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἀποστείλας, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ ἐλπίδας ἐπαιρόμενος ὡστε καὶ χρήματα οἱ πολλὰ ψηφί-2 σασθαί, δεινῶς αὐτὸν ἤνια. ἔπεχείρησε μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀναπείσαι μήτε τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ εὐθὺς ἀναγιγνώσκειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖ-στον, μέχρις ᾧ αὐτόματος ἢ δόξα τῶν πραττο-μένων ἐκνικήση, συγκρύπτειν, καὶ διάδοχον τινα αὐτὸ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος καιροῦ πέμψαι.

3 τοσαύτη γὰρ φιλοτιμία ἔχρητο ὡσθ’ ὅσα αὐτὸς τῷ Καίσαρι συνέπραξε καὶ βασκαίνειν καὶ καταλύειν, καὶ ἔκεινη τε ἀλλὰς τε μεγάλας ἐπαινοῦμένω 2 καὶ τὰ ἐαυτοῦ συνικάζοντι ἁ-χθεσθαι, καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἐγκαλεῖν ὅτι αὐτὸν τε ἐν ὀλιγορίᾳ ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τῶν Καίσαρα ὑπερ-4 επουδάζε. 3 τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἡγανάκτει ὅρων αὐτού τῶν τε προποιηθέντων 4 τινὶ 5 ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μνημονεύοντας ἐφ’ ὅσοι μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐπιγένοιτο, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀεὶ καθιστάμενον, κἂν ἔλαττον τοῦ προτέρου ἡ, προχειρότατα τῷ τε τοῦ συνήθους κόρφῳ καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἔξου ἡδονή φερομένους, καὶ τὸ μὲν προενδοκιμοῦν πᾶν καταλύοντας ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου, τὸ δ’ ἄρτι προφανοῦμεν συνεπαύζοντας 

26 ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλπίδων. δι’ ὅσον ταῦτα δυσχεραίνων, καὶ μήτε τῷ διὰ τῶν ὑπάτων διαπράξασθαι δυνηθεὶς καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα μείζω τῆς πρὸς εαυτοῦ πίστεως ψυχών ὁρῶν, οὐκ ἐν ἐλαφρῷ τὸ πράγμα ἐποιήσατο. καὶ γὰρ ἐνόμιξε δύο τε

1 ἔκεινη τε Ρκ., ἐκείνων γε Λ.
2 ἐπαινοῦμένω Ρκ., ταυτοῦμενως Λ.
3 ὑπεροπούδαζε Ρειμ., ὑπεροπούδαζε Λ.
4 προποιηθέντων Ρκ., πρὸς ποιηθέντων Λ.
5 τινι Βκ., τινὰ Λ.
BOOK XXXIX

so elated by their hopes based on him as to vote him large sums of money, was a cruel thorn in Pompey's side. He attempted to persuade the consuls not to read Caesar's letters immediately but to conceal the facts as long as possible, until the glory of his deeds should win its own way abroad, and furthermore to send some one to relieve him even before the regular time. So jealous was he that he undertook to disparage and undo all that he himself had helped to gain for Caesar, and that he was displeased with him both because he was greatly praised and because he was overshadowing his own exploits, and he blamed the people because they slighted him and were excessively enthusiastic over Caesar. Especially was he vexed to see that they remembered the former achievements of a man just so long as nothing new occurred, that they rushed with the greatest haste to each new achievement, even if it were inferior to that which had preceded, because they became tired of the usual and liked the novel, and that, actuated by envy, they overthrew everyone who had once been in high repute, but, urged on by their hopes, helped to exalt one who was just emerging. Because of this he was vexed, and being unable to accomplish anything through the consuls and seeing that Caesar had passed beyond the need of keeping faith with him, he regarded the situation as grave. For he held that there were two things which
 Dio's Roman History

εὐναὶ τὰ τὰς φιλίας τινῶν συγχέοντα, τὸ τε δέος καὶ τὸν φθόνον, καὶ ταῦτα ἀπ’ ἀντιπάλου καὶ τῆς δόξης καὶ τῆς ἱσχύς μόνως μὴ συμβαίνειν. 2 ἔως μὲν γὰρ ἂν ἱσομοιορωσί τινες αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐκεῖνας ἔρρωσθαι, ἐπειδὰν δ’ ὑπεράρωσι τι οἱ ἕτεροι, ἐνταῦθα τὸ τε ἐλαττούμενον φθονῆσαν μισεῖν τὸν κρείττονα καὶ τὸ κρατοῦν καταφρονήσαν ἐξυπρίζειν ἐς τὸν χείρονα, καὶ οὕτως ἂπ’ ἀμφότερον τὸν μὲν τῇ ἐλαττώσει ἀγανακτοῦντα τὸν δὲ τῇ πλεονεξίᾳ ἐπαιρόμενον, πρὸς τε διαφοράς καὶ πρὸς πολέμους ἐκ τῆς πρὶν φιλίας ἁφικνεῖσθαι. Τοιούτως οὖν δὴ τισὶ λογισμῷς ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπὶ τὸν Καῖσαρα ὄπλιζετο. καὶ ἐδόκει γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ῥάξως μόνος αὐτὸν καταλύσαι, τὸν Κράσσου, ὡς καὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦτο ποιήσων, ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἁνηρτήσατο.

27 Συμφρονήσαντες οὖν ἄλλως μὲν οὐδὲν ἰδιωτεύοντες πράξειν ἠλπίσαν, δὲν ὑπατεύωσι κὰς τοῦτο καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ πράγματα τῇ ἐκείνου ζηλώσει διαλάβωσι, καὶ ἀντίρροποι οἱ ἔσεσθαι καὶ ταχύ αὐτοῦ, ἄτε καὶ δύο ἔνοσ, περιγενήσεσθαι προσεδόκησαν. καὶ οὕτω πᾶσαν τὴν προσποίησιν ἀφ’ ἃς, εἰ καὶ τις τῶν ἐταίρων σφῶν ἐπὶ τῆν ἄρχην αὐτοῦς προῆγεν, ἀπηρνοῦστο μὴ κεί βουλευσαί ὑπατεύσαι, ὑποθέμενοι, ἀντικρος αὐτῆς, καὶ περ ἐτέρους τισὶ πρότερον συναγωνιζομένου, μετεποίησαν σαντο. ἐπειδὴ τε ἐξω τῶν χρόνων τῶν ἐν τοῖς

1 συγχέοντα R. Steph., συνίχεοντα L.
2 δέος R. Steph., δέλοις L.  3 μὴ supplied by Bk.
4 ἐκεῖνα Reim., ἐκείνα L.
5 μισεῖν . . . ἐξυπρίζειν Reim., μισεῖ . . . ἐξυπρίζει L.
6 τοῦτο supplied by Bs.  7 οὐδὲν Dind., οὐδὲν ἄν L.
8 ἀφ’ ἃς Kk, σφίσι L.
BOOK XXXIX

destroy people's friendship, fear and envy, and that B.C. 56
these can be prevented by nothing except an equality in fame and strength. For as long as persons possess these last in equal shares, their friendship is firm, but when one or the other excels at all, then the inferior party becomes jealous and hates the superior, while the stronger despises and insults the weaker; and thus, with such feelings on both sides, the one being vexed by his inferiority, the other elated by his advantage, they come to strife and war in place of their former friendship. On the basis of some such reasoning Pompey began to arm himself against Caesar. And because he thought he alone could not easily overthrow him, he attached Crassus to himself even more than before, that he might accomplish his purpose with his aid.

After reaching an understanding, they decided that they could not hope to accomplish anything as private citizens, but that if they should become consuls and devote themselves to public affairs, in imitation of Caesar, they would not only be a match for him but would quickly triumph over him, being two against one. So they gave up all their dissimulation, whereby, whenever any of their associates urged them to seek the consulship, they had been claiming that they no longer cared to take the office; and they now openly sought it, in spite of the fact that they had previously been assisting some of the other candidates. When they began to canvass for
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

νόμοις διειρθμένων\(^1\) ἐπήγγειλαν αὐτὴν, καὶ δὴ λοι ἦσαν ἄλλοι τε καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ὑπατοὶ (καὶ γὰρ τι καὶ ρώμης ὁ Μαρκελλίνος εἰχεν) οὐκ ἐπιτρέψοντες σφισιν ἀποδεικθῆναι, διεπράσσοντο τὰς ἀρχαιρε-
σιάς ἐν τῷ ἑναντίῳ ἑκεῖνῳ μὴ γενέσθαι, ἄλλους
te καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα τὸν Γάιον ἐνίεντες, ἱνα
μεσοβασίλεως αἱρεθέντος καὶ αἰτήσωσι κατὰ
τοὺς νόμους τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ λάβωσι.

28 Καὶ ἐγύγνετο γὰρ τοῦτο λόγῳ μὲν\(^2\) ὑπὸ τῶν\(^3\)
παρεσκευασμένων ἄλλοτε καὶ ἄλλην πρόφασιν,
ἐργὸν δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων\(^4\) (τοῖς γοῦν ἑναντιομένοις
σφίσι φανερῶς ἤχοντο), δεινῶς ἡ γερουσία ἡγα-


2 εξαναστήναι. καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτω διελύθησαν,


3 ὅπως μὴ δὲν τελεσθεὶς· εἰ γὰρ τις τῶν μὴ διελύθησαν εὐνοῦν ἦν, οὐδὲμία ψήφος αὐτοῖς ἔδιδοτο.


4 σωσίν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἑκεῖνο ὁ Κάτων ἀνθί-


5 μὴ supplied by Rk.

\(^1\) διειρθμένων Rk., διειρθμένων L.
\(^2\) τοῦτο λόγῳ μὲν Rk., λόγῳ τοῦτο μὲν L.
\(^3\) ὑπὸ τῶν "N" in Reima's ed., διατῶν L.
\(^4\) ἐκείνων Reim., ἐκείνως L.

346
the office outside of the period specified by law, and, among others the consuls themselves (for Marcellinus had some little influence) made it plain that they would not allow them to be elected, they tried to bring it about, through the agency of Gaius Cato and others, that the elections should not be held that year, in order that an interrex might be chosen and they might then seek and secure the office in accordance with the laws.

This result, now, was being achieved, to all appearances, by the men employed on different pretexsts, but in reality by these candidates themselves; at all events they openly showed dislike of those who opposed them. The senators, therefore, became highly indignant and once rose up and departed while these men were wrangling. Thus their strife was stopped for the time being; but when the same disturbance happened again, the senators voted to change their dress, as if for some calamity, in spite of the fact that Cato, when he gained nothing by speaking against the proposed step, rushed out of the gathering [and called in any one he met in the marketplace (?)] in order that no decision might be reached; for, if any person not a senator were inside, they might not give their vote. But other tribunes were ahead of him and prevented the outsiders from entering; and so this decree was passed, and it was also decided that the senators should not be spectators at the games then going on. When Cato opposed this measure, too, they rushed out in a body, and after changing their dress returned, hoping thus to frighten him. When even then he would
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

προῆλθον ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἅμα πάντες, καὶ συνδραμόντος ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοῦ πλήθους ἐς πᾶν κατηφείας
5 αὐτοὺς κατέστησαν, δημηγορῶν μὲν ὁ Μαρκελλίνος καὶ τὰ παρὸντα σφίσιν ὀδυρόμενος, ἐπι-
δακρύνοντες δὲ οἱ άλλοι καὶ ἐπιστένοντες, ὡστε μηδένα μηδὲν ἀντιφθέγγασθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν τούτῳ
πράξαντες ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον εὔθυς ἐσῆλθον, γνώμην ἔχοντες ἐς τοὺς ὑπαίτιους τὴν ὀργήν
29 ἀφείναι. Κλώδιος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ μεταπηδήσας αὐθεὶς πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον, καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνον πάλιν ἀνθελο-
μενος ἐλπίζει τοῦ, εἰ τί οἱ τῶν τότε πραττομένων συγκατεργάσαιτο, πάνω αὐτῶν ἰδιώσεται, παρ-
ήλθε τε ἐς τὸν ὄμλον ἐν τῇ καθηκούσῃ στολῇ, μηδὲν αὐτὴς πρὸς τὸ δόγμα μεταλαξας, καὶ κατὰ
tε τοῦ Μαρκελλίνου καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐδημη-
2 γόρει. πολλῆς οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀγανακτήσεως ὑπὸ τῶν βουλευτῶν γενομένης τὸ μὲν πλήθος
μεταξὺ λέγων ἐγκατέλιπτε, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸ συν-
ἐδριόν ἄξας ὁ λίγον διεφθάρη τῆς γὰρ γερουσίας
3 καὶ τοῦτο ὑπὸ ἰπτέων περιστοιχισθέως διε-
σπάσθη ἀν, εἰ μὴ ἀνακραγόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν
ὁμολογουμένων προσέδρομον πολλοὶ τιρ
φέροντες, ὃς καὶ μετὰ τοῦ βουλευτήριον σφᾶς
cataprrhόντες εἰ τι αὐτῶν ἐξεργάσασθαι.
Καὶ ο μὲν παρὰ τουσοῦτον ἐλθὼν ἀπολέσθαι
30 οὕτως ἐσώθη. Πομπήιος δὲ οὔδὲν τούτως ἐκ-
πλαγεῖς ἐς τῷ τὸ συνεδρίον ποτὲ ἐσεπήδησεν,
ὑπεναντιούμενος αὐτῷ ψηφιεῖσθαι μέλλοντι, καὶ
εἰκεῖνό τε κυρωθῆναι ἐκώλυσε, καὶ τοῦ Μαρκελ-

1 ἐλπίζει R. Steph., ἐλπίζει L.  2 ἄξας Wesseling, ἄρξας L.  3 μέλλοντι R. Steph., μέλλοντος L.
BOOK XXXIX

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

But Pompey, not alarmed at all by this, on one occasion rushed into the senate, thwarting them as they were just about to vote, and prevented the measure from being carried. When Marcellinus
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

λίνου μετὰ τούτο πυθομένου δημοσία αὐτοῦ εἰς ὄντως ἐπιθυμεῖ ὑπατεύσαι, ἐλπίδι τοῦ κατοκυνησειν αὐτῶν σπουδαρχεῖν ὁμολογήσαι, τῶν μὲν δυκάων ἀνδρῶν ἕνεκα οὐδὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς δεῖσθαι ἐφη, διὰ δὲ δὴ τοὺς ταραχώδεις καὶ σφόδρα αὐτῆς ἄντιποιεῖσθαι. ὡς οὖν τούτῳ φανερῶς ἐνεκείστω, καὶ ὁ Κράσσος ἐρωτηθεις καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ αὐτὰ οὖχ ὁμολόγησε μὲν, οὐ μὴν οὖδ᾽ ἀπηρνύσατο, ἀλλὰ ὅσπερ εἰώθει διὰ μέσου ἐχωρῆσεν, εἰπὼν ὦτι πάνθ᾽ ὲσα τῷ κοινῷ συμφέροι πράξαι, κατέδεικναν οἱ τε Μαρκελλίνος καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τὴν τε παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἀντίταξιν, καὶ οὖδὲ ἀπήγαγον

3 ἐτὶ ἐστὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον. μὴ συλλεγομένου δὲ τοῦ καθήκοντος ἐκ τῶν νομίμων ἄριθμοῦ πρὸς τὸ ψηφισθῆναι τι περὶ τῶν ἀρχαιοσεισμόν, οὐδὲ χρηματισθῆναι τι ἀρχὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ἡδυνήθη, ἀλλὰ ὁ ἐναυτὸς οὖτω διέβη. οὐ μέντοι οὖτε τὴν ἐσθήτα μετημπίσχοντο οὔτε ἐστὶ πανηγύρεις ἐφοίτων, οὐκ ἐν τῷ Καπιτολίῳ τῇ τοῦ Δίως ἐορτή εἰστιάθησαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς τὰς Δατίνας, δεύτερον τὸτε ὑπὸ τινὸς οὐκ ἄρθρως πραχθέντος ποιομένας, ἐστὶ τὸ Ἀλβανὸν ἀφίκοντο, ἀλλ᾽ ὅσπερ δεδουλώμενοι, καὶ μὴ ἀρχὰς ἐλέσθαι μὴ ἄλλο τι πολιτικὸν πράξαι ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες, τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἑτος διήγαγον.

31 Καὶ μετὰ τούτο ὁ τε Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Κράσσος ὑπατοὶ εἰς μεσοβασιλείας ἀπεδείχθησαν, οὗτος ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν προεπηγγελκότων ἀπαντήσαντος, καὶ Λουκίου Δομιτίου, δὲ μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας

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

Later Crassus and Pompey were appointed consuls after an interregnum, as no one else of the earlier candidates opposed them. To be sure, Lucius Domitius,
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

ἡμέρας ἐσπουδάρχησεν, ὀρμήσαντος μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν οὐκοθεν ὑπὸ νύκτα, ἐπεὶ δ’ ὁ παῖς ὁ τὸν λύχνον οἱ προφέρων ἐσφάγη, δείσαντος καὶ 2 μηκέτι περαιτέρω προχωρῆσαντος. οὐτ’ οὖν ἀντιστάντως τινὸς τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ προσέτι τοῦ Πουπλίου Κράσσου, δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ Μάρκου ἕν καὶ τότε τῷ Καίσαρι ὑπεστρατήγηε, στρατιώτας ἐπ’ αὐτὸ τούτο ἐς τὴν ‘Ῥώμην ἀγαγόντος, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἠρέθησαν.

32 Παραλαβόντες δ’ 1 οὐτῶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τὰς λοιπὰς ἀρχὰς τοῖς ἐπιτηθείσως 2 σφίσιν ἔχουσι δοθῆναι ἐποίησαν, τὸν Κάτωνα τὸν Μάρκον κωλύσαντες στρατηγόν ἀποδειχθῆναι ὑπώπτευον τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ὡς ἀνέξεσθαι τὰ γιγνόμενα, καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ἵσχυν αὐτῷ ἐννομον πρὸς τὰς ἀντι- 2 λογίας προσθείναι. καὶ ἡ μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν κατάστασις (ὁ γὰρ Κάτων οὐδὲν βίαιον πράξαι ἤξιος εἰρήνα τι ἐγένετο, περὶ δὲ τοὺς ἄγορα- νόμους τοὺς κοινωνίους σφαγὴν συνέβησαν, ὡστε καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον πολλοῦ αἴματος ἀναπληθῆναι. 3 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ἐκείνους μὲν, τοὺς τε ἅλλους τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου αἱρομένους, πρὸς τρόπου 3 σφίσιν (αὐτὸν γὰρ τὰς ἄρχαιρεσις ἐπολοῦν) ἀπέδειξαν, τοὺς τέ ἄγορανόμους τοὺς ἐτέρους καὶ τῶν δη- μαρχῶν τοὺς πλείους προσταίρεσαντο. δύο δὲ δήμαρχοι, 4 Γάλλοις τε Ἀτεῖος 5 Καπίτων καὶ Πού- πλιος Ἀκύλιος 6 Γάλλος, οὐχ ὡμολόγησαν αὐτοῖς.

33 Ὡς οὖν αἱ ἀρχαὶ κατεστήσαν, εἰχόντο ὑν

1 δ’ added by Rk. 2 ἐπιτηθείσως R. Steph., ἐπιτηθείσως L. 3 πρὸς τρόπου Wesseling, προστρόπους L. 4 δήμαρχοι Xyl., δημοσιὰi L. 5 Ἀτεῖος Bs., following Leuncl. (Ἀτῆιος), ἄτειος L (and so regularly). 6 Ἀκύλιος Reim., ἄκυλιος L.
BOOK XXXIX

who canvassed for the office up to the very last day of the year, set out from his house for the assembly just after dark, but when the slave who carried the torch in front of him was slain, he became frightened and went no farther. Hence, since no one at all opposed them, and furthermore since Publius Crassus, who was a son of Marcus and at that time lieutenant under Caesar, brought soldiers to Rome for this very purpose, they were easily chosen.

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

Accordingly, when the magistrates had been appointed, they proceeded to lay hold on the objects...
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

έφευρο. καὶ αὐτὸι μὲν οὐδένα οὔτε ἐν τῇ βουλῇ οὔτε ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐποιήσαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ ἐπλάττοντο μηδενὸς σφών προσ-
2 δείσθαι. Γάλως δὲ δὴ Τρεβωνίος δημαρχῶν ἔγραψε τῷ μὲν τῇ τε Συρίαν καὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα αὐτῆς, 
τῷ δὲ τὰς Ἰβηρίας 1 (καὶ γὰρ τι καὶ ἐναγχὸς ἐκεκινητο) 2 ἄρχειν ἐπὶ πέντε ἔτη δοθῆναι, στρα-
τιώταις τε ὅσοι ἦν ἐθελήσωσι καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν 
καὶ τῶν συμμάχων χρωμένοις, καὶ πόλεμον καὶ 
eἰρήνην πρὸς οὕς ἦν βουληθῶσι ποιομένους.
3 χαλέπως οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλῶν, καὶ μάλιστα 
τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος φίλων, ἔχοντων, ὅτι ἦμελλον 
ἐκεῖνοι, τυχόντες ὃν διωκόντο, τὸν Καίσαρα 
μηκέτ' ἐπὶ πολὺ τὴν ἄρχην ἔζοντα καθείρζειν, καὶ 
παρασκευαζομένων διὰ τοῦτο ἀντεπεῖν τινῶν τοῖς 
νεγραμμένοις, φοβηθέντες οἱ ὑπατοὶ μὴ διαμάρ-
τωσιν ὃν ἐπραττοῦν, προσεπιθήσαντο αὐτοῖς ὡστε 
tὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ ἐκεῖνο τρία ἔτη πλεῖώ, ὡς γε 
4 τάληθες εὐρίσκεται, μηκῦναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς 
τὸν δῆμον τι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐσήνεγκαν πρὶν 
tὰ σφέτερα βεβαιώσασθαι. οὐ τε γὰρ τοῦ Καί-
σαρος ἐπιτίθειοι προκαταληφθέντες οὕτως ἡσύ-
χασαν, καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν τὸ μὲν πολὺ δουλωθέν 
ὑπὸ τὸν φόβου ἥσυχιαν ἡγαγον, ἀγαπῶντες εἰ καὶ 
34 ὃς περισσωθεῖν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων καὶ ὁ Φαοῦνιος 
ἡμαντιοῦντο μὲν πᾶσι τοῖς πρασσομένοις ὑπ' αὐ-
τῶν, συνεργοὺς ἄλλους τε τινας καὶ τοὺς δύο 
δημάρχους ἔχοντες, ἀτε δὲ ὀλγοὶ πρὸς πολλοὺς 
2 ἀγωνιζόμενοι μάτην ἐπαρρησιάζοντο. καὶ ὁ μὲν 
Φαοῦνιος μίαν ὥραν μόνῃν παρὰ τοῦ Τρεβωνίου

1 Ἰβηρίας R. Steph., Ἰβηρίας L.
2 ἐκεκινητο Βκ., ἐκεκινητο L.

354
of their striving. They made no mention of these matters themselves before either the senate or the people, but gravely pretended that they wanted nothing further. Gaius Trebonius, however, a tribune, presented a measure, that to the one Syria and the neighbouring lands should be given as a province for five years, and to the other the two Spains, where there had recently been disturbances, for the same period; they should employ as many soldiers as they wished, both citizens and allies, and should make peace and war with whomsoever they pleased. Many took offence at this, especially the friends of Caesar, because these men were bound after gaining their present ends to restrict Caesar's power and keep him from holding his position much longer, and therefore some prepared to speak against the measure. Then the consuls, fearing that they might fail utterly of the projects they had in hand, won over their opponents on the condition of extending Caesar's command also for three\(^1\) years more—to state the actual fact. However, they submitted nothing to the people in regard to him until their own arrangements had been confirmed. For Caesar's friends, having been gained over in the manner stated, remained quiet, and the majority of the others, in bondage to fear and satisfied if even so they might save their lives, kept still. On the other hand, Cato and Favonius resisted all their schemes, having the two tribunes and others to help them; but since they were fighting a few against many, their outspokenness was of no avail. Favonius, who obtained from Trebonius only one hour for his

\(^1\) The same period is adopted by Dio in Book xlv. 43, 2. Suetonius, Plutarch, and Appian say five years.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

πρὸς τὴν ἀντιλογίαν λαβών, κατέτρεψεν αὐτὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ καίρου στενοχωρίας εἰκῆ βοῶν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων ἔτυχε μὲν ἐν ὅυο ὃραις 3 δημηγορῆσαι, τραπόμενος δὲ πρὸς καθηγορίαν τῶν τε ἐν χερσὶ καὶ τῆς ὀλής καταστάσεως, ὥσπερ εἰόθει, κατανάλωσε τὸν καίρον πρὶν καὶ ὅτιον τῶν προκειμένων εἰπεῖν, 1 οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἐνεδέχετό τι καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων ἐλευθήναι, ἀλλ' ἵν' ἔτι τῇ δημηγορῇσαι δοκῶν ἔχειν ὑπὸ τοῦ Τρεβώνιου σιγασθῇ καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τούτῳ αὐτὸ ἐγκαλῇ, ἐπει δὲ γε ἣπίστατο ὅτι οὐδὲ εἰ πάσῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκέχρητο, πείσατι τὸν ἐβούλευτον ψηφίσασθαι σφας ἐδύνατο. 4 οὐκοῦν οὔτε 2 παραχρῆμα σιωπῆσαι 3 κελευσθεὶς ἐπάυσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξωθεῖς καὶ ἐλκυσθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου ἐπανήλθε, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ ἐς τὸ οἰκήμα ἐσαχθῆναι προσταχθεῖς οὐκ ἐμετρίσεν.

35 Καὶ ἐκείνη μὲν ἡ ἡμέρα οὐτω κατετριβή ὡστε μηδ' εἰπεῖν ἀρχὴν μηδὲν τοὺς δημάρχους δυνηθήναι· εὖ γὰρ τοῖς ταῖς συνόδοις ταῖς 4 τοῦ δήμου, εὖ ἀλ' γε καὶ ἐβούλευοντο, πάσας τοῖς 5 ἰδιώταις 2 πρὸ τῶν τῶν ἀρχῶν ἔχοντων ὁ λόγος ἐδίδοτο, τοῦ μηδένα αὐτῶν, ὡς ἔοικε, τῇ τοῦ κρείττονος γνώμη προκαταλαμβανόμενον ὑποστέλλεσθαι τὶ ὑπὶ φρονίη, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάσης παρρησίας τὰ δοκοῦντα 3 αὐτῷ λέγειν. φοβηθεῖς οὖν ὁ Γάλλος μὴ τις αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῇ ὑστεραιᾷ ἐξείρξῃ ἣ καὶ δεισότερον τῇ ἐργάσῃ ται, ἐστὶ τοῦ συνεδρίῳ ἀφ' ἐστέρας ἐσῆλθε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνυκτέρευε, τῆς τε ἀσφαλείας ἐνεκα τῆς παρὰ τοῦ χωρίου, καὶ ὅπως ἐκεῖθεν ἀμα

1 προκειμένων εἰπεῖν Rk., ἐνομιμένων L.
2 οὔτε Bk., οὔτε L.
3 σιωπῆσαι Reim., σιωπῆσει L.
4 ταῖς Xyl., καὶ ταῖς L.
5 τοῖς Xyl., πρὸς τοῖς L.

356
speech in opposition, used it up in uttering vain protests against this very limitation of his time. Cato, for his part, received the privilege of speaking for two hours, but devoted his efforts to criticizing present conditions and the general state of affairs, as was his wont, and so exhausted his time before he had touched upon any of the matters before them. He took this course, not because he had not the privilege of speaking on those matters as well, but in order that he might be silenced by Trebonius while still appearing to have something more to say and might thus obtain this additional grievance to bring against him. For he well understood that even if he employed the whole day, he could not persuade them to vote anything that he wished. Hence, when bidden to be silent, he did not stop immediately, but had to be pushed and dragged from the assembly, whereupon he came back, and though finally ordered to be taken to prison, he did not moderate his behaviour.

That day was used up in such wise that the tribunes could not speak at all. For in all the meetings of the people in which they deliberated, the right to speak was given to the private citizens ahead of the magistrates, to the end apparently that none of them, captivated beforehand by the opinion of a superior, should conceal any of his own ideas, but should speak out his mind with entire frankness. Hence Gallus, fearing that some one might on the next day keep him from the Forum or do something worse still, went into the senate-house in the evening and passed the night there, both for the sake of the safety afforded by the place, and for the purpose of leaving there at dawn to join
4 ἐφ' πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ἐξῆλθε. καὶ τούτου μὲν ὁ Ἑρακλείας μάτην ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὴν υβίκτα καὶ τῆς ἁμέρας τὸ πλείον ἐδιατρίβατο ἐποίησε, πάσας τὰς θύρας τοῦ βουλευτηρίου κλείσας. τὸν δὲ Ἀτέιον τὸν τε Κάτωνα καὶ τὸν Φαουώνιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν ἄντας ἐτεροὶ, προκαταλαβόντες τῆς υπερτοῦ τὸν συλλόγον χωρίων, ἐξείργαγον.

5 καὶ ἔπειδὴ ὁ μὲν Φαουώνιος καὶ ὁ Νῖνος διαλαβόντες πως ἔπον ἐγένοτο, ὁ δὲ Ἰάκως καὶ ὁ Ἀτέιος ἐπαιναβάντες τις τῶν περιεσθησιῶν καὶ μετεωρισθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν διοσημίαν, ὡς καὶ διαλύσοντες σφάς, ἐπεφήμιζον, τούτους μὲν ἑκατέρους οἱ ἤπηρεται τῶν δημάρχων ἐξήλασαν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ὄντας κατετραυμάτισαν, καὶ τίνας καὶ ἀπέκτειναν.

36 Κυρωθέντος δὲ οὗτος τοῦ νόμου, καὶ τοῦ πλῆθους ἀπαλλαττομένου ἦδη ἕκ τοῦ συλλόγου, παραλαβὼν ὁ Ἀτέιος τὸν Γάλλου ἀματος ἀνάπλεων (ἐκβιαζόμενος γὰρ ἕκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐπιλήγη) παρήγαγε τε ἐς τοὺς ἐτί παρόντας, καὶ ἐπιδείξας αὐτόν, καὶ ἐπειτρότι ὧσα εἰκὸς ἦν,

2 δεινῶς σφάς ἔξετάραξεν. αἰσθόμενοι οὖν τοῦθ᾽ οἱ ὑπατοὶ ἤλθον τε διὰ ταχέων (ἐγγύθεν γάρ ποθεν τοῖς πραττόμενοι ἐφήδρευν) καὶ καταφοβήσαντες αὐτούς, ἄτε καὶ χειρα ἐνε ὄλιγην ἔχοντες, εὐθὺς τε ἐκκιλησίαν συνήγαγον καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Καλώρα ἐπεψήφισαν, ἀντειπεῖν μὲν καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνα τῶν αὐτῶν πειραθέντων, οὐ μέντοι καὶ δυνηθέντων τι πράξαι.

37 Ταύτα τε οὖν κυρωθήναι ἐποίησαν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πικρότερα ἐπηνίμα τοῖς δικάζοντι τίνας

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

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

The consuls, accordingly, had these measures passed, and next they laid heavier penalties upon
 Dio's Roman History

επέταξαν, ὅσπερ τι αὐτὸς ἔλαττον, ὅτε οὐ χρήματι ἀλλὰ βία τῆς ἀρχῆς εἰλήφεσαν, ἀμαρτούντες.

2 ἐπεχείρησαν μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἀναλωματὰ τὰ κατὰ τὴν διάλογον ἐπὶ μακρότατον προσημένα συντείλαι, καὶ εἰπὼν ἐσεὶς πάν αὐτὸ θυρής καὶ ἀβρότητος προκεχωρήκοτες, ἐκολύθησαν δὲ ὕπο 3 αὐτοῦ τούτου διανομοθετῆσαι. ὁ γὰρ Ὀρτήσιος φιλαναλωτὴς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ὅπως ἐπείσεν αὐτοῦς, τὸ τε μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως ἐπέζησι, καὶ αὐτοῦς ἐπὶ τῇ ὀικον πολυτελείᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους μεγαλοφροσύνη ἐπαινῶν, καταβαλέειν τῆς γνώμης, ἀτε καὶ συναγωνιστὴ τῶν λόγων τῷ

4 βίῳ σφόν χρώμενοι. τὴν τε γὰρ ἐναντίωσιν αἰδευθήσεται, καὶ προσφέρεται καὶ κατοχνήσαντες φθόνῳ τινὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, δὺν αὐτοῖς ἐπηύον, δοκεῖν ἀπείρογειν, ἐκόντες ἄφηκαν τὴν ἐστήχησιν.

38 Καὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἕμεραις ὁ Πομπήιος τὸ θεάτρον, ὃ καὶ νῦν λαμπρούμεθα, καθιέρωσε, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκείνῳ θέαν καὶ μουσικῆς καὶ ἀγώνως γυμνικοῦ καὶ τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ καὶ ἱππῶν ἀμίλλαν καὶ θηρίων πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν σφαγᾶς

2 ἐποίησεν. λέοντες τε γὰρ πεντακόσιοι ἐν πέντε ἕμεραις ἀναλώθησαν, καὶ ἐλέφανται ὀκτωκάιδεκα πρὸς ὀπλάς ἐμαχέσαντο. καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν παραχρῆμα ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον. ἡλέήθησαν γὰρ τινὲς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου γνώμην, ἐπειδὴ τραυματισθέντες

1 ἀναλώματα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Bk. (κατὰ supplied by Leunol.), ἀναλωμένα τὴν L. 2 προσημένα Leunol., προσημένα L. 3 φιλαναλωτὴς Pflugk, φιλανάλωτος L. 4 αὐτοῖς added by Leunol. 5 καταβαλεὶν Xyl., καταβαλεὶν L. 6 συναγωνιστὴ R. Steph., συναγωνιστὴν L. 7 ἐπείοντο Bk., ἐκοινοῦτο L.

360
BOOK XXXIX

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

During these same days Pompey dedicated the theatre in which we take pride even at the present time. In it he provided an entertainment consisting of music and gymnastic contests, and in the Circus a horse-race and the slaughter of many wild beasts of all kinds. Indeed, five hundred lions were used up in five days, and eighteen elephants fought against men in heavy armour. Some of these beasts were killed at the time and others a little later. For some of them, contrary to Pompey's wish, were pitied by the people when, after being
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

3 τῆς μάχης ἐπαύσαντο, καὶ περιόντες τάς τε προβοσκίδας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνέτεινον καὶ ὁλοφύρωτο σῶτος ὡςτε καὶ λόγον παρασκείν ὅτι οὐκ ἄλλως ἦκ συντυχίας αὐτὸ ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τε ὄρκους οἰς πιστεύσαντες ἐκ τῆς Διβύνης ἐπεπεραίωντο ἐπιβοῶμενοι καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον πρὸς
4 τιμωρίαν σφῶν ἐπικαλούμενοι. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι οὗ πρῶτον τῶν νεῶν ἐπέβησαν πρὶν πίστιν παρὰ τῶν ἀγόντων σφᾶς ἐνορκὸν λαβεῖν, ἡ μὴν μηδὲν κακὸν πείσεσθαι. καὶ τούτο μὲν εἰτ' ὄντως
5 οὕτως εἶτε καὶ ἄλλως πως ἔχει, οὐκ οἶδα· ἥδη γὰρ τινὲς καὶ ἐκεῖνο εἶπον, ὅτι πρὸς τῷ τῆς φωνῆς τῆς πατρώτιδος αὐτοῦ ἐπαίτειν1 καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ γυγυμοῦνων συνίσκειν, ὡςτε καὶ ἐν ταῖς νομοθείαις, πρὶν ἐς ὄψιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν σελήνην ἔλθειν, πρὸς τε ὄψωρ ἁείων ἁφικεῦσθαι
6 κανταύθα καθαρμὸν τινὰ σφῶν προίεσθαι. ἤκουσα μὲν δὴ ταύτα, ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι τὸ θέατρον τοῦτο σὺχ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Δημήτριος τις ἀπελεύθερος αὐτοῦ, ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων δὲν συστρατεύομενοι οἱ ἐπεπόριστο. ὅθεν·
περ καὶ τὴν ἐπώνυμιαν τοῦ ἔργου δικαίωτα αὐτῷ ἀνέθηκεν, ἵνα μὴ μάτην2 κακῶς ἀκοὐ ὅτι ἐξελεύθερος αὐτοῦ ἡγυρολόγησεν ὡςτε καὶ ἐς τηλικοῦτον ἀνάλωμα ἐξικέσθαι.

39 ὃς μὴν ἄλλ' ἐν μὲν τούτοις ὃς σμικρὰ τῷ δήμῳ ὁ Πομπήιος ἔχαρισσαν, τοὺς δὲ δὴ καταλόγους μετὰ τοῦ Κράσσου πρὸς τὰ ἑσθηρισμένα σφῶς ποιοῦμενος πλείστον αὐτοὺς ἐλύπησε. καὶ τότε δὴ οἱ πολλοὶ μετεμέλοντο καὶ τὸν τε Κάτωνα καὶ

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

At all events Pompey in these matters afforded the populace no little delight; but in making with Crassus the levies for the campaigns assigned to them he displeased them exceedingly. Then, indeed, the majority repented of their course and praised Cato and the rest. Both on this account,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

tous allous ephevoun, oste kai ekeinoi diad te 2 touto, kal oti dikhe tis logw men tois upostrathe-
gous sfawon, ergie de autois pro's ta gynomeva  
pa ra demarchxw tivon epikhth, bliaion men men de

tolmhsai, tin de esthita ws ep le sumfora metat

ton ek tis bouleis stasouwv allakhsai.
3 kal tauto men euvhs metagontes kal mhd pro-

faseous tivos epilabomenoi meteskevnastnto. tov

demarchov tois te katalogous dialysaia kal  
tas stratetisas auton anapsfisai epixeurontov
4 o men Pompheios ouk hyvanaktei (tous te gar

uparchous paraghyma exepopomfex, kai autous kata
choran, ws kal kownomevos exelhein, allaws dia

thn epimeleian tov sithon parейvai efelion, hdeous

emenev, ina tas t' Iberias 1 ama di' ekeivon kate-

skh kai ta ev t' Romy t' te allh 'Italia di'
5 eautov poihsatai), o de di Krasos, etpeidh mi-
deiteron autov toutov upherkein, epi thn ek

tovn oplow ischun etrapeto. ois oun demarchoi idontes

di h parreasia auton asplos ousa astheini pro

to kowlsai ti praxhnei hyn, 2 allaws men esioton,

epefhimizow de autov polla kai atopa, wsper ou
6 kai 3 tov demosi di' ekeivon katarwmenoi, kal

touto men en tou Kapitowlia tais evkhas autov tais

nomezomenas esti th stratetia poionmenov 4  
kal dios-

nmas tivn kai terata diebroun, touto de

exoromemenw oi polla kai deina eptarasanto. etep-

cheirze mev gar o 'Ateios kai es to desmowthron

7 auton embaline autistantow de eterwv demarchov

1 tas t' Iberias Bk., ta-xi-beria L.
2 hyn added by Bk.  3 ou kal Xyl., ouk ev L.
4 poioymenov Leuncl., poioymenoi L.
therefore, and because of a suit instituted by some of the tribunes, nominally against the lieutenants of the consuls, but really against these themselves and their acts, the consuls, although they did not dare to use any violence, did, however, along with their partisans in the senate, change their clothing as if for a calamity. They immediately repented, and without offering any excuse went back to their accustomed dress; but the tribunes endeavoured to annul the levies and rescind the vote for the proposed campaigns. At this, Pompey, for his part, showed no anger, as he had sent out his lieutenants promptly and was glad to remain himself where he was on the plea that he was prevented from leaving the city, and ought in any case to be in Rome on account of his superintendence of the corn-supply; his plan was to let his officers subdue the Spains while he took in his own hands the affairs at Rome and in the rest of Italy. Crassus, however, since neither of these considerations applied to his case, looked to the force of arms. The tribunes, then, seeing that their boldness, unsupported by arms, was too weak to hinder any of his undertakings, held their peace for the most part, but they uttered many dire imprecations against him, as if, indeed, they were not cursing the state through him. At one time as he was offering on the Capitol the customary prayers for his campaign, they spread a report of omens and portents, and again when he was setting out they called down many terrible curses upon him. Ateius even attempted to cast him into prison, but other tribunes resisted, and there was a conflict among them and a
 Dio's Roman History

μάχη τε αυτῶν καὶ διατριβὴ ἐγένετο, κὰν τούτῳ ὁ Κράσσος ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου ἔξηλθε.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν, εἶτε έκ συντυχίας εἰτε καὶ ἐκ τῶν 40 ἄρων αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἑσφάλη, ὁ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Μαρκελλίνου τῇ τε Φιλάππου ὑπατείᾳ ἐπὶ Οὐενέτους ἐστράτευσεν. ὦκουσι δὲ πρὸς τῷ ὥκεανῷ, καὶ στρατιώτας τινὰς Ῥωμαίοις πεμφθέντας ἐπὶ σίτων συνέλαβον, καὶ μετὰ τούτο τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἐξόντας κατέσχον, ὅπως ἀντ’ αὐτῶν τοὺς ὀμήρους σφῶν ἀπο-2 λάβωσιν. ὁ οὖν Καίσαρ τούτους μὲν οὐκ ἀπέδωκε, διαπέμψας δὲ ἄλλους ἄλλης, τοὺς μὲν τὰ τῶν συναφετηκότων αὐτοῖς πορθεῖν, ἵνα μὴ συμβο-3 θήσωσιν ἄλλης, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐνσπόνδων, μὴ καὶ αὐτοῖς τι παρακινήσωσι, φρουρεῖν, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς Οὐενέτους ἡλάσε, καὶ πλοῖα ἐν τῇ με-4 σογείᾳ, ὃ ἦκουν ἐπιτήδεια πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὥκεανοῦ παλύρροιαν εἶναι, κατασκευάσας διά τε τοῦ Ἀγ-5 ροῦ 5 ποταμοῦ κατεκόμπησε, καὶ πάσαν ὅλην τὴν ωραίαν μάτην ἀνάλωσεν. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ πόλεις ἐπὶ ἐρυμὼν χωρίων ἱδρυμέναι ἀπρόστοι ὔσαν, καὶ ὥκεανὸς πάσας ὡς εἶπεῖν αὐτῶς περικλύζων ἀπο-ροῦν μὲν τῷ πεζῷ ἄπορον δὲ καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ τὴν προσβολὴν, καὶ πλημμύρων καὶ ἀναρρέων, ἐν τῇ τῇ ἅμπωτι τε καὶ ἐν τῇ ῥαχίᾳ ἐποίησε, ὡστε ἐν πάντι τοῖς Καίσαρα γενέσθαι, μέχρις οὐν Δέκιμος 4 Βρούτος ταχείας οἱ ναυσίν ἐκ τῆς ἐνδοθεθαλάσσης ἤλθεν. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ὃς οὐδὲ ἐκείνως τοι πράξεων γνώμην εἶχεν, οἱ δὲ δὴ βάρβαροι κατα-1 συνέλαβον Bk., ἔθλαθον L. 2 Ἀγροῦ Leuncl., ἀγροῦ L. kal πλημμύρων καὶ ἀναρρέων is probably a gloss on the following words. 4 Δέκιμος R. Steph., δέκιμος L.

366
BOOK XXXIX

delay, in the midst of which Crassus went outside the pomerium. Now he, whether by chance or as a result of these very curses, before long met with defeat.

Caesar in the consulship of Marcellinus and Philippus made an expedition against the Veneti, who live near the ocean. They had seized some Roman soldiers sent out for grain and afterward detained the envoys who came in their behalf, in order that in exchange for these they might get back their own hostages. Caesar, instead of giving these back, sent out different bodies of troops in various directions, some to waste the possessions of those who had joined the revolt and thus to prevent the two bands from aiding each other, and others to guard the possessions of those who were under treaty, for fear they too might cause some disturbance; he himself proceeded against the Veneti. He constructed in the interior the kind of boats which he heard were of advantage for the tides of the ocean, and conveyed them down the river Liger, but in so doing used up almost the entire summer to no purpose. For their cities, established in strong positions, were inaccessible, and the ocean surging around practically all of them rendered an infantry attack out of the question, and a naval attack equally so in the midst of the ebb and flow of the tide. Consequently Caesar was in despair until Decimus Brutus came to him with swift ships from the Mediterranean. And he was inclined to believe he would be unable to accomplish anything with those either, but the
DIOS ROMAN HISTORY

41 φρονήσαντες τῆς τε σμικρότητος καὶ τῆς ἀσθενείας τῶν σκαφῶν ὑπτήθησαν. ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ κουφότερον ύπὲρ τοῦ ταχυναυτεῖν ἐσ τῶν τῆς παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ναυτιλίας τρόπων ἐσκέψατο, τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἄτε ἐν τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς τοῦ ὄκεανοφ παλμροίας ἐπὶ τε τοῦ ἕξρου πολλάκις ἴστασθαι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω αὐτοῦ διαρροὴν ἀντικαρτερεῖν ὀφείλοντα, πλείστον σφῶν καὶ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ παχύτητι προεῖχεν. δι᾽ οὐν ταῦθ᾽ οἱ βάρβαροι, οἷα μήπω πρότερον τοιούτων ναυτικοῦ πεπειραμένου, ἔπρος τε τὴν ὄψιν τῶν νεών καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν ἐν οὐδείς λόγῳ ἐπονήσαντο, καὶ εὐθὺς ναυλοχούσαις σφίσιν ἐπανήχθησαν ὡς καὶ δι᾽ ἐλαχίστον τοὺς κοντοῖς αὐτῶς καταποντώσουσιν. εἴφηρον δὲ ἀνέμφω καὶ πολλῷ καὶ σφόδρῳ καὶ γὰρ ἱστία δερμάτινα εἶχον, ὡστε πάσαν τὴν

42 τοῦ πνεύματος ἵσχυν ὄπληστως ἐσοδέχεσθαι. ὁ οὖν Βροῦτος, τέως μὲν ἐκεῖνον ἐπέσπερχεν, οὐδὲ ἀντάναχθηναι αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν νεών τὴν τε ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος φοράν καὶ τὴν ἑπιβολὴν σφῶν ἐτόλμησεν, ἄλλα παρεσκεύαζεν ὡς καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ τὰς προσβολὰς αὐτῶν ἀμυνούμενος καὶ τὰ σκάφη παυτελῶς ἐγ- λεῖψον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τε ἄνεμος ἐξαπιναῖος ἐπέσε καὶ τὸ κύμα ἐστορέσθη, τὰ τε πλοῖα οὐκέθ᾽ ὀμοίως ὑπὸ τῶν κωπῶν ἐκνεύτο, ἄλλ᾽ ἂτε καὶ καταβαρῆ ὄντα κατὰ χώραν τρόπον τινὰ εἰστήκει, τότε δὴ ἐκεῖσας ἀντανήχθη, καὶ προσπεσόν αὐτοῖς πολλὰ σφᾶς καὶ δεινὰ ἄδεως καὶ περιπλέων καὶ

1 ύπὲρ Rk., ὑπὸ L. 2 προεῖχεν Bk., προεῖχον L. 3 ναυλοχούσαις Rk., ναυλοχούσαλ L. 4 ἐκεῖνο Louncl., ἐκεῖνος L. 5 ἀλλ᾽ ἂτε R. Steph., ἀλλάτε L.
BOOK XXXIX

barbarians through their contempt for the small size and frailty of the boats incurred defeat. For these boats had been built rather light in the interest of speed, after the manner of our naval construction, whereas those of the barbarians surpassed them very greatly both in size and stoutness, since amid the ever-shifting tides of the ocean they often needed to rest on dry ground and to hold out against the succession of ebb and flow. Accordingly, the barbarians, who had never had any experience of such a fleet, despised the ships as useless in view of their appearance; and as soon as they were lying in the harbour they set sail against them, thinking to sink them speedily by means of their boat-hooks. They were swept on by a great and violent wind, for their sails were of leather and so carried easily the full force of the wind. Now Brutus, as long as the wind raged, dared not sail out against them because of the number and size of their ships, the force with which they were driven by the wind, and their own attack, but he prepared to repel their attack near the land and to abandon the boats altogether. When, however, the wind suddenly fell, the waves were stilled, and the boats could no longer be propelled as they had been with the oars but because of their great bulk stopped motionless, as it were, then he took courage and sailed out to meet them. And falling upon them, he caused them many serious injuries with impunity, delivering both broadside and rear
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

3 διεκπλέων,1 καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἐμβάλλων τινὶ τοτὲ δὲ ἀνακρούομενος, ὅπη τε καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον ἥθελεν, εἰργάσατο, πολλαῖς τε πρὸς μίαν καὶ ἐτέρῳ ἴσας πρὸς ἴσας;2 ἐστὶ δὲ ἦ καὶ ἐλάσσοσι πρὸς πλείονας

4 ἀσφαλῶς προσφερόμενος. ὅπου μὲν γὰρ κρείττων αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἡ ἐποιήτῶν σφισὶ, καὶ τὰς μὲν κατέδευεν ἀναρρηγνύσης, ἐν δὲ τὰς πολλαχοθεν μετεκβαίνων ἐστὲ τῇ ἡ ἑρᾶς τοῖς ἐπιβάταις ἤι καὶ πολλοὺς ἐφόνευν· εἶ δὲ καὶ καθ' ὅτιον ἑλαττοῖτο, ῥάστα ἀνεχόμεθα, ὡστε ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὴν πλεονεξίαν

43 ἀεὶ εἰναι. οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι μήτε τοξεῖα χρώμενοι, μήτε λίθοις,4 ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτῶν δεσαύμενοι, προπαρασκευάσαντες, εἰ μὲν τής σφισις ὁμόσε ἐχώρησις, τρόπον τινὰ ἀπεμάχοντο, τοὺς δὲ θλίγον σφῶν ἀφεστηκότας όυκ ἔχον ὅ τι ποιῆσωσιν.

2 αὐτοὶ τε οὐν ἐτιρώσκουσι καὶ ἄπεθυνσόκα καὶ οἱ μηδὲ ἀμύνασθαι τινα δυνάμενοι, καὶ τὰ σκάφη τὰ μὲν ἀνερρήγυντο ἐμβαλλόμενα τὰ δὲ κατεπίμπρατο ὑφαπτόμενα· ἄλλα ἀναδούμενα ὠσπερ

3 κενὰ ἀνδρῶν εἰλκέτο.5 ὀρώντες δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ λοιποὶ ἐπιβάται οἱ μὲν ἀπεκτίνωσαν σφας, μὴ καὶ ξώντες ἀλώσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐσ τὴν θύλασαν ἐξεπήδησον, ὡς καὶ δὲ ἐκέινης ἦτοι τῶν πολεμίων νεών ἐπιβησόμενοι ἡ πάντως γε οὐχ 7 υπὸ τῶν Ἐρωμαίων ἀπολούμενοι.

4 προδυμία μὲν γὰρ καὶ τόλμη οὐδὲν αὐτῶν διέφερον, τῷ δὲ δὴ σταδίῳ τῶν σκαφῶν προδιδόμενοι δεινῶς

1 διεκπλέω v. Herw., διαπλέω L.
2 πρὸς ἴσα supplied by Rk.
3 εἴ τῇ . . . προσφερτῶτα Rk., εἴ τῇ προσήρατό L.
4 λίθουs R. Steph., λίθοι L.
5 ἀνερρήγυντο, κατεπίμπρατο, εἰλκέτο St., ἀνερρήγυντο, κατεπίμπρατο, εἰλκέτο L.
6 ἀναδούμενα Rk., ἀναδούμενα L. 7 οὐχ added by Bk.
BOOK XXXIX

attacks, now ramming one of them, now backing water, in whatever way and as often as he liked, sometimes with many vessels against one and again with equal numbers opposed, occasionally even approaching safely with a few against many. At whatever point he was superior to them in . . . he stuck to them closely; he sank some by ripping them open, and boarding others from all sides, he engaged in a hand-to-hand conflict with the crews and slew many. If he found himself inferior anywhere, he very easily retired, so that the advantage rested with him in any case. For the barbarians did not use archery and had not provided themselves beforehand with stones, not expecting to have any need of them; hence, if any one came into close quarters with them; they fought him off after a fashion, but with those who stood at a little distance from them they knew not how to cope. So the men were being wounded and killed, even those who were unable to repel any one, while the boats were in some cases rammed and ripped open, in other cases were set on fire and burned; still others were towed away, as if empty of men. When the remaining crews saw this, some killed themselves to avoid being captured alive and others leaped into the sea with the idea that they would thus either board the hostile ships or in any event not perish at the hands of the Romans. For in zeal and daring they were not at all behind their opponents, but they were terribly angry at finding themselves betrayed by the sluggishness of
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ησχαλλον. ὅπως γὰρ δὴ μηδ' αὐθίς ποτε πνεύμα
tι ταῖς ναυσίν ἐπιγενόμενον κινήσειν αὐτῶς, δο-
ρυδρέπανα πόρρωθεν σφίσιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπέφερον,
καὶ τὰ τε σχοινία αὐτῶν διέτεμαν καὶ τὰ ἱστία
5 διέσχιζον. πεζομαχεῖν δὲ τρόπον τινά ἐν πλοίοις
πρὸς ναυμαχοῦντας ἀναγκαζόμενοι πάμπολλοι μὲν
αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἐφθάρησαν, πάντες δὲ οἱ περιλυτεῖς
ἐάλωσαν καὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς λογιμωτάτους ὁ Καίσαρ
ἀποσφάξας τοὺς ἄλλους ἔπωλησε.

44 Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τε Μωρίνους καὶ ἐπὶ Με-
ναπίους ὀμόροις σφίσιν ὄντας ἐστράτευσε, προσ-
καταπλήξεις τε αὑτοὺς ἐκ τῶν προκατειργασμένων
καὶ ῥαδίως αἱρήσεις ἐλπίσας. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔχει-
2 ρώσατο τινάς. οὔτε γὰρ πόλεις ἔχοντες ἀλλὰ ἐν
καλύβαις διαιτῶμεν, καὶ τὰ τιμωτάτα ἐς τὰ
λασιώτατα τῶν ὄρων ἀνασχενασμένους, πολὺ
πλεῖον τούς προσμίζαντας σφίσι τῶν Ῥωμαίων
ἐκάκωσαν ἡ αὐτὸς ἐπαθὼν. ἐπεχείρησε μὲν γὰρ ὁ
Καίσαρ καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ ὅρη τὴν ὕλην τέμνων προ-
χωρῆσαι, ἀπειπῶν δὲ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῶν καὶ
diὰ τὸ πρὸς χειμῶνα εἶναι ἀπανέστη.

45 Ἐτι δ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Οὐκενετίᾳ ὄντος Κύντως
Τιτουρίῳ Σαβίνου ὑποστράτηγος τε ἐστάλη ἐπὶ
Οὐνέαλλους,1 ὃν ἦγεῖτο Οὐριδουῖξ,2 καὶ τὰ μὲν
πρῶτα καὶ πάνω τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν κατεπλάγη,
2 ὡστ' ἄγαπᾶν ἄν τὸ γε 3 ἔρμα διασώσηται, ἐπειτὰ
de αἰσθόμενος σφας θρασύτερον μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦτον
diακειμένους, οὐ μὴν καὶ τὸ ἔργο δεινοῦ ὄντας,
ολὰ που οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς

1 Οὐνέαλλους Βα., οὐνεσιλοῦς Λ.
2 Οὐριδουῖξ Ρ. Στεφ., ἰδουῖξ Λ.
3 ὡστ' ἄγαπᾶν ἄν τὸ γε Στ., ὡστ' ἄγαπᾶν εἶ τὸ Λευκ., ὡς τὰ
πάντωτο Λ.

372
their vessels. The Romans, to make sure that the wind when it sprang up again should not move the ships, employed from a distance long poles fitted with knives, by means of which they cut the ropes and split the sails. And since the barbarians were compelled to fight in their boats as if on land, while the foe could use his ships as at sea, great numbers perished then and there, and all the remainder were captured. Of these Caesar slew the most prominent and sold the rest.

Next he made a campaign against the Morini and Menapii, their neighbours, hoping to terrify them by what he had already accomplished and capture them easily. He failed, however, to subdue any of them; for having no cities, and living only in huts, they conveyed their chief treasures to the most densely wooded parts of the mountains, so that they did the attacking parties of the Romans much more harm than they themselves suffered. Caesar attempted by cutting down the forests to make his way into the mountains themselves, but renounced his plan on account of their size and the nearness of winter, and retired.

While he was still among the Veneti, Quintus Titurius Sabinus, his lieutenant, was dispatched against the Venelli [Unelli], whose leader was Viridovix. At first he was greatly terrified at their numbers and would have been satisfied if only he could save the camp, but later he perceived that though this advantage made them bolder, they were not really dangerous, and he accordingly took courage. Most barbarians, in fact, in their threats make all
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

πάν το φοβεροῦ διὰ κενῆς ἐπικομποῦσιν, ἀνεθάρσησε. καὶ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς οὐδ’ οὕτως ἐτόλμησε σφισὶ συνενεχῆναι (τῷ γὰρ πλήθει πολὺ
3 κατείγρετο), πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸ τάφρεμα τὸ ἐαυτοῦ μετέώρου1 τοῦ χωρίου ὄντος ὑπηγάγετο αὐτοῦς ἀπερισκέπτως προσβαλεῖν τῶν γὰρ συμμάχων 
τινὰ ὀμοφωνοῦντά σφισιν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐσπέραν ὡς αὐτόμολον πέμψας, ἐπεισεν αὐτοὺς ὅτι ὦ τε Καὶ-
4 σαρ ἐπταϊκῶς εἴη . . . καὶ οὕτω2 πιστεύσαντες ἀπερισκέπτως ἐκεῖνοι (πάνυ γὰρ τι3 διακορεῖς καὶ 
τῆς τροφῆς καὶ τοῦ ποτοῦ ἦσαν) εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, μὴ καὶ φθάσω σφας φυγόντες, 
ὦρμησαν, καὶ ἔδει γὰρ μὴδὲ πυρφόρον τῷ λόγῳ 
ἀυτῶν σωθῆναι, φρύγανα καὶ ξύλα τὰ μὲν ἀρά-
μενοι τὰ δὲ ἐφελκόμενοι ὡς καὶ καταπρόσκυντες
5 αὐτοὺς, πρὸς τε τὸ ὄρθιον προσέβαλον καὶ σπουδὴ 
προσανέβαινον, μηδενὸς σφισὶν ἐναντιουμένον. ὁ 
γὰρ Σαβίνος οὔκ ἐκνήθη πρῶς ἐντὸς τῆς ἐπικρα-
τεῖας αὐτοῦ τοὺς πλέιους αὐτῶν γενέσθαι. τότε 
δὲ ἐπικατέδραμε σφισὶν ἀπανταχόθεν ἀμα ἀπροσ-
δόκητος, καὶ τοὺς πρῶτοι ἐκπλήξας κατήραξε
6 κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς ἀπαντας, κάνταυθα αὐτοὺς ἐν 
τῇ ἀναστροφῇ περί τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ περὶ τοῖς 
ξύλοις4 σφαλλομένους κατέκοψεν οὕτως ὡστε
7 μηδένα αὐτῶν μηδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐτ’ ἀντάραι. ἀπλη-
στοι γὰρ ἀλογίστως οἱ Γαλάται ἔσ πάνθ’ ὀροῖς 
ὀντες οὔτε τὸ θαρσοῦν σφων οὔτε τὸ δεδίος μετριά-
ζουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τε τοῦτο5 πρὸς δειλίαν ἀνέλ-

1 μετέῳρον Reim., ἡ μετεῳρόν L.
2 οὕτω R. Steph., οὕτως L.
3 τι Bk., τοι L.
4 ξύλοις Rk., ξυλίνοις L.
5 τοῦτο Rk., τοῦ L.
sorts of terrible boasts that are without foundation. Nevertheless he did not venture to fight openly with them even then, as he was seriously hampered by their great numbers; but he induced them to make a reckless assault upon his camp, although it was on high ground. He did this by sending out towards evening, in the guise of a deserter, one of his allies who spoke their language, and thus persuaded them that Caesar had met with reverses... Trusting this report, they straightway started out heedlessly against the Romans, being gorged with food and drink, in the fear that they might flee before their arrival. Moreover, since it was their avowed purpose that not a single soul¹ should escape, they carried along fagots and dragged logs after them with the intention of burning the enemy alive. Thus they made their attack up-hill and came climbing up eagerly, meeting with no resistance. Sabinus did not move until the most of them were within his reach. Then he charged down upon them unexpectedly from all sides at once, and terrifying those in front, he dashed them all headlong down the hill, and while they were tumbling over one another and the logs in their retreat, he cut them to pieces so thoroughly that none of them or even of the others rose against him again. For the Gauls, who are unreasonably insatiate in all their passions, know no moderation in either courage or fear, but plunge

¹ Literally "not even the fire-bearer." This was a proverbial expression (cf. Herodotus viii, 6), based on the Spartan custom which required the presence in their army of a priest carrying a lamp lighted at the shrine of Zeus in Sparta; as this flame was never to be extinguished, the priest would naturally be guarded most carefully so long as any others survived.
Τπο δέ δή τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας καὶ ὁ Κράσσος ὁ Πούπλιος, τοῦ Κράσσου τοῦ Μάρκου παῖς, τὴν Ἀκυτανίαν ὀλγοῦ πᾶσαν κατεστρέψατο. Γαλάται γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὄντες ἐς τὴν Κελτικήν προσοικοῦσι καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Πυρηναῖον εἰς τὸν ὁκεανὸν καθήκουσιν. ἔπ᾽ οὖν τούτους ὁ Κράσσος στρατεύσας Σωτιάτας τε μάχη ἐκράτησε καὶ πολιορκία εἶλεν, ὀλγοὺς μὲν ἐν ὠμολογίᾳ των εἰς ἀπάτης ἀποβαλὼν, ἱσχυρὸς δὲ σφας καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτων ἀμυνάμενος 4 καὶ ἔτερους τινὰς ὅπως ἠθροισμένους τε καὶ στρατιώτας ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας Σερτωρίειους 5 ἔχοντας, καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτών στρατηγικώτερον ἢ προπετέστερον τῷ πολέμῳ χρωμένους, ὡς καὶ τῇ ἀπορίᾳ τῶν τροφῶν δι᾽ ὀλγοῦ σφῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐκχωρησάντων, προσποιήσατο τε αὐτοὺς δεδεῖναι, καὶ καταφρονηθεὶς ὦν υπογάγετο μὲν οὐδὲν ὃς ἐς χείρας οἱ ἔλθείν, ἀδειὸς δὲ ἐς ύστερου ἔχουσι σφαιρικοῦ προσέβαλεν ἐξαίφνης ἀνεπίστοσος. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἦ προσέμεξεν οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο (ἐπεκδραμότερος γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι ἰσχυρός ἡμύνοντο), ἐνταῦθα δὲ δή τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῖς οὐσίς περιέπεμψε τινὰς ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ στρατοπέδου σφῶν, καὶ τούτο τε ἔρρημον ἀνδρῶν κατέσχεν, καὶ τοῖς μαχομένοις δι᾽ αὐτοῦ κατὰ νότου ἐπεγένετο. καὶ οὔτως ἔκεινοι τε πάντες ἐφθάσαν, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πλὴν ὀλγῶν ἀκοντί ὠμολογήσαν.

1 Κελτική R. Steph., βελτική L. 2 Σωτιάτας Fabric., ἀπιάτας L. 3 εἰς ἀπάτης Xyl., ἐξαπάτης L. 4 ἀμυνόμενος Bk., ἀμυνόμενος L. 5 Σερτωρίειους Xyl.; σερτωρίους L. 6 κατέσχεν Bk., κατέσχον L.

376
BOOK XXXIX

from the one into hopeless cowardice and from the other into headstrong audacity.

About the same time Publius Crassus, the son of Marcus Crassus, subjugated nearly all of Aquitania. The people are themselves Gauls, and dwell next to Celtica, and their territory extends right along the Pyrenees to the ocean. Making a campaign, now, against these, Crassus conquered the Sotiates in battle and captured them by siege. He lost a few men, to be sure, by treachery in the course of a parley, but punished the enemy severely for this. On seeing some others who had banded together along with soldiers of Sertorius from Spain and were carrying on the war with skill, and not recklessly, since they believed that the Romans through lack of supplies would soon abandon the country, he pretended to be afraid of them. But although he incurred their contempt, he did not even then draw them into a conflict with him; and so, while they were feeling secure with regard to the future, he attacked them suddenly and unexpectedly. At the point where he met them he accomplished nothing, because the barbarians rushed out and repelled him vigorously; but while their main force was there, he sent some men around to the other side of their camp, got possession of this, which was destitute of men, and passing through it took the fighters in the rear. In this way they were all annihilated, and the rest with the exception of a few made terms without any contest.
TAUTA MEn EN TOB THEBEI EPRÁXHIDI, XEIMAZONTOWN DE TON 'ROMAION EN TIN FILIA TÉKHTHORI TE KAL OÝSIPTHAEI, KELTIKA GÉNH, TO MÉN TI KAI PROS SOUHÉWON έKBEIÁSTHENTES TO² DE KAI PROS TON Galatón ÉPIKLETHENTES, TON TE RHMON DÍEBHSAV 2 KAI ÉS TIN TON TRHONHÁWN 3 ÉNÉBAŁON. KÁNTAÍTHA TON KÁSARAA EÚROINTES KAI FOBIÁSTHENTES ÉPEMVAN PROS AUTÓU SPONDAIÀ TES POIOUMENOU KAI KÓRAN AIOTEÜNTES, Η SFIΣI GE ÉPITRAPHNHAI TNA ÁZIOÜNTES LABEIN. ÓS D' OÚDEVOS ÉTOUCH, TO MÉN PROHTON ËTHELOINTAI 4 OIKADE ÉPAVNHÉIN ÝPÉSCHONTA KAI DIO-

3 KOWKHN ᾨΤHÁNTO. ÉPEINTA DE HIPPEAS AUTÓU ÓLHÓUS PROSOIANTAS IDÓNTES ÓI EN TIN ÓLMIA SFOV ÓNTES KATEFROHSHÁN TES AUTÓON KAI METENMOSAN, KAK 5 TOUFTON ÉPIXHONTES TINH POREIAS 6 EKEI NóUS TES MHI PROSOXHOMÉNOUS ÉKAKOSAN, KAI ÉPATRÉINTES ÉPÎ TOUFTON EÛXHONTA TOU TOLÉMOU. KAI AUTÓN OI Pré-

48 TOUFTON OI PRE-

SBÁTEROI KATAKHINTES PROS TON KÁSARA KAI PARA TIN GNOΜH SFOV ÓLHOU, KAI ËDÉONTO AUTÓU SYNHYNÚNAI SFIΣI, TINH AITIAN ÓS ÓLHÓUS TREPANTES. O D' TOUFTON 7 MÉN ÓS KAI AÝKROISIN TINH AUTÔIS

2 OUKÉS MAKRAPÁN DÓSWON KATEXHÉN, ÓRMHSHAS DÉ EPTI TOUZ ALLOUS ÉN TAIS SKHNÁIS ÓNTHAS ÉPESTH TÉ SFIΣI MÉSUNMBRIÁZOUSI KAI MHTÉN TOLÉMOUN, ÁTE EKEI NóU PAIR AUTÔD ÓNTHON, ÝPOTÓPOSENÓUSI, KAI ÉSTMHSHAS ÉS AUTÁS PAMPLHΘHES TÔN PËZON, OÙDÈ TÁ ÏPLA ANELÉSΘAI THÓSAINTAS, ALLÁ KAI PÆRÌ 8 TAIS AMÁZHAI ÝPTÔ TÔN GUNAIKION KAI ÝPTÔ TÔN
BOOK XXXIX

This was the work of the summer. But when the Romans were in winter quarters in friendly territory, the Tencteri and Usipetes, German tribes, partly because they were forced out from their homes by the Suebi and partly because they were invited over by the Gauls, crossed the Rhine and invaded the country of the Treveri. Finding Caesar there, they became afraid and sent to him to make a truce, and to ask for land or at least the permission to take some. When they could obtain nothing, they at first promised voluntarily to return to their homes and requested an armistice. Later their young men, seeing a few horsemen of his approaching, despised them and changed their mind; thereupon they stopped their journey, harassed the small detachment, which was not expecting anything of the sort, and elated over this success, entered upon war. Their elders, condemning their action, came to Caesar contrary to their advice and asked him to pardon them, laying the responsibility upon a few. He detained these emissaries with the assurance that he would give them an answer before long, and setting out against the other members of the tribe, who were in their tents, he came upon them as they were taking their noonday rest and expecting no hostile move, inasmuch as their elders were with him. Rushing into the tents, he found great numbers of infantrymen who had not time even to pick up their weapons, and he cut them down amid the waggonas where they were embarrassed by the presence of the women and the children scattered
 Dio's Roman History

παίδων ἀναμιξόντων ταραττομένους, κατεφόνευσε. 3 τοὺς τε ἵππεας ἀπόντας τότε, καὶ παραχρῆμα, ὡς ἐπόθυνο τὸ γεγονός, πρὸς τε τὰ οἰκεῖα ἡθη ὀρμήσαντας καὶ πρὸς Συγάμβρους ἀποχωρήσαντας, πέμψας ἔξητησεν, ὅπι τι καὶ ἐκδοθῆσθαι σφας προσεδόκησεν (οὗ γὰρ ποὺ οὖτως οἱ πέραν τοῦ Ῥήνου τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔφοβοῦντο ὡστε καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα αὐτῶν ἀκούειν), ἀλλ’ ὅπως ἐπὶ τῇ προ-

4 φάσει ταύτη καὶ ἐκείνου διαβαίη. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ὁ μηδές ποι πρότερον τῶν ὁμοίων οἱ ἐπεποίηκεν, δεινῶς πρᾶξα τε ἐγλύκετο, καὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς πόρῳ ρωθεῖν ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας ἀνείρξεν, ἀτε καὶ ἐσ τὴν οἰκείαν αὐτῶν ἐσβαλων, προσεδόκησεν. ός οὕν ὁ ὅτε οἱ ἵππης ἐξεδίδοντο, καὶ οἱ Οὐβιοὶ ὁμοροὶ τοῖς Συγάμβροις ἀκούστες καὶ διάφοροι αὐτοῖς ὀντες ἐπεκαλέσαντο αὐτόν, διέβη μὲν τὸν ποταμὸν

5 γεφυρώσας, εὑρὼν δὲ τοὺς τε Συγάμβρους ἐτὰ ἑρυμινὰ ἀνακεκομμομένους καὶ τοὺς Σονῆβους συστρεφομένους ὡς καὶ βοηθῆσοντας σφισίν ἀνεχόμησαν εὔτος ἡμερῶν εἰκοσιν.

49 Ὁ δὲ ὁ Ῥήνος ἀναδίδωσι μὲν ἐκ τῶν Ἀλπεων τῶν Κελτικῶν, ὁλίγον ἐξε τῆς Ραιτίας, προχωρῶν δὲ ἐπὶ δυσμῶν ἐν ἀριστερὰ μὲν τὴν τε Γαλατίαν καὶ τοὺς ἐποικοῦντας αὐτήν, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἀποτέμνεται, καὶ τελευτῶν ἐς τὸν ὁκέαν

2 νὸν ἐμβάλλει. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ ὄρος, ἀφ᾿ οὗ γε καὶ ἐς τὸ διάφορον τῶν ἐπικλησεων ἀφίκοντο, δεύρο ἀει νομίζεται, ἐπεὶ τὸ γε πάνω ἄρχαίον Κελτοῖ.
promiscuously about. The cavalry was absent at the time, but as soon as they learned of the occurrence, they immediately set out for their homes and retired among the Sugambri. He sent and demanded their surrender, not because he expected them to be given up, since the people beyond the Rhine were not so afraid of the Romans as to listen to anything of the sort, but in order that on this excuse he might cross that river also. For he was exceedingly anxious on his own part to do something that no one of his predecessors had ever equalled, and he also expected to keep the Germans\(^1\) at a distance from Gaul by invading their territory. When, therefore, the horsemen were not given up, and the Ubii, who dwelt alongside the Sugambri and who were at variance with them, invoked his aid, he crossed the river by bridging it. But on finding that the Sugambri had betaken themselves into their strongholds and that the Suebi were gathering to come to their aid, he retired within twenty days.

The Rhine issues from the Celtic Alps, a little outside of Rhaetia, and proceeding westward, bounds Gaul and its inhabitants on the left, and the Germans\(^1\) on the right, and finally empties into the ocean. This river has always down to the present time been considered the boundary, ever since these tribes gained their different names; for very anciently

\(^{1}\) Literally Celts; see note on p. 269.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

έκατεροι οἱ ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ οἰκοῦντες ἀνομάζοντο.

50 Ὅ οὖν Καῖσαρ τὸν τε Ῥήγου πρῶτος τότε Ῥωμαίων διέβη, καὶ ἐς Βρεττάνιαν μετὰ ταῦτα, τοῦ τε Πομπηίου καὶ τοῦ Κράσσου ὑπατεύοντων, ἡ δὲ δὴ χώρα αὐτῇ ἀπέχει 1 μὲν τῆς ἡπείρου τῆς Βελγίκης 2 κατὰ Μωρίνους σταδίους πεντήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίως τοῦ συντομῶτατον, παρήκει δὲ παρὰ τε τὴν λοιπὴν Γαλατίαν καὶ παρὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ὄλγων πᾶσαν, ἐς τὸ 3 πέλαγος ἀνατείνουσα. καὶ τοῖς μὲν πάνω πρῶτοι καὶ Ἑλλήνως καὶ Ῥωμαίων οὐδ’ ὅτι ἔστιν ἐγκυρωσκετο, τοῖς δὲ ἐπείτα ἐκ ἀμφισβήτησιν εἶτε ἡπείρος εἶτε καὶ νῆσος εἰς ἀφίκετο καὶ πολλοῖς ἐφ’ ἐκάτερον, εἴδοσι μὲν οὐδὲν ἀμὴ διά ταῦτας μήτ’ αὐτής κόοις τῶν ἐπιχωρίων γενομένως, τεκμαιρομένως δὲ ὅς έκαστοι 4 σχολὴς ἢ καὶ φιλολογίας εἶχον, ἐν συγγέγραται. προὶ προίς προτερόν τε ἐπ’ Ἀγρικόλου ἄντιστρατηγὸν καὶ νῦν ἔπι Σεοῦρου αὐτοκράτορος νῆσος οὖσα σαφῶς ἐλήμενται.

51 Ἐς ταῦτην οὖν τότε ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἑπεδίδῃ τὰ τε ἀλλα τῶν Γαλατῶν ἡσύχαζε καὶ τοὺς Μωρίνους προσεποίησατο, ἐπεθύμησε διαβῆναι. καὶ τὸν μὲν διάσπλον καὶ δ’ ὅ μάλλον ἐρχὴν μετὰ τῶν πεζῶν ἐπησάτο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐδίκη προσέσχεν οἱ γὰρ Βρεττανοὶ τὸν ἐπίπλουν αὐτοῦ προπύθο- μενοι τὰς κατάρσεις ἀπάσας τὰς πρὸς τῆς ἡπείρου οὖσας προκατέλαβον. ἀκραν οὖν τινα προέχουσαν

1 ἀπέχει Xyl. (and Xiph.), ἔχει L.
2 Βελγικῆς Leuncl., βελτικῆς L. 3 ἐς τὸ Xyl., ἐς τὸ L.
4 έκαστοι R. Steph., έκαστοις L.

382
both peoples dwelling on either side of the river were called Celts.

Caesar, then, at this time was the first of the Romans to cross the Rhine, and later, in the consulship of Pompey and Crassus, he crossed over to Britain. This country is sixty miles distant, by the shortest way, from the Belgic mainland, where the Morini dwell, and extends alongside the rest of Gaul and nearly all of Spain, reaching out into the sea. To the very earliest of the Greeks and Romans it was not even known to exist, while to their descendants it was a matter of dispute whether it was a continent or an island; and accounts of it have been written from both points of view by many who knew nothing about it, because they had not seen it with their own eyes nor heard about it from the natives with their own ears, but indulged in surmises according to the scholarly sect or the branch of learning to which they severally belonged. In the lapse of time, however, it has been clearly proved to be an island, first under Agricola, the propraetor, and now under the emperor Severus.

To this land, then, Caesar desired to cross, now that he had won over the Morini and the rest of Gaul was quiet. He made the passage with the infantry by the most desirable course, but did not select the best landing-place; for the Britons, apprised beforehand of his voyage, had secured all the landings on the coast facing the mainland. Accordingly, he sailed around a certain projecting headland, coasted

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1 Literally 450 stades; cf. note on p. 237. It is interesting to compare Caesar's estimate (B. G. v. 2, 3) of thirty miles.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

περιπλεύσας ἔτερωσε παρεκομίσθη· κάνταυθα τοὺς προσμέσαντάς, ὦς τὰ τενάγη ἀποβάϊνοντι νικήσας, ἐφθη τῆς ρήγας κρατήσας πρὸν τὴν πλείω συμβούλειαν ἑλθείν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐκεῖνος
3 προσβαλόντας ἀπεώσατο. καὶ ἔπιπτον μὲν οὐ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων (ἀρματηλάται τε γὰρ οὖτες καὶ ἱππῆς ῥαδίως τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, μηδέπω τοῦ ἑπτικοῦ αὐτοῖς παρόντος, διέφυγον), ἐκπλαγέντες δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἥπειρου περὶ αὐτῶν ἀγγελλόμενα, καὶ ὁτι περαιωθηναι τε ὀλως ἐτόλμησαν καὶ ἐπιβήναι τῆς χώρας ἡδυνήθησαν, πέμπονσι πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα τῶν Ἱωρίνων τινάς, φίλων σφίσων ὄντων, ἐπικηρυκεύομενοι. καὶ τότε μὲν
52 ὀμήρους αἰτήσαντι αὐτῷ δοῦναι ἠθέλησαν, πονησάντων δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπὸ χειμῶνος καὶ τῷ παρόντι ναυτικῷ καὶ τῷ ἀφικνουμένῳ καὶ μετέχωσαν, καὶ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς οὐκ ἐπεθεντο αὐτοῖς (τὸ γὰρ στρατόπεδον ἰσχυρῶς ἔφυθεν).
2 λάσσετο), δεξαμενοὶ δὲ τινάς ὅς καὶ ἔς φιλίαν τὴν χώραν σφών πρὸς κομίδην τῶν ἐπιτηδείας πεμφθέντας, αὐτοῦς 1 τε πλὴν ὀλίγων ἐφθειράν (ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ διὰ ταχέως τοῖς λουποῖς ἐπήμυνε) καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ἔρμα αὐτῶν προσεβαλον. καὶ ἔστραξαν μὲν οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κακῶς ἀπήλλαξαν οὐ μὲντοι καὶ ἐς ῥυμολογίαν ἠθῆνον
3 πρὸν πολλάκις σφαλήται. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Καίσαρ ἀλλωσ μὲν οὐκ ἐχει γνώμην σπείρασθαι σφίσω ἐπει δὲ ὁ τε χειμῶν προσήκει, καὶ οὐκ ἵκανήν τὴν παρούσαν δύναμιν περιεβέβλητο ὡστε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ πολεμῆσαι, ὡς το κομίζομέν ἐξοεῖτο καὶ οἱ Γαλάται πρὸς τὴν ἀποστολήν αὐτοῦ ἐνεωτέρισαν,

1 αὐτοῦς Leuncl., τοὺς L.
BOOK XXXIX

along on the other side of it, and disembarking there in the shoals, conquered those who joined battle with him and gained a footing on dry land before more numerous assistance could come, after which he repulsed this attack also. Not many of the barbarians fell, for their forces consisted of chariot-drivers and cavalry and so easily escaped the Romans whose cavalry had not yet arrived; but alarmed at the reports about them from the mainland and because they had dared to cross at all and had managed to set foot upon the land, they sent to Caesar some of the Morini, who were friends of theirs, to see about terms of peace. Upon his demanding hostages, they were willing at the time to give them; but when the Romans in the meantime began to encounter difficulties by reason of a storm which damaged both the fleet that was present and also the one on the way, they changed their minds, and though not attacking the invaders openly, since their camp was strongly guarded, they took some men who had been sent out to forage for provisions on the assumption that the country was friendly, and destroyed them all, save a few, to whose rescue Caesar came in haste. After that they assaulted the camp itself of the Romans. Here they accomplished nothing, but fared badly; they would not make terms, however, until they had been defeated many times. Indeed, Caesar would have had no thought of making peace with them at all, except that the winter was approaching and that he was not equipped with a sufficient force to continue fighting at that season, since the additional force coming to his aid had met with mishap, and also that the Gauls in view of his absence had begun an uprising; so he

385
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

καὶ ἄκων αὐτοῖς συνηλλάγη, ὀμήρους καὶ τότε πλείους αὐτήσας μέν, λαβὼν δὲ ὄλγους.

53 Καὶ οὐ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἥπειρον ἀναπλεύσας τὰ ταραχθέντα καθίστατο, μηδὲν ἕκ τῆς Βρεττανίας μήτε ἐαυτῷ μῆτε τῇ πόλει προσκτησάμενος πλῆν τοῦ ἐστρατευκέναι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δόξαι. τὸύτῳ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἰσχυρώς ἑσμενύνετο καὶ οἱ οἶκοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἡθοπαθῶς ἐμεγαλύνουντο. ἐμφανὴ τε γὰρ τὰ πρὶν ἀγνωστα καὶ ἑπιβατὰ τὰ πρόσθεν ἄνήκουστα ὅρωντες σφοιγ γεγονότα, τὴν τε μέλλουσαν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐλπίδα ὡς καὶ παροῦσαν ἐργῷ ἑλάμβανον, καὶ πάνθε σα καταπράξεις προσεδέχοντο ὡς καὶ ἔχουσες ἡδὴ ἥγαλλοντο.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν διὰ ταύτα ἱερομνήσια ἐπὶ εἰκοσιν

54 ἡμέρας ἀγαγείν ἐφηψάνατο· ἐν δὲ ἐκείνα εἰγέγυντο, καὶ ἡ Ἰβηρία ἐκκινήθη, διὸ καὶ τῷ Πομπηῖ φροστάχθη. ἐπαναστάντες γὰρ τινες καὶ Ὄουκεκαίους προστησάμενοι μάχῃ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Νέπωτος τοῦ Μετέλλου, ἀπαράσκευοι ἔτ' ὃντες, ἡττήθησαν, πολυβορκοῦντες δ' αὐτῶ Κλυνίαν ἐπελθόντες ἀμείνουσ εἰκόνοντο, καὶ ἐκείνη μὲν περιποιήσαντο, ἐτέρωθε δὲ ἐσφάλλησαν, οὐ μὴν ὡς ταῦτα καὶ δ' ὀλίγου δουλωθήναι. τῷ γὰρ πλήθει πολὺ τῶν ἐναντίων περιῆσαν, ὡς τοῦ Νέπωτος ἀγαθῶν ἀν τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀκινδύνως ἄγη.

55 Κατὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦ αὐτῶν τοῦτον χρόνον καὶ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος, καίτοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν τε ἐπικουρίαν ἀπεφησμένων καὶ πρὸς τὰς δωροδοκίας τὰς ὑπ' αὐτῶν γενομένας δεινῶς ἔτι καὶ τότε δια-

1 μηδὲν Leuncl., μηδὲν μήτε L. 2 αὐτός Leuncl., αὐτὰς L. 3 καταπράξεισ R. Steph., καταπράξειν L. 4 ἐπαναστάντες Bk., προσαναστάντες L. 5 ὑπ' St., ἀπ' L.
BOOK XXXIX

reluctantly concluded a truce with them, demanding many hostages this time also, but obtaining only a few.

So he sailed back to the mainland and put an end to the disturbances. From Britain he had won nothing for himself or for the state except the glory of having conducted an expedition against its inhabitants; but on this he prided himself greatly and the Romans at home likewise magnified it to a remarkable degree. For seeing that the formerly unknown had become certain and the previously unheard-of accessible, they regarded the hope for the future inspired by these facts as already actually realized and exulted over their expected acquisitions as if they were already within their grasp; hence they voted to celebrate a thanksgiving for twenty days.

While this was taking place there was an uprising in Spain, which was consequently assigned to Pompey's care. Some tribes had revolted and put themselves under the leadership of the Vaccaei. While still unprepared they were conquered by Metellus Nepos, but as he was besieging Clunia they assailed him, proved themselves his superiors, and won back the city; elsewhere they were defeated, though not sufficiently to cause their early enslavement. In fact, they so far surpassed their opponents in numbers that Nepos was glad to remain quiet and not run any risks.

About this same time Ptolemy, although the Romans had voted not to assist him and were even now highly indignant at the bribery he had
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

κειμένων, κατήχηθη καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔκομισατο. 2 ἔπραξαν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ τε Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Γαβίνιος· τοσοῦτον γὰρ αἱ τε δυναστείαι καὶ αἱ τῶν χρημάτων περιουσίαι καὶ παρὰ τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ τε 3 τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἱσχύσαν, ὡστε ἐπιστείλας μὲν ὁ Πομπήιος τῷ Γαβίνῳ τῆς Συρίας τότε ἄρχοντι, στρατεύσας δὲ ἐκεῖνος, ὀ μὲν τῇ χάριτι ὁ δὲ τῇ δωροληψίᾳ καὶ ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τοῦ κοινοῦ κατήγαγον, μηδὲν μήτε ἐκείνου μήτε 4 τῶν τῆς Σιβύλλης χρησμῶν φροντίσαντες. καὶ ἐκρίθη μὲν ὕστερον ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ ὁ Γαβίνιος, οὕτω ἐάλω δὲ διὰ τοῦ Πομπήιου καὶ διὰ τὰ χρήματα· οὔτω γὰρ πού τὰ πράγματα τοῖς τότε Ῥωμαίοις συνεκέχυτο 1 ὡστε ἄπω τολλῶν ὄν ἐνδοροδόκησε σμικρὰ ἂττα τῶν τοῦ ἄρχοντων τινές καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν παρ’ αὐτῶν λαβόντες οὔτε τοῦ προσήκους τι προετίμησαν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους κακοργεῖν ὑπὲρ 2 χρημάτων ἐξεδίδασαν ὅς καὶ 5 τὴν τιμωρίαν βαδίως ἐξονείσθαι δυναμένους. τότε μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα ἄφειθη, αὐθεὶς δὲ ἐπὶ τε ἐτέρως τισί, καὶ οὐ πλέον ἡ μυρία ἐκ τῆς ἄρχης μυριάδας ἤρπασε, κριθεὶς ἐάλω. καὶ ἐκείνῳ τε τούτῳ παραδοξότατον συνέβη (τῆς τε γὰρ προτέρας δίκης διὰ τὰ χρήματα ἀπελύθη, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου δι’ 6 ἐκείνην ὅτι μάλιστα κατεδικάσθη 3) καὶ τῷ Πομπήιῳ, ὅτι τὸ μὲν πρότερον, καὶ τοῖς πόρρῳ ποὺ ὄν, ἔρρυσατο τὸν Γαβίνιον διὰ τῶν ἐταίρων, τότε δὲ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ὃν καὶ τρόπον τινά καὶ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ αὐτῷ παρὼν οὐδὲν ἤμυνεν.

1 συνεκέχυτο Oddey, συνέχυτο L. 2 ὑπὲρ Rk., ὑπὸ L. 3 κατεδικάσθη Rk., ἐδικάσθη L.
employed, was nevertheless restored and got back his kingdom. Pompey and Gabinius accomplished this. So much power had official authority and abundant wealth as against the decrees of both the people and the senate, that when Pompey sent orders to Gabinius, then governor of Syria, and the latter made a campaign, the one acting out of kindness and the other as the result of a bribe, they restored the king contrary to the wish of the state, paying no heed either to it or to the oracles of the Sibyl. Gabinius was later brought to trial for this, but on account of Pompey's influence and the money at his command was not convicted. To such a state of confusion had affairs come with the Romans of that day, that when some of the magistrates and jurymen received from him but a very small part of the large bribes that he had received, they took no thought for their duty, and furthermore taught others to commit crimes for money, showing them that they could easily buy immunity from punishment. At this time, consequently, Gabinius was acquitted; but he was again brought to trial on some other charges—chiefly that he had plundered more than a hundred million [denarii] from the province—and was convicted. This was a matter of great surprise to him, seeing that by his wealth he had freed himself from the former suit, whereas he was now condemned for his wealth chiefly because of that suit. It was also a surprise to Pompey, because previously he had, through his friends, rescued Gabinius even at a distance, but now while in the suburbs of the city and, as you might say, in the very court-room, he accomplished nothing.
56 Ἐσχε δὲ ὅδε. ὁ Γαβῖνιος πολλὰ μὲν καὶ τὴν Συρίαν ἐκάκωσεν, ὡστε καὶ τῶν λῃστικῶν, ἀ καὶ τῶτε ἦκμαξε, πολὺ πλείω σφίσι λυμήνασθαι, πάντα δὲ δὴ τὰ αὐτὸθεν λήμματα ἐλάχιστα εἶναι νομίσας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔνοει 1 καὶ παρασκευάζετο ὃς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους τὸν τε πλούτου αὐτῶν 2 στρατεύσων. τοῦ γὰρ Φραάτου ὑπὸ τῶν παύδων δολοφονηθέντος 'Ορώδης τὴν τε βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ διεδέστατο, καὶ Μιθριδάτην τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκ τῆς Μηδίας, ἦς ἦρχεν, ἐξέβαλε. καὶ δὲ καταφυγὸν πρὸς τὸν Γαβῖνιον ἀνέπεισεν αὐτὸν συμπράξαι οἷ 3 τὴν κάθοδον. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ὁ Πτολεμαῖος μετὰ τῶν τοῦ Πομπηίου γραμμάτων ἦλθε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτῷ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῷ στρατῷ χρήματα τὰ μὲν ἢδη παρέξειν, τὰ δὲ ἢν καταχθῇ δώσειν ὑπέσχετο, τὰ τε τῶν Πάρθων εἰσακεὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτον 4 ὑπεῖχθη, καὶ περ ἀπαγορεύοντος μὲν τοῦ νόμου μὴτε ἐς τὴν ὑπεροχίαν τοὺς ἀρχοντὰς τινῶν ἀπο-. δημεῖν μὴτε πολέμους ἀφ’ ἑαυτῶν ἀναφεύγουσιν, ἀπειρηκότος δὲ καὶ τοῦ δῆμου τῆς τε Σιβύλλης μὴ καταχθήσαι τὸν ἄνδρα. ἀλλ’ ὅσο γὰρ ἐκεκώλυτο 5 ταύτα, τόσο πλεύονος αὐτὰ ἀπτημόπολεσε. κατα-. λυπῶν οὖν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ Σισέναν τε τὸν νῦν κομβήνεον ὀντα καὶ στρατιώτας μετ’ αὐτοῦ πάνω ὅλι-. γοὺς, τὴν μὲν ἀρχήν ἐφ’ ἢς ἔτετακε τοῖς λῃσταῖς 6 ἐτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξεδωκεν, αὐτός δὲ ἐς τὴν Παλαι-. στίνην ἐλθὼν τὸν τε Ἀριστόβουλον (διαδράσας γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ὑπετάρραπτέ τι) συνέλαβε καὶ τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἐπέμψε, καὶ φόρον τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐπέ-. ταξε, καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ καὶ ἐς τὴν Αἰγυπτον ἐνεβάλε.

1 ἔνδει Xyl., ἔνδει L.
This was the way of it. Gabinius had harried Syria in many ways, even to the point of inflicting far more injury upon the people than did the pirates, who were flourishing even then. Still, he regarded all his gains from that source as mere trifles and was at first planning and preparing to make a campaign against the Parthians and their wealth. Phraates, it seems, had been treacherously murdered by his sons, and Orodes after succeeding to the kingdom had expelled Mithridates, his brother, from Media, which he was governing. The latter took refuge with Gabinius and persuaded him to assist in his restoration. However, when Ptolemy came with Pompey's letter and promised that he would furnish large sums both to him and the army, some to be paid at once, and the rest when he should be restored, Gabinius abandoned the Parthian project and hastened to Egypt. This he did notwithstanding the law forbade governors to enter territory outside their own borders or to begin wars on their own responsibility, and although the people and the Sibyl had declared that the man should not be restored. But the only restraint these considerations imposed was to lead him to sell his assistance for a higher price. He left in Syria his son Sisenna, a mere boy, and a very few soldiers with him, thus exposing the province to which he had been assigned more than ever to the pirates. He himself then reached Palestine, arrested Aristobulus, who had escaped from Rome and was causing some disturbance, sent him to Pompey, imposed tribute upon the Jews, and after this invaded Egypt.
57 Ἡρχε δὲ τὸτε τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων ἡ Βερενίκη, καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς μὲν οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν . . . , καίτοι φοβουμένη τοὺς Ρωμαίους, ἔπραξε, Σέλευκον δὲ τινα, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου γένους τοῦ ποτε ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ἀνθήσαντο ὄντα, μεταπέμψασα ἄνδρα τε ἐπεγράφατο καὶ κοινωνόν τῆς τέτευσθη τοῦ βασιλείας καὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἐποιήσατο. ὡς δὲ ἑκείνος ἐν οὐδενὸς μοίρα ὴν ἐωρᾶτο, τοῦτον μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, Ἀρχέλαιον δὲ τὸν τοῦ Ἀρχελάου τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν αὐτομολῆσαντος, δραστηρίων τε ὄντα καὶ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τὴν διαντα ἐχοντα, ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπηγάγετο. 1 ο γὰρ Γαβίνιος ἐδύνατο μὲν ἀρχόμενον τὸ δεῖν παύσαι (τὸν γὰρ Ἀρχέλαιον προῦποτοπῆσας συνέλαβε, καὶ ἔμελλεν ἐκ τούτου μηδὲν ἔτ' ἐργον ἐξειν), φοβηθεὶς δὲ μὴ καὶ ἐλάττω διὰ τοῦτο παρὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τῶν ἁμολογημένων οἱ χρημάτων, ὡς οὐδὲν ἄξιόλογον πεποιηκὼς, λάβοι, καὶ ἑλπίσας ἐτι καὶ πλεῖον πρὸς τε τὴν δεινότητα καὶ πρὸς τὴν δόξαν τὴν τοῦ Ἀρχελάου χρηματει- σθαι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἑκείνου συγνά λαβών, ἐθελουντὴς αὐτοῦ ὃς καὶ διαδράντα 58 ἀφίκε. καὶ οὖτως 2 εἰς 3 μὲν τὸ Πηλούσιον ἀφίκετο μηδενὸς ἐναντιομένου, προῦδον δὲ ἐντεύθεν διὰ διηρημένω τῷ στρατῷ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου ἀπαντήσαντας οἱ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐνίκησε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀνθίζειν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ναυσὶ καὶ τῇ γῇ ἐκράτησεν οἱ γὰρ Ἅλεξανδρείς θρασύνασθαι μὲν πρὸς πάντα ἴκανοτάτου καὶ ἐκλαλήσατι πάν ἐν τῷ ποτᾷ ἀν ἐπέλθῃ σφίσι προπετέστατοι πεφύκασι, 2 πρὸς δὲ δὴ πόλεμον τὰ τε δεινὰ αὐτοῦ φλαυρότα-

1 ἐπηγάγετο Rk., ὑπηγάγετο L. 2 οὖτως Fabr., οὖτος L. 3 εἰς Reim., ὄς L.
BOOK XXXIX

Berenice was at this time ruling the Egyptians, and though she feared the Romans, she took no steps suitable [to the emergency?]; instead, she sent for one Seleucus who claimed to belong to the royal race that once had flourished in Syria, formally recognized him as her husband, and made him a partner in the kingdom and in the war. When he was seen to be held in no esteem, she had him killed and joined to herself on the same terms Archelaus, son of that Archelaus who had deserted to Sulla; he was an energetic man, living in Syria. Now Gabinius could have stopped the mischief in its beginning; for he had arrested Archelaus, who had already aroused his suspicion, and he seemed likely to have no further trouble from him. He was afraid, however, that this course might cause him to receive from Ptolemy less money that had been stipulated, on the ground that he had done nothing of importance, and he hoped that he could exact even a larger amount in view of the cleverness and renown of Archelaus; moreover he received much money besides from the prisoner himself, and so voluntarily released him, pretending that he had escaped. Thus he reached Pelusium without encountering any opposition; and while advancing from there with his army in two divisions he encountered and conquered the Egyptians on the same day, and after this vanquished them again on the river with his ships and also on land. For the Alexandrines are most ready to assume a bold front everywhere and to speak out whatever may occur to them, but for war and its terrors they are utterly useless. This is true in
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τοί εἰσι, καίπερ ἐν ταῖς στάσεσι, πλείσταις δὴ καὶ μεγίσταις παρ' αὐτοῖς γεγυμονεῖαι, διὰ φόνων τε ἀεὶ χωροῦντες καὶ τὸ ξῆν παρ' οὐδὲν πρὸς τὴν αὐτίκα φιλονεικίαν τιθέμενοι, ἄλλα καὶ ὀσπερ τι τῶν ἀριστῶν ἢ ἀναγκαιοτάτων 1 τὸν ἐν αὐταῖς διάκονοις. μυκήσας οὖν αὐτοὺς ὁ Γα-βίνιος, καὶ ἄλλους τε πολλούς καὶ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον φονεύσας, ἐγκρατὴς τε τῆς Αἰγύπτου πάσης παραχρήμα ἐγένετο καὶ τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ αὐτήν παρέδωκε.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν τε θυγατέρα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς πρότους καὶ πλουσιώτατος, ἀτε καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν δεόμενος, ἀπέκτεινε: Γαβίνιος δὲ ἐκείνου μὲν οὕτω κατήγαγεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ οἶκας περὶ τῶν πραξθέντων ἑπέστειλεν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ αὐτὰγγελὸς 2 σφυσίν ὅν παρηνομήκει γένηται. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οἷον τε ἦν τηλικοῦτο πράγμα κρυφθῆναι, εὐθὺς τε αὐτὸ 3 ο δήμος ἐπύθετο, καὶ ἔπειδὴ καὶ οἱ Σύροι 2 πολλά τοῦ Γαβίνιου, ἄλλος τε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ δεινῶς ὑπὸ τῶν θρητῶν κακωθέντες, κατε-βόσκοντας, οἳ τε τελῶναι μὴ δυνηθέντες τὰ τέλη δι' αὐτοὺς ἐσπράζοντο συχνά ἐπωφείλησαν, ὄργιζοντο καὶ γνώμας τε ἐποιοῦντο καὶ ἑτοίμως ἔλιχον κατα-

3 ψηφίσασθαι αὐτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κικέρων τὰ τε ἄλλα ἰσχυρῶς ἔνηγε, καὶ συνεβοῦλευε σφισι τὰ Σιβύλλεια ἔπη αὕτης ἀναγγέλων, προσδοκῶν ἐγ-γεγραμμένα τινὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς τιμωρίαν ἄν τι 4 παρα-βαθή. 5 ο οὖν Πομπήιος ὁ τε Κρύσσος ὑπάτευν τε ἑτὶ, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐαυτῷ βοηθὼν, ὁ δὲ τῆν τε ἐκείνου

1 ἢ ἀναγκαιοτάτων Bk., ἀναγκαιοτάτων L.
2 αὐτὰγγελὸς Xyl., αὐτὰ γέλος L. 3 αὐτὸ Rk., αὐτὸ L.
4 ἀν τι Bs., ἀτι L. 5 παραβαθή Bk., παραβάθη L.

394
spite of the fact that in seditions, which with them are very numerous and very serious, they always become involved in slaughter, setting no value upon life as compared with the rivalry of the moment, but pursuing destruction in such quarrels as if it were one of the best and dearest prizes. So Gabinius conquered them, and after slaying Archelaus and many others he promptly gained control of all Egypt and handed it over to Ptolemy. The latter put to death his daughter and also the foremost and richest of the citizens, because he had need of much money.

Gabinius after restoring him in this fashion sent no message home concerning what he had done, in order that he might not be the one to announce his own illegal acts. But it was not possible for an affair of such magnitude to be concealed, and the people straightway learned of it; for the Syrians cried out loudly against Gabinius, especially since in his absence they had been terribly abused by the pirates, and the tax-gatherers, being unable to collect the taxes on account of the marauders, were owing numerous sums. Angered at this, the people expressed their views and were ready to condemn him. For Cicero attacked him vigorously and advised them to read again the Sibylline verses, expecting that there was contained in them some punishment in case any of their injunctions should be violated. Pompey and Crassus, now, were still consuls, and the former acted as his own interests dictated, while the latter was for pleasing his colleague and also
χάριν καὶ ἀμα καὶ χρήματα παρὰ τοῦ Γαβρι-νίου πεμφθέντα οἱ λαβῶν, ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διεδικαίουν, καὶ ἄλλα τε καὶ φυγάδα τοῦ Κικέρωνα ἀποκαλοῦντες οὐδὲν ἐπεψήφισαν.

2 ὡς μέντοι ἐκεῖνοι τε ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπηλλάγησαν καὶ αὐτοῦς ὑπὸ τὸν Δομήτιον ὁ Δούκιος καὶ Ἀπίας Κλαύδιος διεδέχετο, γνώμαι αὐτοί πολλαὶ ἐλέχθησαν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Γαβρινίου αἱ πλείους ἐγένον-

3 τοῖς ὑπὸ τὸν Δομήτιον ἐχθρῶς τῷ Πομπηίῳ διὰ τοῦ σπουδαρχήσαι καὶ διὰ τὸ παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἀποδειχθῆναι ὡν, καὶ ὁ Κλαύδιος, καὶ προσήκων οἱ, ὅμως τοῖς τε πολλοῖς χαρίσασθαι τι ὑπὸ δημαγωγίας ἐθελήσας, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Γαβρινίου διωροδοκῆσειν, ἃν γέ τι συνταράξῃ,

4 προσδοκήσας, πάντα ἐπὶ αὐτῶ ἐπραξάν, καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκείνου δεινῶς ἐπίεσεν, ὅτι προπερ-

θέντα τινα ὑπὸ τοῦ Κράσσου ὑποστράτηγον ἔπλε τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ διαδοχὴ ὡν ἔδεξαν, ἀλλ' ὅσπερ ἄθανατον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἰληφὼς κατείχεν αὐτήν. ἐδοξέων οὖν σφυσὶ τὰ τῆς Σιβύλλης ἔπη ἀναγνωσθῆναι, καὶ περὶ ἀντειπότος τοῦ Πομ-

πηνίου.

51 Καὶ τούτῳ ὁ Τίθερμος, εἰτ' οὖν ὄμβρων ἀνω τοῦ ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἐξαισίων γενομένων, εἰτε καὶ σφοδροῦ πνεύματος ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης τὴν ἐκροήν αὐτοῦ ἀνακόψαντος, εἰτὲ καὶ μάλλον, ὡς ὑπω-

πτεύετο, ἐκ παρασκευῆς δαιμονίου τινὸς, τοσοῦτος ἐξαπιναίως ἔρρην ὧστ' ἐν πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς πεδίοις

1 διὰ R. Steph., δα L. 2 ὅμως R. Steph., ἄγως L.
3 πάντα ἐπὶ B. (ἐπ᾽ already inserted by Bk.), τῶν L.
4 ἐπίεσεν Leuncl., ἐπιείςεν L. 5 καὶ περὶ Leuncl., διὰ καὶ περὶ L.
6 ἀντειπότος Xyl., ἀνείπωτος L.
7 τοσοῦτος Pflugk, τοσοῦτον L.
soon received money sent him by Gabinius. Thus they openly justified his conduct, calling Cicero "exile" among other names, and would not put the question to a vote. When, however, they had laid down their office, and Lucius Domitius and Appius Claudius became their successors, once more many opinions were expressed and the majority proved to be against Gabinius. Domitius was hostile to Pompey on account of the latter's canvass and because he had been appointed consul contrary to his wish; and Claudius, although a relative of Pompey's, still wished to play the game of politics and indulge the people, and furthermore he expected to get bribes from Gabinius, if he should cause any disturbance. So both worked in every way against him. There was a further fact that weighed strongly against him: he had not received a certain lieutenant sent ahead by Crassus to succeed him in the office, but held on to the position as if he had received it for all time. They decided, therefore, that the verses of the Sibyl should be read, in spite of Pompey's opposition.

Meantime the Tiber, either because excessive rains had occurred somewhere up the stream above the city, or because a violent wind from the sea had driven back its outgoing tide, or still more probably, as was surmised, by the act of some divinity, suddenly rose so high as to inundate all the lower levels in the
καὶ τῶν μετεωροτέρων καταλαβεῖν. 1 αἰ τε οὖν οἰκίας 2 δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἀστεί οὖσι πελαγίσαι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ
(ἐκ πλίνθων γὰρ συνφιλοσοφοῦμενα ἦσαν) διά-
βροχοι τε ἐγένοιτο καὶ κατερράγησαν, καὶ τὰ
υποξύγια πάντα ὑποβρύχια ἐφθάρη. τῶν τε ἀν-
θρώπων ὁσοὶ μὴ ἐφθησαν πρὸς τὰ πάνω ὑψηλὰ
ἀναφυγόντες, οἱ μὲν ἐν 3 ταῖς τέγαις 4 οἱ δὲ καὶ
ἐν ὀδοὺς ἐγκαταληπθέντες ἐξώλυσαν. καὶ γὰρ αἰ
λοιπᾶ οἰκίας, ἀτε ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἥμερας τοῦ δεινοῦ
συμβάντος, σαθρὰ τε ἐγένοτο καὶ πολλοῖς 5 τοῖς
μὲν εὐθὺς τοῖς δὲ μετὰ τούτ’ ἐλυμήνατο. οἱ 6 οὖν
Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπὶ τ’ ἐκείνοις τοῖς παθήμασι λυπούμενοι,
καὶ ἐτερα χαλεπώτερα ὡς καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Πτο-
λεμαίου καθοδὸν ὁργὴν σφισὶ τοῦ δαιμόνιον πε-
ποιημένου προσδέχόμενοι, ἠπείγοντο καὶ ἀπόντα
τὸν Γαβίνον, ὡς καὶ ἤττον τι, ἀν φθάσωσιν αὐτῶν
ἀπολέσαντες, κακωθήσομενοι, θανατώσαι. καὶ
οὔτω γε ἐντὸν χαμόν ὡστε, καίτοι μηδενὸς τοι-
ούτον ἐν τοῖς Συβυλλείοις χρησμοῖς εὑρέθητος,
ὅμως τὴν γερουσίαν πικρότατα καὶ τραχύτατα
τοὺς τε ἄρχοντας καὶ τὸν δῆμον αὐτῶν χρήσασθαι
προβολεύσαι.

62 Ἐν δὲ ταῦτ’ ἐγίγνετο, χρήματα ὑπὸ τοῦ
Γαβίνου προσπεμφθέντα οὕτως ἀπόντα ἀλλ’
οὐδὲ ἐπανελθόντα 7 δεινὸν τι παθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ γε
ἐκείνοις ἐποίησε. 8 καίτοι 9 οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς ἀἰσχρῶς
καὶ κακῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος διετέθη ὡστε καὶ
χρόνιος ἐς τὴν Ἱππολάν ἀφικέσθαι καὶ νυκτὸς ἐς

1 oikiai added by R. Steph., from Xiph.
2 en added by Leuncl.
3 tègais R. Steph., tégnais L.
4 pollois Reim., polloi L.
5 oï R. Steph., ò L.
6 alľ’ added by Xyl.
7 evanelleônta Rk., evelleônta L.
8 epitôsis St., poïsai L.
9 kaitoi Rk., kal L.

398
BOOK XXXIX

city and to overwhelm many even of the higher portions. The houses, therefore, being constructed of brick, became soaked through and collapsed, while all the animals perished in the flood. And of the people all who did not take refuge in time on the highest points were caught, either in their dwellings, or in the streets, and lost their lives. The remaining houses, too, became weakened, since the mischief lasted for many days, and they caused injuries to many, either at the time or later. The Romans, distressed at these calamities and expecting others yet worse, because, as they thought, Heaven had become angry with them for the restoration of Ptolemy, were in haste to put Gabinius to death even while absent, believing that they would be harmed less if they should destroy him before his return. So insistent were they that although nothing about punishment was found in the Sibylline oracles, still the senate passed a decree that the magistrates and populace should accord him the bitterest and harshest treatment.

While this was going on, money sent ahead by Gabinius caused him to suffer no serious penalty either while absent or upon his return, at least for this affair. And yet he was brought by his own conscience to such a wretched and miserable state that he long delayed coming to Italy, and entered the
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

τὴν πόλιν ἐσκομμοσθῆναι, ἔξω τε τῆς οἰκίας ἡ συναίσ πάνυ ἡμέραις μὴ τολμῆσαι φανῆναι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐγκλήματα πολλὰ ἦν, καὶ κατηγόρουσα οὐκ ὅλιγους ἐίχε, πρῶτον δ’ οὖν περὶ τῆς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καθόδου, ἀτε καὶ μεγίστου, ἐδικάσθη. καὶ ὁ γε δῆμος σύμπας ὡς εἰπέων πρὸς τε τὸ δικαστήριον συνερρή, καὶ διασπάσασθαι πολλάκις αὐτὸν ἥθελην, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος παρῆν καὶ ὁ Κικέρων δεινότατα αὐτοῦ κατηγόρησεν.

3 οὕτω δὲ αὐτῶν διακειμένων ὁμος ἄφεσθαι αὐτὸς τε γὰρ, ἀτε ἐπὶ τηλικοῦτος κρινόμενος, μεμπλήθη χρήματα ἀνάλωσε, καὶ οἱ τοῦ Πομπήιον τοῦ τε Καισαρος ἐταίροι προθυμότατα αὑτῷ συνήραντο, λέγοντες ἄλλον τε τινα καίρον καὶ ἄλλον βασιλέα πρὸς τῆς Σιβύλλης εἰρήσθαι, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ὅτι μηδεμία τῶν πραξάντων τιμωρία εὖ τοῖς ἐπεσεῖν αὐτὴς ἐνεγέγραπτο.

68 Ὁ δ’ οὖν δῆμος ὅλιγον μὲν καὶ τοὺς δικαστὰς ἀπέκτεινε, διαφυγόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπέτηρει τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτοῦ ἐγκλήματα, καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐπ’ ἐκαίνοις γοὺς αὐτῶν ἀλώναι. οἱ γὰρ λαχῶντες περὶ αὐτῶν κρίναι, τὸ τε πλῆθος ἁμα φοβηθέντες καὶ μηδὲν μέγα παρὰ τοῦ Γαβινίου εὑρόμενοι (ὡς γὰρ ἔπι τε βραχυτέρος εὐθανόμενος καὶ προσδοκῶν καὶ τὸτε κρατήσατε οὐ πολλὰ ἐδαπάνησε) κατεψηφίσαις αὐτοῦ, καίτοι τοῦ τε Πομπήιον πλησίον ὄντος καὶ τοῦ Κικέρωνος συναγορεύντος αὐτῶν.

3 ὁ γὰρ Πομπήιος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σίτου πρόνοιαν, ἐπειδὴ πολὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διέφθαρτο, ἐκδημῆσας ὄρμησε μὲν ὡς καὶ ἐς τὸ πρότερον δικα-

1 oikias Leuncl., ἱταλίας L. 2 δμως ἄφεσθ Ῥκ., ἄφεσθ L. 3 ὡς Bk., ἰ L. 4 συναγορεύντος Χιλ., ἀγορεύοντος L.

400
city by night, and for a considerable number of days did not dare to appear outside of his house. For the complaints were many and he had an abundance of accusers. First, then, he was tried for the restoration of Ptolemy, as his greatest offence. Practically the whole populace surged into the court-house and often wished to tear him to pieces, particularly because Pompey was not present and Cicero accused him with all the force of his oratory. And yet, though this was their attitude, he was acquitted. For not only he himself, appreciating the gravity of the charges on which he was being tried, spent vast sums of money, but the associates of Pompey and Caesar also very willingly aided him, declaring that a different time and different king were meant by the Sibyl, and, most important of all, that no punishment for his deeds was contained in her verses.

The people accordingly were almost for putting the jurymen to death also, but, when they escaped, turned their attention to the remaining charges against him and caused him to be convicted on those at any rate. For the men who were chosen by lot to pass judgment on the charges both feared the people and likewise obtained but little from Gabinius; for he felt that he was being brought to book for minor matters only, and expecting to win this time also, he did not spend much. Hence they condemned him, even though Pompey was near at hand and Cicero acted as his counsel. For Pompey had been away from the city to provide for a supply of corn, since much had been ruined by the river, but hastened back to be present
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

στήριον ἀπαντήσων (ἐν γὰρ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἦν), ὑστερήσας δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπεχώρησεν ἐκ τοῦ προαστείου πρὶν καὶ ἐκείνο τελεσθῆναι. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τοῦ δήμου ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου (τὴν γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἣ ἡ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου ἔχων οὐκ ἡδυνήθη ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθεῖν) ἄθροισθέντος πολλὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Γαβινίου ἐδημηγόρησε, καὶ γράμματά τέ τινα παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πρὸς ἐαυτὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πεμ-5 φθέντα ἀνέγγιο, καὶ τοὺς δικαστὰς ἴκετευσε τὸν τε Κικέρωνα οὐχ ὅπως κατηγορήσας ἄτι αὐτοῦ ἐκώλυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερδικήσας ἔπεισεν, ὡστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὸ τοῦ αὐτομόλου ἕγκλιμα καὶ ὅνομα ἐπὶ πλείον οἱ αὐξηθήναι. ὅπερ μέντοι καὶ ὁφέλησέ τι τῶν Γαβινίου, ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν ἔφυγεν ἀλούς, ὡσπερ εἴποι, ὑστερον δ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος κατήχθη.

64 Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Πομπήίου γυνὴ θυγάτριοι τι τεκοῦσα ἀπέθανε καὶ αὐτὴν, εἴτε διαπραξαμένων τῶν τε ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος φίλον, ἢ καὶ ἄλλως τως χαρί-5 σαθαὶ τινὲς αὐτοῖς ἐθελήσαντες συνήρπασαν, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῶν ἐν τῇ ἄγορᾷ ἐπάνων ἔτυχε, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἄρείῳ πεδίῳ ἔθαψαν, καὶ τοῖς τοῦ Δομι-τίου ἀνθισταμένοι καὶ λέγοντος ἀλλὰ τε καὶ ὅτι οὐχ ὄσίως ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τότε ἀνευ τινὸς ψηφίσματος θάπτοτο.

65 Καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Πομππίνος ὁ Γάιος τὰ ἐπενίκεια τὰ τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐπεμψεν· ἐς γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τοῦ χρόνου, μηδὲνος οἱ διδόντος αὐτά, ἔξω τοῦ πω-2 μηρίου διέμενε. καὶ τότε ὅ ἂν αὐτῶν ἡμαρτεν, εἰ μὴ ὁ Γάλβας ὁ Σέρυοις συστρατευσάμενος

1 ἔπεισεν Reim., καὶ ἔπεισεν L.
BOOK XXXIX

at the first trial (for he was in Italy); and when he missed that, he did not retire from the suburbs until the other also was finished. In fact when the people assembled outside the pomerium (since, as he already held the office of proconsul, he was not allowed to enter the city), he addressed them at length in behalf of Gabinius, and not only read to them a letter sent to him by Caesar in the man’s behalf, but also besought the jurymen, and not only prevented Cicero from accusing him again but actually persuaded him to plead for him; as a result the charge and epithet of “turn-coat” was applied to the orator more than ever.\(^1\) Gabinius, however, was not helped at all by Cicero, but was now convicted and exiled, as I have stated, though he was later restored by Caesar.

At this same time the wife of Pompey died, after giving birth to a baby girl. And whether by the arrangement of his friends and Caesar’s or because there were some who wished in any case to do them a favour, they caught up the body, as soon as she had received proper eulogies in the Forum, and buried it in the Campus Martius. It was in vain that Domitian opposed them and declared among other things that it was sacrilegious for her to be buried in the sacred spot without a special decree.

At this time Gaius Pomptinus celebrated a triumph over the Gauls; for as no one granted him the right to hold it, he had up to that time remained outside the pomerium. And he would have missed it then, too, had not Servius Galba, a praetor, who had made

\(^1\) Cf. xxxvi. 44, 2.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

αυτῷ, κρύφα καὶ ύπο τὴν ἑῳ στρατηγῶν τὴν
ψηφών τισι (καίπερ οὖκ ἐξόν ἐκ τῶν νόμων πρὶν
πρώτην ὠραν γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ τις χρηματι-
σθήναι) ἔδωκε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν δημάρχων τινὲς
ἀπολειφθέντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν γοῦν τῇ πομπῇ
πράγματα αὐτῷ παρέσχουν, ὡστε καὶ σφαίγας
συμβήναι.
BOOK XXXIX

the campaign with him, granted as praetor to certain persons secretly and just before dawn the privilege of voting—this, in spite of the fact that it is not permitted by law for any business to be brought before the people before the first hour. For this reason some of the tribunes, who had been left out of the assembly, caused him trouble in the procession, at any rate, so that there was some bloodshed.
BOOK XL

Τάδε ἐνεστὶν ἐν τῷ τετταρακόστῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ρωμαίων

α. Ἡ Ῥωμαίος Καῖσαρ τοῦ δεύτερου ἄνδρας Βρεττανίαν διέπλευσεν.

β. Ἡ Ῥωμαίος Καῖσαρ ὑποστρέψας ἀπὸ Βρεττανίας τοὺς Γαλάτας αὖθις ἐπολέμησεν.

γ. Ἡ Ῥωμαίος Καῖσαρ Πάρθοι πολεμεῖν ἤρξατο.

δ. Περὶ Πάρθων.

ε. Ἡ Ῥωμαίος Καῖσαρ ἵπτηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπώλετο.

ζ. Ἡ Ῥωμαίος Καῖσαρ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς πᾶσαν κατεστρέφατο.

η. Ἡ Ῥωμαίος Καῖσαρ καὶ Πομπήιος στασιάζειν ἤρξαντο.

θ. Ἡ Ῥωμαίος Καῖσαρ καὶ Πομπήιος στασιάζειν ἤρξαντο.

Χρόνου πλῆθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Δομίτιου καὶ Ἁππίου Κλαύδιου ὑπατείας καὶ ἄλλα ἔτη τέταρα, ἐν οἷς ἀρχούσε οἱ ἀριθμοῦμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο

Gamma. Δομίτιος Μ. ὑπ. Καλούνιος

Μ. Οὐαλέριος . . . Μεσσαλάς ὑπ.

Γν. Πομπήιος ὑπ. Μάγνος τὸ ἦ

Κ. Καικίλιος Μέτελλος Σκιτίων Νασικοῦ ὑπ.

Σέρογιος Σουλτάκιος Κ. ὑπ. Ῥοῦφος

Μ. Κλαύδιος Μ. ὑπ. Μάρκελλος

Λ. Αιμίλιος ὑπ. Παῦλος

Γ. Κλαύδιος Γ. ὑπ. Μάρκελλος ὑπ.

Ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ταῦτα, τότε ἐπτακόστα ἔτη ἀγούση, ἐγένετο· ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τοῦ Δομίτιον τοῦ Λουκίου καὶ τοῦ Κλαύδιον τοῦ Ἀππίου ὑπάτων τά τε

1 Καλούνιος Χυλ., καλούνιος Λ. 2 Μεσσάλας added by Xyl. 3 Γν. Πομπήιος added by Xyl. 4 Σέρογιος Xyl., σερπος Λ.

406
The following is contained in the Fortieth of Dio's Rome:—
How Caesar for the second time sailed across to Britain (chaps. 1–3).
How Caesar, returning from Britain, again engaged in war with the Gauls (chaps. 4–11).
How Crassus began to carry on war with the Parthians (chaps. 12, 13).
About the Parthians (chaps. 14, 15).
How Crassus was defeated by them and perished (chaps. 16–30).
How Caesar subjugated the whole of Transalpine Gaul (chaps. 31–44).
How Milo killed Clodius and was condemned (chaps. 48 f., 54).
How Caesar and Pompey began to be at variance (chaps. 59–66).

Duration of time, the remainder of the consulship of Domitian and Appius Claudius, together with four additional years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated:—

B.C.
52 Cn. Pompeius Cn. F. Magnus (III), C. Caecilius Metellus Scipio Nasicae F.
51 Servius Sulpicius Q. F. Rufus, M. Claudius M. F. Marcellus.
50 L. Aemilius M. F. Paulus, C. Claudius C. F. Marcellus.

These were the occurrences in Rome while the city was passing through its seven-hundredth year. In Gaul during the year of these same consuls, Lucius Domitian and Appius Claudius, Caesar among other

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5 Λ. Αἰμίλιος Χυλ., δαιμιλίου Λ. 6 Line supplied by Xyl.
7 τοῦ λουκίου Βκ., αὐτοῦ λευκίου Λ.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

άλλα καὶ ναῦς ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τε σφετέρων τῶν
ταχειῶν καὶ τῶν αὐτόθεν τῶν φορτίων, ὅπως ὡς
μάλιστα καὶ κοινῆσαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ κύμα ἀντ-
έχωσιν, ἐπὶ τε τοῦ ξηροῦ ἰστάμεναι μὴ λυμαί-
2 νωταί, παρεσκευάσατο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλόια
ἐγένετο,1 ἐσ τὴν Βρεττανίαν αὖθις ἐπεραιώθη,
πρόφασιν μὲν ὅτι μὴ πάντας τοὺς ὁμήρους δύς
ὑπέσχοντο οἱ ἐπεπόμφεσαν, νομίζοντες αὐτὸν, ὅτι
diὰ κενὴς τὸτε ἀνεχόρησε, μηκέτ' αὖθις σφών
πειράσειν, ποιησάμενος, ἔργῳ δὲ δεινῶς τῆς νήσου
εφίεμενος, ὥστε εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο ἦν, πάντως ἄν
3 ἄλλην τινὰ σκῆψιν εὑρεῖν. κατηρέ τε οὖν ἐνθα
καὶ πρότερον, μηδενὸς ὑπὸ τε τοῦ πλῆθος τῶν
νεῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλαχόστι ἀμα αὐτάς κατα-
σχεῖν τολμήσαντος ἀντιστῆναι, καὶ τὸ2 ναῦστα-
2 θμον εὐθὺς ἐκρατύνατο. οἱ οὖν βάρβαροι τὸν μὲν
πρόσπλουν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν διὰ ταῦτα
κωλύσαι, δείσαντες δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον, ἀτε
καὶ στρατῷ πλείονι αὐτοῦ ἔλθόντος, ἐς τὸ
λασιώτατον καὶ ἐς τὸ λοχμωδέστατον τῶν ἐγγὺς
2 χωρίων πάντα τὰ τιμώτατα συνεφόρησαν, καὶ
αὐτὰ ἐν ἀσφάλει ποιησάμενοι (τά τε γὰρ πέρεξ
ξύλα ἐκοψαν, καὶ ἔτερα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς στοιχηδόν ἐπι-
συνείησαν, ὥστε ἐν χαρακώματι τρόπον τινὰ
eἰναι) ἐπείτα τοὺς προνομεύοντας τῶν Ῥωμαίων
ἐλύσουν. καὶ δὴ καὶ μάχῃ τινὶ ἐν τῷ ψυλῳ ἦττηθέν-
tες ὑπῆγαγὼν σφας ἐκείσε κατὰ τὴν δίωξιν, καὶ
3 συγχυός ἀνταπέκετεναν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο χειμῶνος
αὖθις τὰς ναῦς αὐτῶν λυμηναμένου συμμάχους τε
προσμετέπλησαντο καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ νεωρίου σφών

1 ἐγένετο R. Steph., ἐγένοντο L. 2 τὸ Rk., τὸν L.
undertakings constructed ships of a style half-way between his own swift vessels and the native ships of burden, endeavouring to make them at once as light and as seaworthy as possible and capable of being left high and dry without injury. When the weather became fit for sailing, he crossed over again to Britain, giving as his excuse that the people of that country, thinking that he would never make trial of them again because he had once retired empty-handed, had not sent all the hostages they had promised; but the truth of the matter was that he mightily coveted the island, so that he would certainly have found some other pretext, if this had not offered itself. He came to land at the same place as before, no one daring to oppose him because of the number of his ships and the fact that they approached many points on the shore at the same time; and he straightway got possession of the harbour. The barbarians, then, for the reason stated were unable to hinder his approach, and being more afraid than before, because he had come with a larger army, they carried away all their most valuable things into the most wooded and overgrown portions of the neighbouring country. After they had put them in safety by cutting down the surrounding wood and piling more upon it row after row until their goods were in a sort of stockade, they proceeded to annoy the Romans' foraging parties. Indeed, after being defeated in a certain battle on open ground they drew the invaders in pursuit to their retreat, and killed many in their turn. Soon after, when a storm had once more damaged the Romans' ships, the natives sent for allies and set out against their naval
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ὁμησαν, Κασουελλανών¹ τὸν τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ² ἐν
4 τῇ νῆσῳ δυναστῶν φερόμενον προστησάμενοι. καὶ
αὐτοῖς ἀπαντήσαντες οἱ Ρωμαῖοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
ἐταράχθησαν τῇ τῶν ἀρμάτων σφῶν προσμέχεν,
ἐπειτα δὲ διυστάμενοι, καὶ ἐκεῖνα τε παρεξένετε
καὶ τοὺς παραθέοντας ἐς τὰ πλάγια ³ βάλλοντες,
3 ἀνίσωσαν⁴ τὴν μάχην. καὶ τότε μὲν κατὰ χώραν
ἀμφότεροι ἐμειναν αὐθίς δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι τοῦ μὲν
πεζοῦ κρείττοις γενόμενοι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἰππου
κακωθέντες, πρὸς τε τὸν Ταμέσαν ἀνεχόρησαν,
καὶ τὸν πόρον αὐτοῦ σταυροῖς, τοῖς μὲν ἐμφανέσι
τοῖς δὲ καὶ υφόδροις, διαλαβόντες ηὐλίσαντο.
2 ἐπειδὴ δὲ⁵ ἐκείνους τε ὁ Καίσαρ τὸ τε σταύρωμα
προσβολῆ βιαίᾳ ἐκλιπεῖν ἡνάγκασε καὶ μετὰ
τοῦτο καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐρύματος προσεδρεῖα ἐξήλασε,
καὶ τοὺς προσβάλλοντάς σφῶν τῷ ναυστάθμῳ
ἐτεροὶ ἀπεώσαντο, κατέδεικαν καὶ κατελύσαντο
ὁμήρους τε δόντες καὶ φόρου ἐτήσιον ταξάμενοι.
4 Καὶ οὕτως ὁ Καίσαρ ἀπῆρε παντάπασιν ἐκ τῆς
νῆσου, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐγκατέλιπε στράτευμα ἐν αὐτῇ:
ἐκεῖνο τε γὰρ κινδύνευσεν ἐν ἅλλοτρίᾳ πη χειμά-
ξου, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἂν ἐν καλῷ ἐπὶ πλείον ἀπὸ τῆς
Γαλατίας ἀποδημήσαι νομίζων, ἡγάπησε τοῦς
παροῦσι, μὴ ⁶ καὶ μειζόνων ὀργιωμένος καὶ περὶ
2 ἐκείνους σφαλῆ. καὶ ἔδοξε καὶ τοῦτο ὀρθῶς
πεποιηκέναι, ὡσπερ τοῦ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ διεδικήθη:
ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὀρμήσεν ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖ
παραχειμάσων, οἱ Γαλάται, καὶ τοιοῦ φρονοῦσι ὡς
ἐκαστοὶ πολλοὺς ἔχοντες, ὅμως ἐνεχαμωσαν, καί

¹ Κασουελλανών Reim., καὶ σουελλανών L.
² τῶν added by Leuncl. ³ πλάγια Rk., πλασία L.
⁴ ἀνίσωσαν Rk., ἀνίσωσαν L. ⁵ δὲ Rk., τε L.
⁶ μὴ added by R. Steph.
arsenal itself, with Cassivellaunus, regarded as the foremost of the chiefs in the island, at their head. The Romans upon meeting them were at first thrown into confusion by the attack of their chariots, but later opened ranks, and by letting them pass through and then from the side hurling their weapons at the men as they rushed past, made the battle equal. For the time being both parties remained where they were. Later, however, the barbarians, after proving victorious over the infantry but being defeated by the cavalry, withdrew to the Thames, where they encamped after cutting off the ford by means of stakes, some visible and some under water. But Caesar by a powerful assault forced them to leave the stockade and later on by siege drove them from their fortress, while others repulsed a party of theirs that attacked the ships in the harbour. They then became terrified and made terms, giving hostages and agreeing to pay a yearly tribute.

Thus Caesar departed entirely from the island and left no body of troops behind in it; for he believed that such a force would be in danger while passing the winter in a foreign land and that it might be inadvisable for him to remain away from Gaul for any considerable period; hence he was satisfied with his present achievements, in the fear that if he reached out for more, he might be deprived even of these. It seemed that here again he had done right, as was, indeed, proved by the event. For when he had gone to Italy, intending to winter there, the Gauls, though each nation contained many garrisons, nevertheless became restless and some of them
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

tines autōn kai phanerōs epaνéstηsan. ostei en tē Brettauia kataμeivantaı autou parā tōn χeμāνa egγόνεi, pάnta an tā tīdē etetārakto.

5 Ἡρξαν δὲ τοῦ polēmou toúτου Ἐβουρωνοί, ἴγουμένου σφίσιν Ἀμβιώριγος. καὶ ἐλεγον μὲν τῇ parousia tōn Ῥωμαίων, ὃν ἵ τε Σαβῖνος καὶ Δοῦκιος Κόττας ὑποστάηγοι ἦρχον, ἀχθομένου kekivnetai τὸ δ’ ἄλλης εκείνων τε κατεφρονη-

sas ὡς οὐχ ἰκανῶν ἀμύναι σφᾶς ἐσομένων, καὶ
tōn Καίσαρα οὐκ ἡπισαν διὰ ταχέων σφίσιν

2 ἐπιστρατεύειν. ἐπῆλθον τε οὕν αὐτοῖς μὴ προσ-

δεχομένους ὡς καὶ αὐτοθέοι τὸ στρατόπεδον
aıρήσοντες, καὶ ἐπειδὴ διήμαρτον αὐτῶν, πρὸς
apásthn etrάποντο. τῶν γὰρ χωρίων τὰ ἐπιτη-

deiōta ὁ Ἀμβιώριξ προλοχίς ἤλθεν εἰς ἐπι-
kηρυκείς πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὡς οὐχ ἐκὼν δὴ

3 πολεμήσας, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν μεταγιγνώσκειν ἐφη,
tous δ’ ἀλλοὺς φυλάττεσθαι σφίσι παρὴνesev

ouste gár autō πειθαρχεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ εκείνοis μέλλειν tēs νυκτὸς ἐπιθήσεσθαι. κὰκ
touτου kai
gnōmēn autōis ἔδωκε τὴν μὲν Ἐβουρωνίαν, ὡς καὶ
kinduνεύσουσιν ἀν καταμεῖνωι, καταληψει, πρὸς
dε συστρατιώτας τινὰς πέλας που χεμάζουντας ὡς

6 τάχιστα μεταστηναι. ἀκοῦσαντες δὲ ταύτα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπείσδησαν, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ὦτι εἴηργη-
tētο πολλὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ χάριν αὐτῷ
taüthn anτιδιδόναι ἐδόκει. συσκευασάμενοι τε

1 Ἐβουρωνοί Xyl., Ἐβουρων οἱ L.

2 ἴγουμένου R. Steph., ἴγουμένου L.

3 ὁ supplied by Leuncl. ἐκεῖνος Xyl., ἐκεῖνος L.

5 κινδυνεύσουσιν Reim., κινδυνεύσωσιν L.

6 ταύτην ἀντιδιδόναι v. Herw., ταύτην ἀνταιδιδόναι Naber,
tα ὑπεναντία διδόναι L.

412
BOOK XL

openly revolted. Now if this had happened while he was staying in Britain through the winter season, all Gaul would have been in a turmoil.

This war was begun by the Eburones, under Ambiorix as chief. They claimed they had been roused to action because they were annoyed at the presence of the Romans, who were commanded by Sabinus and Lucius Cotta, lieutenants. The truth was, however, that they scorned those officers, thinking they would not prove competent to defend their men and not expecting that Caesar would quickly make an expedition against their tribe. They accordingly came upon the soldiers unawares, expecting to take the camp without striking a blow, and, when they failed of this, had recourse to deceit. For Ambiorix, after planting ambuscades in the most suitable spots, came to the Romans after sending a herald to arrange for a parley, and represented that he had taken part in the war against his will and was himself sorry; but against the others he advised them to be on their guard, for his countrymen would not obey him and were intending to attack the garrison at night. Consequently he made the suggestion to them that they should abandon Eburonia, since they would be in danger if they remained, and should move on as quickly as possible to some of their comrades who were wintering near by. Upon hearing this the Romans believed him, especially as Ambiorix had received many favours from Caesar and seemed to be repaying his kindness in this way. They
 Dio's Roman History

σπουδὴ εὐθὺς ἀφ’ ἐσπέρας ἀφόρμησαν, καὶ ἐμπεσόντες ἐς τὰ λελοχισμένα δεινῶς ἔσφάλησαν.

2 ὁ τε γὰρ Κόττας παραχρῆμα μετὰ πολλῶν ἀπώλετο, καὶ τῶν Σαβίνου ὁ Ἀμβιόριξ μετεπέμψατο μὲν ὦς καὶ σῶσων (οὔτε γὰρ τοῖς γηγομένοις παρήν, καὶ πιστὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τότε ἐτ’ ἐδόκει εἶναι), συλλαβῶν δὲ δὴ, καὶ ἀποδύσας καὶ τὰ ὀπλα καὶ τὴν ἑσθήτα, κατηκόντισεν, ἐπιλέγων ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτε τοιούδε μέντοι ὄντες πῶς τηλικοῦτων ἦμῶν

3 ὄντων ἀρχεῖν ἔθελετε; ὦτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτ’ ἐπαθόν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διέτεσον μὲν ἐς τὸ τάφρευμα ὅθεν ἀπανειστήκεσαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τε βάρβαροι καὶ ἐκεῖ προσέμεθαν καὶ οὐτ’ ἀμύνασθαι αὐτοὺς οὔτε διαφυγεῖν ἰδυνήθησαν, ἀλλὰ οὖν ἀπέκτειναν.
BOOK XL

hastily packed up their belongings, and setting out just after nightfall, fell into the ambush, where they suffered a terrible reverse. Cotta with many others perished immediately. Sabinus was sent for by Ambiorix under the pretext of saving him, for the Gallic leader was not present at the ambush and at that time was still thought to be trustworthy; on his arrival, however, Ambiorix seized him, stripped him of his arms and clothing, and then struck him down with his javelin, uttering boastful words over him, such as these: "How can such creatures as you wish to rule us who are so great?" This was the fate that these men suffered. The rest managed to break through to the camp from which they had set out, but when the barbarians assailed that, too, and they could neither repel them nor escape, they killed one another.

After this event some others of the neighbouring tribes revolted, among them the Nervii, though Quintus Cicero, a brother of Marcus Cicero and lieutenant of Caesar, was wintering in their territory. Ambiorix added them to his force and engaged in battle with Cicero. The contest was close, and after capturing some prisoners alive the chieftain tried to deceive him also in some manner, but being unable to do so, besieged him. Thanks to his large force and the experience which he had gained from his service with the Romans, together with information that he obtained from the individual captives, he quickly managed to enclose him with a palisade and ditch. There were numerous battles, as was natural in such a situation, and far larger numbers of the barbarians perished, because there were more of
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ὀντες· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ αὐτοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς περιουσίας τοῦ στρατοῦ οὐδὲ ἐν αἰσθήσει τοῦ φθειρομένου σφῶν ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἄρωμαιοι μὴτε ἀλλως πολλοὶ ὄντες καὶ ἐλάττως ἀεὶ γεγυμνομένοι ραδίως περι-

8 εστοιχίσθησαν. κυνδυνεύοντων οὖν αὐτῶν ἀλ多种形式 (οὔτε γὰρ τὰ τραύματα θεραπεύειν ἀπορίαι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔδυνατο, οὔτε τὴν τροφὴν ἀφθόνως, ἀτε ἐν ἀδοκήτῳ πολιορκίᾳ, εἰχον· οὐδὲ ἐπήμινε τις αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοιού πολλῶν οὐκ ἀπωθεῖν χειμαζόν-

των· οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι τὰς ὄδους ἀκριβῶς φυλά-

σοντες πάντας τοὺς ἐκπεμπομένους σφῶν συνε-

λάμβανον καὶ τοῖς ἀφθαρμοίς αὐτῶν ἐφόνευον)

2 Νέρουίος τις εὐνοοίκως σφισίν ξε ἐνεργείας ἄθων,

καὶ τότε σὺν τῷ Κικέρωνι πολιορκοῦμενοι, δοῦλον

tινα έαυτοῦ διάγγελον αὐτῷ παρέσχεν· ἐκ τε γὰρ

τῆς σκευῆς καὶ ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς τῆς ἐπιχωρίας ἠδυ-

νήθη λαθεῖν συγγενόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς καὶ

ξε αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀποχωρήσας.

9 Μαθῶν οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸ γηγυμένου (οὐδέποτε δὲ

ξε τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπεληλύθει, ἀλλ' ἐτ' ἐν ὁδῷ ἦν) ἀνέστρεψε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς χειμάδιοις, δὲ ὡν διήμει,

στρατιώταις παραλαμβάνων ἤπειρετο. καὶ τούτῳ

φοβηθεῖς μὴ καὶ φθάσῃ ο Κικέρως ἀπογνώσει τῆς

βοηθείας δεινὸν τι παθῶν ἢ καὶ συνθέμενος, προ-

2 ἐπεμψεν ἱππεά. τῷ μὲν γὰρ οἰκήτη τῷ τοῦ Νε-

ρούιον, καίτοι πεῖραν ἐγρήφ τῆς εὐνοίας αὐτοῦ

λαβῶν, οὐκ ἐπίστευσε, μὴ καὶ τοὺς πατριώτας

ἐλεήσας μέγα τι κακὸν σφας ἐξεργάσηταί· ἐκ δὲ

δὴ τῶν συμμάχων ἱππεά τήν τε διάλεκτον αὐτῶν

1 ὑπὸ R. Steph., περὶ Λ. 2 τοῦ added by R. Steph.
them. They, however, by reason of the multitude of their army did not feel their loss at all, whereas the Romans, who were not numerous in the first place, kept continually growing fewer and were hemmed in without difficulty. They were unable to care for their wounds through lack of the necessary appliances, and did not have a large supply of food, because they had been besieged unexpectedly. No one came to their aid, though many were wintering at no great distance; for the barbarians guarded the roads with care and caught all who were sent out and slaughtered them before the eyes of their friends. Now when they were in danger of being captured, a Nervian who was friendly to them, as the result of kindness shown him and was at this time besieged with Cicero, furnished a slave of his to send as a messenger through the lines. Because of his dress and his speech, which was that of the natives, he was able to mingle with the enemy as one of their number without attracting notice, and afterwards went his way.

In this way Caesar, who had not yet returned to Italy but was still on the way, learned of what was taking place, and turning back, he took with him the soldiers in the winter establishments through which he passed, and pressed rapidly on. Meanwhile, being afraid that Cicero, in despair of assistance, might suffer disaster or even capitulate, he sent a horseman on ahead. For he did not trust the servant of the Nervian, in spite of having received an actual proof of his good will, fearing that he might pity his countrymen and work the Romans some great evil; so he sent a horseman of the allies who knew the
ΔΙΟΣ ΡΟΜΑΝΗΣ ΗΣΤΟΡΙΑ

εἶδοτα καὶ τῇ στολῇ τῇ ἐκεῖνων σκευασθέντα

3 ἔπεμψε. καὶ ὅπως γε μὴδ' αὐτὸς τί μὴτ' ὁν ἔθελοντις μὴτ' ἀκών ἐξείπη, οὕτε τι αὐτῶ ἐξελάλησε, καὶ τῷ Κικέρωνι πάνθ' ὡσ ἡμοῦ ἡλικιωτὶ ἐπέστειλεν, ὡνά καὶ τα γράμματα ἀλφ., ἀλλ' ἀσύνετα γε καὶ τότε τοῖς βαρβάροις ὡντα μηδὲν σφας ἐκδιδάξῃ. εἰώθει δὲ καὶ ἄλλως, ὅπως τι δι' ἀπορρήτων τῷ ἐπέστελλε, τὸ τέταρτον ἄεὶ στοιχεῖον ἀντὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος ἀντεγγράφειν, ὅπως ἄν

4 ἀγνωστα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἂ τὰ γραφόμενα. ὁ δ' ὁυν ἱππεὺς ἐήθε μὲν πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον, μὴ δυνηθεὶς δ' εγγύθεν αὐτῶ προσμίκαι συνέδησε τὰ γράμματα ἀκοντιφ., καὶ ὡς ἰελ. 1 αὐτὸ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους πρὸς πύργον ἐξεπίτηδες προσέπηξε. καὶ ὁ μὲν Κικέρων ὡτώ τὴν πρόσοδον τοῦ Καίσαρος μαθὼν ἀνεθάρσησε καὶ προσυμότερον διεκατέρχεσεν. οἱ δὲ δὴ βάρβαροι ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν τὴν ἐπικουρίαν αὐτοῦ ἡγούμενα (ὐκτοπορών γὰρ ἐπείτα τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν ἀφανεστάτοις χωρίσοις ἡλίξετο, ὅπως ἀπροσδοκητοὶ ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτοῖς προσμικῆς), ὅψε δὲ ποτε ἐκ τῆς τῶν πολιορκοῦμένων περιχαρείας ὑποτοπήσαντες αὐτὴν προσκόπους ἐπεμψαν, καὶ μαθόντες παρ' αὐτῶν πλησίαζοντα ἦδη τὸν Καίσαρα ἀρμήσαν ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὡς

10 καὶ ἀνελπίστωρ οἱ προσπεσούμενοι. προμαθῶν οὖν τοῦτ' ἐκείνοις τὴν τε νύκτα κατὰ χώραν ἐμείνε, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆν ἐω χωρίοι τοῖ ἐρυμνοὶ προκαταλαβὼν ἐνταῦθα ὡς ἐν βραχυτάτῳ ἑστρατοπεδεύσατο τοῦ καὶ μετ' ὀλίγων εἶναι δοκεῖν καὶ ἐκ τῆς πορείας πεποίησθαι τὴν τε ἐφόδον σφών δεδίναει, κάκ τούτου καὶ ἔς αὐτὸ τὸ μετέωρον αὐτοὺς ὑπαγαγέσθαι. 2

1 ὡς ἰελ. Polak, ὡςας L. 2 ὑπαγαγέσθαι Reim., ἀπαγαγέσθαι L.
BOOK XL

dialect of the Eburones and was dressed in their garb. And in order that even he might not reveal anything, voluntarily or involuntarily, he gave him no verbal message and wrote to Cicero in Greek all that he wished to say, in order that even if the letter were captured, it should even so be meaningless to the barbarians and afford them no information. In fact, it was his usual practice, whenever he was sending a secret message to any one, to substitute in every case for the proper letter of the alphabet the fourth letter beyond, so that the writing might be unintelligible to most persons. Now the horseman reached the camp of the Romans, but not being able to come close up to it, he fastened the letter to a javelin, and acting as if he were hurling it against the enemy, fixed it purposely in a tower. Thus Cicero learned of the approach of Caesar, and so took courage and held out more zealously. But the barbarians for a long time knew nothing of the assistance Caesar was bringing; for he journeyed by night, bivouacking by day in very obscure places, in order that he might fall upon them as unexpectedly as possible. But they finally grew suspicious because of the excessive cheerfulness of the besieged and sent out scouts; and learning from them that Caesar was already drawing near, they set out against him, thinking to attack him while off his guard. He learned of it in time and remained where he was that night, and just before dawn took up a strong position. There he encamped seemingly in the utmost haste, for the purpose of appearing to have only a few followers, to have suffered from the journey, and to fear an attack from them, and so in this manner to draw them to the higher ground.
3 καὶ ἐσχεν οὗτως· καταφρονήσαντες γὰρ αὐτοῦ διὰ ταύτα πρὸς τέ τὸ ὅρθιον προσέβαλον καὶ μεγάλως ἔπταισαν, ὡςτε μηκετί ἀντιπολεμήσαι.

11 Οὖτος μὲν ὁ τότε καὶ ἐκείνοι τινὲς καὶ οἱ άλλοι πάντες ἔχειρώθησαν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ δὲ εὐνοίας τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἔναν. οἱ γὰρ Ἄρησος ὁ βοήθησεν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοὺς παρ’ ἐκάστοις πρότους ὁ Καῖσαρ μεταπέμπων ἐκόλαξε, μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ δίκην δῶσιν, ἐξεπολεμώθησαν αὐθίς αὐτοῖς, Ἰνδοτιμαρίου σφᾶς ἁναπέσαντος, καὶ συναποστήσαντες καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ δεδιότων ἐπεστράτευσαν ἐπὶ τὸν Λαβινίον τὸν Τίτον ἐν Ῥημῶν ὄντα, καὶ ἐπεξελθόντων σφίσι παρὰ δόξαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐφθάρσαν.

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐχείμασεν ὡς καὶ ἄκριβῶς σφᾶς καταστήσασθαι δυνησόμενος. Ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἰορδάνης ἐπιθυμήσας τι καὶ αὐτὸς δόξης τε ἁμα καὶ κέρδους ἐχόμενον πράξαι, ἐπειτ’ ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τοιούτῳ τῷ εἰδέν όν (αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ ἡσύχαζον, καὶ οἱ πρόσθε προσπολεμήσαντες σφαιρας οὐδὲν ὑπ’ ἀδυνασίας παρεκίνουν), ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους ἐπεστράτευσε, μὴτε ἐγκλημα ταύτων ἐπιφέρων μὴτε τοῦ πολέμου ἐπισημικῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπιφέρων ἡμεῖς τοῦ παμπλουσίου ήκουεν ὄντας, καὶ τὸν Ὁρῶνιν εὐάλωσεν ἀτε καὶ νεοκατάστατον εἰς προσεδόκησε.

2 τῶν τε ὁποι Ἐυφράτην ἐπεραίωθη, καὶ προῆλθεν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας, φέρων τα αὐτὰ καὶ

1 ἐκεῖνοι Χυλ., ἐκεῖνος L. 2 ὡςτε ἐπέστρεψαν Reim., ἐπειδὴ πρὸς L. 3 πρῶτου supplied by Reim. 4 Ἰνδοτιμαρίου Reim. (as L in chap. 31, 2), Ἰνδοτιμαρίου L. 5 ὑπ’ ἀδυνασίας Bk., ὑπὸ δυναστέλλας L.
BOOK XL

And thus it turned out; for in their contempt of him—because of this move they charged up hill, and met with so severe a defeat that they carried on the war against him no longer.

In this way both they and all the rest were at that time subdued; but they did not feel kindly toward the Romans. At any rate, the Treveri, when Caesar was sending for the principal men of each tribe and punishing them, became afraid that they, too, might have to pay the penalty; and upon the advice of Indutiomarus, they began war against the Romans once more; and they led some others who feared the same treatment to revolt and made an expedition against Titus Labienus, who was among the Remi, but they were destroyed when the Romans made an unexpected sally.

These were the events that took place in Gaul, and Caesar wintered there, thinking that he would be able to bring the Gauls under strict control. But Crassus, desiring for his part to accomplish something that involved glory and at the same time profit, and seeing that no such thing was possible in Syria, where the people themselves were quiet, and those who had formerly warred against the Romans were by reason of their powerlessness causing no disturbance, made a campaign against the Parthians. He had no complaint to bring against them nor had the war been assigned to him; but he heard that they were exceedingly wealthy and expected that Orodes would be easy to capture, because he was but newly established. Therefore he crossed the Euphrates and advanced far into Mesopotamia, devastating and ravaging the country. For since his
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

πορθῶν τῆς γὰρ διαβάσεως αυτοῦ ἀδοκῆτον τοῖς βαρβάροις γενομένης οὐδεμία ἀκριβῆς φυλακῆς αὐτῆς καθεστήκει, ὡστε ταχὺ μὲν ὁ Σιλάκης ἢ τὸ τότε τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης σατραπεῖων ἡττηθεὶ τῇ περὶ Ἰχνίας, τείχος τι οὔτω καλούμενον, ἵππευσιν ὁλίγοις μαχασάμενοι, καὶ τρωθεὶς ἀπεχώρησαν αὐτάγγελος τῇ βασιλεῖ τῆς ἐπιστρατείας αὐτοῦ γεννᾶμενος, ταχὺ δὲ καὶ ὁ Κράσσος τὰ τὰ φρουρία καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς Ἐλληνίδας μάλιστα, τὰς τὰ ἄλλας καὶ τὸ Νικηφόριον ὕψομασμένον, προσποιήσατο τῶν γὰρ Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν Ἀλλῶν τῶν συντρατευσάντων σφίσιν Ἐλλήνων ἄποικοι πολλοί, ... βία αὐχόμενοι καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίοις ὡς καὶ φιλέλληνας πολλὰ ἐπιξύντες, οὐκ ἀκούσαι σίως μεθίσαντο πλὴν τε ὅτι οἱ ἀνδροτιου ὀικήτορες μετέπεμψαν τινὰς αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ μεταστησάμενοι, ἔπειδὴ δὲ ἐνδον ἐγένοντο, ἀπέλαβάν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ διέφθειραν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀνέστησαν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο δευνόν οὔτε ἔπραξε τὸτε

3 Κράσσος οὔτε ἐπάθει. πάντως δὲ κἂν τὰ λοιπὰ χωρία τὰ ἔντος τοῦ Τίγριδος ὄντα ἐκεχείρωτο, εἰ τῇ τῇ ἐαυτοῦ ὅρμη καὶ τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐκπλήξει πρὸς πάντα ὁμοίως ἐκέχρητο, καὶ προσέτει καὶ κατὰ χώραν χειμάσας ἐν φρουρᾷ αὐτὰ ἀκριβεὶ ἐπεποίητο, νῦν δὲ ἐλὼν ὡσα ἐς ἐπιδρομῆς ἡδυνηθή λαβεῖν, οὔτε τι τῶν λοιπῶν οὔτε αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐφρούτισεν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ διατριβή ἄχθεοσθε καὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ῥαστώνης

1 ταχὺ μὲν ὁ Kidd, ταλμενος L.
2 Σιλάκης (Σιλάκης) Xyl., ειλακῆς L.
3 αὐτάγγελος Leunel., αὐτοῦ ἄγγελος L.
4 Lacuna recognized by Bk., who supplied τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων.
5 δτι of Reim. and Bk., τε τε L. 6 κἂν St., καὶ L.

422
crossing was unexpected by the barbarians no careful guard of the ford had been kept. Consequently Silaces, then satrap of that region, was quickly defeated near Ichnae, a fortress so named, after contending with a few horsemen; and being wounded, he retired to report personally to the king the Romans' invasion. Crassus, on his side, quickly won over the garrisons and especially the Greek cities, among them one named Nicephorium. For colonists in great numbers, descendants of the Macedonians and of the other Greeks who had campaigned in Asia with them, readily transferred their allegiance to the Romans, since they were oppressed by the violence [of the barbarians (?)], and placed strong hopes in the invaders, whom they regarded as friends of the Greeks. The inhabitants of Zenodotium, however, on the pretence that they also were going to revolt, sent for some of the invaders, and then, when they were within the town, arrested and killed them, for which act they were driven from their homes. Apart from this Crassus neither inflicted nor received any serious harm at that time. He certainly would have subdued also the other regions this side of the Tigris, if he had followed up the advantage of his own quick attack and the barbarians' panic consistently in all respects, and also if he had wintered where he was, keeping strict watch of affairs. As it was, he captured only such places as he could seize by sudden assault and paid no heed to the rest nor even to the places conquered, but vexed by the delay in Mesopotamia, and longing for the indolence
 Dio's Roman History

ἐπιθυμήσας παρέσχετο¹ τοῖς Πάρθοις καιρὸν παρασκευάσασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐγκαταλειφθέντας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ στρατιώτας κακώσαι.

14 Αὐτὴ μὲν ἡ ἄρχῃ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τοῦ πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολέμου ἐγένετο: οἰκοῦσι δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Θηριδοῦ τὸ μὲν πολὺ τείχη καὶ φρούρια, ἡδὴ δὲ καὶ πόλεις, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ Κηπείδλητα, ἐν ἧ καὶ βασίλεια² ἔχουσι. τὸ γὰρ γένος σφῶν ἦν μὲν

2 ποιν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πάλαι βαρβάροις, καὶ τὸ γε ὄνομα τοῦτο καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν Περσικὴν βασίλειαν εἶχον ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν αὐτοὶ τε ἐν μέρει χώρας βραχεῖ φοινοὺ καὶ δυναστείαν ὑπερόμενοι οὐκ ἐκεῖκτηντο, ἐπεί δὲ ³ ἢ τε τῶν Περσῶν ἀρχὴ κατελύθη καὶ τὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἦκμασεν, οἱ τε τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου διάδοχοι στασιάζαντες ἀλλοί ἀλλὰ⁴ ἀπετέμοντο καὶ βασίλειας ἰδίας κατεσκευάσαντο,

3 ἐς τε τὸ μέσον τότε πρῶτον ὑπ' Ἀρσάκου τινὸς ἀφίκοντο, ὀθενπερ καὶ οἱ ἐπειτὰ βασίλευσαντες αὐτῶν Ἀρσακίδαι ἐπωνομάσθησαν, καὶ εὐνυχήσαντες τὴν τε πλησιώχωρον ἐκτήσαντο πᾶσαν καὶ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν σατραπείας κατέσχον, τελευτῶντες δὲ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον καὶ τῆς δόξης καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἔχορθησαν ὡστε καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τὸτε τὲ ἀντιπολεμῆσαι καὶ δεύρο ἀεὶ ἀντίπαλοι νομίζοντο.

4 σθαί. εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ἱσχυροὶ τὰ πολέμα, μεῖζον δ' ὀμοὶ ὄνομα, καίτοι μήτε τῶν Ῥωμαίων τι παρηγημένοι καὶ προσέτε καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐστίν ἀ προεμοῦν, ἔχουσιν, ὅτι μηδὲτω δεδουλώνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ⁵ τοὺς πολέμους τους πρὸς ἡμᾶς,

¹ παρέσχετο Bk., παρέσχε τε L.
² βασίλεια Leuncl., βασίλεα L. ³ ἐπεί δὲ Leuncl., ἐπεὶ ὑ L.
⁴ ἀλλοι ἀλλα Bk., ἀλλοι ἀλλὰ L. ⁵ ἔτι Rk., ἔτι L.

424
of Syria, he afforded the Parthians time to prepare themselves and to harass the soldiers left behind in their country.

This was the beginning of the war of the Romans against the Parthians. These people dwell beyond the Tigris, for the most part in forts and garrisons, but also in a few cities, among them Ctesiphon, in which they have a royal residence. Their race was in existence among the ancient barbarians and they had this same name even under the Persian kingdom; but at that time they inhabited only a small portion of the country and had acquired no dominion beyond their own borders. But when the Persian rule had been overthrown and that of the Macedonians was at its height, and when the successors of Alexander had quarrelled with one another, cutting off separate portions for themselves and setting up individual monarchies, the Parthians then first attained prominence under a certain Arsaces, from whom their succeeding rulers received the title of Arsacidae. By good fortune they acquired all the neighbouring territory, occupied Mesopotamia by means of satrapies, and finally advanced to so great glory and power as to wage war even against the Romans at that time, and ever afterward down to the present day to be considered a match for them. They are really formidable in warfare, but nevertheless they have a reputation greater than their achievements, because, in spite of their not having gained anything from the Romans, and having, besides, given up certain portions of their own domain, they have not yet been enslaved, but even to this day hold their own in the wars they wage.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

15 ὁσάκις ἀν συνενεχθῶσι, διαφέρουσι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ τε γένους καὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς τε ἱδιότητος τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων αὐτῶν πολλοῖς τε εἰρηται καὶ ἐγώ οὖν ἐν γνώμῃ ποιοῦμαι συγγράψαι· τῇ δὲ δὴ ὀπλίσει καὶ τῇ τῶν πολέμων διαχειρίσει (τούτων γὰρ ὁ ἐξετασμὸς τὸ ἔργῳ, ὥστε καὶ ἐς χρείαν αὐτῶν ἀφικνεῖται, προσήκει) τοὐδὲ χρῶνται.

2 ἀσπίδω μὲν οὖν νομίζουσιν, ἵπποτοξοῖται δὲ καὶ κοντοφόροι,1 τὰ πολλὰ κατάφρακτοι, στρατεύονται. πεζοὶ τε ὁλίγοι μὲν καὶ οἱ ἁρετεύστεροι, τοξόται δ' οὖν καὶ ἑκεῖνοι πάντες εἰσίν. ἐκ τε γὰρ παῖδων ἀσκούνται, καὶ οὐρανὸς ἤ τε

3 χώρα αὐτοῖς συναιρεῖται πρὸς ἀμφότερα. αὐτὴ τε γὰρ πεδίας ὡς πλήθει οὐσα ἀρίστη 2 τε ἵππους τρέφειν ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπιτηδειοτάτη καθιστπευεθαί: ἀγέλαις γούν ὅλαις καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, ὅστ' ἀλλοτε ἄλλοις ἱπποῖς χρήθαι καὶ πόρρωθεν τε ἐξαπαναιῶς ἐπελαύνειν καὶ μακράν τοι ἐξ αἴφυν.

4 δίοι άποχωρεῖν, ἐπάγονται· καὶ ὁ οὖρανὸς ὁ ἐπέρ αὐτῶν, ἔπροτατος τε ὁ να καὶ ἱκμάδα οὔδε ἐλαχίστην ἔχων, ἐπτωτώτατος 4 σφίσι τὰς τοξέιας πλὴν τοῦ πάνυ χειμώνος παρέχεται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ὀραν ἑκείνην οὔδαμη στρατεύονται. τῷ δὲ δὴ λοιπῷ ἐτεί δυσμαχώτατοι ἐν τῇ σφετέρᾳ καὶ

5 ἐν τῇ όμοιοτρόπῳ εἰσὴ τὸν τε γὰρ ἦλθοι φλογωδεστάτον ὄντα ἀνέχονται τῇ συνθείᾳ, καὶ τῆς ὀλυγότητος τῆς τῶν υπεραίεις τοῦ πολλα ἀλεξιφάρμακα ἀνευρήκασιν, ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοῦ μαχαιρίως τοῖς ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν

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1 κοντοφόροι Val., ἀκοντοφόροι L.
2 ἀρίστη Bk., ἱδροτη L. 3 ὁ added by R. Steph.
4 ἐπτωτώτατας Reim. from Xiph., ἐπτωτώτατα L.
against us, whenever they become involved in them. Now about their race and their country and their peculiar customs many have written, and I have no intention of describing them. But I will describe their equipment of arms and their method of warfare; for the examination of these details properly concerns the present narrative, since it has come to a point where this knowledge is needed. The Parthians make no use of a shield, but their forces consist of mounted archers and pikemen, mostly in full armour. Their infantry is small, made up of the weaker men; but even these are all archers. They practise from boyhood, and the climate and the land combine to aid both horsemanship and archery. The land, being for the most part level, is excellent for raising horses and very suitable for riding about on horseback; at any rate, even in war they lead about whole droves of horses, so that they can use different ones at different times, can ride up suddenly from a distance and also retire to a distance speedily; and the atmosphere there, which is very dry and does not contain the least moisture, keeps their bowstrings tense, except in the dead of winter. For that reason they make no campaigns anywhere during that season; but the rest of the year they are almost invincible in their own country and in any that has similar characteristics. For by long experience they can endure the sun’s heat, which is very scorching, and they have discovered many remedies for the dearth of drinking-water and the difficulty of securing it, so that for this reason also they can
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐσβάλλοντας ἀμύνεσθαι. ἔξω γὰρ ἐκείνης ὑπὲρ τῶν Εὐφράτην μάχαις μέν τισι καὶ καταδρομαῖς ἔν αἰρεῖνοι ἦδη ποτὲ ἱσχυςάν τι, πολεμῆσαι δὲ τισιν ἀπαυστὶ καὶ διαρκῶς οὐ δύνανται, καὶ ἐς ἀλλοτριωτάτην σφίσαι καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατάστασιν ἀπαρτύντες, καὶ μὴν σιτοῦ μὴτε μισθοφόρας παρασκευήν ποιούμενοι.

16 Τοιαύτα μὲν τὰ τῶν Πάρθων ἐστίν, ἑσβαλόντος δὲ ἐς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν τοῦ Κράσσου ωσπερ εἰρηται, ὁ Ὀρόδης ἐπεμψε μὲν καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνουν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν πρέσβεις, τῆς τε ἐσβολῆς αἰτιώμενος καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου πυνθανόμενος, ἐπεμψε δὲ πρὸς ταὶ ἐαλωκότα τα τε μεθεστηκότα

2 Σουρήναν σὺν στρατῷ αὐτὸς γὰρ τῇ Ἀρμενία τῇ τοῦ Τιγράνου ποτὲ γενομένῳ διενοεῖτο ἐπιστρατεύσαι, ὅπως ὁ Ἀρταβάζης ὁ τοῦ Τιγράνου παῖς ὁ τότε αὐτῆς βασιλεύων μηδεμίαν τοῖς 'Ρωμαῖοις, ἣτα καὶ περὶ τῇ οἰκείᾳ δεδώσω, βοηθεῖαν

3 τέμνῃ. ὁ οὖν Κράσσος ἐκεῖνο τε ἐν Σελευκείᾳ (ἐστὶ δὲ πόλις ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ, πλεῖστον τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ νῦν ἔχουσα) τὰς αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου ἔρειν ἐφῆ καὶ αὐτῷ τῶν Πάρθων τις ἐς τὴν χείρα τὴν ἀριστερὰν τοῖς τῆς ἑτέρας δακτύλοις κραύγας εἶπεν ὅτι "θᾶσσον ἐντεῦθεν τρῖχες ἀναφύσονται ἥ τι σὺ ἐν Σελευκείᾳ γενήσῃ.

17 Καὶ ἐπειδῆ ὁ χειμών ἐν ὁ Γναῖός τε Καλουίνος

1 ἀπαυστὶ καὶ Rk., ἀπαυτίκα L.
2 ἀπαρτύντες Bk., ἀπαρτύνται L.
3 μισθοφόρας παρασκευήν Reim., μισθοφόρα σκεύη L.
4 ἑσβαλόντος R. Steph., ἑσβάλλοντος L.
5 τὰ added by Leuncl.
6 ἀναφύσονται Bk., ἀναφύσουσι L.
7 Καλουίνος H. Steph., καλούινος L.
BOOK XL

easily repel the invaders of their land. Outside of this district beyond the Euphrates they have once or twice gained some success in pitched battles and in sudden incursions, but they cannot wage an offensive war with any nation continuously and without pause, both because they encounter an entirely different condition of land and sky and because they do not lay in supplies of food or pay. Such is the Parthian state.

When Crassus had invaded Mesopotamia, as has been stated, Orodes sent envoys to him in Syria to censure him for the invasion and to ask the causes of the war; at the same time he sent Surenas with an army to the captured and revolted districts. For he had it in mind to lead an expedition in person against that part of Armenia which had once belonged to Tigranes, in order that Artabazes, the son of Tigranes, the king of the land at that time, should send no assistance to the Romans through fear for his own land. Now Crassus said that he would tell him in Seleucia the causes of the war; this is a city in Mesopotamia which even at the present day has a very large Greek population. And one of the Parthians, striking the palm of his left hand with the fingers of the other, exclaimed: "Sooner will hair grow here than you shall reach Seleucia."

And when the winter set in, in which Gnaeus...
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

καὶ Οὐσαλέριος Μεσσάλας ὑπάτευκαν ἐνέστη, 1 πολ-  
lὰ μὲν καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ τέρατα τότε ἐγένετο-  
cαὶ γὰρ βύαι καὶ λύκοι ὀφθήσαν, οἱ τε κύνες  
περιφοιτώντες ὁρύντο, 2 καὶ ἀγάματα τὰ μὲν  
2 ἱδρωσε τὰ δὲ ἐκεραυνώθη, τὰς τε ἀρχὰς τὸ μὲν τι  
φιλονεικία, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον ὑπὸ τε τῶν ὀρνίθων  
cαὶ ὑπὸ διοςήμων μόλις ποτὲ τῷ ἑβδόμῳ μηνὶ  
ἀπέδειξαν· ἀλλ’ ἐκείνα μὲν οὐδὲν σαφῆς διεδήλων  
ἐσ’ ὁ τε τελευτήσει τὰ τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀστεὶ ἐταράτ-  
tετο καὶ οἱ Γαλάται ἐκνηθήσαν αὖθις, πρὸς τε  
tοὺς Πάρθους οὖδ’ εἰδότες πω ὡσ’ 3 συνερρόγε-  
σαν· τῷ δὲ δὴ Κράσσῳ τὸν Εὐφράτην κατὰ τὸ  
Ζεύγμα (οὔτω γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου  
στράτευσα τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο, ὡς ταύτη ἐπεραμώθη,  
κέκληται) διαβαίνοντι καὶ προφανῆ καὶ εὐσύμ-  
18 βολά συνηνέχθη. ὡ γὰρ ἀετὸς ὄνομασθένος (ἔστι  
de νεῶς μικρός, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀετὸς χρυσοῦς ἐνιδρυ-  
tαι· καθισταί τε ἐν πάσι τοῖς ἐκ του καταλόγου  
στρατοπέδους, καὶ οὐδαμόσε ἐκ τῶν χειμάδιών, πλὴν  
2 εἰ ποι σύμπασον ὁ στρατὸς ἑξίοι, κινεῖται· καὶ αὐτὸν  
eῖς ἄνηρ ἐπὶ δόρατος μακροῦ, 4 εἰς ἐξ’ τόν στύρακα  
ἀργυρευνόν ὅστε καὶ ἐς τὸ δάπεδον κατατήγυνον,  
φέρει) — τούτων οὖν τῶν ἀετῶν εἰς οὐκ ἠθέλησε  
tὸν Εὐφράτην αὐτῷ τότε συνδιαβηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῇ  
γῇ ἐνέσχετο ὡσπερ ἐμπεφυκός, πρὶν δὴ πολλοὶ  
3 περιστάντες βίᾳ αὐτῶν ἁνέσπασαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ  
ἀκων ἐπηκολούθησε, σημείον δὲ τι τῶν μεγάλων,  
tῶν τοῖς ἱστίοις ἐοικότων καὶ φοινικὰ γράμματα

1 ἐνέστη supplied by Rk., space of some eight letters left  
in L. 2 ἐκνεύ̄ττο Polak., μείζοντα L.  
3 εἰδότες τῶ ὡσ’ Β., εἰδότες . . . τῶ L.  
4 μακροῦ Leuncl., from Xiph., μικροῦ L.
Calvinus and Valerius Messalla became consuls, many portents occurred even in Rome itself. Owls and wolves were seen, the dogs prowled about and whined, some sacred statues exuded sweat and others were struck by lightning. The offices, partly through rivalry but chiefly by reason of the omens and portents, were with difficulty filled at last in the seventh month. Those signs, however, gave no clear indication as to what the event would be; for affairs in the city were in a turmoil, the Gauls had risen again, and, though the Romans knew not how as yet, they had become involved in war with the Parthians. But to Crassus signs that were both evident and easy to interpret appeared as he was crossing the Euphrates at Zeugma, a place so called from the campaign of Alexander, because he crossed at this point. One portent had to do with the so-called “eagle” of the army. It is a small shrine and in it perches a golden eagle. It is found in all the enrolled legions, and it is never moved from the winter-quarters unless the whole army takes the field; one man carries it on a long shaft, which ends in a sharp spike so that it can be set firmly in the ground. Now one of these eagles was unwilling to join him in his passage of the Euphrates at that time, but stuck fast in the earth as if rooted there, until many took their places around it and pulled it out by force, so that it accompanied them quite reluctantly. But one or the large flags, that resemble sails, with purple letters upon them to
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐπ' αυτοῖς ἀναλογίαν τοῦ τε στρατοῦ καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σφων τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐχόντων, ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γεφύρας περιτραπέζι ἐνέπεσε. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὑπὸ πνεύματος ὄντος σφοδροῦ ἐγένετο.

4 ὁ δὲ Ἰταλίας καὶ τὰ λίλλα τα ἱσομήκη ὀἱ συντε-μῶν, ὁπως βραχύτερα καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ βεβαίό-τερα φέρειν εὐχ, προσεπνύσης τα τέρατα. καὶ γὰρ ἐμίχλη ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διαβάσει τοσσαύτῆ τοῖς στρατιώταις περιεχύθῃ ὡστε περί τε ἀλλήλοις αὐτοὺς σφαλήναι καὶ μηδὲν τῆς πολέμιας, πρὶν ἐπιβῆναι αὐτῆς, ἵδειν καὶ τὰ δια-βατήρια τὰ τε ἀπόβαθρα σφισί δυσχερέστατα ἐγένετο. κἂν τούτῳ ἄνεμος τοῦ πολὺς ἐπέτεσσε καὶ κεραυνοὶ κατέσκηναν, ἥ τε γέφυρα, πρὶν πάντας αὐτοὺς διελθεῖν, διελύθη. καὶ ἡ γὰρ τὰ γυγόμενα ὅλα πάντα τινὰ καὶ τῶν πάννα ἀγωνισμόν τε καὶ ἀσυνέτων ἐκδιδάσκει ὅτι κακὸς ἀπαλλάξουσι καὶ οὐκ ἀνακομισθῆσαντα, φόβος καὶ κατάφεια ἕν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐγένετο δεινή. ὁ οὖν Ἰταλίας παρα-μυθόμενος αὐτοὺς εἶπεν ὅτι "μὴ καταπλήττεσθε, ἄνδρες στρατιώται, εἴ ἡ γέφυρα διέφθαρται, μηδὲ οίκεσθε ἐκ τούτου χαλεπὸν τι ἐπισκιαίνεσθαι. 2 ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμῖν αὐτὸς ἐπομνύμενος λέγω ὅτι δι' Ἄρμε-νίας τὴν ἐπάνοδον ποιήσασθαι ἐγνωκα." ἐκ μὲν δὴ οὖν τούτου ἐθάρσω, νῦν δὲ προσεπνύσας των ἐφι, μέγα ἀναβοήσως, "θαρσεῖτε, πρὸς οὐδείς γὰρ ἕμων 3 ἐντεύθεν ἐπανήξει." ἀκούσαντες γὰρ τοῦτο οἱ στρατιώται οἰκίον τοῦ σφών οὐδενὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἔττω γεγονέναι ἐνόμισαν καὶ ἐς ἀθυμίαν πλείων κατέπεσον, ὡστε μηδὲν ἔτι μηδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν αὐτοῦ παραινέσεσιν φροντίσας, δι' ὧν τὸν τε βάρβαρον

1 ἐν' αὐτοῖς Rk., ἐν' αὐτῆς L. 2 οἱ Oddey, οἱ L.
distinguish the army and its commander-in-chief, was overturned and fell from the bridge into the river. This happened in the midst of a violent wind. Then Crassus had the others of equal length cut down, so they might be shorter and hence steadier to carry; but he only increased the prodigies. For at the very time of crossing the river so great a fog enveloped the soldiers that they fell over one another and could see nothing of the enemy's country until they set foot upon it; and the sacrifices both for crossing and for landing proved most unfavourable. Meanwhile a great wind burst upon them, bolts of lightning fell, and the bridge collapsed before they had all passed over. The occurrences were such that any one, even the most indifferent and un instructed, would interpret them to mean that they would fare badly and not return; hence there was great fear and dejection in the army. Now Crassus, trying to encourage them, said: "Be not alarmed, soldiers, because the bridge has been destroyed nor think because of this that any disaster is portended. For I declare to you upon oath that I have decided to make my return march through Armenia." By this he would have emboldened them, had he not added in a loud voice the words: "Be of good cheer; for none of us shall come back this way." When they heard this, the soldiers deemed that it had been an omen for them as great as the others, and they fell into greater discouragement; and so it was that they paid no heed to the remainder of his exhortation, in which he belittled
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

εφαύλιζε καὶ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐνεκωμαίζε, χρή-

4 ματά τε αὐτοὺς ἑδίδοι καὶ γέρα ἐπηγγέλλετο. ἀλλὰ
cαι ὃς εἶποντο, καὶ οὐτὲ ἀντείπεν οἱ οὐδεὶς οὗτ'
ἀντέπραξε, τάχα μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου, ἤδη δὲ καὶ
ἐκπεπληγμένοι καὶ μήτε τι βουλεύσαι μήτε πρᾶ-
ξαι σωτηρίου δυνάμενοι, πάντα γοῦν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα,
cαθάπερ ὑπὸ δαίμονίου τινὸς κατακεκριμένοι, καὶ
tαῖς γνώμαις καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐσφάλλοντο.

20 Μέγιστον δὲ ὅμως αὐτοῦ ο Ἡβγαρος Ἐρ-
ρονός ἐλυμῆνατο ἐνσπουνδός γὰρ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις
ἐπὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου γενόμενος ἀνθείλετο τὰ τοῦ
βαρβάρου. καὶ τούτο μὲν καὶ ὁ Ἀλχαυδόνιος ὁ
Ἀράβιος ἑποίησε: πρὸς γὰρ τὸ ἵσχυρὸν αἰε μεθί-

2 στάτο. ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις μὲν ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς ἀπέστη,
cαὶ κατὰ τούτο οὐ δυσφύλακτος ἦν· ὃ δ' Ἡβγαρος
ἐφρόνει μὲν τὰ τοῦ Πάρθου, ἐπιλάττετο δὲ τῷ
Κράσσω φίλικὸς ἔχειν, καὶ χρήματα τε ἀφειδώς
αὐτῷ ἀνήλικε, καὶ τὰ τε βουλεύματα αὐτοῦ
πάντα καὶ ἐμάνθανε καὶ ἐκεῖνο διήγησε, καὶ
προσέτει εἰ μὲν τι χρηστῶν σφων ἦν, ἀπέτρεπεν

3 αὐτὸν, εἰ δ' ἀσύμφορον, ἐπέστερχε. καὶ δὴ καὶ
τοιώντες τι τελευτῶν ἐπράξε. τοῦ γὰρ Κράσσου
πρὸς Σελεύκειαν ὀρμήσας διανοομένου, ὡστε
ἐκεῖσε τὰ ἀσφαλῶς παρά τὸν Εὐφράτην καὶ
dι' αὐτοῦ τῷ τε στρατῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις κομ-
σθῆναι, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν (προσποιήσεσθαι γὰρ
σφας ἄτε καὶ Ἑλλήνας ράδιως ἡλπίζεν) ἐπὶ

4 Κτησιφῶντα μὴ χαλεπῶς περαιωθῆναι, τούτου
μὲν ὡς καὶ χρονίου ἐσομένου ἀμελήσας αὐτοῦ
ἐποίησε, τῷ δὲ δὴ Σουρίνα ὡς καὶ ἐγγὺς καὶ μετ'

21 ὀλίγων οὔτι συμμέτει ἐπείσε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο

1 Ἡβγαρος Bs., Ἡβγαρος L (here and in following chapters).
the barbarian and glorified the Roman state, offered them money and announced prizes for valour. Still, even as it was, they followed and no one said a word or did anything to oppose him, partly, perhaps, out of regard for the law, but also because by this time they were terrified and could neither plan nor carry out any measures of safety. At any rate, in all else that they did also, as if predestined to ruin by some divinity, they were helpless in both mind and body.

Nevertheless, the greatest injury was done them by Abgarus of Osroëne. For he had pledged himself to peace with the Romans in the time of Pompey, but now chose the side of the barbarians. The same was done by Alchaudonius, the Arabian, who always attached himself to the stronger party. The latter, however, revolted openly, and hence was not hard to guard against; but Abgarus, while favouring the Parthian cause, pretended to be well disposed toward Crassus. He spent money for him unsparingly, learned all his plans and reported them to the foe, and further, if any of them was advantageous for the Romans, he tried to divert him from it, but if disadvantageous, urged him forward. At last he was responsible for the following occurrence. Crassus was intending to advance to Seleucia so as to reach there safely with his army and provisions by proceeding along the banks of the Euphrates and on its stream; accompanied then by the people of that city, whom he hoped to win over easily, because they were Greeks, he would cross without difficulty to Ctesiphon. Abgarus caused him to give up this course, on the ground that it would take a long time, and persuaded him to assail Surenas, because the latter was near by and had only a few men. Then,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

παρασκευάσας τὸν μὲν ὅπως ἀπόληται τὸν δ' ὅπως κρατήσῃ 1 (συνεχῶς γὰρ προφάσει κατασκοπῆς τῷ Σουρήμα πυρεύγυνετο), ἐξήγαγε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀφροντιστούντας ὡς ἐπὶ νίκην ἔτοιμον, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ συνεπέθετο.

2 Ἐπηράξθη δὲ ὅδε. οἱ Πάρθοι τὸ πλεῖον τοῦ στρατοῦ σφόν ἀποκρύψαντες (ὃ γὰρ 2 χώρα ἀνώμαλος τῇ πη ἤν καὶ δένδρα εἰχεν) ἀπήντησαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. ἰδὼν οὖν αὐτοὺς ὁ Κράσσος, οὐκ ἐκείνος ἀλλ' ὁ νεώτερος (πρὸς γὰρ τὸν πατέρα ἐκ τῆς 3 Γαλατίας παρῆν), καὶ καταφρονήσας σφὼν ὡς καὶ μόνων, ἀντεξήγαγε τῷ ἰππικῷ, καὶ τραπουμένους ἐξεπίπτησε διότι ἐπιδιώκων ὡς καὶ κρατῶν ἀπήχθη 3 πολὺ ἀπὸ 4 τῆς φάλαγγος, κανταῦθα 22 περιστοιχισθεὶς κατεκόπη. γενομένου δὲ τοῦτον οἱ πεζοὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ἀπετράπωντο μέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προθύμως τοῖς Πάρθοις, ὡς καὶ τιμωρησοῦτες αὐτώ, συνεμίζαν οὐκέτι οὐκ ἄξιον σφὼν οὐδὲν ἐκ τοῦ πλῆθους καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς μάχης αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀβγάρου 2 ἐπιβουλευθέντες, ἐποίησαν. εἴτε γὰρ συνασπίσαι γνοίησαι 5 ὡς καὶ τῇ πυκνότητι τῆς τάξεως σφῶν τὰ τοξεύματα αὐτῶν ἐκφευγόμενοι, προσπίπτοντες σφῶν οἱ κοντοφόροι ρύμῃ τοῖς μὲν κατέβαλλον, τοὺς δὲ πάντως γοῦν ἐσκεδάνθησαν εἴτε καὶ διασταλεῖν ὅπως τοῦτο γε ἐκκλίνοιεν, 6 ἐτοξεύοντο. 3 καὶ τοῦτο πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ εἴς αὐτῆς τῆς προσελάσεως τῶν κοντοφόρων ἐκπληττόμενοι ἐθυμησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων ἐγκαταλαμβανό-

1 κρατήσῃ R. Steph., κρατῆσει L.
2 γὰρ Bk., τε L.
3 ἀπῆχθη Turn., ἀπῆχθη L.
4 ἀπὸ Xyl., ὑπὸ L.
5 γνοίησαν Bk., ἐγνώσαν L.
6 ἐκκλίνοιεν H. Steph., ἐκκλίνειεν L.
when he had arranged matters so that the invader should perish and the other should conquer (for he was continually in the company of Surenas, on the pretext of spying), he led out the Romans in their heedlessness to what he represented as a victory in their very hands, and in the midst of the action joined in the attack against them.

It came about in this way. The Parthians confronted the Romans with most of their army hidden; for the ground was uneven in spots and wooded. Upon seeing them Crassus—not the commander, but the younger Crassus, who had come to his father from Gaul—felt scornful of them, since he supposed them to be alone, and so led out his cavalry against them, and when they turned purposely to flight, pursued them, thinking the victory was his; thus he was drawn far away from the main army, and was then surrounded and cut down. When this had taken place, the Roman infantry did not turn back, but valiantly joined battle with the Parthians to avenge his death. Yet they accomplished nothing worthy of themselves because of the enemy's numbers and tactics, and particularly because Abgarus was plotting against them. For if they decided to lock shields for the purpose of avoiding the arrows by the closeness of their array, the pikemen were upon them with a rush, striking down some, and at least scattering the others; and if they extended their ranks to avoid this, they would be struck with the arrows. Hereupon many died from fright at the very charge of the pikemen, and many perished hemmed in by
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

μενοὶ ἐφθείροντο· ἄλλοι τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀνετρέποντο.1 ἡ καὶ ἀναπειρόμενοι ἐφέροντο. τὰ τε βέλη καὶ πυκνὰ καὶ πανταχόθεν ἀμα ἄνω οἱ ἐμπίπτοντα συνχοῦσι μὲν καρία 2 πληγὴ κατέβαλλε,3 συχνοὺς δὲ ἀπομάχους εἰργάζετο, πᾶσι δ' ἀσχολιάν ἐνεποίει. ἐς τε γὰρ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς σφῶν ἐσπετό- 
μενα καὶ πρὸς τὰς χείρας τὸ τε ἄλλο σῶμα πᾶν καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν χωροῦντα τὴν τε προφυλακὴν ἀυτῶν ἄφηρείτο, καὶ γυμνοῦσθαί4 σφας πρὸς τὸ 
5 ἀεὶ τιτρώσκουν5 ἡνάγκαζεν, ὡστε ἐν φ' τις τοξευμα ἐφυλάττετο ἡ καὶ ἐμπαγεν ἐξηρείτο,6 πλεῖσ 
τραύματα ἄλλα ἐπὶ ἄλλοις7 ἐλάμβανε. κὰκ τού- 
τοι ἀποροῦν μὲν σφίσι κινηθῆναι, ἄπορον δὲ καὶ ἀπρεμίζειν ἥν οὔτε γὰρ ἀσφάλειαν οὐδέτερον αὐ-
τοῖς εἰχε, καὶ τὸν ὄλεθρον ἀμφότερα ἐπέφερε, τὸ 
μὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἐδύναντο,8 τὸ δὲ ὅτι ῥάον ἐτιτρώ-
σκοντο.

23 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν, ἐως9 ἔτι10 πρὸς μόνους τοῖς 
ἐμφανεῖς πολεμίους11 ἐμάχετο, ἐπασχον· ὃ γὰρ 
Ἄβγαρος οὐκ εὐθὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπεχείρησεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ 
καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐπέθετο, ἐνταῦθα οἱ ὁ Ορροννοὶ αὐτοὶ 
τε ὁπισθεν ἐστὶ τὰ γυμνὰ ἀπεστραμμένους12 σφᾶς 
ἐπαίον καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ραὸν φονεύσαν παρείχον. 
τὴν γὰρ τάξιν, ὅπως ἀντιπρόσωποι αὐτοῖς γένον-
ται, ἐξελίξαντες ὁπισθεν σφῶν τοὺς Πάρθους 
2 ἑπονήσαιτο. αὐδὴς τε οὐν πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετεστρά-

1 ἀνετρέποντο H. Steph., ἀνετάτο πο. L.
2 καρία Xyl., κεραλαί L. 3 κατέβαλλε Xyl., ἀπέβαλλε L.
4 γυμνοῦσθαι Leuncl., γυμνοὺς τε L.
5 τιτρώσκον Toup., τιτρωσκόμενον L.
6 ἐξηρείτο Rk., ἔρειτο L. 7 ἐν' ἄλλοις Oddey, ἐν πολλοῖς L.
8 ἐδύνατο R. Steph., ἐδύναντο L. 9 ἐως St., ὃς L.
10 ἔτι Xyl., ἔτι L. 11 πολεμίους Leuncl., πολέμους L.
12 ἀπεστραμμένους Rk., ἀπεστραμμένους L.
438
BOOK XL

the horsemen. Others were knocked over by the pikes or were carried off transfixsed. The missiles falling thick upon them from all sides at once struck down many by a mortal blow, rendered many useless for battle, and caused distress to all. They flew into their eyes and pierced their hands and all the other parts of their body and, penetrating their armour, deprived them of their protection and compelled them to expose themselves to each new missile. Thus, while a man was guarding against arrows or pulling out one that had stuck fast he received more wounds, one after another. Consequently it was impracticable for them to move, and impracticable to remain at rest. Neither course afforded them safety but each was fraught with destruction, the one because it was out of their power, and the other because they were then more easily wounded.

This was what they suffered while they were fighting only against the enemies in sight; for Abgarus did not immediately make his attempt upon them. But when he, too, attacked, thereupon the Osroëni themselves assailed the Romans on their exposed rear, since they were facing the other way, and also rendered them easier for the others to slaughter. For the Romans, in altering their formation, so as to be facing them, put the Parthians behind them. Again they wheeled round to face the Parthians,
φησαν, καὶ πάλιν αὐθις πρὸς ἐκεῖνος, εἶτα πρὸς τούτους. καὶ τοῦ τουστότου μᾶλλον ἐπιταραχθέντες, ἀτε καὶ συνεχῶς δέυρο κάκεισε μεθυστάμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀεὶ τυρώσκουν ἀποβλέπειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι, τοῖς τε ξίφεσι τοῖς σφετέρους περιέπιπτον καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ύπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπώλοντο. τέλος δὲ ἐς στενῶν οὕτω κατεκλείσθησαν, ἀναγκαζόμενοι, τῶν πολεμίων αἰεί σφισι πανταχόθεν ἀμα προσπιτπόντων, ταῖς τῶν παραστατῶν ἀσπίσι τὰς γυμνόσεις σφῶν προστέλλειν, ὡστε μηδὲ κινηθήναι ἐτί δυνηθήναι. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν στάσιν βεβαιάν ὑπὸ τὸν πλήθους τῶν νεκρῶν ἔχον, ἄλλα καὶ περὶ ἐκεινοῦ ἀνετρέπωντο. τὸ τε καῦμα καὶ τὸ δίψος (μεσούντος τε γὰρ τοῦ θέρους καὶ ἐν μεσημβρία ταῦτ' ἐγώγετο) καὶ οἱ κοινορτοὶ (ὅπως γὰρ ὅτι πλείστος αἴροτο, πάντες σφᾶς οἱ βάρβαροι περιπτευον) δεινῶς τοὺς λοιποὺς συνήρει, καὶ συχνοὶ καὶ ύπὸ τούτων ἀτρωτοὶ ἐπεσον. καὶ πασσυδὶ ἀπώλοντο, εἰ μὴ οἳ τε κοινοι τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ μὲν ἀπεστράφησαν οἱ δὲ ἐκλάσθησαν, καὶ αἱ νεφραὶ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς βολῆς ἔρραγησαν, τὰ τε βέλη ἔξετοξεύθη, καὶ τὰ ξίφη πάντα ἄπημβλυθη, τὸ τε μέγιστον οἱ ἀνδρείς αὐτοὶ φονεύοντες ἐξέκαμον. οὕτω γὰρ δὴ (καὶ γὰρ ὁ νῦς ἐγώγετο καὶ πόρρω ποι ἀφιππεῦσαι αὐτοὺς ἐχρῆν) ἀπεχώρησαν· οὐδέποτε γὰρ πλησίοι οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀσθενεστάτοις στρατοπεδεύονται διὰ τὸ μηδεμιὰ ταφρεία χρῆσθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ, ἀν τις ἐπέλθῃ σφίσιν ἐν τῷ σκότῳ, ἀδύνατοι μὲν τῇ ὑππῳ ἀδύνατοι δὲ καὶ τῇ τοξείᾳ ἵσχύσασθαι εἰμι. οὐ μὲντοι καὶ ξύντα τινα τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὸ θ’ ἐλλον· ἐστώτας τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς

1 γὰρ added by Reim. 2 σκότῳ Xyl., σκότωι L.
then back again to face the Osroëni, then to face the Parthians once more. Thrown into still greater confusion by this course, because they were continually turning this way and that and were forced to face the enemy that was wounding them at the time, they fell upon their own swords and many were even killed by their comrades. Finally, as the enemy continually assaulted them from all sides at once, and they were compelled to protect their exposed parts by the shields of those who stood beside them, they were shut up in so narrow a place that they could no longer move. Indeed, they could not even get a sure footing by reason of the number of corpses, but kept falling over them. The heat and thirst (it was midsummer and this action took place at noon) and the dust, of which the barbarians raised as much as possible by all riding around them, told fearfully upon the survivors, and many succumbed from these causes, even though unwounded. And the Romans would have perished utterly, but for the fact that some of the pikes of the barbarians were bent and others were broken, while the bowstrings snapped under the constant shooting, the missiles were exhausted, the swords all blunted, and, most of all, that the men themselves grew weary of the slaughter. Under these conditions, then, the assailants retired, for night was coming on and they were obliged to ride off to a distance. For they never encamp near even the weakest forces, because they use no intrenchments, and because, if any one attacks them in the darkness, they are unable to employ their cavalry or their archery to advantage. However, they captured no Roman alive at that time; for seeing them standing
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

όρωντες, καὶ μὴτε τινὰ ἐκεῖνα ἀπορριπτοῦντα μὴτ
αὐτῶν φεύγοντα αἰσθανόμενοι, ἵσχυεν τε ἦτι σφᾶς
ἐνόμισαν καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν αὐτῶν ἐπιλαβέσθαι.

25 Οὕτως δ’ τε Κράσσος καὶ ἄλλοι ὄθοι γε ἡδυνή-
θησαν ἐς τὰς Κάρρας ὁρμήσαν, βεβαιούς σφίσων
ὑπὸ τῶν καταμεινάντων ἐνδον Ρωμαίων τηρηθεί-
σασ’ πολλοὶ γὰρ ᾤ τῶν τετρωμένων μὴτε βαδίσαι
οἷοι τε ὄντες μὴ’ ὁχημάτων εὐποροῦντες ἢ καὶ
ποδηγότας ἔχουντες (ἀγαπητοὶ γὰρ οἱ λυπότι ἐαυ-
τῶν ἀνέφερον) κατὰ χώραν ἐμείναν. καὶ ἐκεῖνων
τε οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων ἢ καὶ ἐαυ-
tῶν καταχρησάμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἐάλασαν τῇ ὑστε-
ραίᾳ. καὶ τῶν διαδεδρακότων ὁχυρών μὲν ἐν τῇ
ὀδῷ προλιπότευντων σφᾶς τῶν σωμάτων, συχνοὶ δὲ
καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ’ ἐφθάρησαν, θεραπείας παραχρῆμα

3 ἀκριβοῦς μὴ δυνηθήσετε τυχεῖν. ὁ γὰρ Κράσσος
ἀθυμήςας οὔδε ἐν τῇ πόλει ἄσφαλός ἐθ’ ὑπομείναι
δυνήσεσθαι ἐνόμισαν, ἀλλὰ ἀδραμὸν εὐθὺς ἐβου-
λεύσατο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐχ οὖν τε ἦν αὐτῷ μεθ’
ήμεραν ἐξίσοντι μὴ τοῖς καταφώρῳ γενέσθαι, ἐπε-
χείρησε μὲν νυκτὸς ἀποδρᾶναι, προδοθεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ
tῆς σελήνης, παυσελήνου οὐς, οὐκ ἔλαβεν.

4 προσέμεινάν τε οὖν μέχρι τῶν ἀσελήνων νυκτῶν,
καὶ οὕτως ἅραντες δή, οὰ ἐν σκότῳ καὶ ἐν ἀλ-
λοτρία καὶ προσέτη καὶ πολεμία γῇ φόβῳ τε
ἱσχυρῷ, ἐσκεδάσθησαν, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἀλῶντες
ημέρας γενομένης ἀπώλοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν

1 Κάρρας Xyl., ἄκρας L.
2 ἐάλασαν τῇ ὑστεραῖα Turn., ἐάλαν τῇ ἕτεραι L.
3 διαδεδρακότων Polák, ἐαλωκότων L.
4 προλιπότευντων Turn., προελιπτον L.
5 καταφώρῳ H. Steph., καταφώρῳ L. 6 δὴ Reim., δὲ L.
6 ἱσχύρῳ R. Steph., ἱσχυρῶς L.
upright in their armour and perceiving that no one either threw away his weapons or fled, they supposed they still had some strength, and feared to lay hold of them.

So Crassus and all the rest who could set out for Carrhae, which had been kept loyal to them by the Romans who remained behind within the walls. But many of the wounded remained on the field, being unable to walk and lacking vehicles or even guides, since the others had been glad enough merely to drag themselves away. Some of them died of their wounds or by making away with themselves, and others were captured the next day. And of those who had escaped many perished on the road, as their strength gave out, and many later because they were unable to obtain proper care immediately. For Crassus, in his discouragement, believed he could not hold out safely even in the city any longer, but planned flight at once. And since it was impossible for him to go out by day without being detected, he undertook to escape by night, but failed to secure secrecy, being betrayed by the moon, which was at its full. The Romans accordingly waited for moonless nights, and setting out thus, in darkness and in a land at once strange and hostile, and in overpowering fear, they became scattered. And some were caught when it became day and lost their lives, others got
 Dio's Roman History

μετὰ Κασσίου Λογγίου τοῦ ταμίου διεσώθησαν.
5 ἄλλοι τῶν ὀρῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κράσσου λαβό-
μενοι παρασκευάζοντο ὡς καὶ δι' ἐκείνων ἐς τὴν
Ἀρμενίαν φευξόμενοι.

26 Γνοὺς δὲ τούτῳ ὁ Σουρήνας, καὶ φοβηθεῖς μὴ
μεταστάντες ποι αὐθίς σφια προσπολεμῶσι, προσβαλεῖν μὲν πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα ἄφιππα ὁντα
οὐκ ἡθέλησεν (ὅπλιταὶ τε γὰρ ὄντες καὶ ἔξ ὑπερ-
δεξίων μαχόμενοι, καὶ τι καὶ ἄπονοιας ὑπ' ἀπο-
γνώσεως ἔχοντες, οὐ βάδιοι προσμῆξαι οἱ ἐγένοντο),
πέμπει δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐς σπονδᾶς δῆθεν σφας
προκαλούμενος, ἐφ' ὧ τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἐὐφράτου
2 πᾶσαν ἐκλίπωσι. 2 καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Κράσσος οὐδὲν
ἐνδοιάσας ἐπίστευσεν· ἐν τῷ γὰρ ἀκμῆ τοῦ δέος ων
καὶ ὑπ' ἐκπλῆξεως τῆς τε ἱδίας ἅμα καὶ τῆς δημο-
σίας συμφορᾶς τεθολαμένος, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοὺς
στρατιώτας τὴν τε ὀδὸν ὡς πολλὴν καὶ τραχείαν
ὁκνοῦντας καὶ τὸν Ὄρωδην φοβομένους ὀρῶν,
3 οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων προϊδέσθαι ἡνωτῇ. ἐτοίμου ὑ
οῦν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰς σπονδᾶς γενομένου ὁ Σουρήνας
οὐκ ἡθέλησε δι' ἐτέρων σπείρασθαι, ἀλλ' ὅτως
αὐτὸν μετ' ὀλίγων ἀπολαβῶν συλλάβῃ, αὐτῷ
4 ἐκείνῳ ἐφ' ἐφή βούλεσθαι ἐς λόγον ἐλθεῖν. κάκ τοι-
τού δόξαν σφίσιν ἐν τῷ μεταίχμιῳ 4 μετ' ἵσων
ἀνδρῶν ἐκατέρωθεν συμβαλεῖν ἀλλήλοις, ὁ τε
Κράσσος ἐς τὸ ὁμαλὸν ὑποκατέβη, καὶ ὁ Σουρήνας
ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀδόν, ὡς δή θᾶσσον πρὸς αὐτὸν
27 ἀφίκηται, ἐπεμψε. καὶ ὡς διαμέλλοντα τῶν
Κράσσου, καὶ βουλεύομενον ὦ τι ποιήσῃ, συναρ-

1 καὶ Reim., καὶ δι' Ῥ. L. 2 ἐκλίπωσι Bk., ἐκλείπωσι L.
3 ἐταίριν R. Steph., ἐταίροις L.
4 μεταίχμιῳ Turn., μεταίχμω L.
safely away to Syria in the company of Cassius Longinus, the quaestor, and still others, with Crassus himself, gained the mountains and prepared to escape through them into Armenia.

Surenas, learning this, was afraid that if they should escape anywhere they might make war on them again, but still he was unwilling to assail them on the higher ground, which was inaccessible to horses; for as they were heavy-armed men, fighting from higher ground, and felt also a touch of frenzy because of despair, contending with them was not easy. So he sent to them, inviting them to agree to a truce on condition of their abandoning all territory east of the Euphrates; and Crassus, without hesitation, trusted him. For he was in the very extremity of fear, and was distraught by the terror of the calamity that had befallen both himself and the state; and seeing, moreover, that the soldiers shrank from the journey, which they thought long and arduous, and that they feared Orodes, he was unable to foresee anything that he ought. Now when he declared himself ready for the truce, Surenas refused to negotiate it through others, but in order to get him off with only a few followers and seize him, he said that he wished to hold a conference with the commander personally. Thereupon they decided to meet each other in the space between the two armies with an equal number of men from each side. So Crassus descended to the level ground and Surenas sent him a present of a horse, to make sure of his coming to him more quickly; and while Crassus even then delayed and considered what he should
πάσαντες οἱ βάρβαροι βία ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλον. 1 καὶ τούτῳ ἀντιλαμβανόμενον αὐτοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐσ τεχερᾶς σφῖσιν ἦλθον, καὶ τέως μὲν ἵσοπαλεῖς ἐγένοντο, ἔπειτα δὲ προσβοσθησάντων 2 τινῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπεκράτησαν: οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ δυνατεὶ καὶ προπαρεσκευασμένοι ἐφθήσαν τοὺς ἀνῶ Ῥωμαίους ἀμύναντες σφῖσι· καὶ οὗ τε ἄλλοι ἔπεσον καὶ ὁ Κράσσος, εἰτ’ οὖν ἦπο τῶν σφετέρων τινὸς ὡποι μή ξωγηθῆ, εἰτε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπείδη κακῶς ἐτέρωτο, ἐσφάγη. 3 καὶ ἔκεινῳ μὲν τούτῳ τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτοῦ χρυσῶν ἐσ τὸ στόμα οἱ Πάρθοι, ὡς γε τινες λέγουσιν, ἐνέτηξαν ἐπισκόπτοντες· οὗτο γὰρ δὴ περὶ τὰ χρήματα, καίτοι πολυχρήματος ὡν, ἐσπουδάκει ὡστε καὶ 2 ὡς πένηται οἰκτείρειν τους μὴ δυναμένους στρατόπεδον ἐκ καταλόγου οἰκοθεν θρέψαι. 3 τῶν δὲ δὴ στρατιῶτῶν τὸ μὲν πλεῖον διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐς τὴν φιλίαν ἀπέφυγε, τὸ δὲ τι καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους εάλω. 28 Οἱ δὲ δὴ Πάρθοι τότε μὲν ὡς περαιτέρω τοῦ Ἐυφράτου προεχώρησαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ πᾶσαι ἀνεκτήσαντο· μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν πλῆθει τινὶ, ὡς μήτε στρατηγὸν μήτε στρατιώτας ἐχοῦσαν, ἐνέβαλον· ἀφ’ οὕπερ Κάσσιος 4 ῥαδίως αὐτοὺς, ἄτε μὴ πολλοὺς ὀντας, ἀπεώσατο. οὕτως γὰρ ἐν μὲν ταῖς Κάρραις τῶν τε στρατιῶτῶν τὴν αὐτοκράτορα αὐτὸν ἤγερον ἐμείς τοῦ Κράσσου διδόντων, καὶ

1 ἀνέβαλον Xyl., ἀνέλαβον L.
2 ὡςτε καὶ supplied by Leuncl. (ὡςτε) and Xyl. (ὡς καὶ).
3 θρέψαι v. Herw., θρέψειν L.
4 Κάσσιος R. Steph., from Xiph., κράσσος L., and so just below.

446
do, the barbarians took him forcibly and threw him on the horse. Meanwhile the Romans also laid hold of him, came to blows with the others, and for a time held their own; then aid came to the barbarians, and they prevailed; for their forces, which were in the plain and had been made ready beforehand brought help to their men before the Romans on the high ground could to theirs. And not only the others fell, but Crassus also was slain, either by one of his own men to prevent his capture alive, or by the enemy because he was badly wounded. This was his end. 

And the Parthians, as some say, poured molten gold into his mouth in mockery; for though a man of vast wealth, he had set so great store by money as to pity those who could not support an enrolled legion from their own means, regarding them as poor men. Of the soldiers the majority escaped through the mountains to friendly territory, but a part fell into the hands of the enemy.

The Parthians at this time did not advance beyond the Euphrates, but won back the whole country east of it. Later they also invaded Syria, though not in great numbers, because the province had neither general nor soldiers; and for this reason Cassius easily thrust them out, since they were not many in number. For when at Carrhae the soldiers through hatred of Crassus had offered him the supreme command over themselves, and Crassus himself on
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

προσέτι καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνου ἐθελοντὶ διὰ τὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς μέγεθος ἐπιτρέπουσος, οὐκ ἔδεξατο, τότε δὲ καὶ ἀνάγκη τῆς Συρίας ἐν τε τῶν παρόντων καὶ 3 μετὰ ταύτα προέστη. οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι οὐκ ἀπέ- σχοντο αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ χειρὶ αὐθίς μείζονι. Πακόρου μὲν ὄνοματι, τοῦ νιέω τοῦ Ὄρωδου, ἐργῇ δὲ (παῖς γὰρ ἐτὶ ἐκείνος ᾦ) Ὡσάκου ἡγουμένου σφίσιν, ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ μέχρι τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἤλθον, 4 πάσαν τὴν ἐν ποσὶ χειροχομεν. καὶ ἐπιδὰ εἶχον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ καταστρέφουσαν, 2 μὴτε τῶν Ῥω- μαίων ἄξιομαχῶν τινὶ δυνάμει παρόντων, καὶ τῶν δήμων τῇ τῇ ἐκείνων δεσποτείᾳ ἀχθομένων καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀτε καὶ γείτονας καὶ συνήθεις σφίσιν ὄντας 29 ἀποκλινόντων. ἀμαρτόντες δὲ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας (ὁ τε γὰρ Κάσσιος ἵσχυρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπεκρούσατο, καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἁδύνατοι πολιορκησάντι ἃ ἤσαν) ἐπ’ Ἀντι- γόνιαν ἐστράτου. καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸ τε προάστειον αὐτῆς σύμφυτον ἔν, καὶ ὡς ἐθάρσησαν, ἀλλ’ 2 οὔδ’ ἔδυνήθησαν ὡς αὐτὸ ἐσελάσαι, ἐνενόσαν μὲν τὰ τε δένδρα κόψαι καὶ τὸ χωρίον πᾶν ψιλῶσαι, ὅπως καὶ τραυμόνως καὶ ἀσφαλῶς τῇ πόλει προσμένωσι, μὴ δυνηθέντες δὲ (ὁ τε γὰρ πόνος πολὺς ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ χρόνος ἀλλῶς ἀναλύσαι, ὁ τε Κάσσιος τοῦ ἀποσκεδασμένου σφῶν ἠλύπει) ἀπανέστησαν ὃς καὶ ἐπ’ ἄλλο τε ἐπιστατεύ- 3 σοντες. 3 καὶ τούτω ὁ Κάσσιος ἐς τε τὴν ὄδὼν δι’ ἦς ἀποπορεύεσθαι ἐμελλὼν ἐλόχισε, κάνταϊθα ἐπιφανείς σφίσι μετ’ ὁλίγων ἐς τε διώξει αὐτοῦ ὑπηγάνετο, καὶ περιστοιχισάμενος ἄλλους τε καὶ

1 αὐτὸν St., παρ’ αὐτοῦ L.
2 καταστρέφεσθαι Turn., καταστρέφασθαι L.
3 ἐπιστατεύσουσε R. Steph., ἐπιστατεύσουσε L.

448
account of the greatness of the disaster had voluntarily allowed it, he had not accepted the command; now, however, he took charge of Syria perforce, both for the time being and subsequently. For the barbarians would not keep away from it, but made another campaign with a larger band, nominally under the leadership of Pacorus, the son of Orodes, though actually under that of Osaces, since the other was still a child. They came as far as Antioch, subduing the whole country before them. And they had hopes also of subjugating what remained, since the Romans were not at hand with a force fit to cope with them, and the districts were fretting under Roman rule and were ready to turn to the invaders, as to neighbours and people of kindred ways. But when they failed to take Antioch, since Cassius effectively repulsed them and they were unable to carry on a siege, they turned to Antigonea. And since the neighbourhood of this city was overgrown with timber, and they did not dare, nay were not even able to penetrate this with cavalry, they formed a plan to cut down the trees and lay bare the whole place, so that they might approach the town with confidence and safety. But finding themselves unable to do this, because the task was a great one and their time was spent in vain, while Cassius harassed those of them who scattered abroad, they retired with the intention of proceeding against some other place. Meanwhile Cassius set an ambush on the road along which they were to depart, and confronting them there with a few men, he induced them to pursue, and then surrounding them, killed a number, including
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τοῦ Ὀσάκην ἀπέκτεινε. τελευτήσαντος δ' ἐκείνου πᾶσαν τήν Συρίαν ὁ Πάκορος ἐξέλπη, καὶ οὐδ' αὐθεν οτε ἐστὶν ἐσέβαλεν.

30 Ἀρμα δὲ οὖτος ἀνεκεκωρίκει καὶ ὁ Βίβουλος ἄρξων τῆς Συρίας ἀφίκετο, καὶ περ ἐγνωσμένου μηδένα μήτε στρατηγὸν μὴν ὑπατον μήτε εὐθὺς μήτε πρὸ πέμπτου ἑτοὺς ἐς τὰς ἐξὸν ἡγεμονίας ἐξέναι, ἦν μη διὰ τούτο σπουδαρχοῦντες στα.

2 σιαξεσί, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ τὸ ὑπήκουν διήγαγε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ Πάρθους ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἔτρεψε· Ὀρνοδαπάτην ἡ γὰρ τίνα σατράπην ἀχόμενον τῷ Ὀρώδῃ προσπονησάμενος, ἀνέτεισε δὲ ἄγγελων τὸν τε Πάκορον βασιλέα στήσαθαι καὶ ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνον μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατεύσαι.

3 Ὁ μὲν οὖν πόλεμος οὗτος, ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν Πάρθων, τετάρτῳ ἔτει ἄφ' οὐ ἥρξατο, ἐπὶ τῇ Μάρκου Μαρκέλλου καὶ ἔπι Σολωπικίου.

31 Ῥουφόυ ὑπάτων, ἐπαύσατο· ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ χρόνῳ καὶ τὸν Καῖσαρ τὰ ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ταραχθέντα αὐθεσ μάχαις κατέλαβε, πολλὰ πάντα τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστρατηγῶν πράξεως,

2 ὡς ἐγὼ τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα διηγήσομαι μόνα. ὁ γὰρ Ἀμβιώριξ τοὺς Τρηούρος χαλεπώς ἔτι καὶ τότε τῷ τοῦ Ἰνδούτιομάρου θανάτῳ ἔχοντας παραλαβὼν τὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πλείον συνεπῆς, καὶ παρὰ τῶν Κελτῶν μισοθοφορικοὶ μετεπέμψατο.

3 βουλήθεις οὖν ὁ Δαβιδός, πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐπελθεῖν, συμμιᾶζε σφισί, προενέβαλεν ἐς τὴν τῶν Τρη- ούρων χώραν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἦμύσνοντο τῇν

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1 Ὀρνοδαπάτην Bs., Ὀρνοδαπάντη L.
2 δ' τε ... Πάρθων regarded by v. Herw. as a gloss.
3 ἥρξατο Reini., ἥρξατο L.
4 Μαρκέλλου Xyl., μαρκελλίνου L.
5 ετὶ R. Steph., ἐτεί L.

450
BOOK XL

Osaces. Upon the latter's death Pacorus abandoned all Syria and never invaded it again.

He had scarcely retired when Bibulus arrived to govern Syria. His coming, to be sure, was in violation of a decree, intended to prevent rivalry for office with its consequent strife, that no praetor or consul should either immediately or at any time within five years go abroad to govern a province. He administered the subject territory in peace, and turned the Parthians against one another. For after winning the friendship of Ornodapates, a satrap, who had a grudge against Orodes, he persuaded him through messengers to set up Pacorus as king, and with him to conduct a campaign against the other.

So this war between the Romans and Parthians came to an end in the fourth year after it had begun, and while Marcus Marcellus and Sulpicius Rufus were consuls. In that same period Caesar by battle again gained control of Gallic affairs, which had become disturbed. Of the numerous exploits performed either by himself alone or through his lieutenants I will relate only the most important. Ambiorix, after joining to himself the Treveri, who at this time were still angry over Indutiomarus' death, had formed a greater conspiracy in that quarter and sent for a mercenary force from the Germans. Now Labienus, wishing to join battle with them before these recruits should arrive, promptly invaded the country of the Treveri. And when the latter did not defend themselves, as they
διοσ ρομαν ιστορια

ἐπικουρίαν ἀναμένοντες, ἀλλὰ ποταμῶν τινα διὰ μέσου ποιησάμενοι ἡσύχαζον, συνεκάλεσε τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ ἐδημηγορήσε τοιάδε ἀφ’ ὄν τοὺς τε σφετέρους καταπλήξειν καὶ ἐκείνους... ἐμέλλε, 4 χρήμα τέ σφας ἐλέγε, πρὶν τοὺς Κέλτους αὐτοῖς ἐπαμύνα, πρὸς τε τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλές ἀποχωρήσαι, ἐσήμην ἐς δύσις συσκευάσασθαι καὶ ἐξανέστη οὖ πολλῷ ὑστερον, προσδοκήσας 5 ἐσεθαι τουτο ὅ καὶ ἐγένετο. οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα (ἡν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπιμελέσ, καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ γε τούτο καὶ φανερῶς ἔλεξα) δεδίεναι 3 τε αὐτῶν ἀντως καὶ φυγὴν ἀς ἀληθῶς ποιεῖσθαι ἐπίστευσαν, καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν στουδὴ διαβάντες θυμῷ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ἔχωρον, ὡς τάχους ἐκαστὸς εἰς. 6 καὶ οὖτος ὁ Δαβιήνος ὑπέστη τέ σφας ἐσκεδαιμένονς, καὶ τοὺς πρῶτοις ἐκπλήξας ῥαδίω καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς δι’ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐτρέψατο. κακό τουτοῦ φευγόντον τέ σφαν τεταραγμένως καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐμπιπτόντων καὶ πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν ὀθομένων πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινε. 32 Διαφυγόντων τε καὶ ὅς συχνῶν, ὁ Καίσαρ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδὲνα λόγον ἐποιείτο, τὸν δὲ Ἀμβιώργα διαδιδάσκοντα ἄλλοτε ἄλλη καὶ πολλά κακουργοῦντα καὶ ξητῶν καὶ διώκων πρώγματα ἔσχε. καὶ ἐκείνων μὲν οὐδένα τρόπον λαβεῖν ἑδυνήθη, ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῶν Κέλτων ὡς καὶ τῶν Τρηνόρων βοηθήσαι ἐθελήσαντας ἐστράτευσε. 2 καὶ ἔπραξε μὲν οὐδὲ τότε οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ ταχεῶν φόβω τῶν Σονήβων ἐπανεχώρησεν, ἔδοξε δ’ ὁυν αὖθις τὸν Ῥήμον διαβεβηκέναι, καὶ τῆς τε

1 Lacuna recognized by Leunel. 2 ἐσήμηνε Bk., σημηναί I. 3 δεδίεναι Rk., δυέναι L. 4 ἔδοξε δ’ Rk., ἔδοξεν L.
BOOK XL

were awaiting the reinforcements, but put a river between the two armies and remained quiet, Labienus assembled his soldiers and addressed them in such words as were likely to alarm his own men and encourage the foe, declaring that they must withdraw to Caesar and safety before the Germans should come to the aid of the enemy; and he immediately gave the signal to pack up the baggage. Not much later he actually set out on the march, expecting the very result that occurred. For the barbarians heard of his speech, for they were very diligent in such matters and it was for just that reason, indeed, that it had been delivered publicly, and they thought he was really afraid and truly taking to flight. Hence they hastily crossed the river and eagerly advanced against the Romans, as fast as each one could. Thus Labienus met their attack while they were scattered, and after terrifying the foremost easily routed the rest by means of these first fugitives. Then, as they were fleeing in disorder, falling over one another and crowding toward the river, he killed many of them.

Many escaped even as it was, but Caesar took no account of these, except in the case of Ambiorix. This man, by escaping now to one place and now to another and doing much injury, caused Caesar trouble in seeking and pursuing him. When he was unable to catch him in any way, he made an expedition against the Germans, alleging that they had wished to help the Treveri. On this occasion likewise he accomplished nothing, but retired rapidly through fear of the Suebi; yet he gained the reputation of having crossed the Rhine
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

γεφύρας μόνα τὰ προσεχῆ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔλυσε, καὶ φρούριον ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὑσταὶ καὶ ἀεὶ διαβησεῖν 1
3 φιλοδομήσε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὧργῇ τὴν τοῦ Ἀμβείρονος διάφευξιν φέρων, τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ καίτοι μηδὲν νεοτέρισαςαν διαρτάσαι 2 τοῖς θυμωνείν ἐπέτρεψε, προπεταγγείλας σφόσιν αὐτὸ τοῦθ', ὅπως ὅτι πλεῖστοι συνέλθωσιν ὃθεν περὶ πολλοὶ μὲν Γαλάται πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ Σύγαμβροι
4 πρὸς τὰς ἀρπαγὰς ἦλθον. οὗ μέντοι καὶ ἀπέχρησε 3 τοῖς Συγάμβροις τὰ ἐκεῖνοι λήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπέθεντο τηρήσαντες γὰρ σφαὶ πρὸς σίτου κομίδην ἀπιόντας ἐπεχείρησαν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτῶν, καὶ τούτῳ προσβοθησάντων σφῶν, ἐπείτερ ἦσθοντο, συνχόν έφόνευσαν.
5 καὶ οἱ μὲν φοβηθέντες διὰ τοῦτο τὸν Καίσαρα οἰκάδε σπουδὴ ἀνεχόμεναν ἐκεῖνος 4 δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδενός, 5 διὰ τὸ τῶν χειμώνα καὶ διὰ τὸ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ στασιάζονται, οὐδεμίαν τιμωρίαν ἐποιήσατο, τοὺς δὲ δὴ στρατιώτας πρὸς τὰ χειμάδια διαπέμψας αὐτὸς τε ἐσ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, πρόφασιν μὲν τῆς ἐκεί Γαλατίας ἔνεκα, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ὅτις ἐγγύθην τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει δρωμένους ἐφεδρεύη, ἀπήλθεν.

33 Καὶ τούτῳ οἱ Γαλάται αὐθίς ἐνεχόμεθαν. Ἀρουνυνοὶ γὰρ ἑγομένου σφῶν Ῥωμηνευζώροις ἀπέστησαν, καὶ τοὺς τε Ῥωμαίους, ὅσους ἐν τε ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ σφῶν εὑροῦν, πάντας ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχία αὐτῶν χωρή-

1 διαβησεῖν Dind., διαβασεῖν L.
2 διαρτάσαι Ba., διαρπάσειν L.
3 ἀπέχρησε R. Steph., ἀπεχώρησε L.
4 ἐκεῖνος Reim., ἐκεῖνος L.
5 οὐδενός Reim., οὐδέν L.
6 τε Rk., γε L.

454
BOOK XL

again, and of the bridge he destroyed only the portions near the barbarians, constructing upon it a guard-house, as if he might at any time have a desire to cross. Then, in anger at the successful flight of Ambiorix, he permitted that chieftain’s country, although it had been guilty of no rebellion, to be plundered by any who wished. He gave public notice of this in advance, so that as many as possible might assemble; hence many Gauls and many Sugambri came for the plunder. Now it did not suffice the Sugambri to make spoil of Gallic territory, but they even attacked the Romans themselves. They watched until the Romans were absent securing provisions and then made an attempt upon their camp; and when the soldiers, perceiving it, came to the rescue, they killed a good many of these. Then, becoming afraid of Caesar as a result of this affair, they hurriedly withdrew homeward; but he inflicted no punishment upon any of them because of the winter and the turmoil in Rome, but after dismissing the soldiers to their winter-quarters, went himself to Italy on the plea of looking after Cisalpine Gaul, but really in order that he might watch from close at hand the events that were taking place in the city.

Meantime the Gauls rebelled again. The Arverni under the leadership of Vercingetorix revolted, killed all the Romans they found in their cities and their country, and proceeding against the tribes in alliance with the foreigner, bestowed favours upon such as
 Dio's Roman History

ςαντες τους μεν συναποστηναι σφισιν έθελη-

ςαντας περιείπουν, τους δε λοιπους έκακούργουν.

2 μαθών ουν ταΰθ' ο Καίσαρ ἀνεκομίσθη, και

καταλαβὼν αυτούς ἐς Βιτούριγας ἐσβεβληκότας

ἐκείνοις μέν (οὐ γάρ πω πάντες οἱ στρατιωταὶ αὐτοῦ

παρῆσαν) οὐκ ἔπιμμυνεν, ἐστὶ δὲ την Ἀρουερνίδα

ἀντεμβαλὼν ἐπανήγαγεν οἰκαδὲ τους πολεμίους

καὶ (οὐ γάρ ἐδοκεὶ πω ἀξίωμαχος αὐτοῖς εἶναι)

34 προαπεχώρησεν. αὐξις οὖν ἐκείνοι πρὸς τε τοὺς

Βιτούριγας ἐπανήλθον, καὶ πόλιν αὐτῶν Ἡσινα-

ρικὸν ἐλώνες ἔπι πλείστον ἐν αὐτῇ ἀντέχουν.

ὕστερον δὲ ύπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολιορκούμενοι—

τὸ τε γὰρ τείχος δυσπρόσιτον ἦν, τῇ μὲν ἐλὼν

dυσδιαβάτον τῇ δὲ ποταμῷ ῥόου διὸ περι-

έχοντος, καὶ αὐτοὶ παμπληθεὶς ὄντες τά τε

προσβολάσ σφών ῥάδιως ἀπεκρούντο, καὶ ἐπεξ-

2 ὄντες πολλὰ αὐτοῦς ἐλύσαν. καὶ τέλος τά τε

πέριξ πάντα, οὕτως ὀγροῦς ἡ κόμας, ἀλλὰ

καὶ πόλεις ἁφ' ὡς ἀφελίαν τινα ἐσεσθαί σφις

προσεδόκων, κατέφλεξαν, εἰ τε τι παρά τῶν πόρ-

ῳ δεσποτῶν συμμάχων ἐκομίζετο αὐτοῖς, ἦρπαξαν, ὡστε

πολιορκεῖν τὴν πόλιν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους δοκούντας

3 τὰ τῶν πολιορκούμενων πᾶσχεν, πρὸν δὴ ὕπτος

tε λάβρος καὶ πνεύμα μέγα προσβάλλουσι τη

αὐτοῖς ἐπιγενόμενον (ὁ γάρ χειμῶν ἐνειστήκει)

πρότους μὲν ἐκείνους ἀπήλασε καὶ ἐσ τὰς σκηνὰς

ἐπανήγαγεν, ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς τὰς

οἰκίας κατέκλεισεν. ἀπελθόντων γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ

tῶν ἐπάλξεων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι προσέβαλον ἡδονής

1 ἀνεκομίσθη Reim., ἐκομίσθη L.

2 Βιτούριγας Bk., ιουτούριγας L.

3 ἐπανήλθον R. Steph., ἐπανήλθεν L.

4 Ἡσιναρίκον Leuncl., εὐδάκων L. 5 ὁ Bk., ὃ τε L.
had been willing to join their revolt, and injured the rest. Caesar on learning this returned and found that they had invaded the territory of the Bituriges. He made no attempt to help the latter, since not all his soldiers were at hand as yet, but by invading the Arvernan country in his turn drew the enemy home again, whereupon he retired in good season, not deeming himself yet a match for them. They accordingly went back to the Bituriges, captured Avaricum, a city of theirs, and held out in it for a long time; for the wall was hard to approach, being bordered on one side by almost trackless swamps and on the other by a river with a swift current. When, therefore, they were later besieged by the Romans, their great numbers made it easy for them to repel the assaults, and they also made sallies, inflicting many injuries. Finally they burned up everything in the vicinity, not only fields and villages, but also cities from which they thought assistance could come to their enemies, and if anything was being brought to these from allies at a distance, they seized it for booty. Therefore the Romans, while appearing to besiege the city, were really suffering the fate of the besieged; this continued until a furious rain and great wind sprang up (the winter having now set in) during their attack on a point in the wall, which first drove the assailants back, making them seek shelter in their tents, and then shut up the barbarians also in their houses. When they had retired from the battlements, the Romans suddenly attacked again, while there were
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

4 aúthís aútaiès érímous ándrówón oúsaioī kai púrynón tìnà paraxhēma, prín kai aísthēsai tòu polémou tís parousiás sáfawn, elónntes èpeita kai tà loipà oú xaléptous èxheirósantos, kai tìn tìn te pòli tìn pásan dihrrpasaan, kai tòu dúxhrwtono tìn vàs órphh tís te prosedreías kai tís talaipwrióss ësfhaxan.

35 Páxaas ðè tauta ó Kaîsarp èpi tìn chóravn aútôn èpestrátessse. kai èpeieith polémuymenos tìs géfroras oí loipon 'Arouperon proekkratíkíssan di' òn díabhínav aútou èkhínav, ápóriássas òpòs peraiwòthi, èpíparchlíthavn èptì polú para tòn ðxhínav,1 eì poìs èpíttídeíouv tìn òs òxhron òsste pezh dì' ðè aútov tòu ðudatos dielthèin lábòito. kàk toûnto ðn te ðlódei tìni kai èn sukeíni tòtpo geánümenos tà ména skêuofórà kai tòu stratouv tò pléínon proètemye, makràn 2 èktetamènh táxèi keleusíssas aútous pròiènav, òsste kai pántas sfhàs èntauða

3 eìnavi dòkeinì aútòs dè metà tón èrromenestátewn úpemëine, kai èula te èteme kai schédias èpoíèse kai èpt aútòn dièfni tò reúma, tòn bárbaçtov pròs te toûs èn tò pròsèthon porènunènous tòn noûn ðxóntov kai tòn Kaîsara met' aútòn èinai

4 lògízomènov. kai metà toûnto toûs te proèlènyvtho-tas nuktòs ánkekálèstato, kai díabíbasas aútovs òmòious tìs ména chóras èkrateíse, tòvòn dè ánthròpovn ès Gerghouías 3 sunkataphygántov kai èkeîse pánta tà tímìnìtata sfísi sunkkomìsàntov pléí-

36 ston pònon máthn aútovì prosedreúnov èsche. tò te yarp frouríov èptì te lofou karperov òn kai

1 ðxhínav R. Steph., ðxhavan L. 2 makràn Reim., makrâi L.
3 Gerghouías (Gerghouías) Leuncl., ògorghwvías L.
BOOK XL

no men there; and capturing a tower forthwith, B.C. 52
before ever the enemy became aware of their presence, they then without difficulty got possession
of the remaining works, plundered the whole city, and in anger at the siege and their hardships slew
all the people.

After accomplishing this Caesar made an expedition into their territory. Now the rest of the
Arverni, in view of the war being made upon them, had already secured possession of the bridges which
he must cross; and he, being in doubt how he should get across, proceeded a considerable distance
along the bank to see if he could find any place suitable for crossing on foot through the stream
itself. At length he reached a wooded and shady place, from which he sent ahead the baggage and
most of his army, bidding them go forward with their line extended over a great distance, so that all
his troops might appear to be in that one division. He himself with the best troops remained behind,
and cutting down timber and constructing rafts, he crossed the stream by means of these while the
barbarians still had their attention fixed on those marching on ahead, supposing that Caesar was among
them. After this he called back the advance party by night, transferred them across in the same way, and
conquered the country. The people fled in a body to Gergovia, carrying thither all their most valued
possessions, and Caesar had a great deal of toil to no purpose in besieging them. For their fort was
on a strong hill and was protected by mighty walls;
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τείχεσιν ἵσχυρός ἐκεκράτυντο, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι πέριξ αὐτὸ πάντα τὰ μετέωρα κατειληφότες περιεφρούρουν, ὡστε καὶ μένειν αὐτοίς κατὰ χώραν ἀσφαλῶς ὑπάρχειν καὶ ἐπικαταθέουσι πλεονεκτεῖν 2 τὰ πλείω. ἐν τε γὰρ πεδίῳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἡμιξετο (οὐ γὰρ εὐπόρησεν ἐχυρώση τοῖς χωρίον), καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὔτε προεγγεγράσκεν ἀνεκόπτοντο, ὡς καὶ ὑπερδεξίων κρατοῦντες, τὸ τε στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ κατεθεώτω καὶ ταῖς καταδρομαῖς ἐπικαίρους ἐχρώντω. εἰ τε πη περαιτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ προχωρῆσαντες ἀνεκόπτοντο, δι' ὅλιγον αὐθις ἐντὸς τῆς ἐπικατεθεώτως σφῶν ἐγύρινοντο· οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι οὐδένα τρόπον, ἐφ' ὅσον οἰ τε λίθοι καὶ τὰ ἀκόμα 4 ἔξωκεντο, πελάσαι τοῖς χωρίοις ἐδύναντο. ὥστε, ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ, ἐπειδὴ ὅ τε χρόνος ἄλλος ἀναλύτω, καὶ πολλακις καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ὄρθιον, ἐφ' οὐ τὸ πόλισμα ἢν, προσβαλὼν μέρους μὲν τῶν ἐκρατήσαντα αὐτοῦ ὅστε καὶ ἐντειχίσασατι τι ράφω τε ἐκεῖθεν τὴν ἐπὶ τάλλα ἐφόδου ποιεῖσθαι, τὸ δ' ὅλου ἀπεκρούστω, καὶ τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν συχνοίς ἀπέβαλε καὶ ἑκέινους ἀλήπτους ἐῶρα ὄντας, τὰ τοῦ Αἰδοῦς ἐν τούτῳ ἔκινθη, καὶ προσέτει καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἀπελθόντος αὐτοῦ κακῶς οἱ καταλειψάντες ἀπῆλλαξαν, ἀνέστη.

37 Οἱ γὰρ Αἰδοῦν οι κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ταῖς τοῦ ὀμολογίας ἐνεμείναν καὶ ἐπικουρίᾳ αὐτῷ ἐπεμπον, ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ἀκοντες ἐπολέμησαν, ἀπατησάντων σφᾶς ἄλλων τε καὶ Λιταύνικου. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπειδὴν αὐτοῦς ἄλλως τοῦτο ποιήσαι, διεπράξατο

1 προσεγγισάντες Λεονκ. προσεγγισάντες Λ. 2 κρατοῦντες Βς., διντες Λ. 3 ἀνεκόπτοντο Βκ., ἀνέκοπτον Λ. 4 τε Βκ., γε Λ.
BOOK XL

and the barbarians were keeping guard over it, after seizing all the high ground around, so that they could both safely remain in position, and, if they charged down, would usually have the advantage. For Caesar, in default of a strong position, was encamped in the plain, and never knew beforehand...; but the barbarians, in possession of the heights, could look down upon his camp and kept making opportune charges. And if they ever advanced farther than was fitting and were beaten back, they quickly got within their own lines again; for the Romans could not in any way come near enough to the places for their stones and javelins to reach their mark. So Caesar's time was being spent to no purpose; to be sure, after frequent assaults against the very height upon which the fortress was located, he did capture a certain portion of it, so that he could wall it in and advance more easily from there against the rest of it, yet on the whole he was being repulsed. He lost a number of his soldiers and saw that the enemy could not be captured; moreover, there was at this time an uprising among the Aedui, and while he was absent attending to them, the men left behind fared badly. All these considerations led Caesar to raise the siege.

The Aedui at first lived up to their agreement and sent him assistance, but later they went to war, although reluctantly, being deceived by Litaviecus and others. This man, being unable in any other way to persuade them to adopt this course,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

προσταχθήναι οἱ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπαγαγεῖν
2 τινας ἐπὶ συμμαχία δῆθεν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὄρμησε μὲν ὡς καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσων, προπέμψας δὲ ἵππεας, καὶ κελεύσας τισίν αὐτῶν ἐπανελθοῦσιν εἰπεῖν ὅτι οἴ τε
1 συμπεμφθέντες σφίσι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις σφῶν ὄντες συνειλημμένοι τε ύπ' αὐτῶν εἰσὶ καὶ ἀπολολάσι, προσπαρώξυνε τοὺς στρατιώτας δημηγορήσας ἀκόλουθα τοῖς ἀγγέλοις.
3 καὶ οὕτως αὐτοὶ τε ἔπανεστησαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συμμετέστησαν.² καὶ τότε μὲν (ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ ὡς τάχιστα τοῦτ' ἦσθετο, τοὺς τε Αἰδούνους οὐς εἶχε καὶ ἑδόκει πεφονευκέναι ἐπεμψεν αὐτοῖς, ὡστε φανερῶς πᾶσι ζώντας γενέσθαι, καὶ τῷ ἵππικῳ
38 ἐφέστετο) μετενόησαν καὶ συνηλλάγησαν αὐθίς
de τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρὸς τῇ Γεργονία τῇ² τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀποστολικὰ πταισάντων, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο παντάπασιν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀποχωρησάντων, ἐφοβῆθησαν οἱ τήν τε ἐπανάστασιν πράξαντες καὶ νεωτέρων αἱ πραγμάτων ἐφιέμενοι μὴ⁴ σχολά-
2 ζώντες ... ποιῆσωνται, καὶ ἐνέχωμα. καὶ οὕτως μαθόντες
de τοῦθ' οἱ συστρατεύοντες⁵ αὐτῶν τῷ Καίσαρι ἥτις οὖν ἐπιτραπήναι σφίσιν οἰκαὶ ἀπελθεῖν, ὑποσχόμενοι πάντα καταστῆσειν. καὶ οὕτως ἀφε-
thesized by Google
BOOK XL

managed to get himself appointed to convey some men to Caesar ostensibly to serve as the latter’s allies. He did, indeed, set out as if to fulfil this mission, but sent ahead some horsemen bidding some of them return and say that their companions and the rest of their men in the camp of the Romans had been arrested by the latter and put to death. He then further excited the wrath of the soldiers by delivering a speech in keeping with the messengers’ report. In this way the Aedui themselves rose and induced the others to revolt with them. As soon as Caesar became aware of this, he sent to them the Aedui whom he had and was thought to have slain, so that they might be seen by all to be alive, and followed on with his cavalry. On this occasion, then, they repented and became reconciled; but when later the Romans, by reason of Caesar’s absence, were defeated at Gergovia and entirely withdrew from that place, those who had caused the uprising and were ever eager for revolution feared that [the Romans might take vengeance upon them], now that they were free to do so, and consequently they rebelled. And members of their tribe who were campaigning with Caesar, when they learned of this, asked him to allow them to return home, promising that they would put everything in order. Released on these conditions, they came to Noviodunum, where the Romans had deposited their money and grain and many hostages, and with the
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

κατετέθειντο, ἦλθον, καὶ τούς τε φρουροὺς αὐτῶν, συναιριμένων 2 σφίσι τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, μὴ προσ- 
δεχομένους ἐφθειραν, καὶ ἐν κρατεὶ πάντων αὐτῶν
3 ἐγένοντο. καὶ ἐκείνην τε τὴν πόλιν ἐπίκαιρον
οὕσαν κατέπρησαν, ὅπως μὴ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ὀρμητῆ-
ριον αὐτὴν τοῦ πολέμου ποιήσωσυναι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ
τῶν Αἰδοῦων προσαπέστησαν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ ἐπ-
εχείρησε μὲν παραχρῆμα ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ στρατεύσαι,
μὴ δυνηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τῶν ποταμῶν τὸν Λίγρον 3 ἐπὶ
4 Λίγρονας ἐτράπετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὖθ’ ἐκεῖ κατώρ-
θωσεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Δαβίδης τὴν νῆσον τὴν ἐν τῷ
Σηκοουανῷ ποταμῷ οὕσαν, τοὺς τε προκινδυνε-
σαντος ἐν 4 τῇ ἡπείρῳ κρατήσας καὶ τὴν διάβασιν
πολλαχῇ ἀμα κατὰ τε τὸν ῥόου καὶ ἀνάπαλιν,
ὅπως μὴ καθ’ ἐν περαιούμενος κωλυθῆ, ποιησά-
μενος, κατέσχε.

39 Πρὶν δὲ τούτο γενέσθαι, καταφρονήσας ὁ Ὀιεβ-
κυνηγετόριξ τοῦ Καῖσαρος ἐξ ὧν ἐπτάλεξε ἐπ’ Ἀλλό-
βρυγας ἐπτάτευσε. καὶ τούτῳ ὀρμήσαντα αὐτὸν
ὡς καὶ βοηθήσοντά σφίσιν, ἀπέλαβεν ἐν Σηκουα-
2 νοῖς γενόμενοι καὶ ἐνεκυκλώσατο, οὐ μέντοι κακὸν
τι εἰργάσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάν τούναντίον τοὺς τε
Ῥωμαίους ἤναγκασεν ἄγαθοὺς εἶναι ἀπογυώσει τῆς
σωτηρίας, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους καὶ ὑπὸ
tοῦ θράους ἐπτάεσθε, καὶ τι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν
3 τῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συμμαχοῦντων ἔσφαλη ταῖς τε
γὰρ ὀρμαῖς ἀπληστοὶ ὄντες καὶ τοῖς 5 σώμασι τὴν
tὸλμαν προσεπισχυρίσαντες διέρρηξαν τὴν περί-
σχεσιν. εὑρὼν δὲ ὑν τὸ εὐρήμα τοῦτο ο ᾨαὶσαρ

1 κατετέθειντο Bk., κατετέθειντο L.
2 συναιριμένων R. Steph., συναιραμένων L.
3 Λίγρον Leuncl., αἶγρον L. 4 ἐν added by Bk.
5 ἀπληστοὶ ὄντες καὶ τοῖς Bk., ἀπλῆστοις L.

464
aid of the natives destroyed the garrisons, which were looking for no hostile act, and gained possession of everything there. And they burned down the city, because of its advantageous situation, to prevent the Romans from making it a base for the war, and next they caused the remainder of the Aedui to revolt. Caesar, therefore, attempted to march against them at once, but being unable to do so, on account of the river Liger, he turned his attention to the Lingones; and he did not meet with success there either. Labienus, however, occupied the island in the river Sequana after conquering its defenders on the nearer bank and sending his troops across at many points at once, both down and up stream, in order that he might not be hindered if he attempted the crossing at one spot.

But before this happened, Vercingetorix, filled with contempt for Caesar because of the latter’s reverses, had marched against the Allobroges. And intercepting the Roman general, who had thereupon set out to aid them, when he was among the Sequani, he surrounded him, but did him no harm; on the contrary, he compelled the Romans to be brave through despair of safety, whereas he himself failed by reason of his numbers and audacity. His defeat was due in part to the Germans who were acting as allies of the Romans; for with their unquenchable enthusiasm and their mighty bodies which added strength to their daring they succeeded in breaking through the enclosing ranks. Having met with this good fortune, Caesar did not give ground, but
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

οὐκ ἀνήκεν, ἀλλ' ἐς Ἀλεσίαν τοὺς διαφυγόντας αὐτῶν κατακλείσας ἐπολιορκεῖ.

40 Καὶ τούτῳ ὁ Ὄνερκιγγετόριξ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοὺς ἵππες, πρῶ τοῦ παντελῶς ἀποτελείσθηναι, ἔξε-πεμψε, τῆς το τροφῆς τῶν ἵππων ἔνεκα (οὐ γὰρ ἦν) καὶ ὅπως ἐς τὰς πατρίδας ἐκαστοὶ σφων κομμα-σθέντες τά τε ἐπιτήδεια καὶ ἐπικουρίαν αὐτῶ 2 ἀγάγωσιν. ἐπεὶ δ' ὅπως τε ἱχρόνιζον καὶ τὰ σιτία σφᾶς ἐπιλεύπειν ἠξεταστάτο, τοὺς τε παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς ἀρχειοτάτους ἔξε-βαλεν, ἐπιπέπασα μάτην ὅτι ἦ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῆς λείας ἔνεκα σωθῆσονται, ἢ ὃν γε λοιπὸν τὰς τροφαῖς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖον χρησάμενοι 3 περιγγενήσονται. ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ ἄλλως μὲν οὐδ' αὐτὸς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ὡστε καὶ ἔτεροις τρέφειν, εὐπόρει τοῖς δ' οὖν 3 πολεμίως ἰσχυρότεραν τὴν σιτοδείαν ἐπανελθόντων αὐτῶν, ἐλπίς τοῦ πάντως σφᾶς καταδεχθῆσθαι, ποιήσειν νομίσας πάντας 4 αὐτοὺς ἀπεώσατο. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, μηδέτεροι σφᾶς δεχομένων, οἰκτρότατα ἀπώλοντο. ή δὲ ἐπικουρία τῶν τε ἵππων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀχθέντων ἐπῆλθε μὲν οὐκ ἐσ μακράν τοῖς βαρ-βάροις, ἵππομαχία δὲ δὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῇ βοή-5 θείᾳ. . . καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ πειράσαντες νυκτὸς διὰ τῶν περιτεχνισμάτως ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθεῖν ἰσχυ-ρῶς ἐπόνησαν. 4 τάφρους τε γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κρυπτᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἰππασίμοις ἐπεποίηκασαν καὶ ἱκάλεσας ἐς αὐτὰς ἐνεπεπῆχεσαν, 5 πάντα ἐπι- 1 καὶ supplied by R. Steph.
2 ἔξεβαλεν R. Steph., ἔξεβαλον L. 3 δ' οὖν Pflugk, γοῦν L.
4 ἐπόνησαν H. Steph., ἐκοίμησαν L.
5 ἐνεπεπῆχεσαν Dind., ἐμπεπῆχεσαν L.
BOOK XL

shut up and besieged in Alesia such of the foe as escaped.

Now Vercingétorix had at first, before he had been entirely cut off by the wall, sent out the cavalry to get fodder for the horses, as there was none on hand, and in order to let them disperse, each to his native land, and bring thence provisions and assistance. But as these delayed and food supplies began to fail the besieged, he thrust out the children and the women and the most useless among the rest, hoping either that the outcasts would be saved as booty by the Romans or else that those left in the town might survive by enjoying for a longer time the supplies that would have belonged to their companions. But he hoped in vain, for Caesar did not have sufficient food himself to feed others; and believing, moreover, that by returning the expelled he could make the enemy's lack of food more severely felt (for he expected that they would of course be received again), he forced them all back. Now these perished most miserably between the city and the camp, because neither party would receive them. As for the relief looked for, the horsemen and the others they were bringing reached the barbarians before long, but these were then [defeated (?)] in a cavalry battle, as the Romans with the aid [of the Germans (?)] . . . Thereupon they tried to enter the city by night through the wall of circumvallation, but met with dire disaster; for the Romans had dug secret pits in the places which were passable for horses and had fixed stakes in them, afterward making the whole
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

πολῆς τῷ ἀλλῷ τῷ περίξ χωρίῳ ὀμοίωσαντες,
6 ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας καὶ τοὺς ὕππους ὧτι μάλιστα ἀπερισκέπτως ἐσ αὐτὰ ἐμπεσόντας σφαλήναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐνέδωσαν πρὶν ἐκ παρατάξεως αὐθίς
2 πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς τειχίσμασιν αὐτοὶ τε ἀμα καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπεξελθόντες πταῖσαι.

41 Ὅ δ' οὖν Οὐερκίγγετόριξ ἡδυνήθη μὲν ἐκφυγεῖν
(οὔτε γὰρ ἐάλῳ καὶ ἀτρότος ἦν), ἐλπίσας δ', ὅτι ἐν φιλίᾳ ποτὲ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐγεγόνει, συνγνώμης παρ' αὐτοῦ τεῦξεσθαι, ἢλθε πρὸς αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐπί
kηρυκευσάμενος, καὶ καθημένῳ οἱ ἐπὶ βήματος ἔξαίφης ὠφθῃ, ὅστε καὶ ταραχῆναι τινας: ἄλ
λως τε γὰρ περιμήκης ἦν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις δεινῶς
2 ἐνέπρεπεν· ἡσυχίας δ' οὖν ἱενομένης εἴπε μέν οὐ
δέν, πεσὼν δὲ ἐς γόνυ τῷ τε χειρί πίεσας ἐδείτο.
4 ταύτα τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις οἴκτων τῇ τῇ τῆς προτέρας
αὐτοῦ τύχες ἀναμνήσει καὶ τῷ τῆς παρούσης
 disg χρεως περιπαθεὶς ἐνέβαλεν· ὃ δε δὴ Καίσαρ αὐτό
τε αὐτῷ τούτο, δι' ὁ μάλιστα σωθήσεσθαι προσε-
3 δόκησεν, ἐπεκάλεσε (τῆς γὰρ φιλίας τὴν ἀντίταξιν
ἀντιθείς χάλεπωτέραν τὴν ἀδικίαν αὐτοῦ ἀπέφηνε)
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε ἐν τῷ παραχρήμα αὐτὸν ἠλέ
ησεν ἄλλ' εὐθὺς ἐν δεσμοῖς ἑδησε, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐπι
νίκια μετὰ τοῦτο πέμψας ἀπέκτεινε.

42 Τούτο μὲν οὖν ὑστερον ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ τοὺς
μὲν ὀμολογία τῶν λοιπῶν προσέθετο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ
μάχη κρατήσας ἐδουλώσατο. οἳ τε γὰρ Βελγικολ

1 τῷ ἀλλῷ Rk., τῶν ἀλλων L. 2 αὖθις Bk., ἀρθεὶς L.
3 πιέσας Reim. (from two late Mss.), ποίησας L.
4 ἐδείτο Dind., ἐδέετο L.
5 Βελγικολ Leuncl., Βελτικολ L.
BOOK XL

resemble on the surface the surrounding ground; thus horse and man, falling into them absolutely without warning, came to grief. The men did not give up, however, until they had arrayed themselves once more beside the very walls and had been defeated along with the people from the city who came out to fight.

Now Vercingetorix might have escaped, for he had not been captured and was unwounded; but he hoped, since he had once been on friendly terms with Caesar, that he might obtain pardon from him. So he came to him without any announcement by herald, but appeared before him suddenly, as Caesar was seated on the tribunal, and threw some who were present into alarm; for he was very tall to begin with, and in his armour he made an extremely imposing figure. When quiet had been restored, he uttered not a word, but fell upon his knees, with hands clasped in an attitude of supplication. This inspired many with pity at remembrance of his former fortune and at the distressing state in which he now appeared. But Caesar reproached him in this very matter on which he most relied for his safety, and by setting over against his claim of former friendship his recent opposition, showed his offence to have been the more grievous. Therefore he did not pity him even at the time, but immediately confined him in bonds, and later, after sending him to his triumph, put him to death.

This, however, was a later occurrence. At the time mentioned he gained some of the remaining foes by capitulation and enslaved others after conquering them in battle. The Belgae who lived near by had
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

οἱ πλησιώχωροι, 1 Κόμμιον τινα Ἀτρέβαν προστη-
σάμενος σφων, ἐπὶ πλείστων ἀντέχουν, καὶ δύο
τε ἱππομαχίας ἀγχώμαλι πῆ 2 ἡγούμενατο, καὶ
τρίτη πεζομαχία ἱσοπαλεῖ 3 τὸ πρῶτον συνεν-
χθέντες ἔπειτα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ κατὰ νότου
σφίλις ἀνελπίστως προσπεσῶντος 4 ἐτράπησαν.
2 καὶ τούτῳ τὸ τε στρατόπεδον τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ περι-
λεπεῖς ἔζελιπον, καὶ διελθόντες ἦλην τινὰ ἐκεῖνην
tε ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας μόνας ὑπέλειποντο, 5
ὅπως τῶν πολεμίων διὰ τε ταύτας καὶ διὰ τὸ πῦρ
χρυσίσαντων φθάσωσιν ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλές ἀποχωρή-
3 σαντες. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπιτυχεῖς τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐγέ-
νοντο· οί γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ὡς τᾶχιστα τῆς φυγῆς
αὐτῶν ἦθουσον, ἐπεδώξαν σφας, καὶ ἐνυχόντες
τὸ πυρὶ τὰ μὲν κατέβασαν τὰ δὲ καὶ διέκοψαν,
καὶ τινες καὶ διὰ μέσης τῆς φλογὸς δραμόντες
κατέλαβον αὐτοὺς ἀπροσδόκητοι καὶ παμπληθεῖς
43 ἐφόνευσαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τινὲς
ωμολόγησαν, ὡς Ἰ. Ἀτρέβας διαφυγὸν οὐδ’ ὃς
ηὐχασεν, ἄλλα καὶ τὸν Δαβίδου ἐπεχείρησεν.
2 ἐνεδρεύσαι ποτε. ἦττηθες δὲ τῇ μάχῃ ἀνεπείση
μὲν ἐς λόγους αὐτῷ ἔθεσιν, πρὶν δὲ ἡ ὦτιον συμ-
βῆναι τρωθεῖς ὑπὸ τινὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀποστιὰ
τοῦ μὴ ἂν ἀκριβῶς εἰρηνῆσαι διέφυγε, καὶ χαλε-
πῶς αὐθις αὐτοίς ἐγένετο, μέχρις οὐ ἀπογυνόνα
πράγματα τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις τοῖς συνουσίν οἱ ἀκέ-
ραιον τὴν ἀδειαν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς σφετέροις ἐπράξεν,
αὐτὸς 6 δὲ ἐστιν τὸ μηδέποτε, ὡς γε τινὲς φασίν, 7

1 πλησιώχωροι R. Steph., πλησιώχωροι L.
2 πῆ Ρκ., τε L. 3 ἱσοπαλεῖ Bs., ἱσοπάλφ L.
4 προσπεσῶντος R. Steph., προσπεσῶντες L.
5 ὑπέλειποντο Βκ., ὑπελειποντο L.
6 αὐτὸς R. Steph., αὐτῶς L. 7 φασίν added by Bs.
BOOK XL

put at their head Commius, an Atrebatian, and resisted for a long time. They fought two indecisive cavalry battles and the third time in an infantry battle, although at first they held their own, they were later turned to flight when attacked unexpectedly in the rear by the cavalry. After this the remainder abandoned the camp by night, and as they were passing through a wood set fire to it, leaving behind only their waggons, in order that the enemy might be delayed by these and by the fire, and they themselves might thus reach safety. Their hope, however, was not realized. For the Romans, as soon as they were aware of their flight, pursued them and on encountering the fire they extinguished it in places or hewed their way through the trees, and some even ran through the midst of the flames; thus they came upon the fugitives without warning and slaughtered great numbers. Thereupon some of the others came to terms, but the Atrebatian, who escaped, would not remain quiet even then. He undertook at one time to ambush Labienus, but after being defeated in battle was persuaded to hold a conference with him. Before any terms were made, however, he was wounded by one of the Romans, who surmised that it was not his real intention to make peace; but he escaped and again proved troublesome to them. At last, despairing of his project, he secured for his associates unconditional amnesty for all their acts, and pardon for himself, as some say, on the condition of his never appearing again
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

3 εἰς ὁψιν μηδενὸς Ῥωμαίου ἐλθείν. εἴκεινοι τε οὖν
οὕτω κατελύσαντο, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μετὰ τούτο, οἱ
μὲν ἐκούσιοι οἱ δὲ καὶ καταπολεμηθέντες, ἐχειρώ-
θησαν, καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ φρουραῖς καὶ
δικαίωσει χρημάτων τε ἐσπράξει καὶ φόρων
ἐπιτάξει τους μὲν ἐταπείνωσε τους δὲ ἡμέρωσε.

44 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐπὶ τε Δουκίου Παῦλου καὶ
ἐπὶ Γαίου Μαρκέλλου ὑπάτων ἐτελευτήθη, ὁ δὲ
δὴ Καῖσαρ τῶν μὲν Γαλατῶν ἔνεκα καὶ τοῦ
χρόνου τοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῦ δοθέντος
ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας ἀπαλλαγὴν καὶ ἐς τὴν
Ῥώμην ἐπανακομμισθήναι ὦφειλεν εἴκεινος 1 τε
γὰρ ἐπὶ ἐξόδῳ ἦν καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ἐπέπαυτο, καὶ
οὐδεμίαν ἔτι ἐνυπρεπὴ σκῆψιν πρὸς τὸ μὴ οὐ τά
τε στρατόπεδα ὀφείλαι καὶ ἰδιωτέρας εἰχεν.

2 ἐπεὶ δὲ τά τε ἐν τῷ ἀστεί ἐστασιάζετο, καὶ οἱ
Κράσσος ἐπεθυμει, δὲ τοὺς Πομπήιος ἐν τῇ δυνάμει
αὐθίς, ἀτε τρίτον ὑπατευκώς καὶ τῆν ἐν τῇ
Ἰβηρία ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ πέντε ἄλλα ἐτῇ δοθήναι οἱ
διαπεπραγμένος, ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτῷ οὐκέτ' οἰκεῖος,

3 ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ παίδιου, ἀπερ που καὶ μόνον
ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ αὐτοῦς 2 κατείχε, τετελευτηκότος,
διέκειτο, 3 ἐφοβήθη μὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ψιλωθεὶς
ἐπὶ τε εἴκειν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐχθροῖς γένηται,
καὶ οὐ διήκεν αὐτοῖς.

45 Ἡγὰρ δὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἔτεσιν ἄλλα τε ἐν
τῇ πόλει στασιώδη πολλὰ κἂν ταῖς ἀρχαιοσκεῖαις
μάλιστα ἐγένετο, ὡστε μόλις ἐγείρομαι μηνὶ τόν τε
Καλούνιον καὶ τόν Μεσσάλαν ὑπάτους ἀποδει-
χθήναι καὶ οὐδ' ἂν τότε ἤρέθησαν, εἰ μὴ Κύντος

1 εἴκεινος Leuncel., eikós L. 2 αὐτοὺς R. Steph., αὐτοῦ L.
3 διέκειτο supplied by Rk.

472
within sight of any Roman. So these foes became reconciled on these terms, and later the rest were subdued, some voluntarily and some when conquered in war; and Caesar by means of garrisons and punishments and levies of money and assessments of tribute humbled some of them and tamed others.

Thus these wars came to an end in the consulship of Lucius Paulus and Gaius Marcellus. It was now time for Caesar, in view of the subjugation of the Gauls and the period for which his command had been assigned him, to leave Gaul and return to Rome. For his term was about to expire, the war had ceased, and he had no longer any plausible excuse for not disbanding his troops and returning to private life. But affairs in the city at this time were in a state of turmoil, Crassus was dead, and Pompey had again come to power, since he had been consul for the third time and had managed to have the government of Spain granted to him for five years longer; moreover, he no longer was on intimate terms with Caesar, especially now that the child, who alone had kept them on friendly terms, had died. Caesar was therefore afraid that if he were deprived of his soldiers he might fall into the power of Pompey and of his other enemies, and so did not dismiss them.

During these same years many tumults had occurred in the city, especially in connection with the elections, so that it was not until the seventh month that Calvinus and Messalla were appointed consuls. And not even then would they have been chosen, had not

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1 Cf. xxxix, 64.


DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

te Πομπήιος ὁ Ῥοῦφος ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, καίτοι τοῦ τε Σύλλου θυγατριδοῦς ὑν καὶ δημαρχῶν, ἐνεβλήθη, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς ἀλ- λοις τοῖς κακουργησάτι τι θελήσασιν ἐψηφίσθη, τό τε Πομπήιῳ ἡ πρὸς αὐτούς βοήθεια ἐνεχειρίσθη.

3 ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ὅτε καὶ οἱ ὀρνιθεὶς τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ἐπέσχον, οὐ βουλόμενοι τοῖς μεσοβασιλεύσει γε- νέσθαι μᾶλιστα δὲ οἱ δήμαρχοι, τὰ πράγματα τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει διέποντες ὡστε καὶ τὰς πανη- γύρες καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ποιεῖν, ἐκώλυνον τὰς λοιπὰς ἁρχὰς αἱρεθῶν. καὶ διὰ τούτῳ καὶ

4 ὁ Ῥοῦφος ἐς τὸ οἴκημα ἐσέπεσε. καὶ οὕτος μὲν τὸν Φαουώνιον ἁγοραμομοῦντα ἐς αὐτὸ ὑστεροῦν ἀπὸ τινὸς οὐ μεγάλης αἰτίας, ἤνα δὴ κοινοῦν τῆς ἀτιμίας λάβῃ, κατέθετο· πάντες δὲ οἱ δή- μαρχοί ἄλλας τε σκῆψεις ἐμποδίους ἐσέφερον, καὶ χιλιάρχους ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων, ὅτις πλείους ἄρχοντες ὑστερ ποτὲ ἀποδεικνύονται, καθή-

5 στασθαὶ ἐςηγοῦντο. ἐπειδὴ τ' οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐπείσθη, δικτάτορα γοῦν τὸν Πομπήιον λεγόταὶ δεῖν ἐφασκον. καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐπὶ τῇ προ- φάσει ταύτῃ διέτριψαν· ἐκεῖνος τε γὰρ ἀπεδήμηει, καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων οὔτε ψηφίσασθαι τις αὐτὸ (πρὸς γὰρ τὴν τοῦ Σύλλου ὁμότητα ἐμόσουν πάντες τὸ πολίτεμα) οὔτ' αὐ μὴ ἔλεσθαι διὰ

46 τοῦ τοῦ Πομπήιον φόβον ὑπέμεινε. τέλος δὲ ὅτε ποτὲ αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν τὴν μὲν δικτατορίαν διδο- μένην οἱ δῆθεν οὐκ ἐδέξατο, τοὺς δὲ ὑπάτους ἀποδεικνύαν παρεκκεύασαν. οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι διαδόχους σφίσι διὰ τὸν ἐκ τῶν σφαιρῶν

1 καθίστασθαι Bs., καθίστα L.
2 σφαιρῶν Ἡνρ., σφαιρῶν L.
BOOK XL

Quintus Pompeius Rufus, though he was the grandson of Sulla and was serving as tribune, been cast into prison by the senate; and the same penalty was voted in the case of the others who had desired to commit some outrage, while the task of proceeding against them was entrusted to Pompey. Sometimes the omens had checked the elections by refusing to favour the interreges: above all else the tribunes, by managing affairs in the city so that they instead of the praetors should conduct the games, prevented the remaining magistrates from being chosen. This also was the reason why Rufus was put in jail. He later on brought Favonius, the aedile, to the same fate on some trifling charge, in order that he might have a companion in his disgrace. All the tribunes offered various objections, and proposed, among other things, that consular tribunes should replace the consuls, so that more magistrates might be elected, as formerly. And when no one would heed them, they declared that in any case Pompey must be chosen dictator. By this pretext they secured a very long delay; for he was out of town, and of those on the spot there was no one who would venture to vote for the demand, since in remembrance of Sulla's cruelty they all hated that institution, nor yet would venture to refuse to choose Pompey, on account of their fear of him. At last, very late, he came himself, refused the dictatorship offered to him, and took measures to have the consuls named. These, likewise, on account of the turmoil arising from murders, did not appoint any successors, though they
ΔΟΙΟΣ ROMAN HISTORY

tάραχον κατέστησαν, καίπερ καὶ τὴν βουλευτικὴν ἐσθήτα καταθέμενοι καὶ τῇ ἵππαδι τὴν γερουσίαν ὃσπερ ἐπὶ μεγάλῳ τινὶ πένθει συνάγοντες. δόγμα τε ἐποιήσαντο μηδένα μήτε στρατηγήσαντα μὴν ὑπατεύσαντα τὰς ἐξω ἡγεμονίας, πρὶν ἂν πέντε ἑτη διέλθη, λαμβάνειν, εἰ πῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ παραντίκα ἐν δυνάμει τινὶ αὐτοὺς γίγνεσθαι παύσαντο σπουδαρχοῦντες. οὔτε γὰρ ἐμε-3 τρίαζον οὐθ’ ύγίες οὐδὲν ἐποίουν, ἀλλ’ ἐπ’ ἀλληλοὺς παρώρμητο πολλὰ μὲν δαπανώμενοι πολλῷ δ’ ἐτί πλεῖον μαχόμενοι, ὡστε καὶ τὸν ὑπατῶν ποτὲ τὸν Καλούνιον τραβήγμα. οὐκοῦν οὐθ’ ὑπατος οὔτε στρατηγὸς οὔτε πολιαρχὸς τὶς σφας διεδέξατο, ἀλλὰ ἀναρκτοί κατὰ τοῦτο παντελῶς οἱ Ῥωμαίοι τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ ἐτους ἐγένοντο.

47 Κάκ τούτοι οὔτε τι ἄλλο χρηστὸν συνέβη, καὶ ἡ ἀγορὰ ἡ διὰ τῶν ἐννέα αἰεὶ ήμερῶν ἀγομένη ἐν 2 αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Ἰανουαρίῳ νομηματία ἡχθη. καὶ τούτο τε αὐτούς,2 ὡς οὐκ ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου συμβαν ἀλλ’ ἐν τέρατος λόγῳ γενόμενοι, ἐθορύβει, καὶ ὅτι βύας ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ὀφθη καὶ συνελήφθη, ἀγαλμά τε τι ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἴδρωσε, καὶ λαμπάς ἐκ τῶν νοτίων πρὸς ἀνατολάς διέδραμε, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν κεραυνοὶ πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ βῶλοι λίθοι τε καὶ ὀστρακα καὶ ἱμα διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος ἡνέχθη.

3 δοκεῖ δὲ ἐμουγχε καὶ ἐκείνο τὸ τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει, ἐπ’ ἐξόδῳ αὐτοῦ, περὶ τε τὸν Σάραπιν καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἱσιν ψηφισθὲν τέρας οὐδενὸς ἤττον γενέσθαι τοὺς γὰρ ναὸς αὐτῶν,3 οὗς ἰδίᾳ τινὲς ἐπεποίηντο,

1 δόγμα τε R. Steph., δόγματα L.
2 αὐτοῦ R. Steph., αὐτοῖς L. 3 αὐτῶν Leuncl., αὐτοῦ L.

476
BOOK XL

laid aside their senatorial garb and in the dress of knights, as on the occasion of some great calamity, convened the senate. They also passed a decree that no one, either an ex-praetor or an ex-consul, should assume a command abroad until five years had elapsed; they hoped that such men, by not being in a position of power immediately after holding office, would cease their craze for office. For there was no moderation and no decency at all being observed, but they vied with one another in expending great sums and, going still further, in fighting, so that once even the consul Calvinus was wounded. Hence no consul or praetor or prefect of the city had any successor, but at the beginning of the year the Romans were absolutely without a government in these branches.

No good came of all this, and among other things the market that was held on every ninth day, came on the very first day of January. This seemed to the Romans to be no mere coincidence but rather in the nature of a portent, and it accordingly caused them trepidation. The same feeling was increased when an owl was both seen and caught in the city, a statue exuded perspiration for three days, a meteor darted from the south to the east, and many thunderbolts, many clods, stones, shards and blood went flying through the air. But it seems to me that that decree passed the previous year, near its close, with regard to Serapis and Isis, was a portent equal to any; for the senate had decided to tear down their temples, which some individuals had

477
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

4 καθελεύν τῇ βουλῇ ἔδοξεν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοὺς θεοὺς τούτους ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐνόμισαν, καὶ ὦτε¹ γε καὶ ἐξενίκησεν ὡστε καὶ δημοσίᾳ αὐτοῦς σέβεσθαι, ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου σφᾶς ἱδρύσαντο.

48 Τοιαύτης οὖν τότε τῆς ἐν τῷ ἀστεί καταστάσεως οὕσης, καὶ μηδενός τοὺς πράγμασιν ἐπιτεταγμένου, σφαγαὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἠμέραν ὡς εἰπτεῖ ἐγίγνοντο, τὰς τε ἀρχαιοστίας, καὶ τοὺς σπείδοντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ δεκασμοῖς καὶ φόνοις δὲ αὐτὰς χρῶ- ἱκ βευνοὶ, οὐκ ἔπετέλουν. ὦ γοῦν Μίλων ὑπατεῖαν αὐτῶν τὸν Κλώδιον ἐν τῇ Ἀππία ὥδ᾽ συντυχόντα οἱ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπλῶς πως ἐτύρωσεν, ἐπειτὰ δὲ φοβηθεῖς μὴ ἐπεξέλθῃ² τῷ γεγονότι κατέσφαξεν, ἐκπίπτας, ἐπειδῆ πάντας ³ τοὺς οἰκέτας τοὺς τοῦτο ποιήσαντας εὐθὺς ἥλευθερῶσε.⁴ Ῥᾶον τοῦ φόνου τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ ἢ τοῦ τραύματος εἰ περι- 3 γίγνοντο ἀφεθήσεθαι. ἀκούσαντες οὖν τοῦθ᾽ οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει πρὸς ἐσπέραν δεινῷς ἑταράχθησαν- ταῖς τε γὰρ στάσεως ἀφορμῇ πολέμου καὶ κακῶν ἐγίγνετο, καὶ οἱ διὰ μέσου, εἰ καὶ ἐμίσουν τὸν Κλώδιον, ὄμως διὰ τὸ ὅ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὅτι καὶ τοῦ Μίλωνος στερεθῆναι ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ ἰθελοῦν, ἣγανάκτουν. παραλαβόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οὕτως ἐχοντας ὡ το ῶ Ρουφός καὶ Τίτος Μουνάτιος Πλάγκος προσπαράξουσιν· δημαρχοῦσις γὰρ ἐς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν τὸν ἐκερὸν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐω ἐσκεμάσταν καὶ ἑπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐπέθεσαν πᾶσι τε ἐπεδείκνυσαν, 2 καὶ ἐπέλεγον ὁι εἰκὸς ἢν ὄνυμον, ὡστε τὸν ὅμιλον καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἠφίμων καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἤκουσαν συν-

1 ὦτε Rk., ὦτι L. ² ἐπεξέλθῃ R. Steph., ἐξέλθῃ L.
3 πάντας R. Steph., πάντες L.
4 ἥλευθερῶσε Leuncl., ἥλευθερῶσαi L.
5 τὸ R. Steph., τὸν L. ⁶ τὸν added by Rk.
built on their own account. Indeed, for a long time they did not believe in these gods, and even when the rendering of public worship to them gained the day, they settled them outside the pomerium.

Such being the state of things in the city at that time, with no one in charge of affairs, murders occurred practically every day, and they could not hold the elections, although men were eager to win the offices and employed bribery and assassination to secure them. Milo, for instance, who was seeking the consulship, met Clodius on the Appian Way and at first simply wounded him; then, fearing he would avenge the deed, he slew him, hoping that after he had immediately freed all the servants concerned in the affair, he would be more easily acquitted of the murder, once the man was dead, than he would be of the assault, in case he should survive. The people in the city heard of this toward evening and were thrown into a terrible uproar; to the factions it served as an incentive to war and misdeeds, while those who were neutrals, even though they hated Clodius, yet on account of humanity and because on this excuse they hoped to get rid of Milo also, showed indignation. While they were in this frame of mind Rufus and Titus Munatius Plancus took them in hand and excited them to greater wrath. As tribunes they conveyed the body into the Forum just before dawn, placed it on the rostra, exhibited it to all, and spoke appropriate words over it with lamentations. So the populace, as a result of what it both saw and heard, was deeply stirred
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ταραχθῆναι, καὶ μήτε τοῦ ὅσιον ¹ μήτε τοῦ θείου ἔτι φροντίσαι, ἀλλὰ πάντα μὲν τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς νόμωμα συγχέαι, πάσαν δὲ ὅλγου τὴν πόλιν κατα-
πρῆσαι. τὸ γὰρ σῶμα τοῦ Κλωδίου ἀράμενοι ἐς τε τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσήμενον, καὶ εὐθέτησαν, καὶ
μετὰ τούτο πυρὰν ἐκ τῶν βάθρων συννήσαντες ²

3 ἐκασσαν καὶ ἐκεῖνο καὶ τὸ συνεδριον. οὖτω τε οὐχ ὀρμὴ τιν, οἷα ποῖοι ὄχλους ἕξαπιναία κατα-
λαμβάνει, ἀλλὰ ἐκ προαιρέσεως αὐτὸ ἐπραξαν ὡςτε καὶ τὴν ἐνάτην τὸ περιδείπτων ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ
ἀγορᾷ, τυφομένου ἐτι τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, ποιῆσαι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν τούτῳ Μίλωνος

4 καταφλέξαι ἐπιχειρῆσαι. ἐκείνῃ μὲν οὖν πολλῶν αὐτὴ ἀμυνάτων οὐκ ἐκαύθη. ὦ δὲ ἡ Μίλων τέως
μὲν περίφοβος ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ ὡν ἐκρύπτετο, οὐχ ὑπὸ ἱδιωτῶν μόνων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱππέων βουλευτῶν
tε τινων φρονοῦμενος. ἐπει δὲ τούτῳ τε ἐγένετο καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν τῆς γερουσίας ἐς τὸ τῶν ἀντιστα-

5 σιωτῶν μίασμα περιχωρήσειν ἠλπίσεν (εὐθὺς
gοῦν τῆς δείλης ἐς τὸ Παλάτιον δὲ αὐτὸ τούτο
υλλεγέντες τὸν τε μεσοβασιλέα προχρεισθῆναι,
καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐκείνου καὶ τοὺς
δημάρχους καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὸν Πομπῆιον ἐπι-
μεληθῆναι ὡςτε μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀποτριβῆναι,
ἐψηφίσαντο), προῆι τε ἐς τὸ ³ μέσου καὶ τῆς
ἀρχῆς ὀμοίως ἦ καὶ μᾶλλον ἄντεποιεῖτο.

50 Μάχαι τε οὖν ἐκ τούτοι τοῦ πολλαί καὶ σφαγαί
αὖθις ἐγγύνοντο, ὡςτε τὴν βουλήν τά τε προειρη-
μένα ἐπικυρώσαι, καὶ τὸν Πομπῆιον μεταπέμψα-
σθαι, καταλόγους τε αὑτῷ καίνους ποιῆσασθαι

¹ μήτε τοῦ ὅσιον supplied by Bk.
² συννήσαντες Polak, ἐνήσαντες L.
³ τὸ added by St.

480
BOOK XL

and no longer showed any regard for things sacred or profane, but overthrew all the customs of burial and burned down nearly the whole city. They took up the body of Clodius and carried it into the senate-house, laid it out properly, and then after heaping up a pyre out of the benches burned both the corpse and the building. They did not do this under the stress of such an impulse as often takes sudden hold of crowds, but with such deliberate purpose that at the ninth hour they held the funeral feast in the Forum itself, with the senate-house still smouldering; and they furthermore undertook to apply the torch to Milo’s house. It was not burned, however, because many defended it. But Milo, in great terror because of the murder, was meanwhile in hiding, being guarded not only by ordinary citizens but also by knights and some senators; and when this other deed occurred, he hoped that the wrath of the senate would shift to the outrage of the opposing faction. The senators, indeed, did at once assemble on the Palatine late in the afternoon for this very purpose, and they voted that an interrex should be chosen, and that he and the tribunes and Pompey should look after the guarding of the city, so that it should suffer no harm. Milo, accordingly, made his appearance in public, and pressed his claims to the office as strongly as before, if not more strongly.

Thereupon conflicts and much bloodshed occurred once more, so that the senate adopted the aforementioned measures, summoned Pompey, allowed him to make fresh levies, and changed their
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

2 ἐπιτρέψαι, καὶ τὰ ἐσθήματα ἀλλάξασθαι. ἔλθον-
tos τε αὐτοῦ 1 οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον ἔξω τε τοῦ
πωμηρίου πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ αὐτοῦ σὺν φρουρᾶ
ήθροισθησαν 2 καὶ τὰ τοῦ Κλωδίου ὡστὰ ἀνελέ-
σθαι ἔγρωσαν, τὸ τε βουλευτήριον τῷ Φαύστῳ
τῷ τοῦ Σύλλου νεῖε ἀνοικοδομήσαι προσέταξαν.

3 ἢν μὲν γὰρ τὸ Ὄστίλιον, μετεσκέυαστο δὲ ὑπὸ
tοῦ Σύλλου. διὸ 3 τούτῳ τε περὶ αὐτοῦ 4 ἔδοξε, καὶ
ὅπως ἐξοικοδομηθὲν τὸ ἐκείνῳ ὄνομα ἀπολάβῃ. 5
μετεώρον δὲ τῆς πόλεως οὕσης ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀρξουσί
σφών, καὶ διαθρούντων τῶν μὲν ὡς δικτάτορα
τῶν Πομπήιων, τῶν δὲ ὡς ὑπατον τὸν Καίσαρα

4 αἰρεθήναι δεὶ 6 (οὕτω γὰρ ποι ἐκ προαιρέσεως
ἐπὶ τῶν κατεργασμένοις αὐτῶν ἐτίμων ὡστε καὶ
ἐξήκονθ᾽ ἡμέρας θύσαι ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ψηφίσασθαι),
φοβηθέντες ἐκάτερον οὐ τε ἄλλοι βουλευταὶ καὶ
Βίβουλος, ὡσπερ ποι ἡ γυνώμην πρῶτος ἔρωτη-
θεὶς ποιήσεσθαι ἐμελλε, προκατέλαβον τὴν τοῦ
πλῆθους ὀρμήν, τῷ Πομπήῳ τὴν ὑπατείαν, ὡστε
μὴ δικτάτορα αὐτὸν λεχθῆναι, καὶ μόνῳ γε, ἵνα μὴ ὁ

5 Καίσαρ αὐτῷ συνάρξῃ, δόντες. ξένοις μὲν δὴ τούτῳ
καὶ ἐπὶ μηδενὸς ἄλλου γενόμενον ἔπραξαν, καίτοι 7
ὁρθῶς αὐτὸ πεποιηκέναι ἔδοξαν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἦττον
τοῦ Καίσαρος τῷ ὁμίλῳ προσέκειτο, ἀπορρίξειν
tε αὐτῶν ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου παντάπασι καὶ σφετερισθῆναι
ηλπίσαν. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως· τῷ τε γὰρ καὶ καὶ
tοῦ παραδόξῳ τῆς τιμῆς ἐπαρθεὶς οὐκέτι οὐδὲν ἐς
τὴν τῶν πολλῶν χάριν ἐβούλευσεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀκριβῶς
πάντα τὰ τῇ βουλῇ ἀρέσκοντα ἐπράξειν.

1 αὐτοῦ Reim., αὐτῶι L. 2 ἡθροισθησαν Rk., ἢθροισαν L.
3 διὰ Bk., διὰ ὑστ. 4 αὐτοῦ Xyl., αὐτοῦς L.
5 ἀπολάβῃ Reim., ἀποβάλῃ L. 6 δεὶ supplied by Rk.
7 καίτοι Carpe, καὶ L.

482
BOOK XL

garments. Upon his arrival not long afterward they assembled under guard near his theatre outside the pomerium, and resolved to take up the bones of Clodius, and also assigned the rebuilding of the senate-house to Faustus, the son of Sulla. It was the Curia Hostilia, which had been remodelled by Sulla; hence they came to this decision about it and ordered that when restored it should receive again the name of the same man. The city was in a fever of excitement about the magistrates who should rule it, some talking to the effect that Pompey should be chosen dictator and others that Caesar should be made consul. They were so determined to honour the latter for his achievements that they voted a thanksgiving of sixty\textsuperscript{1} days because of them. Fearing both of the men, the rest of the senate and Bibulus, who was first to be asked and to declare his opinion, forestalled the enthusiasm of the populace by giving the consulship to Pompey, so as to prevent his being named dictator, and to him alone, in order that he might not have Caesar as his colleague. This action of theirs was novel, having been taken in no other case; and [yet] they seemed to have acted with good judgment. For since Pompey favoured the populace less than Caesar, they hoped to detach him from them altogether and to make him their own. And this expectation was fulfilled. Elated by the novelty and unexpectedness of the honour, he no longer formed any plan to gratify the populace, but was careful to do everything that pleased the senate.

\textsuperscript{1} Twenty days according to Caesar (\textit{B.G. vii, 90}). Reimarus thought "sixty" an error of the copyists.
51 Οὐ μέντοι καὶ μόνος ἥρξαι ἡθέλησεν· τὴν γὰρ
eἰκλεῖαν ἐν τῷ δεδόχθαι τοῦτ' ἔχουν, τὸν φθόνον
tὸν ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἐξέκλωνε. καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ ποτε κενη
tῆς χώρας ὑσσῆ ο Κάισαρ ἐκ τῇ τῆς 1 τῶν δυνά
μεων καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πλῆθους σπουδῆς συνάρχων
2 αὐτῷ δοθῆ, ἐκείνῳ 2 μὲν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ παντελῶς
παρημελήσθαι νομίσῃ 3 καὶ τούτου τινὰ ὀργὴν
dικαίαν ποιήσηται, παρεσκεύασε διὰ τῶν δημάρ
χων ἐπιτραπῆναι καὶ ἅποντι τὴν ἀρχὴν, ὅταν ἐκ
τῶν νόμων καθήκη, 4 ἀιτήσαι, αὐτὸς δὲ Κύντων
Σκιπίωνα πενθερον τῇ ὁ ὄντα καὶ δεκασμοῦ αἰτίαν
3 ἔχοντα προσεῖλετο. οὗτος γὰρ γόνω μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ
Νασικοῦ ὄν, ἐκ δὲ δὴ κλήρου διαδοχῆς ἐς τὸ τοῦ
Μετέλλου τοῦ Ἐυσεβίου γένος ποιήθεις καὶ διὰ
tούτο καὶ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν αὐτοῦ φέρων, τὴν τε
θυγατέρα τῷ Πομπήῳ ἐξέδωκε, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ
tὴν τε ὑπατείαν καὶ τὸ μὴ καθηγορηθῆναι ἀντέ-
52 λαβῇ. πάνω γὰρ πολλοὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐγκλήματι τούτῳ
eὐθύνθησαν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι τὰ δικαστήρια ἀκρι-
βέστερον ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Πομπήου νόμων συνήγητο.
πάντας τε γὰρ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξ ὧν τοὺς δικάσοντας
ἀποκληροῦσθαι ἔδει 5 αὐτὸς ἐπελέγετο, καὶ τῶν
tῶν συναγορευοῦντων 6 ἐκατέρῳ τῷ μέρει ἀριθμὸν
ἀριστεῖν, ὥστε μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους αὐτῶν τοὺς
2 δικαστὰς θορυβούμενοι ἐκταράττεσθαι. χρόνων
tε τῷ μὲν διώκοντι δύο ὄρας, τῷ δὲ φεύγοντι τρεῖς
dίδοσθαι ἐκέλευσε. καὶ δὴ μάλιστα πλείστοις
ἐλυμαίνετο, τὸ 7 τινὰς ἐπαινέτως ὑπὸ τῶν κρινω-

1 τῆς added by Bk. 3 ēkeiνw Xyl., ēkeiνw L.
2 ēkeiνw Xyl., ēkeiνw L.
3 νομίσῃ Bk., νομισθῆ L.
4 καθήκη R. Steph., καθήκει L. 5 ἔδει Bk., ἔδοκε L.
6 συναγορευοῦντων Rk., συναγορευοῦντων L.
7 τὸ added by Rk.

484
BOOK XL

He did not, however, wish to hold office alone. For now that he had the glory that lay in the passing of such a vote, he wished to avoid the envy attaching to it. He also feared that, if the place were vacant, Caesar might be given him as colleague through the enthusiasm of his troops and the populace alike. First of all, therefore, in order that his rival might not think he had been entirely neglected and therefore show some just displeasure, he arranged through the tribunes that Caesar should be permitted even in his absence to be a candidate for the office, when the proper time came according to law; he then chose as his colleague Quintus Scipio, who was his father-in-law and was under a charge of bribery. This man, by birth the son of Nasica, had been adopted into the family of Metellus Pius as the latter’s heir, and for that reason also bore his name. He had given his daughter in marriage to Pompey, and now received in turn from him the consulship and immunity from accusation. Very many had been called to account on the charge mentioned, especially because the trials, by Pompey’s laws, were more carefully conducted. He himself selected the entire list of names from which drawings for jurors must be made, and he limited the number of advocates on each side, in order that the jurymen might not be confused and embarrassed by their number. And he ordered that the time allotted to the plaintiff should be only two hours, and to the defendant three. But what grieved a great many most was his reform of the custom whereby character-witneses were brought forward by those on trial, with the result that great
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

μένων δίδοσθαι (πάμπολλοι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀξιοπιστῶν ἐπαινούμενοι ἐξηρπάζοντο), ἐπηνώρθωσε, νομοθετήσας μηδένα ἐτὶ τὸ παράπαν ἐπαινέτην 1
3 τοῖς τοιούτοις γίγνεσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀλλὰ τὲ τινα κατὰ πάντων ὁμοίως τῶν δικαστηρίων ἐτάχθη, τοὺς δὲ δὴ περὶ 2 τὰς ἀρχὰς διεκάζουσι καὶ τοὺς προεαλωκότας ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ 3 τινὶ κατηγόρους ἐπέστησεν, ἀθλόν σφισιν οὐκ ἔλαχιστον προθείς.
4 εἰ γάρ τις ἦτοι δύο τῶν ὁμοίων τῶν τε ἐλαττώνων ἢ καὶ ἕνα τῶν μεῖζονων τῆς 4 καθ’ ἐαυτὸν αἰτίας εἶλεν, ἄδειαν εὐρύσκετο.

53 Ἀλλοι τοῦ οὖν ἐκ τούτου πολλοὶ εἶλοςαν 5 καὶ Πλαύτιος Τυχαῖος ἀνταὐτήσας τῷ τε Μίλωνι καὶ τῷ Σκιπίωνι τὴν ὑπατείαν. τῶν γὰρ δὴ τριῶν
2 δωροφορησάντων μόνος ἐκεῖνος κατεδικάσθη. ὅ τε γὰρ Σκιπίων ἐγράφη μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ δυὸν γε, οὐκ ἐκρίθη δὲ διὰ τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ ὁ Μίλων ἐπὶ μὲν τούτῳ 6 οὐκ ἔσηχθα (τὸ γὰρ τοῦ φόνου ἑγκλημα μεῖζον εἶχεν), ὑπαχθεὶς δὲ ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνῳ εἶλο, μηδὲν δυνηθεὶς βίαιον δράσαι. ὁ γὰρ Πομπήιος τὴν τε ἄλλην πόλιν διὰ φυλακῆς ἐποιήσατο, καὶ
3 ἔς τὸ δικαστήριον σὺν ὀπλίταις ἐσῆλθε, θρόπθησάντων τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ τιμῶν προσέταξε τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐκδιώξας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πλαγίους καὶ πλατέσθη τοῖς ἔφεσι παύσατα. ἐπειδὴ τε οὖν ὑπείκον ἀλλὰ καὶ καθάπερ ἐν παιδιᾷ τινὶ πλαγιαζόμενοι ύβριζον, καὶ ἐτρώθησαν τίνες αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέθανον.

54 Τά τε οὖν δικαστήρια ἡσύχως ἐκ τούτων συνή-

1 ἐπαινέτην Bk., ἔξειναι εἰν L.
2 περὶ added by Cary.
3 τοιούτῳ Oddey, τούτῳ L.
4 τῆς Rk., ἡ τῆς L.
5 εἶλοςαν Bs., καὶ εἶλοςαν L.
6 τούτῳ St., τούτῳ L.
numbers were snatched from justice because they were commended by credible witnesses; he had a measure passed that no character-witnesses at all should henceforth be allowed to such persons. These and other reforms he applied to all the courts alike; and against those who practised bribery for office he raised up as accusers those who had formerly been convicted of some such offence, setting before the latter no small prize. For if any one secured the conviction of two men on charges similar to the one against himself, or even on slighter charges, or of one man on a greater charge, he gained pardon himself.

Among many others who were thus convicted was Plautius Hypsaeus, who had been a rival of Milo and of Scipio for the consulship. Though all three had been guilty of bribery, he alone was convicted. Scipio was indicted, and by two persons at that, but had not been tried, thanks to Pompey’s influence; and Milo was not charged with this crime, since he had the more serious charge of murder against him, but when he was brought to trial on this latter charge, he was convicted, as he was unable to use any violence. For Pompey kept the rest of the city well under guard and entered the court himself with armed soldiers. When some raised an outcry at this, he ordered the soldiers to drive them out of the Forum by striking them with the side or the flat of their swords; and when they still would not yield, but jeered as if they were being struck in sport, some of them were wounded and killed.

The courts convened in quiet in consequence of
γετο, καὶ ἐδικαιώθησαν ἐπὶ τε ἕτεροις τισὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Κλαδίουν φόνῳ ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Μίλων, καίτοι τοῦ Κικέρωνα συναγωγιστὴν ἔχων.

2 ὁ γὰρ ῥήτωρ ἐκεῖνος τὸν τε Πομπήιον καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐν τῷ δικαστήριῳ παρὰ τὸ καθεστήκος ἰδών ἐξεπλάγη καὶ κατεδείσεν, ὡστε τῶν μὲν παρεσκευασμένων μηδὲν εἰπεῖν, βραχὺ δὲ τι καὶ τεθηκός χαλεπῶς φθεγγάμενος ἀγαπητῶς μεταστήναι. τούτων γὰρ τὸν λόγον τὸν νῦν φερόμενον ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μίλωνος τότε λεχθέντα χρόνῳ ποθ' ύστερον καὶ κατὰ σχολὴν ἀναθαρσῆσαι ἔγραψεν.

3 καὶ δὴ καὶ τοιοῦτε τι περὶ αὐτοῦ παραδέδοται. ὁ Μίλων τῷ λόγῳ πεμφθέντι οἱ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐντυχών (ἐπεφυγάδευτο γὰρ) ἀντιπέστειλε· λέγων ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἄνθρωπῳ ἐγένετο τὸ μὴ ταῦθ' οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῷ δικαστήριῳ λεχθέναι· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν τοιοῦτα ἐν τῇ Μασσαλίᾳ (ἐν ἡ κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν ἤν) τρίγαλα.

4 ἐσθήσειν, ἐπερ τι τοιοῦτον ἀπελελόγητο. τούτῳ δὲ ἔγραψεν υἱῷ ὁτι τοὺς παροῦς ἡρέσκετο (πολλὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ καθόδῳ ἐπετόλμησεν) ἄλλ' ἐς τὸν Κικέρωνα ἀποσκώπτων, ὅτι μηδὲν χρηστὸν ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀπολογίας καιρῷ ἐπιτῶν ἐπείτη ἀκάρπους λόγους καὶ ἐμελέτα καὶ ἐπεμπεν ἂντῷ, ὡσπερ τι ὁφελήσαι τοῦτον δυναμένους.

55 "Ο τε οὖν Μίλων οὕτως ἐάλω, καὶ ὁ Ῥοῦφος ὁ τε Πλάγκος ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξῆλθον, ἄλλοι τε σὺν αὐτοῖς συχνῷ διὰ τῆς τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἐμπρήσιν, καίτοι τῷ

1 ἀντιπέστειλε Reim., ἀντιπέστειλε L.
2 ἐπεμπεν Leuncl., εἶπεν L.
3 δυναμένου Leuncl., δυνάμενος L.
4 Πλάγκος R. Steph., πλάχνος L.
these reforms, and many were convicted on various charges, among others, Milo for the murder of Clodius, though he had Cicero to defend him. That orator, seeing Pompey and the soldiers in the court, contrary to custom, was alarmed and overwhelmed with dread, so that he did not deliver the speech he had prepared at all, but after uttering with difficulty a few words that all but died on his lips, was glad to retire. The speech which is now extant, purporting to have been delivered at that time in behalf of Milo, he wrote some time later and at leisure, when he had recovered his courage. Indeed, the following story has come down about it. When Milo, in banishment, had read the speech sent to him by Cicero, he wrote back saying that it was lucky for him those words had not been spoken in that form in the court; for he should not be eating such mullets in Massilia (where he was passing his exile), if any such defence had been made. This he wrote, not because he was pleased with his condition,—indeed, he made many efforts to secure his return,—but as a joke on Cicero, because the orator, after saying nothing useful at the time of the defence, had later composed and sent to him these fruitless words, as if they could then be of any service to him.

In this way Milo was convicted; and so were Rufus and Plancus, as soon as they had finished their term of office, together with numerous others, on account of the burning of the senate-house. Plancus
Πλάγκφ καὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου συστουδάσαντος, ὡστε καὶ βιβλίων ἔπαινόν τε ἀμα αὐτοῦ καὶ
2 ἰκετεῖαν ἔχον ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον ἐπεμψεν· ὁ γὰρ Κάτων ὁ Μᾶρκος (δικάζεων δὲ ἐμέλλεν) οὐκ ἔφη τὸν ἐπαινέτην ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ νόμων καταλύσει προσίσθαι· καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐκέτι τῇν ψήφον ἔδωκεν· ὁ γὰρ Πλάγκος ὡς καὶ τῇν καθαιρήσουσαν αὐτὸν οἴσοντα ἔζεκρινεν (ἐξῆν γὰρ, ἐκ τῶν Πομπηίων νόμων, πέντε ἐκατέρῳ τῶν διαδικούντων ἐκ τῶν δικάσεων σφίσι μελ-
3 λόντων ἀπολέγειν)· οἱ μέντοι ἄλλοι δικασταὶ κατεψφύσαντο αὐτοῦ. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως ὤρθώς ἔχειν ἔδοξέ σφαι, τοῦ Ῥούφου καταγωγικός, ἐκείνου ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς κρινόμενοι ἀφεῖναι· καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοῦ Πομπηίου συναιρόμενοι οἱ ἕδον, ἀντεσπούδασαν αὐτῷ, μὴ καὶ δούλοι τινες ἀν-
τικρυ ἀυτοῦ μάλλον ἢ δικασταὶ νομισθῶσιν 4 εἶναι. καὶ περὶ καὶ τότε ὁ Κικέρων οὐδὲν βέλτιον τοῦ Πλάγκου κατηγόρησεν ἢ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μίλωνος ἀπελογήσατο· ἢ τε γὰρ τοῦ δικαστήριον ὡφαι ἢ αὐτῇ ἢν, καὶ ὁ Πομπηίος ἐν ἐκατέρῳ τάναντία οἱ καὶ ἐβοηλεύετο καὶ ἐπραττεν, οὔτε ὅνω ἥκεστα αὖθις αὐτῷ προσέκρουσε.

56 Ταῦτα τε ὅν πάξει, καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν ἄρχαιρεσιῶν νόμον τὸν κελεύοντα τοὺς ἀρχὴν τινα ἐπαγγέλλωτας ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίας πάντως ἀπαντῶν, ὡστε μηδένα ἀπόντα αἰρεῖσθαι, παρη-

1 συστουδάσαντος R. Steph., σπουδάσαντος L.
was not saved even by the efforts of Pompey, who was so zealous in his behalf that he sent to the court a pamphlet containing both a eulogy of Milo and an entreaty in his behalf. But Marcus Cato, who was to be a juryman, said he would not allow the character-witness to appear to the destruction of his own laws; however, he got no opportunity to cast his vote, since he was rejected by Plancus, who felt sure he would vote for his condemnation. By the laws of Pompey, it should be explained, each of the parties to a suit was allowed to set aside five of the men who were to be on the jury. The other jurors, however, voted against Milo, since it did not seem right to them after they had condemned Rufus to acquit Plancus, who was on trial on the same charge; and particularly when they saw Pompey cooperating with him, they became zealous in opposing him, for fear they might be thought to be absolute slaves of his rather than jurymen. It should be said that on this occasion, too, Cicero accused Plancus no more successfully than he had defended Milo; for the appearance of the courtroom was the same, and Pompey in each case was advising and acting against him—a circumstance that was important in bringing about another collision between them.

Besides attending to these matters Pompey revived the law about elections that commanded those who seek an office to present themselves without fail before the assembly, so that no one who was absent might be chosen; this law had somehow fallen into disuse. He also confirmed the decree, passed a short time previously, that those who had held office in the city should not be assigned to command abroad until

1 See chap. 52.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

πέντε ἔτη παρελθεῖν, κληροῦσθαι, ἐπεκύρωσεν.

2 οὐδ’ ἦχον θῆτα τότε μὲν 1 τοιαύτα γράψας, ὑστερον δὲ οὐ πολλῷ αὐτός τε τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἐσ πέντε ἄλλα ἔτη λαβών, καὶ τῷ Καῖσαρι καὶ ἀπόντι (οἱ γὰρ φίλοι αὐτοῦ δεινῶς ἡγανόκτουν) αἰτῆσαι τὴν ὑπατείαν, ὡσπερ ἐψήφιστο, δούς. προσέγραψε 2 μὲν γὰρ τῷ νόμῳ τὸ μόνοις αὐτὸ ἐξεῖναι ποιεῖν οἷς ἂν ὀνομασθὶ τε καὶ ἀντικρὺς ἐπιτραπῇ, διέ- φερε δ’ οὐδὲν τούτο τού μηδ’ ἀρχὴν κεκωλύσθαι- πάντως γὰρ οἳ 3 τι δυνάμενοι καὶ ἐκεῖνο ψηφι- σθῆναι σφισι διαπράξασθαι ἐμελλον.

57 Ο μὲν οὖν Πομπήιος τοιαύτ’, ἐπολυτεύετο, ὁ δὲ δὴ Σκιπίων οὐτε ἐνομοθέτησε τι, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοῦ Κλωδίου περὶ τῶν τιμητῶν γραφέντα κατέλυσε. καὶ ἐδοξε μὲν τὴν ἐκείνων χάρι τούτῳ πεποιη- κέναι, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῖς ἦν καὶ πρὶν 2 εἰχον ἀπέδωκε, περίστη δὲ ἐσ τοῦνατίον. ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ 4 πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ ἱππάδι καὶ ἐν τῷ βουλευτικῷ φλαύρους ἀνδρας εἶναι, τέως μὲν μηδένα μήτε κατηγορηθέντα μηδ’ ἀλάντα δια- γράψαι σφίσι  ἐξῆν, οὐ δεμιάν τῶν οὐκ ἀπαλει- 3 φομένων αἰτίαν εἰχον. ἀπολαβόντες δὲ τὴν ἀρ- χαίαν ἰσχύν, ὡρ’ ἃς αὐτοῖς καὶ καθ’ ἕστημοι τῶν ἐκάστου βίων ἐξετάζουσι τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐξέδοτο, οὔτε πολλοὶς προσκρούειν ὕπεμενον, οὕτ’ αὖ ἐν μέμψει τινὶ ὡς μὴ διαγράφοντες τοὺς οὐκ ἐπιτη- δείους γίγνεσθαι ἢθελον, καὶ διὰ τούτῳ οὔδε ἐφίετο 5 ἔτι τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν ἐμφρόνων οὐδὲ εἰς.

1 τότε μὲν Rk., μὲν τότε L.
2 προσέγραψε R. Steph., προέγραψε L.
3 οἱ Xyl., ὁ L.
4 τοῦ Xyl., τοῦς L.
5 ἐφίετο R. Steph., ἐφίετο L.

492
five years had passed. And yet, after proposing these measures at this time, he was not ashamed a little later to take Spain himself for five years more and to grant to Caesar, whose friends were in a terrible state of indignation, the right to canvass for the consulship even in his absence, as had been decreed. For he had amended the law to read that only those should be permitted to do it who were granted the privilege by name and without disguise; but this was no different from its not having been prohibited at all, for men who had any influence were certainly going to manage to get the right voted to them. Such were the political acts of Pompey.

Scipio, without enacting any new laws, abolished the laws emanating from Clodius with regard to the censors. It looked as though he had done this out of favour to them, since he had restored to them the authority which they formerly had; but it turned out to be the opposite. For in view of the fact that there were many unworthy men both in the equestrian and in the senatorial orders, so long as it had not been permitted them to expel any one who had been either accused or convicted, no fault was found with them on account of those whose names were not expunged. But when they got back their old power and were allowed to do this on their own authority after examining into the life of each man, they had not the hardihood to come to an open break with many, nor had they, on the other hand, any desire to incur censure for failing to expel men who were unfit to retain their rank, and for this reason no sensible person had any desire for the office any longer.
58 Περὶ μὲν δὴ τοὺς τιμητὰς ταύτ’ ἐφηφίσθη, ο’
δὲ δὴ Κάτων ἄλλως μὲν οὐδεμᾶς ἀρχῆς ἔδειτο,
ιδὼν δὲ τὸν τε Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ὑπὲρ
τὴν κατάστασιν τῆς πολιτείας αὐξανομένους,
καὶ ύποτοπήσας ἦτοι καὶ ἀμφοτέρους σφας
τὰ πράγματα ἔξειν, ἢ καὶ διενεχθέντας ἀλλή-
λοις στᾶσιν τε μεγίστην ποιήσειν καὶ τὸν

2 κρατήσαντα αὐτῶν μοναρχήσειν, ἠθέλησε μὲν
σφας πρὶν ἀνταγωνιστὰς γενέσθαι καταλύσαι,
καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἤτησεν, ἐπειδὴ ἤπερ
идιωτεύων οὐδὲν ἰσχύσειν ἔμελλεν, ὑποπτευθεὶς
δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ ἐκείνων πραττόντων τοιούτοις τι
δράσειν οὐκ ἀπεδείχθη, ἀλλὰ ο’ τε Μάρκελλος ο’

3 Μάρκος καὶ ο Ἄρουφος ὁ Σουλπίκιος, ο’ μὲν διὰ
τὴν τῶν νόμων ἐμπερίαν ὃ δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν λόγων
δύναμιν, ἡρέθησαν, ὃ άλλως τε καὶ ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν,
εἰ καὶ μὴ χρήμασιν ἡ βιαῖω τινὶ ἔργῳ, ἀλλὰ τῇ
γε ἡθεράπευσι καὶ τῇ παρακλήσει πολλῆ πρὸς
πάντας ἐχρήσαντο, ὃ δὲ δὴ Κάτων οὐδένα αὐτῶν

4 ἡθεράπευσε. καὶ ο’ μὲν οὐκέτ’ αὖθις τῆς ἀρχῆς
ἀντετούσατο, λέγων ἀγαθοῦ ἀνδρός ἔργον εἶναι
μὴ ἀποδιδράσκειν τὴν προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν,
ἀν γε τινὲς χρῆσθαι αὐτῷ ἑθελήσωσι, μὴθ’ ὑπὲρ

59 τὸ προσήκον αὐτῆς ἐφίσθα. Μάρκελλος δὲ
πάντ’ εὔθυς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος καταλύσει (τῆς
γὰρ τοῦ Πομπηίου μερίδος ἦν) ἐπιστρεπτε, καὶ ἀλλὰ
τε ἐπ’ αὐτῷ πολλά, καὶ ὡστε καὶ διάδοχον οἱ ἤδη
καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου πεμφθῆναι, ἐση-
γήσατο. καὶ αὐτῷ ο’ τε Σουλπίκιος καὶ τῶν
dημάρχων τινὲς ἀντετραβαζεν, αὐτοὶ μὲν τῇ πρὸς
tὸν Καίσαρα χάριτι ἐκείνως δ’ αὐτοῖς ἐκοινώσατο

1 ἡρεθησαν XY1., διηρέθησαν L. 2 γε Bk., τε L.
BOOK XL

This was the vote passed with regard to the censors. Cato did not really want any office, but seeing Caesar and Pompey outgrowing the constitution, and surmising that they would either get control of affairs together or would quarrel with each other and cause a great civil war, the victor in which would be sole ruler, he wished to overthrow them before they became antagonists, and sought the consulship to use it against them, because as a private citizen he would have no influence. His designs were guessed, however, by the adherents of the two men and he was not appointed, but instead Marcus Marcellus and Sulpicius Rufus were chosen, the one on account of his acquaintance with the law and the other for his ability as an orator. One special reason was that they, even if they did not employ money or violence, yet showed great deference to all and were wont to appeal frequently to the people, whereas Cato was deferential to none of them. He never again became a candidate for the office, saying that it was the duty of an upright man not to shirk the leadership of the state if any wished to use his services in that way, nor yet to pursue it beyond the limits of propriety. Marcellus at once directed all his efforts toward compassing the downfall of Caesar, inasmuch as he was of Pompey's party; among the many measures against him that he proposed was one to the effect that a successor to him should be sent out even before the appointed time. He was resisted by Sulpicius and some of the tribunes; the latter acted out of good-will toward Caesar, and Sulpicius made common cause with them and with the multitude, because he
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὅτι 1 οὐκ ἢρεσκε τὸ 2 τινα μεταξὺ 2 ἀρχοῦντα μηδὲν ἡδικηκότα παυθῆναι. μαθῶν οὖν ταῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος (ἀπῆρε μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεως ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν στρατεύσων, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τότε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξεχώρησεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὑπο- στρατήγοις πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖ προστάξας αὐτὸς τῇ 3 πόλει ἐφηδρευεῖ τὸ μὲν δὴ τὸν Καῖσαρα τῆς ἡγε- μονίας παραλυθῆναι οὐδὲ ἑαυτῷ ἀρέσκειν ἐπιλάτ- τετο, ἔπραττε δ' ὅπως, ὅταν τὸν δεδομένον οἱ χρόνον διάρξης 3 (τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἔστω μακρὰν ἀλλ' εὐθὺς τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει γενήσεσθαι ἐξελλη), τὰ τε ὅπλα κατάθηται καὶ ἰδιωτεύσων οἰκαδε ἐπανέλθῃ. 4 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Γαίων τε Μάρκελλον τὸν τοῦ Μάρκου 4 ἀνεψιον ἡ καὶ ἀδελφὸν (λέγεται γὰρ ἕκατερον) ὑπατεύσαι, ἐπειδὴ τῷ Καῖσαρι καίτερ ἐξ ἐπιγαμίας προσήκον ἔχθρος ἦν, καὶ τὸν Κου- ρίωνα τὸν Γαίον, δι' ἔχθρας καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ παλαιοῦ οἱ ὅντα, δημαρχῆσαι ἐποίησεν.

60 'Ο οὖν Καῖσαρ μὴ ἀλλὸς ὑπομένων ἐκ τε τηλικαύτης καὶ ἐκ χρόνιον ἡγεμονίας ἰδιωτεύσαι, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἑτὶ τοῖς ἔχθροις γένηται, παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ ἀκόντων αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἄρχῃ ἐμμενών, καὶ στρατιώτας προσκατέλεγετο καὶ χρήματα ἔχθροις ὅπλα τε ἐποίει, καὶ καθ' 2 ἡδονὴν πᾶσιν ἡγεῖτο. κἀν τούτῳ καὶ τὰ οίκοι τρόπου τινά, τοῦ μὴ πάντα 5 βίᾳ ἄλλα καὶ πει- θοὶ πράττειν δοκεῖν, προδιοικήσασθαι ἐθελῆσαι

1 τοῖς πολλοῖς ὅτι Madvig, ὅτι τοῖς πολλοῖς L.
2 ἢρεσκε τὸ Rk., ἢρεσκετο L.
3 διάρξη Rk., διαπράξη L.
4 τὸν τοῦ Μάρκου supplied by Bk., Μάρκου (only) by Leuncl.
5 πάντα Rk., πάντα L.

496
BOOK XL

did not like the idea of a magistrate who had done no wrong being removed in the middle of his term. Pompey had set out from the city as if he were going to make an expedition into Spain, but he did not even at this time leave the bounds of Italy; instead, he assigned the entire business in Spain to his lieutenants and himself kept close watch on the city. Now when he heard how things were going, he pretended that the plan of having Caesar relieved of his command did not please him, either, but he arranged matters so that when Caesar should have served out the time allowed him,—an event not of the distant future, but due to occur the very next year,—he should lay down his arms and return home to private life. It was in pursuance of this object that he caused Gaius Marcellus, a cousin of Marcus, or a brother (both traditions are current), to obtain the consulship, because, although allied to Caesar by marriage, he was hostile to him; and he caused Gaius Curio, who was also an old-time foe of his rival, to become tribune.

Caesar was on no account inclined to become a private citizen after holding so important a command and for such a long time, and in particular he was afraid of falling into the power of his enemies. Therefore he made preparations to stay in office in spite of them, collected additional soldiers, gathered money, provided arms, and administered affairs in such a manner as to please all. Meanwhile, desiring to arrange matters at home beforehand in some fashion, so as not to seem to be using violence in all things, but also persuasion to gain his ends, he decided to effect a reconciliation with
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐγνω συναλλαγήναι τῷ Κουρίωνι· τοῦ τε γὰρ τῶν Κουριώνων γένους ἦν, καὶ τὴν γνώμην ὀξὺς, εἰπεῖν τε δεινός, τῷ τε πλήθει πιθανώτατος, καὶ χρήματων ἡ πάντα ἀπλῶς ἔν ἦν αὐτὸς τι πλεονεκτήσειν ἡ καὶ ἑτέρῳ διαπράξειν ἠλπίζειν ἀφειδέστατος.

καὶ αὐτὸν πολλὰ μὲν ἐπελτῖσας, πάντων δὲ τῶν ὀφειλημάτων, συγχών διὰ τὸ πολλὰ δαπανᾶσθαι ὄντων, ἀπαλλάξας ἀνερτήσατο. πρὸς γὰρ τὴν παροῦσαν ὅν ἔπραττε σπουδὴν οὔτε ἄργυριον, ἀτε καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἄργυρολογῶν, ἐφείδετο, καὶ πρὸς πυρισχεῖν τις παμπλήθη ὃν οὐδὲ πολ- λοστὸν μέρους δώσειν ἔμελλε. καὶ οὐ μένον γε τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς δοῦλους τοὺς τι καὶ ὅπωσον παρὰ τοῖς δεσπόταῖς σφῶν δυναμένους θεράπευσε· καὶ συγχων αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ τοῦτον καὶ τῶν ἱπτέων καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ὑπήρξαν.

61 'Ο δ' οὖν Κουρίων ἐφρόνησε μὲν τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, οὐ μέντοι καὶ παραχρῆμα φανερῶς αὐτὰ πράττειν ἤρξατο· πρόφασιν τε γὰρ εὐπρεπῆ τοῦ μῆ καὶ ἐκῶν ἀλλὰ ἀναγκασθεὶς δὴ μεθεστηκέναι δόξαι ἔζητε, καὶ ἐνόμισεν, ὅσον ἄν εἶπε πλείων τοῖς ἐχθροῖς αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ φίλος σφῶν συγχένηται, καὶ πλείω καὶ μείζω τῶν ἀπορρήτων αὐτῶν μαθη- σεθαι. δι' οὖν ταῦτα ἐπὶ μακροτάτων τε ἐπε- κρύψατο, καὶ ὅπως μηδένα τρόπον ὑποπτευθεὶς μεταβεβλήσατο τε καὶ οὐκ ἀνὰ πρώτους καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐναντία τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τότε ἔτι καὶ φρουεῖν καὶ λέγειν, καὶ ἐδημηγόρει καὶ αὐτὸν ἀφ' οὗ γε καὶ δημαρχεῖν ἤρξατο, καὶ ἐσηγεῖτο

1 συναλλαγήναι Reim., συναλλαγήναι L.
2 πολλὰ μὲν Bk., μὲν πολλὰ L.
3 οὕτε Xyl., οὕτε γὰρ L.
4 γε H. Steph., τε L.
5 ὅσο Rk., ὅς L.
BOOK XL

Curio. For the latter belonged to the family of the Curiones, had a keen intellect, was eloquent, was greatly trusted by the populace, and most lavish of money for all objects by which he hoped either to gain advantage for himself or benefit others. So, by buoying him up with many hopes and relieving him of all his debts, which on account of his extravagance were numerous, Caesar attached him to himself. In view of the present importance of the objects for which he was working Caesar did not spare money, since the attainment of these ends would afford him an abundance, and he also promised various persons large sums, of which he had no intention of giving them even the smallest fraction. He courted not only the free but the slaves who had any influence whatever with their masters, and as a result a number of the knights and of the senators joined his side.

Thus Curio espoused Caesar's cause; but he did not immediately begin to serve him openly, since he was seeking a plausible excuse, so as to appear not to have transferred his allegiance willingly, but under compulsion. He also took into consideration that the more he should associate with Caesar's enemies in the guise of their friend, the more and the greater would be the secrets of theirs he should learn. For these reasons he dissembled for a long time, and to prevent any suspicion of the fact that he had changed sides and was not still at this time among the foremost in feeling and expressing unqualified opposition to Caesar, he even delivered public speeches against him, as soon as he had entered upon the tribuneship, and introduced many strange
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

3 pollla kaì atopa. kai tina kai eti tê boulê tois te dynatotatous sfoûn, òper pou kaì tâ 1 tou Pompelion mállosteri eprrattou, égrafen, ònû òti kai ñheleven ëkai ñhipizó te autôn genêsethei, 2 all' ëna mpì prosochoménwn mpîte kata tou Kaîsaros ti ñphísseî (pollla gár ëpî autô ûpô polllou égrafeto) kai autôs ëpi tê profrâse teautê 62 metassaih. suxhóu ouv ëk tou tou chroûnon allote allaias skîfeseis, òste mûđîen autôn ðo parápan kuryðînai, kataprfîaas aganakteîn te proso-
epoiêtou, kai ëxîou mûnâ allon prôs tais ëpî 3 autôn dh nómodoseias ëpemblêthînai. tou to ëde ëghneîeto mên ìsákis ge kaî kathêkou ën, ou mûntoi kai kait 4 ékeîno suvëbainen, òsper pou kai autôs 2 ñte poutîphîz ën ëpîstato. òmow ð ouv 5 deîn te autôn genêsethei ëleîge, kai touvs suvneréas òson ãpô bôi ëxebsiaîêto. kai têlos mpî ðunâseis autôn peîsa suvkatathêseî oî, òsper ouûde ëboûlêto,
ou'd allo ði dia tou tou ñphísseînai épîtrêpsevan, allâ kai ëk tou faverou ëndh tâ tou Kaîsaros 3 diaíkaiówn, ëpêdêpî mûdîen kat' autôn ðîthei ëndunêthh poîeási, pûn ð tî potè ënedêketo ou dekthînai proîseîeto, kai málsû th' ðti plûntas touvs tâ épplâ ëxhontas taûtâ te katathêseî kai tâ stratôpêdâ diaîlûseî xrhî, ëk mûn' ékeînou ñfîmosantâs autôn 6 tâîs ðunâmësi tâîs tîn antistaisiotîn ëkdoûnai.
4 ëleîge dê tou tou ouv ðti kai tîn Kaîsara poîëseî autô ëthelîn, allî ðti tou Pompelion ev ëpîstato

1 tâ Xyl., kâta L. 2 genêsseî Naber, gnêsseî L.
3 òpî v. Herw., òpî L. 4 kai' supplied by St.
5 ouv Rk., ouûden L. 6 autôn Leuncl., autôn L.

500
measures. Some bills he offered against the senate and its most powerful members, men who were especially active in Pompey's behalf, not because he either wished or expected that any one of them would be passed, but in order that, if they did not accept them, no measure might be passed against Caesar either (for many motions directed against him were being offered by various persons), and that he might himself use this as an excuse for changing sides. Thus, after having used up considerable time on different occasions on various pretexts, so that not a single one of his measures was adopted, he pretended to be vexed and asked that an extra month be intercalated for the enactment of the senate's measures. This practice used to be followed as often as occasion demanded, but not for any such reason as his, and he himself, being pontifex, understood that fact. Nevertheless he declared that it ought to be done and made a fine show of using compulsion on his fellow-priests. At last, not being able to persuade them to assent to his proposal, as indeed he did not desire them to do, he would not permit any other matter to be voted upon on this account. On the contrary, he already began openly to justify Caesar's actions, since, as he claimed, he was unable to accomplish anything against him, and he brought forward every possible proposition which was sure of not being accepted. The chief of these was that all persons in arms must lay these down and disband their legions, or else they should not strip Caesar of his weapons and expose him to the forces of his rivals. This he said, not because he wished Caesar to do it, but because he well understood that Pompey
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

μὴ πειθαρχήσοντα αὐτῷ· καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐκείνῳ πρόφασις εὐλογος τοῦ μὴ διέναι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐδίδοτο.

63 Ὡσοὶ Πομπήιος ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἄλλως πράττων ἦνυντε, πρὸς τε τὸ τραχὺ ἀπαρακαλύπτως ὄρμησε, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς πάντα καὶ ἔλεγε καὶ ἐποίει κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος. οὐ μέντοι καὶ κατέπραξε τι.

2 ἄλλοι τε γὰρ ἐκείνῳ πολλοὶ καὶ Δούκιος Πάυλος ὁ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου συνάρχων, ὁ τε Πίσσων ὁ Δούκιος ὁ πενθερός αὐτοῦ τιμητής ὁν συνηγωνίζοντο. καὶ γὰρ ἑκατοντάς τῶν χρόνιον τούτον ὁ τε Κλαύδιος ὁ Ἀπειρός καὶ ὁ Πίσσων, καίτοι μὴ βουλθεῖς, ἐγεί-

3 νυντο. καὶ ὁ μέν διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν ὑπῆρχε τῷ Καίσαρι, ὁ δὲ ἦκεν Κλαύδιος ἢναντίωντο μὲν αὐτῷ (τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Πομπηίου ἕρειτο), οὐκ ἐλάχιστα δὲ καὶ ἄκων ὥθησε· πλεῖστους γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἱππεῶν καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν διέγραψεν, ἐκβιασά-μενος τὸν συνάρχοντα, καὶ τοῦτον πάντας αὐτοὺς

4 τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονεῖν ἐποίησεν. ὁ γὰρ Πίσσων οὖν ἄλλως πράγματ’ ἐχειν ἠθέλων καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ γαμβροῦ φίλαν πόλλους θεραπεύων αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ἐποίησεν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ οὐκ ἀντεπράξε πάντας μὲν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων συνεχούσας δὲ καὶ τῶν πάνω γενναίων, ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν Κρίστον τοῦ Σαλοῦστιον τὸν τὴν ἱστορίαν

5 γράφαντα, ἀπελάσαντι ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου. τὸν μὲντοι Κουρίωνα μελλόσαντα καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπαλει-φθήσεσθαι ἐξητήσατο μετὰ τοῦ Παύλου, οὕτε

1 ὁ added by Bk. 2 καὶ γὰρ Reim., καίτοι L.
3 ὁ added by R. Steph.
4 ἢναντιοῦτο R. Steph., ἢναντιοῦντο L.
5 πράγματ’ Rk., πράγμα L.
BOOK XL

would not yield obedience to it, and thus a plausible excuse was offered the other also for not dismissing his soldiers.

Pompey, accordingly, as he could effect nothing in any other way, proceeded without any further disguise to harsh measures and openly said and did everything against Caesar; yet he failed to accomplish anything. Caesar had many supporters, among them Lucius Paulus, the colleague of Marcellus, and Lucius Piso, his father-in-law, who was censor; for at this time Appius Claudius and Piso were made censors, the latter against his will. So Piso on account of his relationship belonged to Caesar, while Claudius, though opposing him, since he favoured Pompey's cause, yet quite involuntarily rendered Caesar very efficient aid. For he expelled a great many both of the knights and senators, overruling his colleague, and in this way made them all favour Caesar's cause. Piso, who was in any case disposed to avoid trouble, and for the sake of maintaining friendship with his son-in-law paid court to many people, was himself responsible for none of the above acts, but he did not resist Claudius when he drove from the senate all the freedmen and numbers even of the exclusive nobility, among them Sallustius Crispus, who wrote the history. When, however, Curio's name also was about to be expunged, Piso, with the help of Paulus, whose kinsman he was, did beg him.
64 συγγενής ἦν καὶ δε οὐκ ἀπήλλαξεν μὲν αὐτὸν διὰ τοῦτο, τὴν μέντοι γυώμην ἦν περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰχὲν ἐδημοσίευσεν ἐν τῷ βουλευτήριῳ, ὥστε ἐκεῖνον ἀγανακτήσαντα τὴν ἑσθήτα αὐτοῦ πειραρχῆξαι. παραλαβὼν οὖν τοῦτον ὁ Μάρκελλος, καὶ νομίσας ἐπὶ τῇ Κούριοι καὶ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Καῖσαρι δεινὸν τῷ τὴν γερουσίαν ἤφεισθαι, γνώμας 2 περὶ αὐτοῦ προεῖθηκεν. ὁ οὖν Κουρίων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἄνατομον μηδεμίαν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἡγόμην δοθήμαν γνωσὶ δέ τὸ πολὺ τῶν βουλευτῶν τῶν τότε παρόντων τοὺς μὲν καὶ φρονοῦντας ὄντως τὰ τοῦ Καῖσαρος τοὺς δὲ πάνω αὐτὸν δεδώτας, 3 ἐπέτρεψε σφισι διαγνώναι, τοσοῦτον ὑπεντὸν ὅτι σύνοιδα μὲν ἔμαυτῷ τά τε ἄριστα καὶ τά συμφορώτατα τῇ πατρίδι πράττοντι, ὡμὶν μέντοι καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν παραδίδομι χρήσασθαι ὅ τι βούλεσθε. κατηγορήσας οὖν αὐτοῦ ὁ Μάρκελλος ὁς καὶ πάντως ἀλωσομένου, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ 4 πρὸς τῶν πλείων ἀφείθη, δεινὸν τε ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἐκπερήσας ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου πρὸς τὸν Πομπῆιον ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ὄντα ἦλθε, καὶ τὴν τε φυλακὴν αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως καὶ δύο στρατόπεδα πολιτικὰ αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν, μηδενὸς ἐξηφισμένου, ἔδωκεν.

Οἱ δὲ δὴ στρατῶται οὗτοι ὅδε τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶδε 5 65 συνείλεγμένοι καὶ παρόντες τότε ἦσαν. ὁ Πομπῆιος πρῶτον μὲν, ἔως ἔτι τὸν Καῖσαρα διὰ φιλίας ἔχε, στράτευμα ἐν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου αὐτῷ 4 στρατευομένῳ 5 ἐδεδώκει 6 (οὔτε γὰρ οὗτος

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1 ἀπῆλλαξε Ββ., οὖν ἀπῆλλαξε Ρκ., οὐ διῆλλαξε Λ.
2 αὐτοῦ Βκ., αὐτοῦ Λ. 3 τὸ δὲ Λευκ., τῶι Λ.
4 αὐτῷ Χυλ., αὐτῶι Λ. 5 στρατευομένῳ Ρκ., στρατευομένῳ Λ.
6 ἐδεδώκει Βκ., δέδωκεν Λ.

504
BOOK XL

off. Consequently Claudius did not expel him, but made public in the senate the opinion that he had of him, so that the other, indignant, tore Claudius’ clothes. So Marcellus seized him, and thinking that the senate would pass some severe vote against Curio and, because of him, against Caesar, brought forward motions about him. Curio at first opposed the rendering of any decision regarding himself; but on coming to realize that the majority of the senators then present were either actually attached to Caesar’s cause or else thoroughly feared him, he allowed them to decide, merely remarking: “I am conscious of doing what is best and most advantageous for my country; to you, however, I surrender both my body and life to do with as you please.” Marcellus accordingly accused him, thinking that he would certainly be convicted; but when he was acquitted by the majority, the accuser took it greatly to heart, and rushing out of the senate, he came to Pompey, who was in the suburbs, and on his own responsibility, without the formality of a vote, entrusted him with the protection of the city and likewise with two legions of citizens.

These soldiers were then present, having been collected in the following way and for the following purpose. Pompey had previously, while still on friendly terms with Caesar, given him one of the enrolled legions for use in his campaign, inasmuch as he was not conducting any war himself and

505
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

πόλεμόν τινα διεχείριζε, καὶ ἐκεῖνῳ χρεία στρα-
2 τιωτῶν ἔγενετο), ἐπεὶ δὲ διηνέχθησαν, ἐθελήςας
tοῦτό τε ἀπολαβεῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔτι καὶ ἄλλο
αὐτὸν προσαφελέσθαι ἐλογοποίησεν ὡς τοῦ Βι-
βούλου στρατιωτῶν πρὸς τοὺς Πάρθους δεομένου,
καὶ ἵνα γε μὴ κανοὶ δὴ τινὲς κατάλογοι γένωνται
(τὸ τε γὰρ πράγμα κατεπείγειν καὶ περιουσίαν
σφίσι στρατοπέδων εἶναι ἔλεγε), ψηφιασθήναι
ἐποίησεν ὅστε ἐκάτερον σφων, ἕαυτον τε καὶ τὸν
3 Καῖσαρα, ἐν δεῖνategories αὐτῷ πέμψαι. κάκς τούτου
tῶν μὲν συστρατευμένων οἱ οὐδένα ἀπέστειλε,
tὸ δὲ δὴ στράτευμα ἐκεῖνο ὅπερ τῷ Καῖσαρι ἐδε-
δόκει ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦτο ταχθεῖσιν αὐτής.
καὶ οὕτω τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ἀμφότεροι, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ὁ
4 Καῖσαρ μόνος τὰ δύο ἔστησεν ᥎δει μὲν γὰρ τὸ
γεγομένων, ἐπειθάρχησε δὲ μὴ βουλθεῖσις αἰτίαν
ὡς καὶ ἀνήκουστηκὼς λαβεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ μέλ-
λων ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτη πολλῷ πλεῖον στρα-
tιώτας ἀντικαταλέξειν.

66 Ταῦτα οὖν τὰ στρατόπεδα παρεσκευάσθη μὲν
ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους πεμφθησόμενα, ἐπεὶ δ' 
οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἐδέχεσθε (οὐδὲ γὰρ χρεία σφών ἦν), ὁ
Μάρκελλος πρότερον μὲν, φοβθεῖσις μὴ τῷ Καῖ-
σαρι ἀποδοθῇ, ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ δεῖν εἶναι ἔλεγεν,
tότε δὲ τῷ Πομπηίῳ, ὅστερ εἰποῦν, ἐνεχειρίσθη.
2 καὶ ἡν γὰρ ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τοῦ ἐτους τὰ γεγομένα, καὶ
ἐμελλέν τις ἐπὶ πολύ, ἂτε μήτ' τῇ βουλή μῆτε
tῷ δήμῳ δόξαντα, ἵσχύσειν, ἐπήγετο2 πρὸς τῶν
Πομπηίου Κορνηλίου τε Λέντουλον καὶ Γάιου
Κλαύδιον τοὺς τῷ ὁστέρῳ ἔτει ὑπατεύσει μέλ-

1 ἐν δείν Βσ., δείν ἐν Meibcr, δείν L.
2 ἐπήγετο Rk., ἡπήγετο L.

506
BOOK XL

Caesar had need of soldiers. But when they fell out with each other, in his desire to get this one back from him and to deprive him of yet another he represented that Bibulus required soldiers against the Parthians; and in order that no new levies should be made, since the matter was urgent, as he claimed, and they had an abundance of legions, he got it voted that each of them, himself and Caesar, must send one to him. Thereupon he failed to send any of his own soldiers, but ordered those whose business it was to demand that legion which he had given to Caesar. So nominally both of them contributed, but in reality Caesar alone sent the two. For though he knew what was being done, he complied with the demand, not wishing to incur the charge of disobedience, particularly because on this excuse he intended to collect many more troops in place of these.

These legions, therefore, were apparently made ready to be sent against the Parthians, but when there proved to be no need of them, there being really no use to which they could be put, Marcellus, fearing that they might be restored to Caesar, at first declared that they must remain in Italy, and then, as I have said, gave them into Pompey's charge. These proceedings took place near the close of the year and were destined not to remain long in force, since they had been approved neither by the senate nor by the people. Accordingly he won over to Pompey's side Cornelius Lentulus and Gaius Claudius, who were to hold the consulship the next
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

λοντας, καὶ ἐποίησε καὶ ἐκεῖνος τὰ αὐτὰ προσ-3 τάξαε: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καὶ γράμματα τοῖς ἀποδεδειγ-μένοις ἐσ τὰς ἁρχὰς ἐκτιθέναι καὶ ἄλλα τῶν τῆ ἡγεμονία σφών προσηκόντων, καὶ πρὶν ἐνι-στασθαι αὐτὴν, πράττειν ἑτὶ καὶ τότε ἐξήν, καὶ τούτου κύριοι ἐνόμιζον εἶναι. καὶ ὁ γε1 Πομπήιος, καίπερ ἐσ πάντα τάλλα ἀκριβῆς ὄν, ὅμως οὔδὲν διὰ τὴν στρατιωτῶν χρείαν ἐπολυπραγμόνησεν, οὐτε ἀφ’ ὄν οὔθ’ ὅπως αὐτοὺς λαμβάνει, ἀλλὰ 4 καὶ πάνυ ἀσμενὸς σφας ἐδέξατο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπράξῃ τι οἶον ἃν τις ἐπὶ τηλικοῦτῳ τολμήματι γενήσεσθαι2 προσεδόκησεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐχθραν μόνον τὴν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐνδειξάμενοι αὐτοῖ 5 μὲν οὔδὲν ἀλλὸ ἱσχυρὸν παρεσκευάζαντο, ἐκείνῳ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τούτου πρόφασιν εὐλογον ἐσ τὸ3 τὰ στρατόπεδα τὰ συνόντα οἱ κατασχεῖν παρέσχον. ὁ γὰρ Κουρίων ἐπὶ τε τούτως πολλὴν ἐν τῷ πλήθει κατηγορίαν κατὰ τε τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ διήρξε, πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα εὐθὺς ἀφωρίζθη.

1 γε Rk., τε L. 2 γενήσεσθαι Rk., γεγεννήσθαι L. 3 τὸ added by Reim.
BOOK XL

year, and caused them to issue the same commands. \(\text{b.c. 50}\)

For since magistrates-elect were still allowed to issue proclamations and to perform some other functions pertaining to their office even before they entered upon it, they believed that they had authority also in this matter. And Pompey, although he was very scrupulous in all other matters, nevertheless on account of his need of soldiers did not either enquire at all from what sources he was getting them, or in what way, but accepted them very gratefully. Yet no such result was accomplished as one would have expected to come from such a bold move; they merely displayed their enmity toward Caesar, and then made no further preparations themselves to strengthen their position, while they had furnished to him a plausible excuse for retaining the legions that were with him. For Curio, taking these acts as his text, delivered before the populace a violent arraignment both of the consuls and of Pompey, and when he had finished his term of office, he at once set out to join Caesar.
INDEX

Abgarus, ruler of Osrhoène, 435-39
Acilius. See Glaibro
Aduatucid, the, 313 f.
Aedul, the, 265, 269, 311, 461-65
Afranius, L. (cos. 60), 107, 175
Africa, 39, 279, 285, 363
Agamemnon, descendants of, 17
Agricola, Cn. Julius, 383
Ahenobarbus, Cn. Domitius (tr. 104), 159
Ahenobarbus, L. Domitius (cos. 54), 351 f., 397, 403, 407
Alban Mount, the, 329, 335, 351
Albania, 93, 279
Albanians, the, 93, 97 f., 103, 107
Alchaudonius, Arabian chieftain, 7, 435
Alesia, city in Gaul, 467 f.
Alexander the Great, 425, 431; statue of, 183
Alexandrine, the, 327 f., 393
Allobroges, the, 153 f., 173 f., 265, 317, 465; cf. 293
Alps, the, 263, 277, 285, 317, 381
Ambiorix, Gallic chieftain, 413 f., 451-55
Anaitis, Armenian goddess, 79
Anaitis, district of Armenia, 79, 91, 113 n.
Antigones, 449
Antioch, 27, 449
Antiochus the Great, 279, 285
Antiochus XIII. of Syria, 113
Antiochus I. of Commagene, 7
Appian Way, the, 479
Aquitania, 377
Arabia, 279
Arabians, the, 27, 113, 125
Arar, river in Gaul, 265
Araxes, river in Armenia, 89
Archelaus, general of Mithridates, 393
Archelaus, son of preceding, 398 f.
Ardea, 253
Aretas, Arabian king, 125
Ariovistus, 269 f., 289-95, 299-307
Aristides, Athenian statesman, 253 f.
Aristion, 29
Aristobulus, king of Judaea, 125 f., 391
Armenia, 9, 13, 75-79, 87-91, 103, 107, 113, 279, 429, 433, 445
Armenia, Lesser, 15
Armenians, the, 99
Arsaces, founder of Arsacid dynasty, 425
Arsaces XI., king of the Parthians, 5 f., 75
Arsacidae, the, 425
Artabazes, son of Tigranes, 429
Artaxata, capital of Armenia, 87 f.
Artemis, statue of, 17; cf. 331
Artoces, king of Asiatic Iberia, 99 f.
Arverni, the, 455-59
Asia, 3, 7, 17, 131 f., 167, 279
Aspis, city in Syria, 113 and n.
Athens, 237
Avaricum, city in Gaul, 457 f.
Axona, river in Gaul, 311

Bassus, L., 29
Bastarnae, tribe of Scythians, 217
Belgae, the, 311, 469
Belgica, 383
Bellienus, L. Annius, 117 n.
Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes, 327, 393 f.
INDEX

Bibulus, M. Calpurnius (cos. 59), 115, 203, 207 f., 213 f., 221, 451, 483, 507

Bithynia, 25, 67, 71, 97, 279

Bituriges, the, Gallic tribe, 457

Bosporus, kingdom of, 85, 101, 123

Brigantium, town in Spain, 185

Britain, 311, 383–387, 409–13

Britons, the, 383–87

Brundisium, 133

Brutus, D. Junius, 367 f.

Cabira, city in Pontus, 17


Caesar, L. Julius (cos. 64), 109, 117, 143

Calatinus, A. Atilius (dict. 249), 55 n.

Calenus, Q. Fufius (pr. 59), 213

Calvinus, Cn. Domitius (cos. 53), 429 f., 473, 477

Cambyse, river in Albania, 103

Camillus, 253 f.

Campania, 199, 211

Campus Martius, 403

Capito, C. Ateius (tr. 55), 353, 359, 365

Capitol, the, 115, 155 f., 231, 235, 321, 337, 351, 365

Capitolinus, 255

Cappadocia, 17 f., 23 f., 87 f.

Capa, 211

Carbo, C., 67

Carrhae, city in Mesopotamia, 443, 447

Carrhaeans, the, 107

Carthaginians, the, 279, 285

Caspian Sea, the, 107

Cassius, C. See Longinus.

Cassivellaunus, British chieftain, 411

Castor, temple of, 115, 207


Cato, M. Porcius, the censor, 137


Cato, C. (tr. 57), 347

Catatnugus, chief of the Allobroges, 173 f.

Catulus, Q. Lutatius (cos. 78), 49–61, 159, 169–73

Caucasus, the, 99, 107

 Celtica, 377

Celts, the, 269 n., 383


Cicero, Q. Legatus of Caesar, 415–19

Cilicia, 25, 57, 63, 71, 325

Cilicians, the, 7, 29

Cimbr, the, 313

Cinna, L. Cornelius (cos. 87–85), 39

Claudius, App. (Pulcher) (cos. 54), 319, 397, 407, 503 f.

Claudius, C. (Pulcher) (tr. 56), 387

Clodians, name proposed for Cretan cantises, 339


Clunia, town in Spain, 387

Coele-Syria, 113

Colchians, the, 103

Colchis, 85, 101

Comana, town in Cappadocia, 17

Commagene, 7

Commius, an Atrebatian leader, 471

Corduene (Gordyene), 107

Cornellius, C. (tr. 67), 65 f.

Corvinus (Corvus), M. Valerius (cos. vi. 299), 257

Cotta, L. Aurelius (cos. 65), 73 f., 97

Cotta, M. Aurelius (cos. 74), 67

Cotta, M. Aurelius, son of preceding, 67

Cotta, L. Aurunculeius, legatus of Caesar, 413 f.

Crassus, M. Licinius, alliance of with Caesar and Pompey, 187–93,
## INDEX

- 201, 205, 235, 323, 345; consuls,
  - ship, 351–67, 383, 395 f.; campaign
  - against the Parthians,
  - f., 429–47, 473; see also
  - 149, 155

- Crassus, P. Licinius, son of preceding,
  - 353, 377, 437

- Cretans, the, 3, 27 f.

- Crete, 3, 27 f., 75, 279

- Creticus, title given to Metellus, 27

- Crispus, C. Sallustius, historian, 503

- Ctesiphon, Parthian capital, 425, 435

- Curia Hostilia, 483

- Curio, C. Scribonius (tr. 50), 231 f.,
  - 497–505

- Cydonia, city in Crete, 29

- Cyprians, 337 f.

- Cyprus, 261, 279, 325, 337 f.

- Cyrrhus (Cyrus), river in Albania,
  - 91–95, 99, 103

- Dadasa, town of Cappadocia, 19

- Dardanians, the, 217

- Demetrius, freedman of Pompey,
  - 363

- Democedes, physician of Crotona,
  - 239

- Dio, an Alexandrine, 327 f.

- Domitius. See Ahenobarbus

- Drusus, M. Livius, 255

- Durius, river of Spain, 183

- Eburones, the, 413

- Eburonia, 413

- Egypt, 57, 127, 325, 329, 391, 395

- Egyptians, the, 129 f., 325, 393

- Eleuthera, town in Crete, 29

- Ephesus, 331

- Epirots, the, 285

- Etruria, 149

- Etruscans, the, 151, 277

- Europe, 279

- Euphrates, 7, 11, 107 f., 421, 429 f.,
  - 435, 445 f.

- Fabius, M., legatus in Mithridatic
  - war, 15 f.

- Fabrician bridge, the, 171

- Faenulae, 149, 153, 161

- Fannius, L., in Mithridatic war, 15

- Faustus. See Sulla

- Favonius, M., 209, 327, 353, 359, 475

- Feriae Latinae, the, 351

- Flaccus, L., legatus of Pompey, 93

- Flavius, L. (tr. 60), 179, 261

- Forum, the, 115, 155, 207, 221, 349,
  - 357, 403, 479 f.

- Fulvius, A., 159

- Gabinius, A. (tr. 66), 37, 43–49,
  - 59, 71, 107, 215, (cos. 58), 223,
  - 231 f., 261, 389–403

- Gabinius (Sisenna), son of preceding,
  - 391

- Gades, 183 f.

- Galatia, 77, 177

- Galba, Gallic chieftain, 311

- Galba, Serv. Sulpicius, legatus of
  - Caesar, 175, 317, (pr. 54), 403

- Gallaecia, district of Spain, 185

- Gallia Celta, 377

- Gallia Narbonensis, 61, 173 f.; cf.
  - 283 f.

- Gallus, P. Aquilus (tr. 55), 353,
  - 357 f.

- Gaul, Caesar's campaigns in,
  - See also Gallia Celta and G.
  - Narbonensis

- Gaul, Cisalpine, 153, 213, 455

- Gauls, the, 285, 297, 303, 341,
  - 375–79, 385, 403, 411, 431, 455,
  - 473

- Gaziura, town in Pontus, 19

- Gergovia, town of the Arverni,
  - 459–63

- Germans, the, 269–73, 285, 297,

- Glabrio, M. Acilius (cos. 67), 19,
  - 23 f., 37, 63, 69 f.

- Gracchi, the, 255

- Greece, 29, 57, 131, 279, 285

- Greeks, the, 129, 383; cf. 423, 435

- Hannibal, 253 n.

- Harmastica, 89 n.

- Helvetii, the, 263–69

- Hercules, temple of, 183

- Herminian Mount, the, 183 f.

- Hierapydina, town in Crete, 29

- Hippocrates, Greek physician, 239

- Hortensius, Q. (cos. 69), 3, 231–33,
  - 361
INDEX

Hypseaus, P. Plautius (tr. 54), 487
Hyrcanus, king of Judea, 125 f.

Iberia, in Asia, 279
Iberians, the, 99
Ichnae, fortress in Mesopotamia, 423
Ilyria, 279
Indutious Marus, chief of the Treveri, 421, 451
Ionian Sea, the, 57
Iphigenia, 19
Iias, 477
Ister, the, 119
Istrians, the, 217
Italians, the, 285
Italy, 33, 55 f., 61, 117 f., 131 f., 141, 199, 235, 317, 323, 385, 417, 455, 497, 507

Janiculum, the, 145
January, 477
Jerusalem, 125 f.
Jews, the, 127, 391
Judea, 127
Juno, shrine of, 335
Jupiter, statue of, 115, 155; day of, 131; temple of, 169; festival of, 351

Labienus, T., legatus of Caesar, 141, 145, 159, 421, 451 f., 465, 471
Lappa, town of Crete, 29
Lasithenes, a Cretan, 29
Latinus, the, 277
Leman, lake, 317
Lentulus, Manlius, legatus in Gaul, 173 f.

Lentulus, Cn. Cornelius (Marcellinus) (cos. 50), 331 f., 347 f., 367
Lentulus, L. Cornelius (cos. 49), 507
Lentulus, P. Cornelius (pr. 63), 149–61, 165, 227, 233, 251
Lentulus, P. Cornelius (Sphinther) (cos. 57), 309, 319 f., 325, 331
Lentulus, P. Cornelius (Sphinther), son of preceding, 331
Leplius, M. Aemilius (cos. 66), 69
Liberty, temple of, 235, 323, 335
Liger, river of Gaul, 367, 465
Lingones, the, 465
Litaviccus, a Gaul, 461 f.

Liternum, 253
Longinus, C. Cassius, quaestor under Crassus, 445–49
Lucanians, the, 277
Lucullus, L. Licinius, in Mithridatic War, 3–27, 71, 77; other references, 111, 177, 211, 215
Lucullus, L. Licinius (pr. 67), 69
Luscius, L., centurion under Sulla, 117 n.
Lusitania, 181–83
Macedonia, 153, 217, 237, 253, 279
Macedonians, the, 425; in Syria, 109, 423
Machaeres, son of Mithridates, 85
Macotis, lake, 85
Magnus, title given to Pompey, 135
Manlius, C. (pr. 66), 69–73
Manlius, C., commander of Catilinarian forces, 149, 153
Marcellus, see Lentulus
Marcellus, C. Claudius (cos. 50), 473, 497, 503 f.
Marcellus, C. Claudius (cos. 49), 507 f.
Marcellus, M. Claudius (cos. 51), 451, 495 f.
Marcus (or Marcus), relative of Clodius, 319 n.
Marcus, Q. see Rex
Marius, C., 51, 133, 257
Marius, L., legatus in Gaul, 175
Mars, day of, 131
Massalia, 489
Media, 21
Mediterranean Sea, the, 367; cf. 127
Menapii, the, 373
Menemachus, deserter from Tigranes, 27
Mercury, day of, 131
Mesopotamia, 11, 107, 421–25, 429
Messalla, M. Valerius (c. 61), 171
Messalla, M. Valerius (cos. 53), 431, 473
Metellus, C. Caecilius (Nepos) (cos. 57), 161, 167 f., 181, 309, 319 f., 387
Metellus, L. Caecilius (cos. 68), 9
Metellus, Q. Caecilius (Celer) (cos. 60), 93, 145, 151 f., 161 f., 175–81, 209
Metellus, Q. Caecilius (Creticus) (cos. 69), 3, 27–31, 75, 205
INDEX

Metellus, Q. Caecilius (Numidicus), 209 n.
Metellus, Q. Caecilius (Pius), pontifex maximus, 159
Metellus, Q. Caecilius (Pius Scipio) (cos. 52), 485
Metrophanes, envoy of Mithridates, 75
Minerva, statue of, 235
Minucius, Q. (tr. 62), 167
Mithridates, king of Media, 21
Mithridates III. (Arsaces XIII.), king of the Parthians, 391
Moesia, 217
Morini, the, 378, 383 f.
Murena, L. Licinius (cos. 62), 161
Nicopolitans, the, 87
Nervil, the, 313, 415
Nicephorium, city in Mesopotamia, 423
Nisibis, city in Mesopotamia, 11 f., 21, 27, 171
Noviodunum, city in Gaul, 463 f.
Ocean (Atlantic), the, 311, 367, 377, 383
Octavius, L., legatus of Pompey in Crete, 27
Ofella, Q. Lucretius, 117 n.
Oppius, P., quaestor in Bithynia, 67
Orgetorix, 263
Orodes I. (Arsaces XIV.), king of the Parthians, 391, 421, 429, 445, 449 f.
Ornophates, Parthian satrap, 451
Oroes, king of the Albanians, 98, 105
Osaces, Parthian general, 449 f.
Oscans, the, 277
Ostia, 33
Ostroën, district of Mesopotamia, 435
Ostréon, the, 439 f.
Pacorus, son of Orodes I. of Parthia, 449 f.
Pætus, P. Autronius (consul elect for 65), 73, 141
Palatine, the, 481
Palestine, 125 f., 281, 391
Panares, a Cretan, 29
Panticapaeum, 121
Papilius, C. (tr. 64), 117
Parthians, the, 11, 75, 91, 421, 425–31, 487–49, 451, 507
Paulus, L. Aemilius (cos. 50), 473, 503
Pelorus, river of Asiatice Iberia, 99 f.
Pelasgus, city in Egypt, 393
Perseus, king of Macedon, 279, 285
Persians, kingdom of, 425
Petræus, M., legatus of Antonius, 163, 203
Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, 119–23
Phasis, river of Colchis, 85, 101
Philip V., king of Macedon, 279, 285
Philippus, L. Marcius (cos. 56), 331 f., 387
Phileicus, Greek philosopher (?), 237–61
Phoenix, 91, 97, 113, 125 f.
Phraates III. (Arsaces XII.), 75, 87, 107–11, 123, 391
Piso, C. Calpurnius (cos. 67), 19, 37, 61–65
Piso, Cn. Calpurnius, conspirator, 73 f.
Piso, L. Calpurnius (cos. 58), 215, 223, 231, 503
Piso, M. Puplius, (cos. 61), 169 f.
Plancus, T. Munatius (tr. 52), 479, 489 f.
Plantius, A. (tr. 56), 331
Po, the, 115
Pollux, temple of, 115, 207
Pompeolopollis, city of Cilicia, 68
INDEX

387 f., 395 f.; sole consul (52), 475, 481-97; other references, 185, 199 f., 329-35, 401 f., 435
Pomptinus, C., governor of Gallia Narbonensis, 173 f., 408
Pontus, 13, 97, 107, 131, 279
Porcians, name proposed for Cretan captives, 339
Porci, Roman gens, 137
Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt, 325-31, 387-95, 399 f.
Ptolemy, ruler of Cyprus, 261, 337
Pyrenees, the, 377
Quadratus, L. Ninnius (tr. 58), 225 f., 231 f., 261, 359
Rabirius, C., 141-45, 159
Red Sea, the, 125
Remi, the, 311, 421
Rex, Q. Marsius (cos. 68), 9, 23-27, 71, 79
Rhaetia, 381
Rhine, the, 269, 307, 311, 379-83, 453
Rhone, the, 175, 263
Romulus and Remus, statue of, 115
Roscius, L. (tr. 67), 37 f., 49, 69
Rufus, Q. Pompeius (tr. 52), 475, 479, 489 f.
Rufus, Serv. Sulpicius (cos. 51), 451, 495
Sabines, the, 277
Sabinus, Q. Titurius, legatus of Caesar, 373 f., 413 f.
Sallustius. See Crispus
Samnites, the, 277
Sardinia, 69, 279
Saturn, day of, 125-33
Saturninus, 141 f.
Scaevius, P., soldier of Caesar in Spain, 185
Scipio (Africanus Malor), 253 f.
Scipio, Q. See Metellus.
Scythians, Bastarnian, 217
Secullius. See Sextilius
Seleucia, city near the Tigris, 429, 435
Seleucus, husband of Berenice, 393
Sequana, river of Gaul, 465
Sequani, the, 265, 269 f., 465
Serapis, 477
Sertorius, Q., 41, 45, 53, 377
Severus, Septimius, emperor, 383
Sextillus, legatus of Lucullus, 9
Sibyl, the, oracles of, 329, 389 f., 395-99
Sicily, 39, 235 f., 253, 279
Silaces, Parthian satrap, 423
Silanus, D. Junius (cos. 62), 161
Sinoria, fortress in Armenia, 113 n.
Sisenna, A. Gabinius, son of Gabinius, 391
Sisenna, L. Cornelius, 29
Soli, city of Cilicia, 63
Solon, 253
Solonion, city in Gaul, 175
Sophene, district of Armenia, 91
Sotiates, the, tribe of Aquitania, 377
Spain, 39, 57, 75, 279, 359, 365, 377, 383, 473, 493, 497
Sparta, 375 n.
Stratonice, wife of Mithridates, 113
Suebi, the, 379 f., 453
Sugambri, the, 381, 455
Sulla, P. Cornelius, the dictator, 51, 55, 73, 117, 133, 141, 149, 159, 393, 475
Sulla, P. Cornelius, nephew of preceding, 73, 141
Sulla, Faustus Cornelius, son of dictator, 181, 331, 483
Surenas, Parthian general, 435 f., 445
Symphorion, erroneous spelling of Sinoria, 113
Syria, 7, 27, 57, 89, 97, 107, 119, 125, 279, 355, 389-93, 421, 425, 429, 445-51
Syria Palaestina, 125
Syrians, the, 395

Talauru, town in Pontus, 21
Taurus, the, 7, 23
Tencteri, the, 379 f.
Thames, the, 411
Themistocles, 253 f.
Thracians, mercenaries, 15
Thucydates, 257
Tiber, the, 171, 193, 397
Tigranes I., king of Armenia, 3-7, 11 f., 21 f., 27, 63, 71, 75, 85-91, 107-13, 429
INDEX

Tigranes, son of preceding, 85–93, 261
Tigranocerta, royal city of Armenia, 3, 7
Tigris, the, 11, 107, 423 f.
Tolosa, 265
Torquatus, L. Manlius (cos. 65), 73 f., 97; cf. 333
Trebellius, L. (tr. 67), 37 f., 49
Trebonius, C. (tr. 55), 355–59
Treveri, the, 379, 421, 451 f.
Triarius, L. Valerius, legatus of Lucullus, 17 f.
Tullus, L. Volcatius (cos. 66), 69
Ubii, the, 381
Unelli. See Venelli
Usipetes, the, 379 f.
Vadcae, the, tribe in Spain, 387
Valentia, city of Gaul, 173
Valerian legion, 21–25, 77
Vatinius, P. (tr. 59), 209
Venelli, the, 373
Veneti, the, 367–73
Venus, day of, 131
Veragri, the, 317
Vercingetorix, 455, 465–69
Vesontio, city of Gaul, 271
Vestals, the, 157, 171
Vettius, L., 165, 215
Viridovix, 373
Volscians, the, 277
Xenophon, 257
Zenodotium, town in Mesopotamia, 423
Zeugma, town in Syria, 431
Zeus, shrine of, 375 n.