Dio's Roman history

Cassius Dio Cocceianus
DIO'S
ROMAN HISTORY
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

UNIVERSITY L

CAUTION --- Please
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DIO'S
ROMAN HISTORY

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

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

IN NINE VOLUMES
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DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

BOOK XLI

Τάδε ἐνεστὶν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ πρῶτῷ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαίων

a. Ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἠλθεὶ καὶ Πομπήιος ἐκλίτων αὐτὴν ἐς Μακεδονίαν διεπλέσειν.

β. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Ἰβηρίαν παρεστῆσατο.

γ. Ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐπὶ Πομπήιον διεπλέσειν.

δ. Ὡς Καῖσαρ καὶ Πομπήιος περὶ Δυρράχιον ἐπολέμησαν.

ε. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Πομπήιον περὶ Φάρσαλον ἐνίκησεν.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἐτή δύο, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμομένοι οὐδὲ ἐγένοντο

Δ. Κορνήλιος Π. ι. Λεντούλος ὤπ.

Γ. Κλαύδιος Μ.1 ι. Μάρκελλος

Γ. Ἰούλιος2 Γ. ι. Καῖσαρ τὸ β’ ὤπ.

Π. Σερωνίλιος Π. ι. Ἰσαυρικός

Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτ’ ἔστραψε, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο γράμματα παρὰ τοῦ Καῖσαρος πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν λαβὼν ἠλθέ τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νομηνίᾳ ἐν ἢ ὡς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κορνήλιος ὁ Κορνηλίος καὶ ὁ Κλαύδιος ὁ Γαίος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνεστῆσαντο, καὶ οὐ πρῶτον τοῖς ὑπάτοις αὐτὰ ἀπέδωκε πρὶν ἐς τὸ συνεδρίον σφας ἀφικέσθαι, μὴ καὶ ἔξω ποὺ καβοῦντες αὐτὰ ἀπὸ 2 κρυφώμεναι. ἑπὶ πολὺ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὃς ἄνεσχον, οὐκ ἔδεστον σφας ἀναλέξασθαι τέλος δὲ ὑπὸ

1 Κλαύδιος Μ. Βυ., following R. Steph., καί L.

2 Ἰούλιος R. Steph., όντιος L.
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BOOK XLI

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

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

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

After taking this course at that time, Curio later came to Rome on the very first day of the month on which Cornelius Lentulus and Gaius Claudius entered upon office, bringing a letter from Caesar to the senate; and he did not give it to the consuls until they reached the senate-house, for fear that if they received it outside they might suppress it. Even as it was, they waited a long time, in their unwillingness to read it, but at last they were compelled
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te Kυίντου Κασσίου Δογγίνου καὶ ὑπὸ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου δημαρχοῦντων ἡναγκάσθησαν αὐτὰ δη-
3 μοσεῖναι. Ἀντώνιος μὲν οὖν ἐν τούτῳ τότε τὸν Καίσαρα εὐεργετήσας ἀντιλήψεσθαι τε πολλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ μεγάλων καὶ αὐτὸς αἰωρηθήσεσθαι ἐμελλεν. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσα ποτὲ καλὸς τὸ κοινὸν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπεποίηκεν ἐνεγέραττο, καὶ
4 ἀπολογισμὸς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἦτιάζετο. καταλύσεις τὸ τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ τῆς ἄρχης ἐκστήσεσθαι ὑπισχεῖτο, ἀν καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος τὰ αὐτὰ οἱ ποιήσῃ ἐκείνου γὰρ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντος οὐδὲ ἑαυτὸν δίκαιον εἶναι ἀναγκασθῆναι αὐτὰ ἀφεῖ-
ναι ἔλεγεν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐκδοθῇ.
2 διαψήφισεως δὲ ἔπι τούτως οὐ κατ’ ἄνδρα, μὴ καὶ δὲ ἀιδῶ ἢ καὶ φόβου τινὰ παρὰ τὰ δοκοῦντα σφυίν ἀποφήνωνται, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τάδε καὶ ἐπ’ ἐκείνα τοῦ βουλευτηρίου μεταστάσει γενομένης, τὸν μὲν Πομπήιον οὐδείς ἀπαλλαγὴν ἔκ τῶν ὅπλων ἐψηφίσατο (ἐν γὰρ τῷ προαστείῳ τὰς δυνάμεις εἰχὲ), τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίσαρα πάντες πλὴν Μάρκου τὸ τινὸς Καίλου¹ καὶ τοῦ Κουρίωνος τοῦ
2 τὰ γράμματα αὐτοῦ κομίσαντος. περὶ γὰρ τῶν δημάρχων οὐδὲν λέγω, ὅτι μηδὲ ἐν ἀνάγκῃ τινὶ μεταστήματο ἐποιήσαντο, ἀτέ καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες εἰτὲ ἐβούλοντο τινὰ γνώμην συμβαλέσθαι εἰτὲ καὶ μὴ. ἔδοξε μὲν οὖν ταῦτα, οὐ μὴν καὶ κυρωθῆναι τι αὐτῶν οὐτε ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὔτε ἐν τῇ ὕστερα ὅ ὁ τε Ἀντώνιος καὶ ὁ Δογγίνος ἐπέ-
3 τρεψαν. ἀγανακτησάντων δὲ ἔπι τούτῳ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἡσθισαμένων τὴν ἐσθήτα ἀλλάξα-

¹ Καιλὸν Fr. Fabricius (cf. Oros. 6, 15, 2), καιλίου L (and so just below). ² μηδὲ Bk., μὴτε L.
BOOK XLI

by Quintus Cassius Longinus and Mark Antony, who were tribunes, to make it public. Now Antony for the service he then rendered Caesar in this matter was destined to be well repaid and to be raised himself to great honours. As to the letter, it contained a list of all the benefits which Caesar had ever conferred upon the state and a defence of the charges which were brought against him. He promised to disband his legions and give up his office if Pompey would also do the same; for while the latter bore arms it was not right, he claimed, that he should be compelled to give up his and so be exposed to his enemies. The vote on this proposition was not taken individually, lest the senators through some sense of shame or fear should vote contrary to their true opinions; but it was done by their taking their stand on this or on that side of the senate-chamber. No one voted that Pompey should give up his arms, since he had his troops in the suburbs; but all, except one Marcus Caelius and Curio, who had brought his letter, voted that Caesar must do so. Of the tribunes I make no mention, since they did not consider it at all necessary to take part in the division; for they had the privilege of offering an opinion or not, as they saw fit. This, then, was the decision reached; but Antony and Longinus did not allow any part of it to be ratified either on that day or the next. The rest, indignant at this, voted to change their apparel, but
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σθαι, κύρος μὲν οὐδὲ τούθ’ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν, ἡ μέντοι γνώμη συνεγράφη καὶ τὸ ἔργον τὸ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ἐγένετο· πάντες γὰρ παραχρῆμα ἐξελθόντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ τὴν στολὴν μεταβαλόντες ἐσῆλθον αὖθις καὶ περὶ τιμωρίας αὐτῶν ἔβουσ-2 λεύσωτο. ἰδόντες δὲ τοῦτ’ ἐκείνοι τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀντίπραττον, ἐπειτα δὲ φοβηθέντες, ἀλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Δέντουλος ὑπεξελθεῖν σφίσι πρὶν τὰς ψήφους διενεχθῆναι παρῆσθεν, εἰπὼν τε πολλὰ καὶ ἐμαρτύραντο, κακὸ τούτον μετὰ τοῦ Κοιρίωνος καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Καιλίου ἀπῆραν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα, βραχὺ φροντίσαντες ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ δι-3 εγράφησαν. τότε μὲν οὖν τοῦτ’ ἐγνώσθη, καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις τὰς τε ἀλλαὶς ἀρχαῖς ἡ φυλακὴ τῆς πόλεως, ὡσπερ ποι εἰώθει γῆγενθαι, ἐπετράπῃ· ὑστερον δὲ ἔξω τοῦ πολυβρίου πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Πομπήιον ἐλθόντες ταραχὴν τε εἶναι ἐγνωσαν, 4 καὶ ἐκείνω μὲν καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ στρατιώτας ἐδώκαν, τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίσαρα τὴν τε ἄρχὴν τοῖς διαδόχοις παραδοῦναι καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ἐντὸς ῥήτης ἡμέρας ἀφεῖναι, ἡ πολέμου ὡς καὶ τὰναντία τῇ πατρίδι ποιοῦντα εἶναι ἐψηφίσαντο.

4 Πυθόμενος οὖν ταῦτα ἐκείνος ἐσ τ’ Ἀρίμινον ἠλθεν, ἔξω τῆς ἐαυτοῦ ἀρχὴς τότε πρὸτον προχωρήσας, καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκέλευσε τὸν τε Κοιρίωνα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἐλθόντας σφίσε τὰ πρακτά διηγή-σασθαι. γενομένου δὲ τούτον προσπαρῴξουν 2 αὐτούς, ἐπειτῶν δὲ ὁ καίρος ἀπήτευ. καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ ἄρας ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ἀντικρὺς τὴν Ῥώμην ἡλασε, πάσας τὰς ἐν ποσὶ πόλεις ἀμαχεῖ προστιθέμενος, τὸν φρουρῶν τῶν μὲν ἐκλειπόντων αὐτὸς ἀσθε-
this measure, also, through the opposition of the same men, failed to be ratified. The senate's decision, however, was recorded and put into effect; for all straightway left the senate-house, and changed their dress, then came in again and proceeded to deliberate about punishing the tribunes. The latter, observing this, at first resisted, but later became afraid, especially when Lentulus advised them to get out of the way before the vote should be taken. They offered many remarks and protestations and then set out with Curio and with Caelius to go to Caesar, little concerned at being expelled from the senate. This, then, was the decision reached at that time; and the care of the city was committed to the consuls and to the other magistrates, as was the custom. Afterward the senators went outside the pomerium to Pompey himself, declared that there was a state of disorder, and delivered to him both the funds and the troops. And they voted that Caesar should surrender his office to his successors and dismiss his legions by a given day, or else be considered an enemy, because acting contrary to the interests of the country.

When Caesar was informed of this, he came to Ariminum, then for the first time overstepping the confines of his own province, and after assembling his soldiers he ordered Curio and the others who had come with him to relate to them what had been done. After this was over he further aroused them by adding such words as the occasion demanded. Next he set out and marched straight upon Rome itself, winning over all the cities on the way without any conflict, since the garrisons either abandoned
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νεία, τῶν δὲ τὰ ἐκείνου ἀνθαίρουμενῶν. αἰσθό-
μενος δὲ τούτο ὁ Πομπήιος, καὶ ἁμα καὶ τὴν
dιάνοιαν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν παρὰ τοῦ Δαβιδὰν μαθὼν,
3 ἔδεισεν. οὕτως γὰρ ἐγκαταλιπὼν τὸν Καίσαρα
ἐξημερώλησε καὶ πάντα οἰ τὰ ἀπόρρητα αὐτοῦ
ἐξήγησε. θαυμάσατι μὲν οὖν ἃν τις ὡς τὰ
πρῶτα ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀεὶ ποτε τιμηθεῖς, ὅστε
καὶ πάντων τῶν ὑπέρ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς στρατοπέδων,
ὁπότε ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ εἶη, ἄρχειν, ἐποίησε
4 τούτο. 1 αὐτῶν δὲ ὡς αὐτὸς τε καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ
δόξαν περιβαλόμενον 2 ὄγκηροτέρων τῆς ἡγεμονίας
dιάγειν ἥρξατο, καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ παρισοῦσών οἱ
aὐτῶν ἱδών οὐκέθι ὁμοίως ἡγάτα. τὴν τε οὖν
μεταβολὴν μὴ φέρων, καὶ φοβηθεῖς ἀμα μὴ πάθη
τι, μετέστη.

5 Ὡ οὖν Πομπήιος ἐκ τῶν περὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος
αὐτῷ λεγόμενοι, καὶ ὡς ίσχυν ἀξιόμαχον οὕτω
παρεσκευάστο, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει, τοὺς τε ἄλ-
λους καὶ αὐτοὺς μάλιστα τοὺς στασιώτας, τὸν τε
πόλεμον ὁκνούντας μνήμη τῶν τε τοῦ Μαρίου καὶ
τῶν τοῦ Σύλλου ἔργων καὶ ἀπαλλαγῆναι ἁσφαλῶς
2 αὐτοῦ βουλομένους εἶδε, μετεβάλετο, 4 καὶ πρέσβεις
πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα Δούκιον τε Καίσαρα συγγενῆ
αὐτῷ ὅντα καὶ Δούκιοι 'Ρώσκιοι στρατηγοὺντα
αὐτεπαγγέλτους ἀπέστειλεν, εἰ πως τὴν ὀρμὴν
αὐτοῦ ἐκφυγών ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ μετρίους τις συμβαίνῃ.
3 ἀποκριναμένου δὲ ἐκείνου τά τε ἀλλα ἀπερ ἐπε-
στάλκει, καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς τῷ Πομπηίῳ διαλέξθηναι

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

Pompey, because of what was told him about Caesar and because he had not yet prepared a force sufficient to cope with him, changed his plans; for he saw that the people in the city, in fact the very members of his party, even more than the rest, shrank from the war through remembrance of the deeds of Marius and Sulla and wished to be delivered from it. Therefore he sent to Caesar, as envoys, Lucius Caesar, a relative of his, and Lucius Roscius, a praetor, both of whom volunteered for the service, to see if he could avoid his attack in some way and then reach an agreement with him on reasonable terms. The other replied to the same effect as in the letter which he had sent, and said that he, too, wished to have a conference with Pompey; but the multitude
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ἐθέλοι, τούτο μὲν ὄντι ἢδεως οἱ πολλοὶ ἠκουσαν,
4 δείσαντες μὴ καὶ κατὰ σφῶν τι σύνθωνται· ἐπεὶ
μέντοι οἱ πρέσβεις ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐπαινοῦντες τὸν
Καίσαρα ἔλεγον, καὶ τέλος οὕτη τι κακὸν ἢπ' αὐτοῦ
πεῖσονται τινα καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτίκα ἄφεθή-
σεσθαι προσυπισχοῦντο, ἤσθησαν, καὶ πρὸς τε
ἐκείνων τοὺς αὐτοὺς άθικς πρέσβεις ἐπεμψαν, καὶ
ξίλουν ἐπιβωντες αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ καὶ ἀμφοτέ-
ρους ἀμα αὐτόν τὰ ὁπλα κατάθεσθαι.

6 Φοβηθεὶς οὖν διὰ ταῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος (καὶ γὰρ εὗ
ηπίστατο ὅτι πολὺ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀν γε ἐπὶ τῷ
δήμῳ γένωνται, ἐλαττωθήσεται) αὐτός τε ἐς Καμ-
2 πανίαν πρὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις ἔπανελθεῖν, ὡς καὶ
ῥᾶν ἐκεὶ πολεμήσων, προαπῆρε, καὶ τήν βου-
λήν ἀπασαν μετὰ τῶν τὰς ἄρχας ἐχόντων ἀκολο-
θήσας οἱ ἐκέλευσεν, ἀδειάν τε σφιεί δὸς ματι τῆς
ἐκδημίας δοὺς, καὶ προειπὼν ὅτι τὸν ὑπομείναντα
ἐν τῷ ᾗσφ καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ τοῖς τὰ ἑναντίο
3 σφίει πράττοσιν ἔξοι. πρὸς δ' ἐτι καὶ τὰ
χρήματα τὰ δημόσια τὰ τε ἀναθήματα τὰ ἐν τῇ
πόλει πάντα ἀναφερθήναι προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς ψη-
φίσασθαι, ἐπιίξων παμπληθεῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν στρα-
τιώτας ἄθροίσει. τοσαυτὴν γὰρ εὑνοιαν αὐτοῦ
πάσαι ὡς εἰπεῖν αἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πόλεις εἰχον
ὡστε, ἐπειδὴ ἠκουσαν αὐτὸν ὁλὸν ἐμπρόσθεν
ἐπικινδύνως νοσοῦντα, σωτηρία αὐτοῦ δημοσία
4 θύσεων εὐξασθαι. καὶ ὅτι μὲν μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν
tοῦτ' αὐτῷ ἐδοσαν, οὐδ' ἀν εἰς ἀντιλέξειν· οὐ
γὰρ ἐστιν ὅτ' ὅτε ἐπεὶ ἀλλ' ἔξω τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα
tὸ πᾶν κράτος λαβόντων, τοιοῦτον τι ἐψηφίσθη·

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

Pompey was frightened at this, knowing well that he would be far inferior to Caesar if they should both put themselves in the power of the people, and accordingly set out for Campania before the envoys returned, with the idea that he could more easily carry on war there. He also commanded the whole senate together with the magistrates to accompany him, granting them permission for their absence by a decree, and announcing to them that he would regard anyone who remained behind in exactly the same light as those who were working against him. Furthermore he ordered them to decree that the public moneys and the votive offerings in the city should all be seized, hoping that by using them he could get together a vast number of soldiers. For practically all the cities of Italy felt such friendliness for him that when, a short time before, they had heard he was dangerously ill, they had vowed to offer public sacrifices for his safety. That this was a great and brilliant honour which they bestowed upon him no one would deny, since there has been no one else in whose behalf such a vote was ever passed, except those who in after times received
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ού μὴν καὶ ἀκριβῆ πίστιν τοῦ μὴ οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψειν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν ἐκ τοῦ κρείττονος φόβον παρείχον. ¹ ἐγνωσθῇ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα περὶ τε τῶν χρημάτων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων, οὐκ ἐκινήθη δὲ οὐδέτερα. ² πυθόμενοι γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ τόν Καίσαρα μὴτε τι εἰρημαίον τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀποκεκρίσθαι καὶ προσεγκαλεῖν σφισίν ὡς καὶ καταψυχαμένους τινὰ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας πολλοὺς τινὰ καὶ θρασεῖς ἐνεῖν καὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν, οἷα που φιλεὶ ³ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπὶ τὸ φοβερῶτερον ὑγείλλεσθαι, κακουργήσειν, ἐφοβήθησαν, καὶ σπουδὴ τὴν ἔξοδον, πρὶν ἄγασθαι τινος αὐτῶν, ἐποίησαντο.

7 Κάκη τούτου καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ὀμοίως πᾶντα θορυβώδης σφῶν καὶ ταραχώδης ἢ ἀνάστασις ἐγένετο. οὐ τε γὰρ ἐξίοντες (ὅσαν δὲ πάντες ὡς εἰπεῖν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῆς ἱππάδος καὶ προσετὶ καὶ τοῦ ⁴ ὁμίλου) λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἀφορμῶντο, ἔργῳ δὲ τὰ τῶν ἐκαλωκότων ἔπασχον τὴν τε γὰρ πατρίδα καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ διατριβὰς ἐκλιπεῖν καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια τείχη οἰκείτερα τῶν σφετέρων νομίζειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι δεινῶς ἢ ἐλυποῦτον. οὐ τε γὰρ πανουκησία ἀνιστάμενοι τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τοὺς οἰκους τὸ τε ἐδαφὸς τὸ πατρὸν ὡς καὶ τῶν ἀντιστασιῶν εὐθὺς ἐσόμενα ἀπέλειπον, καὶ αὐτοὶ οὖτω τὴν γνώμην, ἄν γε καὶ περισσώδεσιν, εἰχον ὡς κἀν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ τῇ τῇ Ῥωμαικῇ κατοικησοῦντες τὴν γὰρ τοῦ Πομπηίου διάνοιαν ὦκ ἤγγονον. καὶ οἱ κατὰ χώραν τοὺς τε παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναικὰς τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ τιμιῶτατα

¹ παρείχον Kübler, εἰχον L. ² οὐδέτερα Bk., οὔδὲ ἐτερὰ L. ³ φιλεὶ R. Steph., φιλεῖν L. ⁴ τοῦ Rk., τὸ τοῦ L. ⁵ ἀπέλειπον H. Steph., ἀπέλιπτον L. ⁶ κἀν Reim., καὶ L.
BOOK XLI

absolute power; still they inspired him with no sure confidence that they would not abandon him through fear of one stronger. The recommendation about the moneys and the votive offerings was granted, but neither of them was touched; for, having ascertained meanwhile that Caesar’s answer to the envoys had not been at all conciliatory and that he had furthermore reproached them with having made some false statements about him, also that his soldiers were many and bold and liable to do any kind of mischief,—just the sort of reports, exaggerating the danger, as are usually made about such matters,—the senators became frightened and hastily took their departure before they could lay hands on any of the treasures.

Accordingly their removal was equally tumultuous and confused in all other respects. For the departing citizens, practically all of whom were the foremost men of the senate and of the knights, to say nothing of the populace, while nominally setting out for war, were in reality undergoing the experiences of captives. For they were compelled to abandon their country and their pursuits there, and to consider foreign walls more friendly than their own, and consequently they were terribly distressed. Such as were removing with their entire households said farewell to the temples and to their homes and to the soil of their ancestors, with the feeling that these would straightway become the property of their opponents; and as for themselves, not being ignorant of Pompey’s purpose, they had the intention, if they really survived, of establishing themselves in Macedonia and Thrace. Those who were leaving behind on the spot their children and wives and
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καταλείποντες ¹ ἔχειν μὲν τινα ἐλπίδα τῆς πατρίδος ἐδόκουν, πολὺ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἐτέρων, ἀτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φιλτάτων ἀπαρτώμενοι, διπή τε τύχῃ καὶ ἐναντιωτάτῃ παραβαλλόμενοι,
5 χαλεπώτερως ἀπήλλασσον τὰ γὰρ οἰκείοτάτα τῷ πολεμιωτάτῳ σφῶν ἐκδοτες ἐμελλον ἐδελακοιντες μὲν αὐτοὶ κινδυνεύσειν, προθυμούμενοι δὲ ἐκείνων στηρηθήσεσθαι, καὶ προσέτσι φίλον μὲν μηδέτερον ἔχθρος δὲ ἀμφοτέρους ἔξειν, Καῖσαρα μὲν ὅτι μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ κατέμεναν, Πομπήιον δὲ ὅτι μὴ καὶ ἐκείνα συνεπηγάγοντο.
6 ἂντε καὶ ἐς ἀμφίβολον καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις καὶ ταῖς εὐχαίς ταῖς τε ἐξίσια καθιστάμενοι τοῖς τε σώμασιν ἁμα ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων σφίσιν ἀπεσπῶντο καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς δίχα διερρόντο.

8 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οἱ ἐξορμώμενοι ἔπασχον, οἱ δὲ ἑπολειπόμενοι διαφοροὶ μὲν ἀντιπάλοις δὲ τισὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ παθήμασι συνεφέροντο. οἳ τε γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν προσηκότων σφίσιν ἀποζευγνύμενοι, οἱ τῶν τε προστατῶν στερισκόμενοι καὶ ἐπαμύναι

2 αὐτοῖς ² ἡκιστὰ δυνάμενοι, τῷ τε πολέμῳ ἐκδιδόμενοι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως κρατήσοντος ἐσόμενοι, αὐτοὶ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου καὶ τῶν ὑβρεῶν καὶ τῶν σφαγῶν ὡς καὶ γυνομένων ἣδη ἑταλαπτῶρον, καὶ περὶ ἑκείνων οἳ τε ὅργην σφίσιν ὅτι ἐγκατελείφθησαν ἐχοντες τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπηρῶντο καὶ οἱ συγγνώμην τῆς ἀνάγκης

3 ποιούμενοι τὰ αὐτὰ ἑδέδισαν.³ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλήθος σύμπαν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μηδεμία αὐτοῖς συγγένεια πρὸς τοὺς ἀφορμομένους ἦν,

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

These were the feelings of the departing throng. The ones left behind were experiencing different, but equally painful emotions. Those who were being sundered from their relatives, being thus deprived of their guardians and quite unable to defend themselves, exposed to the war and about to be in the power of him who should make himself master of the city, not only were distressed themselves by the fear of outrages and of murders, as if these were already taking place, but they also either invoked the same fate against those departing, through anger at being deserted, or, condoning their action because of their necessity, feared that the same fate would befall them. All the rest of the populace, even if they did not have the least kinship with those departing,
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ὀμως ἐλυποῦντο μὲν καὶ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνοις, οἱ μὲν γείτονας οἱ δὲ ἔταρτοι πολὺ τε ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀφήξειν καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα καὶ δράσειν καὶ πείσεθαι ἐπιζοντες, πολλῷ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα 4 ἐαυτοὺς ὠλοφύροντο. τὰς τε γὰρ ἀρχὰς καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς τι δυναμένους πάντας (οὐ γὰρ ποὺ εἰ γέ τις αὐτῶν ὑπολειψθήσεται ὤδεσαν) τῆς τε πατρίδος ἄμα καὶ σφῶν ἔξισταμένους ὀρώντες, καὶ μὴ τ' ἂν ἐκεῖνος, εἰ μὴ πάνυ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ αὐτὴ ἐπήρητη, φυγεῖν τοτε ἐθελῆσαι λογιζόμενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔρημοι μὲν ἀρχόντων ἔρημοι δὲ συμμάχων γνωμόμενοι, πρὸς τε τὰ ἅλλα πάντα παισί τε τίσιν ὄρθον καὶ γυναιξὶ δρίασι ἐφίκεσαν, καὶ τὰς ὄργας τὰς τε ἐπιθυμίας τῶν ἐπιόντων καὶ πρῶτοι 1 ... τῆς τῶν προτέρων παθημάτων μνήμης, οἳ μὲν αὐτοὶ πειράθεντες, οἳ δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἁκούοντες ὡσα καὶ οἷα ὁ τε Μάριος καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἐξειργάσαντο, 6 μέτριον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐς τοὺς Καίσαρα ὑπώπτευον, ἅλλα καὶ πολὺ πλείω καὶ δεινότερα, ἀτε καὶ βαρβαρικὸ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ στρατοῦ αὐτοῦ ὄντος, πείσεθαι προσεδόκων.

9 Οὕτως οὖν δὴ πάντων αὐτῶν διακειμένων, καὶ μηδενός, ἐξώ τῶν προσφιλῶν πη τῷ Καίσαρι δοκούντων εἶναι, ἐν ἔλαφρῳ τῷ πράγμα τοιούμενος, 2 καὶ ἐκείνου δὲ πρὸς τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν τρόπων, ὥς οἱ πλείους πρὸς τὰ παρόντα σφίσαι 3 λαμβάνουσιν, οὐ φερεγγύφ πίστει θαρσούντων, οὐδὲ 4 ἐπινοῆσαι βάδιον ὡση μὲν ταραχῇ ὡσον δὲ

1 Lacuna recognised by Xyl.
2 ποιομενόν Xyl., ποιομενῶν L.
3 σφίσι Rk., σφῶν L. 4 οὖδ' Pflugk, οὐτ' L.
BOOK XLI

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

Since, then, all of them were in this state, and no
one except those who thought they were good friends
of Caesar made light of the situation, and even
they, in view of the change of character which most
men undergo according to their circumstances, had
not the courage of confident assurance, it is not easy
to conceive what confusion and what grief prevailed at
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καὶ πένθος ἐν τῇ τῶν τε ὑπάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
2 τῶν συνεξορμωμένων σφόνιν ἐξόδῳ ἐγένετο. τήν
τε γὰρ νῦκτα πάσαν ἀνασκευαζόμενοι 1 καὶ
περιφοιτώντες ἔθροβουν, καὶ υπὸ 2 τὴν ἔως πολὺς
μὲν πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς 3 οἴκτος (καὶ γὰρ ἐκασταχόθη
περιμόντες εὐχὰς ἐποιοῦντο) πάντας αὐτῶς
ἐλάμβανε· τοὺς τε γὰρ θεοὺς ἀνεκάλουν καὶ τὰ
dάπεδα κατεβίλουν, ὡσάκις τε 4 ἦξ οἴων περιγεγέ-
νοντο ἀνθρώποι, καὶ ὡς τὴν πατρίδα, ὃ
μηπώποτε ἐτετόλμητο σφοινικ, ἐξέλειτον, 5 ὕδυ-
ρουτο· πολὺς δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς πῦλας θρήνος ἦν.
3 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλληλοι τε ἀμα καὶ ἐκείνην ὡς καὶ
tελευταῖοι ὅρωντες ἑσπάζοντο, οἴ δὲ ἑαυτοὺς τε
ἐθρῆνον καὶ τοῖς ἐξεύρεσαν συνήχοντο, καὶ οὐ
πλείους ὡς καὶ προσδόμενοι κατηρίκωντ' πάντες
γὰρ καὶ οἱ ὑπομένοντες παρμπαιδί καὶ παγγυναίκ
4 παρήσαν. καὶ μετὰ τούτο οἱ μὲν ἐξωρμῶντο, οἴ
δὲ προεπεμπόν σφας· ἀλλοι τε ἐνεχρονίζον καὶ
πρὸς τῶν γυνώμων κατεῖχοντο, καὶ τινὲς
περιθάλλοντες ἄλληλους ἐπὶ πλείστον συνη-
tώτον. ἀκολουθοῦντες τε τοὺς ἐξορμωμένους οἱ
ὑπομένοντες ἐπὶ μακρότατων ἐπεβούλωτο τε ἀμα
αὐτοὺς καὶ κατωκτίζου, ἀγειν τε σφας ἦ καὶ
5 ἐκείνους οἱκοι μὲνειν ἀξιοῦντες ἐπεθεῖαξον. καὶ
τούτῳ ὄλονυν ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν πολλὴ καὶ
παρὰ τῶν ἄλλου καὶ δάκρυα ἀπλέτα ἐγίγνετο·
tὴν μὲν γὰρ τοῦ κρείττονος ἐλπίδα ἥκιστα, ἀτὲ ἐν
τοῖς τοιούτοις ὄντες, τὰ δὲ δὴ πάθη πρότερον μὲν

1 ἀνασκευαζόμενοι Naber, ἀναγκαζόμενοι L.
2 ὑπὸ Reim., ἐπὶ L.
3 πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς placed here by Bk., after καὶ γὰρ in L.
4 τε R. Steph., τε καὶ L.
5 ἐξέλειπτον H. Steph., ἐξέλειπτον L.
BOOK XLI

the departure of the consuls and those who set out with them. All night they made an uproar with their packing and running to and fro, and toward dawn great sadness came upon them all at the various temples, as they went about offering prayer on every side. They invoked the gods, kissed the ground, and lamented as often as they enumerated the perils which they had survived, and recalled that they were leaving their country, a thing they had never brought themselves to do before. Around the gates, too, there was much lamenting. Some took fond leave at once of each other and of the city, as if they were beholding them for the last time; others bewailed their own lot and joined their prayers to those of the departing, while the majority uttered curses, on the ground that they were being betrayed. For all who were to remain behind were there, too, with all the women and children. Then the one group set out on their way and the other group escorted them. Some interposed delays and were detained by their acquaintances; others embraced and clung to each other for a long time. Those who were to remain accompanied those who set out, calling after them and expressing their sympathy, while with appeals to Heaven they besought them to take them, too, or to remain at home themselves. Meanwhile there was much wailing over each one of the exiles, even from outsiders, and tears without restraint. For they were anything but hopeful, in such circumstances, of a change for the better; it was rather
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οἱ καταλειπόμενοι ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀφορμώμενοι
6 προσεδέχοντο. εἴκασε δ' ἂν τις αὐτοὺς ἰδὼν δύο
τε δήμους καὶ δύο πόλεις ἕκ μᾶς γίγνεσθαι, καὶ
tὴν μὲν ἀνίστασθαί τε καὶ φεύγειν, τὴν δὲ ἐγκατα-
λείπεσθαί τε καὶ ἀλίσκεσθαι.

7 Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν οὔτω τὸ ἄστυ ἐξέλυσεν,
συνχοῦσι τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐπαγόμενος (ὑπελείφησα
σαν γάρ τινες, οἱ μὲν τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονοῦν-
tες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκ μέσου ἀμφοῖν ἱστάμενοι), καὶ
καταλόγουσι τε ἐκ τῶν πόλεων στοιχῆ ἐποιεῖτο
καὶ χρήματα ἐξέλυεν, φρούρας τε ὡς ἐκασταχόσε
ἐσεμπέτε. Καίσαρ δὲ ἐπειδὴ ταύτα ἐμαθε, πρὸς
μὲν τὴν Ρόμην οὔκ ἦπείχθη (ἀθλῶν τε γὰρ
αὐτὴν ἤδει τοῖς κρατήσασθαι προκειμένην, καὶ
οὐκ ἐπ' ἐκείνην ὡς καὶ πολεμίαν οἱ οὐσαν,
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς δῆσεν

2 ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐλεγεν), γράμματα δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν
tὴν Ἦπαταν πέμψας, δι' ὅν τὸν τοὺς Πομπήιον
ἐς δίκην τινά προεκάλειτο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
θαρσεῖν παρήγει, κατὰ χῶραν τε αὐτοῖς μένειν
ἐκέλευε,1 καὶ ὑπισχεῖτο πολλὰ αὐτοῖς. καὶ
ἐπὶ Κορφίνου, ἐπειδὴ οἶ ὑπὸ Δούκιον Δομιτίου
κατεχόμενον οὐ προσεχόρει, ὀρμήσε, καὶ τινας
ἀπαντήσαντας μάχη κρατήσας ἐς πολεορκίαν

3 τοὺς λοιποὺς κατέκλεισεν. δ' οὖν Πομπήιος,
ἐπειδὴ οὕτω τοῖς ἐπολεορκοῦντο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
πολλῶν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπέκλινον, τῆς μὲν
Ἱταλίας οὐδεμίαν ἐτ' ἐλπίδα ἔσχεν, ἐς δὲ δὴ
tῆς Μακεδονίας τῆς τε Ἐλλάδας καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας
περαιώθησα τέλειον ὑπὲρ τῆς γὰρ μνήμης ὧν ἔκει
ἐπεπράξει, καὶ τῆς τῶν δήμων τῆς τῶν βασιλέων

1 ἐκέλευε H. Steph., ἐκέλευσε L.
BOOK XLI

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

Pompey thus left the city, taking many of the senators with him, although some remained behind, either being attached to Caesar's cause or maintaining a neutral attitude toward the two. He hastily raised levies from the cities, collected money, and sent garrisons to each point. Caesar, when he learned of these moves, did not hurry to Rome; for the capital, he knew, lay as a prize before the victors, and he claimed to be marching, not against that place as hostile to him, but rather against his political opponents and in its defence. And he sent letters throughout all Italy in which he challenged Pompey to some kind of trial, and encouraged the others to be of good cheer, bade them remain in their places, and made them many promises. He set out next against Corfinium, because this place, being occupied by Lucius Domitius, would not join his cause, and after conquering in battle a few who met him he shut up the rest and besieged them. Now Pompey, inasmuch as these followers were being besieged and many of the others were falling away to Caesar, had no further hope of Italy, and resolved to cross over into Macedonia, Greece, and Asia. For he derived much encouragement from the remembrance of what he had achieved there and from the friendship
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4 filia polv edhers. hyn mewn gar kal h'Ibheria autf topasa oikeia, ouk edunato de es authn asfalwos, aste kal tov Kaissaros tas Galatias exontos, komosbhina. pror de eti kal elogizeo onti, an apopleusia, ouste epidioxei tis auton dia te tin twn plioin aporian kal dia ton xeiromia (hndi gar ek metospwron h), kan touw kata skolh polla mewn ek tov upikou polla de kal ek tov symmachiko kal xrmata kal strateuma adroisei. autous te oun eti tou- tois es to Breventesin afwromheta, kal ton Domitiou eklyptanta to Korfinwv akoloubhein oi ekelense. kai ois, ei kal ta maliasta ischyn te tina eixe kal ep auth eptipize (kal gar toun stratiw- tais tate ala etevnestekei kal swras uposx- 2 sei uphktot twn te gar Sulleiwv eggeonai kal pollhn ek tis dynastelas ekpivis ekekteta), omou epeidhrhesi. kai o mewn paroskeunato otopos di asfalieias twn ekxwrisetai mahontes de touthei ois synontes ois, kal katokniasantes tin 2 afodon ws kal phugiv oussan, prosedvneto tov 3 Kaissari. kal o mewn synstrateunonto autf. Domitos de kal ois allou boylentai htiathwsan mewn up autou eti tis antitaxeis, apelvthsan de kal pros twn Pomphion aphplthov.

12 'O de ouv Kaissar stpoudh mewn eixe symvivsai te autw proin ekpleusa, kan tin Iitalia diapoleimhsai, katalebein te auton eno to Breventesinw eti onta: epeidh gar tain pliai ouk exhkevphi svfisi, proeteypven allous te kal touvs upatous, mh kal neoximwsoviti tis kata xwran upomeinav-

1 edunato St., hdnvato L. 2 tin Reim., es tin L.
of the peoples and the kings. Spain, to be sure, was B.C. 49
likewise wholly devoted to him, but he could not
reach it safely, since Caesar held both the Gauls.
Moreover he calculated that if he should sail away,
no one would pursue him on account of the lack of
ships and on account of the winter, as the autumn
was now far advanced; and meanwhile he would be
amassing at leisure both money and troops, partly
from the Roman subjects and partly from their allies.
With this purpose, therefore, he himself set out for
Brundisium and bade Domitius abandon Corfinium
and accompany him. And Domitius, in spite of the
large force that he had and the hopes he reposed in
it, inasmuch as he had courted the favour of the
soldiers in every way and had won them over by
promises of land (as one of Sulla’s veterans he had
acquired a large amount under that régime), never-
theless obeyed orders. He, accordingly, was making
preparations to evacuate the town with some degree
of safety; but his associates, when they learned of
it, shrank from the journey abroad, because it
seemed to them a flight, and they attached themselves
to Caesar. So these joined the invader’s army, but
Domitius and the other senators, after being censured
by Caesar for arraying themselves against him, were
allowed to go and came to Pompey.

Caesar, accordingly, was anxious to join issue with
Pompey before he could sail away and to fight out
the war in Italy, if he could but overtake his adver-
sary while he was still at Brundisium; for since there
were not sufficient ships for all, Pompey had sent
ahead the consuls and others, fearing that they
might begin some rebellion if they remained there.
2 τεσ' ἱδὼν δὲ τὸ δυσάλωτον τοῦ χωρίου προεκαλέσατο¹ αὐτὸν ἐς συνθήκας ὡς καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην τὴν τε φιλίαν ἀποληψόμενον. ἀποκριναμένου τε αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὅτι τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἢ λέγει κοινώσεται, ἔπειθη ἐδέδοκτό σφισι μηδένα τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὑπλοῖς ὄντων ἢ λόγους.

3 δέχεσθαι, προσέβαλε τῇ πόλει. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Πομπήιος ἠμέρας μέν τινας ἠμύνατο, μέχρις ὅσα τὰ πλοῖα ἔπανήλθε· διοικοδομήσας δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ ἀποφράξας τὰς ἐς τὸν λιμένα ὄδοις, μὴ καὶ ἐπίθεται τις αὐτός ἐκπλέοντι, ἐπειτα νυκτὸς ἔξανθηκε· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀσφαλῶς ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐπεραιώθη, τὸ δὲ δὴ Βρεντέσιον δύο τε ἐν αὐτῷ πλοία μεστὰ ἀνδρῶν ἐάλω.

13 Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν τὴν τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἀλλήν Ἰταλίαν οὕτως ἐξέλιπε πάντα τὰ ἐναντιώτατα τοὺς πρόσθεν, ὅτε ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς 'Ασίας κατέπλευσε, καὶ ἐλόμενος καὶ πράξας· ἄφ' ἄντερ καὶ τὴν τύχην καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀντίπαλον

2 ἐκτήσατο. τὰ τε γὰρ στρατόπεδα πρότερον εὔβους ἐν τῷ Βρεντέσιῷ, ἵνα μὴ τι τοὺς πολίτας λυπήσῃ, ἀφείς, ἔτερα δὲ αὐτοῦ τότε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐξήγαγε· καὶ τοὺς πλούτους τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς τὴν 'Ῥώμην ἄγαγων, πάνθ' ὁσα ἡδυνήθη τότε εἰς αὐτὴς ἐτέρωσε ² ἐκόμισε· καὶ τῶν μὲν οἷοι πάντων ἄπεγνυ, τοῖς δὲ ἀλλοτρίοις καὶ τοῖς γε υφ' ἐαυτοῦ ποτὲ δουλωθεῖσα συμμάχους κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος χρήσασθαι ἐνόει, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς πολὺ πλείω ἑπίδεια καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς δυναστείας ἢ ἐν ³ τοῖς εὐεργετηθεῖσιν

¹ προεκάλεσατο Reim., προσεκάλεσατο L.
² ἐτέρωσε R. Steph., ἐτέρωσ L.
³ ἐν added by Bk.
BOOK XLI

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

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

14 Καὶ εὐθὺς γε καταίρων ἐς τὸ Δυρράχιον ἔμαθεν ὅτι οὐ καλῶς ἀπαλλάξειν ἑστρατιώτας τε γὰρ κεραυνοὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πρὸσπληρ ἔφθειραν, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἁράχνα σκαραβέων, ἐκβάντος τε ἐκ τῆς νεῶς αὐτοῦ ὄφεις τῶν στίβουν ἐπιστόμενοι συνέχεον. ἔκεινῳ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τὰ τέρατα ἐγένετο, συνεβεβήκει δὲ καὶ πάση τῇ πόλει τοῦφ τε τῷ ἔτει καὶ ὅλον ἐμπρόσθεν ἔτερα. δυντος γὰρ ποὺ ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐν ταῖς στάσεσι τὸ κοινὸν βλάπτεται καὶ διὰ τούτο λύκοι τε καὶ βύαι πολλοὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀστει

2 ὡφθησαν, καὶ σεῖσοιν συνεχεῖς μετα μυκηθῶν ἐγένοντο, πῦρ τε ἀπὸ δυσμῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς διῆξε, καὶ ἔτερον ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸν τοῦ Κυρίνου ναὸν κατέφλεξεν. ο τῷ ἡλιος σύμπας ἐξέλυτη, καὶ κεραυνοὶ σκῆπτρον τε Διὸς καὶ ἀσπίδα κράνος τε Ἀρεως, ἐν τῷ Καπιτολίῳ ἄνακείμενα, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰς στῆλας τῶς τους

3 νόμους ἔχούσας ἐλυμήναντο. ζῷα τε πολλὰ ἔξω τῆς ἐαυτῶν φύσεως ἐγέννησε τινα, καὶ λογία τινα ὡς καὶ τῆς Σιβύλλης ὄντα ἤδετο, κἀτοχὸν τε τῖνες γηγόμενοι συχνὰ ἐθείαζον. καὶ πολλάρχος οὐδεὶς ἐς τὰς ἄνοχας, οὐσπερ

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

Now at the very moment of coming to land at Dyrrachium he learned that he should not obtain a prosperous outcome. For thunderbolts destroyed some soldiers even as the ships were approaching; spiders occupied the army standards; and after he had left the vessel serpents followed and obliterated his footprints. These were the portents which came to him personally, but for the whole capital others had occurred both that year and a short time previously; for there is no doubt that in civil wars the state is injured by both parties. Hence many wolves and owls were seen in the city itself and continual earthquakes with bellowings took place, fire darted across from the west to the east, and another fire consumed the temple of Quirinus as well as other buildings. The sun, too, suffered a total eclipse, and thunderbolts damaged a sceptre of Jupiter and a shield and a helmet of Mars that were votive offerings on the Capitol, and likewise the tables which contained the laws. Many animals brought forth creatures outside of their own species, some oracles purporting to be those of the Sibyl were made known, and some men became inspired and uttered numerous divinations. No prefect of the city was chosen for the Feriae, as had been the
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

eiðiastō, ἤρέθη, ἀλλ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάντα τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτῷ, ὡς γε τισὶ δοκεῖ, διόκησαν ἐτεροὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ὑπότου ἦτει φασὶν αὐτοὺς τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. καὶ ἐκεῖνο μὲν καὶ αὐθις ἐγένετο, τότε¹ δὲ καὶ ὁ Περπέρνας ὁ μετὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου ποτὲ τιμητεύσας ἀπέθανεν, ὡς ἔφη, τελευταῖος πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ τιμητείᾳ αὐτοῦ βουλευσάν-5 6 των, καὶ ἐδόκει καὶ τοῦτο τι νεοχμώσειν. ἑταράτ-15 τουτο μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς τέρασιν ὅσπερ εἰκός ἦν, οἰόμενοι δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐκπίζοντες ἐκάτεροι ἐς τοὺς ἀντιστασίας φῶν πάντα αὐτὰ ἀποσκῆψεις οὐδὲν ἔξεβόσαντο.

15 'Ο οὖν Καίσαρ ἐς μὲν τὴν Μακεδονίαν οὐδὲ ἐπείρασε τότε πλεῦσαι (πλοίων τε γὰρ ἡπόρει ἂμα καὶ περὶ τῇ Ἰταλίαν² έδεδεί, μὴ αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας οἱ τοῦ Πομπήιου ὑποστράτηγοι ἐπελθόντες κατάσχωσι), τὸ δὲ δὴ Βρεντέσιον διὰ φυλακῆς, τοῦ μὴ τινα τῶν ἀπηρκότων ἁδικηθῆς, ποιησάμενον πρὸς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ἠλθε, καὶ τῆς γερουσίας οἱ ἕξω τοῦ πομηρίου ὑπὸ τοῦ 'Αντωνίου καὶ ἕπο τοῦ Δογγίου παρασκευασθείσης (ἐκπεσόντες γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῆς τότε αὐτὴν ἠθροισαν) ἐδημηγόρησε πολλὰ καὶ ἐπιεικῆ, ὅπως πρὸς τε τὸ παρὸν εὐνοοῦν αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐπίδα χρηστὴν λάβωσιν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῖς τε γεγυμνομένους ἀχθομένους καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατιω-

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

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

1 In a book now lost.
2 Valerius Maximus (viii. 13, 4) and Pliny (N.H. vii. 48) are probably more accurate when they state that he outlived all those who were senators in the year of his consulship (b.c. 92) and all but seven of those whom he appointed to that body during his censorship (b.c. 86). He died at the age of 98.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

tικὸν πλῆθος ὑποτεύνοντας αὐτοῦς ἑώρα, παρα-
μυθήσασθαι καὶ τιθασεῦσαι σφας τρόπον τινὰ
ἡθέλησεν, ἵνα τὰ γε ἐκεῖνον, ἔως ἀν διαπολεμήσῃ;
4 ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ μείνῃ. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' οὐτ' ἠτίσαστό
τινα οὔτ' ἠτέλησε των οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατα-
δρομὴν κατὰ τῶν πολεμεῖν πολίταις ἔθελοντον
οὐκ άνευ ἀρῶν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον
πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ τε τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ ὑπὲρ 1 τῆς
ὁμονοίας σφῶν παραχρήμα πρὸς τε τοὺς ὑπάτους
καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον πεμφθήναι ἐσηγήσατο.
16 τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἰήμον, καὶ αὐτὸν
ἐξῳ τοῦ πυμηρῆν συνελθόντα, εἰπὼν, σιτὸν τε
ἐκ τῶν νῆσων μετεπέμψατο καὶ πέντε καὶ ἐβδομή-
κοντα δραχμὰς ἐκάστῳ δώσεων ὑπέσχετο. καὶ
ὁ μὲν τούτων αὐτοῦς δελεάσεως ἰλπίζειν, οἱ δ' ἀνθρωποὶ
λογιζόμενοι ὅτι οὖντε φρονοῦσιν οὕτε
πράττουσι τὰ αὐτὰ οὗ τε ἐφιέμενοι τινῶν καὶ οἱ
2 τυχόντες, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τῶν ἔργων
πάντα τὰ ξίδετα προβάλλουσι τοῖς ἀντιπρᾶξι
τι δυναμένοις, ἐπειδὲν δὲ κατορθώσωσιν ὡσα
βούλονται, οὔτε τινὸς αὐτῶν μιμονεύονται καὶ
ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνους ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ἂς παρ' αὐτῶν ἔλαβον χρόνων,
μεμνημένοι δὲ καὶ τῶν
3 Μάριον τὸν τε Σύλλαν, ὡς πολλὰ καὶ φιλᾶ-
θρωπα πολλάκις σφίσιν εἰπόντες οἰα ἀνθ' οἴων
ἐδρασαν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὴν τοῦ Καλσαρος
χρείαν αἰσθόμενοι, τά τε ὀπλα αὐτοῦ πολλὰ καὶ
πανταχοῦ τῆς πόλεως ὀρῶντες ὑντα, οὔτε
πιστεύειν τοῖς λεγομένοις οὔτε θαρρεῖν ἐδύναντο,
and suspicious of the multitude of soldiers, he wished to encourage and tame them, so to speak, in order that quiet might prevail at least in their quarter until he should bring the war to an end. He therefore censured no one and made no threat against anyone, but delivered an attack, not without imprecations, upon those who chose to war upon citizens, and at last proposed that envoys be sent immediately to the consuls and to Pompey to treat for peace and harmony. He made these same statements also to the populace, when that body had likewise assembled outside the pomerium; and he sent for grain from the islands, and promised to give each citizen three hundred sesterces.¹ He hoped to tempt them with this bait; but the men reflected that those who are pursuing certain ends and those who have attained them do not think or act alike, but at the beginning of their undertakings they offer every conceivable gratification to such as are in a position to work against them in any way, whereas, when they succeed in what they wish, they remember none of their promises and use against those very persons the power which they have received from them. Recalling also the behaviour of Marius and Sulla,—how many benevolent phrases they had often addressed to them and then what treatment they had accorded them in return for their services,—and furthermore perceiving Caesar’s need and seeing that his armed forces were many and were everywhere in the city, they were unable either to trust his words or to be cheered by them.

¹ Literally, seventy-five drachmae or denarii. Dio expresses all sums in this unit, but in the translation the Roman practice will be followed.
ΔIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

4 ἀλλ’ ἐναύλουν τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν φόβου ἔχοντες καὶ ἐκείνουν ὑπετόπουν, καὶ μάλιστ' ὅτι οἱ πρόσβεις οἱ τὰς καταλλαγὰς δήθεν πρωτανεύοντες ἤρέθησαν μὲν, οὐκ ἔξηλθον δὲ, ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ ἐμνήσθη ποτὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Πίσων ὁ πενθερὸς αὐτοῦ αἰτίαν ἔσχε. 17 τοσοῦτον τε ἐδέσαν τὰ χρήματα ἀ ὑπεάχετο σφιστὶ τότε για λαβεῖν, ὡστε καὶ τᾶλλα οἱ πάνθ' ὁσα ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ἦν πρὸς τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οὐς ἐφοβοῦντο, τροφὴν ἔδοσαν. καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τούτοις ὡς καὶ ἀγαθοὶς οὖσι τὴν ἐσθήτα τὴν εἰρηνικὴν μετημπίσχοντο. οὐδέποτε γὰρ αὐτὴν 2 μετειλήφεσαν. ἀντεῖπε μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὴν περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἔσθησαν Δούκιος τις Μετέλλος δήμαρχος, καὶ ἔπειδὴ μηδὲν ἐπέρανε, πρὸς τε τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἤλθε καὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτῶν ἐν τηρήσει ἐποίησαν. σμικρὸν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς αὐτοῦ, ὡσπερ που καὶ τῆς παρρησίας, οἱ στρατιώται φροντίζοντες τὴν τε βαλανάγραν διεκοψαν (τὴν γὰρ κλεῖν οἱ ὑπατοὶ εἶχον, ὡσπερ οὖν ἔξον τις πελέκεσιν αὐτ' αὐτής χρήσασθαι) 3 καὶ πάντα τὰ χρήματα ἔξεφόρησαν. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὰ ἅλλα τοὺς αὐτῶν τρόπους; ὡς μοι πολλαχόθι εἰρηταὶ, ὀνόματι μὲν ἵσονομιὰς (καὶ γὰρ διὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τὰ πλεῖον αὐτῶν ἐσεφέρετο) ἔργω δὲ δυναστείας καὶ ἐψηφίζοτο καὶ ἐπράττετο. τοὺς τε γὰρ ἀντιστασιάζοντάς σφισὶ πολεμίους ἐκάτεροι τῆς πατρίδος ὁμομάζοντες, καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν πολεμείων λέγοντες, τὰ τε ἑδα μόνα ἡπξον, κάκεινα ὁμοίως ἀμφότεροι ἐφθειρον.

18 ο' δ' οὖν Καίσαρ ταύτα τε οὕτως ἐποίησε, καὶ

1 πρωτανεύοντες Reim., πρωτανεύοντες L.
2 Δούκιος Βι., λεύκιος L (here only).
BOOK XLI

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

After taking these steps Caesar occupied Sardinia
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

τὴν Σαρδώ τὴν τε Σικελίαν ἀμαχεὶ κατέσχεν, ἐκχωρησάντων τῶν τότε ἐν αὐταῖς ἀρχόντων. τὸν τε Ἀριστόβουλον οἰκάδε ἐς τὴν Παλαιστίνην,
2 ὅπως τῷ Πομπήίῳ τι ἀντιπράξῃ, ἔστειλε· καὶ τοὺς παισὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου ἐπικηρυχθέντων ἀρχὰς αἰτεῖν ἐφήκε, τά τε ἀλλα πάντα, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ λοιπῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, πρὸς τὸ ἐπιτηδείοτατον ἕαυτῷ ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων
3 κατέστησε. καὶ ἐκεῖνα μὲν τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ ἐπέ-έτρεψεν, αὐτῶς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν,1 τά τε τοῦ Πομπηίου ἰσχυρῶς αἰρουμένην καὶ ἐς δέος αὐτοῦν, μὴ καὶ τὰς Ἰταλίας προσαποστήσῃ, καθίσταν-τας, ὄρμησε. καὶ τούτῳ ἄλλῳ τε βουλευταὶ καὶ ὁ Κικέρων, μηδὲ ἐς ὄψιν τῷ Κάισαρι ἐλθὼν, πρὸς τὸν Πομπῆίον ὡς γε τά τε δικαίοτερα πράττοντα καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ κρατήσουσα ἀπεχώ-ρησεν. οὐ τε γὰρ ὑπατοι, πρὶν ἐκπλεῖν, καὶ ἐκεῖνος, ἀτε ἀντί ὑπάτου ἀρχων, πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσαν ἐς Θεσσαλονίκην ἀκολουθῆσαι, ὡς τοῦ μὲν ἀστεως πρὸς πολεμῶν τινῶν ἐχομένου, αὐτοῖ δὲ ἀτε 2 γερουσία ὄντες καὶ τὸ τῆς πολιτείας
4 πρόσχημα, ὅπου ποτ’ ἄν ὁσίων ἔξοντες. καὶ σφυσι διὰ ταῦτα τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων οἱ πλεῖοι, οἱ μὲν εὖθες τότε οἱ δὲ καὶ ύστερον, καὶ αἱ πόλεις πᾶσαι, ὅσαι μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος ὅπλων κατείργοντο, προσεχώρησαν.
5. Οἱ μέντοι Μασσαλιώται μόνοι τῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ οἰκούντων οὔτε συνήραντο τῷ Καίσαρι οὔτε ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπεδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπόκρισιν
6 αὐτῷ ἄξιομημόνευτον ἔδοσαν· τῷ τε γὰρ ὅμωρ

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

Now the Massaliots, alone of the peoples living in Gaul, did not coöperate with Caesar, and did not receive him into their city, but gave him a noteworthy answer. They said that they were allies of the
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tόν Ῥωμαίον συμμαχεῖν καὶ ἐκείνοις ἐπιτηδείως ἀμφότεροι ἔχειν, καὶ μήτε πολυπραγμονεῖν τι μηθ᾽ ἱκανοί διακρίναι πότερος αὐτῶν ἄδικεί εἶναι ἔφασαν, ὡστε εἰ μὲν τις ὡς φίλος ἐθέλοι πρὸς σφᾶς ἐξεθεῖν, καὶ ἀμφότεροις αὐτούς ἀνεν τῶν ὀπλῶν δεξιόσθαι ἐλεγον, ἐπὶ πολέμῳ δὲ οὐδέτερον.

3 καταστάντες τε ἐς πολυρκίαν αὐτού τε ἐκείνου ἀπεκρούσαντο, καὶ τῷ Τρεβανίῳ τῷ τε Βρούτῳ τῷ Δεκίμῳ μετὰ τούτο προσεδρεύσασι σφισιν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀντέσχον. ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ χρόνον μὲν τινα, ώς καὶ ῥαδίως αὐτοὺς αἱρήσων, προσεκαρτήρησε (καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ δεινὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀμαχεῖ κρατήσας ὑπὸ τὸ)

4 Μασσαλιωτῶν όυκ ἔδέχετο), ἔπειτ᾽ ἐπειδὴ ἀντήρ- κουν, ἐκείνους μὲν ἐτέρους προσέταξε, αὐτός δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἤπειρθη.

20 Ἐπεπόμφει μὲν γὰρ ἐς αὐτὴν Γάιον Φάβιον, δείσας δὲ μὴ καθ᾽ ἐαυτὸν ἀγωνισάμενος πταίσῃ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἑστράτευσεν. ἔλεγον δὲ τότε τὰ πράγματα τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἰβηραὶ οὐ τοὺς Ἀφράνους καὶ οὶ Πετρεῖος, καὶ φυλακὴν μὲν καὶ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς τῶν ὀρῶν ἐπεποίησε, τὸ δ᾽ ὅλον ἐς Ἰλερδάν 4 τὰς δυνάμεις ἄθροισάντες ἐνταῦθα τοὺς ἐπίστατας

2 ὑπέμεινον, καὶ τῷ μὲν Φαβίῳ τὴν τε ἐπὶ τοῦ Πυργαίου φρουρᾶν βιασαμένος 5 καὶ τὸν πολιοῦ τὸν Σικορίων διαβαίνοντι προσπεσόντες ἔξαφνης πολλοὺς ἀπεκτείνας ἀπολυθρόντας· ἡ γὰρ γέφυρα πρὶν διελθέων αὐτῶς καταρράγεισα

1 καὶ Kübler, καὶ L.  2 καταστάντες τε Βκ., καταστάντε L.
3 Δεκίμῳ R. Steph., dekími L (and so frequently).
4 Ἰλέ φαν Grob, Ιλερδάν L.
5 βιασαμένος Pflugk, τογιαμένος L.
BOOK XLI

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

He had sent Gaius Fabius thither, but fearing the other would fail while contending by himself, he, too, made a campaign. Afranius and Petreius at this time had charge of affairs in the vicinity of the Iberus and had even posted a guard over the pass in the mountains, but in the main they had gathered their forces at Ilerda and there awaited the invaders. Fabius overcame the garrison upon the Pyrenees, but as he was crossing the river Sicoris the enemy fell upon him suddenly and killed many of his men who were cut off; for the bridge collapsed before all had crossed and thus proved of the greatest
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3 πλείστών σφισι συνήρατο· τῷ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρι ἐπελθόντι τε οὖ πολλῷ ύστερον καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν καθ' ἐτέραν 1 γέφυραν διαβάντι, προκαλομένη τε αὐτοὺς ἐς μάχην οὐκ ἔτολμησαν ἐπὶ πάνω πολλὰς ἡμέρας συμβαλεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀντιστρατοπεδευσάμενοι αὐτῷ ἰσύχαιον. θαρσῆσας οὖν ἐκ τούτου καταλαβεῖν τὸ χωρίον τὸ 2 μεταξὺ τοῦ τε ταφρεύματος σφων καὶ τῆς πόλεως καρτερὸν ἄνεφεχθησαν, ὡς καὶ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτοὺς ἀποκλείσων. ἀισθόμενοι δὲ τούτο οἱ περὶ τὸν Αφράνιον προκατέσχον αὐτό, καὶ τοὺς τε προσβάλλοντάς σφισιν ἀπεόσαυτο, καὶ φεύγουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πόλεις εὐπτεψθῆναι τό ἐκ τοῦ ἔρυματος ὑπέστησαν, ἐνδοῦντες τε ἐξετίθησιν ὑπῆγαγον σφας ἐς χωρία ἐαυτοὶς ἐπιτήδεια, κἂνταύθα πολλῷ πλείους ἐφόνευσαν. καὶ τούτων ἐπιθαρσήσαντες τοῖς τε προνομεύσαντι αὐτῶν ἐπετίθεντο καὶ τοὺς ἀποσκεδασμένους ἐλύσων.

6 καὶ ποτε διαβάσαντων τυών ἐς τὰ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ τούτῳ χειμῶνος τε πολλοῦ γενομένου καὶ τῆς γεφύρας ἦ ἐκέχρητο διαφαρείσθη, ἐπιδιέβησαν κατὰ τὴν ἐτέραν γέφυραν τὴν πρὸς τῇ πόλει οὕσαν καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς ἀνάλωσαν, μηδενὸς σφισιν ἐπαρμῦναι δυνηθέντος.

21 Ὁ οὖν Καίσαρ, ὡς ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο καὶ ὅπε γε τῶν συμμάχων τις ἐπεκούρει οἱ (ἐκθεκόμενοι γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐναντίοι, ὡς ἐκάστους αἰσθανότα προσίστατας... 3) τὰ τ' 4 ἐπιτήδεια, ἄτε 5 ἐν τε

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

Caesar, when things were taking this course, fell into desperate straits; for none of his allies rendered him assistance, since his opponents met [and annihilated] the separate forces as often as they heard that any were approaching, and it was with difficulty that he managed to obtain provisions, inasmuch as he was
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2 ἐν παντὶ ἐγένετο. πυθανομενοι δὲ ταῦθ’ οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ Ῥωμαίοι ἐκείνου τε ὡς οὐκέτι πλεῖων χρόνου περιοίσοντος 1 ἀπέγνωσαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ἀπέκλινον καὶ τινὲς καὶ τότε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἅλλοι τε καὶ βουλευταὶ ἀπῆραν. καὶ εἰγε μὴ οἱ Μασσαλιῶται ἐν τούτῳ ναυμαχίᾳ πρὸς τοῦ Βροῦτον τῷ τε μεγέθει τῶν νεὼν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ ρώμη τῶν ἐπιβατῶν, καίπερ καὶ τῷ Δομιτίῳ συμμάχῳ χρόνον ρέουσαν καὶ τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ τῶν ναυτικῶν προέχοντες, ἥττηθησαν καὶ τοῦτον παντελῶς ἀπεκλείσθησαν, οὐδὲν ἀν ἐκώλυσε πάντα τὰ πράγματα αὐτοῦ φθαρῆναι. νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον ἐκ παρασκευῆς τοῖς Ἰβηρισιν ἀγγέλθηντα ταῦτα ὑπὸ τοὺς ἥλλοισώτες τυχαίς αὐτῶν ὡστε καὶ τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονήσατε. καὶ αὐτοὺς παραλαβὼν τῆς τε τροφῆς ἡπτόρησε καὶ γεφύρας κατεσκεύασε, τοὺς τε ἐναντίους ἐλύπει καὶ ποτε συγνοὺς αὐτῶν αἴφνιδιον ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ πλανωμένους ἀπολαβὼν ἀπώλεσεν.

22 Ο οὖν Ἀφράνιος ἀθυμήσας ἐπὶ τούτοις, καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἡλερδά ὅπε ταύτης ἀσφαλῆς ὅπε ἐπιτήδεια πρὸς χρόνου διατριβὴν ἰδὼν ὅντα, ἀναχωρῆσαι πρὸς τὸν Ἰβηρα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκεῖ πόλεις ἐγνώσει, καὶ νυκτὸς, ως λήσων ἡ φθάσων τοὺς ἐναντίους, ἄρας ἐπορεύτω. καὶ οὐκ ἔλαθε μὲν ἀνιστάμενοι, οὐ μέντοι καὶ εὑρὺς ἐπεδιώχθη. ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ οὐχ ἤγνωστο ἀσφάλεις εἶναι ἐν τοίς πολέμιοις ἐμπείροις τῆς χώρας μετὰ ἀπείρων ἐπακολουθήσαι. ὡς μέντοι ἦ ἡμέρα

1 περιοίσοντος R. Steph., περιοίσοντο L. 2 ἐν added by R. Steph. 3 ἐν added by St.

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

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

3 ὅμως γὰρ οὐκ ἦθελησε σφισὶ χωρῆσαι, τὸ μὲν τὶ φοβηθεῖς μὴ καὶ ἐς ἀπόνοιαν καταστάντες ἔξεργάσωται τὶ δεινόν, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἅλλος ἀκοντὶ σφας παραστήσεσθαι 1 ἐλπίσας. ὦ καὶ ἐγένετο· ὃς γὰρ πολλαχῷ πειράσαντες οὐδαμῇ διαπεσεὶς ἣδυνηθῆσαν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦτον καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀγρυ- πνίας τῆς τε πορείας ἐκεκομήκεσαν, καὶ προσέτι

4 οὔτε τροφὴν εἶχον (ἀὐθὴμερον γὰρ τὸν σταθμὸν διατέλεσεν προσδοκήσαντες οὐδὲν ἐπηνέγκαντο) οὐθ’ υδατος εὐπόρουν (τὰ γὰρ χωρία ἐκεῖνα δεινῶς ἐστὶν ἀνυδρα), παρέδωσαν σφας, ἐφ’ ὦ μήτε τι δεινόν πάθωσι μήτε ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήιον

23 ἀναγκασθῶσιν οἱ συστρατεύσαι. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀκριβῶς ἔκάτερον ο Ἐκάστη το εὐφυλαξεν· οὔτε γὰρ ἀπέκτενε τὸ παράπαν τῶν ἐν τοῦτῳ τῷ πολέμῳ ἀλόντων οὐδὲνα, καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖνωθ’ ποτὲ ἐν ἀνοχῇ τινὶ ἀφυλάκτως τινὰς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔχοντας φθειράντων, οὔτε τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἀντυπολεμῆσαι ἔξεβιάσατο, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν λογιστάτους ἠφίε, τοῖς δ’ ἅλλοις ἐθελονταῖς συμμάχοις διά τε τὰ κέρδη

2 καὶ διὰ τας τιμὰς ἑχρήτο. καὶ οὐκ ἐλάχιστα γε ἐκ τούτων οὔτε ἐς τὴν δόξαν οὔτε ἐς τὰ πράγματα ἀπώνυτο. 2 τὰς τὲ γὰρ πόλεις τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἱβηρίᾳ πάσας καὶ τοὺς στρατιωτὰς τοὺς ἐκεὶ πάντας (ἡσαν δὲ ἅλλοι τε ἐν τῇ Βαυτική

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

24 Παραλαμβάνων τε οὖν ἅμα αὐτοὺς καὶ καθιστάμενος διέδραμε μέχρι Γαδείρων. καὶ ἐλύπησε μὲν οὐδένα οὐδὲν πλὴν χρημάτων ἐκλογῆς (ταῦτα ἡ παμπληθή ἐσέπραξεν), ἐτίμησε δὲ καὶ ἰδία καὶ κινή τολμούσι καὶ τοῖς γε Γαδείρευσι πολιτείαιν ἀπαίσιν ἔδωκεν, ἥν καὶ ὁ δῆμος σφίσιν

2 ὕστερον ἐπεκύρωσε. τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίησεν ἀμειβόμενος σφας τῆς τοῦ ὅνειρον ὄψεως, δι' ἣς ἐνταῦθα, ὡς ἐταμίευσα, συνηγεγονέαν τῇ μητρὶ ἐδοξῆ, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς μοναρχίας, ὡσπερ εἶπον, ἐλαβεν. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα τὸ μὲν ἔθνος ἐκείνῳ τῷ Δογγύνῳ τῷ Κασίῳ προσέταξεν, ἐπειδὴ συνήθης αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς ταμείας ἦν ὑπὸ τῷ

3 Πομπηίων ἐτεταμεύκει ἡν. αὐτὸς δὲ μέχρι Ταρράκωνος πλοίων ἐκομίσθη, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ διὰ τοῦ Πυρηναίου προχωρών τρόπαιων μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐστήσαν, ότι μηδὲ τὸν Πομπηίων καλῶς ἀκούσαντα ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔσθετο, βωμὸν δὲ δὴ ἐκ λίθων ἔστων συνοκοδομημένον μέγαν οὐ πόρρω τῶν ἐκείνου τροπαίων ἱδρύσατο.

25 Ἐν οἷς δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγάνυκτο, οἱ Μασσαλίωται νεὼν σφιοὶ παρὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου αὖθις πεμφθειών ἀνεκινδύνευσαν. καὶ ἡττήθησαν μὲν καὶ τότε, διεκαρτέρουν δὲ, καλτοὶ καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἦδη 2 τῶν Καίσαρα ἔχοντα πυθανόμενοι, καὶ ταῖς τε

1 Οὐάρρωνος R. Steph., ἄρωνος L.
2 ταῦτα Reim., πάντα L. 3 δὲ Pflugk, τε L.
4 ἀπ' H. Steph., ἐν' L. 5 ἦν supplied by Reim. and Dindl.
6 Ταρράκωνος Bs., Ταρρακώνης L.
7 μηδὲ Rk., μητε L. 8 ἐκ added by Reim.
number of whom were with Marcus Terentius Varro, the lieutenant, besides others in Baetica.

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

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

1 See xxxvii, 52, 2.
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προσβολαὶς ἵσχυρῶς ἀπεκρούοντο, καὶ διοκωχὴν 1 τινα ὡς καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, ἑπειδὰν ἔλθῃ, προσχωρήσοντες ποιησάμενοι, 2 τὸν τε Δομήτιον ὑπεξέπεμψαν, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπιθεμένους σφίσιν ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς νυκτὸς οὕτως διέθεσαν ὡστε 3 μηδὲν ἔτι τολμῆσαι. τῷ μέντοι Καίσαρι αὐτῷ ἐλθόντι 3 ὁμολογήσαν καὶ δς ἑκεῖνων τότε μὲν τὰ τε ὀπλα καὶ τὰς ναῦς τὰ τε χρήματα ἀφεῖλτο, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα πλὴν τοῦ τῆς εὐθερίας ὄνοματος. ἀνθ' ὁν ἡ Φώκαια 4 ἡ 5 μητρόπολις σφών ἐλευθέρα ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου ἀφείδη.

26 Καὶ στρατιώτων τινῶν ἐν Πλακεντίᾳ στασιασάντων καὶ μηκέτ' ἀκολουθῆσαι οἱ ἔθελόντων, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς τεταλαιπωρημένων, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ὅτι μήτε τὴν χώραν διαρτάξειν μήτε τὰλλα ὅσα ἐπεθύμουν ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπέτρεπε (καὶ γὰρ ἠλπίζουν οὐδενὸς ὅτου 6 οὐ τεύξεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἄτε καὶ ἐν χρείᾳ τοσάτη σφῶν 2 ὄντος), οὖν ὑπεξέρν, ἄλλα συγκαλέσας καὶ ἑκεῖνους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, τῆς τε παρ' αὐτῶν ἀσφαλείας ἑνεκα, καὶ ὅν τῶν τε λεγομένων ἀκούσαντες καὶ τοὺς κολαξομένους ἰδόντες μηδὲν ἑξὼ τῶν καθηκόντων ἐθελήσωσι 7 πρᾶξαι, ἔλεξε τάδε.

27 "Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, βούλομαι μὲν φιλεῖσθαι ὑφ' ὑμῶν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ συνεξαμαρ-

1 διοκωχήν Dind., διακωχήν L.
2 ποιησάμενοι H. Steph., ποιησάμενοι L.
3 ἐλθόντι Bk., ἠθαλοτι L.
4 Φώκαια R. Steph., φωκεία L. 5 ἡ added by Bk.
6 ὅτου Bk., ὅτου οὖν L.
7 ἐθελήσωσι R. Steph., εθελήσουσι L.

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also, after arranging a kind of armistice, on the plea that they were going over to Caesar, when he should come, sent Domitius out of the harbour secretly and caused such injuries to the soldiers who had attacked them by night in the midst of the truce, that these ventured to make no further attempts.\textsuperscript{1} With Caesar himself, however, they made terms upon his arrival; and he at that time deprived them of their arms, ships and money, and later of everything else except the name of freedom. To offset this misfortune Phocaea, their mother city, was made free by Pompey.

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

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

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{1 Caesar (B.C. ii. 14) attributes the breaking of the truce to the Massaliots.}
\end{footnotes}
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tάνειν ἃν ύμῖν διὰ τοῦθ’ ἐλοϊµην’ ἀγαπὼ τε γάρ ύµᾶς, καὶ ἐθέλοµι ἃν, ὡς πατήρ παιδας, 2 καὶ σωζέσθαι καὶ εὐθενείν ἡµὴ γάρ τοι νοµίσητε ϕιλούντος ἐργον εἶναί το συγχωρεῖν τιςιν ἃ µὴ προσήκει πράττειν, εξ ὧν καὶ κινδύνους καὶ ἀδοξίας ἀνάγκη πάσα αὐτοίς συµβαίνειν, ἂλλα τὸ τε τὰ ἀµείων αὐτοὺς διδά- σκειν καὶ τὸ τῶν χειρόνων ἀπείργην καὶ νον- 3 θετοῦντα καὶ σωφρονίζοντα. γνώσεσθε δὲ ὅτι τάληθη λέγω, ἃν µήτε πρὸς τὸ αὐτίκα ἢδυ τὸ συµφέρον κρίνητε µᾶλλον ἡ πρὸς τὸ αἰε ὕφε- λιµον, µήτε τὸ τὰς ἐπιθυµίας ἐκπιµπλάναι γεν- ναῖον µᾶλλον ἡ τὸ κρατεῖν αὐτῶν νοµίσητε εἶναι. αἰσχρον µὲν γὰρ παραχρήµά τι ἡσθέντας ὑστερον µεταγρωνίαν, δεινὸν δὲ τὸ τῶν πολεµίων κρατοῦντας ἡδονῶν τινων ἤττάσθαι.

28 "Πρὸς οὖν τὶ ταῦτα λέγω; ὅτι τὰ ἐπιτίθειαι ἀφθόνως ἔχοντες (λέξω γὰρ μετὰ παρρησίας, µηδὲν ὑποστειλάµενος· τὴν τε γὰρ µισθοφορὰν ἐντελῆ καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν λαµβάνετε, καὶ τῆς τρο- φῆς αἰε καὶ πανταχοῦ πολλῆς ἐµπίµπλασθε) καὶ µήτε πόνον τινὰ ἀδοξίαν µήτε κινδύνου ἀνωφελῆ ὑποµένοντες, καὶ προσέτι τῆς µὲν ἀνδραγαθίας πολλά καὶ μεγάλα γέρα καρποῦµενοι, τῶν δ' ἀµαρτηµάτων σµικρὸν ὡς οὐδὲν ἡ ἐπιτιµώµενοι,
2 οὐκ ἀξιοῦντε τούτοις ἄρκεισθαι. λέγω δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πρὸς πάντας ύµᾶς (οὐδὲ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι ἔστε), ἄλλα πρὸς ἐκεῖνους µόνους οὕτις τῇ ἑαυτῶν πλεονεξία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους διαβάλλουσιν. ύµεῖς µὲν γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ πάνω ἀκριβῶς καὶ καλῶς

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

"Why now do I say this? Because although you have provisions in abundance,—I am going to speak frankly and without disguise: you get your pay in full and in season and you are always and everywhere supplied with food in plenty,—and although you endure no inglorious toil nor useless danger, and furthermore reap many great rewards for your bravery and are rebuked little, if at all, for your errors, yet you do not see fit to be satisfied with these things. I say this, now, not to all of you, for you are not all like this, but only to those who by their own greed are casting reproach on the rest. Most of you obey my orders very scrupulously
τοὺς τε παραγγέλμασι τοὺς ἔμοις πείθεσθε καὶ
toῖς ἤθεσι τοῖς πατρίοις ἐμμένετε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
cαι χώραν τοσαύτην καὶ πλούτων καὶ δόξαν
ἐκτήσασθε· οἴλογοι δὲ δὴ τινὲς πολλὴν αἰσχύνην
καὶ ἄδοξίαν ἀπασίν ἡμῖν προστρίβονται. καὶ τοῖς
ἐγὼν πρῶτον σαφῶς ἐπιστάμενοι τοιούτους
αὐτοὺς ὁντας (οὐδὲν γάρ μοι τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀμελές
ἔστιν) οὐ προσπεποιούμην εἰδέναι, νομίζων ἀμεί-
νοις σφάς ἐκ τοῦ λαθείν ἄν δοκεῖν ἀμαρτώντας
τινὰ γενήσεσθαι, τοῦ μὴ πλεονάσαντας ποτε καὶ
4 ἐφ’ οἷς συνεγνώσθησαν κολασθῆναι· ἐτεῖ μέντοι
αὐτοῖ τε ὡς καὶ 3 ἐξόν σφισὶ πάνθ’ ὅσα βούλονται
πράττειν, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ πρῶτας εὐθὺς ἐδικαιώθη-
σαν, ὑπερθραύσονται, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς
μηδὲν πλημμελοῦντας προστασιάζειν ἐπιχειροῦ-
σιν, ἀναγκαῖον ἔστι μοι θεραπείαν τῇ τινα καὶ
29 ἐπιστροφὴν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλο
tι σύστημα ἀνθρώπων συμμεῖναι καὶ σωθῆναι
dύναται, ἂν μὴ τὸ κακουργοῦν σωφρονίζεται· τὸ
γάρ τοῦ νοσήσαν ἂν μὴ τὴν προσήκουσαι ἰασίν
λάβῃ, συγκάμανει 4 καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πᾶν ὄσπερ ἐν
2 τοῖς σώμασι ποιεῖ· ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς στρατιαῖς ἥκιστα,
διότι αὐτοῦ τε ἱσχὺν ἔχοντες τολμηρότεροι γίγνον-
tαι, καὶ τοὺς ἁγαθοὺς προσδιαφθείρουσιν, ἀθυ-
μοτέρους ποιούντες ὡς οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἐκ τοῦ
dικαιοπραγεῖν ἔξοντας. παρ’ οὐς γὰρ ἂν τὸ
θρασυνόμενον πλεονεκτῆ, παρὰ τούτοις ἀνάγκη τὸ
ἐπιεικές ἐλαττούσθαι· καὶ ἐν ὅις ἂν 5 ἀδικία ἀτι-
μώρητος ἦ, καὶ τὸ σωφρονοῦν ἀγέραστον γίγνεται.

1 patrois B., patrois L. 2 δοκεῖν Rk., δοκεῖ L.
3 ὡς καὶ Rk., καὶ ἂς L. 4 συγκάμανειν Reim., συγκάμανει L.
5 ἀν added by St.
and satisfactorily and abide by your ancestral customs, and in that way have acquired so much land as well as wealth and glory; but some few are bringing much disgrace and dishonour upon all of us. And yet, though I understood clearly before this that they were that sort of persons,—for there is none of your concerns that I fail to notice,—still I pretended not to know it, thinking that they would reform if they believed they would not be observed in some of their evil deeds, through the fear that if ever they presumed too far they might be punished also for the deeds which had been pardoned them. Since, however, they themselves, assuming that they may do whatever they wish because they were not brought to book at the very outset, wax overbold, and are trying to make the rest of you, who are guilty of no irregularity, mutinous likewise, it becomes necessary for me to devote some care to them and to give them my attention. For no society of men whatever can preserve its unity and continue to exist, if the criminal element is not punished, since, if the diseased member does not receive proper treatment, it causes all the rest, even as in our physical bodies, to share in its affliction. And least of all in armies can discipline be relaxed, because when the wrong-doers have power they become more daring, and corrupt the excellent also by causing them to grow dejected and to believe that they will obtain no benefit from right behaviour. For wherever the insolent element has the advantage, there inevitably the decent element has the worst of it; and wherever wrong-doing is unpunished, there self-restraint also goes unrewarded.
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3 тι μὲν γὰρ ἄν ὑμεῖς ἁγαθὸν ποιεῖτε, εἰ μηδὲν οὕτω κακῶν δρῶσιν; πῶς δὲ ἄν εἰκότως τιμᾶσθαι ἐθελήσατε, ἢν μὴ τὴν δικαιὰν οὕτω τιμωρίαν ὑπόσχωσιν; ἢ ἀγροείτης τοῦθ', ὅτι ἄν τὸ μὲν τῶν φόβων τῆς δίκης ἔλευθερωθῇ, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἔλπιδος τῶν ἄθλων στερηθῇ, ἁγαθὸν μὲν οὐδὲν

4 κακὰ δὲ μυρία ἀπεργάζεται; ὅστ' εἰπερ ἀρετὴν ὑπὲρ ὑπὸς ἀσκεῖτε, μισήσατε μὲν τοὺς ὦς πολεμίους (οὐ γὰρ που 3 φύσει των τὸ φίλον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ διακέρται, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε τρόποις καὶ ταῖς πράξεσι διορίζεται, ὅν ἁγαθὸν μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πάν καὶ τὸ ἀλλότριον οἰκεύοτα, ποιηρὸν δὲ πᾶν καὶ τὸ συγγενὲς ἀλλοτριοῦται), ἀπολογήσασθε 4 δὲ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν. ἀνάγκη γὰρ καὶ ἡμᾶς δι' αὐτός πάντας κακῶς ἀκούειν, καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἀδικομέν 5 πᾶς γὰρ τις πυνθανόμενος τὸ τε πλῆθος ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν ὑμᾶς, ἐς πάντας ἡμᾶς καὶ τα τοῖς ὄλγοις πλημμελούμενα ἀναφέρει, καὶ οὕτω τῶν πλεονεκίων οὐ συμμετέχοντες αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐγκλημάτων τὸ ἐσον

2 φερὼμεθα. τίς γὰρ ἄν οὐκ ἁγανακτήσειεν ἀκούων ὄνομα μὲν ἡμᾶς Ῥωμαίων ἔχοντας, ἀργα δὲ Κελ- τῶν δρῶσιν; τίς δὲ οὐκ ἄν ὡρῶν ὀδύραιτο 6 τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁμοίως τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ πορθομένην; πῶς δὲ οὖ δεινὸν τὰ μὲν τῶν Γάλλων τῶν καταπολε- μηθέντων μηκέθ' ἡμᾶς λυπεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς τῶν Ἀλπεων ὡς των Ἡπειρότατος ἡ Καρχηδόνιος ἡ

3 Κύμβρους πορθεῖν; πῶς δὲ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν σεμνύνε- σθαι μὲν ἡμᾶς καὶ λέγειν ὅτι ἡμεῖς πρῶτοι Ἡρω-

1 φήσαιτε Pflugk, φήσετε L.
2 ἐθελήσατε Bk., ἐθελήσετε L. 3 ποι Pflugk, ποι L.
4 ἀπολογήσασθε R. Steph., ἀπολογήσασθαι L.
5 ἀδικομέν Pflugk, ἀδικοῦμεν L.
6 ὀδύραιτο H. Steph., ὀδύρετο L.

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BOOK XLI

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

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1 See note on xxxviii. 34.
μαίων καὶ τὸν Ὄρην διέβημεν καὶ τὸν ὦκεανῶν ἐπλεύσαμεν, τὴν δὲ οἰκείαν ἀπάθη κακῶν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων οὕσαν διαρτᾶσαι, καὶ ἀντὶ μὲν ἐπαίνον μέμψιν, ἀντὶ δὲ τιμῆς ἀτιμίαν, ἀντὶ δὲ κερδῶν ζημιὰς, ἀντὶ δὲ ἄθλων τιμωρίας λαβεῖν;

31 "Μὴ γὰρ τοι νομίσητε μῆθ', ὅτι στρατεύεσθε, κρείττους παρὰ τοῦτο τῶν οὐκοι πολιτῶν εἶναι. Ὄρωμαίοι γὰρ ἐστε ἀμφότεροι, καὶ ὁμολὺς ἤμων καὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ἐστρατεύσαντο καὶ στρατεύσονται. μῆθ', ὅτι ὅπλα ἔχετε, ἐξείναι ὑμῖν κακουργεῖν: οἱ τε γὰρ νόμοι κυριώτεροι ὑμῶν εἰσιν, καὶ πάντως 2 ποτὲ καὶ ταῦτα καταθήσεσθε. μὴ μέντοι μηδὲ τῷ πλῆθει θαρασεῖτε: πολὺ γὰρ πλείος ὑμῶν οἱ ἀδικούμενοι, ἃν γε καὶ συστραφῶσιν, εἰσὶ. συστραφήσονταί δὲ, ἄν 1 τοιαῦτα ποιήτη. 2 μηδ' ὅτι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνικήσατε, καὶ τούτων καταφρονεῖτε ὅν οὐδὲν οὕτε κατὰ γένος οὕτε 3 κατὰ παιδείαν, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς προφήτης, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων,

3 διαφέρετε. ἀλλ' ὅσπερ πον καὶ προσήκοι καὶ συμφέρον ἐστὶν ὑμῖν, μήτε βιαζεσθέ τινα αὐτῶν μήτ' ἀδικεῖτε, 4 ἀλλὰ τά τε 5 ἐπιτίθεια παρ' ἐκουσίων σφῶν λαμβάνετε καὶ τά γέρα παρ' ἐκούστων προσδέχεσθε.

32 "Πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ὅσα ἂν τις μηκύνων περὶ τῶν τοιούτων διεξ- ἐλθοῦν, καὶ ἐκεῖνο δεὶ ὑμᾶς προσολογίζεσθαι, 6 ὅτι νῦν ἕμεις ἐνταῦθ' ἠκομέν ἢνα τῇ τε πατρίδι ἀδικούμενη βοηθήσωμεν καὶ τοὺς κακουργοῦντας

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

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

"In addition to what I have just said and other considerations that might be mentioned if one chose to enlarge upon such matters, you must also bear in mind the fact that we have now come here to assist our outraged country and to defend her
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αὐτὴν ἀμυνόμεθα, ἐπεὶ εἰγε ἐν μηδενὶ δεινῷ ἦν.

2 οὔτ' ἂν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἠλθομεν (οὐ γὰρ ἔστειν ¹) οὔτ' ἂν τὰ τῶν Κελτῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν Βρεττανῶν ἀτέλεστα κατελάπομεν, δυνηθέντες ἂν καὶ ἐκεῖνα προσκατεργάσασθαι.²

3 οὐκοῦν πῶς μὲν οὐκ ἀτοποῦ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἁδικούντων τιμωρίᾳ παρόντας ἥμας μηδὲν ἤττον ἐκεῖνων πλεονεκτούντας φανῆγαι; πῶς δ' οὐ σχέτλιον πρὸς ἐπικουρίαν τῆς πατρίδος ἀφιγμένους συμμάχους αὐτὴν ἐτέρων ἀναγκάσαι καθ' ἡμῶν δειθῆναι; καὶ τοιοῦ ἐγώγε τοσοῦτον περιέχειν τοῖς δικαιώμασι τοῦ Πομπηίου νομίζω ὅστε καὶ ἐς δικὴν πολλάκις αὐτὸν προκαλέσασθαι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε μὴ ἠθέλησεν εἰρηνικῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος διακριθῆναι, πάντα μὲν τὸν δῆμον πάντας δὲ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπίσεις διὰ τὸ τοῦτο προσθήσεσθαι.

4 ἀλλὰ νῦν, ἂν γε καὶ τοιαύτα ποιῶμεν, οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἐπιτηδείων τι ἐξῳ προσχεσθαι οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἀνεπιεικὴς ἐγκαλέσαι. δει δὲ δῆ καὶ τοῦ δικαίου πᾶσαν ἥμας πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι· μετὰ μὲν γὰρ τούτῳ καὶ ἴ παρὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἴσχυς εὐελπίς ἐστιν, ἀνευ δ' ἐκεῖνου βέβαιον οὐδέν, καὶ παρατίκα τις κατορθώσῃ τις, ἔχει.

53 "Καὶ ὅτι ταῦθ' οὔτω πέφυκε, καὶ ἦμων οἱ πλείονες ἐπίσταται πάντα γοῦν τὰ προσήκοντα ἀπαράκλητοι ⁴ πράττετε. οἶδεν ποι καὶ ἐγὼ συνεκάλεσα ἥμας, ὑμᾶς καὶ μάρτυρας καὶ ἐπόπτας τῶν τε λεγομένων καὶ τῶν ⁵ πραττόμενων ποιήσω-

¹ ἔστειν Xyl., ἔτε ἔστειν L.
² προσκατεργάσασθαι R. Steph., προσκατεργάσασθαι L.
³ ἀνεπιεικὲς Rk., ἀν ἐπιεικὲς L.
⁴ ἀπαράκλητοι R. Steph., ἀπαράβλητοι L.
⁵ τῶν supplied by Bk.
BOOK XLI

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

"That this is true in the nature of things most of you understand; at any rate you fulfil all your duties without urging. That is precisely why I have called you together, to make you witnesses as well as
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2 mai. ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν ὁ τοιοῦτοι ἔστε, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐπαινεῖσθε. ὁλίγοι δὲ δὴ τινὲς ὀρᾷτε ὡς, πρὸς τῷ πολλὰ κεκακουργηκέναι καὶ μηδὲ-μίαν αὐτῶν δίκην δεδωκέναι, καὶ προσεπαπει-λοῦσιν ἡμῖν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐγὼ οὔτ' ἄλλως καλὸν εἶναι νομίζω ἀρχοντά τινα τῶν ἀρχομένων

3 ἡπτᾶσθαι, οὐτ' ἂν σωτηρίαν τι γενέσθαι ποτὲ, εἰ τὸ ταχθὲν ὑπηρετεῖν τινι κρατεῖν αὐτοῦ ἐπιχειρήσειν. σκέψασθε δὲ, ποῖος μὲν ἂν 2 κόσμος οἰκίας γένοιτο, ἄν οἱ ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ οὕτε τῶν πρε-σβυτέρων καταφρονήσοι, ποῖος δὲ διδασκαλεῖν, ἄν οἱ φοιτῶντες τῶν παιδευτῶν ἀμελήσωσι; τίς ὑγίεια νοσοῦσιν, ἄν μὴ πάντα τοῖς ιατροῖς οί κάμνοντες πειθαρχῶσι, τίς δὲ ἀσφάλεια ναυτιλ-λομένως, ἄν οἱ ναῦται τῶν κυβερνητῶν ἄνηκοι-

4 στῶσι; φύσει τε γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα τινὶ καὶ σωτηρία 3 τὸ μὲν ἄρχειν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι τέτακται, καὶ ἀδύνατον ἐστιν ἄνευ αὐτῶν καὶ ὅτι οὐ καὶ ἐφ' ὀποσοῦν διαγενέσθαι. προσήκει τε τῷ μὲν ἐπιστατοῦντι τινὸς ἐκφροντίζειν τε τὰ δεόντα καὶ ἐπιτάττειν, τῷ δὲ ὑποτεταχμένῳ πειθαρχεῖν τε ἀπορφασίστως καὶ ἐκπονεῖν τὸ

5 κελευόμενον. ἐξ οὐ καὶ μάλιστα τὸ τέμφρον τοῦ ἄρφον καὶ τὸ ἐπιστήμον τοῦ ἀνεπιστήμον ἐν παντὶ προτεστήμηται.

34 "Οὔτω δὴ οὖν τούτων ἐχόντων ὦκ ἃν ποτὲ οὖτε συγχωρήσαιμί τι τούτοις τοῖς θορυβήσασιν 2 ἀναγκασθείς οὔτ' ἂν ἐπιτρέψαμι βιασθείς. ἦ τι μὲν ἀπὸ τε τοῦ Αἰνείου καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰούλου

1 μὲν supplied by Bk.

2 ἂν supplied by Bk.

3 ἀναγκαὶ τινὶ καὶ σωτηρία Rk., ἀναγκαία τινα καὶ σωτηρία L.
BOOK XLI

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

"Since these things are so, I will never yield aught to these brawlers under compulsion nor give them a free rein perforce. Why am I sprung from Aeneas and Iulus, why have I been praetor, why
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γέγονα, τί δὲ ἕστατηγησα, τί ὑπάτευσα, ἐπὶ τί δὲ ὑμᾶς τοὺς μὲν οἰκοθέν έξηγαγον τοὺς δ' ὕστερον προσκατέλεξα, ἐπὶ τί τοσοῦτον ἦδη χρόνου τὴν
3 ἐξουσίαν τὴν ἀνθύπατον ἔχω λαβὼν, ἂν γε δουλεύω τινὶ ὑμών καὶ νυκτῆδο τινὸς ὑμῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, πρὸ τὴν Ῥώμην, δι' οὐ 1 καὶ Γαλάτας ἐχειρώσασθε καὶ Βρεττανῶν
4 ἐκρατήσατε; τί δείσας καὶ τί φοβηθεῖς; μή μὲ τις ὑμῶν ἀποκτείνῃ; ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν πάντες ταύτ' ἐφρονεῖτε, ἵκων ἂν ἀποθανεῖν εἰλόμην ἢ τὸ τε ἀξίωμα τῆς ἡγεμονίας καταλύσαι καὶ τὸ φρόνημα
5 τὸ τῇ προστατεῖα προσήκον ἀπολέσαι· πολὺ γάρ που πλείω πόλει κινούνεται τοῦ ἐνα ἄνδρα ἀδίκως ἀποθανεῖν, ἂν ἔθισθον ἵνα στρατιωταὶ τοῖς τε στρατηγοῖς σφων προστάττειν τινὰ καὶ τὰ δίκαια
35 τὰ τῶν νόμων ἐν ταῖς χερῶν πουείοθαι. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲ ἐπηπείληκε τις αὐτῶν (καὶ γὰρ ἄν καὶ παραχρῆμα εὐ οἴδ' ὅτι πρὸς ὑμῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέσφακτο), τὴν δὲ δὴ στρατεύαν ὡς κεκμηκότες ἐξίστανται καὶ τὰ ὀπλα ὡς καὶ πεπονθημένοι κατατίθενται, καὶ πάντως, ἂν γε μη παρ' ἐκόντος μου τούτον τύχοσι, καὶ τὴν τάξιν ἐκλείψουσι 2 καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον μεταστήσονται· ἄπερ ποι καὶ 3 παραδηλοῦσι
2 τνεσε· καὶ τίς μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔδελησε τοιοῦτον ἀνθρώπων στερηθῆναι, τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν εὐξαίτο τοιοῦτοις ἐκείνῳ στρατιώτας ὑπάρξαι, οὕτως μήτε τοῖς διδομένοις ἀρκοῦνται μήτε τοῖς προσ-
3 ταττομένοις πείθονται, ἀλλ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γῆρας

1 οὐ "N" in Reimars ed., ὃν L.
2 ἐκλείψουσι R. Steph., ἐκλείψοι L.
3 καὶ added by R. Steph.
BOOK XI.1

consul, for what end have I brought some of you out from home and levied others of you later, for what end have I received and held the proconsular power now for so long a time, if I am to be a slave to some one of you and to be worsted by some one of you here in Italy, close to Rome, I, to whom you owe your subjugation of the Gauls and your conquest of Britain? In fear or dread of what should I do so? That some one of you will kill me? Nay, but if you all were of this mind, I would voluntarily choose to die rather than destroy the dignity of my position as commander or lose the self-respect befitting my leadership. For a far greater danger than the unjust death of one man confronts the city, if the soldiers are to become accustomed to issue orders to their generals and to take the prerogatives of the law into their own hands. No one of them, however, has so much as made this threat; if any had, I am sure he would have been slain forthwith by the rest of you. But they are for withdrawing from the campaign on the pretence of being wearied, and are for laying down their arms on the pretence of being worn out; and certainly, if they do not obtain my consent to this wish of theirs, they will leave the ranks and go over to Pompey, a fact which some of them make perfectly evident. And yet who would not be glad to be rid of such men, and who would not pray that such soldiers might belong to Pompey, seeing that they are not content with what is given them and are not obedient to orders, but simulating old age in the midst of youth and in strength
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καὶ ἐν ἴσχύι ἀσθένειαν προβαλλόμενοι δεσπόζειν
tε τῶν ἄρχοντων καὶ τυραννεῖν τῶν ἡγουμένων
3 σφῶν ἀξιοῦσιν; ἐγὼ γὰρ μυρίκίς ἂν καὶ πρὸς
tὸν Πομπήιον ὅπωσδήποτε καταλαγήναι καὶ
ἀλλο ὁτιοῦν παθεῖν ἐλοίμην ἦ τι ἀνάξιον τοῦ
tε πατρίον φρονήματος καὶ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ προαιρέ-
4 σεως πρᾶξαι. ἢ 1 ἀγνοεῖτε ὅτι οὔτε δυναστείας
οὔτε πλεονεξίας ἐπιθυμῶ, οὐδὲ μοι πρόκειται
πάντως τι καὶ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου καταπράξαι,
ὡς τι ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ψεύσασθαι καὶ θωπεύσαι
καὶ κολακεύσαι τινας; παύσασθε μὲν δὴ διὰ
tαῦτα τῆς στρατείας, ὃ τι ἂν ὑμᾶς ὀνομάσαιμι;
οὐ μέντοι ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ βούλεσθε καὶ φατέ,
ἀλλ' ὡς τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμοὶ συμφέρει.”
5 Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκλήρωσεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ,
kai τοὺς μὲν θρασυτάτους (οὕτωι γὰρ ἐκ παρα-
σκευῆς ἐλαχον) ἐδικαίωσε,2 τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὡς οὐδὲν
σφῶν δεόμενος διήκε.

Καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν μετανοήσαντες ἐφ' οἷς ἐπραξαν
36 ἀναστρατεύεσθαι ἐμελλόντι· ἐν ὅδι δὲ ἐτ' ὄντος
αὐτοῦ Μάρκος Αιμίλιος Λέπιδος, οὕτως ὁ καὶ
ἐν τῇ τριαρχίᾳ 3 ὑστερον γενόμενος, τῷ τε δήμῳ
συνεβούλευσε στρατηγῶν δικτατορα τὸν Καύσαρα
προχειρίσασθαι καὶ εὐθὺς εἴπεν αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὰ
2 πάτρια. καὶ ὅς ὑπέστη μὲν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἡπειδή
πρῶτον ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσῆλθεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ
φοβερῶν οὔδεν ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπραξεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε
ἐκεπτωτικοῖς κάθοδον πᾶσι πλὴν τοῦ Μιλωνος
ἐδώκε, καὶ τὰς 4 ἐς νέωτα ἄρχας ἀπέδειξεν (ἐς
γὰρ τὸ παρόν τότε οὐδένα ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπόντων

1 ἢ added by Oddey. 2 ἐδικαίωσε Reim., ἐδίωξε L.
3 τριαρχίᾳ Xiph., τριτριαρχίᾳ L. 4 τὰς Leuncl., τὰ L.
BOOK XLI

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

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

So they repented of what they had done and were ready to renew the campaign. While he was still on the way Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, the man who later became a member of the triumvirate, advised the people in his capacity of praetor to elect Caesar dictator, and immediately named him, contrary to ancestral custom. The latter accepted the office as soon as he entered the city, but committed no act of terror while holding it. On the contrary, he granted a return to all the exiles except Milo, and filled the offices for the ensuing year; for up to that time they had chosen no one temporarily in place of
3 ἀνθείλοντο: καὶ τοιοῦ μηδενὸς ἀγορανόμου ἐπιδημούντος οἱ δημαρχοὶ πάντα τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτοῖς διήγαγον, ιερέας τε ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀντικατέστησεν, ο郤 πάντα τὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ νεομισμένα τηρήσας, καὶ τοῖς Γαλαταις τοῖς ἑντὸς τῶν Ἀλπεων ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἡραδανίων οἴκουσί τήν πολιτείαν, ἄτε καὶ ἀρξας αὐτῶν,

4 ἀπέδωκε. ποιήσας δὲ ταύτα καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς δικτατορίας ἀπείπε: τήν γὰρ δὴ δύναμιν τὸ τε ἔργον αὐτῆς καὶ πάντων αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς χειρὸς ἐσχῆ. τῇ τε γὰρ παρὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἴσχυι ἔχριτο, καὶ προσετί καὶ ἐξοσίδαν ἔννομον δὴ τινὰ παρὰ τῆς ἐκεί βουλῆς προσέλαβε: πάντα γὰρ μετὰ ἀδείας ὡς ἐν βουληθή πράττειν οἱ ἐπετράπη.

37 Τυχὼν δὲ τούτου μέγα εὐθύς καὶ ἀναγκαῖον πράγμα διώρθωσεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ τε δεδανεικότες τις πικροτάτας τὰς ἐσπράξεις, ἀτε καὶ πολλῶν χρημάτων διὰ τὶς στάσεις καὶ διὰ τοῖς πολέμους προσδέομενοι, ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ τῶν ὄφειλοντων συχνώς οὔδὲ ἔθελοντες ἀποδοῦναι

2 τῷ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐδύναντο (οὔτε γὰρ ἀποδόσθαι τι οὔτε ἐπιδανείσασθαι κινδύνως αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο), καὶ τούτου πολλὰ μὲν ἀπιστὰ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ὀδερὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔπραττον, καὶ δέος ἦν μὴ καὶ ἐς ἀνήκεστον τι κακὸν προχωρήσωσιν, ἐμετριάσθη μὲν καὶ πρὸ τούτου πρὸς

3 δημαρχῶν τινῶν τὰ κατὰ τούς τόκους, ἐτεί ὅν ὁ ἀπεδίδοντο, ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν τῶν ἐνεχύρων ἐξίσταντο οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀρχαίον ἐν ἀργυρίῳ ἀπῆτουν, ἀμφοτέροις τότε ο Καίσαρ ὅς οἶνον τε ἦν ἐπεκούρησε: τά τε γὰρ ἐνέχυρα πρὸς τὴν ἀξίαν

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the absentees, and since there was no aedile in the
city, the tribunes were performing all the duties de-
volving upon those officials. Moreover he appointed
priests in place of those who had perished, though
he did not observe all the ceremonies that were
customary in their case at such a juncture; and to
the Gauls living south of the Alps and beyond the
Po he gave citizenship because he had once governed
them. After accomplishing these things he resigned
the title of dictator, since he had quite all the
authority and functions of the position constantly in
his grasp. For he exercised the power afforded by
arms, and also received in addition a quasi-legal
authority from the senate that was on the spot, in
that he was granted permission to do with impunity
whatever he might wish.

Having obtained this, he at once instituted an
important and necessary reform. Those who had lent
money, it seems, being now in need of large sums
because of the civil strife and the wars, were collect-
ing their loans most relentlessly, and many of the
debtors for the same reasons were unable to pay
back anything, even if they wished to do so, since
they did not find it easy to sell anything or to borrow
more. Hence their dealings with each other were
marked by much deceit and fraud, and there was fear
that they might go to the point of accomplishing
some fatal mischief. To be sure, the rate of in-
terest had been lowered even before this time by
some of the tribunes; but since payment was not
secured even thus, but instead the one class was ready
to forfeit its securities, while the other demanded
back its principal in cash, Caesar now came to the
aid of both so far as he could. He ordered that
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ἐναποτιμηθήναι ἐκέλευσε, καὶ δικαστὰς αὐτῆς
toῖς ἀμφισβητοῦσι τι ἀποκληροῦσθαι προσέ-
tαξεν. ἐπειδὴ τε συνχροὶ πολλά τε χρήματα ἔχειν καὶ πάντα αὐτὰ ἀποκρύπτειν ἐλέγοντο, ἀπηγόρευσε μηδένα πλεῖον πεντακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων δραχμῶν ἐν ἀργυρῷ ἢ καὶ χρυσῷ
κεκτήθαι, οὕτως ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν νόμον τούτον
2 τιθεῖς, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ πρότερον ποτε ἐσενεχθέντα ἀνανεόμενος, εἰτ' οὖν ἦνα τοῖς τε δανεισταῖς
οἱ ὀφειλοῦντες τι ἐκτίνωσε καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις
οἱ ἄλλοι δανείζωσιν, εἰτέ καὶ ὅπως οἷς τε εὐποροῦντες ἔκδηλοι γέννωνται καὶ χρήματα
μηδένα αὐτῶν ἀθρόα ἔχει, μὴ καὶ ἀπόντος τι
3 νεωτερισθῇ. ἐπαρθένης δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοῦ
πλῆθους, καὶ ἀξιούντος καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις μὴντρα
ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν προτεθήκασθαί,2 οὔτε
προσέγραψεν αὐτὸ τῷ νόμῳ, καὶ προσέτε καὶ
ἔξωλειαν ἑαυτῷ προσεπηράσατο, ἀν ποτὲ τι
δούλω κατὰ τοῦ δεσπότου εἰπόντι πιστεύσῃ.
39 Καίσαρ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τε πράξας καὶ τὰ
ἀναθήματα, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Καπι-
tαλλίου πάντα, ἀνελόμενος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπ'
ἔξοδὸ τοῦ ἔτους, καὶ πρὶν ἐς τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐς
2 ἡν ἐκεχειροτόνητο ἐσελθεῖν, ἐξώρμησε. καὶ αὐτοῦ
tὰ τῆς ἐκστρατείας ποιοῦντος ἱκτίνως ἐν τῇ
ἀγορὰ κλάμων δάφνης ἐν τῶν συμπαρόντων
οἱ ἐπέρρυψε καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ τῇ Τύχῃ θύοντος
ὁ ταύρος ἐκφυγὼν πρὶν τιτρόσκεσθαι, ἔξω τε
τῆς πόλεως ἐξεχώρησε καὶ πρὸς λίμνην τινὰ
3 ἑλθὼν διενήξατο αὐτῆν. καὶ τούτων ἐπὶ πλέον

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

After accomplishing this and removing all the offerings in the Capitol, as well as the others, Caesar hastened to Brundisium toward the close of the year, before entering upon the consulship to which he had been elected. And as he was attending to the details of his departure, a kite in the Forum let fall a sprig of laurel upon one of his companions. Later, while he was sacrificing to Fortune, the bull escaped before being wounded, rushed out of the city, and coming to a certain lake, swam across it. Consequently he took greater courage and hastened his
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θαρσήσας ἦπειρθη, καὶ μάλιστ' ὅτι οἱ μάντεις μένοντι μὲν αὐτῷ οἰκοὶ ὁλεθροῦν, περαιωθέντι δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ σωτηρίαν καὶ νίκην ἔσεθαι 4 ἔφασαν. ἀφορμηθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ οἱ παιδεῖς οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντες διχῇ τε ἐνεμήθησαν αὐτοκέλευστοι, καὶ οἱ μὲν Πομπηῖεοι 1 σφάς οἱ δὲ Καισαρεῖοι 2 ὀνομάσαντες ἐμαχέσαντο τρόπον τινὰ ἀνευ ὁπλῶν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἐπεκράτησαν οἱ 3 τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος προσωπικῆ χρώμενοι.

40 Ἐν φ' δὲ ταύτ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ ἐγνύνετο, Μάρκος μὲν Ὀκτάυιος καὶ Λούκιος Σκριβώνιος Δίσων 4 Πούπλιον Κορνήλιον Δολοβέλλαιν, τὰ τε τοῦ Καίσαρος πράττοντα καὶ ἐν τῇ Δελματίᾳ 5 οὖντα, ἔξηλασαν ἕξ αὐτῆς τῷ τοῦ 2 Πομπηῖου ναυτικῷ χρώμενοι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο Γάιον Ἄντωνιον ἐπαμώνυμα οἱ ἐθελήσαντα ἐξ τε 6 νησίδιον τι κατέκλεισαν, κάνταθα πρὸς τε τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐγκαταλειφθέντα καὶ λιμῷ πιεσθέντα πασοῦδὶ πλὴν ὁλίγων εἶλον· ἐς τε γὰρ τὴν ἤπειρον ἐφθησάν τινες αὐτῶν διαφυγόντες, καὶ ἐτεροί ἐν σχεδίαις διαπλέοντες καὶ ἀλισκόμενοι σφάς αὐτῶς ἀπεχρήσαντο.

41 Κουρίων δὲ Σικελίαν μὲν 7 ἀμαχεὶ παραστήσατο (ὁ γὰρ Κάτων ἄρχων αὐτῆς, ὡς οὔτε ἀξιόμαχος οἱ ἢ ὅτε τὰς πόλεις ἐς κύνδυνον μάθην ἐμβαινειν ἠθέλησε, προεξεχώρησε 8 πρὸς τὸν Πομπῆίον), ἐς 2 δὲ δὴ τὴν Ἀφρικὴν περαιωθεῖς ἀπώλετο. ο μὲν

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1 Πομπηῖεοι Xyl., πομπηῖεοι L (and so regularly).
2 Καισαρεῖοι Η. Steph., καισαρείοι L (regularly).
3 οἱ Bk., ὅσοι L. 4 Δίσων R. Steph., λαβῶν L.
5 Δελματία St., δαλματίαι L.
6 ἐς τε Rk., ἐς τε L. 7 μὲν added by Bk.
8 προεξεχώρησε Leuncl., προεξεχώρησε μὲν L.
BOOK XLI

preparations, especially as the soothsayers declared that destruction should be his portion if he remained at home, but safety and victory if he crossed the sea. After his departure the boys in the city divided of their own accord into two groups, one side calling themselves Pompeians and the other Caesarians, and, fighting with each other in some fashion or other without arms, those conquered who used Caesar's name.

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

Curio had meanwhile reduced Sicily without a battle, since Cato, the governor of the island, being no match for him and not wishing to expose the cities to danger needlessly, had already withdrawn to join Pompey; later, however, he crossed over to Africa and there perished. Upon Curio's approach Lucius
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γὰρ Καῖσαρ ὁ Δούκιος τὴν Ἀσπίδα τὴν πόλιν, ἐν ἡ κατὰ τύχην ἀλλως ἦν, πρὸς τὸν ἔπιπλουν αὐτοῦ ἐξέλιπε, καὶ Πούπλιος Ἡρῴδας ὁ τὰ ἐκεὶ πράγματα τότε ἔχων καὶ στρατιώτας συνχόνς καὶ πλοῖα συνχά 2 ἦττηθείς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπεβαλεν· δὲ δὴ Ἠβαζ Ἱεμψων τε παῖς ὅν καὶ τῶν Νομάδων βασιλείων, τά τε τοῦ Πομπηίου ὡς καὶ τά τοῦ δήμου τῆς τε βουλής προτιμῶν, καὶ τὸν Κουρίωνα διὰ τοῦτο, καὶ ὅτι τὴν τε βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ δημαρχῶν ἀφελέσθαι καὶ τὴν 3 χώραν δημοσιώδας ἐπεχείρησε, μισῶν,

4 ἵσχυρῷς αὐτῷ προσεπολέμησεν. οἶκαδε μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὴν Νομιμίαν οὐκ ἀνέμειν αὐτὸν ἑσβαλεῖν, πολιορκοῦντι δὲ οἱ Οὐκινὴν παντὶ μὲν ἀμα τῷ στρατῷ οὐ προσέμεθε, φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ προπεθόμενος ἑξαναχθεῖν (οὐ γὰρ ποι 4 ἀπόσασθαι αὐτὸν μᾶλλον τι ἄν τιμωρήσασθαι ἐπεθύμει),

5 ὠλίγοις δὲ τινας προπέμψας, καὶ προφημίσας ὡς αὐτὸς ἄλλοσε ποι καὶ πόρρω γε ἀπεληλυθὼς εἰς, ἐφέστετο· τέ σφισι καὶ οὐ διήματεν ὅν ἡλπίσεν. ὁ γὰρ Κουρίων πρότερον μὲν, ὡς καὶ αὐτοῦ ἔκεινον προσιόντος, ἐς τὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ ὅν μετέστη, καὶ γνώμην ἐποιεῖτο τῶν τε νεῶν, ἄν βιάζηται, ἐπιβήναι καὶ 2 τὴν Ἀφρικήν παντελῶς ἐκλύτειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὠλίγους τέ τινας καὶ τούτους ἀνεν τοῦ Ἡβαζ αὐθινείσθαι ἐπύθετο, ἐθάρσησε, καὶ εὐθὺς τῆς νυκτὸς ὡς καὶ ἐφ' ἐτοιμον νίκην, μὴ καὶ διαφύγωσιν αὐτὸν, ἀρας ἐπορεύετο, καὶ τινας τῶν προδρόμων καθεύδουτας

1 ὁ τὰ Leunc., ἕτει L.
2 πλοία συνχά Jacoby, πόλεις καὶ L.
3 τὴν Rk., τὴν τὲ L. 4 τοῦ Bk., ποι L.
BOOK XLI

Caesar abandoned the city of Aspis¹ where he happened to be by mere chance, and Publius Attius Varus, then in charge of the affairs of that region, was defeated by him and lost many troops and many ships. Juba, however, the son of Hiempsal and king of the Numidians, preferred the cause of Pompey as that of the people and the senate, and hated Curio both on this account and because the latter when tribune had attempted to take away his kingdom from him and to confiscate the land; accordingly he carried on a vigorous war against him. For he did not wait for him to invade his home country of Numidia, but went to meet him while he was besieging Utica. He did not attack him, however, with his whole army, since he feared that Curio might put to sea if he learned in advance of his approach; for he was evidently not so eager to repulse him as to take vengeance on him. Instead, he sent forward a few men and spread the report that he himself had gone far away in another direction; then he followed after this force and did not fail of the results he had hoped for. For, though Curio, under the impression that his enemy was approaching, had previously transferred his men to the camp near the sea and had formed the plan, in case he were hard pressed, of embarking on the ships and leaving Africa altogether, he now, when he ascertained that only a few men were coming, and these without Juba, took courage and set out on the march that very night as if to a victory lying ready to hand, fearing that they might otherwise escape him; and after destroying some of the enemy's vanguard who were sleeping

¹ The Roman Clupea, situated on the coast east of Carthage.
ΔΙΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ

ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ φθείρας πολὺ προθυμότερος ἐγένετο.

3 καὶ τοῦτον τοὺς λοιποὺς ὑπὸ τὴν ἐω προκεχωρη-
κόσιν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐντυχὼν οὐδεμίαν ἀνα-
βολὴν ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν
καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πορείας καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας
tεταλαπωρημένων ἐς χεῖράς σφίσι παραχρήμα

4 ἦλθε. καὶ τοῦτο ἐστὼτων τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἀντιρό-
πτως ἀγωνιζομένων, ὁ Ἰώβας αἱρετικῶς οἱ ἔπι-
φανες τῷ τε ἀδοκίτῳ ἀμα αὐτόν καὶ τῷ πλήθει
κατειργάσατο, καὶ ἔκεινον μὲν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
tοὺς πλείστους ἀυτῶν ταύτης ἀπέκτεινεν, τοὺς
dὲ λοιποὺς μέχρι τῆς ταφρείας ἐπεδίωξε καὶ
μετὰ τοῦτο ἔς τάς ναίς καθεύρξε, καὶ τῷ ταράχῳ
tοῦτο πολλῶν μὲν χρημάτων ἐκράτησε πολλοὺς
dὲ ἀνδρὰς ἔφθειρε. συνιολ δὲ δὴ καὶ διαθυγώντες
αὐτῶν ἀπόλλοντο, οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐς τὰ πλοία
ἐσβάσει ὑπὸ τοῦ ὠθισμοῦ σφαλέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ
ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς σκάφεσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους αὐτῶν

5 βαπτισθέντες. γηγομένων δὲ τούτων, φοβηθέντες
tινὲς μὴ τά αὐτὰ αὐτῶν πάθωσιν, προσεχώρησαν
μὲν τῷ Οὐάρῳ ὡς καὶ σωθησόμενοι, εὐροῦτο δέ
οὔνεν ἐπιεικές· ο γὰρ Ἰώβας προϊσχόμενος ὅτι
αὐτὸς σφας ἐνενικήκει, καὶ ἐκείνους πλὴν ὀλίγων
ἐφόνευσεν. Κοινώναν μὲν δὴ πλειοῦτα τα τῷ
Καίσαρι συναράμενος, καὶ πάμπολλα αὐτῶν

6 ἐπελπίσας οὕτως ἀπόλλετο. Ἰώβας δὲ πρὸς μὲν
tοῦ Πομπήιον τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ
βουλευτῶν τιμᾶς τε εὐρετο καὶ βασιλεὺς προση-
γορεύθη, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῶν τε ἐν τῇ

1 αὐτοῦ ταύτη R. Steph., αὐτῇ ταύτῃ L.
2 δὲ Pflugk, τε L. 3 καὶ Reim., καὶ L.
4 αὐτῶν Bk., ἔπ' αὐτῶν L.

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

43. Τῷ δὲ ἐξομένῳ ἦτε δυττοὶ τε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοισι ἄρχοντες παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκός ἐγένοντο καὶ μάχη μεγίστη δὴ συνηνέχθη. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀστεί καὶ ὑπάτους τὸν τε Καίσαρα καὶ Πούπλιον Σερούλιον καὶ στρατηγοὺς τὰ τε ἄλλα τέλη τὰ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἤρθηντο, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλονίκῃ

2 τοιοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲν προπαρεσκευάζατο, καίτοι τῆς τε ἄλλης βουλῆς ἐς διακοσίους, ὡς φασί τινες, καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἔχοντες, καὶ τι καὶ χωρίων ἐς τὰ οἰωνίσματα, τοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐν νόμῳ δὴ τινι αὐτὰ δοκεῖν γέγονεσθαι, δημοσιώσαντες, ὡστε καὶ τὸν δὴμον δὲ ἀυτῶν τὴν τε πόλιν ἀπασαν ἐνταῦθα

3 εἶναι νομίζεσθαι (αἰτίων δὲ ὅτι τὸν νόμον οἱ ὑπατοὶ τοῦ φρατριακῆν 5 οὐκ ἐσευνόχεσαν), τοῖς δὲ δὴ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ὅσπερ 6 καὶ πρόσθεν ἔχρῆσατο, τὰς ἐπωνυμίας σφῶν μόνας μεταβαλόντες καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνθυπάτους τοὺς δὲ ἀντιστρατηγοὺς τοὺς δὲ ἀντιταμίας ὄνομασαντες.

4 πάνυ γὰρ που τῶν πατρίων αὐτοῖς ἔμελε τα τε ὅπλα ἀνταιρομένους καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐκλειστοῦσιν, ὡστε μὴ πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα πρὸς τὴν τῶν παρῶν ἀπαίτησιν καὶ παρὰ τὴν τῶν τετα-5 γενόμενοι ἀκρίβειαν ποιεῖν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα τῷ μὲν ὀνόματι οὐτοί σφισιν ἐκατέρως ἤρχον, ἔργῳ δὲ ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ, τῆς μὲν φήμης ἐνεκα τὰς

1 βασιλῆς Bs., βασιλεῖς L.
2 αὐτῷ Pflugk, αὐτῶν L.
3 ἦσαν ὄνομασθησαν Xyl., ὄνομασθησαν L.
4 τέλη supplied by Bs.
5 φρατριακῶν Reim., φρατρικῶν L.
6 οἰσπερ Reim., τοῖσπερ L.
BOOK XLI

was called to account and declared an enemy, while Bocchus and Bogud were named kings, because they were hostile to him.

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

1 The lex curiata de imperio, passed by the comitia curiata, formally conferred upon a consul or praetor his authority. Though largely a matter of form at this time, the magistrate was nevertheless not felt to be fully in possession of the privileges of his office until this vote had been passed.
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ἐννόμους ἐπικλήσεις, ὁ μὲν τὴν τοῦ ὑπάτου ὁ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου, ἐχοντες, πράττοντες δὲ οὐκ ὅσα ἐκεῖναι ἐπέτρεπον ἀλλ' ὅσα αὐτοὶ ἴσθελον.

44 Τοιούτων δὲ δὴ τούτων ὅντων καὶ δίχα τῆς ἅρχης μεμερίσμενης, Πομπήιος μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλονίκη ἐχείμαζε καὶ φυλακῇ ὅσι ἀκριβῆ τῶν παραδαλασσίων ἐποιεῖτο (οὕτε γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἢδη τὸν Καίσαρα ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἀφίχθαι ἐνομίζε, εἰ τε καὶ παρείη, ἀλλ' ἐν γε τῷ χειμώνιν οὐχ ὑπόπτησεν αὐτῶν τολμήσεωι τῶν Ἰόνιοι διαβαλεῖν), Καίσαρ δὲ ἦν μὲν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ τὸ ἔαρ ἀναμένον, πυθόμενος δὲ ἐκείνον τε πόρρῳ ὅντα καὶ τὴν καταντιπέρας ἥπειρον ἀμελδός τηρουμένην, τὸ τε καινὸν τοῦ πολέμου ἤρπασε καὶ τῷ ἀνειμένῳ αὐτοῦ ἐπέθετο. μεσοῦντος γοῦν τοῦ χειμώνος μέρει τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπῄρεν (οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ἰκανὰ νῆες ὅστε πάντας ἁμα αὐτοὺς περάσαι), καὶ λαθὼν τὸν Βίβουλον τὸν Μάρκον, ἡ δὲ θάλασσα φουρεῖσθαι προσετέκτω, ἐπεραιώθη πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα τὰ Κεραύνια ὁνομασμένα· ἔστι δὲ ἐσχάτα τῆς Ἡπείρου, πρὸς τῷ στόματι τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου. καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐνταῦθα πρὶν ἐκπυστοῦ ὅτι καὶ πλευσσεῖται γενέσθαι, τὰς ναῦς ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπὶ τοὺς λυποὺς ἐστειλε· καὶ αὐτὰς ὁ Βίβουλος ἀνακομιζομένας ἐκάκωσε, καὶ τινὰς καὶ ἀνεδήσατο, ὡς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐργῇ μαθεῖν ὅτι εὔτυχέστερον τὸν πλοῦν ἡ εὐβοῦλότερον ἐπεποήτο.

1 τὰς ἐννόμους ἐπικλήσεις Rk., τῆς ἐννόμου καὶ ἐπικλήσεις L.
2 τε πόρρῳ Pflugk, τε πόρρῳ τε L.
3 ἀνειμένῳ Rk., ἀνέμωι L.

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consul respectively, yet their acts were not those which these offices permitted, but whatever they themselves pleased.

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

1 The expression τὸ καὶνὸν τοῦ πολέμου appears first in Thucydides (iii. 30), and soon became proverbial; cf. Polybius xxix. 6, Diodorus xx. 30, 67, Cic. ad Att. v. 20, 3. Dio uses it again in xlix. 5, 1. It seems to be used generally in the favourable sense of "the (lucky) chance of war." The proverb ran πολλὰ τὰ καὶνὰ τοῦ πολέμου ("many are the surprises of war").

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45 Ἐν δὲ οὖν τῇ διατριβῇ ταύτῃ τὸ τε Ὄμικὸν καὶ τὴν Ἀπολλώνιαν ἄλλα τῶν ἐκείνην χωρίων ἐκλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Πομπηίου φρουρῶν παρεστήσατο. ἦ δὲ Ἀπολλώνια αὐτὴ ἦ Κορινθία ἐν καλῷ μὲν τῆς γῆς ἐν καλῷ δὲ καὶ τῆς 2 θαλάσσης ποταμῶν τε ἀριστὰ κεῖται. ὃ τε μάλιστα διὰ πάντων ἑθαύμασα, πῦρ πολὺ πρὸς τῷ Ἀὐρωπῷ ποταμῷ ἀναδίδοται, καὶ οὔτε ἐπὶ πλείον τῆς πέριξ γῆς ἐπεξερχεται, οὔτ' αὐτὴν ἐκείνην ἐν ἦ ἐνδιατάταται ἐκπυροὶ ἦ καὶ κραυροτέραν πη ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποᾶς καὶ δένδρα καὶ πάνυ πλησία θάλασσα ἔχει: πρὸς τε τὰς ἐπιχύσεις 3 τῶν ὄμβρων ἐπαύξει καὶ ἐς ύψος ἐξαϊρεταί. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸ τε Νυμφαίον ὄνομάζεται καὶ δὴ καὶ μαντείον τοιόνδε τι παρέχεται. Λιβανωτὸν δὴ λαβών, καὶ προσευξάμενος ο τι ποτὲ καὶ 4 βούλει, ὑππτεῖς αὐτὸν τὴν εὐχὴν φέροντα. καὶ τούτῳ τὸ πῦρ, ἄν μὲν τὶ ἐπιτελεῖς ἦ ἐσόμενον, δέχεται αὐτὸν ἑτοιμότατα, κἀν ἄρα καὶ ἔξω που προπέσῃ, προσδομὸν ἥρπασε καὶ κατανάλωσεν ἄν δὲ ἀτέλεστον ἦ, οὔτ' ἄλλως αὐτῷ προσέρχεται, κἂν ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν φλόγα φέρηται, ἐξαναχωρεῖ τε 5 καὶ ἐκφεύγει. καὶ ταῦθ' οὔτως ἐκάτερα περὶ πάντων ὦμοιος, πλὴν θανάτου τε καὶ γάμου, ποιεῖ περὶ γὰρ τούτων οὐδὲ ἐξεστὶ τινὶ ἄρχῃν αὐτοῦ πυθέσθαι τι.

46 Τούτῳ μὲν τοιοῦτον ἔστω, ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ βραδύνωντος τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, ὁ τοὺς υπομείναντας ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ κομίσαι ἐπετέλακτο, καὶ οὔδὲ

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

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

1 Cf. Frag. 42.
2 I.e. "Temple of the Nymphs."

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ἀγγελίας τινὸς περὶ αὐτῶν διὰ τὸν χειμώνα καὶ διὰ τὸν Βίβουλον φοιτώσης, ὑπώπτευσέ
σφας μεσεύειν τε καὶ ἐφεδρεύειν τοὺς πράγμασιν,
2 οih έν ταῖς στάσεσι φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι. καὶ
diā τοῦτο βουληθεῖς αὐτὸς καὶ μόνος γε ἐς τὴν
Ἰταλίαν πλεῦσαι, ἐπέβη μὲν ἀκατίον τινὸς ὡς τὸς
ἀλλος, λέγων ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος πεπέμφθαι, καὶ
tὸν κυβερνῆτην αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ πνεύματος ὄντος
3 εξεβιάσατο ἀναχθῆναι· ὡς μὲντοι ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς
ἐγένοντο καὶ ὦ τε ἀνέμος ἴσχυρος κατέσπερχε καὶ
ὁ κλύδων δεινῶς σφας ἐξετάραττεν, ὡστε τὸν
cυβερνῆτην μηδὲ ἀναγκαζομένον ἔτι τολμῆσαι
περαιτέρω πλεῦσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκοντος αὐτοῦ
ἐπανεῖναι ἐπιχειρῆσαι, ἐξήφηνεν ἐαυτὸν καθάπερ
ἐκ τούτου καὶ τὸν χειμώνα παῦσων, καὶ ἔφη
4 "θάρσει· Καίσαρα γὰρ ἄγεις." τοιοῦτον μὲν
dὴ φρόνημα καὶ τοιαύτην ἐλπίδα ἦτοι τῇν ἄλλως
ἡ καὶ ἐκ μαντείας τινὸς εἶχεν ὡστε καὶ παρὰ τὰ
φαινόμενα πίστιν τῆς σωτηρίας ἐχέγγυον ποιεῖ
σθαι· οὖ μέντοι καὶ ἐπεραιώθη, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πολὺ
μάτην πονήσας ἀνέπλευσεν.

47 Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ Πομηνίῳ περὶ τὸν Ἀπὸ
ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐπειδὴ πρὸτὸν
tῆς ἀφίξεως αὐτοῦ ἢσθετο, οւκ ἀνεβάλετο, ἀλλὰ
ἐπίσιας ραδίως αὐτῶν, πρὶν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς
μετὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου δύνας προσλαβεῖν, κατεργάσα
σθαι, σπουδὴ πρὸς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν δυνάμει
2 τυν ἠλασεν. ὁ οὖν Καίσαρ μέχρι μὲν τοῦ
ποταμοῦ ἀπήντυσεν οἱ, νομίσας ἀξίομαχος καὶ

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

After this he encamped opposite Pompey, near Apsus. For Pompey, as soon as he had learned of his arrival, had made no delay, but hoping to crush him easily before he should receive the others who were with Antony, hastily marched with a considerable force toward Apollonia. Caesar advanced to meet him as far as the river, thinking that even as he was he would prove a match for the troops.
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δώς τοῦς τότε προσιούσι γενήσεσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐμάθεν ὅτι πολύ τῷ πλήθει ἡλπττότο, ἡσύχασε. καὶ ὅπως γε μὴθ’ ὑπὸ δέουσ τοῦτο ποιεῖν μήτε ἔξισίνων τοῦ πολέμου νομισθείν, λόγους τέ τινας συμβατηρίους σφίσι καθεὶ· καὶ κατὰ τούτο διήγη. γινοὺς δὲ ταῦθ’ ὁ Πομπήιος συμβαλέειν μὲν αὐτῷ ὡς ὅτι τάχιστα ἠθέλησε, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπιδιαβῆναι ἐπεχείρησεν· ὡς δὲ ἡ γέφυρα βάρος λαβοῦσα διελύθη καὶ τινὲς τῶν προδιαβεβηκότων μονωθέντες ἀπώλειον, ἔπεσον ἀθυμής ὃτι πρῶτον τῶν τοῦ πολέμου ἔργων ἀπτόμενος ἔπταικε.

Καὶ τοῦτῳ καὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἐπελθόντος

μεν γὰρ οἱ Βίβουλος ἢς, οὐδ’ ἀπάραι ἐκεῖνος ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου ἐτόλμησεν· τοσαύτη ποιν ὕπαλγή αὐτοῦ ἐγγύγητο· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς τε ἐκκακέων ὑπὸ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας ἐτελεύτησε καὶ τὴν ναυρχίαν ὁ Λίβων διεδέξατο, κατεφρονήσεται αὐτὸ καὶ ἀναγάγετο ὡς καὶ βιασύνενος τῶν ἐκπλούν.  

καταραχθεῖσι τε ἐσ τὴν ὑπ’ ἡμῖνατο τε αὐτόν ἰσχυρός προσβαλόντα οί, καὶ μετὰ τούτο ἐπεκβῆναι ποι βουλαθέντα οὐδαμῇ τῆς ταύτη

ἡπειρόν προσσυμφητήναι εἰςευ. ἀπορήσας οὖν ὁ Λίβων καὶ ὄρμου καὶ ὑδατος (τὸ γὰρ νησίδιον τὸ πρὸς τοῦ λαμένοι δυν., ἐς ὅπερ μόνον προσέχειν ἔδύνατο, καὶ ἀνύδρον καὶ ἄλμενον ἐστὶν) ἀπέπλευσε πόρρω ποι, ὅτον ἀμφοτέρων ἐνπορή- σειν ἐμελλε. καὶ οὕτως ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐξεναχθείς ὕστερον πρὸς μὲν ἐκείνου, καὶ περ μετεφροισ

σφίσιν ἐπιχειρῆσαι ἐθελήσαντος, οὐδὲν ἔπαθε·  

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

Meanwhile Antony also had arrived, and Pompey in fear retired to Dyrrachium. As long as Bibulus was alive, Antony had not dared even to set out from Brundisium, so close guard did the other keep over it; but when Bibulus, succumbing to the hardships, died, and Libo succeeded him as admiral, Antony scorned him and set sail with the intention of forcing the passage. When driven back to land, he repelled the other’s vigorous attack upon him and later, when Libo was anxious to disembark somewhere, he allowed him to find anchorage nowhere along that part of the mainland. So the admiral, being in need of anchorage and water, since the little island in front of the harbour, which was the only place he could approach, is destitute of water and harbour alike, sailed off to some distant point where he was likely to find both in abundance. In this way Antony was enabled to set sail, but later, although he met with no harm at Libo’s hands, even when the other attempted to attack them on
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χειμῶν γὰρ σφοδρὸς ἐπιγενόμενος ἐκώλυσε τὴν ἐπίθεσιν. πρὸς δὲ δὴ αὐτοῦ τούτου ἀμφότεροι ἐκακοπάθησαν.

49 Διασωθέντων δ' οὖν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁ τε Πομπήιος ἐς τὸ Δυρράχιον, ὡσπερ εἶπον, ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπικολούθησεν αὐτῷ θαρσήσας, ὅτι τῷ πλῆθει τῶν τότε συνόντων οἱ περιήγοι 2 ἐκ τῶν προσγεγενημένων. τὸ δὲ Δυρράχιον ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ πρώτῃ μὲν Ἰλλυρίων τῶν Παρθιῶν, νῦν δὲ καὶ τότε γε ἦδη 1 Μακεδονίας 2 νεομισμένη κεῖται, καὶ ἔστιν ἐπικαρύτατον, εἰτ' οὖν ἡ Ἐπιδάμνος ἢ 3 τῶν Κερκυραίων εἶτε καὶ ἐτέρα τις οὖσα. καὶ οἱ μὲν τούτῳ γράψαντες τὴν τε κτῖσιν αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ ὅνομα ἢς Δυρράχιον ἦρωα

3 ἀναφέρουσιν οὖν δ' ἐτεροί Δυρράχιον ἀντονομαζόμενον τὸ χωρίον ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαιῶν πρὸς τὴν τῆς Ῥαχίας δυσχέρειαν ἔφασαν, ὅτι ἡ τῆς Ἐπιδάμνου προσφησις ξημιώδη δῆλωσιν ἐν τῇ τῶν Δατίων γλώσσῃ ἐχουσά δυσοἰώνιστός σφισιν ἐς τὸ περαιοῦσθαι ἐς αὐτὴν ἐδοξέω εἰναι.

50 Πρὸς οὖν τούτῳ τὸ Δυρράχιον ὁ Πομπήιος καταφυγὼν στρατόπεδον τε ἐξω τῆς πόλεως ἐποιήσατο, καὶ τάφρους βαθείας σταυρώματα τε ἱσχυρὰ περιβάλετο. 4 καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπιστρατοπεδεύσας προσέμιξε μὲν ὡς καὶ δὴ ὀλίγῳ τὸ χαράκωμα τῷ πλῆθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν αἰρήσων, ἐπει δὲ ἀπεκρούσθη, ἑπεχείρησεν αὐτὸ ἀποτελεῖσαι. καὶ ἐκεῖνος τε ἀμα τούτ' εἰργάζετο, καὶ

1 ἦδη Leuncl., ἢδ£ L.
2 Μακεδονίας Oddey, makedonla L.
3 ἢ Reim., καὶ ἢ L.
4 περιβάλετο Xiph., περιβάλλετο L.

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the high seas (for a violent storm came up which prevented the attack), both he and Libo suffered injuries from the storm itself.

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

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

¹ i.e., the name was a compound of δυσ- ("unlucky") and παχία ("breakers" or "rocky shore"). From Dyrrachium comes its modern name Durazzo.

² Epidamnus is of course a Greek name, but the Romans were not slow to connect the second element of the word with their own damnun. Compare the jest in Plautus, Menaechmi, 263 f.
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ο Πομπήιος τὰ μὲν διεσταύρου τὰ δὲ ύπετείχιζε καὶ διετάφρευ, πύργους τε ἐπὶ τῶν μετεώρων καὶ φυλακὰς ἐπικαθίστη, ώς τὴν τε περιόδου τοῦ περιτείχισματος ἀπέραντον καὶ τὴν ἔφοδον καὶ κρατοῦσι τῶν ἐναντίον ἀπορὸν ποιῆσαι. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ μάχαι αὐτῶν, βραχεῖαι δ', 3 οὖν ἑγγύνοντο· καὶ ἐν ταύταις τοτὲ μὲν οὔτοι τοτὲ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ἐνίκων καὶ ἐνικῶντο, ὡστε καὶ θυμῆσεν τινὰς ἀμφοτέρων ομοίως. αὐτοῦ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Δυρραχίου ο Καίσαρ μεταξύ τῶν τε ἔλων καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης νυκτός, ὡς καὶ προδοθησόμενου ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμυνομένων, πειράσας εἰσώ μὲν τῶν στενῶν παρῆλθε, προσπεσόντων δὲ οἱ ἑνταῦθα πολλῶν μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον πολλῶν δὲ καὶ κατόπιν, οἱ πλοῖοις παρακομισθέντες ἐξαιρὼν αὐτῶ ἐπέθεντο, καὶ συγκούσης ἀπέβαλε καὶ ὅλογον καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐφθάνε. γενομένου δὲ τούτου ο Πομπήιος ἐπιθαρκής ἐπεβούλευσε νυκτὸς τῷ περιτείχισματι, καὶ ἐκείνου τε τι ἀπροσδόκητος προσπεσὼν εἶδε, καὶ φόνον τῶν αὐλιζομένων πρὸς αὐτῷ πολὺν εἰργάσατο.

51 Ο οὖν Καίσαρ, ὡς ταῦτα τε συνεβεβήκει καὶ ὁ σῖτος αὐτῶν ἐπελελοίπε (ἡ τε γὰρ θάλασσα καὶ ἡ γῆ πᾶσα ἡ πλησία ἀλλοτρίᾳ αὐτῷ ἦν, καὶ τινὲς διὰ ταύτα καὶ ἀπηνομολήκεσαν), δείσας μὴ ἢτοι προσεδρεύων καταπολεμηθῇ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐγκαταλείφθῇ, πάντα μὲν τὰ φάκοδομιμένα κατέστρεψε, πάντα δὲ τὰ παραβεβλημένα προσδιέφθειρε, καὶ μετὰ τούτο ἐξαιρέθη ᾧρας ἐς Ἑσσαλίαν 2 ὀρμησέν. ἐν γὰρ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ φ' το

1 οὖν Leuncl., οὖν αὐτῶν L. 2 ὑπὲ supplied by Rk. 3 τῶν Rk., τῶν τε L. 4 ήτοι Bk., τοι L. 5 φ supplied by Leuncl.

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

Caesar, in view of this occurrence and because his grain had failed, inasmuch as the whole sea and land in the vicinity were hostile, and because for this reason some had actually deserted, feared that he might either be defeated while watching his adversary or be abandoned by his other followers. Therefore he levelled all the works that had been constructed, destroyed also all the parallel walls, and thereupon set out suddenly and hastened into Thessaly. During this same time, it seems, while
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Δυρράχιον ἐπολυμορκεῖτο, Δούκιος τε Κάσσιος Δογγίνος καὶ Γναῖος Δομίτιος Καλούνινος ἐς τῆν Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντες, Δογγίνος μὲν ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος καὶ ὑπὸ Σαδάλου Θρακοῦ ἰσχυρὸς

3 ἐσφάλη, Καλούνινος δὲ τῆς μὲν Μακεδονίας ὑπὸ τοῦ Φαύστου ἀπεφόβη, Δοκρῶν δὲ δὴ καὶ Αἰτωλῶν προσχωρήσαντων οἱ ἐσ τῆν Θεσσαλίαν μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐσέβαλε, καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα μᾶχαις, τῇ μὲν λοχισθεὶς τῇ δ’ ἀντενεδρέεσας, ἐνίκησεν,1 καὶ ἀπ’

4 αὐτοῦ καὶ πόλεις τινὰς προσεποίησατο. ἐνταῦθ’ ὁδὲ Καῖσαρ, ὡς καὶ βάον σὺν ἐκείνοις τῆς τε τροφῆς ἐυπορήσατο καὶ τῶν πόλεμον διοίσων, ἡπείχθη. καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὔδεις αὐτῶν ἄτε κακῶς πεπραγότα ἐδέχετο, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων καὶ ἄκων ἀπερίτο, Γόμφοις δὲ δὴ πολίχνη τωὶ Θεσσαλικῆ προσπεσῶν καὶ κρατῆσας πολλοὺς τε ἐκείνω καὶ

5 πάντα 2 διήρπασεν, ὅτως καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκ τοῦ τουτο καταφθήσῃ. αὐτίκα γοῦν Μητρόπολις, ἔτερον τι πόλισμα, οὔδὲ ἤς χεῖρας αὐτῷ ἦλθεν, ἀλλ’ ἀμαχεὶ ὁμολόγησεν καὶ σφας κακῶν οὐδὲν δράσας ῥαοὺ καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἀφ’ ἐκατέρου προσεποίη-

52 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἰσχυρὸς αὐθίς ἐγγύνετο, Πομπήιος δὲ οὐκ ἐπεδώξει μὲν αὐτὸν (νυκτὸς τε γὰρ ἐξαιπινώς ἀπανέστη, καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τῶν Γενουσῶν σπουδὴ διέβη), σοῦτω μέντοι τὴν γνώμην εἶχεν ὡς καὶ διαπεπολεμηκῶς. καὶ τούτου τὸ μὲν τοῦ αὐ-

tοκράτος σῶμα ἔλαβε, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐμεγα-

ληγόρει τι ή καὶ διάφην τινὰ ταῖς ράβδοις περιήγησεν, ἄυσχεραινών ἐπὶ πολίταις τοιοῦτο τι

1 ἐνίκησε Leuncl., ἐνέδρευσε L. 2 πάντα Xyl., πάντας L.

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BOOK XLI

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

So he was once more becoming powerful. Pompey did not pursue him, for he had withdrawn suddenly by night and had hastily crossed the Genusus river; however, he was of the opinion that he had brought the war to an end. Consequently he assumed the title of imperator, though he uttered no boastful words about it and did not even wind laurel about his fasces, disliking to show such exul-
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2 ποιήσαι: έκ δὲ δὴ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης διανοίας οὖν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἐπλευσεν οὔτ' ἀλλος τινὰς ἔσημψε, καίτοι βραδίως ἀν πᾶσαν αὐτὴν κατασχών· τῷ τε γὰρ ναυτικῷ πολὺ ἐκράτει ἄτε πεντακοσίας ναῶς ταχείας ἔγων, ὡστε πανταχόσε ἀμα κατὰραι, καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ ὀὔτ' ἀλλος αὐτῷ ἤχθετο, οὔτε, εἰ καὶ τὰ 1 μάλιστα ἠλλο-3 τρίωτο, ἀξιόμαχα γε ἀντιπολεμήσαι ἂν. πόρρω τε 2 γὰρ τού περὶ αὐτῆς δόξαν πολεμεῖν ἀφεστή-κέναι ἐβούλετο, καὶ φόβον οὐδένα τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε οὐσι παρασχεῖν ἥξιον. τῆς μὲν οὖν Ἰταλίας διὰ ταύτ' ὦκ ἐπείρασεν, οὐ μὴν οὖν ἐπέστειλε τῷ κοινῷ περὶ τῶν πραξόντων οὐδέν· ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τὸν Καίσαρα μετὰ τούθ' ὀρμήσας ἐς τὴν Ἀθηναίαν ἄφικετο.

53 Ἀντικαθημένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀλλήλων ἦ μὲν ὅψιν τῶν στρατοπεδῶν πολέμου τινὰ ἐκώνα ἔφερεν, ή δὲ δὴ χρεία τῶν ὅπλων ὡς καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἡσύχαζε. τὸ τε γὰρ μέγεθος τοῦ κωδύνου διασκοποῦντες, καὶ τὸ ἄδηλον τὸ τε ἀστάθμητον τῶν πραγμάτων προορόμενοι, καὶ τινα καὶ αἰδῶ τοῦ τε ὁμοφύλου καὶ τῆς συγγενείας ἔτι ποιοῦ-2 μενοι διέμελλοι, κάν τοῦτο καὶ λόγους περὶ φιλίας σφύοις ἀντέπεμποι, καὶ τισι καὶ συναλ-λαγήσεσθαι διὰ κενῆς ἐδοξαν. αὕτιον δὲ ὅτι τοῦ τε παντὸς κράτους ἀμφότεροι ἐφείμενοι, καὶ πολλῆ μὲν φιλοτεμία ἐμφύτω πολλῇ δὲ καὶ 3 φιλονεικία ἐπικτήτῳ χρώμενοι (πρός τε γὰρ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ πρὸς τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ἥκιστά τινες ἐλαττούμενοι φέροντι) οὔτε τι συγχωρήσαι

1 τὰ added by R. Steph. (and so V).
2 πόρρω τε Βκ., τοροστέρω Λ.
BOOK XLI

tation over the downfall of citizens. From this same 
b.C. 48
motive he neither sailed to Italy himself nor sent 
any others there, though he might easily have taken 
possession of it all. For with his fleet he was far 
superior, as he had five hundred swift ships and 
could land at all points at the same time; moreover, 
the sentiment of that country was not opposed to 
him in any case, and, even if it had been ever so 
hostile, the people were no match for him in war. 
But he wished to be far from giving the impression 
that Italy was the stake for which he was fighting, 
and did not think he ought to cause any fear to the 
people who were then in Rome. Hence he made 
optment any despatch about his successes; but after this 
he set out against Caesar and came into Thessaly.

As they lay opposite each other the appearance of 
the camps bore, indeed, some semblance of war, but 
their arms were idle as in time of peace. As they 
considered the greatness of the danger and foresaw 
the obscurity and uncertainty of the issue, and still 
felt some regard for their common ancestry and their 
kinship, they continued to delay. Meanwhile they 
exchanged propositions looking toward friendship and 
appeared to some likely even to effect an empty 
reconciliation. The reason was that they were both 
reaching out after the supreme power and were in-
fluenced greatly by native ambition and greatly 
also by acquired rivalry,—since men can least en-
dure to be outdone by their equals and intimates; 
hence they were not willing to make any concessions
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ἀλλήλοις ἦθελον, ὥσπερ ἀμφότεροι κρατήσαι δυνάμενοι, οὕτε πιστεύσαι, κἂν συμβαθῇ 1 τι, ἐδύναντο μὴ οὐ τοῦ πλείονός τε ἢ ἑαυτῷ ὁργή-σεθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς αὐθίνος στασιάσειν. 54 γνώμη μὲν γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἀλλήλων διέφερον ὅσον Πομπήιος μὲν οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων δεύτερος, Καίσαρ δὲ καὶ πρῶτος πάντων εἰναι ἐπεθύμει, καὶ ὁ μὲν παρ’ ἐκόντων τε τιμᾶσθαι καὶ ἐθελόντων προστα-τείν φιλεῖσθαι τε ἑστούδαζε, τῷ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐμελεῖν εἰ καὶ ἀκόντων ἄρχοι καὶ μισοῦσιν ἐπιτάσσοι,

2 τὰς τε τιμὰς αὐτῶν ἐαυτῷ διδόναι. τὰ μὲντοι ἔργα, δι’ ὅν ηλπιζον πάνθ’ ὥσα ἐβούλοντο καταπράξειν, ἀμφότεροι ἵμοιως καὶ ἀνάγκη ἐποίουν ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἂν αὐτῶν κατατυχεῖν τινὶ μὴ οὐ τοῖς τε οἰκείοις πολεμοῦντι καὶ τοὺς ὀθνείους ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀμοφύλους ἀγνοεῖν, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν χρήματα ἀδίκως συλλῶντι, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν φιλάτων

3 ἀνόμως κτείνοντι. 2 ὡστε εἰ καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις διήλλαττον, ἄλλα ταῖς γε πράξει, δι’ ὅν ἀπο- πληρώσειν αὐτῶς ἦλπιζον, ὅμοιούντω. καὶ διὰ τούτ’ οὐθ’ 3 ὑφεντό τινος ἀλλήλοις, καίπερ πολλὰς δικαιώσεις προτεινόμενοι, καὶ ἕς χεῖρας τελευτῶντες ἦλθον.

55 Ἔγενετο δὲ ὁ ἄγων μέγας καὶ οἰδώς οὐχ ἔτερος. αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ ἄριστοι πρὸς πάντα τὰ πολέμια καὶ εὐδοκιμῶτατοι διαφανῶς οὕτω ὅτι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τότε 4 ἀνθρώπων ἥξι- ούντο εἶναι. οἷα 5 γὰρ ἐκ παίδων τε ἐν αὐτῶι ἡσκημένοι καὶ διὰ παντὸς αὐτοῖς ὡμιληκότες, ἔργα

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

The struggle proved a mighty one and unparalleled by any other. In the first place, the leaders themselves had the name of being the most skilled in all matters of warfare and clearly the most distinguished not only of the Romans but also of all other men then living. They had been trained in arms from boyhood, had constantly been
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τε ἀξιόλογα ἀποδεδειγμένοι, καὶ πολλῇ μὲν ἀρετῇ πολλῇ δὲ καὶ τύχῃ κεχρημένοι, καὶ ἄξιοστρατη
gιτότατοι καὶ ἄξιονικότατοι ἦσαν καὶ δυνάμεις Καίσαρ μὲν τοῦ τε πολιτικοῦ το πλείστον καὶ
kαθαρώτατον, καὶ ἐκ τής ἀλλης Ἰταλίας τής τε Ἰβηρίας καὶ τής Γαλατίας πάσης τῶν τε νήσων
ὅν ἐκράτει τοῦς μαχιμωτάτους εἶχε, Πομπήιος δὲ
συγχωνὺς μὲν καὶ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς τῆς τε ὑππάδος
καὶ τῶν καταλόγων ἔπηκτο, παμπληθεὶς δὲ παρά
te τῶν λοιπῶν υπηκόων καὶ παρά τῶν ἐνσπόνδων
3 καὶ ἤμων καὶ βασιλέων ἡθροίκει. ἄνευ γὰρ δὴ
tοῦ τε Φαρνάκου καὶ τοῦ Ὀρώδου (καὶ γὰρ
τούτον, καίτοι πολέμων ἀφ' οὗ τοὺς Κράσσους
ἀπέκτεινεν οὖν, προσεταιρίσασθαι ἐπεχείρησε)
pάντες οἱ ἄλλοι, οἱ καὶ ἐφ' ὅσονοι οἰκειοθέντες
ποτὲ αὐτῷ, καὶ χρήματα οἱ ἐδωκαν, καὶ
βοηθείας
4 οἱ μὲν ἐπεμψάν οἱ δὲ ἡγαγον. ὁ δὲ δὴ Πάρθος
ὑπέσχετο μὲν αὐτῷ, διὸν τὴν Συρίαν λάβῃ,
συμμαχήσειν, μὴ τυχῶν δὲ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐπέμυνε.
προὔχοντος δ' οὖν πολὺ τοῦ Πομπήιου τῷ πλήθει,
ἐξισούντο σφίσιν οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῇ ὑπμή καὶ
οὕτως ἀπ' ἀντιπάλου πλεονεξίας καὶ ἰσόρροπου
ἄλληλοι καὶ ἱσοκίνθιοι ἐγίγνοντο.
56 Ἐκ τε οὖν τούτων καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς αὐτίας τῆς
τε ὑποθέσεως τοῦ πολέμου ἄξιολογώτατος ἄγων
συνηνέχθη. ἢ τε γὰρ πόλεις ή τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ
ἡ ἀρχὴ αὐτῆς ἀπασα, καὶ πολλῇ καὶ μεγάλῃ
ἡ ὅταν σφίσι προύκειτο· εὐθύχων γὰρ
που πᾶσιν ἦν ὅτι τῷ τότε κρατήσαντι δουλωθή
tοῖς τε οὖν ἐκλογιζόμενοι, καὶ προσέτει
tοι τῶν προτέρων ἔργων, Πομπήιος μὲν τῆς τε

1 ἄξιοστρατηγητότατοι Βκ., ἄξιοστρατηγηκότατοι Ι.
BOOK XLI

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

As a result of these circumstances and of the very cause and purpose of the war a most notable struggle took place. For the city of Rome and its entire empire, even then great and mighty, lay before them as the prize, since it was clear to all that it would be the slave of him who then conquered. When they reflected on this fact and furthermore thought of their former deeds,—Pompey of Africa, Sertorius,
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Ἀφρικής καὶ τοῦ Σερτωρίου τοῦ τε Μιθριδάτον καὶ τοῦ Τυγράνου καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης. Καὶ σαρ δὲ τῆς τε Γαλατίας καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας τοῦ τε Ῥήγου καὶ τῆς Βρεττανίας, ἀναμμηνησκόμενοι, καὶ κινδυνεύειν τε καὶ περὶ ἐκείνου ἡγούμενοι καὶ προσκτήσασθαι τὴν ἄλληλοι δόξαν σπουδὴν ποιούμενοι, ὄργων. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα τῶν ἡττημένων τοῖς κρατοῦσι προσγίγνεται καὶ ἡ εὐκλεία ὅτι μᾶλιστα· ὅσο γὰρ ἂν μεῖζον καὶ δυνατώτερόν τις ἀνταγωνιστῇ καθέλη, τόσῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ 57 μεῖζον αἴρεται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταίς πολλά μὲν παραπλήσια δ' οὖν ἄλληλοι παρῆγοσαν, εἰπόντες πάνθεον ὡσα ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ πρὸς τε τὸ αὐτίκα τοῦ κινδύνου καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔπεται πρέπει λέγεσθαι. ἐκ τε γὰρ τῆς αὐτῆς πολιτείας ὁρμώμενοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων 2 ποιούμενοι, καὶ ἄλληλοις τε τυράννοις καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐλευθερωτάς αὐτῶν ὄνομάζοντες, οὐδὲν σφίσι διάφορον εἰπεῖν ἔσχον, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἀποθανεῖν τοῖς δὲ σωθῆναι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν αἴχμαλῶτοις τοῖς δὲ ἐν δεσπότου μοίρα πάντα τε ἔχειν ἢ πάντων στερηθῆναι καὶ παθεῖν ἢ ποιῆσαι δεινό- 3 τατα ὑπάρξει. τοιαύτας οὖν ὑδ’ τινας παρανέσεις τοῖς πολίταις ποιησάμενοι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων τῶν τε συμμάχων πρὸς τε τὰς ἐπίδεικε τῶν κρεισσόνων καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φόβους τῶν χειρόνων προαγάγοντες, συνέβαλον ἄλληλοις τοὺς ὀμοφύλους, τοὺς συσκεύους, τοὺς συσσίτους, 4 τοὺς ὀμοσπόνδους. καὶ τί ἂν τις τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἰδύραιτο, ὡστέ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνου πάντα τε ταύτα ἄλληλοις δυντεσ, καὶ προσέτι πολλῶν μὲν λόγων ἀπορρήτων πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἔργον ὁμοιῶν κεκοινω-
BOOK XLI

Mithridates, Tigranes, and the sea, and Caesar of Gaul, Spain, the Rhine, and Britain,—they were wrought up to the highest pitch of excitement, believing that those conquests, too, were at stake, and each being eager to acquire the other's glory. For the renown of the vanquished, far more than his other possessions, becomes the property of the victor, since, the greater and more powerful the antagonist that a man overthrows, the greater is the height to which he himself is raised. Therefore they delivered to their soldiers also many exhortations, but very much alike on both sides, saying all that is fitting to be said on such an occasion with reference both to the immediate results of the struggle and to the subsequent results. As they both came from the same state and were talking about the same matters and calling each other tyrants and themselves liberators from tyranny of the men they addressed, they had nothing different to say on either side, but stated that it would be the lot of the one side to die, of the other to be saved, of the one side to be captives, of the other to enjoy the master's lot, to possess everything or to be deprived of everything, to suffer or to inflict a most terrible fate. After addressing some such exhortations to the citizens and furthermore trying to inspire the subject and allied contingents with hopes of a better lot and fears of a worse, they hurled at each other kinsmen, sharers of the same tent, of the same table, of the same libations. Yet why should any one, then, lament the fate of the others involved, when those very leaders, who were all these things to each other, and had, moreover, shared many secret plans and many exploits of like character,
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υηκότες, κήδος τε ποτε συναψάμενοι καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ παιδίον, ὁ μὲν ὃς πατήρ ὃ δὲ ὃς πάππος, ἀγαπήσαντες, ὅμως ἐμάχοντο; ὅσα γὰρ ἡ φύσις τὸ αἵμα αὐτῶν μίξαςα συνέδησε, τότε ταῦτα τῇ ἀπλήστῳ τῆς δυναστείας ἐπιθυμία διέλυνυ καὶ διέσπον καὶ διερήγυναν. καὶ δὴ ἐκεῖνοι\(^1\) καὶ ἩΡώμη περί τε ἐαυτῇ καὶ πρὸς ἐαυτὴν ἁμα κινδυνεύειν ἤμαγκάζετο, ὅστε καὶ νικῆσασα ἠτηθῆναι.

58 Τοιούτω μὲν ἀγῶνι συνηνέχθησαν οὐ μέντοι καὶ εὐθὺς συνέμεξαν, ἀλλ' οίδα ἐκ τε τῆς αὐτῆς πατρίδος καὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστίας ὁρμῶμενοι, καὶ τὰ τε ὅπλα παραπλήσια καὶ τὰς τάξεις ὁμοίας ἔχοντες, ὅκνουν μὲν ἄρξαι τῆς μάχης, ὅκνον δὲ καὶ φωνεῦσαι τινὰς ἐκάτεροι. συγή τε σὺν ἀμφοτέρως καὶ κατήφεια πόλη ἤπι, καὶ οὔτε τις αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ πρόσω προῆι\(^2\) οὔθ' ὅλως ἐκινεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐγκύψαντες ἢτρέμιζον ὡσπερ ἄψυχοι. φοβηθέντες οὖν ὁ τε Καίσαρ καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον ἰσχυσάντες ἀμβλύτεροι πως γένουται ἢ καὶ συναλλαγῶσι, προσέταξαν σπουδῆ τοῖς τε σαλπικταῖς σημῆναι καὶ ἐκεῖνοις συμβοῦσαι τὸ πολεμικὸν\(^3\) καὶ ἐπράξθη μὲν ἐκάτερον, τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐδέσαν ἐπιρρωσθῆναι ὃστε καὶ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἐκ τε τῆς τῶν σαλπικτῶν ἡχὸς ὁμοφωνοῦσης καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐαυτῶν βοῆς ὀμογλωσσός το τὸ ὀμόφυλον σφών ἐξέφηναν καὶ τὸ ὀμογενὲς ἐξήλεγαν, κἀκεῖνο τοῦ καὶ ἐς δάκρυα καὶ θρήνου ἔπεσον. ὁψ' δ' οὖν ποτὲ τῶν συμμαχικῶν προκαταρκήατων καὶ

1 ἐκεῖνος Bk., ἐκείνου L. 2 προῆι R. Steph., προῆιει L. 3 πολεμικὸν St., πολέμιον L.

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

Such was the struggle in which they joined; yet they did not immediately come to close quarters. Sprung from the same country and from the same hearth, with almost identical weapons and similar formation, each side shrank from beginning the battle, and shrank from slaying any one. So there was great silence and dejection on both sides; no one went forward or moved at all, but with heads bowed they stood motionless, as if devoid of life. Caesar and Pompey, therefore, fearing that if they remained quiet any longer their animosity might be lessened or they might even become reconciled, hurriedly commanded the trumpeters to give the signal and the men to raise the war cry in unison. Both orders were obeyed, but the combatants were so far from being imbued with courage, that at the sound of the trumpeters' call, uttering the same notes, and at their own shout, raised in the same language, they showed their sense of relationship and betrayed their kinship more than ever, and so fell to weeping and lamenting. But after a long time, when the allied troops began the battle, the rest also joined in, fairly
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ἐκεῖνοι συνέμεξαν, ἐκφρονεῖ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς γενόμενοι καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις, ὡς πάρρωθεν ἢ ἄλκη ἢν, ἦττον τὸ δεινὸν συνέβαινεν, οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰδότες οὐς ἔβαλλον, ἐτόξευον ἢκόντιζον ἐσφευρόνων οἱ δὲ δὴ ὀπλίται οἱ τε ἱππής χαλεπῶτατα ἀπῆλασσον, άτε γὰρ ἐγγὺς ἄλληλων ὄντες καὶ τι καὶ λαλεῖν σφισὶ δυνάμενοι ἐγνώριζον τε ἁμα τοὺς ἀντιπαρατατηγένοις καὶ ἐπικροσκον, ἀνεκάλουν καὶ ἐφόνευον, τῶν πα-3 τρίδων ἐμέμνηντο καὶ ἐσκύλευον. ταῦτα μὲν οἳ τε Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἳ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας συστατευόμενοι σφισὶν, οποῦ ποτὲ προστύχοιεν ἄλληλοι, καὶ ἐπιπραντον καὶ ἐπασχον καὶ πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ οἴκαδε δι' αὐτῶν τῶν σφαγέων 4 ἐνετέλλοντο, τὸ δὲ ὑπήκοον καὶ προδύμωσι καὶ ἀφειδῶς ἐμάχετο, πολλὴν σπουδὴν, ὡστερ ποτὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς σφετέρας ἐλευθερίας, οὕτω τότε κατὰ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων δουλείας ποιούμενοι, ἐπιθυμία, ἀτε ἐν πάσιν αὐτῶν ἐλαττούμενοι, ὀμοδούλους σφάς ἔχειν.

60 Μεγίστη τε οὖν ἡ μάχη καὶ πολυτροπωτάτη διά τε ταῦτα καὶ διά τὸ πλήθος τὸ τε πολυειδὲς τῆς παρασκευής ἐγένετο. πάμπολλοι μὲν γὰρ ὀπλίται πάμπολλοι δὲ καὶ ἱππής, τοξόται τε ἐτεροί καὶ σφευροῦνται ἄλλοι ὄντες, τὸ τε πεδίον πάν κατέλαβον, καὶ σκεδασθέντες πολλαχῇ μὲν ἄλληλοις οἷα ὀμόσκευοι, πολλαχῇ δὲ καὶ ἐτέρους 2 ἀναμίξε ἐμάχοντο. προείχον δὲ οἳ Πομπηίειοι τῇ τε ἱππείᾳ καὶ τῇ τοξείᾳ, καὶ διά τοῦτο πάρρωθεν τε ἐγκυκλούμενοι τινὰς προσβολαῖς αἰφνιδίοις

1 ἔπρ Β. καὶ L.
2 ὑπὲρ R. Steph. καὶ L.

100
beside themselves at what they were doing. Those who fought at long range were less sensible of the horror, as they shot their arrows, hurled their javelins, and discharged their slings without knowing whom they hit; but the heavy-armed troops and the cavalry had a very hard time of it, as they were close to each other and could even talk a little back and forth; at one and the same moment they would recognize those who confronted them and would wound them, would call them by name and would slaughter them, would recall the towns they had come from and would despoil them. Such were the deeds both done and suffered by the Romans and by the others from Italy who were with them on the campaign, wherever they met each other. Many sent messages home through their very slayers. But the subject force fought both zealously and relentlessly, showing great zeal, as once to win their own freedom, so now to secure the slavery of the Romans; they wanted, since they were reduced to inferiority to them in all things, to have them as fellow-slaves.

Thus it was a very great battle and full of diverse incidents, partly for the reasons mentioned and partly on account of the numbers and the variety of the armaments. There were vast bodies of heavy-armed soldiers, vast bodies of cavalry, in another group archers and still others that were slingers, so that they occupied the whole plain, and scattered over it, they fought often with each other, since they belonged to the same arms, but often also with men of the other arms indiscriminately. The Pompeians surpassed in cavalry and archers; hence they would surround troops at a distance, employ sudden assaults,
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ἔχρωντο, καὶ συνταράξαντες αὐτοὺς ἐξανεχόρουν, εἰτ' αὕθις καὶ μᾶλ' αὕθις ἐπετίθεντο σφισὶ, τοτὲ 3 μὲν ἐνταύθα τοτὲ δὲ ἐκείσε μεθιστάμενοι. οἱ ὁνὶν Καισάρειοι ταῦτά τε ἐφυλάσσοντο, καὶ τὰς τάξεις σφῶν ἐξελίσσοντες ἀντιπρόσωποι τε ἀεὶ τοῖς προσβάλλουσιν 1 ἐγίγνοντο καὶ ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς χωροῦντες τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν Ἰππῶν 2 ἀντελαμβάνοντο, προθύμως ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ γὰρ πεζοὶ τοῖς ἵππευσιν αὐτῶν κούφοι ἐπ' αὐτὸ 4 τούτῳ συνετετάχατο. καὶ ταῦτα οὐ καθ' ἐν, 3 ὀσπερ εἶπον, ἀλλὰ πολλαχῇ ἀμα σποράδην ἐγίγνετο, ὡστε τῶν μὲν πόρρωθεν μαχομένων τῶν δὲ συσταδὸν ἀγωνιζομένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν παῖοντων τινὰς τῶν δὲ πατασσομένων, φευγόντων ἐτέρων, διωκόντων ἄλλων, 4 πολλάς μὲν πεζομαχίας 5 πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἰππομαχίας ὅφασθαι. καὶ τούτῳ καὶ παρὰ δόξαν 5 συχνὰ συνέβαινε. καὶ γὰρ τρέψας τὶς τινὰ ἐτρέπετο, καὶ ἄλλος ἐκκλίνας τινὰ ἀντεπετίθετο αὐτῷ πλῆξας τις ἐτέρων αὐτὸς ἐτισμόκετο, καὶ πεπτωκός ἄλλος τὸν ἐστηκότα ἀπεκτίνυμε. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἁρωτοὶ ἐθυνοῦσιν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἡμιμυθήτες 6 ἐφόνευον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἑξαίρον καὶ ἑπανωίζου, οἱ δὲ ἐξυπουντό καὶ ὁλοφύρωντο, ὡστε βοῆς καὶ στεναγμῶν πάντα πληρωθῆναι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν πλείονι καὶ ἐκ τούτου ταραχὴν ἐγγενέσθαι (τὰ γὰρ λεγόμενα ἀσημά σφισι διά τε τὸ ἀλλοθνῆς καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀλλόθρου ὅτα δεινῶς αὐτοὺς

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

61 Τέλος δὲ, ἱσορρόπως αὐτῶν ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἀγωνισμένων, καὶ πολλῶν ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὁμοίως καὶ πεσόντων καὶ πρωθέτων, ὁ Πομπήιος ἀτε καὶ Ἁσιανὸν καὶ ἀγύμναστον τὸ πλεῖον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔχων ᾑστήθη, ὡσπερ ποὺ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἔργου οἱ ἐδεδήλωτο· κεραυνοὶ το γὰρ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ ἐσέπεσον, καὶ πῦρ ἀέριον ὑπέρ τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ταφρείας φανέν ἐς τὴν ἐκείνου κατέ- σκηψε, τὰ τε σημεία αὐτοῦ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ μελισσαί περιέσχον, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ιερείων αὐτοῖς ἤδη τοῖς βυζίους προσαγόμενα ἐξέδρα.

3 καὶ οὖτω γε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ὁ ἅγων ἐκείνον ἔτεινεν ὡστε πολλαχόθι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τῆς μάχης ἡμέρᾳ καὶ στρατόπεδον συνόδους καὶ ὀπλῶν κτύπους συμβῆναι, ἐν τῷ Περγάμῳ τυμπάνου τέ τινα καὶ κυμβάλων ψόφου ἐκ τοῦ Διονυσίου ἀρθέντα διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως χωρῆσαι, καὶ ἐν Τράλλεσι φοινικὰ τε ἐν τῷ τῆς Νίκης ναῷ ἀναφύναι καὶ τὴν θεὸν αὐτὴν πρὸς εἰκόνα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐν πλαγίῳ που κειμένην μεταστράφηναι, τοῖς τε Σύρως δύο τινὰς νεανί- σκοις τὸ τέλος τῆς μάχης ἀγγείλαντας ἀφανεῖς γενέσθαι, καὶ ἐν Παταοῦῖῳ τῆς νῦν Ἰταλίας τότε ἔτι Γαλατίας ὄρμισθας τινὰς οὐχ ὦτι διαγγείλαι 5 αὐτὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ δειξαὶ τρόπον τινά· Γάιος γὰρ τις Κορνήλιος πάντα τα γενόμενα ἀκριβῶς τε ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐτεκμήριατο καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐξηγῆσατο.

1 πολλαχόθι ἐν Rk., πολλαχόθεν L.
another suffered a calamity many times worse; for in addition to their own misfortunes they could hear and at the same time see those of their neighbours. At last, after they had carried on an evenly-balanced struggle for a very long time and many on both sides alike had fallen or been wounded, Pompey, since the larger part of his army was Asiatic and untrained, was defeated, even as had been made clear to him before the action. For thunderbolts had fallen upon his camp, a fire had appeared in the air over Caesar’s camp and had then fallen upon his own, bees had swarmed about his military standards, and many of the victims after being led up close to the very altar had run away. And so far did the effects of that contest extend to the rest of mankind that on the very day of the battle collisions of armies and the clash of arms occurred in many places. In Pergamum a noise of drums and cymbals rose from the temple of Dionysus and spread throughout the city; in Tralles a palm tree grew up in the temple of Victory and the goddess herself turned about toward an image of Caesar that stood beside her; in Syria two young men announced the result of the battle and vanished; and in Patavium, which now belongs to Italy but was then still a part of Gaul, some birds not only brought news of it but even acted it out to some extent, for one Gaius Cornelius drew from their actions accurate information of all that had taken place, and narrated it to
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tauta men en authe ektein tis hmera ws eksta

2

suvenexethi, kai paraphrhma men hysteito, osteper eikos hen, anggelthenton de toiv praxthentwv ethamazeto.

62 Twn de dih Pumtneiowwn toiv mou en xerai

ftharenwv oi men en evphon othi pote hdnnehtesan,

oi de kai meta toito . . . . 3 kai autwn o

Kaisar tois men en tw tetagonwv stratenvmenwv

es tae auton stratopeda esegraphe, mhdewn sfiis

2

muhsikakhsa, twn de dih bouleotwn toiv te

ippevou dhous men kai proteron pote hrekhos

hleukei aptekineve, plhn ei tinas ois filoi auton

xepthsanton (toitois gar eina ekastow tite sydai

3

sunechorese), tois de loutous tois tote prwton

antipolemhsanta autw afikhen, eipwv oti "oide

me dhikekaisin ois tae to to Pumtiniou filou sfiswn

ontos espoondasan, mhdemian ev ergesian par'

4

emou echontes," to de autw toito kai prois tous

dunastas tois te deisous tois svaramwvous ois

epooispe passi gar autois sunegyvoi, enwv oti

autow men he tina he oidev 6 autow hpsistosto, par'

ekelov de de polela kai agathl proepetonthesan.

5 kai polu ge toitous malon echmei twn

evrgesian men tina para to Pumtiniou pro-

labonton, en de de tois kivdwnois auton egekatal-

ponton tois men gar kai eautw di eunouas

exesthai hlepike, tois de, eis kai tae malwstta edoxan

ti ois xarisasathai, alla prodotas ge tov wwn

1 eksta Oddey, hysta L.

2 mou Reim., men L.

3 Lacuna recognized by Xyl.

4 ei H. Steph., L.

5 me H. Steph., men L.

6 he tina he oidev Cobet, he oidev he tina L.
the bystanders. These several things happened on that very same day and though they were, not unnaturally, distrusted at the time, yet when news of the actual facts was brought, they were marvelled at.

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

1 This is the idea to be supplied if we follow Plutarch (Caes. 46, 2); but Caesar's own account (B.C. iii. 98 f.) would suggest rather "surrendered."
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φίλου γενομένους οὐδὲ ἐαυτοῦ ποτε φείσεσθαι. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι Σαδάλου μὲν τοῦ Θρακοῦ καὶ Δηιστάρου τοῦ Γαλάτου, καίτοι καὶ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ γενομένων, Ταρκονδιμότου τε ἐν μέρει μὲν τινὶ τῆς Κιλικίας δυναστεύοντος, πλείστον δὲ αὐτῶ πρὸς τὰ ναυτικὰ βοηθήσαντος,

2 ἐφείσατο. τὶ γὰρ δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰς συμμαχίας πέμψαντας καταλέγειν, οἷς καὶ αὐτοῖς συγγνώμην ἔνειμε, χρήματα μόνον παρ’ αὐτῶν λαβὼν; ἄλλο γὰρ οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐδρασε σφας οὔτ’ ἀφείλετο, καίτερ πολλῶν πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, τὰ μὲν πάλαι τὰ δὲ καὶ τὸτε, παρὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου

3 εἰληφότοι. μέρος μὲν γὰρ τὸ τῆς Ἀρμενίας τῆς τοῦ Δηιστάρου γενομένης Ἀριοβαρζάνει τῷ τῆς Καππαδοκίας βασιλεῖ ἐδωκεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸν Δηιστάρον ἐν τούτῳ τι ἔβλαψεν, ἄλλα καὶ προσευργέτησεν ὃς γὰρ ἔκειλον τὴν χώραν ἀπετέμετο, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ Φαρνάκου πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀρμενίαν καταληφθεῖσαν καταλαβὼν τὸ μὲν τι αὐτῆς τῷ Ἀριοβαρζάνει τὸ δὲ δὴ τῷ Δηιστάρῳ ἑχαρίσατο.

4 καὶ τούτοις μὲν οὕτως ἑχρίσατο τῷ δὲ δὴ Ἰάρνακη προβαλλομένῳ ὅτι μὴ προσαμύναι τῷ Πομπηίῳ, κακὸ τούτοις συγγνώμης ἐφ’ οἷς ἐπετοιχεῖ τυχεῖν ἁξιοῦντι, οὔτε ἐνείμεν ἐπιεικὲς οὐδὲν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ αὐτὸ τοῖτ’ ἐπεκάλεσεν, ὅτι καὶ ποιησὼς καὶ ἀνάσιος περὶ τὸν ἐνευργήτην ἐγένετο. τοσαύτῃ μὲν καὶ φιλανθρωπία καὶ ἅρετὴ πρὸς ἀπαντὰς τοὺς ἀντιπολεμήσαντας αὐτῷ ἐπίταν ἑχρήτῳ ἀμέλει

1 φείσεσθαι Η. Steph., φείσασθαι L.
2 Ταρκονδιμότου R. Steph., ταρκονδιμότου L.
3 αὐτῶν R. Steph., αὐτοῦ L.
4 ἀφείλετο St., ἀφείλατο L.
5 προσευργέτησεν St., προσευργέτησεν L.
6 ἐπίταν Kuiper, ἐπηταν L.

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crisis they would, on occasion, not spare him either. A proof of his feeling is that he spared Sadalus the Thracian and Deiotarus the Galatian, who had been in the battle, and Tarcondimotus, who was ruler of a portion of Cilicia and had been of the greatest assistance to Pompey in the matter of ships. But what need is there to enumerate the rest who had sent auxiliaries, to whom also he granted pardon, merely exacting money from them? He did nothing else to them and took from them nothing else, though many had received numerous large gifts from Pompey, some long ago and some just at that time. He did give a certain portion of Armenia that had belonged to Deiotarus, to Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, yet in this he did not injure Deiotarus at all, but rather conferred an additional favour upon him. For he did not curtail his territory, but after occupying all of Armenia previously occupied by Pharnaces, he bestowed one part of it upon Ariobarzanes and another part upon Deiotarus. These men, then, he treated in this wise. Pharnaces, on his side, made a plea that he had not assisted Pompey and therefore, in view of his behaviour, deserved to obtain pardon; but Caesar showed him no consideration, and furthermore reproached him for this very thing, that he had proved himself base and impious toward his benefactor. Such humanity and uprightness did he show throughout to all those who had fought against him. At any rate, all the letters that were
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καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ ¹ ἀπόθετα τὰ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Πομπηίου κιβωτίοις εὑρεθέντα, ὡσά τινών τὴν τὸν πρὸς ἑκεῖνον εὔνοιαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν δύσνοιαν ἥλεγχεν, οὕτ' ἀνέγνω οὕτ' ἐξεγράψατο ἄλλ' ἐν εὐθὺς κατέφλεξεν, ὡσά μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν δεινὸν ἀναγκασθῇ ἡρᾶσαι, ὡστε τινὰ καὶ διὰ ταύτα τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσαντας αὐτῷ μεσήσαι. τούτο δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως εἰπον, ἄλλ' ὅτι καὶ ὁ Καπίων ἡ Βροῦτος ὁ Μάρκος, ὁ μετὰ τούτο αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας, καὶ ἕαλω ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔσωθη.

¹ τὰ added by Rk. ² Καπίων Leuncl., καπίων L.
found filed away in Pompey's chests which convicted any persons of good-will toward the latter or ill-will toward himself he neither read nor had copied, but burned them immediately, in order not to be forced by what was in them to take severe measures; and for this reason, if no other, one ought to hate the men who plotted against him. I make this statement with a particular purpose, since Marcus Brutus Caepio, who afterwards killed him, was not only captured by him but also spared.
Τάδε ἤνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαιών

a. Ὅσο Πομπήιος ὑπηθεὶς ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ἔφυγεν εἰς Αἰγυπτὸν καὶ ἀπέθανεν.

b. Ὅσο Καίσαρ Πομπήιον ἐπιδιώκων εἰς Αἰγυπτὸν ἤλθεν.

c. Ὅσο ἡγεῖτό τὰ κατὰ Καίσαρα καὶ Πομπήιον εἰς 'Ρώμην καὶ ἐ ἐπηφίσαντο τῷ Καίσαρι.

d. Ὅσο ἐστασίασαν οἱ ὧν 'Ρώμη παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀποδημάνω.

e. Ὅσο Καίσαρ Αἰγυπτός πολεμήσας κατεστρέψατο αὐτοὺς καὶ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ ἐχαρίσατο.

f. Ὅσο Καίσαρ Φαρνάκην ἐνίκησεν.

g. Ὅσο Καίσαρ ἐσ 'Ρώμην ἐπανήλθε καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ κατεστήσατο.

h. Ὅσο Καίσαρ ἐσ 'Αφρικήν ἐστράτευσεν.

Χρόνου πλῆθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Γ. Ιουλίου Καίσαρος τὸ β' καὶ Πομπήιον Σερευλίου Ἰσαυρικοῦ ὑπατεῖας καὶ ἀλλο ἔτος ἐν, ἐν ὧ ἀρχομετοί ὧν ἀριθμόμενοι οἴδε ἐγένοτο

Γ. 'Ιουλίος Γ. ο. Καίσαρ δικτάτωρ τὸ β' 3
M. 'Αντώνιος M. ο. Ἱππαρχος ὑπάτω δὲ
K. Φούφιος K. ο. Καλήν ων
P. Ουάτίνιος 4 Π. ο. ι.

Ἡ μὲν οὖν μάχη τοιαύτη δή τις ἐγένετο, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὁ Πομπήιος πάντων τῶν ἐαυτοῦ πραγμάτων παραχρῆμα ἀπέγνω, καὶ οὐκέτ' οὔτε 5 τῆς ἱδίας ἀρετῆς οὔτε τοῦ τῶν λοιπῶν στρατιωτῶν

1 & supplied by Xyl. (in transl.).
2 τῆς Γ. Βσ., τῆς Reim., ἐτῆς 7 L.
3 L has ὑπ' after β'; Xyl. deleted.
BOOK XLII

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Such was the general character of the battle. As a result of it Pompey straightway despaired of all his projects and no longer took any account of his own valour or of the multitude of troops remaining

4 οὐατίνιος R. Steph., οὐαντίνως L.
5 οὔτε Pflugk, οὐδὲ L.
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πλήθουσιν οὔθ’ ὁτι πολλάκις ἡ τύχη δι’ ἐλαχίστον τοὺς πταίσαντας ἀναλαμβάνει λογισμὸν τινα ἐποίησατο, καίπερ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ πλείον μὲν τὸ εὐθυμον πλείον δὲ τὸ εὐελπὶ παρὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐσφάλη ἢ ἔτε ποτὲ σχόλιν.

2 αἰτίων δὲ ἦν ἐν μὲν ἐκείνως ἀντίπαλος ὡς πλήθει τοῖς ἐναντίοις δυν ὁτι προελάμβανε τῇ γνώμῃ τὴν νίκην, ἀλλ’ ἐπ’ ἀμφότερα τὴν ἐκβασιν τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐν τῷ τῷ ταρσοῦντι καὶ πρὶν ἐστὶ καταπλῆξιν τινα ἀφικέσθαι, προσκοπῶν οὐκ ἡμέλει τῆς τοῦ χείρονοσ θεραπείας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐθ’ ὑπείκειν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἡμακάζετο καὶ ἀναμάξεσθαι ῥάδιος ἐδώνατο, τότε δὲ πολλῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος περισχήσεω κλήσεως οὔδεν προείδετο.

3 οὐκοῦν ὁδὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν ἐπιτηδείᾳ ἐποίησατο, οὐδ’ ἀναφυγήν οὐδεμίαν ἠττηθέντι οἱ παρεσκεύασε· τρίψα οἱ δυνηθείς δυν τὰ πράγματα, καὶ τούτου ἁμαχεὶ κρατῆσαι (στρατόσ τὸ γὰρ καθ’ ἐκάστῃν ἠμέραν αὐτῷ προσεγίγνοτο, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεία ἁφίονα ἀτέ εν τῇ φιλίᾳ τῇ πλείοτη χώρα ὧν καὶ ναυκρατῶν εἰχέν), ὡμώς, εἰτε ἐθέλοντος ὡς καὶ πάντως νικησών, εἰτε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν συνόντων ἐκβιασθείς, συνέβαλε. καὶ διὰ ταύτ’, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐνικήθη, δεώς ἐξεπλάγη καὶ οὔτε τι 2 βούλευμα καίριον οὔτ’ ἐλπίδα βεβαιαν ἔσ τὸ ἀνακινδυνεύσαι ἔσχεν. ὅταν γὰρ τι ἀπροσδοκήτως τέ τινι καὶ μετὰ πλείστον παραλόγου προσπέσῃ, τὸ τῇ φρόνημα αὐτοῦ ταπεινοὶ καὶ τὸ λογιζόμενον ἐκπλήσσει, ὡστ’ αὐτὸν κάκιστον τοῖς καὶ ἀσθενεστάτον τῶν πρακτέων κρίτην γενέσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἐζήλουσιν οἱ

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

2 Διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος, ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτῶν προενόησε, καὶ γυμνὸς καὶ ἀφρακτός εὐρέθη, τάχ' ἂν μὴ χαλεπῶς, εἴτε τι προεώρατο, πάντα διὰ ταχέων ἀνακτησάμενος. τῶν τε γὰρ μεμαχημένων συχνοὶ περιεχεγόνεσαν, καὶ ἔτερας δυνάμεις οὐ σμικρὰς εἶχε· τὸ τε μέγιστον καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐκέκτητο καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀπάσης ἐκράτει, αἳ τε πόλεις καὶ αἱ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ δυστυχήσαντα αὐτὸν

2 ἡγάπων. νῦν δ' ἐπειδήπερ ἐφ' ὃ μᾶλλον ἐθάρσει κακῶς ἀπῆλλαξεν, οὐδὲ ἐκέινων οὔδειν ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτίκα τοῦ φόβου προσβολῆς ἐχρήσατο, ἀλλὰ τὸ τε ἔρμα εὐθὺς ἐξέλυσε καὶ πρὸς Δάμια-

3 σαν μετ' ὀλίγων ἔφυγε. καὶ ἔσεν τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἐσῆλθε καίτοι τῶν Δαμισσαίων ἐσκαλούντων, φοβηθεῖς μὴ τινα αὐτίαν ἐκ τούτου ὁφλωσίν. ἀλλ' ἐκείνως μὲν τῷ κρατοῦντι προσχωρήσαι ἐκέλευεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ τε ἐπιτήδεια λαβὼν καὶ ἔπι τῆς θάλασσας καταβὰς ἐς Δέσβουν ὤλκάδι 2 πρὸς τε τὴν γυναῖκα τῆς Κορνηλίαν καὶ πρὸς τοῦ νῦν

4 τὸν Σέξτον 3 ἐπέλευσε. καὶ αὐτοὺς παραλαβὼν καὶ μῆδε ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην 4 ἐσελθὼν ἐς Αἰ-

γυπτοῦ ἀπῆρε, συμμαχίαν παρὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαῖον τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος αὐτῆς σχήσειν ἐπισίας· τοῦ τε γὰρ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ διὰ τοῦ Γαβρίου τὴν

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

Hence Pompey, also, having considered none of the chances beforehand, was found naked and defenceless, whereas, if he had taken any precautions, he might, perhaps, without trouble have quickly recovered everything. For large numbers of the combatants on his side had survived and he had other forces of no small importance. Above all, he possessed large sums of money and was master of the whole sea, and the cities both there and in Asia were devoted to him even in his misfortune. But, as it was, since he had fared ill where he felt most confident, through the fear that seized him at the moment he made no use of any one of these resources, but left the camp at once and fled with a few companions toward Larissa. He did not enter the city, although the inhabitants invited him to do so, because he feared that they might incur some blame in consequence; but bidding them go over to the victor, he himself took provisions, went down to the sea, and sailed away on a merchantman to Lesbos, to his wife Cornelia and his son Sextus. After taking them on board, he did not enter Mitylene either, but departed for Egypt, hoping to secure an auxiliary force from Ptolemy, the king of that country. This was the son of that Ptolemy who had received back the kingdom at his hands,
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βασιλείαν παρ’ αυτοῦ ἀπολαβόντος υἱὸς ἦν, καὶ
dia τούτου καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐς ἐπικουρίαν οἱ ἐπε-
5 πόμφει. ἦκουσα μὲν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ἐς Πάρθους
φυγεῖν ἐβουλεύσατο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πιστεύειν
ἐχω. ἐκείνοι τε γὰρ τοὺς τε Ῥωμαίους πάντας,
ἀφ’ οὐ σφισίν ὁ Κράσσος ἐπεστράτευσε, καὶ
tὸν Πομπήιον μάλιστα ἄτε καὶ προσήκοντα αὐτῷ,
οὕτως ἐμίσουν ὅστε καὶ τὸν πρεσβευτὴν αὐτοῦ
πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς βοηθείας ἐλθόντα δῆσαι
6 καίπερ βουλευτὴν ὄντα καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος οὐκ ἂν
ποτὲ τοῦ πολεμιστῶν, οὐ γε1 εἰ πράττων οὐκ
ἐτετυχήκει, ἵκετης ὑπεμείνει δυστυχήσας γενέσθαι.

3 Ἀλλ’ ἐς τὴν Ἀγγυπτὸν δι’ ἄπερ εἶπον ὀρμησε,
καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἤπειρον μέχρι Κιλικίας κομισθεὶς
ἐκείθεν πρὸς τὸ Πηλούσιον ἐπεραιόθη, ὅπου ὁ
Πτολεμαίος Κλεοπάτρα τῇ2 ἀδελφῇ πολέμων
2 ἐστρατοπεδεύετο. ταῖς τε ναῦσι ἀνοκωχεύσας3:
ἐπεμψὲ τινα, τῆς τε πατρίδας αὐτῶν εὐεργεσίας
ἀναμμηνήσκων καὶ δεόμενος ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς τε τισι
καὶ βεβαιοὶ καταχθῆναι· ἐκβῆναι γὰρ πρὸν
3 ἀσφαλειάν τινα λαβεῖν οὐκ ἔθαρση. καὶ αὐτῷ
ὁ μὲν Πτολεμαῖος οὐδὲν (παῖσι γὰρ ἔτι κομιδὴ ἦν)
ἀπεκρίνατο, τῶν δὲ δὴ Ἀγγυπτίων τινὲς καὶ Δού-
κιος Σεπτίμιος ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος, συνεστρατευκῶς μὲν
ποτὲ τῷ Πομπηίῳ, συγγεγονὼς δὲ τῷ Γαβριῶ
καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνου τῷ Πτολεμαῖῳ μετὰ στρατιωτῶν
4 ἐς φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ καταλελειμμένους, ἠλθον μὲν
ὡς φίλοι, ἐπεβουλευσαν δὲ ἀνοσίας, καὶ ἐκ τοῦτο
προστράταιοι καὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τῇ Ἀγγυπτῷ πάσῃ
προσέδεντο· αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀπώλοντο,

1 οὐ γε Rk., οὔτε L. 2 τῇ supplied by R. Steph.
3 ἀνοκωχεύσας Dind., ἀνακωχεύσας L.

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

He set out, then, for Egypt, for the reasons mentioned, and after coasting along the shore as far as Cilicia crossed from there to Pelusium, where Ptolemy was encamped while making war upon his sister Cleopatra. Bringing the ships to anchor, he sent some men to remind the prince of the favour shown his father and to ask that he be permitted to land under certain definite guarantees; for he did not venture to disembark before obtaining some guarantee of safety. Ptolemy gave him no answer, for he was still a mere boy, but some of the Egyptians and Lucius Septimius, a Roman who had once served with Pompey and after becoming associated with Gabinius had been left behind by him with some troops to guard Ptolemy, came in the guise of friends; but they impiously plotted against him and by their act brought a curse upon themselves and all Egypt. For not only did they themselves
καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ δουλεύειν, ὅπερ ἦκιστα ἔβουλοντο, 1 παρεδόθησαν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπῆκοον ἐσ- 4 εγράφησαν. ἐν δ’ οὖν τῷ τότε Σεπτήμιος καὶ Ἀχίλλας ὁ στρατιάρχος, ἄλλοι τε μετ’ αὐτῶν ὄντες, ἔτοιμως ἔφασαν ἐσδέξεσθαι2 τὸν Πομ- πήλων, ὅπως ὁς μᾶς ἀπατηθεῖσι ἀλοίπη; 3 καὶ τούτῳ τε ἐλθόντας παρ’ αὐτοῦ προεπέμψαν, θαρ- σεῖν σφας ἔνιοι κελεύσαντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ τούτο ἀκατίων ἐπιβάντες προσεπέλευσαν αὐτῷ, 2 καὶ τά τε ἀλλὰ ἐφιλοφρονήσαντο αὐτὸν καὶ ἥξιόσαν πρὸς ἐαυτοὺς μετεκβήναι, λέγοντες μήτε τινά ναύν4 δύνασθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους διὰ τὰ βράχη πρὸς τὴν γῆν προσσχεῖν,5 καὶ τὸν Πτολε- μαίον ἐν πολλῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ εἶναι θάσσον αὐτὸν 3 ἰδεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὗτο, καὶ τοῖς πάντων ὦν τῶν σύμπλων ἀπαγορευόντων, πιστεύσας αὐτοῖς . . . 6 τοσούτω μόνον εἰπὼν,

"ὡς γὰρ ως τύραννον ἐμπορεύεται, κείνου στὶ δοῦλος, καὶ ἐλευθερος μόλης."

4 οἱ δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἐγγύς τῆς γῆς ἐγένοτο, φοβηθέντες μὴ καὶ ἐντυχῶν τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ σωθῆ εἴτε ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων (καὶ γὰρ εὐνοιαν αὐτοῦ7 μεγάλην εἴχον), ἀπέκτειναν αὐτὸν πρὶν καταπελεύσαι, μηδὲν μὴτ’ εἰπόντα μήτ’

1 ἔβουλοντο R. Steph., ἔβουλοντο L.
2 ἐσδέξεσθαι Dind., ἐσδέξεσθαι L.
3 ἀλοίπη Dind., ἀλώη L.
4 ναύν supplied by Jacoby.
5 προσσχεῖν Bk., προσσχεῖν L.
6 At least one word is wanting here, though no lacuna is indicated in L. The scribe of L conjectured ἔξηλθε.
7 αὐτοῦ supplied by Reim.
BOOK XLII

perish not long afterward, but the Egyptians for their part were first delivered to be slaves of Cleopatra, which they particularly disliked, and later were enrolled among the subjects of Rome. At this time, then, Septimius and Achillas, the commander-in-chief, and others who were with them declared they would readily receive Pompey, their purpose being that he might be the more easily deceived and ensnared. So they sent his messengers on ahead, after some had bidden them be of good cheer, and afterwards the conspirators themselves embarked on some small boats and sailed out to him. After many friendly greetings they begged him to come over to their boats, declaring that by reason of its size and the shallow water a ship could not come close to land and that Ptolemy was very eager to see him promptly. Accordingly, though all his fellow-voyagers urged him not to do so, [he changed boats], trusting in his hosts and saying merely:

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

Now when they drew near the land, fearing that if he met Ptolemy he might be saved, either by the king himself or by the Romans who were with him or by the Egyptians, who regarded him with very kindly feelings, they killed him before sailing into the harbour. He uttered not a word and made
5 όδυράμενον. ός γαρ τάχιστα τής τε ἐπιβουλής ἦσθετο, καὶ έγνω ὅτι οὐτ' ἀμύνασθαι σφας οὔτε διαφυγεῖν δυνήσεται, συνεκαλύψατο.

5 Τοιούτου μὲν τὸ τέλος τῷ Πομπήῳ ἐκείνῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐγένετο, ὡστε καὶ διὰ τούτου τήν τε ἀσθένειαν καὶ τὴν ἀτοπίαν τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους ἐλεγχθῆναι. προμηθείας τε γαρ οὐδὲν ἐλλείπον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ κακουργήσαι τε δυνάμενον ἀσφαλε-στατος αἱ πολλὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῇ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ παραδόξους καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἑκ μειρακίου ἀνελόμενος ἡττήθη παραλόγως ὁκτὼ τε καὶ

3 πενθηκοντούτης ὄν, τὴν τε θάλασσαν τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων πάσαν ἧμερώσας ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ διώλετο, καὶ χιλιῶν ποτὲ νεὼν, ὡς ὁ λόγος ἔχει, ἀρξας ἐν πλωιαρίῳ τινί, πρὸς τῇ Ἀλγυπτῷ καὶ πρὸς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τρόπον τινὰ οὗ ποτὲ τὸν πατέρα ἐστε ἐκείνην ἁμα καὶ ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν κατήγαγε, διεφθάρη δὲ γὰρ τοι καὶ τότε ἐτί στρατιῶται Ῥωμαίοι διὰ τήν τοῦ Πομπῆίου χάριν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαβρίου, διὰ τὸ τῶν Ἀλγυπτῶν ἐς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ μῖσος, καταλειφθέντες ἐφρούρουν, οὕτως αὐτὸν δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐκατέρων ἀπεκτούναι

5 ἔδοξε. Πομπῆιος μὲν δὴ κράτιστος πρότερον Ῥωμαίων νομισθεὶς, ὡστε καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονα αὐτοῦ ἐπικαλείσθαι, τότε καθάπερ τις καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν

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

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

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

2 Plutarch (Pomp. 67, 3; Caes. 41, 1) says that Domitius Ahenobarbus styled him Agamemnon and King of Kings in order to bring him into disfavour.
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Αἰγυπτίων ἔσχατος, πρὸς τῷ Κασίφ 1 ὅρει καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ἡ ποτε τὰ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου καὶ τὰ τῶν καταποντιστῶν ἐπινίκια ἤγαγεν, ἐσφάγη.

6 ὥστε μὴ δὲν μὴ δὲν ἐν τούτῳ ὀμολογηθῆναι ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ τὰ λαμπρότατα πρίν πράξας τότε τὰ ἀλγεινότατα ἔπαθε, καὶ ἐς πάντας τοὺς πολίτας τους Κασσίους ἐκ χρησμοῦ τινος ὑποπτεύων πρὸς μὲν ἀνδρὸς 2 Κασσίου οὐδένος ἑπεβουλεύθη, παρὰ δὲ δὴ τῷ ὅρει τῷ την ἐπίκλησιν τάνταν ἔχοντι καὶ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἐτάφη.

7 τῶν δὲ δὴ συμπλεόντων αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα ἔδωσαν οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔφηγον, ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ παῖς ἦ τε γυνὴ αὐτοῖ. καὶ ἡ μὲν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ ταῦτα ἄδειας τυχοῦσα ἀνεσώθη, ὅ δὲ δὴ Σέξτος ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικήν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Γναῖνον ἐκομίζθη· τούτοις γὰρ δὴ τοῖς ὀνόμασι διακεκρίδαται, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τοῦ Πομπήιου πρόσφησιν ἀμφότεροι ἔχον.

6 Καίσαρ δὲ ὡς τότε μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὰ κατεπείγοντα διψκήσατο, τὴν μὲν Ἑλλάδα τὰ τε λοιπὰ τὰ ταύτη ἄλλοις τινὶ καὶ προσποιεῖσθαι καὶ καθίστασθαι προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν Πομπήιον ἐπεδίωξε. καὶ μέχρι μὲν τῆς Ἀσίας κατὰ πῦστιν αὐτοῦ προϊόν 3 ἤπειρθη, ἔνταυθα δὲ, ἐπειδῆ μηδεὶς

2 ὅτη πεπλευκὼς ἦν ἡπίστατο, ἐνδιέτρψεν. οὕτω δ’ οὖν ἐν τῇ πάντα αὐτῷ προεύρηκεν ὅστε καὶ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντου ἐν πορθμείῳ τοῖ τεραυώμενος ἐνέτυχε μὲν τῷ τοῦ Πομπήιου ναυτικῷ μετὰ τοῦ Κασσίου τοῦ Δούκιον πλέοντι, οὗ μόνον δὲ οὐδὲν δεινὸν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐπαθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσκατα-

1 Κασίφ v. Herw., κασσίου L. 2 ἀνδρός Xiph., ἀνδρῶν L. 3 προϊόν Louncl., προσιῶν L.

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

Caesar, when he had attended to pressing demands after the battle and had assigned Greece and the rest of that region to certain others to win over and reduce, set out himself in pursuit of Pompey. He hurried forward as far as Asia following information received about him, and there waited for a time, since no one knew which way he had sailed. Everything turned out favourably for him; for instance, while crossing the Hellespont in a kind of ferry-boat, he met Pompey's fleet sailing with Lucius Cassius in command, but so far from suffering any harm at their hands, he terrified them and won them over to his
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3 πλήξας σφᾶς προσεποιήσατο. κάκ τούτον καὶ
tὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἑκεῖνη, μηδενὸς ἐτ’ ἀνταίροντος,
pαρελάμβανε καὶ διώκει, χρημάτων μὲν ἐκλογήν,
ὡςπερ εἴτου, ποιούμενος, ἀλλο δὲ μηδὲν μηδένα
λυπῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐεργετῶν πάντας ὡς ἐνεδέχετο.
τὸς γοὺς τελῶνας πικρότατά σφισι χρωμένους
ἀπαλλάξας, ἐς φόρου συντέλειαν τὸ συμβαίνο
ἐκ τῶν τελῶν κατεστήσατο.

7 Κάν τούτῳ πυθόμενος τὸν Πομπήιον πρὸς τὴν
Αὔγουστον πλέοντα, καὶ δείσας μὴ προκατασχῶν
2 αὐτὴν αὕτης ἱσχύσῃ, ἀφωρισθη κατὰ τάχος. καὶ
ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὐκέτι περιόντα κατέλαβε, τῇ δ' Ἁλεξανδρείᾳ αὐτῇ μετ’ ὀλύων πολὺ πρὸ τῶν
ἀλλων, πρὶν τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐκ τοῦ Πελοποννήσου
ἐλθεῖν, προσπλεύσας, καὶ τοὺς Ἁλεξανδρέας
θορυβουμένους ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Πομπηίου θανάτῳ
eυρῶν, οὐκ ἑθάρσησεν εὐθὺς ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβῆναι,
ἀλλ' ἀνορμοσάμενος ἀνείχη μέχρις οὐ τὴν τε
κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντα
3 οἱ ύπὸ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου εἶδεν. οὐτω δὴ ἐσ ἐν τῇ
ηπειρὸν θαρσούντως προσέχειν, ἀγανακτήσεως δὲ
ἐπὶ τοὺς ραβδοῦχοις αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοῦ πλῆθους
γενομένης αὐτὸς μὲν ἀγαπητοῦ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια
προκατέφυγε, τῶν δὲ δὴ στρατιωτῶν τινος τὰ
ὀπλα ἀφηρέθησαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' οἱ λοιποὶ ἀνωρ-
μίσαντο αὕτους, ἐως πᾶσαι αἱ νῆς ἐπικατηχθησαν.

8 ὁ δὲ οὖν Καίσαρ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου κεφαλήν ἵδ'ων
κατεδάκρυσε καὶ κατωλοφύρατο, πολίτην τε αὐ-
tὸν καὶ γαμβρὸν ἀνομάζων, καὶ πάνθ' ὡς ποτὲ
ἀλλήλοις ἀνθυποουργήκεσαν ἀναμιθμούμενος. τοῖς
τε ἀποκτείνασιν αὐτοῦ οὐχ ὅπως εὐφρεγείαν οὐα

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

Meanwhile he learned that Pompey was sailing to Egypt, and fearing that the other by occupying that country first might again become strong, he set out with all speed. And finding him no longer alive, with a few followers he sailed far in advance of the others to Alexandria itself before Ptolemy came from Pelusium. On discovering that the people of the city were in a tumult over Pompey's death he did not at once venture to go ashore, but put out to sea and waited till he saw the head and finger-ring of the murdered man, sent him by Ptolemy. Thereupon he confidently put in to land; the multitude, however, showed irritation at the sight of his lictors and he was glad to make his escape into the palace. Some of his soldiers had their weapons taken from them, and the rest accordingly put to sea again until all the ships had reached port. Now Caesar at the sight of Pompey's head wept and lamented bitterly, calling him countryman and son-in-law, and enumerating all the kindnesses they had shown each other. As for the murderers, far from admitting that he owed
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οφείλειν ἐφι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπεκάλει, καὶ ἐκείνην κοσμῆσαι τε καὶ εὐθετῆσαι καὶ θάψαι τυσίν 2 ἐκέλευσε. καὶ ἔτι μὲν τούτῳ ἔπαυν ἐσχεν, ἔπι δὲ δὴ τῇ προσποιήσει γέλωτα ὕφλισκανε. τῆς γὰρ δυναστείας διεινὼς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐφιέμενος, καὶ ἐκείνην καὶ ὡς ἀνταγωνιστὴν καὶ ὡς ἀντίπαλον ἀεὶ ποτε μισῆσας, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐπ' αὐτῷ 3 πάντα πράξας καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τῶν οὖκ ὑπ' ἀλλο τι παρασκευάσας ἢ ἴνα ἀπολομένου αὐτοῦ πρωτεύσῃ, τότε τε ἐς τὴν Ἁγινττον οὗ δὲ ἄλλο τι ἐπειχθεῖ σή ἴνα αὐτὸν, εἰ περείη, προσκατεργάσαι, ποθεῖν τε αὐτὸν ἐπλάττετο καὶ ἀγανακτεῖν τῷ ὀλέθρῳ αὐτοῦ ἐκκύπτετο.

9 Καὶ ὁ μὲν μηδὲν ἔτι πολέμιον ὑπεξηρημένοι οἱ ἐκείνην καταλείποντοι 1 νομίζοντο, ἐν τῇ Ἁγινττῳ ἐνεχρύσασιν ἀργυρολογοῦν καὶ τὰ τὸν 2 Πτολεμαίον καὶ τὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας διάφορα διακρίνουν πόλεμοι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἔτεροι αὐτῷ παρεσκευά- 2 σθησαν. ἢ τε γὰρ Ἁγινττος ἐνεχρύσωσε, καὶ ὁ Φαρνάκης ἦρξατο μὲν εὐθὺς, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον τὸν τε Πομπήιον καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἑκτεπολεμῶσθαι ἔμαθε, τῆς 3 πατρίων ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιεῖσθαι (χρονεῖν τε γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ στάσει καὶ τὰς δύναμις τῶν Ρωμαίων αὐτὰς περὶ αὐτῶς ἀναλώσειν 3 ἐξετασεν), εἰχετο δὲ καὶ τὸτε τῶν προκειμένων, ὡς τε ἀπαξ ἐκείνητο καὶ ὅτι πόρρω τὸν Καίσαρα οὕτα ἐπύθετο, καὶ πολλὰ γε χωρία προκατέλαβε. καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Κάτων καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων, οἳ τε ἄλλοι οἱ τὴν αὐτὴν σφισὶ γνώμην ἔχοντες, καὶ

1 καταλείποντο St., καταλείποντο L.
2 καὶ τα του R. Steph., καὶ κατα του L.
3 τῆς Rk., τῆς τε L.

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

In the belief that now that Pompey was out of his way there was no longer any hostility left against him, he spent some time in Egypt levying money and deciding the differences between Ptolemy and Cleopatra. Meanwhile other wars were being prepared against him. Egypt revolted, and Pharnaces, just as soon as he had learned that Pompey and Caesar were at variance, had begun to lay claim to his ancestral domain, since he hoped that they would waste a lot of time in their quarrel and use up the Roman forces upon each other; and he now still went ahead with his plans, partly because he had once made a beginning and partly because he learned that Caesar was far away, and he actually seized many points before the other's arrival. Meanwhile Cato and Scipio and the others who were of the same
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ἐμφύλιον καὶ ὀθνεῖον ἐν τῇ Ἁφρικῇ πόλεμον ἤγειραν.

10 Ἐσχε γὰρ οὗτος. ὁ Κάτων ἐν τῷ Δυρραχίῳ πρὸς τοῦ Πομπήίου τά τε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπιτηρεῖν, ἀν τις διαβαίνῃ, καὶ τοὺς Παρθινοὺς κατελήγειν, καταλείψεις τὸ 2 μὲν πρῶτον ἐκεῖνοι ἐνυλέμει, ἦττηθέντος δὲ τοῦ Πομπήίου τὴν μὲν Ἡπειρον ἐξέλισεν, ἐς δὲ Κέρκυραν μετὰ τῶν ὁμογενομονούντων οἱ κομισθεῖς ἐνταῦθα τοὺς τε ἐκ τῆς μάχης διαφυγόντας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰ αὐτὰ φρονούντας ἔδεχετο. Κικέρων μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι τινες τῶν βουλευτῶν 3 ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην παραχρῆμα ἀπήραν. οἱ δὲ δὴ πλείους μετὰ τε τοῦ Δαβιῆνος καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Ἄφρανίου, ἀτε μηδεμίαν ἐν τῷ Καίσαρι ἑλπίδα, ὁ μὲν ὅτι ἡττομολήκει, ὁ δὲ ὅτι σωθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν αὐθεὶς οἱ ἐπεπολεμήκει, ἔχοντων, πρὸς τε τῶν Κάτων ἡλθον καὶ ἐκείνοι προστησάμενοι ἐπολέ-μουν. καὶ μετὰ τούτο καὶ ὁ Ὀκτάουνος σφιζει προσεγένετο. ὃς γὰρ τότε τῶν Ἰώνων ἐσέπλευσε καὶ τῶν Ἁντώνιου τῶν Γάιον συνέλαβεν, ἄλλων μέν τινων χωρίων ἑκράτησε, τὴν δὲ δὴ Σάλωνα, κατηρπὲ πλείστον αὐτὴν πολιορκήσας, οὕρ 2 ἔλε. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἱσχυρώς αὐτὸν ἀπεκρού- οντο, βοηθοῦντα σφιζει τῶν Γαβίνιου ἔχοντες, καὶ τέλος μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπεκδραμόντες μέγα ἔργον εἰργᾶσαντο· ἔκειναι τε γὰρ τάς τε κόμους καθεῖσαι καὶ στολάς μελαίνας ἐνυσσάμεναι λαμπ-πάδας τε λαβοῦσαι, καὶ τὸ σύμπαν πρὸς τὸ 3 φοβερῶτατον σχηματισάμεναι, τῷ τε στρατοπέδῳ τῷ πολιορκούντι σφας νυκτός μέσης προσέμεθαν, καὶ τοὺς προφύλακας ὡς καὶ δαίμονες τινες ἔκ-
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mind with them set on foot in Africa a struggle that was at once a civil and a foreign war.

It came about in this way. Cato had been left behind at Dyrrachium by Pompey to keep an eye out for any forces from Italy which might try to cross over, and to repress the Parthini, in case they should begin any disturbance. At first he carried on war with the latter, but after Pompey's defeat he abandoned Epirus, and proceeding to Coreya with those of the same mind as himself, he there received the men who had escaped from the battle and the rest who had the same sympathies. Cicero and a few other senators had set out for Rome at once, but the majority, including Labienus and Afranius, who had no hope in Caesar,—the one because he had deserted him, and the other because after having been pardoned by him he had again made war on him,—went to Cato, put him at their head, and continued the war. Later Octavius also joined them. After sailing into the Ionian Sea and arresting Gaius Antonius, he had conquered several places, but could not take Salonae, though he besieged it a very long time. For the inhabitants, having Gabinius to assist them, vigorously repulsed him and finally along with the women made a sortie and performed a remarkable deed. The women let down their hair and robed themselves in black garments, then taking torches and otherwise making their appearance as terrifying as possible, they assaulted the camp of the besiegers at midnight. They threw the outposts, who thought they were
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πλήξασαι τὸ πῦρ ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα ἀπανταχόθεν ἀμα ἐνεβαλούν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπισπόμενοι σφίσι πολλοὺς μὲν ταραττομένους πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ καθεύδοντας ἐφόνευσαν, καὶ ἐκείνῳ τε εὐθὺς κατέσχον, καὶ τὸ ναῦστάθμον ἐν ὦ ὁ Ὀκτάονιος 4 ἡμέρα ἀυτοθεὶση. οὖ μέντοι καὶ ἐν ρασ-τώνῃ τινὶ ἐγένοντο· διαφυγὼν γὰρ πῶς αὐτοὺς δύναμιν τε αὔθες θηροίσε, καὶ μάχῃ νικῆσας προσήδευε σφίς. καὶ τοῦτῳ τοῦ Γαβδώνιον νόσφο τελευτήσαντος τῆς τε θαλάσσης τῆς ἐκεί πάσης 5 ἐκράτησε, καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβαινών πολλὰ αὐτῆς ἐκακουργεῖ, μέχρις οὐ ἦ χρὸν 1 Ἑφρασάλῳ μάχῃ ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ στρατιώται αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλευσάντων τινῶν ἐκ τοῦ Βραυνείου σφίς μετέστησαν, μηδὲ ἐς χείρας αὑτοῖς ἐλθόντες. τότε γὰρ ἐρημώθηκεις τῶν συμμάχων ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν ἀπεχώρησε.

12 Καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος δὲ ὁ Γανδῖος πρότερον μὲν τῷ τῶν Ἀἰγυπτίων ναυτικῷ περιπλέσσων τὴν τε Ἰταμπέρον καλομείνην κατέτρεχε καὶ Ὀρικόν 2 ὀλίγου εἴλε, Μάρκου Ἀκιλίου 3 αὐτὸ κατέχον- τος, καὶ τὸν τε 4 ἐσπλουν τὸν ἐς τὸν λιμένα πλοίων λίθων γέμουσι χώσαντος, 5 καὶ περὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ πῦργους ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπὶ τε τῆς 2 ἦπερον καὶ ἐφ᾽ ὦλκαδῶν ἐγείραντος. τοὺς τε γὰρ λίθους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς σκάφεσιν ἐγκείμενοις κολυμβηταῖς ύφύδροις 6 διασκεδάσας, καὶ αὐτὰ ἐκείνα κουφισθέντα ἐλκύσας, τὸν τε ἐσπλουν ἠλευθέρωσε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὁπλίτας ἐφ᾽ ἐκάτερα

1 πρὸς Dind., πρὸς τῷ L.
2 Ὀρίκον Xyl., ναρικόν L. (so just below).
3 Ἀκιλίου Xyl., ἀκιλίου L.
4 τὸν τῷ R. Steph., τότε L.
5 χώσαντος Xyl., χώσαντες L.
6 ύφυδροις Xyl., ἐφύδροις L.

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spirits, into a panic, and then from all sides at once hurled the fire within the palisade, and the men, following them, slew many while they were in confusion and many who were still asleep, promptly gained possession of the camp, and captured without a blow the harbour in which Octavius was lying. They were not, however, left in peace. For he escaped them somehow, gathered a force again, and after defeating them in battle besieged them. Meanwhile, as Gabinius had died of some disease, he gained control of the whole sea in that vicinity, and by making descents upon the land ravaged many districts. This lasted until the battle at Pharsalus, after which his soldiers, as soon as a force sailed against them from Brundisium, changed sides without even coming to blows with them. Then, destitute of allies, Octavius retired to Corcyra.

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

1 M. Acilius Caninus.
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τῆς χηλῆς ἐκβιβάσας ἐπεσέπλευσε,1 καὶ τὰ τε, πλοῖα πάντα καὶ τῆς πόλεως τὸ πολὺ
3 κατέκαυσεν. εἶλε δ' ἂν καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν, εἰ μὴ τρωθεὶς δέος τοῖς Ἀιγυπτίοις μὴ καὶ ἀποθάνῃ
παρέσχε. θεραπευθεὶς δ' οὖν Ὡμίκῳ μὲν οὐκετί
προσέβαλε, τὰ δ' ἄλλα περιφοιτῶν ἔπορθει,
καὶ ποτὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου μάτην,
4 ὥσπερ που καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς, ἐπείρασε. τέως
μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποίει: ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τε πατὴρ αὐτοῦ
ηττήθη καὶ οἱ Αἰγυπτιοὶ πυθόμενοι τοῦτο οὐκαδὲ
ἀπέπλευσαν, οὔτω δὴ πρὸς τὸν Κάτωνα ἀφίκετο.
13 καὶ αὐτὸν Κάσσιος ὁ Γάιος ἐμμάται, πλείστα
μὲν καὶ τῆς Σικελίας καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας λυπῆσας,
πολλαίς δὲ μάχαις ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ
ἡπείρῳ συχνοῦς νικῆσας.

2 Προὔχοντα μὲν δὴ 2 τὸν Κάτωνα ἀρετῆς σφῶν
ιδόντες πολλοὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν συγκατέφυγον, καὶ
αὐτοῖς ἔκεινος συναγωνισταῖς καὶ συμβοῦλοις
πρὸς πάντα χρώμενος ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ὡς καὶ
καταληψόμενος αὐτὴν, ἔπλευσεν οὖ γὰρ τὸ
3 τὸν Πομπηίου τεθνεότα ἡκκόει. καὶ Πάτρας μὲν
κατέσχον, κανταύθα ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν
Πετρείου τὸν Πομπηίου γαμβρὸν τὸν Φαῦστον 3
προσέλαβον. Κυίντον δὲ δὴ Φουφίου Καλήνου
μετὰ τούτο έπιστρατεύσατο σφῶν ἐξανά-
χθησαν, καὶ ἐς Κυρήνην ἔλθόντες καὶ ἕκει τὸν
τὸν Πομπηίου θάνατον μαθόντες οὐκετὶ συνεφρό-
4 νησαὶ, ἄλλ' ἐς μὲν Κάτων δι' ἀχθηόντα τῆς,
tοῦ Καίσαρος δυναστείας, καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς δι'

1 ἐπεσέπλευσε Xyl., ἐπεισε πλέυσα L. 2 δὴ Bk., τοῖ L.
3 τὸν τοῦ Πομπηίου γαμβρὸν τὸν Φαῦστον Leuncl., Πομπηίου
tὸν Φαῦστον L.

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

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

14 Ὄ δὲ δὴ Καλάννος ἐπέμφθη τε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρὸ τῆς μάχης ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ εἶλεν ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸν Πειραιά ἄτε καὶ ἀτείχιστον ὄντα. τὰς γὰρ Ἀθῆνας, καίτερ πλείστα τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν κακώσας, οὐκ ἥδυνθη πρὸ τῆς τοῦ 2 Πομπηίου ἠτυχείν. τὸτε γὰρ ἔθελον αὐτῷ προσεχώρησαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καίσαρ μηδὲν μητυκακήσας ἀθάνους ἀφῆκε, τοσοῦτον μόνον εἰπὼν, ὅτι πολλὰ ἀμαρτάνοντες ὑπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν σώζωμεν. τὸ δὲ δὴ ἔπος τοῦτο ἔδῆλον ὅτι σφῶν διὰ τοῦς προγόνους καὶ διὰ τὴν δόξαν τὴν τε 3 ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν ἐφείσατο. Ἀθῆναι μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ πλεῖω τῆς Ἑλλάδος εὐθὺς τὸτε ὄμολογησαν αὐτῷ, Μεγαρεῖς δὲ καὶ ὡς ἀντέσχοντο πολλῷ τε ὕστερον χρόνῳ τὰ μὲν βία τὰ δὲ καὶ προδοσία ἤλωσαν. ὅθεν περὶ φόνος τε αὐτῶν 4 πολὺς ἔγενετο καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐπράθησαν. ὁ μέντοι Καλάννος τούτῳ μὲν, ἵνα δὴ καὶ κατ’ ἀξίαν αὐτοὺς τετιμωρήσω μόνῳ, ἐποίησε φοβηθεῖς δὲ μὴ καὶ παντελῶς ἢ πόλις ἀπόλληται, πρῶτα μὲν τοῖς ἐπιτηδείους σφᾶς, ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ ἐλαχίστου ἀπέδοτο, ἵν’ ἔλευθερωθῶσι.

1 τε Dind., γε L.

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

Calenus had been sent by Caesar into Greece before the battle, and he captured among other places the Piraeus, owing to its being unwalled. Athens he had been unable to take, in spite of a great deal of damage he did to its territory, until the defeat of Pompey. The inhabitants then came over to him voluntarily, and Caesar, cherishing no resentment, let them go unharmed, merely remarking that in spite of their many offences they were saved by the dead. This remark signified that it was on account of their ancestors and on account of their glory and excellence that he spared them. Accordingly Athens and most of the rest of Greece then at once made terms with him; but the Megarians in spite of this resisted and were captured only at a considerably later date, partly by force and partly by treachery. Therefore many of the inhabitants were slain and the survivors sold. Calenus took this course so that men might think that he had punished them according to their deserts; but since he feared that the city might perish utterly, he sold the captives in the first place to their relatives, and in the second place for a very small sum, so that they might regain their freedom.
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5 Καὶ ο ὁ μὲν ταῦτα πράξας ἐπὶ τε τὰς Πάτρας ἐπεστράτευσε, καὶ ἀμαχεῖ αὐτάς, τὸν τε Κάτωνα καὶ τοὺς μετ’ αὐτοῦ προεκφοβήσας,1 κατέσχεν.

15 ἐν δὲ ταῦτα2 ὡς ἦκαστα ἐπράττετο, καὶ ἡ Ἴβηρία καίπερ εἰρηνεύσασα ἐκινήθη. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ Λογγύνος ὁ Κύντος πολλὰ καὶ τότε αὐτοῦς ἐλυμαίνετο, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὅλιγοι τινὲς συνέστησαν ὡς καὶ ἀποκτενοῦντες αὐτόν. ἔπει δὲ δὴ τρωθεὶς διέφυγε κἀκε τοῦτο πολλῷ μεῖζῷ σφάζῃ ἤδικε, συνεχῶν μὲν Κορδουβήσιοι συχνὸι δὲ καὶ στρατώται, ἀτε καὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου γεγονότες.

3 ἐπανεστήσαν αὐτῷ, Μάρκον Μάρκελλον Ἀἰσερ-νίνον τὸν ταμίαν προστησάμενοι. οὐ μὴν καὶ ὅλη τῇ γνώμῃ αὐτοῖς προσεδέξατο, ἀλλὰ τὸ τε ἀστάθμητον τῶν πραγμάτων ὅρων καὶ τὴν ἐκβασίν σφῶν ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα προσδεχόμενος ἐπημφοτέριζε καὶ διὰ μέσον πάντα καὶ ἔλεγε καὶ ἔπραττεν, ὡστε, ἄν τε ὁ Καίσαρ ἄν τε καὶ ὁ Πομπηίος κρατήσῃ, ἄμφοτέρους σφίσι συνηγονίσθαι δόξαι.

4 Πομπηίῳ μὲν γὰρ, ὅτι τοὺς τε μεταστάντας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐδέξατο καὶ τῷ Λογγύνῳ τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πράττειν λέγοντι ἀντεπολέμησεν, ἔχα-ρίσατο, Καίσαρι δὲ ὅτι καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὡς καὶ τοῦ Λογγύνου νεωτερίζοντός τι, παραλαβὼν τούτους τε αὐτῷ ἐτήρησε καὶ ἑκείνους οὐκ εἰάσε

5 πολεμωθήναι. καὶ τὸ γε ὅνομα τὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου τῶν στρατιωτῶν ταῖς ἀστισίν ἐπιγραφαίνων ἀπήλευσε, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου τῷ μὲν τὰ ἔργα τῶν ὄπλων τῷ δὲ τὴν ἄκησιν προβάλλων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κρατήσαντος γεγονότων

1 προεκφοβήσας Leuncl., προσεκφοβήσας L.
2 ταῦτα Rk., ταῦτά τε L.
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After these achievements he marched upon Patrae and occupied it easily, as he had already frightened Cato and his followers away. Now while these various operations were being carried on, there was an uprising in Spain, although the country had been at peace. For the Spaniards were at the time being subjected to many abuses by Quintus Longinus, and at first some few banded together to kill him; he was wounded but escaped, and after that proceeded to injure them a great deal more. Then a number of Cordubans and a number of soldiers who had formerly belonged to the Pompeian party rose against him, putting at their head Marcus Marcellus Aeserninus, the quaestor. The latter, however, did not accept their appointment with his whole heart, but seeing the uncertainty of events and looking for them to turn out either way, he played a double game, taking a neutral attitude in all that he said and did, so that whether Caesar or Pompey should prevail he might seem to have fought for the victor in either case. He favoured Pompey, on the one hand, by receiving those who had transferred their allegiance to him and by fighting against Longinus, who declared he was on Caesar's side; on the other hand, he did a kindness to Caesar in taking charge of the soldiers when, as he would say, Longinus was beginning a rebellion, and in keeping these men for him and not allowing their commander to become hostile. And when the soldiers inscribed the name of Pompey on their shields, he erased it, so that he might thereby plead with the one man the deeds done by the arms and with the other their apparent ownership, and by laying claim to the deeds
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προσποιούμενος, τὰ δὲ ἐναντία ἐς τε τὴν ἀνάγκην καὶ ἐς ἄλλους τινὰς ἀναφέρων, ἀσφαλῆς εἶν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, καίτοι παρασχῶν αὐτῷ παντελῶς τοῦ Δογγίουν τῷ πλήθει κρατήσαι, οὐκ ἦθελησεν, ἀλλ’ ἐς τε ἐνδειξὶν καὶ ἐς παρασκευὴν ὅπως ἐβούλετο προάγων τὰ πράγματα, ἐπὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ τὰ ἀμφι- λογα αὐτῶν ἐποίησατο, ὡστε καὶ ἐν οἷς ἡλαττόθη καὶ ἐν οἷς ἐπλεονεκτήσετε τι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμοίως τὰ μὲν ὡς αὐτὸς καὶ ἐποίησε καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησε·

2 τὰ δὲ ὡς ἔτεροι, προτείνασθαι δυνηθήναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτω διαγγέλων μέχρις οὐ καὶ ὁ Κάισαρ ἐνίκησε, παραχώρησα μὲν ἐς ὅργην αὐτῶν ἡλθε καὶ ὑπερωφόρησε, ἐπείτα δὲ κατήλθε καὶ ἐτιμήθη· Δογγίους δὲ, καταβοσάνων αὐτοῦ διὰ πρεσβείας τῶν Ἰβηρῶν, τῆς τε ἀρχῆς ἐξέπεσε, καὶ οἰκάδε ἀνακομιζόμενος ἐφθάρη πρὸς ταῖς τοῦ Ἰβηρος ἐκβολαῖς.

17 Ταῦτα μὲν ἔξω ἐγνύνετο· οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τέως μὲν ἐν τε ἀμφιλόγῳ καὶ ἐν μετεώρῳ τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου πράγματα ἦν, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς πάντες τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπὸ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ τῆς συνούσης σφίστη καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σερουλίου τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἐσποῦν·

2 δαξοῦν, καὶ εἶτε πον κρατήσασι ἡγγέλθη, ἔχαιρον, εἶτε καὶ πταίσας, ἐλυπόντο, οἱ μὲν ἀληθῶς οἱ δὲ πλαστῶς ἐκάτερον· καὶ γὰρ κατάσκοποί σφών καὶ κατήκουν, πάνθ᾽ ὁσ᾿ ἐπὶ αὐτῶς καὶ ἐκέντρο καὶ ἐγνύνετο παρατηροῦντες, πολλοὶ περιενότον·

3 ἢδιὰ δὲ τὰ ἐναντιώτατα τῶν φανερῶν οἱ τῷ τε Καίσαρι ἀχθόμενοι καὶ τὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου προ-

1 αὐτῷ Xyl., αὐτῶν L.
2 τε ἀμφιλόγῳ Bk., τῶι ἀμφιλόγῳ L.

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

These events were occurring abroad. In Rome, as long as the issue between Caesar and Pompey was doubtful and unsettled, the people all ostensibly favoured Caesar, because of his troops that were in their midst and because of his colleague Servilius. Whenever a victory of his was reported, they rejoiced, and whenever a reverse, they grieved, some sincerely and some feignedly in each case; for there were many spies and eavesdroppers prowling about, observing all that was said and done on such occasions. But privately the talk and actions of those who detested Caesar and preferred Pompey's
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αιρούμενοι καὶ ἑλεγον καὶ ἐποίουν, κακὸ τοῦτο τα τε ἀγγελλόμενα κατὰ τὸ πρόσφορόν σφισιν ἀμφότεροι λαμβάνοντες τοῖς μὲν δεδιότως τοῖς δὲ

θαρσούντως ἐξρώντο, καὶ οί πολλῶν καὶ ποικίλων ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ πολλάκις λογοποιουμένων χαλεπῶτατα διετίθεντο· καὶ γὰρ ἤδοντο καὶ ἐλυποῦντο καὶ ἐθάρσουν καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο διὰ βραχυτάτον. ἀγγελθείσης δὲ τῆς Φαρσαλίκης μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἡπίστονοι· οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Καῖσαρ τῷ κοινῷ τι ἐπέστειλεν, ὡκνήσας δῆμοσία χαῖρων ἐπὶ τοιαύτη νίκη φανήγα (διότι όποῖ ἐπινίκια αὐτῆς ἐσεμφυέ), καὶ ὁ παράλογος πρὸς τῇ παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν

καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐλπίζομενα πολὺς ἐφαίνετο. ὡς δ' οὖν ἐπίστευσάν ποτε, τὰς μὲν εἰκόνας τοῦ τε Πομπηίου καὶ τοῦ Σύλλου τὰς ἐπὶ τῷ βήματι ἐστώσας ἀνείλον, ἄλλο δὲ οὔδεν τότε ἐπράξαν συχνόι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο θουλόμενοι ποιήσατι, συχνόι δὲ καὶ τὸν Πομπηίου, μή πως ἀναμαχεστησαίοι φοβούμενοι, τῷ τε Καῖσαρι καὶ ἐκείνοι

ικανός ἔχειν ἐνόμιζον, καὶ τὸν Πομπηίου εὐπαραίτητον ἐπὶ αὐτῷ γενήσεσθαι σφισι προσεδόκων. ἐπεὶ μὲν τοῦτο καὶ ἀπέθανεν, οὐκ ἡμεῖς καὶ τοῦτο, καὶ οὐ πρότερον πρὶν τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντα ἤδειν, ἐπίστευσαν (ἐνεγέγυμπτο δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τρόπον τρία, άστερ καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Σύλλου), ὡς δ' οὖν ἐπεθυμήκει, φανερῶς τε ἡδῇ τὸν μὲν ἐπήμουν τὸν δὲ ἐλοιδόρουν, καὶ πάν ὁ τι ποτὲ ἐξευρεῖν ἐδύναντο ἐσηγοῦντο δοθῆναι τῷ Καῖσαρι. καὶ ἐν

1 ἀγγελλόμενα Xyl., ἀπολλόμενα L.
2 ἐκείνο Xyl., ἐκεῖνοι L.
3 εὐπαραίτητον Bs., ἀπαραίτητον L.

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side were the very opposite of their public expressions. Hence, as both sides received the various reports in the light of their own advantage, they were inspired sometimes with fear and sometimes with boldness, and inasmuch as many diverse rumours would often be going about on the same day and at the same hour, their position was a most trying one; for they were pleased and distressed, bold and fearful, all within the briefest space of time. When the battle of Pharsalus was announced, they were long incredulous. For Caesar sent no despatch to the government, hesitating to appear to rejoice publicly over such a victory, for which reason also he celebrated no triumph; and furthermore the event was clearly very improbable in view of the relative equipment of the two forces and the hopes entertained. But when at last they gave the story credence, they removed the images of Pompey and of Sulla that stood upon the rostra, but did nothing further at the time. Many, indeed, did not wish to do even this, and many also, fearing that Pompey might renew the strife, regarded this as quite enough for Caesar and expected that it would be a fairly simple matter to placate Pompey on account of it. Even when he had died, they did not believe it for a long time, not, in fact, until they saw his seal-ring that had been sent; it had three trophies carved on it, as had that of Sulla. So when he was really dead, at last they openly praised the victor and abused the vanquished, and proposed that everything in the world which they could devise should be given to Caesar. And not only in this
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te toútw polllh en parà pántwv ois eitein twn prōtovn ámmila, uperbálleiw sfoñ ãllhlos tē kolakieía spoudažōntwv, kai en tē épicheirō-
tovia aútōv tois te găr étpibòmasto kai tois sxhìmasti pántes, ois kai paróntos kai órhohtos tōu Kaisaros, pòlu plēisthn spoudēn ène-
deiñwnto, kai ènéumizoun eîthn an' aútōv, òsteper ti aútô xarizómevoi all' ouk ëx ànnagkhēs aútō
poiōntes, ò men ärchēn ò de ierwswnh ò de kai
chrìmatà anhtelhseštai. ëngw ouv tā mēn allà,
dosa ëtou kai èteros tis pórteron èphìstai,
eikónas te kai steftásous kai proedēsia tā te
toiountrōpota, h kainav men kai tōte èsanechênta
prōtovn ën, ou méntoi kai òpō tōu Kaisaros èbebâwth, pàralleìps, mh kai di' òchlon ñewwmai
ei pánta aútā èpexíomv tō ò aútō tōnto kai en
tois èpesta, kai mállovn ge ñsw kai plēw kai
atopóttera ãeì ësthgeto, poîías worth ñdana dh ñsa
ìdion tē ti kai èxairētov ëxontav èkurotov katal-
exw.

20 Toûs te găr tā tōu Pòmpthnùn frounhsantos
èpterevnav aútō páv ò ti 4 pot' òn ètheleîsh
èrásai, oux òti kai aútōs pàr' èautov ou
tōt' ëhdh lâbhwv èkèn, ãll' ìna kai en nómmh
ðē 5 tiv aútō poiēin dòxh kai polèmov kai
eîrēnhs kûrinov, ïprofásie tōn en tē 'Afrikh
swmatamēnov, prōs pántas ànthrōpous ápê-
deiçan aútōv, kàvn ìnhēn mîhte tō dîmâ mîhte
2 tē boulhì perì aútōn koinôsthvai. kai ën mēn

1 ën supplied by Bk.  2 èpibòmasto Dind., èpibòmasto L.
3 kainav R. Steph., kenva L.  4 páv ò ti Bk., pàvò òti L.
5 dh Reim., ἰδή L.

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

They granted him, then, permission to do whatever he wished to those who had favoured Pompey's cause, not that he had not already received this right from himself, but in order that he might seem to be acting with some show of legal authority. They appointed him arbiter of war and peace with all mankind—using the conspirators in Africa as a pretext—without the obligation even of making any communication on the subject to the people or the senate. This,
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ποῦ καὶ τοῦτο καὶ πρὶν ἑπτ' ἐκείνῳ ἀτε καὶ δύναμιν τηλικαύτην ἔχουσι· τοὺς γοῦν πολέμους οὐς ἐπολέμησε πάντας ὅλγου καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνέλετο· ὅμως δ' οὖν αὐτῷ (πολῖται τε γὰρ καὶ αὐτοτελεῖς ἐτι δοκεῖν εἶναι ἡθέλου) ταύτα τε οὕτως ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ τάλλα πάντα δ' καὶ ἀκόντων αὐτῶν ἔχειν

3 ἐδώνατο. ὑπάτωσ τε γὰρ ἔτη πέντε ἐφεξῆς γενέσθαι καὶ δικτάτωρ οὐκ ἐσεκίμην ἄλλ' ἐσεναυτὸν ὅλου λεχθήναι ἑλαβεν, τὴν τε ἐξονοσίαν τῶν δημάρχων διὰ βίου ὡς εἰπεὶν προσέθετο· συγκαθέζεσθαι τε γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βάθρων καὶ ἐς τάλλα συνεξετάζεσθαι

4 σφίσιν, δ' μηδενὶ ἐξῆν, εὗρετο. 2 αἱ τε ἀρχαί- ρεσίαι πάσαι, πλὴν τῶν τοῦ πλῆθους, ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἀναβληθεῖσαι ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τοῦ ἐτους ἐτελέ- σθησαν. τάς τε ἡγεμονίας τάς ἐν τῷ ὑπηκόω τοῖς μὲν ὑπάτως αὐτὸλ δῆθεν ἐκλήρωσαν, τοῖς δὲ δὴ στρατηγοῖς τῶν Καίσαρα ἀκληρωτὶ δοῦναι ἐψηφίσαντο· ἐς τε γὰρ τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ ἐς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς αὖθις παρὰ τὰ δεδομένα

5 σφίσιν ἐπανήλθον. καὶ ἐτερον δὲ τι, εἰθισμένον μὲν γνώσεσθαι, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ τοῦ καιροῦ διαφθορᾷ καὶ ἐπίθεσιν καὶ νεμεστὸν ὅν, ἐγγίσαν τοῦ γὰρ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς τε τὸν Ἰώβαν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς 'Ῥωμαίους τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πολεμήσαντας, διὸ οἱ Καίσαρ οὐδέποτε οὖν ὁ γενήσοιτο ἡπίστατο, πέμψαι τινὰ αὐτῷ νικητήρια ὡς κεκρατηκότι προσέταξαν.

1 δ added by Xyl. 2 εὗρετο R. Steph., εὗρητο L. 3 τε Bk., τε γὰρ L.
of course, also lay in his power before, inasmuch as he had so large an armed force; at any rate the wars he had fought he had undertaken on his own authority in nearly every case. Nevertheless, because they wished still to appear to be free and independent citizens, they voted him these rights and everything else which it was in his power to have even against their will. Thus he received the privilege of being consul for five consecutive years and of being chosen dictator, not for six months, but for an entire year, and he assumed the tribunician authority practically for life; for he secured the right of sitting with the tribunes upon the same benches and of being reckoned with them for other purposes—a privilege which was permitted to no one. All the elections except those of the plebs now passed into his hands, and for this reason they were delayed till after his arrival and were held toward the close of the year.\footnote{The year 47, in which Caesar came to Rome, is here meant, or else Dio has made an error.} In the case of the governorships in subject territory the citizens pretended to allot themselves those which fell to the consuls, but voted that Caesar should give the others to the praetors without the casting of lots; for they had gone back to consuls and praetors again contrary to their decree. And they also granted another privilege, which was customary, to be sure, but in the corruption of the times might cause hatred and resentment: they decreed that Caesar should hold a triumph for the war against Juba and the Romans who fought with him, just as if he had been the victor, although, as a matter of fact, he had not then so much as heard that there was to be such a war.
Ταῦτ' ὦν οὕτω καὶ ἐψηφίσθη καὶ ἐκυρώθη· καὶ ὁ τε Καῖσαρ τὴν δικτατορίαν παραχρῆμα, καὶ περ ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας ὄν, ὑπέστη, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον μηδὲ ἐστρατηγηκότα ἤπαρχον προε- λόμενος, καὶ εἰπὲ καὶ τοῦτον ὁ ὑπατος, καὶ τῶν οἰωνιστῶν σφοδρότατα ἀντεπόντων μηδὲν ἔξειναι πλείω τοῦ ἔξαμηνον χρόνον ἤπαρχησαι. ἂλλ' ἐκείνου μὲν γέλωτα ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολὺν ὁφλί- σκανα, αὐτὸν μὲν τὸν δικτάτορα ἐς ἐνιαυτόν παρὰ πάντα τὰ πάτρια λεχθῆναι γνώντες, περὶ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ἤπαρχον ἀκριβολογούμενον ὁ δὲ δὴ Καίλιος ὁ Μάρκος καὶ ἀπόλετο τολμήσας τὰ περὶ τῶν δανεισμάτων ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὀρισθέντα, καθάπερ ἤτημεν τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐφθαρμένου, λύσαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Ὀρμήν καὶ τὴν Καμπανίαν ἐκταράξας. οὕτως γὰρ ἔπραξε μὲν ἀνὰ πρῶτους τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, διὸ καὶ στρατη- γὸς ἀπεδείχθη· ὁρμεοθεὶς δὲ δή τε μὴ ἡστυνό- μησεν καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ Τρεβάνιος ὁ συνάρχων αὐτοῦ οὐ κληρωτός, διστὲρ εἴθετο, ἄλλ' αἴρετος ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὴν ἀστυνομίαν προεκρίθη. ἦμαντιούτο πρὸς πάντα τῷ συνάρχοντι καὶ οὕτ' ἀλλο τοῖς ἐπὶβαλλόντων οἱ ποιεῖσθαι ἐπέ- τρεπεν, οὔτε τὰς δίκας κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ Καίσαρος νόμους τελείσθαι συνεχώρει, καὶ προσῆτι τοῖς ὁφείλουσί τι βοηθήσειν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεδανεικότας καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἀλλοτρίων οἰκουσί τὸ ἐννοίκιον ἀφή- σειν ἐπηγγέλλετο. προσθέμενος δὲ ἐκ τοῦτον

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

1 M. Caelius Rufus.
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συνήλθε μετ' αυτών τῷ Τρεβωνίῳ, καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν εἰ μὴ τὴν τε ἐσθήτα ἡλλάζατο καὶ διέφυγε σφας ἐν τῷ ὀχλῷ. διαμαρτών δὲ τούτου νόμον ἠδίᾳ ἐξέδρηκε, προὶ καὶ τε πᾶσιν οἴκειον διδοῦν καὶ τὰ χρήα ἀποκόπτων.

23 Ὁ οὖν Σερουλίως στρατιώτας τε τινας ἐς Γαλατίαν κατὰ τύχην παρόντας μετεπέμψατο, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τῇ παρ’ αὐτῶν φρουρᾷ συναγαγὼν προέθηκε γνώμην περὶ τῶν παρόντων, καὶ κυρῳθέντος μὲν μὴ δενὸς (δήμαρχοι γὰρ ἐκώλυσαν) συμφηγάτων δὲ τοῦ δόξαντος ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις καθελεῖν τὰ πινάκια. ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ Καίλιος ἐκείνους τε ἀπήλασε καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπατον ἐς θόρυβον κατέστησε, συνήλθον αὕτης φραζάμενοι τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως τῷ Σερουλίῳ, ὡσπερ ἀνω μοι πολ−

3 λάκις περὶ αὐτῆς εἰρηταί, παρέδοσαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐδὲν ἐκ τούτοι τῷ Καίλιῳ ὡς καὶ στρατηγοῦντι πράξαι ἐφήκεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε προσήκοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ ἀλλὰ τῷ τῶν στρατηγῶν προσέταξε, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνου τοῦ τε συνεδρίου εἰρήκε καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος καταβοδώτα τι κατέσπασε, τόν τε ὁ διάφορον αὐτοῦ συνέτρυψεν ὁ δὲ ὄργην μὲν πολλὴν καθ’ ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν ἐποιεῖτο, δεδίως δὲ μῆ καὶ κολασθῇ (δύναμιν γὰρ ἀξίωμαχὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει εἰχεῖ) ἐς Καμπανίαν πρὸς Μίλωνα νεωτερίζοντά

2 τι ἀπάραι ἔγνω. ἐκείνος γὰρ ἐπειδὴ μόνος τῶν φευγόντων ὦν κατήχη πρὸς τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἄφικετο, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους, τοὺς μὲν βίον δεομένους τοὺς δὲ καὶ τιμωρίαν τινὰ δεδίότας, συλλέξας τὴν τε χώραν ἐκακοῦργει

1 χρήα Χυλ., χρύσεα Λ. 2 πολλὴν R. Steph., πολὺ L.

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

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

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καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς τε ἄλλαις καὶ τῇ Καπῦ  
3 προσέβαλλε. πρὸς οὖν τούτον ὁ Ῥωμαῖος ἀφορ-
μήσαι ἐθελήσας ὡς 1 μετ’ αὐτοῦ πᾶν ὁ τι δύνατο
τὸν Καίσαρα λυπήσῃ, ἔπειτ’ ἐπειδὴ μήτε ἐκ τοῦ
προφανοῦς ἐκδημῆσαι ἐδύνατο (παρετηρεῖτο γάρ)
μήτ’ αὐ ἐκδράναι ἐτόλμα διὰ τε τάλλα καὶ ὅτι
πολλῷ πλεῖον ἐν τῷ σχήματι καὶ ἐν τῷ ὄνομα
tῷ τῆς στρατηγίας ἂν καταπράξειν ἥλπιζε, τῷ
τε ὑπάτῳ προσήλθε καὶ παρητεύτο αὐτοῦ, λέγων
καὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπελθεῖν βούλεσθαι.
4 ὑποτοπῆσας οὖν ἐκεῖνος τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ
ἐπέτρεψε μὲν οἱ τοῦτο ποιήσαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ
ὅτι πολὺς ἐνέκειτο τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄνομα
ἐπικαλούμενος καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπολογίαν δὴ
ἐπείγεσθαι σκηπτόμενος, συνέπεμψε δὲ αὐτῷ
δήμαρχον τινα, ὡς εἰ τι νεοχώρασι τολμήσει
25 κωλυθείν. ὡς δὲ ἐν τῇ Καμπανίᾳ ἐγένοντο, καὶ ὁ
τε Μίλων πταίσας πρὸς τῇ Καπῦ ἐσ τὰ
Τιφατῖνα 2 ὅρη κατεπεφεύγει καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ οὐκέτι
περαιτέρω προυχώρει, δείσας δὲ δήμαρχος οὐκαδὲ
2 ἐπαναγαγεῖν αὐτοῦ ἡθέλησε. προπυθομένος οὖν
ταῦθ’ ὁ Σεροῦλιος τῷ μὲν Μίλωνι πόλεμον ἐν τῇ
βουλῇ ἐπήγγειλε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίσαρι ὑπομείναι
μὲν ἐν τῷ προαστεῖφ, μὴ καὶ ταράξῃ τι, ἐκέ-
λευσεν, οὐ μέντοι διὰ φυλακῆς ἀκριβοῦς ἀτε καὶ
στρατηγοῦντα ἐποίησατο. ἀπέδρα τοῦ οὖν καὶ
3 πρὸς τὸν Μίλωνα ἦπειγετο. καὶ ἐπραξε τι
ταραχώδε, εἰ ξάντα αὐτοῦ εὑρήκει. υἱὸν δὲ ἐκ
τῆς Καμπανίας ἐκπεσόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν’ Ἀπολλία
φθαρέντος, ἐς τῇ τὴν Βρέττιαν 3 ἤλθεν ὡς ἐνταῦθα

1 ὡς Dind., ὡστε L.  2 Ῥωμαῖος Dind., τιφατινα L.
3 Βρεττιαν Xyl., βρεττιαν L.

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some punishment, and proceeded to ravage the country, assailing Capua and other cities. To him, then, Caelius wished to betake himself, in order that with his aid he might do Caesar all possible harm. He was watched, however, and could not leave the city openly; and he did not venture to escape secretly because, among other reasons, he expected to accomplish a great deal more by using the dress and the title of his praetorship. At last, therefore, he approached the consul and asked him for leave of absence, even saying that he wished to proceed to Caesar. The other, though he suspected his intention, still allowed him to do this, particularly because he was very insistent, invoking Caesar's name and pretending that he was eager to submit his defence; but he sent a tribune with him, so that if he should attempt any rebellious act he might be held in check. When they reached Campania, and found that Milo, after a defeat near Capua, had taken refuge on Mount Tifata, and Caelius gave up his plan of going farther, the tribune was alarmed and wished to bring him back home. Servilius, learning of this in time, declared war upon Milo in the senate and gave orders that Caelius should remain in the suburbs, so that he might not stir up any trouble; nevertheless, he did not keep him under strict surveillance, because the man was a praetor. Thus Caelius made his escape and hastened to Milo, and he would certainly have created some disturbance had he found him alive; but as it was, Milo had been driven from Campania and had perished in Apulia. Caelius, therefore, went to Bruttium, hoping to form some league in
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γέ τι συστήσων, καὶ ἐκεῖ πρὶν ποιήσαι τι λόγου ἄξιον ἀπώλετο· συστραφέντες γὰρ οἱ τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πράττοντες ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν.

26 Καὶ οἱ μὲν οὔτως ἀπέθανον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἡσυχία παρὰ τούτο ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ συνηνέχθη, ὡστερ ποι καὶ τὰ τέρατα προεδήλωσεν. ἔκεινο τε γὰρ τῷ ἔτει τελευτῶντι ἄλλα τὰ τυχα συνέβη, καὶ μέλισσαι ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ παρὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἱδρύθησαν.

2 καὶ 1 (ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἵππῳ Ἰσίδῳ ἐνταύθα τότε γυνόμενα) ἐδοξῆ γυνῶν τῶν μάντων πάντα αὖθις τὰ τε ἐκεῖνα καὶ τὰ τοῦ Σαράπιδος τε- μενίσματα κατασκάψαι· γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ Ἐνυείών τι 2 λαθον σφας προσκαθηρέθη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κεράμια ἀνθρωπεῖων σαρκῶν μεστὰ εἰρέθη. τῷ τε ἐχομένῳ σεισμὸς τε ἵσχυρὸς ἐγένετο καὶ βύας ὥφθη, κεραυνοῖ τε ἐς τὸ Καπιτωλίου καὶ ἐς τὸν τῆς Τύχης τῆς δημοσίας καλουμένης ναὸν ἐς τοὺς τοῦ Καίσαρος κήπους κατέσκηναν, κάνταυθα ὑππο τις τῶν ὁυκ ἡμελή

3 μένων ἀπέθανεν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸ Τυχαίον αὐτόματον ἀνεφάχθη. πρὸς δὲ τούτους αἱμὰ τε ἐξ ἐργαστηρίου σιτοποιοῦ προχυθέν ἀφίκετο πρὸς νεὼν ἔτερον Τύχης, ἥν ἐκ τοῦ πάντα τὰ τε ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τὰ κατόπιν καὶ ἐφοράν καὶ ἐκλογιζέσθαι χρήμα τινα, μιδὲ ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι ἐξ οίων οἴος ἐγένετο, καὶ ἱδρύσαιτο καὶ ἐπε- κέλεσαν τρόπον τινα οὐκ εὐαφήγησον Ἑλλησ.

4 καὶ βρέθη τινὰ τὰς ἀμιστερᾶς ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς χειρὰς ἔχοντα ἐγεννήθη, ὡστε ἐκ τε τῶν ἅλλων

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

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

1 The reference is to Fortuna Respiciens. For her many different attributes see Roscher, Lex. der griech. und röm. Mythologie, i. p. 1513. Plutarch called her τόχη ἐπιστρεφομένη, a name apparently unknown to Dio.
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μηδὲν ύπιες ὑποπτεύεσθαι, καὶ ἐκ τούτων μάλιστα τὴν τῶν ὑποδεσστέρων κατὰ τῶν προτετιμημένων ἐπανάστασιν τοὺς τε μάντεις προειπεῖν καὶ τὸν δῆμον προσδέχεσθαι.

27 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου προδειχθέντα ἐταραττέναι αὐτοὺς· συνεπελάβετο δὲ σφίζῃ τοῦ φόβου καὶ ἡ ὤψις αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως καὶ δινὴ καὶ ἀήθης ἐν τῇ νομηματίᾳ καὶ ἐπειτὰ ἐπὶ πολὺ

2 γενομένη. ὑπατος μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ στρατηγὸς οὐδέπω ἦν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἁντώνιος τῆς¹ μὲν ἐσθήτος ἐνεκα (τῇ γάρ περιτορφύρῳ ἐχρήτῳ) καὶ ραβδούχων (τοὺς γὰρ ἐξ μόνους ἐξε) τοῦ τε τῆς βουλῆς ἀθροίζειν εἰκόνα τινὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας παρείχετο, τῷ δὲ δὴ ξίφει δὲ² παρέξωστο καὶ τῷ πλῆθει τῶν συνόντων οἱ στρατιωτῶν τοῖς τε ἐργοῖς αὐτοῖς ὅτι

3 μάλιστα τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐνδείκνυτο· καὶ γὰρ ἀρπαγαὶ καὶ ὑβρεῖς καὶ σφαγαὶ πολλαὶ ἐγγύνοντο. καὶ ἦν οὐ τὸ παρὸν μόνον τοῖς Ρωμαίοις χαλεπώτατοι, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα πολὺ πλείον καὶ δεινότερα ὑποτεύετο· ὅπου γὰρ ὁ ἵππαρχος οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς παραγγεύσεις τὸ ξίφος κατετίθετο (τὰς γὰρ πλείους ταῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος παρασκευαῖς

4 ἐπετέλεσεν δόλιας γὰρ τινὰς καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι ἐποίησαν), τίς οὖν ἂν αὐτόν τὸν δικτάτορα ὑπετόπησεν; εἰ γὰρ ταῖς καὶ τὴν χρηστότητα αὐτοῦ, υφ' ἒς πολλῶν καὶ ἀντιπολεμησάντων οἱ ἐπέφειστο, ἐνενόει, ἀλλ' οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων τοὺς τε ἐφιεμένους ἀρχηγὸς καὶ τοὺς καταπράξαντας αὐτὴν μένοντας ἱδόντες καὶ ἐκείνουν ἄλλωσι

28 θήσεθαι προσεδόκων. ἐλυποῦντό τε οὖν, καὶ

1 τῆς Turn., οὖδέπω L. 2 o Rein., ἦ L.
no good was looked for from the other signs, from this especially an uprising of inferiors against superiors was both foretold by the soothsayers and expected by the people.

These portents, thus revealed by Heaven, disturbed them; and their fear was augmented by the very appearance of the city, which had become strange and unfamiliar at the beginning of the year and continued so for a long time. For there was as yet no consul or praetor, and while Antony, in so far as his costume went, which was the purple-bordered toga, and his lictors, of whom he had only the usual six, and his convening of the senate, furnished some semblance of the republic, yet the sword with which he was girded, and the throng of soldiers that accompanied him, and his very actions in particular indicated the existence of a monarchy. In fact many robberies, outrages, and murders took place. And not only was the existing situation most distressing to the Romans, but they suspected Caesar of intending far more and greater deeds of violence. For when the master of the horse never laid aside his sword even at the festivals, who would not have been suspicious of the dictator himself? Most of these festivals, by the way, Antony gave at Caesar's expense, although the tribunes also gave a few. Even if any one stopped to think of Caesar's goodness, which had led him to spare many enemies, even such as had opposed him in battle, nevertheless, seeing that men who have gained an office do not stick to the principles that guided them when striving for it, they expected that he, too, would change his course. They were distressed, therefore, and discussed the
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πολλὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οἷς γε καὶ ἀσφάλεια τις ἦν, διελάλουν. οὐ γὰρ πού καὶ πάνω ἄδειώς συγγένεσθαι ἐδύναντο· καὶ γὰρ οἱ πάνω φίλοι δοκοῦντες 1 τινῶν εἶναι, συγγενεῖς τε ἐτέροι, διεβαλλόν 2 σφας, τὰ μὲν παρατρέποντες τὰ δὲ καὶ 2 παντάπασι καταψευδομένοι. ὃθεν οἳ λοιποὶ καὶ κατὰ τούτο οὐχ ἦκεστα ἐκακοπάθουν, ὅτι μήτε προσολοφύρασθαι μήτε ἐπικοινώσασι ἐξοντες οὐδὲ 3 ἀπαλλαγήναι ποτε αὐτοῦ ἐδύναντο. ἡ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοπαθεῖς συνουσία ἔφεσε τινα αὑτοῖς 3 κούφισιν, καὶ τις ἁπόκατος ἐκλαλήσασα τε τι καὶ ἀντακουσάς οἷα ἔπασχον βάσιν ἐγίγνετο. ἢ δὲ δὴ πρὸς τοὺς οὐχ ὁμοήθεις ἀπιστία καθείργην τινα ταῖς ψυχαῖς αὐτῶν την ἄνιαν καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον αὐτῶν ἐξέκαι, μήτε ἀποσυνή 4 μήτε ἀνάπαυσιν τινα 4 λαμβανόμενα. πρὸς γὰρ τῷ κατεχόμενα ἐνδον τὰ παθήματα σφας τηρεῖν, καὶ εὐλογεῖν αὐτὰ καὶ ἑαυτοῖς ἐς τε καὶ βουθυτεῖν εὐθυμεῖσθαι τε ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς Ἴναι γκάζομεν.

29 Ὅτου μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε ὅτε οἰκεῖα διετίθεντο· ὅσπερ δὲ οὐκ ἀποχρών αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κακούσθαι, Λούκιος τέ τις Τρεβέλλιος καὶ Πούπλιος Κορνήλιος Δολοβέλλας δῆμαρχοι ἐστασίας. οὗτος μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ὁφείλονσιν, ἐξ ὅν καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν, διὸ 5 καὶ ἐκ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν ἐστὶ τοῦ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τῇ δημαρχίᾳ μετέστη, συνηγονύζετο· ἐκείνος δὲ ἐλέγεται μὲν τῶν ἀμεινόνοι προστασθαῖ 6 ἐκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ὅμοιον


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

This was the condition of the Romans in the city at that time. And, as if it were not sufficient for them to be abused by Antony, one Lucius Trebellius and Publius Cornelius Dolabella, tribunes, fell to quarrelling. The latter championed the cause of the debtors, to which class he belonged, and had therefore changed from the ranks of the patricians to the plebs, in order to secure the tribuneship. The former claimed to represent the nobles, but issued
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αὐτῷ καὶ γράμματα ἐξετίθει καὶ σφαγάις ἔχρητο. ¹ ταραχὴ τε οὖν καὶ ἐκ τούτων πολλῆ ἐγλυγετό, καὶ ὅπλα πολλὰ καὶ πανταχοῦ ἔωρατο, καίτοι τῶν τε Βουλευτῶν ἀπαγορευσάντων μηδὲν πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀφίξεως καινοτομηθῆναι, καὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μηδένα ἐν τῷ ἀστεὶ ἰδιώτην ὁπλοφορεῖν.

3 καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐσήκουν, ἀλλὰ πάντα δὴ πάντως καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλληλοις καὶ ἐπὶ ἑκείνως ἐποίουν, τρίτη στάσις τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίου καὶ τῆς γερουσίας ἐγένετο· ἦν γὰρ καὶ παρ' αὐτῆς τὰ τε ὅπλα καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν ἀπ' ² αὐτῶν, ἤ φθάσας ἔχρητο, προστεθείσαιν νομίσθειν, στρατιώταις τε ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους τρέφειν καὶ τὴν πόλιν διὰ φυλακῆς μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων.

4 δημάρχων ποιεῖσθαι ἐλαβε. καὶ τοῦτον Ἀντώνιον μὲν ἐν νόμῳ δὴ τιν πάνθ' ὧσα ἐπεθύμει ἑδρα, Δολοβέλλας δὲ καὶ Τρέβελλιος ὄνομα, μὲν βιαίου πράξεως εἶχον, ἀντηγωνίζοντο δὲ ὑπὸ τε τῆς θρασύτητος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ ἄλληλοις καὶ ἑκείνῳ, ὡςπερ τινὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤγεμονιαν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς εἰληφότες.

30 Καὶ τούτῳ Ἀντώνιος πυθόμενος τὰ στρατόπεδα, ἀ μετὰ τήν μάχην ὁ Καίσαρ ἐς τήν Ἰταλίαν ὡς καὶ ἐφευρέμενος σφίσει προσέπεμψε, ³ μηδὲν υγιές δραν, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ τι νεωτερίσωσι, τὸ μὲν ἀστυ τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ Λουκίῳ ἔπετρεψε, πολίαρχον αὐτῶν ἀποδέξας, ὃ μηπώποτε πρὸς ἐπιπάρχου ἐγενόει, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξώρισεν. οἱ οὖν δημάρχοι οἱ ἀντιστασίαζοντες σφίσι τοῦ τε Λουκίου διὰ τὸ γῆρας κατεφρόνησαν, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ, μέχρις οὗ τὸν Καίσαρα τὰ

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

Meanwhile Antony learned that the legions which Caesar after the battle had sent ahead into Italy, with the intention of following them later, were engaged in questionable proceedings; and fearing that they might begin some rebellion, he turned over the charge of the city to Lucius Caesar, appointing him city prefect, an office never before conferred by a master of the horse, and then set out himself to join the soldiers. The tribunes who were at variance with each other despised Lucius because of his advanced age and inflicted many outrages upon one another
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τε ἐν τῇ Ἀλγύπτῳ διωρκῆτα καὶ ἐσ τὴν Ἐρώμην ὁμοικότα ἐπύθοντο, καὶ ἐαυτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους 

3 ἐξειργάσαντο. ὡς γὰρ οὐκέτι αὐτοῦ ἐπανήξοντος, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ ποὺ πρὸς τῶν Ἀλγυπτίων, ὡσπερ ποὺ ἦκουν, ἀπολογομένου, διεφέροντο. τότε δὲ χρόνον μὲν τίνα ἐμετρίασαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Φαρνάκην ἐκεῖνος πρὸτερον ἑπεστράτευσεν, ἐστασίασαν αὐ- 

θις. ὁ οὖν Ἀντώνιος μὴτε ἐπισχεῖν αὐτοῦ δυνάμενος, καὶ τῷ πλῆθει διὰ τὴν πρὸς τῶν 

Δολοβέλλαν ἐναντίωσιν προσκρούον, τὰ μὲν 

πρῶτα τούτω προσέθετο, καὶ τὸν Τρεβέλλων 

ἀλλα τε ἐπητιάτο καὶ ὁτι τοὺς στρατιώτας σφε- 

2 τερίζοντο. ἔπειτα δὲ αἰσθάμενος τὸν ὄμιλον ἕνωτο 

μὲν μηδὲν προτιμῶντα τῷ δὲ Δολοβέλλα μόνῳ 

προσκείμενον, ἡχθεὶθη καὶ μετεβάλετο,1 ἀλλος 

τε καὶ ὁτι τῆς μὲν παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους χάριτος 

οὖκ ἐκοινώνει οἱ, τῆς δὲ παρὰ τῶν βουλευτῶν 

3 αἰτίας τὸ πλείστον μετελάμβανε. καὶ τῷ μὲν 

λόγῳ ἐν μέσῳ ἀμφότερος ἐστη, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ τοῦ 

Τρεβέλλων κρύφα ἀνθείλετο, καὶ τὰ τὰ άλλα 

αὐτῷ συνηγοωνίζετο καὶ στρατιώτας λαβεῖν ἐπέτρε- 

ψευ. καὶ ὁ μὲν θεατὴς ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἀγωνιθέτης 

αὐτῶν ἐγώγευτο, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐμάχοντο, καὶ τῆς 

τε πόλεως τὰ ἐπικαιρότατα ἀντικατελάμβανον 

καὶ φόνους τε καὶ ἐμπρήσεις3 ἐποίουν, ὡστε 

καὶ τὰ ιερὰ ποτε ἐκ τοῦ Ἐστιαίου ύπο τῶν 

32 ἀειπαρθένων ἐκκομμόθηναι. αὐθίς τε οὖν φυ- 

λακὴν οἱ βουλευταὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀκριβεστέραν

1 μετεβάλετο Bk., μετεβάλετο L.
2 οὔχ supplied by Reim.
3 ἐμπρήσεις R. Steph., ἐμπρήσεις τε L.

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and upon the rest, until they learned that Caesar having settled affairs in Egypt, had set out for Rome. For they were carrying on their quarrel upon the assumption that he would never return again but would of course perish there at the hands of the Egyptians, as, indeed, they kept hearing was the case. When, however, his coming was reported, they moderated their conduct for a time; but as soon as he set out against Pharnaces first, they fell to quarrelling once more. Accordingly Antony, seeing that he was unable to restrain them and that his opposition to Dolabella was obnoxious to the populace, at first joined himself to that tribune and brought various charges against Trebellius, among them one to the effect that he was appropriating the soldiers to his own use. Later, when he perceived that he himself was not held in any esteem by the multitude, which was attached only to Dolabella, he became vexed and changed sides, the more so because, while not sharing with the plebeian leader the favour of the people, he nevertheless received the greatest share of blame from the senators. So nominally he adopted a neutral attitude toward the two, but in fact secretly preferred the cause of Trebellius, and coöperated with him in various ways, particularly by allowing him to obtain soldiers. Thenceforward he became merely a spectator and director of their contest, while they fought, seized in turn the most advantageous points in the city, and entered upon a career of murder and arson, to such an extent that on one occasion the holy vessels were carried by the virgins out of the temple of Vesta. So the senators once more voted that the master of the horse should keep the

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m 2
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τῷ ἵππαρχῳ ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἀπασά
2 ὡς εἰπεῖν ἡ πόλις ἐπιηρώθη. οὔ μέντοι καὶ
παῦλά τις ἐγένετο. ὁ γὰρ Δολοβέλλας ἀπογονὸς
συγγνώμης τινὸς παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τεῦξεσθαι,¹
μέγα τι κακὸν ἐπεθύμει δράσας ἀπολέσθαι ὡς καὶ
όνομα ἐκ τούτοις ἀεὶ σχῆσων· ἶδη γὰρ τῶν
τῶν κακίστων ἐργών ἐραστὰι ἐπὶ τῇ φήμῃ
γίγνονται. ὑπὸ οὖντες καὶ ἐκεῖνος τά τε ἄλλα
ἐτάραττε, καὶ τοὺς νόμους, τόν τε περί τῶν χρεῶν
καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν ἐνοικίων, ἐν ρητῇ τινὶ ἡμέρᾳ
3 θῆσεις ὑπέσχετο. ὡς οὖν τούτο τε προσήγ-
γελτο ² καὶ ὃ δὴξ αὐτῷ τα τε περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν
ἀποφράξεις καὶ πύργους ἔστων ἡ ἤμιλοὺς ἐπι-
καταστήσας ³ ἐτοιμός παντι τῷ ἐναντιωθησομένῳ
σφίσιν ἐπιχειρῆσαι ἐγένετο, ἐντάθι' ὁ Ἀντώνιος
στρατιῶτας ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πολλοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Κα-
Pιτωλίου καταγαγὼν τάς τε σανίδας τῶν νόμων
κατέκοψε, καὶ τινὰς καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ταραχῶδεις
ἀπ' ⁴ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου κατεκρήμνισεν.

33 Οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπαύσαντο διὰ τοῦτο ⁵ στασιά-
ζοντες, ἀλλ' ὅσφι πλεῖον αὐτῶν ἀπὸλλυντο, τόσῳ
μᾶλλον οἱ περιλπεῖς ἔδορίσουν, νομίζοντες τὸν
Καίσαρα μεγίστῳ τε καὶ δυσχερεστάτῳ πολέμῳ
συμπελέχθαι. οὐδὲ ἐπέσχον πρὶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων
2 ἐξαπιναῖος σφίσιν ὁφθήναι. οὐτοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄκουτες
ὁσύγχασαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πᾶν ὁ τι ποτὲ ἐνεδέχετο
πείσεσθαι προσεδόκουν, λόγος τε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς κατά
πάσαν ὁμοίως τὴν πόλιν ἦν, ⁶ τῶν μὲν τά, τῶν δὲ τά

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

However, even this did not stop their quarrelling. Instead, the greater the number of those who perished, the greater disturbance did the survivors make, thinking that Caesar had become involved in a very great and difficult war. And they did not cease until he himself suddenly appeared before them; then they reluctantly quieted down. They were expecting to suffer every conceivable ill fate, and there was talk about them all through the city, some judging one way and others another; but
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dikaiouντων· ὃ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρ τῷ συνήθει οἱ τρόπως καὶ τότε ἔχρήσατο. τῇ τε γὰρ παρούσῃ αὐτῶν καταστάσει ἡρκέσθη, καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν προγενομένων ἐπολυπραγμόνησεν, ἀλλὰ πάντων τε ἐφείσατο καὶ τινας αὐτῶν καὶ ἐτίμησεν, ἀλλούς τε καὶ τὸν Δολοβέλλαν. εὑρεγεσίαν γὰρ τινα αὐτῷ ὀφείλων οὐκ ἤξιωσεν αὐτὴς ἐκλαθέσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ὅτι ἡδικήθη, διὰ τούτο καὶ ἐκείνης ὀλυγόρισεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν εὐ ἐπεπόνθε, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ οἱ συνέγυς, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα αὐτῶν ἐν τιμῇ ἦγαγεν, καὶ ὑπατον οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον μηδὲ στρατηγήσαντα ἀπέδειξε.

34. Ταύτα μὲν ἐν τῇ 'Ρώμῃ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπουσίαν ἐγένετο· χρόνιος δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Πομπηίου θανάτῳ, ἤλθε διὰ τάδε. οἱ Αιγύπτιοι ταῖς τῶν χρημάτων ἐστράξει βαρυνόμενοι, καὶ δεινῶς φέροντες ὅτι 2 μηδὲ τῶν ιερῶν τις ἀπείχετο (θησακεύσαι τε γὰρ πολλὰ περισσότατα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πολέμους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς ἅλλους, ἄτε μὴ καθ' ἐν ἅλλα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντιωτάτου καὶ αὐτοῖς τιμώντες τινα, ἀναιροῦντα), τούτους τε οὐν ἀγανακτήσαντες, καὶ προσέτι φοβηθέντες μὴ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ ἄτε μέγα παρὰ τῷ Καίσαρι δυναμένη 3 παραδοθῶσιν, ἐταράχθησαν. ἐκείνῃ τε γὰρ τῶς μὲν δὲν ἐτέρων παρ' αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐδικάζετο, ἐπείτα δὲ ὡς τάχιστα τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ κατέμαθεν (ἡν γὰρ ἐρωτικώτατος, καὶ πλείσταις καὶ ἄλλαις, ὅσαις ποινο περιτύχοι, συνεγύγνετο),

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

These were the events which occurred in Rome during Caesar's absence. Now the reasons why he was so long in coming there and did not arrive immediately after Pompey's death were as follows. The Egyptians were discontented at the levies of money and indignant because not even their temples were left untouched. For they are the most religious people on earth in many respects and wage wars even against one another on account of their beliefs, since they are not all agreed in their worship, but are diametrically opposed to each other in some matters. As a result, then, of their vexation at this and, further, of their fear that they might be surrendered to Cleopatra, who had great influence with Caesar, they began a disturbance. Cleopatra, it seems, had at first urged with Caesar her claim against her brother by means of agents, but as soon as she discovered his disposition (which was very susceptible, to such an extent that he had his intrigues with ever so many other women—with all, doubtless, who chanced to come in his way) she sent
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πέμπτε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ ἀνοίξασθαι τε ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων λέγουσα καὶ ἀξιούσα αὐτῇ δι’ ἐαυτῆς ἀγωνίσασθαι. Ἀλλὰς τε γὰρ περικαλλεστάτη γυναίκῶν ἐγένετο, καὶ τότε τῇ τῆς ὥρας ἀκμῇ πολὺ διέπρεπε, τὸ τε φθέγμα ἀστειότατον εἶχε, καὶ προσωμιλήσαι παντί τῷ διὰ χαρίτων ἡπτίςτατο, ὡστε λαμπρά τε ἴδεῖν καὶ ἀκουσθῆναι οὕσα, κάκ τούτου πάντα τινα καὶ δυσέρωτα καὶ ἀφηλικέστερον ἔξεργάσασθαι δυναμένη, πρὸς τρόπον τε ἐνύμισε τῷ Καίσαρι ἐντεύξεσθαι, καὶ πάντα εὖ τῷ κάλλει τὰ δικαιώματα ἔθετο. ἡτήςτατο τε οὖν ἐς ὅψιν αὐτοῦ ἔλθειν, καὶ τυχοῦσα κατεκόσμησε τε ἐαυτήν καὶ ἐξήσκησεν ὡστε σεμνοπρεπεστάτη καὶ οἰκτροτάτη αὐτῷ ὀφθῆναι. καὶ ἡ μὲν ταῦτα μηχανησμένη ἐς τε τὴν πόλιν ἀμα (ἔξω γὰρ καὶ ἐκείνης ἦν) καὶ ἐς τὰ βασιλεία

35 λάθρα τοῦ Πτολεμαίου νυκτὸς ἐσῆλθεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρ ἰδὼν τε αὐτὴν καὶ τι φθεγξαμένης ἀκούσας οὔτως εὐθὺς ἐδοξολόθη ὡστε αὐτίκα ὑπὸ τε τὴν ἐω τὸν τε Πτολεμαίων μεταπέμψασθαι καὶ συναλλάξαι σφᾶς ἐπιχειρήσας· ἡ γὰρ δικαστὴς πρότερον ἥξιοῦτο εἶναι, τότε ταῦτα συνεδίκει.

2 ὁ οὖν παῖς, διὰ τε τοῦτο καὶ ὅτι τὴν ἀδελφῆν αἰφνιδίως εἰδὲν ἐνδον οὖσαν, ὅργης τε ἐπηληρώθη, καὶ ἐκπηδήσας ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐβόα λέγον προδιδοσθαί, καὶ τέλος τὸ διάδημα ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς περιστάσας ἔρριψε. θορύβου δὲ ἔπι τοῦτο μεγάλου συμβάντος ἐκείνων μὲν οἱ Καίσαρειοι στρατιῶται συνήρπασαν, τὸ δὲ δὴ Αἰγύπτιον

3 ἐταράττετο· καὶ αὐτοβοεῖ τὰ βασιλεία καὶ ἕκ

1 αὐτὸν Leuncl., αὐτὸν καὶ L.

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word to him that she was being betrayed by her friends and asked that she be allowed to plead her case in person. For she was a woman of surpassing beauty, and at that time, when she was in the prime of her youth, she was most striking; she also possessed a most charming voice and a knowledge of how to make herself agreeable to every one. Being brilliant to look upon and to listen to, with the power to subjugate every one, even a love-sated man already past his prime, she thought that it would be in keeping with her rôle to meet Caesar, and she reposed in her beauty all her claims to the throne. She asked therefore for admission to his presence, and on obtaining permission adorned and beautified herself so as to appear before him in the most majestic and at the same time pity-inspiring guise. When she had perfected her schemes she entered the city (for she had been living outside of it), and by night without Ptolemy’s knowledge went into the palace. Caesar, upon seeing her and hearing her speak a few words was forthwith so completely captivated that he at once, before dawn, sent for Ptolemy and tried to reconcile them, thus acting as advocate for the very woman whose judge he had previously assumed to be. For this reason, and because the sight of his sister within the palace was so unexpected, the boy was filled with wrath and rushed out among the people crying out that he was being betrayed, and at last he tore the diadem from his head and cast it away. In the great tumult which thereupon arose Caesar's troops seized the person of the prince and the Egyptian populace continued to be in an uproar. They assaulted
τής γῆς καὶ ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀμα προσβαλόντες ἔλλον (τοὺς γὰρ Ὑιμαίων οὐδὲν ἀξιώμαχον, ἀτε καὶ φίλων σφῶν δοκοῦντων ἔναι, παρήν), εἰ μὴ φοβηθεὶς ὁ Καίσαρ προῆλθε τε ἐς αὐτοῦς, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεί στὰς πάντα σφὶσιν, ὅσα ἀν ἐθελή-4 σωσι, πράξειν ὑπέσχετο. καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ἐσελθὼν τὸν τε Πτολεμαίον καὶ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν παρεστήσατο, καὶ τὰς διαθήκας τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν ἁνέγγυν, ἐν αἷς ἐκεῖνος μὲν συνοι-κήσαι τε ἀλλήλοις κατὰ τὰ τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων πάτρια καὶ βασιλεύειν ἀμα,2 τὸν δὲ δὴ τῶν Ὑ-μαίων δῆμον τὴν ἐπιτροπείαν σφῶν ἔχειν ἐγέ-5 γραπτο. πράξας δὲ τούτῳ, καὶ ἐπεισδω ὅτι ἐαυτῷ, δικτάτορι ὑντι καὶ πᾶν τὸ τοῦ δῆμον κράτος ἔχοντι, τὴν τε ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν παιδῶν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ δόσαν καὶ πατρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπι-τελεῖν προσήκει, ἐκεῖνος τε τὴν βασιλείαν ἁμφο-τέροις ἕδωκε, καὶ τῇ Ἀρσινόῃ τῷ τε Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ νεωτέρῳ, τοῖς ἁδελφοῖς σφῶν, Κύπρον ἔχαρι-6 σατο. τοσοῦτον γὰρ ποι ἐνοῦς αὐτῶν ἐσχεν ὡστε μὴ μοῦν μηδὲν τῶν τῆς Ἀιγυπτίων προσλαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν οἰκείων τὶ αὐτοῖς προσδοῦναι.

36 Τὸτε μὲν οὕτως ἐπαινάσαντο, ἀυθίς δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον ἐκινήθησαν ὡστε καὶ πολεμή-σαι. ὁ γὰρ Ποθεινὸς ὁ τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου χρημάτων προστεταιμένος (εὐνοῦχος δὲ ἐν καὶ τοὺς Ἀιγυπτίους ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα 2 συνετεταράχει), δείσας μὴ καὶ δίκην ποτὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δῷ, πέμπει κρύφα πρὸς τὸν Ἀχιλλᾶν περὶ τὸ Πηθούσιον ἐτὶ καὶ τότε ὑντα, καὶ αὐτῶν

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

By this action they were temporarily calmed, but not long afterward were roused even to the point of making war. For Pothinus, a eunuch who was charged with the management of Ptolemy's funds and who had taken a leading part in stirring up the Egyptians, became afraid that he might some time have to pay the penalty for his conduct, and he accordingly sent secretly to Achillas, who was still at this time near Pelusium, and by frightening him and
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ἐκφοβήσας τε ἢμα καὶ ἐπελπίσας προσηταιρίσατο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς
3 τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντας ἄκεισάτο. πᾶσι τε γὰρ ὅμοιως δεινὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι ὑπὸ γνωαικὸς ἄρχεσθαι,
ὑπὸψια τοῦ τὸν Καίσαρα τότε μὲν ἔπὶ τῇ καταστάσει σφῶν ἀμφοτέρους δῆθεν αὐτοῖς τὴν
βασιλείαν δεδωκέναι, προιόντος δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου
4 μόνη τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ αὐτὴν προσθήσεως καὶ ἀντίπαλοι τῷ τότε παρόντι αὐτοῦ στρατῷ
ἐνόμιζον εἶναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάν
dρειαν εὐθὺς ἀραντες ἤλασαν 1 πυθόμενος δὲ
tοῦτο ὁ Καίσαρ, καὶ καταδείσας τὸ τε πλῆθος
ἀυτῶν καὶ τὰς τόλμας, ἔπεμψε τινας πρὸς τὸν
Ἄχιλλαν, οὐτὶ γε τῷ αὐτοῦ ἀλλὰ τῷ τοῦ
Πτολεμαίου ὑνόματι, κελεύοντος αὐτῷ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀγείν. καὶ δὲ συνεῖς ὅτι οὐ τοῦ παιδὸς
ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνον ἢ πρόσταξις ἦν, οὐχ ὅπως οὐκ
2 ἐπήκουσεν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσκαταφρονήσας
ὡς καὶ φοβουμένου τοὺς τε στρατιώτας συνήγαγε,
καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πολλὰ δὲ
καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῆς τε Κλεοπάτρας
εἰπὼν, τέλος καὶ ἔπι τοὺς πεμφθέντας καὶ περὶ
Ἀγνωτίνου ὄντας παρώξυνεν αὐτοὺς, ὅπως τοῦ
tε φόνου σφῶν ἀναπλησθῶσι καὶ ἐς ἀνάγκην
3 ἀσπείστου πολέμου καταστῶσι. μαθῶν οὖν
ταύτα ὁ Καίσαρ τοὺς τε ἐκ τῆς Συρίας στρατιώ
tας μετεπέμψατο, καὶ τὰ βασιλεία τὰ τε ἄλλα
tὰ πλησίον αὐτῶν οἰκοδομήματα διετάφρευσε
38 καὶ ἀπετείχισε μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης. καὶ τούτῳ
καὶ ὁ Ἀχιλλᾶς μετὰ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ μετὰ
tῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὕπό τοῦ Γαβριήλου συν τῷ

1 ἤλασαι Wakefield, ἦμυνον L.
at the same time inspiring him with hopes he made him his associate, and next won over also all the rest who bore arms. To all of them alike it seemed a shame to be ruled by a woman—for they suspected that Caesar on the occasion mentioned had given the kingdom ostensibly to both the children merely to quiet the people, and that in the course of time he would offer it to Cleopatra alone—and they thought themselves a match for the army he then had present. So they set out at once and proceeded toward Alexandria. Caesar, learning of this and feeling afraid of their numbers and daring, sent some men to Achillas, not in his own, but in Ptolemy's name, bidding him keep the peace. Achillas, however, realizing that this was not the boy's command, but Caesar's, so far from giving it any attention, was filled with contempt for the sender, believing him afraid. So he called his soldiers together and by haranguing them at length in favour of Ptolemy and against Caesar and Cleopatra he finally roused their anger against the messengers, though these were Egyptians, so that they should defile themselves with their murder and thus be forced into a relentless war. Caesar, apprised of this, summoned his soldiers from Syria and fortified the palace and the other buildings near it by a moat and wall reaching to the sea. Meanwhile Achillas arrived with the Romans and the others who had been left behind with Septimius
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Σεπτιμίῳ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου φρουράν καταλειφθέντων ἐπελθὼν (ἐκ γὰρ δὴ τῆς ἐκεί διατριβῆς καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἐς τὸ ἐπιχώριον μετεβεβλήκεσαν) τῶν τε 'Αλεξανδρέων τὸ πλείστον εὐθὺς προσεποίησατο καὶ τὰ ἐπικαιρότατα ἑκατάτομα. κὰκ τοὔτον πολλαὶ μὲν μᾶχαι καὶ μὴ ἦμέραν καὶ νῦκτωρ αὐτῶς ἐγίγνοντο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ κατεπίμπρατο,1 ὡστε ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ νεώριον τάς τε ἀποθήκας καὶ τοῦ σίτου καὶ τῶν βιβλίων, πλείστων δὴ καὶ ἀριστῶν, ὡς φασί, γενομένων, καυθήναι. ἑκράτει δὲ τῆς μὲν ἠπείρου ὁ 'Αχιλλᾶς, χωρὶς δὲν ὁ Καῦσαρ ἑνετεῖχεν, τῆς δὲ δὴ ἥθαλάσσης ἐκείνος, ἄνευ τοῦ λιμένος. καὶ ναυμαχία τε ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἑπειδὴ διὰ τούτο φοβηθέντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι μὴ ἐς τὸν λιμένα σφῶν ἐπεσπλεύσθη, τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ πλὴν βραχέος ἦχωσαν, καὶ ἐκεῖνο προσ- ἀπέφραξεν, ὡς ὁδικάδες λίθων πλήρεις καταποντώσας,2 ὡστ' αὐτοὺς μηδ' εἰ πάνυ τι βουλούντο ἐκπλεῦσαί, δυνηθήναι ποι ἀπάραι. ποιήσας δὲ τούτο ῥᾴδιν τὰ ἐπιτήθεαι τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ὡδῷ ἐπῆγετο τὴν γὰρ αὐτόθεν ὑδρείαν ὁ Ἀχιλλᾶς σφας ἀφῆρθο,3 τους ὄχετοις διακόψας.

39 Τοῦτων δὲ οὕτω πραττομένων Γανυμήδης τοὺς εὐνόχος τὴν Ἀρσινόην οὐ πάνυ φρουρουμένην ἐσ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους υπεξήγαγε· καὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνοι βασιλίδα ἀποδειξαντες προθυμότερον τοῦ πολέμου, ὡς καὶ προστάτιν τινὰ ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Πτολε- μαίων γένους ἑχοντες, ἀντελάβοντο. ο ὅν

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

While these events were taking place, one Ganymedes, a eunuch, secretly brought Arsinoë to the Egyptians, as she was not very well guarded. They declared her queen and proceeded to prosecute the war more vigorously, inasmuch as they now had as leader a representative of the family of the
ΔΙΟ'S ROMAN HISTORY

Καίσαρ φοβηθείς μή καὶ ὁ Ποθεινὸς τὸν Πτολεμαίον ἐκκλέψῃ, τὸν μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, τὸν δὲ οὔκ ἐπικρυπτόμενος ἀκριβῶς ἐφρούρηε. παρεξυκνήτων δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτως τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων, καὶ ἐκείνως μὲν πλειόνων ἀεὶ προσγνωμομένων, τοῖς δὲ δὴ Ὁρμαιοῖς μηδὲπω τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκ τῆς Συρίας παρούτων, ἔς φιλίαν αὐτοῦς

3 ὑπαγαγέσθαι ἠθέλησε, καὶ τῶν Πτολεμαίον ἀναβιβάσας ποὺ, ὃθεν ἐξακουσθήσεσθαι ἐμέλλεν, εἰπεῖν σφιν έκέλευσεν ὅτι οὔτε τι πολὺν ἔχοι οὔτε πολέμεϊν δέοιτο· πρὸς τὲ τὰς σπονδὰς αὐτοῦς παρεκάλει, καὶ προσυποχείτο διαπρά-

4 ξειν αὐτάς. καὶ εἶντε ἑκὼν ταῦτα οὖτο διείλεκτο, ἑπείσεν ἃν σφας καταλύσασθαι· νῦν δ' ύποτο-

πῆσαντε αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος κατεσκεύασθαι οὖκ ἐνέδοσαν.

40 Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου στάσις τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἀρωνόν οὖσιν ἐνέπεσε, καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Γαυμ-

μήδος ἑπείσε τὸν Ἀχιλλάν ὡς καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν προδώσοντα1 ἀποκτείναι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου τὴν τὸ ἡγεμονίαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν παρέλαβε, καὶ τὰ πλοία ὅσα ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ

2 ἦν συνήγαγεν, ἀλλὰ τε προσκατακεύσας, καὶ πάντα αὐτὰ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν διὰ τῶν διωρύχων κομίσας τοῖς τῇ Ρωμαιοῖς μὴ προσδεχομένους προσέβαλε, καὶ τὰς μὲν κατέπρησε τῶν ὄλκαδὼν αὐτῶν τὰς δὲ ἀνεδήσατο, καὶ μετὰ τούτο τὸν τε ἐσπλήνου τὸν λυμένος ἐξεκάθηρε, κἂνταῦθα

3 ναυλοχῶν2 πολλὰ σφας ἐλύπει. τηρῆσας οὖν ποτὲ αὐτοῦς ὁ Καίσαρ ἀμελῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατεὶν

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

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

As time went on a dispute arose among the followers of Arsinoë, and Ganymedes prevailed upon her to put Achillas to death, on the ground that he was going to betray the fleet. When this had been done, he assumed command of the soldiers and gathered all the boats that were in the river and the lake, besides constructing others; and he conveyed them all through the canals to the sea, where he attacked the Romans while off their guard, burned some of their freight ships to the water's edge and towed others away. Then he cleared out the entrance to the harbour and by lying in wait for vessels there he caused the Romans great annoyance. So Caesar, having waited for a time when they were acting carelessly by reason of their success, suddenly

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ἐχοντας ἐς τε τὸν λιμένα αἰφνιδίως ἐπεσέπλευσε, καὶ συχνὰ πλοία καύσας ἐς τὴν Φάρον ἀπέβη καὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῇ ἐφόνευσεν. ιδόντες δὲ τούτο οἱ ἐν τῇ ἥπειρᾳ Διογέντειοι κατὰ τε τὰς γεφύρας ἐπεβοήθησαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ συχνοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαιῶν ἀνταποκτέναιντες τοὺς λοιποὺς 4 ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσήραξαν. καὶ αὐτῶν ὑπονήπτοτε καὶ ἀθρόως ἐσβιασμένων ἐς αὐτὰς ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξέπεσον καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ. καὶ διέφθαρτο κακῶς, ὡς τε τῶν ἰματίων βαρυνόμενος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Διογέντεων βαλλόμενος (ἀλουργῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὄντων ἐστοχάζοντο), εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἀπερρίφει καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο διανεύ-

5 σας πη ὑ ἐς ἀκάτιον ἐσθεβεβήκει. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὖτος ἐσώθη, μηδὲν τῶν γραμμάτων βρέξας ἀ πολλὰ ἐν τῇ ἄριστερᾷ χειρὶ ἀνέχων ἐνήξατο· τὴν δὲ ἐσθήτα αὐτοῦ ὁ Διογέντειος λαβόντες πρὸς τὸ τρόπαιον, ὃ ἐστησαν τῆς τροπῆς ταύτης, ἀνεκρέ-

μασαν ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἤρηκότες. καὶ ἦδη γὰρ καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ἀ ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας μετεπέ-

πεμπτο 1 ἐπλησίασε, τάς τε κατάρσεις ἐτήρουν 6 καὶ πολλὰ αὐτῶς ἐβλαπτον. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ 2 πρὸς τὴν Διβύθην σφών προπίπτοσιν ὁ Καίσαρ τρόπου τινὰ ἢμυνε· συχνοὺς δὲ δὴ περὶ τᾶς τοῦ Νείλου ἐκβολᾶς πυρσοῖς ὡς καὶ Ῥωμαιοὶ ὄντες ἥπατων τε καὶ συνελάμβανοι, ὡς τοὺς λοιποὺς μηκέτι τολμᾶν παρακομίζεσθαι, μέχρις ὡς Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Νέρων ἐς αὐτὸν τότε τῶν ποταμῶν ἀναπλέυσας ἐκείνους τε μάχῃ ἐκράτησε καὶ τοῖς σφετέροις ἀδεέστερον τῶν πρόσπλουν ἐποίησε.

1 μετεπέπεμπτο Dind., μετεπέμπετο L. 2 γὰρ supplied by Rk. 178
sailed into the harbour, burned a large number of vessels, and disembarking on Pharos, slew the inhabitants of the island. When the Egyptians on the mainland saw this, they rushed over the bridges to the aid of their friends, and after killing many of the Romans in turn drove the remainder back to the ships. While the fugitives were forcing their way into these in crowds anywhere they could, Caesar and many others fell into the sea. He would have perished miserably, being weighted down by his robes and pelted by the Egyptians (for his garments, being of purple, offered a good mark), had he not thrown off his clothing and then succeeded in swimming out to where a skiff lay, which he boarded. In this way he was saved, and that, too, without wetting one of the documents of which he held up a large number in his left hand as he swam. The Egyptians took his clothing and hung it upon the trophy which they set up to commemorate this rout, just as if they had captured him himself. They also kept a close watch upon the landings, since the legions which had been sent for from Syria were already drawing near, and were doing the Romans much injury. For while Caesar could defend in a fashion those of them who came ashore on the Libyan side, yet near the mouth of the Nile the Egyptians deceived many of his men by means of signal fires, as if they too were Romans, and thus captured them, so that the rest no longer ventured to come to land, until Tiberius Claudius Nero at this time sailed up the river itself, conquered the foe in battle, and made it safer for his followers to come to land.
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

41 Κἂν τούτῳ Μιθριδάτης ο Περγαμηνὸς ἐπικλῆθεις ἐπεχείρησε μὲν ἐς τὸ στόμα τοῦ Νείλου τὸ κατὰ Πηλούσιον ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀναβῆναι, ἀποφραζάντων δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τοῖς πλοίοις τῶν ἔσπλουν προσεκομίσθη νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τήν διώρυχα,
2 καὶ ναὶς ἐς αὐτὴν ὑπερενεγκὼν (οὐ γὰρ ἔξησιν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν) οὐτώ διὰ ταύτης ἐς τὸν Νείλον ἀνέπλευσε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο αἰφνίδιον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀμα τοῖς φρονοῦσι τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ προσμίξας τὴν τε ἀπόκλεισιν
3 σφών ἔλυσε, καὶ τὸ Πηλούσιον τῷ τε πεζῷ ἁμα καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ προσβαλῶν ἐλευθερωτέρων τε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, καὶ πυθόμενος Διοσκουρίδην τινὰ ἀπαντήσειν σφώσιν, ἐνηδρευσε τε αὐτὸν καὶ κατειργάσατο.

42 Αἰσθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτ’ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν μὲν πολέμου οὐδ’ ὡς κατελύσαντο, ἄχθεσθέντες δὲ τῇ τοῦ εὐνούχου καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀρχῆ, καὶ νομίζαντες, ἂν τὸν Πτολεμαίον προστήσωσιν,
2 καθυπέρτεροι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔσεσθαι, ἐπειτ’ ἐπειδὴ οὐδένα τρόπον ἔξαρπάσαι αὐτὸν ἠδυνήθησαν (δεινῶς γὰρ ἐφυλάσσετο), ἐπιλάσαντο ταῖς τε συμφοραῖς πεπονηθαί καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμεῖν, καὶ ἐπεμψαν πρὸς τὸν Καῖσαρα ἐπικηρυκεύμενοι τε καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαίον αἰτούντες, ὡς ἐκ τῶν σπονδῶν, ἔφ’ οῖς γενήσοντο, 3 βουλεύσουσιν. ο ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ ἐνόμισε μὲν καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς αὐτοὺς μεταβεβλήσθαι (ἀλλος τε γὰρ καὶ δειλοὺς καὶ ἀξιορρότους ὄντας ἦκονε, καὶ τότε

1 ἀπόκλεισιν R. Steph., ἀπόκλισιν L.
2 μὲν supplied by Bk.
3 ἄχθεσθέντες R. Steph., ἀχθέντες L.

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

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

4 οὕτε ὅρα ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἱσχυρῷ ἔκ τε τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀπαίσθειας ἐνεώρα ὃν, καὶ τοὺς Ἀιγυπτίους ἦτοι συναλλαγήσεσθαι οἱ ἐφ` οἷς ἐβούλετο ἢ δικαιότερον καὶ καταπολεμηθήσεσθαι καὶ καταστραφήσεσθαι ἦλπισέν, ὡστε ἀπ᾽ εὐλόγον δὴ τὸν προφάσεως τῆς Κλεοπάτρας παραδοθήματι.

5 οὐ γὰρ ποιν καὶ ἡττηθήσεσθαι ποτὲ ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν, ἀλλάς τε καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως οἱ προσεγγευμένης, προσεδοκησε. παραλαβόντες δὲ τὸ παιδάριον οἱ Ἀιγυπτίω οἱ τῶν μὲν σπουδῶν οὐδὲν ἐφρόντισαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν Μιθριδάτην παραχρῆμα ὥρμησαν ὡς δὴ καὶ μέγα 2 τι ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ ματι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερεῖ τῇ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου κατορθόσωστε· καὶ αὐτὸν πρὸς τῇ λίμνῃ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν

2 ἠλῶν ἀπολαβόντες ἐθορύβουν. ὁ οὖν Καίσαρ ἐκείνους μὲν οὐκ ἐπεδιώξεν, δεδιώξε μὴ λοχισθείν· ἀναχθεῖς δὲ νυκτὸς ὡς πρὸς ἐκβολήν τινα τοῦ Νείλου ἐπειγόμενοι, καὶ φῶς, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλείστον ταύτῃ προϊέναι νομισθῆ, πάμπολυ καὶ ἐκάστην ναῦν ἀνάψας, τό μὲν πρῶτον ἐπιπλεῖν ὀρμήτο, ἐπείτα δὲ ἀποσβέσας αὐτὸ ἀνεκομίσθη, καὶ παραπλεύσας τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τῇ χερσόνησου τῆς πρὸς τῇ Λιβύην ὑσαν κατηρε, κάνταθα τοὺς στρατιῶτας ἐκβιβάσας περιήλθε τῇ τὴν λίμνην, καὶ τοῖς Ἀιγυπτίοις ἀπροσδόκητος ὑπὸ 3 τὴν ἐνω πρωπεσίων εὐθὺς τέ αὐτοὺς κατέπληξεν ὡστε

1 οὕτε Bk., οὕτε L. 2 δή καὶ μέγα Bk., καὶ δὴ μέγα L. 3 ὑπὸ Reim., ἐπὶ L.

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

44. Οὕτω μὲν τὴν Αἰγύπτου ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐχειρώσατο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὑπήκοον αὐτὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλὰ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ, ἥσσορ ἕνεκα καὶ ἐπεπολεμήκει, ἐχαρίσατο. φοβηθεῖς μέντοι μὴ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι νεωτέρισσωσιν αὐθεὸς γυναικὶ ἄρχειν παραδοθέντες, καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τοῦ τούτο καὶ δῆτα καὶ συνὴν αὐτῷ χαλεπῆνος, τῷ τε ἐτέρῳ ἀδελφῷ συνοικῆσαι δῆθεν αὐτὴν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀμφότερος σφίσαν, ὡς γε καὶ λόγῳ εἰπείν, ἔδωκε. τῷ γὰρ ἔργῳ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα μόνῃ πάν τὸ κράτος σχῆσειν ἐμελλεῖν ὁ τε γὰρ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς παιδίον ἔτι ἦν, καὶ ἐκεῖνη πρὸς τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Καῖσαρος ἐνοικιαν ὅλον ὁ τι οὐκ ἐδύνατο,

45. ἢ γὰρ πρὸς εἰρήμα μὲν ὡς καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ συνοικισάμενο καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπίκουιον αὐτῷ ἔχουσα ἐκέκτητο, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς μόνῃ τε ἐβασίλευε καὶ τῷ Καῖσαρι συνδιηγητάτο.

Καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ 1 πλεῖσιν ἄν ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ κατέσχεν, ἃ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην εὐθὺς αὐτῷ συνατῆρεν, εἰ μήπερ ὁ Φαρνάκης καὶ ἔκειθεν πάνυ ἄκοτα τοῦ Καῖσαρα ἐξῆγαγε καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπειχθῆναι ἐκώλυσεν. οὕτους γὰρ παῖς μὲν 2 τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἦν καὶ τοῦ Βοσπόρου τοῦ Κιμερίου ἦρχεν, ὡσπερ εἰρηται, ἐπιθυμήσας δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν πατρίων βασιλείαν ἀνακτήσασθαι ἐπανέστη κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν τε τοῦ Καῖσαρος καὶ τὴν τοῦ Πομπήιου

1 ἐπὶ Rk., ὑπὶ L.
2 γὰρ παῖς μὲν Bk., μὲν γὰρ παῖς L.

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their entreaty, a fierce battle later took place in which he was victorious and slew great numbers of the enemy. Ptolemy and some others tried in their haste to escape across the river, and perished in it.

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

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

1 xxxvii, 12-14, xlii. 9.
στάσει, καὶ οίᾳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τότε μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀσχόλων γενομένων, αὐθεὶς δὲ ἐν τῇ
3 Αἰγύπτῳ κατασχεθέντων, τῇ τε Κολχίδα άκομνε ἐγκαθηγήτου καὶ τῷ Ἀρμενίαν ἀπόντος τοῦ Δημο-
tάρου πάσαν, τῇ τε Καππαδοκίας 1 καὶ τῶν τοῦ Πόντου πολεων τινας, αὗ τῷ τῆς Βιθυνίας νομῷ
46 προσευτάχατο, κατεστρέψατο. πράσσοντος δὲ τοῦ ταύτα ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἐκείνηθη
(οὔτε γὰρ ἡ Ἀιγυπτίας τῷ καθειστήκη,2 καὶ ἑλπίδος τι3 εἰχε δὲ ἐτέρων αὐτῶν χειρώσεσθαι),
Γναῖον δὲ Δομίτιον Καλουῦνον ἐπεμψε, τῇ τε Ἡσίαν οἴ καὶ . . . . .4 στρατόπεδα προστάξας.
2 καὶ δὲ τῶν Δημόταρον καὶ τῶν Ἀριστεραβάνην
προσλαβῶν ἠλάσεν εὐθὺς ἔπλη τὸν Φαρνάκην ἐν τῇ
Νικοπόλει ὑπατα (καὶ γὰρ ταύτα προκατετίθει),
καὶ καταφρουσάς, ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος τὴν παρουσίαν
αὐτοῦ φοβηθεῖσις ἀνοχῇν ἔπλη προβεβεύσει ἐτοίμως
ἔσχε ποιήσασθαι,5 οὔτε ἐσπεύσατο αὐτῷ καὶ
3 συμβαλῶν ἠτήθη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τοῦτον ἐς τὴν
Ἡσίαν, ἐπειδὴ μήτε ἀξίομαχός οἱ ἦν καὶ ὁ χειμῶν
προσῆγε, ἀνεχόρησεν. Φαρνάκης δὲ μεγάλα δὴ
φρουῦν τὰ τὰ άλλα τὰ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ προσκατ-
εκτῆσατο,6 καὶ Ἄμισον καίπερ ἔπλη πλείον
ἀντισχοῦσαν εἰλὲ τε καὶ διήρπασε, τοὺς τε
ἡμῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πάντας ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ ἐς τὴν
Βιθυνίαν τὴν τῇ Ἡσίαν ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς τῷ πατρὶ
4 ἐπίστω ἥπεργετο. καὶ τούτῳ μαθῶν τοὺν
Ἰσαυδρον, ὅν ἐπίτρωτον τοῦ Βοσπόρου κατελε-

1 Some word like μέρος or τὸ πλείστον seems to have fallen out here.
2 καθειστήκη R. Steph., καθειστήκη L.
3 τι Dind., τε L. 4 Lacuna recognized by Dind.
5 ποιήσασθαι v. Herw., ποιήσασθαι L.
6 προσκατεκτησατο Pflugk, προσκατεστησατο L.

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Pompey, and, as the Romans were at that time occupied with one another and afterward were detained in Egypt, he got possession of Colchis without any difficulty, and in the absence of Deiotarbus subjugated all Armenia, and [part?] of Cappadocia, and some cities of Pontus that had been assigned to the district of Bithynia. While he was thus engaged, Caesar himself did not stir, inasmuch as Egypt was not yet in a settled state and he had some hope of overcoming Pharnaces through others; but he sent Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus, assigning him charge of Asia and of . . . legions. This officer added to his forces Deiotarus and Ariobarzanes and marched straight against Pharnaces, who was at Nicopolis, which he had already seized; and feeling contempt for his enemy, because the latter in dread of his arrival was ready through an embassy to agree to an armistice, he did not conclude a truce with him, but attacked him and was defeated. After that he retired to Asia, since he was no match for his conqueror and winter was approaching. Pharnaces was greatly elated, and after acquiring all the rest of Pontus, captured Amisos also, though it long held out against him; and he plundered the city and put to the sword all the men of military age there. He then hastened into Bithynia and Asia with the same hopes as his father had cherished. Meanwhile, learning that Asander, whom he had left as governor of Bosporus, had

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λοίπει, νενεοχμωκότα, οὐκέτι περαιτέρω ¹ προε-
χώρησεν ἐκείνος γάρ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα πόρρω τε
ὁ Φαρνάκης ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προϊόν ήγγελθη, καὶ
ἐδόκει, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐν γε τῷ παρόντι ἄνθοι,²
ἀλλ' οὐτί γε καὶ ἐπείτα καλῶς ἀπαλλάξειν,
ἐπανέστη αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τι χαρι-
ούμενος τῇ τε δυναστείᾳ τοῦ Βοσπόρου παρ'
αὐτῶν ληψόμενος.

47 Τούτ' οὖν ὁ Φαρνάκης ἀκούσας ἀρμήσεν ἐπ'
αὐτόν μάτην τοῖς γὰρ Καίσαρα ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ εἶναι
καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐπείγεσθαι πυθόμενος
ἀνέστρεψε, κάνανθα αὐτῷ περὶ Ζέλαν συνέτυχεν.
ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ τοῦ τε Πτολεμαίου τελευτάσας
καὶ τοῦ Δομιτίου νικηθέντος οὔτε ἐυτρεπῆ οὔτε
λυστελή οἳ τὴν ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ διατριβήν
ἐνόμισεν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἀφορμήθη, καὶ τάχει πολλῷ
χρησάμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀφίκετο. ἐκπλαγεὶς
οὖν ὁ Βάρβαρος, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὴν ὀρμήν ἢ
τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ καταδείσας, προσέπεμψεν
αὐτῷ πρὶν πλησιάσαι πολλάκις προκηρυκευό-
μενος, εἰ πως τὸ παρόν ἐφ' ὦτῳ συνθέμενος
χρήσαμεν ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀφίκετο. ἐκπλαγεὶς
οὖν ὁ Βάρβαρος, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὴν ὀρμήν ἢ
τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ καταδείσας, προσέπεμψεν
αὐτῷ πρὶν πλησιάσαι πολλάκις προκηρυκευό-
μενος, εἰ πως τὸ παρόν ἐφ' ὦτῳ συνθέμενος

3 ἐκφύγοι. προϊόχετο δὲ ἀλλὰ τα καὶ ἐν τοῖς
μάλιστα ὅτι οὔ συνήρατο τῷ Πομπήιῳ καὶ
ἥλπεν ὑπάξεσθαι τοῖς τετάρτοις εἰς σπονδὰς ἅτε καὶ
ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τῇ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἐπειγόμενον, καὶ
ἀπελθόντος αὐτοῦ ῥαδίως ἄθικος πολεμήσειν.

4 ὑποπτέσσας οὖν τούτῳ ὁ Καίσαρ τοὺς μὲν πρώ-
τους καὶ τοὺς δευτέρους πρόσβας ἐφιλοφρονήσατο,
ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα ἀπροσδοκικὴ ὡς τῇ τῆς εἰρήνης
ἐλπίς προσπέσῃ, τῶν δὲ τρίτων ἐλθόντων τα τε

¹ περαιτέρω R. Steph., περαιτέρω L.
² ἄνθοι Bk., ἄνθοι L.

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

It was at the news of this that Pharnaces set out against him, but all in vain; for on ascertaining that Caesar was on the way and was hurrying into Armenia, he turned back and met him there near Zela. For now that Ptolemy was dead and Domitius vanquished, Caesar had decided that his delay in Egypt was neither creditable nor profitable to him, and had set out from there and had come with great speed into Armenia. And so the barbarian, alarmed and fearing Caesar's rapidity much more than his army, sent messengers to him before he drew near, making frequent proposals to see if he might on some terms or other escape the present danger. One of the principal pleas that he presented was that he had not coöperated with Pompey, and he hoped to induce Caesar to grant a truce, particularly since the latter was anxious to hasten to Italy and Africa; and once Caesar was gone, he hoped to wage war again at his ease. Caesar suspected this, and so treated the first and second embassies with great kindness, in order that he might fall upon his foe as unexpectedly as possible because of his hopes of peace; but when the third deputation came, he uttered various re-
ΔΙΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΝΗ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ

5 ευεργέτην έγκατέλειπεν, καὶ οὐκ ἀνεβάλετο, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς αὐθημερόν, ὡσπερ ἐίχεν ἐκ τῆς ὅδου, συνέμει, καὶ τινα χρόνον ὑπὸ τε τῆς ὑππον καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δρεπανιφόρων ἐκταραχθεῖς ἐπείτα τοῖς ὀπλίταις ἐκράτησεν. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐκφυγόντα ἔπι τήν θάλασσαν, καὶ ἐς τὸν Βόσπορον μετά τούτο ἐσβιαξόμενον, οἷς Ἀσανδρος ἐλεξε τε καὶ

48 ἀπέκτεινεν. Καίσαρ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ, καὶ περ ὃν διαπρεπεῖ γενομένη, πόλιν καὶ ὅσον ἐπ’ οὔδεμα ἄλλη ἐφρόνησεν, ὃτι ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἱμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ὠρα καὶ ἡλθε πρὸς τὸν πολέμιον καὶ εἴδεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐνίκησε. καὶ τὰ τε λάφυρα πάντα, καὶ τοὺς πλείστα γενόμενα, τοὺς στρατιῶτας ἐδωρήσατο, καὶ τρόπαιον, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἀπὸ τοῦ Τριαρίου ἐνταῦθα ποὺ ἔγγερκε, ἀντανέστησε. καθελεῖν μὲν γὰρ τὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου οὐκ ἔτολμησεν ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἐμπολεμίους θεοῖς ἱερομένου, τῇ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ἰδίου παραστάσει καὶ ἐκεῖνο συνεκάισακε καὶ τρόπον τινά καὶ κατέ-

3 στρεψε. καὶ μετὰ τούτο τῆν χώραν ὡς τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν ἐνόρκων σφίσιν ἀποτετμημένος ὁ Φαρνάκης ἦν ἐκομίσατο, καὶ αὐτὴν πάσαν ὡς ἐκάστοις τοῖς ἀπολέσασιν ἔδωκε, πλην μέρους τινὸς τῆς Ἀρμενίας, δὲ τῷ Ἀριοβαρζάνει ἐχαρί-

4 σατο. τοὺς τε Ἀμισηνοὺς ἐλευθερία ἠμείξατο, καὶ τῷ Μιθριδάτη τῷ Περγαμηνῷ τεταρχίαν τε ἐν Γαλατιᾷ καὶ Βασίλειας ὄνομα ἔδωκε, πρὸς τε τῶν Ἀσανδρον πολεμήσαι ἐπέτρεψεν, ὅπως καὶ

1 ἀνεβάλετο H. Steph., ἀνεβάλλετο L.
2 ἐς Bk., ἐπὶ L.
3 Ἀμισηνοὺς R. Steph., ἀμισήνους L.
BOOK XLII

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

¹ A translation of the words Veni vidi vici, carried in the triumphal procession.
² Compare xxxvi. 12-13.
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tὸν Βόσπορον κρατήσας αὐτοῦ λάβῃ, ὅτι πονηρὸς ἐς τὸν φίλον ἐγένετο.
49 Πράξας δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῷ Δομιτίῳ καταστήσασθαι κελεύσας, ἐς τὴν Βιθυνίαν ἤλθε, καντεύθεν ἐς τῇ Ἕλλαδα καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπλευσε, πολλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσῃ προφάσει χρῆματα 2 παρὰ πάντων, ὡσπερ καὶ πρὶν, ἐκλέγων. τοῦτο μὲν γάρ, ὅσα τινὲς τῷ Πομπήιῳ προὐπέσχηντο, ἐπράξατο, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἄλλα 1 ἐξώθειν, προσεπικαλῶν τινα, ἤτει. τὰ τε ἀναθήματα τοῦ ἐν τῇ Τύρφῃ Ἡρακλέους πάντα ἀνείλετο, ὡτι τὴν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν παῖδα τοῦ Πομπήιου ὑπεδέχαντο 3 ὡτε ἐφύγουν. καὶ στεφάνους ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις συχνοὺς καὶ παρὰ τῶν δυναστῶν τῶν τε βασιλέων χρυσοὺς ἔλαβε. ταῦτα δὲ οὐχ ὑπὸ κακίας ἐποίει, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐδαπάνα παμπληθῆ, καὶ ἀνάλωσιν πολὺ πλέω ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐπινίκια, τὰ τε ἄλλα ὃσα ἐλαμπρύνετο, ποιήσεις 4 ἐμελλέ. τὸ τε σύμπαν εἰπέν, χρηματοποιώς ἀνήρ ἐγένετο, δύο τε εἶναι λέγων τὰ τὰς δυναστείας παρασκευάζοντα καὶ φυλάσσοντα καὶ ἐπαύξοντα, στρατιώτας καὶ χρῆματα, καὶ ταῦτα 5 δὲ ἄλληλων συνεστηκέναι: τῇ τε γὰρ τροφῇ τὰ στρατεύματα συνέχεσθαι, καὶ ἐκείνην ἐκ τῶν ὄπλων συλλέγεσθαι: κἀν θάτερον ὀποτερονοῦ 2 αὐτῶν ἐνοίκες ἦ, καὶ τὸ ἔτερον συγκαταλυθήσεσθαι.

50 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων οὕτω καὶ ἐφρόνει ἀεὶ καὶ ἐλεγεν: ἐς δὲ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς τὴν Ἄφρικήν καὶ πεπολεμόμενην οἱ, ἦπείχθην ὅτι ταραττόμενα τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀστεὶ πυθόμενος ἐφοβήθη.

1 ἄλλα R. Steph., ἄλλας L.
2 ὀποτερονοῦν Reim., ὀποτέρον υδὲν L.
also, since Asander had proved base toward his friend.

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

About these matters he ever thought and spoke thus. Now it was to Italy that he hurried and not to Africa, although the latter region had become hostile to him, because he learned of the disturbances in the capital and feared that they might be carried...
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2 μή καὶ ἔσται προχωρήσῃ, οὐ μέντοι καὶ κακοὶ οὐδέναι οὐδέν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, εἰργάσατο, πλὴν ὅτι κάνταῦθα πολλὰ ἠγουρολογήσε, τὰ μὲν τινα ἐν δωρεᾶς μέρει, στεφάνως καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαύτα, λαμβάνων, τὰ δὲ καὶ δανειζόμενον δῆσθεν, οὐχ ὅτι παρὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἄλλα καὶ παρὰ τῶν πόλεων, τούτο γάρ τὸ οὖν οὐκ ἔγενται ἑκλογαῖς τῶν χρημάτων, ἐφ' αἷς μηδεμία ἄλλη πρόφασις εὐλογος ἢ, ἐπίθετο, ἐπεὶ τὴν γε ἄλλοι καὶ βιαίως, οὐδὲν ἤπτον τῶν ὀφειλομένων, καὶ ἤκεινα ἐπράττετο, καὶ ἔμελλε μὴ δέποτε ἀποδοθήσεται. Ἐλεγε μὲν γάρ ὑπὲρ τοῦ δημοσίου τὰ οἰκεία διδαπανηκέναι, καὶ διὰ τούτου καὶ δανειζόμενοι, ὃθεν περ καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοτάσις ἠξιούντος τοῦ πλήθους γενέσθαι οὐκ ἔποίησεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι "καὶ αὐτὸς πολλὰ ὀφείλω." εὐδήλως δὲ ἐγύγνεται καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια τῇ δυναστείᾳ παραστῶ. 5 μενος. οὐ τε οὖν ἄλλοι διὰ τοῦτο ἡχθοντο αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ ἐταιροι: τῶν γὰρ δεδημευμένων συχνά, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἄξιαν γε ἔστιν ἂν, ἐξήλθο τοῦ προίκα ἀντα ἔξειν ἀγοράσαντες, πάσαν τὴν τιμήν ἀπότινεις ἡφαγκάζοντο.

51 Ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν ἐν οὖν οὐδὲν λόγῳ ἐποιεῖτο. καίτοι καὶ ἑκείνους τρόπον τινὰ ὡς ἐκάστους ἐθεράπευσε. τοὺς τε γὰρ πολλοῖς ἐχαρίσατο τὸν τε τόκον τῶν ἐποφειλομένων σφισών ἔξι οὐ πρὸς τῶν Πομπήιου ἐξεπολεμώθη πάντα, καὶ τὸ ἐνοίκιον ὡς εἰς πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς ἤν ενιαυτοῦ ἐνός ἀφείς, καὶ προετὶ καὶ τὰς τιμήσεις τῶν κτημάτων, ἐν οἷς τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν δανεισμάτων κατὰ

1 ὑπὲρ R. Steph., ὑπὸ L.
2 ἐταιροι R. Steph., ἑτεροι L.
3 ἐν supplied by Leuncl.

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BOOK XLII

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

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

\(^1\) Ch. 33.
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tous nómoous lýgevsthai édei, prós tìn en tò chrónw
áxian épangagagów, épeidh ¹ tò pléthei tòn de-
dhmosiwmenów polú pánta épeunwistoto. tou'tous
tè oúv tauta prágas anakrítitasto, kai tòv
prosetairestwv tòn te sunagwistwv tous men
boulentâs ierwswnais te kai arxais taís te ès
tòn loipòn tòv èitous èkeinwv chrónwv kai taís ès
néwta ² (îna gar pléiow autòw améýgytai,
 stratjgous te déka ès tò èpivn ètos ápdeýze ³
kai ieréas ùpèr tò neoomwmenòv tois te gar
pontifíxi kai tois oýwostais, òn kai autòs ën,
tois te pentekaidèka kaloumenois èna èkástois
proséveime, kai per autòs boulístwv pássas tâs
ierwswnais labèwv ósstter èpsiýfsto), tou's dé
ìppéas tou télous tois te ékatontárkhous kai
tous ùpoméiwv àllwos te tisí kai tò kai ès tò
sunédrion tivn às' autòw àntè tòn ápoloulótwn
catalèxai.

52 Tà dé dé stratjtopeda oux hswkì autòw ètáráxè-
pollá gar lýfeswai èlpistautes, kai eyromewoi
tiès men áxias ouk èlattw tiès dé prosdokías
katadéástera, èborúsìsan, èn Kwpwvía dé oi
pléiów autów, òs kai ès tìn 'Afríkèn pròplesw-
sómewoi, òsau, ou'toi ouv tòn te ⁴ Saluostwv
párv, òlìgon àpékeintan (stratjgôs gar èpí to'
tìn bouléian ⁵ ánalaþwv àpédeýketo), kai èpeidh
kai èkeiwos diaphwngw autów ès tìn 'Rómìh pròs
tòn Káisara àrmhse, tà gynwmena oí délwswon,
efèspontò te autòv sukhv ìnhedènvs feiðomewoi,

¹ épeidh Bk., ìpí dé L. ² néwta R. Steph., neýtata L.
³ ápdeýze R. Steph., ápdeýzei L. ⁴ ouv tòn te Bk., te ouv tòn L. ⁵ bouléian Bs., boulh L.

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worth at the time the loan had been made, in view of the fact that everything had become much cheaper as a result of the great amount of confiscated property. By these acts he attached the people to himself; and he attached the members of his party and those who had fought for him in the following manner. Upon the senators he bestowed priesthoods and offices, some of them for the rest of that year and some for the next. Indeed, in order to reward a larger number, he appointed ten praetors for the next year and more than the customary number of priests; for he added one member each to the pontifices and to the augurs, of whom he was one, and also to the Quindecimviri, as they were called, although he had desired to take all the priesthoods himself, as had been decreed. The knights in the army and the centurions and subordinate officers he conciliated in various ways, especially by appointing some of them to the senate to fill the places of those who had perished.

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

1 Quindecimviri sacris faciundis.
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καὶ ἄλλους τε τῶν ἐνυχώντων σφίσι καὶ βου-
3 λευτὰς δύο ἔσφαξαν. ὃ ὅνων Καῖσαρ ὡς τάχιστα
τῆς προσόδου αὐτῶν ἤσθετο, ἠθέλησε μὲν τὸ
δορυφορικὸν ἐπ' αὐτούς ἀντιπέμψαι, φοβηθέσις δὲ
μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι συντασσιάσοσι σφίσιν ἡσύχασε,
μέχρις οὐ ἐς τὸ προάστευον ἀφίκοντο. ἐνταῦθα δὲ
δὴ οὐσίν αὐτοῖς προσέπεμψα, καὶ ἐπίθετο τί
4 βουλόμενοι καὶ τίνος χρήζοντες ἤκουεν. ἀπο-
κριναμένων τε σφων ὅτι αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνος ἔρούσιν,
ἐπέτρεψε μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀνευ τῶν
ὀπλῶν, πλὴν τῶν ἔξισῶν, ἔσελθειν ταῦτα γάρ
καὶ ἄλλως καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀστεί φορεῖν εἰώθεσαν, καὶ
33 τότε οὐκ ἂν ὑπέμειναν καταβέσθαι: εἰπόντων
δὲ αὐτῶν πολλὰ μὲν περὶ ὅν καὶ ἐπόνησαν καὶ
ἐκδιδώνεσαν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ ὅν ἦλπισαν
ἀξίους τε σφας τυχεῖν ἐφασκον εἶναι, καὶ μετά
τούτου ἀφεθήναι τε τῆς στρατείας ἀξιόντων καὶ
2 δεινῶς διὰ τούτ' αὐτῷ ἐγκειμένων, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ
ἰδιωτεύον ἐβρύλοντο (ἡκιστα γάρ, ἀτε καὶ συνῆ-
θείς ταῖς πλεονεξίαις ἐκ πολλοῦ γεγονότες, τοῦτ'
ἡβελον) ἀλλ' ὅτι καταπλήξειν τε ἐξ αὐτοῦ τῶν
Καῖσαρα καὶ πᾶν ὅτιον καταπράξεω, ἀτε καὶ
ὑπογύνων 1 οἱ τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν στρατείας
3 οὔσης, ἐνόμιζον, περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν σφιά
το παράπαν ἀπεκρίνατο, αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰπὼν
μονα "ἀλλ' ἄρθις γε, ὃς Κυρίται, 3 λέγετε· καὶ
γαρ κεκμήκατε καὶ κατατέρωσθε" πάντας αὐ-
τῶν παραχρήμα ὡς μηδὲν δὴθεν αὐτῶν δεόμενος
δήκε, καὶ τοῖς τὸν τεταγμένον χρόνον ἐστατευ-

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

I.e., Citizens.

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μένως καὶ τὰ γέρα ἐντελῆ δόσειν ὑπέσχετο. 4 λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων κατεπλάγησαν ἐκ τε τῆς ἅλλης αὐτοῦ διανοίας, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι Κυρίτας ἀλλ' οὐ στρατιώτας σφᾶς ἔνομασε, καὶ ταπεινω-θέντες φοβηθέντες τε μὴ πάθωσι τι δεινὸν μετε-βάλοντο, 1 καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἱκετεύοντες αὐτὸν εἶπον, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι καὶ συστρατεύοντες 2 οἱ θελοντικαὶ καὶ τὸν πόλεμον μόνον διαπολεμήσειν 5 ὑπέσχοντο. ὡς οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν, καὶ τις καὶ τῶν στρατιαρχῶν ἐν τοσοῦτο, ἢ καὶ ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ γνώμης ἢ 3 χαριζόμενος τῷ Καύσαρι, διελέξθη τε τινὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ ἔδειχθη, "ἀφῆμι μὲν" ἐφη "καὶ ύμᾶς τούς παρόντας καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοὺς 6 πάντας, ὡς εἰς τῇ στρατείας ἔτη ἔξηκε: οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ δέομαί τι ὑμῶν· τὰ μέντοι γέρα καὶ ὡς ὑμῶν ἀποδῶσο, ἵνα μὴ ποτὲ τις εἴπῃ ὅτι ἐγὼ χρησάμενος ὑμῖν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἐπείτα ἀχάρισ-τος ἔγενομη, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐρρωμένοι καὶ πάντα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσδιαπο-λεμήσαι δυνάμενοι οὐκ ἠθελήσατε μοι συστρατεύ- 54 σαι." καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα τε σοφιζόμενος εἶπε (πάνυ γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔχρηζε) καὶ χώραν ἐκ τῇ δῆμοσίᾳ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δὴ πάσι σφῶν ἐνείμεν, ἀλλοις ἅλλῃ, καὶ πάνω πόρρω ἀπ' ἅλλῃ, ἀπαρτήσας, ὡστε μὴ τοῖς ὀμοχώροις σφᾶς φοβηροῖς μὴ' αὐ ἰδιὸς νεωτερισμὸν ἐτοίμον, καθ' ἐν τούς 2 συνοικοῦντας, γενέσθαι. τῶν τε ἐποφειλομένων σφῆς χρημάτων, ἐπὶ πολλὰ καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ὡς ἐκείνη τράξιν ὑπέσχητο δώσειν, τὰ μὲν εὐθὺς

1 μετεβάλοντο Bk., μετεβάλλοντο L.
2 συστρατεύσειν Xiph., συστρατεύειν L.
3 ἦ supplied by Reim.
full to such as had served the appointed time. At these words they were struck with alarm both at his intention in general and particularly because he had called them Quirites instead of soldiers; and so, humiliated and fearing they should meet with some severe penalty, they changed front and addressed him with many entreaties and offers, promising that they would join his expedition as volunteers and would carry the war through for him by themselves. When they had reached this stage and one of their leaders also, either on his own impulse or as a favour to Caesar, had said a few words and presented a few petitions in their behalf, he replied: "I discharge both you who are present here and all the rest whose years of service have expired; for I really have no further need of you. Yet even so I will pay you the rewards, that no one may say that after using you in dangers I later showed myself ungrateful, even though you were unwilling to join my campaign while perfectly strong in body and able to carry through all the wars that remain." This he said for effect, for they were quite indispensable to him. He then assigned them all land from the public holdings and from his own, settling them in different places, and separating them far from one another, so that they should not, by living somewhere together, either be a source of terror to their neighbours or, again, be ready for rebellion. As to the money that he owed them,—and on the eve of practically every action he had promised to give them large amounts,—he offered to pay part immediately and to settle

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ΔΙΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΝΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ

ἀπαλλάξεις, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶ μακρὰν καὶ σὺν τόκῳ γε1 διαλύσεις ἐπηγγείλατο. εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ δουλωσάμενος αὐτοὺς ὦστε μήτε τι θραυσότερα καὶ προσέτι καὶ χάριν εἴδέναι, προσεπέπευ

3 "Απέχετε μὲν παρ’ ἐμοὶ πάντα, καὶ οὐδένα ἐθ’ ὑμῶν ἀναγκάσω στρατεύσασθαι: εἰ μέντοι τις ἐκούσιος ἑθέλοι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μοι συγκατεργάσασθαι, ἂν δέῳς αὐτὸν δέξομαι." ἀκούσαντες δὲ τούτῳ ἐκεῖνοι ὑπερήφανοι καὶ πάντες ὄμοιος

55 ἀναστρατεύσασθαι ἡθέλησαν. ὁ οὖν Καίσαρ τοὺς ταραχόδεις αὐτῶν, οὐ πάντας ἅλλοις ὅσοι μετρίως πῶς συνόντες 2 γεωργίας ξῆν ἐδύνατο, ἀπολέξας τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐχρήσατο. καὶ τούτῳ καὶ

2 ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιώτων ἐποίησεν τούς γὰρ πάνε τὸ ρασίες καὶ ἰκανοὺς μέγα τι κακὸν δράσαι ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἔχηγαγεν, ὅπως μηδὲν εἴκει καταλειφθέντες νεοχώμωσωσίν, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ Ἀφρικῇ καὶ μάλα ἡδέως, ἄλλους κατ' ἄλλην πρόφασιν, ἀνάλωσε τούς τῷ γὰρ ἐναντίον ἀμα δέ αὐτῶν κατεργάζετο καὶ ἐκείνων ἀπηλλάττετο.

3 φιλανθρωπότατος τε3 γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ὦν, καὶ πολλὰ κεχαρισμένα τοῖς τῷ ἄλλοις καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις μάλιστα ποιῶν, δεινῶς τοὺς στασιάζοντάς σφῶν ἔμισει καὶ ἐσχυρότατα αὐτοὺς ἐκόλαξε.

4 Ταύτα τε4 ἐν ἐκεῖνῳ τῷ ἔτει, ἐν δὲ δικτάτωρ μὲν ἄντως αὐτῶς τὸ δεύτερον ἤρξεν, ὑπατοὶ δὲ ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ αὐτοῦ ἀποδειχθέντες δὲ τὸ Καλάβρος

56 καὶ ὁ Ὁδαῖνιος 5 ἠλέγοντο εἶναι, ἐποίησε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν καῖτο τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐνεστη-

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

These were the things he did in that year in which he really ruled alone as dictator for the second time, though Calenus and Vatinius, appointed near the close of the year, were said to be the consuls. He also crossed over to Africa, although winter had set
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κότος ἐπεραιώθη. καὶ οὐκ ὠλγὰ δὲ ἐκ τοῦτον, ἀνέλπιστος τοῖς ἐναντίοις προσπεσών, κατὼρθωσὲ πλείστον γὰρ παρὰ πάντα καὶ τῷ τάχει καὶ ταῖς ἐκ¹ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου στρατείαις² κατέπραττεν, ὡστ' εἰ τις ἐκλογήζοιτο ³ ὅτως τοσοῦτον τῶν καὶ' ἐαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπερήνεγκεν, οὐδὲν ἄν ⁴ ἄλλο τοῦτον μᾶλλον ὄν
2 ἐμπροσθε παραβάλλων⁵ εὑροί. ἡ δὲ Ἔθρικη ἤν μὲν οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ φίλη τῷ Καίσαρι, μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦ τοῦ Κοινώνως θάνατον καὶ πάνω ἐχθρά ἐγένετο. ὃ τε γὰρ Οὐάρος καὶ ὁ Ἰόβας τὰ πράγματα εἶχον, καὶ προσέτη καὶ ὁ Κάτων καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων οἱ τε ἄλλοι οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν ὑπερ' ἐκείσε, ὡσπερ εἴπον, συγκατέφυγον,
3 καὶ τοῦτον κοινωσάμενον τὸν πόλεμον τά τε ἐν τῇ ἡτείρῳ ἐξηρτύσαντο καὶ τῇ τε Σικελίᾳ καὶ τῇ Σαρδοῖ ἐπίπλους ἐποιεύτο, καὶ τάς τε πόλεις ἑλύπουν καὶ τὰ πλοῖα κατήγουν, καὶ ἀτταυτῶν καὶ ὑπλα τῶν τε σιδῆρων τῶν ἄλλον, οὐχέρ
4 ποῦ καὶ μόνον ἑχρηζον, ἐπόριζον,⁶ τελευτώντες τε ἐς τοῦτο καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ τῆς δια
νολάς, οία μήτε στρατοῦ σφίσιν ἐναντιουμένου καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐν τῇ Λιγύπτῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀστείχον ἀθροισάντος, ἁφίκοντο ὡστε καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τὸν Πομπήιον ἀποστείλαί. στασιάζειν τε γὰρ αὐτὴν πυνθανόμενοι, καὶ ἐκείνον ἔτοιμος ἀτε τοῦ Πομπήιον τοῦ Μάγνου παίδα ὅντα

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

¹ Ch. 13, 4.
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dέξισθαι1 νομίζαντες, παρεσκευάζοντο ο μὲν ως τὴν τε2 ἸΒηρίαν διὰ βραχέων κατασχῆσαν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ ἐκείθεν ὀρμῆσαν, οἱ δὲ ως τὸν πλοῖν 57 ἀμα τὸν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ποιησόμενοι. κατ' ἄρχας μὲν γὰρ διατριβὴ τις αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, τοῦ τε Ὀὐάρου τοῦ3. Σκιτίων τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀμφίσβητῆσαντο, ἐπειδὴ αὐτὸς ἐκ πλείονος ἐν τοῖς ταύτῃ χωρίοις ἠρχε, καὶ τοῦ Ἰόβου τῇ νίκῃ ἐπαιρομένου καὶ 2 τὰ πρῶτα δι' αὐτὴν ἀξιώντος φέρεσθαι συμ- φρονήσαντες δὲ4 ο τε Σκιτίων καὶ ο βάτων, οἷα ὁ μὲν τῇ ἀξιώσει ὁ δὲ τῇ συνέσει πολὺ πάντων σφῶν προῆκοντες, τοὺς τε ἄλλους προσπονοῦ- σαντο καὶ ἐκείνους ἐπέισαν τῷ Σκιτίων πάντα ἐπιτρέψαι. ο γὰρ Κάτων δυνηθεὶς ἄν εἴς ἱσον 3 αὐτῷ ἦ καὶ μόνος ἄρξαί οὐκ ἠθέλησε, τὸ μὲν ὅτι βλαβερῶτατον τοῖς τοιούτοις ἡγείτο εἶναι. τὸ δὲ ὅτι τῷ πολιτικῷ ἀξιῶματι ἡλαττοῦτο αὐτοῦ. πολὺ γὰρ ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς στρατιω- τικοῖς ἑώρα δυνάμενον τὸ τῶν ἀρχητα να καὶ νόμῳ δή τινι τῶν ἄλλων προκεκρίσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς τε ἄρχης ἐκὸν αὐτῷ παρεχώρησε, καὶ προσέτε 4 καὶ τά στρατεύματα ἀ ἐπηγάγετο παρέδωκε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τοῦτο τῆς τε Ὀὐτικῆς, ὑποπεθεῖσαν τά τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονεῖν καὶ ὄλγου καὶ ἀνάστατον ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἔπι τούτω γενομένην, ἐξαιτησά- μενος ἐς φυλακὴν ὑπεδέξατο, καὶ τῆν χώραν τῆς τε θάλασσαν τῆν ταύτῃ πᾶσαν φρονεῖν ἐπετράπη τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὁ Σκιτίων αὐτοκράτωρ 5 ἠρχε. καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα πολὺ πάντας

1 δέξισθαι Reim., δέξασθαι L.
2 ὡς τὴν τε Rk., δοῦσα τὴν L.
3 τῷ Leunol., τῷ τε L.
4 δὲ Reim., γὰρ L.

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

58 Μαθὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Καϊσαρ, καὶ ἰδὼν ὅτι καὶ οἱ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατευόμενοι πεπεισμένοι τε αὐτὸ οὕτως ἔχειν εἰσὶ καὶ φοβοῦνται, προσ-παρέλαβε τινὰ ἐκ τε τοῦ γένους τοῦ τῶν Σκιπίωνων οὖντα καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν ταύτην φέρουτα

2 (ἐπεκαλεῖτο δὲ Σαλούτιων), καὶ οὕτω τὸν τε πλοῦν πρὸς Ἀδρυμήτου ἐποίησατο (τὰ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Οὐτικῇ ἱσχυρὸς ἔφρουρεῖτο), καὶ ἔλαβεν αὐτοὺς ἀνέλπιστος ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος περαιώθεις. ἐκβάντι δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς νεοῦ συντυχία τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο, ὡς ἐκαὶ τι φοβερὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου σφίσιν ἐσημαίνετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ

3 γε ἐκεῖνο ἐς ἀγαθὸν ἔτρεψεν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀμα τῷ τῆς γῆς ἐπιβῆναι προσέπτασε, καὶ αὐτῶν πεσόντα ἐπὶ στόμα οἱ στρατιώται ἰδόντες ήθυμησαν καὶ δυσανασχέτησαντες ἔθορύθησαν, οὐ διηπορήθη, ἀλλ’ ἐκτείνας τὸ χείρε τὴν τε γῆν, ὥς καὶ ἐκὼν δὴ πεσόν, περιέλαβε καὶ κατεφίλησε, καὶ ἀναβοήσας εἶπεν "ἐχω σε,

4 Ἀφρική." ἐκ δὲ τοῦτο προσέβαλε μὲν τῷ Ἀδρυμήτῳ, ἀποκρουσθεὶς δὲ καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου βιαῖος ἐκβληθεὶς μετέστη πρὸς πόλιν ἔτεραν 'Ρούσπινα, καὶ δεχθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν χειμάδιον τε ἐν αὐτῇ κατεσκευάσατο, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ὄρμωμενος ἐπολέμει.

1 Σαλούτιων Fabr., σαλάττων L.

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BOOK XLII

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

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

1 Or Salvito; cf. Plutarch, Caes. 52, and Suetonius, Iul. 59.
Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετεμακοστῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαίων

α. Ὁ Καίσαρ Σκιτίων καὶ Ἰδάνων ἐνίκησεν.
β. Ὁ Νουμιδίαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἔσχον.
γ. Ὁ Κάτων ἐλαύνων ἀπέκτεινεν.
δ. Ὁ Καίσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπανήλθε καὶ τὰ ἑπεικία ἐπεμψε καὶ τάλλα κατεστήσατο.
ε. Ὁ Καίσαρ τῇ ἀγορᾷ Καίσαρος καὶ οὐ μᾶς ο roi Ἀφροδίτης καθιερώθη.
ζ. Ὁ Καίσαρ τὸν ἐνιαντὸν ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον κατεστήσατο.
η. Ὁ Καίσαρ Γναῖτον Πομπήιον τὸν τοῦ Πομπηίου νῦν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ ἐνίκησεν.
θ. Ὁ πρῶτον ὅπως ἐνὶ ὅλου τὸ ἔτος ἀπεδείχθησαν.
ι. Ὁ Καρχηδών καὶ Κάρινθος ἀπεκλίθη.
ια. Ὁ Καρδαλίαν ἄγοραν ὁμοίως κατεστάθησαν.

Χρόνου πλήθος ἦτη τρία, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμοῦμενοι οἴδε ἐγένοντο

Γ. Ὁ Ιουλιός Γ. ν. Καίσαρ δικτάτωρ τὸ γ’ 1
μετὰ Ἀιμιλίου Λεπίδου ἱππάρχου
καὶ ὅπως τὸ γ’ μετὰ Ἀιμιλίου Λεπίδου 2
Γ. 3 Ὁ Ιουλιός Καίσαρ δικτάτωρ τὸ δ’
μετὰ Ἀιμιλίου Λεπίδου ἱππάρχου
καὶ ὅπως τὸ δ’ μόνος
Γ. 5 Ὁ Ιουλιός Καίσαρ δικτάτωρ τὸ ε’
μετὰ Ἀιμιλίου Λεπίδου ἱππάρχου
καὶ ὅπως τὸ ε’ μετὰ Μ. 6 Ἀντωνίου.

Τότε μὲν ταῦτ’ ἐπτραξε, τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει καὶ ἐδικτάτορεσσεν ἄμα καὶ ὑπάτευσε, τρίτον ἔκα-
τερν, τοῦ Λεπίδου οἱ ἀμφιτέρωθι 7 συνάρξαντος.

1 τὸ γ’ St., τοῦ L.
2 L. adds ὑπ. after Λεπίδου and Ἀντωνίου. Deleted by Bs.
3 Γ. Bs., γάρ L.
4 Λεπίδου supplied by Bs.
BOOK XLIII

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

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

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

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

5 Г. supplied by Bs. 6 M. supplied by Bs. 7 ἀμφοτέρωι v. Herw., ἀμφοτέροις L.
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ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δικτάτωρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ἔλεχθη, παραχρήμα τε αὐτῶν μετὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐστειλε, καὶ ἐπανελθόντα ἐπινικίοις, μῆτε τινὰς νικήσαντα μὴ τ' ἀρχὴν μαχησάμενον τισιν, ἐτίμησε, πρόφασιν ὅτι τοῖς ὑπὸ τὸν Δουγγύνου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου πραχθεῖσι παρεγένετο. οὐκ' ουδὲ ἐπεμψε τι ἐπ' ἀληθείας, πλὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἃ τούς συμμάχους ἐσευλήκη. τούτοις τε οὖν αὐτὸν ἤγηλε, καὶ μετὰ τούτο καὶ συνάρχοντα ἐκατέρωθι προσεῖλετο.

2 Καὶ αὐτῶν ἀρχόντων ἡδὴ οἳ τε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπαράχθησαν ὑπὸ σημείων λύκος τε γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ ὄφθη, καὶ χοῖρος ἐλεφαστὶ πλήν τῶν ποδῶν ὁμοίος ἐγεννήθη καὶ τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ὁ τε Πετρείος καὶ οἱ Δαβίδοι τηρήσαντες τὸν Καίσαρα πρὸς κώμας ἐπὶ σίτου ἐξεληλυθότα, τὴν τε ἱππον αὐτοῦ μηδέπω καλῶς ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐρρωμένην ἐς τοὺς πεζοὺς τοῖς Νομάσι κατήραξαν, καὶ συνταραχθεὶσι πρὸς τούτο τῆς ἀστιδος πόλλοις μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν χερσὶν ἀπέκτειναν, πάντας δὲ ἄν καὶ τοὺς λουπίους ἀνειλθέντας ἐπὶ μετέφορον

3 τι ἐξέκοψαν, εἰ μὴ ἱσχυρῶς ἐτρώθησαν. ἐπὶ πλείον ὄν ὁυ καὶ ὡς, τούτου συμβεβηκότος, τὸν Καίσαρα κατέπληξαν. λογιζόμενος μὲν γὰρ ὡς ὑπὸ ὀλίγων ἐπταῖσε, προσδεχόμενος δὲ καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα τὸν τε Ἰόβαν πάσαις, ὦσπερ ἠγγέλισον, ταῖς δυνάμεσιν εὐθὺς ἀφίξεσθαι, διηπόρει καὶ οὐκ εἴχεν ὅ τι πράξῃ τὸν τε γὰρ πόλεμον μηδέπω καλῶς διενεκεῖν δυνάμενος, καὶ τὴν ἐν

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

When now they were in office, the people of Rome were disturbed by prodigies; for a wolf was seen in the city, and a pig was born resembling an elephant save for its feet. In Africa, Petreius and Labienus, after waiting until Caesar had gone out to villages after grain, drove his cavalry, which had not yet thoroughly recovered its strength after the sea-voyage, back upon the infantry with the aid of the Numidians; and while the latter as a result was in great confusion, they killed many of the soldiers in hand-to-hand fighting. Indeed, they would also have cut down all the others, who had crowded together on some high ground, had they not received grievous wounds themselves. Even so, they alarmed Caesar not a little by this deed. For considering how he had been checked by a few, and expecting, too, that Scipio and Juba would arrive directly with all their forces, as it was reported they would, he was greatly embarrassed and did not know what course to adopt. For he was not yet able to carry through the war to a satisfactory conclusion; and he saw that to
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tautō monēn chaleptēn, kān oi polēmioi sφwν ἀπέχουνται, diá tēn tῆs tρoφῆs ἀπορίαν, tēn te ἀνάστασιν ἀδύνατον tōn polēmīωn kai ēk tῆs ἕπειρου kai ēk tῆs θαλάσσης ἐπικειμένων oi órōn óυσαν, ἥθωμει.

3 Ἐνταῦθ' οὖν αὐτῷ ὄντι Πούπλιός τῆς Σίττιος, ἐγγε ἐκείνων ἄλλα μὴ τὸ δαιμόνιον δεῖ λέγειν, τῆν te σωτηρίαν ἀμα kai tēn ἐπικράτησιν ἐδώκειν. οὗτος γὰρ ἐξέπεσε μὲν ἐκ tῆς Ἰταλίας, παράλαβὼν δὲ συμφυγάδας τινὰς kai περαιωθεὶς ἐσ

2 Μαυριτανίαν χείρα τε ἡπρούσε,1 καὶ παρὰ τῷ Βόσχῳ στρατηγῆς ἐπεχείρησε τῷ Καίσαρι, μῆτε τινὰ εὔρηγείαν αὐτοῦ προέχων μήτ' ἄλλως ἐν γνώσει οὐ νῦν, τοῦ τε polēmōn συναείρασθαι kai

3 τὰ παρόντα συγκατεργάσασθαι. κακ τούτων αὐτῷ μὲν ἐκείνῳ οὐκ ἐπημουν' πόρρω τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἦκουεν δυντα, καὶ βραχύ τι ὑφ' ἕαυτοῦ (ο' γὰρ τῷ μεγάλῃν ἴσχυν εἶχεν) ὠφελήσεσθαι ἐνόμιζε τὸν δὲ δὴ Ἰόβαν ἐκπρατευσάντα τη-

4 ρήσας ἐσ τῇ Νουμίδιαν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ ταύτην te2 καὶ tēn Γαυτούλιαν μέρος tῆs ἀρχῆs αὐτοῦ οὐραν εὐμμήνατο, ὦστε τῶν βασιλέα τῶν τε ἐν χερσὶν ἀφέσθαι καὶ ἐκ μέσηs tῆs ὀδοῦ μετὰ τοῦ πλείους στρατοῦ ἀναστρέψαι· ἑστὶ γὰρ ὁ τι καὶ

5 τῷ Σκιτίωνι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ συνεπέμψειν. ἐξ οὐπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα διεφάνη ὅτι εἰ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐληλύθει, οὐκ ἂν ποτε αὐτοῖς ὁ Καίσαρ ἀντέσχην. οὔκοιν οὖνδε μόνον τῷ Σκιτίωνι συμβάλετι3 εὐθὺς ἐτόλμησε· τὰ te γὰρ ἄλλα kai τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, tō mēn τι kai ἐπὶ tῆs μάχηs, tō dē dὴ plēion ouden tō tō

1 ἡπρούσε Bk., πήτησε L. 
2 te Bk., γε L. 
3 συμβάλει Bk., συμβάλλει L.

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

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

2 Κἂν τούτῳ ο̣ ποιεσχώρησαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐτεροὶ τινες τῶν πλησιοχώρων, τὰ μὲν δι’ ἐκείνους, ἐπειδή σφας μεγάλως τιμηθέντας ἤκουσαν, τὰ δὲ καὶ τῇ τοῦ Μαρίου μνήμῃ, ὅτι 3 προσήκων αὐτοῦ ἦν. ὥς δὲ ταύτα τε ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας βραδέως μὲν καὶ ἐπι- κινδύνως ὑπὸ τε τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων περαιωθέντες, ὃμως δ’ οὖν ἠλθὼν ποτε, οὐκέθα ἦσύχασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦνατόν ἡπείχθη πρὸς τὴν μάχην, ὡς πρὶν τὸν Ἰόβαν ἐπέλειθειν.

4 φθάσῃ τὸν Σκιπίωνα προκατεργασάμενος. καὶ προχωρήσας ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ πρὸς πόλιν Οὐζίλττα ἐπὶ λόφον τινὸς, ὑπέρ τε ἐκείνης καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατο- πεδοῦ ἡμα αὐτῶν ὄντος, ἱδρύθη, προεκκρούσας τοὺς κατέχοντας αὐτοῦ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο προσ- πεόντα αἱ τῶν Σκιπίωνα ἀπὸ τοῦ μετεώρου ἀπεδίωξε καὶ τοῖς ἐπεύσει ἐπικαταδράμων

5 ἐκάκωσε. τοῦτο τε οὐγ τὸ χωρίον κατέσχε καὶ ἐνετειχίσατο, καὶ ἔτερον ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς πόλεως, τῶν Δαβίδην ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ κρατήσας, ἐλαβεί καὶ τοῦτο καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἀπετείχῄσεν. ὁ γὰρ Σκιπίων δείσας μὴ προσαναλωθῆ, ἐς μάχην μὲν

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

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

5 Ἐν δὲ ταύτ’ ἐγίγνετο, ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπείρασε μὲν πάντα τρόπον ἐς χεῖρας τὸν Σκιτίωνα ὑπαγαγόντα, μὴ δυνηθεὶς δὲ λόγους τε φιλίους ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτοῦ καθήκε καὶ βιβλία βραχέα διερήσαν, ὑπισχυόμενοι δὲ αὐτῶν τῷ μὲν ἐπιχωρίῳ τὰ τε οἰκεία ἀκέραια τηρήσειν καὶ αὑτοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἀφῆσεν, τῷ δὲ Ῥωμαίῳ τὴν τε ἁδειαν καὶ τὰ γέρα ἀ καὶ τοὺς συνούσιν οἱ ὄφειλε δώσειν καὶ συνχνοὺς γε ἐκ τούτου προσεποίησατο. Σκιτίων δὲ ἐπεχείρησε μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ βιβλία καὶ λόγους ἐς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐσβαλεῖν ός καὶ σφετερισόμενος τινας, οὐ μέντοι καὶ μεταστήσατο αὐτοὺς ἥδυνήθη, οὐχ δὲ οὐκ ἀν καὶ τὰ ἑκεῖνον τινὲς ἀνθεிஷτο, εἶπερ τι τῶν ὁμοίων ἐπηγγέλλετο, ἀλλ’ ὅτι ἀθλον μὲν σφίσειν οὐδὲν ὑπηχυρεῖτο, τὸν δὲ δὴ δήμον τῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν τε γερουσίαν ἄλλως ἐλευθέρωσαι αὐτοὺς παρεκάλεω. καὶ οὕτως, εὖ δὴ τὰ εὐπρεπέστερα τῷ λόγῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ χρησιμοτερα τοῖς παροῦσιν ἴρευτο, οὐδένα αὐτῶν φίλειωσατο.

4 Μέχρι μὲν οὖν μονος ὁ Σκιτίων ἐν τῷ στρατο-πέδῳ ἦν, ταῦτ’ οὖτος ἐγίγνετο, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἰῶβας ἐπῆλθεν, ἡλιοώθη. ἔκεινοι μὲν γὰρ καὶ προεκαλοῦντο τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐς μάχην, καὶ μὴ ἀνθείλοντο Melber, ἀνείλοντο L.
battle with Caesar, but kept sending for Juba; and when the latter would not obey his summons, Scipio promised to make him a present of all the territory that the Romans had in Africa. Juba then appointed others to take charge of the operations against Sittius and in person once more set out against Caesar.

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

So long, then, as Scipio alone was in the camp, matters went on thus, but when Juba also came up, the situation was changed. For they both tried to provoke their opponents to battle and harassed them
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2 βουλομένους συμβαλεῖν ἔλυσον, τῷ τε ἤπικῳ τοὺς ἀποσκεδασμένους σφῶν ἵσχυρός έβλαττω appropriation δὲ δὴ Καίσαρ οὖν ἐστὶς χεῖρας αὐτοίς ἐκὼν ἤει, καὶ τὴν περιτείχισιν ἐπέσχε, καὶ τὴν τροφὴν ἀγαπητῶς ἤρπαζε, καὶ δυνάμεις ἄλλας καὶ ὀικοθέν προσμετεπέμπτο. καὶ ὅσπερ μὲν καὶ χαλέπως ἔλθουσας αὐτάς (οὔτε γὰρ ἄθροι ἤσαν ἄλλα κατὰ βραχὺ συνελέγοντο, καὶ πλοῖων ὡσθ’ ἀμα περαιωθήναι ἡπόρουν) – ἔλθουσας δ’ οὖν ποτε προσλαβὼν ἀνεθάρφησεν αὐθίς, καὶ ἐπεξα- γαγὼν παρετάξατο πρὸ τῆς ταφρείας. ἰδόντες δὲ τούτο οἱ ἐναντίοι ἀντιπαρετάξαντο μὲν, οὐ μὴ καὶ συνέβαλον σφίσιν. καὶ τούτο ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας ἐγένετο πλὴν γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς ἰππεύσιν ἐπὶ βραχὺ συμμυγνύστες ἀνεχώρουν, οὐδὲν οὖν ὀδέτεροι μέγα παρέβαλον.

7 Ο οὖν Καίσαρ ἐννοήσας ὅτι οὔκ ἀν δύνατο ἀκοντας αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν χωρίων ἐς χεῖρας ἑδείν ἀναγκάσαι, πρὸς Θάρσου ὄρμησεν, ἐν ἡ προσβοηθησάντων αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει συμβάλλω σφίσιν, καὶ περιβότον ἐκείνην ἐγῆγε. ἡ δὲ δὴ Θάρσος κεῖται μὲν ἐν χερσονήσῳ τρόπον τινά, ἐνδαχεὶ μὲν τῆς θαλάσσης ἐνθευν ἐν τῷ ἱμάνῳ παρηκούσῃς, στενῶν δὲ δὴ τῶν ἴσθμων καὶ ἐλώδη διὰ μέσου οὕτως ἔχει ὡστε διχῆ μὲν δὲ ἐλαχίστοι δὲ ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα τοῦ ἔλους παρ’ αὐτὴν τὴν ῥαχίαν

3 ἀμφοτέρως παρέσχει. πρὸς ταύτῃ οὖν τὴν πόλιν ὁ Καίσαρ εἴσω τῶν στενῶν χωρήσας ἐτάφρευε

1 οὔτε Pflugk, οὔδὲ L.
2 συμβάλλων R. Steph., συμβαλλον L.
3 συμβάλη R. Steph., συμβάλλη L.
4 ῥαχίαν R. Steph., ῥάχη L.

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

Accordingly, when Caesar perceived that because of the nature of the land he could not force them to engage in conflict unless they chose, he set out for Thapsus, in order that he might either engage them, if they came to the help of the city, or might at least capture the place, if they left it to its fate. Now Thapsus is situated on a kind of peninsula, with the sea stretching along on one side and a lake on the other; the isthmus between them is so narrow and marshy that one reaches the town by two roads, only a little way apart, running along either side of the marsh close to the shore. On his way toward this city Caesar, when he had got inside the narrowest point, proceeded to dig
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καὶ ἑσταύρων. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐδὲν πράγμα
αὐτὸ παρεῖχον (οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ἀξιόμαχοι), ὦ δὲ
δὴ Σκιπίων καὶ ὁ Ἰόβας ἐπεχείρησαν τὸ στόμα
τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ, καθ’ ὅ πρὸς τὴν ἥπειρον τελευτᾷ,
σταυρώμασι καὶ ταφρέμασι διεχθεὶ διαλαβόντες
8 ἀνταποτείχίσαι. ἐν ἔργῳ δὲ αὐτῶν ὄντων καὶ
πολὺ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἦμέραν ἀνυόντων (ὅπως γὰρ
τοι θάσσων διατείχίσωσι, τοὺς τε ἐλέφαντας καθ’
ὁ μηδὲν ὁ θετετάφρευτο1 ἄλλ’ εὔφοδον τι τοῖς
πολεμίοις ἢ προσέταξαν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντες
2 εἰργάζοντο) ἔπεθετο ὁ Καίσαρ αἰφνίδιον τοῖς
ἐτέροις τοῖς 2 περὶ τῶν Σκιπίωνα, καὶ τοῖς
ἐλέφαντας πόρρωθεν σφενδόναι καὶ τοξεύμα-
σιν ἐκταράξας ἐφέστετο το ἁυτοῖς ἀναχωρήσασι,
καὶ παρὰ δόξαν τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις προσμένασι
καὶ ἐκεῖνοις ἔτρεψατο, καὶ σφιζε phiγούσιν ἐς
3 τὸ ἔρυμα συνεπτεῦσων αὐτοβοεῖ αὐτὸ εἴλεν. ἱδὼν
δὲ ταύτα ὁ Ἰόβας οὕτως ἐξεπλάγη καὶ ἔδεισεν
ὡς μήτε ἐς χειρᾶς τινι ὑπομείναι ἐλθεῖν μήτε
4 τὸ στρατόπεδον διὰ φυλακῆς ποιόσασθαι. ἐκεῖνος
μὲν οὐν φυγὼν καὶ οἶκα δὲ ἐπειχθεῖς, ἔπειτ’ ἐπειδὴ
μηδεὶς αὐτῶν, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸι σε καὶ τοῦ Σιττίου τοὺς
ἀντικαταστάντας οἱ προνεικηκότος, ἐδέξατο,
ἀπέγνω τε τὴν σωτηρίαν, καὶ τῷ Πετρείῳ μηδε-
μίαν μηδ’ αὐτῷ ἐπιδίδα ἀδείας ἔχοντι ἐμονομά-
9 χὴσε καὶ συναπέθανε. Καίσαρ δὲ τὸ τε σταύ-
ρωμα εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν αὐτοῦ ἐλαβε, καὶ
φῶνον πλεῖστον τῶν προστυχῶν ἄπαντων
σφίσιν ἐποίησεν οὐδ’ γὰρ τῶν μεταστάντων
ἐφείσατο. καὶ τοῦτον τὰς τε ἄλλας πόλεις

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

4 Τούτο τε οὕν οὕτως ἐγένετο, καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ ταύτα τὸ μὲν περὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα, δ' ἐν 
καὶ 'Αφρικήν καλοῦμεν, παλαιόν, ὅτι ἐκ πολλοῦ κατείργασο, τὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν Νομάδων νέον, ὅτι

5 νεωστὶ εἰληπτο, ἐπωνυμίσθη. Σκιπίων δὲ ἐκ μὲν 
τῆς μάχης ἔφυγε, καὶ πλοίον ἐπιτυχόν ἐς τὴν 
Ἰθηρίαν πρὸς τε τὸν Πομπήιον ἀπήρεν, ἐκπεσόν 
δὲ ἐς τὴν Μαυριτανίαν καὶ τὸν Σιττιου φοβηθεῖς 
ἔαυτὸν διεχοῦσατο.

10 "Ο τε Κάτων τὸ μὲν πρότων συγκαταφυγόντων 
πρὸς αὐτῶν πολλῶν παρεσκευάζετο τῶν τε 
πραγμάτων ἀντιλαβέσθαι καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τρό-
πον τινὰ ἀμύνασθαι. 3 όσο δὲ οἱ τε Οὐτικήσιοι,

2 ἂτε μηδὲ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ἔχθρωδῶς τῷ Καίσαρι 
ἐχοντες καὶ τότε νευκηκότα αὐτῶν ὀρῶτες, οὐκ 
ἐπείθοντο αὐτῷ, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας τῶν τε 
ἰππέων παρόντες ἐφοβήθησαν μὴ συλληφθῶσιν 
ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ δρασμόν ἐβουλεύσαντο, αὐτὸς μὲν 
οὐτ' ἀντιπολεμήσαι (οὔτε 4 γὰρ οἶδος τε ἥν) οὐτ'

1 καὶ supplied by Xyl.  2 ὄφλειν Bs., ὄφλησαi L.
3 ἀμύνασθαι Pflugk, ἀμύνεσθαι L.  4 οὔτε Bk., οὔτε L.

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the cities to terms, meeting with no opposition; and taking over the Numidians, he reduced them to the status of subjects, and delivered them to Sallust, nominally to rule, but really to harry and plunder. At all events this officer took many bribes and confiscated much property, so that he was not only accused but incurred the deepest disgrace, inasmuch as after writing such treatises as he had, and making many bitter remarks about those who fleeced others, he did not practice what he preached. Therefore, even if he was completely exonerated by Caesar, yet in his history, as upon a tablet, the man himself had chiselled his own condemnation all too well.

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

Cato, since many had sought refuge with him, was at first preparing to take a hand in affairs and to resist Caesar as best he might. But the people of Utica had not been hostile to Caesar in the first place, and now, seeing him victorious, would not listen to Cato; and the members of the senate and the knights who were present were afraid of being arrested by them, and so meditated flight. Cato himself, therefore, decided neither to war against Caesar,
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3 άν προσχωρήσαι τῷ Καίσαρι ἕγνω, οὐχ οτὶ τι ἐδείει (καὶ γὰρ εῦ ἦπιστατο καὶ πάνυ ἄν σπουδᾶσαντα αὐτῶν ἑαυτοῦ, τῆς ἐπὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ δόξης ἑνεκα, φείσασθαι), ἀλλ' ὅτι τῇ τε ἐλευθερίᾳ ἵσχυρώς ἦρα, καὶ ἥττασθαι οὐδενὸς ἐσ οὐδὲν ἐβούλετο, τοῦ τε θανάτον ποιῆ τὸν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔλεον χαλεπώτερον ἤγειτο εἶναι.

4 συγκαλέσας δὲ τοὺς παρόντας τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ διερωτήσας ὅποι έκαστοι αὐτῶν ὄρμηται, ἐκείνους μὲν μετ' ἐφοδίων ἐξεπεμψε, τῷ δὲ νικῇ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐδείχνεὶν ἐκέλευσε. πυθόμενου τοῦ νεανίσκου “διὰ τί οὖν οὐχί καὶ σὺ τοῦτο ποιεῖς;”

5 ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ ὅτι “ἐγὼ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ ἐν παρρησίᾳ τραφεὶς οὖ δύναμαι τὴν δουλείαν ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἐπὶ γῆρως μεταμαθεῖν· σοὶ δ' ἐν τοιαύτῃ καταστάσει καὶ γεννηθέντι καὶ τραφέντι τὸν δαίμονα τὸν λαχόντα σε θεραπεύειν προσήκει.”

11 Ταῦτ' οὖν πράξας, καὶ τοῖς Οὐτικησίως τὴν τε διοίκησιν ἀπολογισάμενοι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ χρήματα τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα αὐτῶν ἐχεν ἀποδοὺς, προσπαλλαγῆναι πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἄφιξεως ἥθελεσε.

2 καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν οὐκ ἐπεχείρησε τούτο ποιῆσαι· ο' τε γὰρ οὐδ' καὶ οὶ ἄλλοι οἱ περὶ αὐτῶν ὄντες φυλακὴν αὐτῶν ἐχον· ἐπει δ' ἐστέρα ἐγένετο, ἐξιθρίδιον τέ τι κρύφα ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον ὑπέθηκε, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος βιβλίον τὸ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ γεγραμένον ἦττησε,

3 εἰτ' οὖν πόρρω τῆς ὑποψίας τοῦ τι τοιοῦτο βουλεύσασθαι τοὺς παρόντας ἀπαγαγεῖν σπουδά-

1 προσχωρήσαι H. Steph., προσχωρήσαι L.
2 οὐδενὸς ἐσ οὐδεν Ῥ. Steph., ἐσ οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν L.
3 ἀπολογισάμενος Bk., ἀπολογισάμενος L.

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

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

¹ The Phaedo.

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q 2
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σας, ὡς ἥκετο παρατηρηθῇ, εἴτε καὶ
παραμύθιόν τι πρὸς τὸν θάνατον ἐκ τῆς ἀναγνώ-
σεως αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἐπιθυμήσας. ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνο τε
4 ἀνελέξατο καὶ ἡ νῦς ἐμέσου,1 τὸ τε ἐγχειρίδιον
ὑφείλκυσε,2 καὶ ἐαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γαστέρα παῖσας
εὐθὺς ἀν ἐτελεύτησεν ἐξαιμος γενόμενος, εἰ μὴ
καταπεσῶν ἐκ τοῦ σκιμποδίου ψόφου τε ἐποίησε
καὶ τοὺς προκοιτοῦντας3 ἔξηγεῖτε. καὶ οὕτως ὃ
τε νῦσ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἐσπευσώτες τὰ τε ἐντερα
αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν γαστέρα αὐθίς κατέσαζαν4 καὶ
5 θεραπείαν αὐτῷ προσήγαγον. καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸ τε
ξυφίδιον ἦραν καὶ τὰς θύρας ἐκλείσαν, ὡς ὅπως
λάχη (οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄλλως πῶς ἀποδανεῖν
αὐτὸν προσεδόκησαν). ἐκείνος δὲ ἔς τε τὸ τραύμα
τὰς χεῖρας ἐνέβαλε καὶ τὰς βαφὰς αὐτοῦ διαρ-
ρήξας ἀπέψυχεν.

6 'Ὁ μὲν οὖν Κάτων καὶ δημοτικότατος καὶ
ἰσχυρογνωμονέστατος5 πάντων τῶν καθ' ἐαυτὸν
ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος μεγάλην δόξαν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
τοῦ θανάτου ἔλαβεν, ὡστε καὶ ἐπονυμίαν Ὀὐτική-
σιος, ὅτι τε ἐν τῇ Ὀυτικῇ οὕτως ἐτελεύτησε καὶ
7 ὃτι δημοσίᾳ ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἐτάφη, κτήσασθαι: ὁ δὲ δὴ
Καίσαρ ἐκείνω μὲν ὄργυξεθαι ἐφ' ὅτι οἱ τῆς ἐπὶ
τῇ σωτηρίᾳ αὐτοῦ εὐκλείας ἐφθόνησε, τὸν δὲ νῦν
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς πλείους ἀφήκεν, ὡσπερ
εἴδιστο: οἱ μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς ὃς δὲ καὶ ἔστερον, ὅτως
ἀμβλυτέρῳ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου γενομένῳ προσ-

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1 ἐμέσου Bk., ἐμεσοῦτο L.
2 ὑφείλκυσε Dind., ὑφείλκυσε L.
3 προκοιτοῦντας R. Steph., προσκοιτοῦντας L.
4 κατέσαξαν Naber, κατέσαζαν L.
5 καὶ ἱσχυρογνωμονέστατος Rk., καὶ ἱσχυρό-

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BOOK XLIII

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

Thus Cato, who had proved himself at once the most democratic and the strongest-minded of all the men of his time, acquired great glory even from his very death and obtained the title of Uticensis, both because he had died in Utica, as described, and because he was publicly buried by the inhabitants. Caesar declared that he was angry with him, because Cato had begrudged him the distinction of saving such a man, and he released his son and most of the others, as was his custom; for they came over to him of their own accord, some at once, and others later, so as to approach him after time should have
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2 ἐλθὼσιν, ἔθελονται προσεχώρησαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐσώθησαν, Ἀφράνιος δὲ καὶ Φαύστος ἐκόντες μὲν οὐκ ἔλθων πρὸς αὐτὸν (καὶ γὰρ εὗ ἤδεσαν ἀπολούμενοι), φυγόντες δὲ ἐς Μαυριτανίαν συνελήφθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σιττίου. καὶ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἀκρίτους οὐκ ἠράσατο.

3 Καίσαρ ὡς καὶ αἰχμαλώτους ὑπέσφαξεν τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίσαρα τὸν Δουκίου, καὶ περ ὡς γινεῖ οἱ ὄντα καὶ ἔθελοντον ἱκετεύσαντα, ὡμοὶ ἐπειδὴ διὰ παντὸς αὐτῶ προσεπεπολεμήκει, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀποδικήσας ἐκέλευσεν ὡστε ἐν δίκῃ τινὶ κατεψήφισθαι αὐτῶν δόξαι, ἐπειτα δὲ ὄνειρας αὐτῶν τῇ ἐαυτοῦ φωνῇ θανατῶσαι τὸτε μὲν ἀνεβάλετο.⁴

13 ὑστερον δὲ καὶ κρύφα ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ γὰρ τῶν συνόντων οἱ τοὺς οὐκ ἑπτιθείσους τοὺς μὲν πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων οὐκ ἀκούσιως ἀπέβαλλε,² τοὺς δὲ καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τῶν σφητέρων ἡ ἐπιθυμία ἐν αὐτῶι ταῖς μάχαις ἀπὸλλυσθαι ἐποίει. οὐ γὰρ τοι καὶ φανερῶς πᾶσι τοῖς λυπήσασι τι αὐτῶν, ὡστερ ἐποιεῖ, ἐπεξῆγε, ἀλλ' ὅσους μηδεὶς αξιόχρεοι ἐγκλήματι μετελθεῖσιν ἐδύνατο, ἐν τρόπῳ δὴ τινὶ ἀφανεὶ ὑπεξῆγε, καὶ τοῖς τὰ γράμματα, ὅσα ἐν τῶι ἀπορρήτως τοῦ Σκιπίωνος κιβωτίως ἐυρέθη, πάντα καύσας πρὶν ἀναγωνώναι, καὶ τῶν ἀντιπολεμησάντων οἱ πολλοὶ μὲν δι' αὐτῶις ἐκεῖνος πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ διὰ τοὺς φίλους σώσας τῶν τε γὰρ συναγωνιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων.³

¹ ἀνεβάλετο R. Steph., ἀνεβάλετο L.
² ἀπέβαλλε Cobet, ἀπεβάλλετο L.
³ ἐταίρων R. Steph., ἐτέρων L.
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blunted his anger. So these were spared; but Afranius and Faustus would not come to him of their own free will, feeling sure of being put to death, but fled to Mauretania, where they were captured by Sittius. Caesar put them to death, as captives,\(^1\) without a trial; but in the case of Lucius Caesar, though the man was related to him and came as a voluntary suppliant, nevertheless, since he had fought against him throughout, he at first bade him stand trial, so that he might seem to have condemned him with some show of legality, and then, as he shrank from putting him to death by his own vote, he postponed the trial for the time being, but afterward killed him secretly. Indeed, even in the case of those of his own followers who did not suit him he willingly lost some at the hands of the enemy and deliberately caused others to perish in the midst of the fighting at the hands of their own comrades. For, as I have said, he did not attack openly all who had injured him, but any whom he could not prosecute on a plausible charge he quietly put out of the way in some obscure fashion. And yet on this occasion he burned unread all the papers that were found in the private chests of Scipio, while of the men who had fought against him he spared many for their own sake, and many also for the sake of their friends. For, as I have stated, he always allowed each of his soldiers

\(^1\) It was Caesar's regular custom to spare those who were taken captive for the first time, but to put them to death if they were captured again (cf. xli. 62, xliii. 17, xliv. 45 f. ; Suet. Iul. 75). Hence some would read here "as captives for the second time" (ὡς καὶ πρimum, or ὡς δίς, αἰχμαλωτοὺς). But, as Boïssevain points out, the contrast here is merely between captives and a voluntary suppliant.
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ἐκάστω ἐνα ἐξαιτείωθαι, ὡσπερ εὑρηται, ἐπέτρεπε. 4 καὶ δὴ 1 καὶ τῶν Κάτων ἐσωσεν ἀν. οὐτω γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔτεθεαμάκει 2 ὡστε τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἐγκώ- μιον μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ γράψαντος ἀγανακτήσαι μὲν μηδὲν, καίπερ καὶ ἐκείνου οἱ προσπολε- μήσαντος, βιβλίον δὲ τι γράψαι δ' Ἀντικάτωνα ἐπεκάλεσε.

14 Καίσαρ μὲν ταῦτα τε πράξας, καὶ τοὺς ἀφηλικεστέρους τῶν στρατιωτῶν παραχρῆμα καὶ πρὶν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περαιωθήναι, μὴ καὶ στασιάσωσιν αὐθίς, ἀπαλλάξας, τὰ τε ἄλλα 2 τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἁφρικῇ διὰ βραχέος, ὡς ἠνὴ μάλιστα, καταστήσας, μέχρι μὲν τῆς Σαρδουῦ παντὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ ἐπελευσθεν, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐς τε τῆν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήιον μετὰ Γατού Διδίου ἐπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκομίσθη, τὸ μὲν πλείστον ἔπι 3 τῇ τῶν ἔργων λαμπρότητι, ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τῇ βουλῇ 3 δόξας μεγαλοφρονούμενος. τεσσαράκοντά τε γὰρ ἤμέρας ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ αὐτοῦ θύειν ἐγγίνοσαν, καὶ τά ἐπεινίκια τὰ προεσφησιμένα ἐπὶ τε λευκών ἵππων καὶ μετὰ ραβδούχων τῶν τε 4 τότε αὐτῷ συνόντων καὶ ἔτερων ὅσοις ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ δικασ- τορίᾳ ἐκέχρητο, ἄλλων τε αὐτὸν ὅσοις ἐν τῇ 4 δευτέρα ἐσχῆκε, πέμψας οἱ ἐδοςαν. τῶν τε τρόπων τῶν ἐκάστῳ ἐπιστάτην (οὕτω γὰρ πῶς 5 ὁνομάζῃ ὡσπερ οὐκ ἀξίας αὐτοῦ τῆς τοῦ τιμητοῦ προσρήσεως οὐσίας) ἐς τρία αὐτὸν ἔτη καὶ δικ- 5 τάτορα ἐς δέκα ἐφεξῆς εἴλυντο. καὶ προσέτι

1 δὴ Bk., τοι L. 2 ἔτεθεαμάκει Bk., ἀνατεθαμάκει L. 3 ἔπι supplied by Bk. 4 τε supplied by Rk. 5 πῶς R. Steph., πῶ L.

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and companions to ask the life of one man. In fact B.C. 46
he would have spared Cato, too; for he had con-
ceived such an admiration for him that when Cicero
subsequently wrote an encomium of Cato he was not
at all vexed, although Cicero had likewise warred
against him, but merely wrote a short treatise which
he entitled "Anticato."

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

1 Praefectus moribus (Cic., ad Fam. ix. 15, 5).
ΔΙΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΝΗ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ

ἐπὶ τε ἀρχικοὺ δίφρου μετὰ τῶν ἀεὶ ὑπάτων ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καθίζειν καὶ γνώμην ἀεὶ πρῶτον ἀποφαίνεσθαι, ἐν τε ταῖς ἱπτοδρομίαις ἀπάσαις ἀποσημαίνειν, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡσα τισίν ὁ δήμος πρότερον ἐνεμεν ἀποδεικνύναι.

6 ἔψηφίσαντο. ἀρμά τε τι αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἀντιπρόσωπον τῷ Διῳ ἱδρυθήναι, καὶ ἐπὶ εἰκόνα αὐτόν τῆς οἰκουμένης χαλκοὺ ἐπιβιβασθήναι, γραφὴν ἔχοντα ὅτι ἡμιθεὸς ἔστι, τὸ τε ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἔπι τὸ Καπιτωλίου ἀντὶ τοῦ Κατούλου, ὡς καὶ τὸν νεῶν, ἐφ’ οὗ τῇ ἐκποίησε εὐθύνειν ἑκείνου ἐπεχείρησεν, ἑκτελέσαντος, ἀντεγ-7 γραφὴν ἔκελευσαν. ταῦτα δὲ μόνα κατέλεξα οὐχ ὅτι καὶ μόνα ἔψηφίσθη (παμπληθή τε γὰρ ἐσεφέρετο καὶ δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἐκυρώτο) ἄλλ' ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παρῆκατο, ταῦτα δὲ προσεδέστω.

15 Δεδομένων δὲ ἢδη αὐτῶν ἡλθε τε ἐς την Ῥώμην, καὶ ἱδὼν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὴν τε δύναμιν αὐτοῦ φοβουμένους καὶ τὸ φρόνημα ὑποτετομένους, κὰκ τοῦτο πολλὰ καὶ δειλά, ὡς ποὺ καὶ πρὶν ἐγενόνει, πείσεσθαι προσδοκῶντας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπερόγκους οἱ τιμᾶς κολακεία 2 ἀλλ’ οὐκ εὐνοία ἔψηφισμένους, παραμυθησάτο τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔπηλπισεν εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ τοιάδε: Ἑδεις ύμῶν, ὦ πατέρες, προσδοκήσῃ μήτε ἔρειν με χαλεπὸν μηδὲν μήτε πράξειν, ὅτι καὶ γενίκεια καὶ δύναμιν πάν μὲν ὁ τε ἄν θελήσω

1 πρότερον Bk., πρῶτον L.
2 ἐνεμεν R. Steph., ἐνεμεινεν L.
3 ὡς Xyl., γραφὴν ὡς L.

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They moreover voted that he should sit in the senate upon the curule chair with the successive consuls, and should always state his opinion first, that he should give the signal at all the games in the Circus, and that he should have the appointment of the magistrates and whatever honours the people were previously accustomed to assign. And they decreed that a chariot of his should be placed on the Capitol facing the statue of Jupiter, that his statue in bronze should be mounted upon a likeness of the inhabited world, with an inscription to the effect that he was a demigod, and that his name should be inscribed upon the Capitol in place of that of Catulus on the ground that he had completed this temple after undertaking to call Catulus to account for his building of it. These are the only measures I have recorded, not because they were the only ones voted, —for a great many measures were proposed and of course passed,—but because he declined the rest, whereas he accepted these.

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

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

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1 See xxxvii. 44, 1.
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ἀνεύθυνος εἰπεῖν, πάν 3 ὅτι ἂν βουληθῶ μετ' 4 ἐξουσίας δρᾶσαι. μὴ μέντοι μηδ' ὅτι καὶ Μάριος 5 καὶ Κίννας καὶ Σύλλας, οἷς τέ ἄλλους πάντες ὡς εἰπεῖν ὅσοι πάσοι τοὺς ἀντιστασίαιςαντιστας σφυίων ἐκράτησαν, ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἑπιχειρήσει τῶν πραγμάτων πολλὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα καὶ εἰπόν καὶ 6 ἐπραξαν, ἐξ ὧν ὑμῖν ἢκιστα προσαγαγόμενοι 1 τινας μάλιστα μὲν συμμάχους αὐτοῖς, εἰ δὲ μή, 7 οὐκ ἀνταγωνισταῖς γε ἐχθρόσαντο, νικήσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐγκρατεῖς ὃν ἐπεθύμουν γενόμενοι πολὺ τάναυσι ἐκείνων καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἐργῷ ἐπραξαν, καὶ ἔμε τις ὑπολάβη τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιήσειν. 8

5 οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως πως πεφυκὼς ἐπειτα τὸν μὲν ἐμπροσθε χρόνων προσποιητός ὑμῖν ἐνωμίλλεσα, νῦν δὲ, ὅτι ἐξεστίν, ἀσφαλῶς θρασύνομαι: οὔτ' αὐτὸ ὅπο τῆς πολλῆς εὐπραξίας ἐξήγμαι καὶ τετύφωμαι ὡστε καὶ τυρανύσει ὑμῶν ἐπιθυμήσαι (ταῦτα γὰρ ἐμοιγε ἀμφότερα ἢ τὸ γε ἐτερον 6 αὐτῶν ἐκείνων παθεῖν δοκούσιν). ἀλλ' εἰμι τῇ φύσει τοιοῦτος ὑποῦν μον ἂλε πεπείρασθε (τι γὰρ δεῖ με καθ' ἐκαστον ἐπεξιόντα ἐπαχθῇ, ὡς καὶ ἔμαυτον ἐπαινοῦντα, γενέσθαι;) καὶ τὴν τύχην οὐκ ἂν προπηλακίσαμε, ἀλλ' ὅσφ' μᾶλλον ἀγαθῆς αὐτής πεπείραμαι, τόσο μᾶλλον πρὸς 7 πάντα μετρίως 2 αὐτὴ χρήσομαι. οὔτε γὰρ οὐδ' ἐπ' ἄλλο τι τοσοῦτο τ' 3 ἵσχυσαι καὶ τηλικοῦτον αὐξηθῆναι ἐσπούδασα ὡστε πάντας μὲν τοὺς ἀντιπολεμήσαντας κολάσασθαι πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἀντιστασίαςαντιστας νουθετῆσαι, ἥ ἴνα καὶ ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι ἀσφαλῶς καὶ εὐτυχεῖν εὐκλεῖς δύνω-

1 προσαγαγόμενοι Bk., προσαγαγόμενοι L.
2 μετρίως Bs., κρείσσω L.
3 τ' Rk., τι L.

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to say whatever I please without being called to account, and to do with full liberty whatever I choose. It is true that Marius and Cinna and Sulla and practically all the others who ever triumphed over the factions opposed to them said and did many benevolent things in the beginning of their undertakings, largely as the result of which they attracted men to their side, thus securing, if not their active support, at least their abstention from opposition; and then, after conquering and becoming masters of the ends they sought, adopted a course diametrically opposed to their former stand both in word and in deed. Let no one, however, assume that I shall act in this same way. For I have not associated with you in former time under a disguise, while possessing in reality some different nature, only to become emboldened in security now that that is possible; nor have I become so elated or puffed up by my great good fortune as to desire also to play the tyrant over you—both of which experiences, or at least one of them, seem to me to have come to those men whom I mentioned. No, I am in nature the same sort of man as you have always found me—but why go into details and become offensive as praizing myself?—and I would not think of insulting Fortune, but the more I have enjoyed her favours, the more moderately will I use her in every way. For I have had no other motive in striving to secure so great power and to rise to such a height that I might punish all active foes and admonish all those of the other faction, than that I might be able to play a man's part without danger and to obtain prosperity
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16 μαί. 1 οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως καλὸν ἢ δίκαιον, ὅσα τις τοῖς διχογνωμονήσασιν ἐπεκάλεσε, ταύτα αὐτὸν ποιοῦντα ἕξελεγχθῆναι· οὔτ' ἂν ἔγωγε ἀξιώσαιμι ποτε, τῇ τῶν ἔργων ζηλώσει ὁμοιωθέλεις αὐτοῖς, μόνη τῇ τῆς παντελοῦσ νίκης φήμη

2 διαλλάξει. τίς μὲν γὰρ πλείω καὶ μείζω τινὰς εὖ ποιεῖν οὐφελεί τοῦ μάλιστα δυναμένου; τίς δὲ ἢπτον ἐξαμαρτάνειν τοῦ πλείστον ἰσχύοντος; τίς εὐβουλότερον τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου δοθεῖσι χρῆσαι τοῦ τὰ μέγιστα παρ' αὐτὸν λαβόντος; τίς ὀρθότερον τὰ παρόντα ἀγαθὰ μεταχειρίζεσθαι τοῦ πλείστα τε ἔχοντος καὶ μάλιστα περὶ

3 αὐτῶν μὴ καὶ ἀπόληται φοβουμένου; ἢ μὲν γὰρ εὐπραγία σοφροσύνην λαβοῦσα διαμένει, καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία μετριάσασα πάντα τὰ κτηθέντα τηρεῖ· τὸ τε μέγιστον, καὶ ὅπερ ἡκιστα τοῖς εὖ 2 χωρίς ἀρετῆς φερομένοις ὑπάρχει, καὶ ξάσων ἀδόλως φιλεῖσθαι καὶ τελευτήσαιν ἄληθῶς

4 ἐπαινεῖσθαι διδόσιν. ὁ δὲ ἀνέθην 3 ἐς πάντα ἀπλῶς τῇ δυνάμει καταχρόμενον οὔτε εὔνοιαν ἄληθῆ οὔτ' ἀσφάλειαν ἁκριβῆ εὐρύσκεται, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τῷ φαινομένῳ πλαστῶς κολακεῖται . . . 4 τοῖς γὰρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐξουσίας ἀκράτορα 5 οἱ τε ἄλλοι πάντες καὶ οἱ μάλιστα αὐτῷ χρώμενοι καὶ ὑποτευόντες καὶ φοβοῦνται.

17 “Ταύτα δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως ἐφιλοσοφήσα, ἀλλ' ἵνα εἰδήτε ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐπίδειξιν, οὔτ' ἀπ' αὐτομάτου

1 δύνωμαι H. Steph., δύναμι L.
2 εὖ Bk., οὐ L.
3 ἀνεθήν Rk., ἀνεθή L.
4 Lacuna recognized by Reim.
5 ἀκράτορα Bk., αὐτοκράτορα L.

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with honour. For in general it is neither noble nor just for a man to be convicted of doing the things which he has rebuked in those who have differed from him in opinion; nor will I ever think it proper to be likened to such men through my imitation of their deeds, and to differ merely by the reputation of my complete victory. For who ought to confer more and greater benefits upon people than he who has the greatest power? Who ought to err less than he who is the strongest? Who should use the gifts of Heaven more sensibly than he who has received the greatest ones from that source? Who ought to use present blessings more uprightly than he who has the most of them and is most afraid of losing them? For good fortune, if joined to self-control, is enduring, and authority, if it maintains moderation, preserves all that has been acquired; and, greatest of all, and also rarest with those who gain success without virtue, these things make it possible for their possessors to be loved unfeignedly while living and to receive genuine praise when dead. But the man who recklessly abuses his power on absolutely all occasions finds for himself neither genuine good-will nor certain safety, but, though accorded a false flattery in public, [is secretly plotted against (?)].

For the whole world, including his nearest associates, both suspects and fears a ruler who is not master of his own power.

"These statements that I have made are no mere sophistries, but are intended to convince you that what I think and say is not for effect nor yet
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νῦν προσπεσόντα αυτά, ἀλλὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ πρέπειν μοι καὶ συμφέρειν κρίνας καὶ φρονώ καὶ λέγω, ὡςθ' ὑμᾶς μὴ πρὸς τὸ παρόν μόνον θαρσεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον εὐέλπιδας εἶναι, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι, εἴπερ τι αὐτῶν ἐπιπλαττόμην, οὐκ ἂν ἀνεβαλόμην ἅλλ' ἢδη καὶ τίμερον 2 ἐξέφηνα. ἀλλ' οὕτε πρότερον ἄλλως πως ἐφρόνησα, ὃσπερ που καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἐργα τεκμηριώ, νῦν τε πολὺ μᾶλλον προθυμήσομαι μετὰ πάσης ἐπιεικείας οὐ μᾶ Δί οὐ δεσπόζειν ὑμῶν ἀλλὰ προστατεῦν, οὐδὲ τυραννεύειν ἄλλ' ἠγεμονεύειν, πρὸς μὲν τάλλα πάνθ' ὡσα ὑπέρ ὑμῶν δεὶ πράττειν καὶ ὑπατος καὶ δικτάτωρ, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸ 3 κακὸς ποιήσαι τινα ἰδιώτης ἢν. τούτο γὰρ μόνον οὐδὲ 1 ῥηθήναι καλὸν εἶναι νομίξω. πῶς μὲν γὰρ ἂν ἀποκτείναμι τινα ὑμῶν τῶν μηδέν με ἡδικήκοτον ὁ μηδένα μὲν τῶν μὴ ἀντιταξαμένων 3 μοι φθείρας, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα προθύμως τάλλα τισι κατ' ἔμοι συνήραντο, 4 πάντας δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπαξ ἀντικαταστάντας μοι ἐλεήσας καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν δεύτερον ἀντιμαχεσαμένων 4 σώσασ; πῶς δὲ ἂν μνησικάλαταμί 8 τισιν ὁ καὶ τὰ γράμματα, ὡσα καὶ παρὰ τῷ Πομπηίῳ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἀπόρρητα εὐρέθη, μὴ ἀναγνοὺς μὴ ἐγκραφάμενος 7 ἄλλ' εὐθὺς κατακαύσας; ὡστε θαρσοῦντος, δε πατέρες, οἰκειωθῶ- μεν, ἐκλαθόμενοι μὲν πάντων τῶν συμβεβηκότων

1 οὐδὲ Rk., οὐ L. 2 ἂν added by Bk.
3 μὴ ἀντιταξαμένων Bk., ἀντιπραξαμένων L.
4 συνήραντο Rk., προσήραντο L.
5 ἀπαξ Xyl., ἀπαν L.
6 ἂν μνησικάλαταμί R. Steph., ἀναμνησικάλαταμί L.
7 ἐγκραφάμενος Reim., ἐγγραφάμενος L.

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thoughts that have just chanced to occur to me on the spur of the moment, but rather are convictions regarding what at the outset I decided was both suitable and advantageous for me. Consequently you may not only be of good courage with reference to the present, but also hopeful as regards the future, when you reflect that, if I had really been using any pretence, I should not now be deferring my projects, but would have made them known this very day. However, I was never otherwise minded in times past, as, indeed, my acts themselves prove, and now I shall be far more eager than ever with all reasonableness to be, not your master,—Jupiter forbid!—but your champion, not your tyrant, but your leader. When it comes to accomplishing everything else that must be done on your behalf, I will be both consul and dictator, but when it comes to injuring any one of you, a private citizen. That, in fact, is the one thing which I think should not even be mentioned. For why should I put any one of you to death, who have done me no harm, when I have destroyed none of those who were not arrayed against me, no matter how zealously in general they had joined with some of my enemies against me, and when I have taken pity on all those who withstood me but once and in many cases have spared even those who fought against me a second time? Why should I bear malice toward any, seeing that I immediately burned all the documents that were found among the private papers both in Pompey's and in Scipio's tents, and that without reading or copying them? Let us, therefore, Conspect Fathers, confidently unite our interests, forgetting all past events as if they had
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5 ὡς καὶ ἀνάγκη τινὶ δαιμονία γεγονότων, ἀρξά-
μενοι δὲ ἀνυπόπτως ἀλλήλους καθάπερ τινὰς
καίνοις πολίτας φιλεῖν, ἵνα μείνῃ ταῖς ὑπὸ
πατέρα με προσφέρησθε, τῇ μὲν πρόνοιαν τὴν
τε κηδεμονίαν τὴν παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ καρπούμενοι, τῶν
δὲ δυσχερεστέρων μηδὲν φοβούμενοι, καὶ ἔγω ὡς
6 παίδων ὑμῶν ἐπιμελέωμαι, ἑνταῦτα μὲν τὰ κάλ-
λιστα ἀδεὶ γίγνεσθαι ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν εὐχόμενος, φέρων
δὲ ἀναγκαίως τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς
ταῖς προσηκούσαις τιμᾶς ἀγάλλων, τοὺς δὲ
λοιποὺς ἐπανορθῶν καθ᾽ ὂσον ἐνδέχεται.

18 "Μὴ μέντοι μηδὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας δείσητε, μηδὲ
ἄλλο τι αὐτοὺς ἢ φύλακας τῆς τε ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς
καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀμα νομίσητε εἶναι: τρέφεσθαι
μὲν γὰρ σφας ἀνάγκη πολλῶν ἔνεκα, τραφήσεται
δὲ οὐκ ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, τοῖς τε διδο-
μένοις ἀρκούμενοι καὶ τοὺς διδόντας αὐτὰ ἀγα-
2 πώντες. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐπὶ
πλεῖον τούς συνῆθους ἐισπέρακται, ἢν τὸ τε
στασιάσαν ἄμα σωφρονισθῇ καὶ τὸ κεκρατηκὸς
αὐτάρκη τροφὴν λαβῶν μὴ στασιάσῃ. οὐ γὰρ
ποὺ 2 καὶ ιδία τι αὐτῶν ἀποκεκέρδαγκα, ὡς γε
πάντα μὲν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα μοι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ
3 δεδανεισμένοις προσανάλοκα ὑμῖν. ἀλλ᾽ ὁράτε
ὅτι τὰ μὲν τινὰ αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους 3 δεδα-
πάνηται, τὰ δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν τετήρησαν, ἀφ᾽ ὧν ἂν
τὰ πόλεις κοσμηθῆσεται 4 καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ διουκηθῆσεται.
ἂντε τὸ μὲν ἐπίφθονον τῆς ἐσπράξεως αὐτὸς
ἀνεδεξάμην, τῆς δ᾽ ὥφελλας 5 κοινὴ πάντες ἀπο-

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

"And do not fear the soldiers, either, or regard them in any other light than as guardians of my empire, which is at the same time yours. That they should be supported is necessary, for many reasons, but they will be supported for your benefit, not against you; and they will be content with what is given them and will think well of the givers. This is the reason why the taxes now levied are higher than usual, in order that the seditious element may be made submissive and the victorious element, by receiving sufficient support, may not become seditious. Of course I have received no private gain from these funds, seeing that I have expended for you all that I possessed, and also much that was borrowed. No, you can see that a part of the taxes has been expended on the wars and that the rest has been kept safe for you; it will serve to adorn the city and carry on the government in general. I have, then, taken upon my own shoulders the odium of the levy, whereas you will all enjoy its advantages in common, in the
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4 λαύσετε, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ἐν ταῖς στρατεύμασι τῶν τε γὰρ ὀπλών ἂεὶ ἦμιν δεῖ, ἐπειδὴ μὴ οἶον τέ ἐστιν ἂνεν αὐτῶν πόλειν τε τηλικαύτην οἰκούντας καὶ ἀρχὴν τοσαύτην ἔχοντας ἁσφαλῶς ζήσαι, καὶ ἡ περιουσία τῶν χρημάτων καὶ ἐκείνα ἱσχυρῶς ὠφελεί. μὴ μέντοι καὶ ὑποτεύση τις ύμῶν ὅτι ἢ τῶν πλουσίων τινὰ λυπῆσο ἡ 1 καὶ τέλη τινὰ καὶνά καταστήσω τοῖς τε γὰρ παροῦσιν ἀρκεσθήσομαι, καὶ προδυμῆσομαι συνευπορῆσαι τι μᾶλλον ύμῶν ἡ διὰ χρῆματά τινα ἀδικήσαι.

6 Τοιαύτα ὁ Καίσαρ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ μετὰ τούτο καὶ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ εἰπὼν ἐπεκούφησε μὲν τως αὐτοὺς τοῦ δέους, οὔ μέντοι καὶ ἡδυνήθη πεῖσαι παντάπασι θαρσεῖν, πρὸ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τὰς ἐπαγγελίας βεβαιώσασθαι.

19 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ τούτο τά τε ἄλλα λαμπρῶς, ὀπτερ εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τα τοσαύτης καὶ τηλικαύτης ἁμα νίκαις ἥν, ἐποίει, καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια τῶν τε Γαλατῶν καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τοῦ τε Φαρνάκου καὶ τοῦ Ἰόβου τετραχή χωρὶς τέσσαραν ἡμέρας ἔπεμψε.  

2 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ηὐφραίνει που τοὺς ὑρῶντας, ἡ δ' Ἀρσινόη ἡ Αἰγυπτία (καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνη ἐν τοῖς αὐχμαλώτοις παρῆγαγε) τὸ τε πλῆθος τῶν ῥαβδοῦχων καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ἀπολολῶτων πομπεία δεινῶς αὐτοὺς ἐλύπησεν. ὃ τε γὰρ ἀριθμὸς τῶν ῥαβδοῦχων ἐπαχθέστατόν σφίσιν ὄχλον, ἀτε μῆπω πρῶτον τοσοῦτος ἁμα ἑορακόσι, παρέσχε καὶ ἡ Ἀρ- σινόη γυνὴ τε τεύσα καὶ βασιλὶς ποτε 2 νομισθείσα ἐν τε δεσμωίς, 3 ὃ μητώποτε ἐν γε τῇ Ῥώμη ἐγε-

1 ἡ supplied by Reim.  
2 ποτὲ Xyl., τότε L.  
3 δεσμοῖς Turneb., δήμοις L.
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campaigns as well as elsewhere. For we are always in need of arms, since without them it is impossible for us, who live in so great a city and hold so extensive an empire, to live in safety; and an abundance of money is a great help in this matter as well as elsewhere. However, let none of you suspect that I shall harass any man who is rich or establish any new taxes; I shall be satisfied with the present revenues and shall be more anxious to help make some contribution to your prosperity than to wrong any one for his money."

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

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

20 Δυσχερός μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦθ' ἀπείποι διέτε-
θησαν, ἐλάχιστα δ' οὖν ἅντ' ἄποι γε τὸ πλῆθος
tῶν ἐαλωκότων καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κατερ-
γασμένων ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι. τούτων τε ὃν 
ἐνεκα 
καὶ ὑπερεθαύμαζον αὐτόν, καὶ ὃτι καὶ τὴν παρ-
ρησίαν τοῦ στρατοῦ προάτησε ἡμεγκε. τούς τε 
γὰρ ἐσ τὸ συνεδρίου σφών ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταλεχ-
θέντας ἐτῶθασαν, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα ὡς ση ποτ' 
eυτελίζετο, καὶ ἐν τοῖς μᾶλιστα τῶν τε τῆς 
Κλεοπάτρας αὐτοῦ ἐρωτα καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῷ 
Νικομήδει τῷ τῇ Βιθυνίας βασιλεύσαντι δια-
τριβήν, ὅτι μειράκιον ποτε παρ' αὐτῷ ἔγεγόνει,
dιεκερτόμησαν, ὡστε καὶ εἰπέων ὅτι Καῖσαρ μὲν 
Γαλάτας ἐδουλώσατο, Καῖσαρα δὲ Νικομήδης.

3 τέλος δὲ ἐφ' ἀπασίν αὐτοῖς ἀδρόοι ἀναβοήσαντες 
eἰπὼν ὅτι, ἄν μὲν καλῶς ποιήσης, κολασθήσῃ, ἄν 
δὲ κακῶς, βασιλεύσεις. τούτῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐβού-
λετο δηλοῦν ὅτι, ἄν μὲν ἄποδῷ τῷ δήμῳ τήν 
αυτονομίαν, ὅπερ ποὺ δίκαιον ἐνόμιζον εἶναι, καὶ 
κριθήσεται ἐφ' οἷς ἔξω τῶν νόμων εἰργάσατο καὶ

1 δ' οὖν Pflugk, γούν L.
2 te Bk., γε L.
3 εὐτελίζετο Jacoby, ἐντιλίζετο L.
4 ἐν supplied by Val.
5 βασιλεύσεις Xiph., βασιλεύσης L.
6 ἀποδῷ του L.
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at least in Rome,—aroused very great pity, and with this as an excuse they lamented their private misfortunes. She, to be sure, was released out of consideration for her brothers; but others, including Vercingetorix, were put to death.

The people, accordingly, were disagreeably affected by these sights that I have mentioned, and yet they considered them of very slight importance in view of the multitude of captives and the magnitude of Caesar's accomplishments. This led them to admire him extremely, as did likewise the good nature with which he bore the army's outspoken comments. For the soldiers jeered at those of their own number who had been appointed by him to the senate and at all the other failings of which he was accused, and in particular jested about his love for Cleopatra and his sojourn at the court of Nicomedes, the ruler of Bithynia, inasmuch as he had once been at his court when a lad; indeed, they even declared that the Gauls had been enslaved by Caesar, but Caesar by Nicomedes.¹ Finally, on top of all this, they all shouted out together that if you do right, you will be punished, but if wrong, you will be king.² This was meant by them to signify that if Caesar should restore self-government to the people, which they of course regarded as just, he would have to stand trial for the deeds he had committed in violation of the

¹ For the obscene jest cf. Suetonius, Iul. 49.
² This remark is evidently a perversion of an old nursery jingle (nenia) :

*Si male faxis vapulabis, si bene faxis rex eris.*

Another form of it is found in Horace, Ep. i. 1, 59–60 :

*at pueri ludentes "rex eris" a iunt
"si recte facies."*
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díkhn υφέξει, ἕν δὲ τῇ δυναστείᾳ ἐμμείνῃ, ὅπερ
4 που ἀδικούντος ἔργον ἦν, μοναρχήσει. οὐ μέντοι
καὶ ἔκεινος ἤχθετο ταῦτα αὐτῶν λεγόντων, ἀλλὰ
καὶ πάνυ ἔχαρεν ὅτι τοσαύτη πρὸς αὐτὸν παρ-
ρησία, πίστευ τοῦ μῆ ἂν ὤργισθηραι ποτε ἐπ'
avtῆ, ἔχρωντο, πλὴν καθ’ ὅσον τὴν συνουσίαν
τὴν πρὸς τὸν Νικομήδη διέβαλλον· ἐπὶ γὰρ
τούτων πάνυ τε ἐδυσκόλαινε καὶ ἔνδηλος ἦν
λυπούμενος, ἀπολογείσθαι τε ἐπεχείρει καὶ κατ-
ώμυς, κὰκ τούτου καὶ γέλωτα προσεπωφιλίσ-
canev.

21 Ἐν δ’ οὖν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν νικητηρίων τέρας οὐκ
ἀγαθὸν αὐτῷ ἐγένετο· ὁ γὰρ ἄξων τοῦ ἀρματο
τοῦ πομπικοῦ παρ’ αὐτῷ τῷ Τυχαίῳ τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ
Δομικύλλου οἰκοδομηθέντι συνετρίβη, ὡστε ἔφο
2 ἐτέρου αὐτῶν τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιτελέσται. καὶ τότε μὲν
καὶ τοὺς ἀναβαςμους τοὺς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ τοῖς
γόνασιν ἀνεφρίχησετο μὴδὲν μήτε τὸ ἅρμα τὸ
πρὸς τὸν Δία ἀνεδρυθὲν αὐτῷ μήτε τὴν εἰκόνα
tῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν ὑπὸ τοὺς ποσίν αὐτοῦ κειμένην
μήτε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα αὐτῆς ὑπολογισάμενος, ὥστε
τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡμιθέου ὄνομα ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἀπῆλειψεν.
3 Ὅπως μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἔπεμψε, καὶ ἐπ’
aυτοῖς τὸν τε δήμον λαμπρῶς εἰστίαση καὶ σύν
ἐξω τοῦ τεταγμένου καὶ ἐλαιον προσέδωκεν αὐτῷ.
καὶ τῷ μὲν συνδοτομέμψει χίλιω τάς τε ἐβδομή-
κοντα καὶ πέντε δραχμάς ἄς προὐπέσχητο καὶ
ἐτέρας πέντε καὶ ἐκόσι, τοῖς δὲ δὴ στρατιῶταις
4 πεντακισχιλίας ὀλλὰς ἐνειμεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ
ἀπλῶς ἐμεγαλοφρονεῖτο, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε ἀλλὰ διη-

1 υφέξει, μοναρχήσει Xiph., υφέξη, μοναρχήση L.
2 τὸ Rk., ἐσ τὸ L. 3 προὐπέσχητο Bk., προὐπέσχετο L.

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

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

After the triumph he entertained the populace splendidly, giving them grain beyond the regular amount and olive oil. Also to the multitude which received doles of corn he assigned the three hundred sesterces which he had already promised and a hundred more, but to the soldiers twenty thousand in one sum. Yet he was not uniformly munificent, but in most respects was very strict; for instance, since
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κριβώτο, καὶ τοῦ πλῆθους τοῦ τῶν σῶτον φερον
tos ἐπὶ μακρότατον, οὐ κατὰ δίκην ἀλλ' ὡς ποι
ἐν ταῖς στάσεις εἰώθη γίγνεσθαι, ἐπαυξηθέντος
ἐξέτασιν ἐποίησατο, καὶ τοὺς γε ἡμῶς ὅμοιο τι
ἀυτῶν προαπήλευσε.

22 Τὰς μὲν δὴ οὖν ἄλλας τῶν νικητηρίων ἡμέρας
ὡς που ἔνευμομετο διήγαγε· τῇ δὲ τελευταίᾳ
ἐπειδῆ ἐκ τοῦ δείπνου ἐγένοτο, ἐστὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
ἀγορὰν ἐσήλθε βλαύτας ὑποδεδεμένον 1 καὶ ἀνθεσι
παντοδαποῖς ἐστεφανωμένοις, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν οὐκαδὲ
παντὸς μὲν ὡς εἰπέων τοῦ δήμου παραπέμπουτος
ἀυτῶν, πολλῶν δὲ ἠλεφάντων λαμπάδας φερόντων
2 ἐκομίσθη. τὴν γὰρ ἀγορὰν τὴν ἀπ' 2 αὐτοῦ
κεκλημένην κατεσκευάστο· 3 καὶ ἐστὶ μὲν περι-
καλλεστέρα τῆς Ῥωμαίας, τὸ δὲ ἀξίωμα τὸ
ἐκείνης ἐπηύξησεν, ὡστε καὶ μεγάλην αὐτῆς ὄνο-
μαξεσθαί. ταύτην τε οὖν καὶ τὸν νεών τῶν τῆς
Ἀφροδίτης, ὡς καὶ ἀρχηγετίδος τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ
3 οὖσης, ποιήσας καθιέρωσεν εὐθὺς τότε· καὶ
πολλοὺς γε ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ παντοδαποῖς ἀγώνας
ἐθηκε, θέατρον τι κυνηγητικόν ἱκρώσας, 4 καὶ
ἀμφιθέατρον ἐκ τοῦ περίκοπτου καταχώσθην ἐδρας ἀνευ
σκηνῆς ἐχειν προσερρῆθη. 4 καὶ ἐπὶ τούτω 5 καὶ
ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ καὶ θηρίων σφαγᾶς καὶ ἀνδρῶν
4 ὀπλομαχίας ἐποίησεν, ὃν ἔαν τοὺς ἀριθμὸν
gράψαι ἐθελήσῃ, οὐχον ἀν τῇ συγγραφῇ οὐδ' ἀληθὴς ἴσως παράσχοι· πάντα γὰρ τὰ τοιαύτα
ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖξον ἂεὶ κομποτάται. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν καὶ

1 ὑποδεδεμένος R. Steph., ὑποδεδημένος L., Xiph.
2 ἀπ' R. Steph., ὑπ' L.
3 κατεσκευάστο Melber, κατεσκευάστο L.
4 προσερρήθη Xiph., προσερρέθη L.
5 τούτω R. Steph., τούτο L.

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the multitude receiving doles of corn had increased enormously, not by lawful methods but in such ways as are common in times of strife, he caused the matter to be investigated and struck out half of their names at one time before the distribution.

The first days of the triumph he passed as was customary, but on the last day, after they had finished dinner, he entered his own forum wearing slippers and garlanded with all kinds of flowers; thence he proceeded homeward with practically the entire populace escorting him, while many elephants carried torches. For he had himself constructed the forum called after him, and it is distinctly more beautiful than the Roman Forum; yet it had increased the reputation of the other so that that was called the Great Forum. So after completing this new forum and the temple to Venus, as the founder of his family, he dedicated them at this very time, and in their honour instituted many contests of all kinds. He built a kind of hunting-theatre of wood, which was called an amphitheatre from the fact that it had seats all around without any stage. In honour of this and of his daughter he exhibited combats of wild beasts and gladiators; but anyone who cared to record their number would find his task a burden without being able, in all probability, to present the truth; for all such matters are regularly exaggerated in a spirit of boastfulness. I shall accordingly pass over this and other like events.
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ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὀμοίων τῶν ἐπείτα γενομένων ἐάσω, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τι πάνυ μοι δόξειν ἀναγκαῖον
23 εἰπεῖν εἶναι· περὶ δὲ δὴ τῆς καμηλοπαρδάλιδος ἀνομασμένης ἐρώ, ὅτι τότε πρῶτον ἐς τε τὴν
'Ῥώμην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐσήχθη καὶ πάσιν ἐπεδείχθη.1
τὸ γὰρ ζῷον τούτο τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κάμηλός ἐστι, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἱσού τῶν κύλων ἔχει.
2 τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπόσθη αὐτοῦ χθαμαλώτερα ἐστὶν· ἀρχόμενον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν γλυκτῶν ὑφοῦται κατὰ
βραχὺ ὡστ' ἀναβαίνοντι ποι ἐοικέναι, καὶ μετε-
ωρισθὲν ἐπὶ πλείστων τὸ μὲν ἄλλο σώμα ἐπὶ τῶν
ἐμπροσθίων σκελῶν ἔρειδεi,2 τὸν δ' αὐχένα ἐς
ὕψος αὖ ἰδιον ἀνατείνει. τὴν δὲ χρόαν κατε-
στυκται ὅσπερ πάρδαλις, καὶ διὰ τὸν τούτο καὶ τὸ
3 ὄνομα ἑπίκοινον ἀμφοτέρων φέρει. τούτο μὲν δὴ
tοιοῦτον ἐστί· τοὺς δ' ἄνδρας συνέβαλλε μὲν
καὶ ἕνα ἐν τῇ ἄγορᾷ· ὅσπερ εἴδιστο, συνε-
βάλλε δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἰπποδρόμῳ πλείονος, καὶ
ἵππεας ἑπεύρυ καὶ πεζοὺς πεζοῖς, ἄλλους τε
ἀναμέξα ἄλληλοις ἱσοὺς. καὶ τινες καὶ ἀπ' ἐλε-
4 φάντων τεσσαράκοντα ἐμαχέσαντο. καὶ τέλος
ναυμαχίαν οὐκ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ οὐδὲ ἐν λίμη τῶν
ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἤπειρῳ ἐποίησε· χωρίον γὰρ τι ἐν τῷ
'Αρείῳ πεδίῳ κοιλάνας3 ὕδωρ τε ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσῆκε
καὶ ναῦς ἐσῆγαγεν. ἐμάχοντο δὲ ἐν ἑνὸς τοῖς
ἀγόσιν οἱ τε αἰχμάλωτοι καὶ οἱ θάνατον ὄφλη-
5 κότες· καὶ τινες καὶ τῶν ἱππέων, οὐχ ὅτι τῶν
ἄλλων ἄλλα καὶ ἐστρατηγηκότος τινὸς ἄνδρος
νύσ, ἐμονομάχησαν. καὶ βουλευτῆς δὲ τις

1 ἐπεδείχθη Bk., ἐπεδείχθη L.
2 ἐρείδει supplied by Bk.
3 κοιλάνας Xiph., κοιλήρας L.
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that took place later, except, of course, where it may seem to me quite essential to mention some particular point, but I will give an account of the so-called camelopard, because it was then introduced into Rome by Caesar for the first time and exhibited to all. This animal is like a camel in all respects except that its legs are not all of the same length, the hind legs being the shorter. Beginning from the rump it grows gradually higher, which gives it the appearance of mounting some elevation; and towering high aloft, it supports the rest of its body on its front legs and lifts its neck in turn to an unusual height. Its skin is spotted like a leopard, and for this reason it bears the joint name of both animals. Such is the appearance of this beast. As for the men, he not only pitted them one against another singly in the Forum, as was customary, but he also made them fight together in companies in the Circus, horsemen against horsemen, men on foot against others on foot, and sometimes both kinds together in equal numbers. There was even a fight between men seated on elephants, forty in number. Finally he produced a naval battle, not on the sea nor on a lake, but on land; for he hollowed out a certain tract on the Campus Martius and after flooding it introduced ships into it. In all the contests the captives and those condemned to death took part; yet some even of the knights, and, not to mention others, the son of one who had been praetor fought in single combat. Indeed a senator named

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Φόλουνιος Σεπίνος ἠθέλησε μὲν ὀπλομαχῆσαι, ἐκωλύθη δὲ ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ ἀπηύθαστο ὁ Καίσαρ μῆποτε συμβῆναι, τοὺς δ' ἰσπέας περιεῖδε μαχο-
6 μένους. τὴν τε ἴππασίαν τὴν Τροίαν καλουμένην οἱ παῖδες οἱ εὐπατρίδαι κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐποίη-
ςάντο· καὶ ἐφ' ἀρμάτων οἱ νεανίσκοι οἱ ὀμότιμοι αὐτοίς ἡμιλλήσαντο.

24 Ἔσχε μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν φονευ-
μένων αἰτίαν, ὅτι μὴ τ' αὐτὸς διακορῆς σφαγῶν ἐγεγόνει καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τὰς τῶν οἰκείων κακῶν εἰκόνας ἐπεδείκνυε, πολὺ δὲ δὴ μείζῳ ὅτι ἀμύθητα χρήματα ἐς πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἀνάλωσεν, ὡς καὶ καθ' ἐκάτερον ἐπιβοῦσθαι, καὶ ὅτι ἄδικως αὐτῶν τὰ πλείω συνελέξατο, καὶ ὅτι ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτα αὐτοῖς 2 κατεχρήσατο. ἦν γὰρ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῆς τότε γενομένης ἐχόμενον εἰπὼν καὶ τάλλα δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα σημανῶ. ἦν γὰρ μηδένα τῶν θεωμένων ὁ ἡλιος λυπήσῃ, παραπετάσματα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν σηρικά, ὡς γε τινὲς φασίν, ὑπερεπέτασεν. τούτῳ δὲ τὸ υφάσμα χλιδῆς βαρβάρου ἐργον ἐστί, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐς τρυφὴν τῶν 3 πάνω γυναικῶν περιττὴν ἐσπεφοίτηκεν. ἐπὶ οὖν τούτοις οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι καὶ ἀνάγκη τὴν ἑσυχίαν ἦγον, οἱ δὲ δὴ στρατιῶται ἐθορύβησαν, οὐχ ὅτι ἐμελέ σφις τῶν εἰκή δαπανωμένων, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐ

1 Both names are probably corrupt; Dio regularly has Φούλουνιος for Fulvius. 2 σφαγῶν Oddey, σφών L. 3 ἐπιβοῦσθαι Xiph., ἐπεκβοῦσθαι L.

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

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

¹ This is possibly a corruption for the Furius Leptinus mentioned by Suetonius, Iul. 39.

² This ludus Troiae, or simply Troia, is first mentioned in the time of Sulla, and then on the present occasion; later we hear of it often (cf. xlix. 43, 3, lii. 22, 4, liii. 1, 4, liv. 26, 1, etc.). Virgil's account (Aen. v. 553–603) of the boys' contest at the funeral games in honour of Anchises may be regarded as a correct description in the main of what he saw at the contest in honour of Actium.
καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων ἔλαβον. καὶ οὐ πρῶτον 
γε ἐπαύσαντο ταραττόμενοι πρὶν τὸν Καίσαρα 
ἀφνω τε αὐτοῖς ἐπελθεῖν καὶ κρατήσαντα τινα 
4 αὐτοχειρὰ πρὸς τιμωρίαν παραδοῦναι. οὗτος 
μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα ἐδικαιώθη, ἀλλοι δὲ δύο ἄνδρες 
ἐν τρόπῳ των ἱερουργίας ἐσφάγησαν. καὶ τὸ μὲν 
αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν (οὔτε γὰρ ἡ Σίβυλλα 
ἐχρῆσεν, οὔτ' ἀλλο τι τοιοῦτο λόγιον ἔγνευο), 
ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ πρὸς τε τῶν ποιτικῶν 
καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἱερέως τοῦ Ἀρείως ἑτύθησαν, καὶ αἱ 
γε 1 κεφαλαὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ βασίλειον ἀνετέθησαν. 
25 Ταύτα τε ἀμα ἐπράττετο, καὶ ἐνομοθετεῖ τοὺ 
πολλά, ὅτι ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν ἀλλα παραλείψω, τῶν δὲ 
δὴ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξιων μησθῆσομαι. τα τὲ 
γὰρ δικαστήρια τοῖς τε βουλευταῖς καὶ τοῖς 
ἰππεύσι μόνοις ἔπέτρεψεν, ὅπως τὸ καθαρώτατον 
2 ὅτι μᾶλιστα αὐτὸ δικάζοι πρῶτον γὰρ καὶ ἐκ 
τοῦ ὄμλου τινὲς συνδιεγόγγονωσκὸν αὐτοῦς καὶ τὰ 
ἀναλώματα τῶν τι ἔχοντων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὑπ' 
ἀσωτίας ἐξηγημένα οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ μόνον ἔμετράσεν, 
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἅγιωργίῳ ἐν φυλακῇ ἐπούσατο. 
ἐπειδὴ τε δεινὴ ὀλεγγαθροτία διὰ τὸ τῶν ἀπολω- 
λότων πλῆθος, ὡς ἐκ τε τῶν ἀπογραφῶν (καὶ γὰρ 
ἐκεῖνας τὰ τε ἄλλα ὥσπερ τῆς τιμητῆς ἑποίησε) 
καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὁψεως αὐτῆς ἡλέγχετο, ᾗν, 2 πολυ- 
3 παϊδίας ἀθλα ἐπέθεκεν, ὅτι τε αὐτὸς πολλοῖς 
τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐφέξης ἐτεσιν ἄρξας ἐσ τὴν 
ἐπιθυμίαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς δυναστείας μᾶλλον 
προήκθη καὶ ἐσ τὴν παρασκευὴ τῆς ἱσχύος 
ἐπηυξήθη, κατέκλεισε νόμῳ τοὺς μὲν ἐστρατηγη-

1 Σε v. Herw., γε τι L.  
2 ἰν Xyl., ἦν L.

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

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

1 The tribuni aerarii.
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κότας ἐπὶ ἐναυτὸν τοὺς δὲ ὑπατευκότας ἐπὶ δύο ἔτη κατὰ τὸ ἔξης ἄρχειν, καὶ μηδενὶ τὸ παράπαν ἐπὶ πλείον ἡγεμονίαν τινὰ ἔχειν ἐξείναι.

26 Ταῦτα τε ἐνομοθέτησε, καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἐτῶν ού πάντη ὁμολογούσας σφίσι (πρὸς γὰρ τὰς τῆς σελήνης περιόδους ἔτι 1 καὶ τότε τοὺς μήνας ἤγουν) κατεστήσατο ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον, ἐπτὰ καὶ ἐξήκοντα ἡμέρας ἐμβαλὼν, ὅσαιπερ ἐς τὴν ἀπαρ- 2 τιλογίαν παρέφερον. ἢδη μὲν γὰρ τινὲς καὶ πλείους ἐφασαν ἐμβληθῆναι, τὸ δ' ἀλήθες οὔτως ἔχει. τούτῳ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐν' Ἀλεξάνδρεια διατριβῆς ἔλαβε, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον ἐκείνου μὲν τριακονθημέρους τοὺς μῆνας λογίζοντai, ἐπειτα ἐπὶ παντὶ τῷ ἔτει τὰς πέντε ἡμέρας ἐπάγουσιν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρ ἐς μῆνας ἐπτὰ 2 ταύτας τε καὶ τὰς ἐτέρας 3 δύο, ὅς ἐνὸς μηνὸς ἀφείλεται, ἐνήρμοσε. τὴν μέντοι μίναν τὴν ἐκ τῶν τεταρτημορίων συμπληρουμένην διὰ πέμπτων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτῶν ἐσήγαγεν ἢς τε μηδὲν ἔτι τὰς ὁρᾶς αὐτῶν πλὴν ἐλαχίστων παραλλάττειν ἐν γοῦν χιλίοις καὶ τετρακοσίοις καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἐν 3 έτει μίᾶς ἄλλης ἡμέρας ἐμβολίμου δέονται.

27 Καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι, τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσα ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐβουλεύετο, οὔτ' ἰδιογνωμονών 4 οὔτ' ἰδιο- βουλῶν ἐπράττεν, ἄλλα πάντα δὴ πάντως τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς βουλῆς, ἐστὶ δ' ὅτε καὶ πάση αὐτῇ,

1 ἐπὶ Xiph., ἐπὶ L. 2 ἐπὶ Bk., τε L.
3 ἐν R. Steph., ἐν ἐν L.
4 ἰδιογνωμονῶν Reim., ἰδιογνωμῶν L.

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proconsuls to two consecutive years, and enacted that no one whatever should be allowed to hold any command for a longer time.

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

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

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\(^1\) *I.e.* February.

\(^2\) As a matter of fact, the average length of the Julian year is too great by about eleven minutes, amounting to one day in 128 years. Thus the Julian calendar, still employed in Russia and Greece, is now (since 1900) thirteen days behind the Gregorian, the Council of Nice (325 A.D.) being the point of departure.
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ἐπεκοίνων. 1 καὶ παρὰ τούτο οὐχ ἦκιστα, καίτων τραχυτερῶν των νομοθετήσας, οἱ ὁμοὶ ἦσσε σφισί. 2 καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τούτως καὶ ἔπαινον ἐλάμβανεν, ὡς δὲ δὴ τῶν φευγόντων ἐκ δικαστηρίου πολλοὺς διὰ δημάρχους δὴ τινῶν κατήγαγε, καὶ ὡς τοῖς δεκασμοῖς ἐπὶ ἀρχῆς ἀποδείξει ἀλούσιν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ διαμᾶσθαι ἐπέτρεψεν, ἔτι τε ἐς τὴν βουλὴν αὕτης οὐκ ἄξιοις τινάς αὐτῆς ἔγκατελεξε, 3 πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπά ἐθυμεῖτο. πλείστην δ' οὖν ὁμοὶ αὐτίαν ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἔρωτι, οὐ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ἀιγύπτῳ ἔτι (ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἥκουστο) ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ, παρὰ πάντων ἐσχεν. ἥλθε τε γὰρ ἐς τὸ ἀστυ μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ ἐς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐσκείθη, ὡστε καὶ ἐκείνου 3 ἐπὶ ἀμφότερος σφίσι κακῶς ἀκούσαι. οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐμελέν οἱ οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τοὺς φίλους σφᾶς τοὺς τε συμμάχους τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐσέγραψε.

28 Κἀν τούτω 4 ἐμάνθανε μὲν πάντα καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἃν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ ἐποίει, οὐ 5 μὲντοι καὶ δυσνίκητον 6 αὐτὸν εἶναι νομίζων πρότερον μὲν τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐκ τῆς Σαρδοῦς ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέστειλεν, ὑστεροῦν δὲ καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα τὰ 7 ἐκ καταλόγου ἐπεμψεν ὡς καὶ δὲ ἐτέρων διαπολεμή.

2 σων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾿ὑσθετο ἐκεῖνον τε ἐπὶ μέγα προχρονίστατα καὶ τοὺς πεμφθέντας οὐχ ἰκανοὺς ἀντιπολομέμων αὐτῷ ὄντας, οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔξεστάτευσεν, τὴν πόλιν τῷ τε Δεπίδῳ καὶ

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

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

29 Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Δογγίνου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου τὰ στρατόπεδα τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἱβηρίᾳ ἐκινήθη καὶ τινὲς καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἐνεστέρισαν, ἡμέρας μὲν τινὰς τοῦ τοῦ Δογγίνου ἀπαλλαγέντος καὶ τοῦ Τρεβώνιου τὴν διαδοχὴν αὐτοῦ λαβόντος, ἡσύχασαν, ἔπειτα δέει τῆς ἐκ τοῦ Καίσαρος τιμωρίας ἐπρεσβεύσαντο κρύφα πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα, μεταστήναν Βουλόμενοι καὶ δὲ ἄλλους τῇ σφίσι καὶ τοῦ Πομπήίου τοῦ Γναῖου ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν Ἐπεξεργαζόμενον ταῖς Γυμνησίαις τὰς καὶ ἄλλας ἀμαχεῖ, τὴν δὲ Ἐβεσον σὺν πόνῳ παρεστήσατο, κάνταυθα νοσήσας μετὰ τῶν 3 στρατιωτῶν διέτριψε. χρονίζοντος οὕτω αὐτοῦ, πυθόμενοι οἱ στρατιώται οἱ ὑπὸ τῇ Ἱβηρίᾳ τοῦ τῶν Σκιπίωνα ἀπολογισμάτα καὶ τὸν Δίδιον ἐπιπλέοντα σφίσι, καὶ φοβηθέντες μὴ διαφθαρόσι πρὸς τὸν Πομπήίου ἔλθεῖν, οὐκ ἔμειναν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ Τίτον τὴν Κυίντιον 4 Σκαπούλαν καὶ Κύντιον Ἀπώνιον ἀνδρας ἱππεάς προστησάμενοι τὸν τὸν Τρεβώνιον ἐξέβαιλον καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τὸ Βατικόν παῖν ἐπιστήσαν.

30 Πραξάντων δὲ ταῦτα αὐτῶν Πομπήίου ῥαίσας ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον τὴν κατ' ἀντιτέρας διέπλευσε, καὶ ἄλλας μὲν τινὰς πόλεις εὐθὺς ἐκουσίας προσεπούσατο (ταῖς τε γὰρ ἐπιτάξει τῶν ἐφεστηκότων σφίσιν ἀχθόμενοι, καὶ ἐς ἐκεῖνον οὐκ ὀλίγα ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μνήμης ἐπελπίζοντες

1 πολιανόμοιος R. Steph., παλιανόμοιοι L. 2 ἢ Xyl., μὴ L.
3 Γυμνησίαι Reim., γυμνασίας L.
4 Κυίντιον Reim., κύντιον L.

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number of prefects—eight as some think, or six as n.c. 46 is more commonly believed.

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

They had gone thus far when Pompey, recovering from his illness, sailed across to the mainland opposite. He immediately won over several cities without resistance, for, being vexed at the commands of their rulers and also reposing no little hope in him because of the memory of his father, they readily received

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έτοιμως αυτὸν ἐδέξαντο), Καρχηδόνα δὲ οὖν
2 ἑθελήσασαν ὁμολογῆσαι ἐπολιορκεῖ. μαθόντες
οὖν τοῦτο οἱ περὶ τὸν Σκαπούλαν ἦλθον τε ἐν-
tαῦθα, καὶ στρατηγῶν αὐτοκράτορα αὐτὸν ἐλό-
μενοι προσεῖχον τε αὐτῷ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ προεθυ-
μοῦντο ἰσχυροτάτα, τὰ κέρδη τὰ ἐκείνου ἱδια καὶ
tὰς συμφορὰς οἴκειας ποιοῦμενοι, ὡστ' ἀφ' ἐκατέρου, τὰ μὲν ὅπως λάβωσι, τὰς ὅπως μὴ
3 πάθωσιν, ἔρρωσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ο Πομπήιος, οί οὖν
τοιούταις ταραχαῖς καὶ καταστάσει πάντες
εἰσάγει ποιεῖν, καὶ μάλιστ' ἐπειδὴ τινες τῶν
Ἀλλοβρόγων, οὐς οἱ ο̣ 4 Ἰόβας ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν
Κουρίωνα πολέμου ἡγησάσας ἐδεδώκει, ἡπτο-
μόλησαν, οὐδὲν ὁ τι οὐχὶ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ τοῖς
4 λοιποῖς ἐχαρίζετο. οὐτοὶ τε οὖν αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ
tαῦτα πολὺ προθυμότεροι ἐγένοντο, καὶ τῶν
ἐναντίων συνηχοί, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅσοι σὺν τῷ
Ἀφρανίῳ ποτὲ ἐστρατεύσαν,5 προσεχώρησαν τῶν
tε ἐκ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ ἄδελφος Σέξτος
ὁ τε Οὐάρος καὶ ὁ Δαβιής σὺν τῷ ναυτικῷ
5 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθον. καὶ τοῦτο τῷ τε πληθεὶ τοῦ
στρατοπέδου καὶ τῇ προθυμίᾳ ἄρθεις τὴν τε
χώραν ἀδεώς διεπορεύετο, καὶ πόλεις τὰς μὲν
ἐκούσας τὰς δὲ ἀκούσας προσετῆδοτο, καὶ ἐδόκει
81 καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πατέρας ἱσχύειν. ἦσαν μὲν γὰρ ἐν
τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατηγοὶ Κυίντος
τε Φάβιος Μάξιμος καὶ Κυίντος Πέδιος, οὐ μὲντοι
καὶ ἀξιώμαχοι οἱ νομίζοντες εἶναι αὐτοὶ τε ἰσύχα-
ζου καὶ ἐκείνου σπουδὴ μετεπέμποντο.

1 Σκαπούλα R. Steph., σκιπίωνa L.
2 τὰς Bk., τὰ L.
3 ταραχαῖς Rk., ἀρχαῖς L.
4 οἱ Bk., οἱ L.
5 ἐστράτευστo Bk., ἐστρατευόντo L.
BOOK XLIII

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

\(^1\) New Carthage.
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2 Τέως μὲν δὴ ταῦτ’ ἐγίγνετο· ἔπει δὲ τῶν τε προσεμφθέντων τινές ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἄφικοντο καὶ προσεδοκήθη καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἦξειν, φοβηθεῖς ὁ Πομπήιος, καὶ νομίσας οὐχ ἰκανὸς 1 εἶναι πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰβηρίαν κατασχεῖν, οὐκ ἀνέμεινε πταῖσας γε 2 μεταγραφῆναι, ἀλλ’ εὐθύς, πρὶν περαθῆναι τῶν ἑναντίων, ἐς τὴν θαλάσσαν παρανυφαὶ ἡλιοτριφθεὶς, Οὐάρος τε 3 ὑπὸ τοῦ Διδίου περὶ Καρτηλίαν 4 ἐναυκρατήθη, καὶ εἰγε μὴ προκαταφυγὼν ἐσ τὴν γῆν ἀγκύρας, ἐσ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Λιμένος ἄλλας πρὸς ἄλλας 5 ἐνεβεβλήκει 6 καὶ περὶ αὐτὰς οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν διωκόντων σφᾶς ὦσπερ περὶ ἔρμα ἐπταϊκέασαν, πᾶν ἀν τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπολωλέκει. ἡ δὲ ἡ περὶ καὶ ἐκεῖ πᾶσα πλῆς ὁ Ὁὐλίας πόλεως συνεμάχει· ταῦτην γὰρ μὴ ἐθελήσασαν οἱ προσχωρῆσαι 7 ἐπολιόρκει.

32 Κὰν τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ μετ’ ὀλίγων ἐξαίφνης ἀδοκήτους οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώταις ἐπήλθε· τοσοῦτοι γὰρ τῷ τῆς πορείας τάχει ἐχρήσατο ὡστε καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀμα καὶ τοῖς ἑναντίοις ὁφθήναι πρὶν καὶ ὅτι ὅλος ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ ἠγονευμέν ἀκουσθήναι. 2 καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τούτου, τῆς τε παρουσίας τῆς αὐτοῦ μόνης, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα καταπλῆξειν τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πολιορκίας ἀπαλλάξειν ἠλπίσε· τὸ γὰρ πλεῖον στράτευμα κατὰ τὴν ὅδον

1 ἰκανὸς R. Steph., ἰκανὸν L. 2 γε H. Steph., τε L.
3 τε Bk., δὲ L.
4 Καρτηλίαν Bk., κραντίαν L. (κάρτια in ch. 40).
5 ἄλλας H. Steph., ἄλλα L.
6 ἐνεβεβλήκει Bk., προσενεβεβλήκει L.
7 προσχωρῆσαι R. Steph., προχωρῆσαι L.

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For a time matters went on thus; but when a few of the men sent in advance from Rome had reached there, and Caesar's arrival was also expected, Pompey became frightened; and thinking that he was not strong enough to gain the mastery of all Spain, he did not wait for a reverse before changing his mind, but immediately, before making trial of his adversaries, retired into Baetica. The sea, moreover, straightway became hostile to him, and Varus was defeated in a naval battle near Carteia by Didius; indeed, had he not escaped to the land and sunk a row of anchors side by side at the mouth of the harbour, upon which the foremost pursuers were wrecked as upon a reef, he would have lost his whole fleet. All that region of the mainland except the city of Ulia was in alliance with Pompey; and this town, which had refused to submit to him, he proceeded to besiege.

Meanwhile Caesar, too, with a few men suddenly came up unexpectedly, not only to Pompey's followers, but even to his own soldiers. For he had employed such speed in crossing over that he appeared to both his adherents and his opponents before they had even heard that he was in Spain at all. He hoped by this very circumstance and by his mere presence to alarm Pompey and in particular to lure him from the siege; for most of his army had been left behind on the road. But Pompey, thinking that one

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υπελέειπτο· ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἦν τὸ ἄνδρα ἐνὸς οὐ 1 πολὺ διαφέρειν νομίζων, καὶ τῇ ισχυὶ ἐαυτοῦ πάνω θαρσών, οὐκ ἐξεπλάγη πρὸς τὴν ἀφίξειν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσήδρευε τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰς 3 προσβολὰς ὁμώς ὀστερὰ καὶ πρὶν ἐποιεῖτο. Ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ ἐκεῖ μὲν ὅλης χρημάτων κατέληπτεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Κόρδουβαν ὁρμησε, τὸ μὲν τι καὶ αἰρήσειν αὐτὴν ἐκ προεδρίας ἐλπίσας, τὸ δὲ ἡ πλείστου ἀπάξειν ἀπὸ τῆς Οὐλίας τὸν Πομπήιον τῷ περὶ αὐτῆς φόβῳ 4 προσδοκήσας. καὶ ἔσχεν οὔτως· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον μέρος τι τοῦ στρατοῦ κατὰ χώραν εᾶς ἐς τῇ Κόρδουβαν ἦλθε, καὶ κρατυναμενὸς αὐτήν, οὐχ ὑπομείναντός σφας τοῦ Καῖσαρος, τῷ 5 ἅδελφῳ τῷ Σέξτῳ προσέταξε· ἔπειτα δὲ ὡς οὔτε τι πρὸς τῇ Οὐλία ἐπέραινεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πύργῳ τινῷ, καὶ τούτου οὐχ ὑπὸ ςφῶν καταστρέφετος ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἀμυνομένων καταρραγέντος, ἐσῆλθον μὲν τινὲς, οὐ μὴν καὶ 6 καλὸς ἀπ' ἀλλαξάν, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ πλησιάσας σφίσαν ἐκεῖνος τε βοήθειαν νυκτὸς λαθὼν ἐσῆπεμψα καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς τῇ Κόρδουβαν αὐθίς ἐστράτευσε καὶ ἐς πολυρκίαν αὐτὴν ἀντικατέ- στησεν, οὕτω δὴ τῆς τῇ Οὐλίας παντελῶς ἀπανέστη καὶ ἐκεῖσε παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ οὐ μᾶτιν ἦπείχθη. προπυθόμενος γὰρ τούτῳ ὁ Καῖσαρ 7 ἀπεκόψε ὁ νοσῶν γὰρ ἔτυγχανε. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα αὐτὸς τε ἀναρρωσθεὶς καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ἐπα- κολουθήσαντα οἱ προσλαβῶν ἠναγκάσθη καὶ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι πολεμῆσαι· ἐν τῷ γὰρ σχημάτισοι φαύ- λοις αὐλιζόμενοι ἐκακοπάθουν καὶ τῆς τροφῆς ἐνελεί- 

1 οὐ supplied by Leuncl.
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man was not much superior to another and feeling full confidence in his own strength, was not seriously alarmed at the other's arrival, but continued to besiege the city and kept making assaults upon it just as before. Hence Caesar left there a few troops from among those who had arrived first and set out himself for Corduba, partly, to be sure, in the hope of taking it by betrayal, but chiefly in the expectation of drawing Pompey away from Ulia through fear for this place. And so it turned out in the end. At first Pompey left a part of his army in position, and going to Corduba, strengthened it, and then, as Caesar did not resist his troops, put his brother Sextus in charge there. After this he failed to accomplish anything at Ulia. On the contrary, when a certain tower had fallen, and that not shaken down by his own men either, but broken down by the crowd that was making a defence from it, a few who rushed in fared badly; and Caesar, approaching, lent assistance secretly by night to the citizens, and marched against Corduba again himself, putting it under siege in turn. Then at last Pompey withdrew entirely from Ulia and hastened to the other town with his entire army, accomplishing the desired result. For Caesar, learning of it in time, retired, as he happened to be ill. Afterwards, when he had recovered and had taken charge of the additional troops who had followed on after him, he was compelled to carry on warfare even in the winter; for, being housed in miserable little huts, they were suffering distress and running

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33 πυντο.1 ἐδικτατόρευε δὲ ὅτε, καὶ 2 ὕπατος ὡψὲ ποτε καὶ ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τοῦ ἑτους ἀπεδείχθη, τοῦ Λεπίδου ἐν τῇ ἰππαρχίᾳ τῶν δήμων ἐς τοῦτο συναγαγόντος ἵππαρχησε γὰρ καὶ τότε, αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ ἐπειπών ἰππαρχον παρὰ τὰ πάτρια.

2 Ἀναγκασθεὶς οὖν ὁ Καίσαρ, ὀσπερ οἴπον, καὶ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι πολεμήσαι, τῇ μὲν Κορδούβῃ οὕτω προσέβαλεν (ἰσχυρὸς γὰρ ἐφυλάττετο), πυθομένος δὲ ἐν Ἀττεγοῦ πολεί σῖτον πολὺν εἶναι πρὸς ἐκεῖνην καὶ τοῦτον καρπεῖν ὦσιν ἐτράπετο, ἑλπίζεις τῷ τε πλῆθει τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τῇ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ αἰφνιδίῳ ἐκτελήξει καταφυκήσαι ἑνὸς αἱρήσεως καὶ αὐτὴν διὰ βραχεὺς καὶ ἀπε-...

3 σταύρωσε καὶ περιετάφρευσεν. ὁ γὰρ Πομπήιος τῇ φύσει τοῦ χωρίων θαρσῶν, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα προσδερεύσεων αὐτὸ νομίζων, τοὺς τε ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας μὴ βουλθεῖσι ἐν τῷ ἔλεγε κακῶσαι, περείδει3 καὶ οὐκ

4 ἐπήμυνεν αὐτοῖς τὴν γε πρώτην ὑποτερον γὰρ, ὡς τὸ τε πόλισμα ἀπετείχιστο καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ αὐτῷ προσεκάθηκο, δείσας ἐπεβοήθησε σφισί, καὶ νυκτὸς ἐξαίφνης ὀμιχλώδους τοῖς προφύλαξι προσμίξας συνχος ἐφθειρεν. ἐπειδὴ τε ἀστρα-...

34 ἐσέπεμψεν. ἡδυνηθὴ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὅδε εἰσὶν παρελθείν. νύκτωρ τῶν φυλάκων τινὰς μόνος, ὡς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς ἐφοδεῖαν ἀπεσταλμένος, ἀνήρετο τὸ σύνθημα, καὶ μαθὼν (οὗτο γὰρ ἐγγυνώσκετο, καὶ κατὰ μόνας οὐκ ἀν ποτε ὑπωπτεύθ"
short of food. Caesar was at that time dictator, and at length, near the close of the year, he was appointed consul, after Lepidus, who was master of the horse, had convoked the people for this purpose; for Lepidus had become master of the horse at that time also, having given himself, while still in the consulship, that additional title contrary to precedent.

Caesar, accordingly, being compelled, as I have said, to carry on warfare even in the winter, did not attack Corduba, which was strongly guarded, but turned his attention to Ategua, a city in which he had learned there was an abundance of grain. Although it was a strong place, he hoped by the size of his army and the sudden terror of his appearance to alarm the inhabitants and capture it. And in a short time he had cut it off by a palisade and surrounded it by a ditch. For Pompey, encouraged by the nature of the place and thinking that Caesar because of the winter would not besiege it very long, paid no heed and did not try at first to repel the assailants, since he was unwilling to distress his own soldiers by the cold. Later, to be sure, when the town had been walled off and Caesar was encamped before it, he grew afraid and came with assistance. Falling in with the pickets suddenly on a misty night, he killed a number of them; and since the inhabitants were without a general, he sent in to them Munatius Flaccus. For this man contrived in the following way to get inside. He went alone by night to some of the guards, as if appointed by Caesar to visit the sentries, and asked and learned the watchword; for he was not known, and inasmuch as he was alone, would never have been suspected of being anything but a friend when he
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καὶ φίλιος σφισίν δὲν τοῦτο ποιήσαι) ἐκεῖνος μὲν
2 εἰςευεν, ἑκτερειλθῶν δὲ ἔτερωσε τοῦ περιτειχίσμα-
τος ἄλλως τισὶ φύλαξιν ἐνέτυχε, καὶ τὸ τε
σύνθημα αὐτῶς εἰπὼν, καὶ ἔπὶ προδοσία τῆς
πόλεως παρεῖναι1 πλασάμενος, δι' ἐκόντων τε αὐτῶν
3 καὶ παραπεμπόντων γε ἐσηκύθην. οὐ μέντοι καὶ
περιποίησατο αὐτήν. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα πολλά,
καὶ ποτὲ πῦρ ἐς τὰς μηχανὰς καὶ ἐς τὰ
σταυρώματα τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐμβαλόντες 2
ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὐδὲν ὁ τι καὶ ἀξιόλογον ἔβλαψαν,
αὐτόι δὲ ἀνέμον σφίσιν ἐξ ἑναντίας ἐν τούτῳ
4 σφοδροὺς προσπεσόντος κακῶς ἀπῆλλαξαν τά τε
γὰρ οἰκοδομήματα ἑπεφλέξθη, καὶ ἀνθρώπων
συνυολ τοῖς τε λίθοις καὶ τοῖς βέλεσι, μηδὲ 3
προϊδέσθαι τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ καπνοῦ δυνηθέντες, ἐξώ-
λυτο. ὡς οὖν τοῦτο τε αὐτῶς συνεβῆκε καὶ
ἡ γῆ ἐπορθείτο τοῦ τε τείχους τινὰ 4 ἐξ ὑπονόμων
5 ἔπιπτεν, ἐστασίασαν, καὶ πρῶτοι μὲν ὁ Φλάκκος
ἐπ' ἄδεια 5 ἐαυτοῦ 6 τε καὶ τῶν συνόντων οἱ πρὸς
τὸν Καίσαρα διεκκριμεύσατο, ἔπειτα δὲ οὕτως μὲν
(οὐ γὰρ ἠθέλησε τὰ ὁπλα παραδοῦναι) διήμαρτεν
αὐτῆς, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ὁ ἐπιχώριοι μετὰ τούτως καὶ
ἐπεσεβέσαντο καὶ συνέβησαν ἐφ' οἷς ἐκελεύωντο.
35 Ἐκείνης δὲ δὴ τῆς πόλεως ἀλούσης οὐκέτ'
οὐδὲ 7 οἱ ἄλλοι ἡτρέμησαν, ἀλλὰ 8 πολλοὶ μὲν
αὐτὸ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα πρεσβευσάμενοι μεθίσ-
tαντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπίοντα αὐτὸν τοὺς τε

1 παρεῖναι Reim., elvai L.
2 ἐμβαλόντες R. Steph., ἐμβάλλοντες L.
3 μηδὲ Bk., μήτε L.
4 τινὰ Dind., τινὸς L. 5 ἄδεια R. Steph., ἄδειας L.
6 ἐαυτοῦ Bs., αὐτοῦ Bk., αὐτοῦ L.
7 οὐδὲ St., οὐδὲν L. 8 ἀλλὰ Bk., ἀλλὰ L.
BOOK XLIII

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

Upon the capture of this city the other tribes also
no longer held back, but many of their own accord
sent envoys and espoused Caesar's cause, and many
received him or his lieutenants on their approach.
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2 ὑποστρατήγους αὐτοῦ ἐδέχοντο, ὡστε τὸν Πομπήιον ἀπορήσαντα ὅ τι χρῆ πράξαι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἄλλοτε ἄλλη τῆς χώρας μεθιστάμενον πλανᾶσθαι, ἔπειτα δὲ φοβηθέντα μὴ καὶ ἕξ αὐτοῦ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ αὐτὸν ἐγκαταλίπωσι, διακινδυνεύσαι ἐθελήσαι, καίτοι τοῦ δαιμονίου τὴν ἤτταν ἐναργέστατα αὐτῷ προσημή-ναντος. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἰδρώτες τῶν ἀγαλμάτων καὶ αἱ ἡγαλτών στρατοπέδων, τά τε ξῶα ἃ πολλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν φύσιν ἐγεννηθῆ, καὶ αἱ δάδες αἱ πρὸς τὰς δυσμάς ἐκ τῶν ἀνατολῶν ἀπτούσαι (ταύτα γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ τότε ἁμα πάντα συννεχήθη) σαφὲς οὕτων, ὁποτέροις σφῶν 4 προφαίνοντο, διεδήλουν· οἱ δὲ δὴ ἅτε τῶν στρατοπεδῶν αὐτοῦ τὰς τε πτέρυγας σεῖσαντες καὶ τοὺς κεραυνοὺς, οὐ δὲ τοῖς ποσί τινες αὐτῶν χρυσοὺς ἔφερον, ἐκβαλὼντες ἐκεῖνον τὸ τοῦ κακοῦ ἀντικρον ἐνέσκηπτον καὶ αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπεπέτοντο. ἀλλ' ἴστη γὰρ ἃ ἔπεμψα τὸ δαιμονίου, ἐν τῷ ὀλυγωρίᾳ αὐτὸ ἐποίησατο, καὶ ἐς πόλιν Μοῦνδαν 3 πρὸς μάχην δὴ κατέστη.

36 Εἶχον μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλοις τοῖς τε πολιτικοῖς καὶ τοῖς ξενικοῖς στρατεύμασι πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ Μαύρων ἀμφό-τεροι. Βόκχος μὲν γὰρ τοὺς νιεῖς τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἔπεμψε, Βογούς δὲ αὐτὸς τῷ Καίσαρι συνεστρά-τευσεν· ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν οὐχ ὡς τῶν ἄλλων ἄλλο ὡς αὐ-2 τῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἑγένετο. οἵ τε γὰρ Καισάρειοι στρατιῶται τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ παρὰ

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

Both leaders had in addition to their citizen and mercenary troops many of the natives and many Moors. For Bocchus had sent his sons to Pompey and Bogud in person made the campaign with Caesar. Still, the contest turned out to be like one between the Romans themselves, not between them and other nations. Caesar's soldiers derived courage from their numbers and experience and above all from their
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παντα τη αυτου εκεινου παρουσια θαρσουντες ἀπαλλαγήναι ποτε του τε πολέμου και των ἐν αυτῷ κακῶν ἐσπούδαζον, καὶ οἱ Πομπηίειοι τούτοις μὲν ἐλαττούμενοι, τῇ δ' ἀπογνώσει τῆς σωτηρίας,

3 ἀν μὴ κρατήσωσιν, ἐρρωμένοι προεθυμοῦντο· οί γὰρ μετὰ τοῦ 'Αφρανίου καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Οὐάρρωνος οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν καὶ ἀλόντες καὶ σωθέντες, καὶ μετὰ τούτο τῷ τε Δογγύνῳ ἀποδοθέντες καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀποστάντες, οὐτε τινὰ ἐλπίδα συγγνώμης ἤττηθέντες εἰχον, κακὸ τούτου πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν, ὡς καὶ κρατῆσαι τότε ἢ πάντως γε

4 ἀπολέσθαι δεόμενοι, προῆχθησαν. συμμίξαντες οὐν ἐμάχοντο· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ αἰδὼ τινὰ ἀλλήλων εἰχον ἐτι, τοσαυτάκις ἀντιπεπολεμήκοτης, καὶ 37 διὰ τούτου μηδὲ παρανέσεις τινος δεόμενοι. κἂν τούτῳ τὰ μὲν συμμαχίκα ταχέως ἐκατέρωθεν ἑτράπῃ καὶ ἐφυγεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκεῖνοι συσταύδου ἀνακόπτοντες ἄλληλους ἐπὶ πλείστουν ἡγωνύσαντο. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐνδόθεκεν αὐτῶν οὔδεις, ἀλλ' ἐν χώρα μένοντες ἐσφαξαν ἔθνησκον, ὡς καὶ αὐτός ἐκαστός ἢ τῆς νίκης ἢ τῆς ἠττῆς καὶ 2 τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασίν αἰτίως ἐσόμενοι. καὶ διὰ τούτου οὐδὲ ἐμελεν αὐτῶς ὅπως οἱ σύμμαχοι σφων ἐμάχοντο, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ μόνοι κινδυνεύοντες προεθυμοῦντο. καὶ οὔτε ἐπαινιζέ7 τις αὐτῶν οὔτε ἐστενεν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτο 8 μόνον ἐκάτεροι

1 κρατῆσαι Wagner, θαρσῆσαι L. 2 τότε Bk., πότε L.
3 έτι τοσαυτάκις Xyl., επισοσαυτάκις L.
4 ἀνακόπτοντες Naber, ἀντικόπτοντες L.
5 οὐδὲ γὰρ R. Steph., οὔτε L.
6 προεθυμοῦντο Bk., ὑπερεθυμοῦντο L.
7 ἐπαινιζέ Bk., after Bk., ἐπαινιζέτο L.
8 τοσοῦτο R. Steph., τοσοῦτοι L, τοσοῦτον ?

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

1 Cf. note on p. 231.
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βοῦντες, "παίσων, ἀπόκτεινον," πολὺ τῷ ἔργῳ
3 τὰς γλώσσας σφῶν ἔφθανον. ὄρωντες οὖν ταῦτα ἀπὸ τε ἱππῶν καὶ ἀπὸ μετεώρων τινῶν χαρίων ὤ τε Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος οὐκ ἔχον οὖθ᾽ ὅπως ἐλπίσωσιν1 οὖθ᾽ ὅπως ἀπογιόσω, ἀλλ᾽ ἀμφιβολοὶ ταῖς γνώμαις γνωρόμενοι δι᾽ ἵσον καὶ
4 τῷ δέει καὶ τῷ θάρσει ἐκακοπάθων. ἀντιπάλου γὰρ τῆς μάχης οὔσης ταῖς τε ὀψει δεινῶς ἐκαμνοὺν, ἐπιθυμοῦντες τι ἱδεῖν πλεονέκτημα καὶ ὀκνοῦντες τι ἱδεῖν ἐλάττωμα, καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς, εὐχόμενοι τῇ τί ἁμα καὶ ἀπευχόμενοι καὶ ῥωμῆμενοι καὶ φοβοῦμενοι. οὔκοιν οὖθ᾽ ἢδυνήθησαν ἐπὶ πολὺ καρτερῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καταπηδήσαντες
5 ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππῶν συμμετέσχον αὐτῆς. οὔτω ποι τὸν σῶματος καὶ πόνω καὶ κινδύνῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς συντάσσει συνείναι2 εἴλοντο, ῥοπὴν τινὰ τοῖς ἑαυτῷ στρατιώταις ἑκάτερος τῇ τῆς μάχης κοινωνίᾳ παρέξειν ἐλπί- σαντες. ἡ εὖγε ἑκείνης ἀμάρτοιει, συντελευτήσατι γε αὐτῶις ἢδέλησαν.

38 Καὶ οἱ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐμάχοντο· τοῖς δὲ δὴ στρατοπέδοις πλεονεξία μεν οὐδεμιὰ οὐδέτεροις ἐκ τοῦτον ἐγένετο, μακρὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖων,3 ὡς ἑκείνους συγκεκινοῦντάς σφίσιν εἴδον, τοῦ τε σφιέρου θανάτου καταφρύσησις καὶ τοῦ τῶν ἐναντίων όληθρον ἐφέσις ἀμφότεροις ὠμοίως ἐνέ- 2 πεσε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε ἐφυγον τότε γε οὐ- δέτεροι, ἀλλ᾽ ἰσοπαλεῖς ταῖς γνώμαις ὄντες ἱσοκρατεῖς καὶ τοῖς σῶμασιν ἐγίγνοντο· κἂν

1 οὖθ᾽ ὅπως ἐλπίσωσιν supplied by "N" in Reimar's ed.
2 συνείναι Leunol., συνείναι L.
3 πλεῖων R. Steph., πλεῖω L.
BOOK XLIII

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

The leaders, then, took part in the battle themselves; yet no advantage came of this to either army. On the contrary, when the men saw their chiefs sharing their danger, a far greater disregard for their own death and eagerness for the destruction of their opponents seized both alike. Accordingly neither side for the moment turned to flight, but, matched in determination, they proved also to be matched in physical strength. All would have
πάντες ἀπέθανον ἡ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀγχώμαλοι διεκρίθησαν, εἰ μὴ ὁ τὲ Βογούας ἔξωθε ποι τῶν συνεστηκότων ὃν ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Πομπήίου στρατόπεδον ὄρμησε, καὶ ὁ Δαβιδὴς ὡς τοῦτο εἶδε, τὴν τε τάξιν ἔξελιπτε καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐτράπητο.

3 φεύγειν γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ Πομπήειοι νομίσαντες ἦθύμησαν. καὶ ἔμαθον μὲν τοῦ τὸ ἀληθὲς ὑστερον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀναλαβέων ἐαυτοὺς ἔτ' ἦδυνήθησαν, ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν πόλιν οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ τάφρεμα ἀποφυγόντες οὐτοὶ τε τοὺς προσμίζοντες σφίσιν ἱσχυρῶς ἀπεμαχόσαντο, καὶ οὐ πρότερον γε ἐπεσοὺν πρὶν ἀμφίβολοι γενέσθαι,

4 καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὸ τεῖχος ἐπὶ πολὺ διέσωσαν, ὡστε μὴ πρότερον αὐτὸ ἀλώναι πρὶν πάντας σφᾶς ἐν ταῖς ἐκδρομαῖς ἀπολέσθαι. τοσοῦτον δ' οὖν τὸ σύνολον τῶν Ῥωμαίων πάθος ἐκατέρωθεν ἐγένετο ὡς τ' ἀπορήσαντας ὡς τὴν πόλιν, μὴ καὶ νυκτὸς ἐκδρῶσί τινες, ἀποτελείσωσιν, αὐτά τὰ σώματα τῶν νεκρῶν αὐτή περινήσαι. 2

39 Κρατήσας δὲ οὕτως ὁ Καίσαρ καὶ τὴν Κόρδου-βαν εὐθὺς ἔλαβεν· ὁ τὲ γὰρ Σέκτος οἱ προεξε-χώρησε, καὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, καίτοι τῶν δούλων ἀνθυσταμένων σφίσιν ἐπειδὴ ἤλευθερώστηκα, προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ. καὶ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις ἄντα ἀπέσφαξε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐξηγυρίσατο. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς τὴν Ἰσπαλίων ἔχοντας ἔδρασεν, οἳ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς καὶ ἐκούσιοι φοροῦν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐσεῖδαντο, ἐπειτὰ δὲ διαφθείραντες τοὺς ἔλθοντας ἐπολέμησαν.

3 ἐπεστράτευσε τε οὐν ἐπ', αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἀμελέστερον

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

Caesar, having thus conquered, straightway took Corduba also. For Sextus had retired out of his way and the natives came over to his side, although their slaves, since they had been made free, resisted them. He slew the slaves under arms and sold the rest. And he adopted the same course also with those who held Hispalis; for they had at first pretended to accept a garrison from him willingly, but afterwards destroyed the soldiers who came there, and entered upon war. So he made a campaign against them,
Δήθεν προσεδρεύων ἐλπίδας σφίσιν ως καὶ διαφυγεῖν δυνησμένοις παρέσχε. καὶ τοῦτον περιορῶν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἐξίοντας ἐκεῖνοὺς τε ἐλόχιζε καὶ ἀπώλλυε, καὶ τὴν πόλιν οὕτως ἄνδρῶν κατὰ βραχὺ ἐρημωθείσαι εἶλε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Μοῦνδαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, τὰ μὲν ἄκούσια σὺν πολλῷ φόνῳ, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἔθελον παρέλαβε καὶ ἠγρυπνώσιςεν, ὡστε μηδὲ τῶν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἀναθημάτων τῶν ἐν τοῖς Γαδεῖροις ἀνακειμένων φάσασθαι, χώρας τέ τινων ἀπετέμετο, καὶ ἐτέρους τῶν φόρον προσπενυῆσε.  

5 ταῦτα μὲν τοὺς ἀντιπολεμήσαντας οἱ ἐδρασε, τοῖς δὲ εὐνοίαν τινα αὐτοῦ σχούσιν ἔδωκε μὲν καὶ χωρία καὶ ἀτέλειαν, πολιτείαν τέ τισι, καὶ ἄλλους ἀποίκοις τῶν Ῥωμαίων νομίζεσθαι, οὐ μὴν καὶ προῖκα αὐτὰ ἐχαρίσατο.  

40 Καίσαρ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ᾿ ἔπραττε, Πομπήιος δὲ διαφυγῶν πως ἐν τῇ τροπῇ ἦλθε μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ὡς καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ τῷ ἐν τῇ Καρτήσῃ ὀρμοῦντι χρησόμενος, εὐρῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν κρατοῦντα ἀποκεκλικότας ἐπέβη μὲν πλοίον τινός,  

2 προσδοκήσας ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ διαδράσεσθαι,2 πληγεῖς δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ ἀθυμῆσας τῇ τῇ αὕτης προσέσχε, κἂνταῦθα συνελθόντας τινὰς παραλαβῶν πρὸς τὴν μεσόγειαν ὀρμησε. καὶ αὐτὸς τε Καἰσενῖφις Δέντων περιπετεύων ἡττήθη, καὶ ἐσ ὑλὴν τινὰ καταφυγῶν ἐφθάρη καὶ ὁ Δίδιος ἄγνοιων τοῦ τοῦτο, καὶ πλανώμενος ὡς καὶ συμμίξων που αὐτοῦ, συνέτυχεν ἐτέρους τισὶ καὶ ἀπώλετο.  

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

While Caesar was thus occupied, Pompey, who had escaped in the rout, reached the sea, intending to use the fleet that lay at anchor at Carteia, but found that the men had gone over to the victor’s side. He then embarked on a vessel, expecting to escape in this manner; but being wounded in the course of the attempt, he lost heart and put back to land, and then, taking with him some men who had assembled, set out for the interior. He met Caesennius Lento and was defeated; and taking refuge in a wood, perished there. Didius, ignorant of his fate, while wandering about in the hope of meeting him somewhere, met some other troops and perished.
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41 Ειλετο δ' ἀν καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐκεί που πρὸς τε τῶν ἔτη ἀνδρετίκωτος καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ πολέμου δόξῃ πεπτωκέναι μᾶλλον ἢ ὅπερ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἔπαθεν, ἐν τῇ πατρίδι καὶ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ πρὸς τὸν 2 φιλτάτων σφαγήναι. τοῦτον ἡγαρ τὸν πόλεμον τελευταίον κατώρθωσε καὶ ταύτην τῇ νίκῃ ἐσχάτην ἀνείλετο, καὶ περ οὐδὲν ὦ τι οὐκ ἦλ Καῖσαρ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν μεγίστων καταπράξειν ἐξῆλθας διὰ τὲς τὰλλα, καὶ οὐχ ἦκιστα ὅτι βλαστός τις ἐκ φοίνικος ἐν τῷ τῆς μάχης χωρίῳ ἄντως εὑθὺς ἐπὶ 3 τῇ νίκῃ ἔξεφν. καὶ οὐ λέγω μὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἐφερέ1 ποι2 τοῦτο, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνο γε ἔτη, ἀλλὰ τῷ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ ἐγγόνῳ τῷ Ὀκταουφίῳ συνε- στατευώτῳ τε γὰρ αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τῶν τε κυνόνων αὐτοῦ ἐκλάμψειν ἐμελλεν. ἀγνοών δ' οὖν τοῦτο, καὶ ἐβ' ἐαυτῷ ἔτι πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἐλπίζων, οὐδὲν μετριον ἔπραττεν, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ 42 ἀθάνατος δὲν ὑπερεφρόνησε. τὰ τὲ γὰρ ἐπινίκια, καὶ τοσοῦτο πλῆθος πολιτῶν ἀπολέσας, οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ἐπεμψε, πάντα τῶν δήμων ἐν αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ κοινοῖς τισιν ἀγαθοῖς αὐθίς ἐστιάσας, ἀλλά καὶ τῷ Φαβίῳ τῷ Κύντῳ τῷ τῇ Κύντῳ Πεδίῳ,3 καὶ τοι ὑποστρατηγήσασιν αὐτῷ καὶ μηδὲν ἰδία 2 κατορθώσασι, διεορθάσατε ἐπέτρεψε. καὶ ἂν μὲν πον γέλως ἐπὶ τε τοῦτῳ, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ξυλίναις ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐλεφαντίναις ἑργων τε τινων εἰκόσιν ἀλλοις τε τοιούτοις πομπείοις ἐχρήσατοι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐμφανέστατα τριτά τε νικητήρια καὶ

1 οὐκ ἐφερέ Κασαντ., συνέφερέ Λ. 2 ποι Βκ., πη Λ. 3 τῷ Φαβίῳ τῷ Κυντῳ τῷ τῇ Κυντῳ Πεδίῳ Μομμσεν, τῷ Φαβίῳ τῷ τῇ Κυντῳ Λ.

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Caesar, too, would doubtless have chosen to fall there, at the hands of those who were still resisting and amid the glory of war, in preference to the fate he met not long afterward of being murdered in his own land and in the senate at the hands of his dearest friends. For this was the last war that he carried through successfully, and this the last victory that he won, in spite of the fact that there was no other project so great that he did not hope to accomplish it. In this hope he was confirmed especially by the circumstance that from a palm that stood on the site of the battle a shoot grew out immediately after the victory. Now I do not assert that this had no bearing in some direction, yet it was no longer for him, but for his sister's grandson, Octavius; for the latter was making the campaign with him, and was destined to gain great lustre from his toils and dangers. As Caesar did not know this, and hoped that many great successes would still fall to his own lot, he showed no moderation, but was filled with arrogance, as if immortal. For, although he had conquered no foreign nation, but had destroyed a vast number of citizens, he not only celebrated the triumph himself, incidentally feasting the entire populace once more, as if in honour of some common blessing, but also allowed Quintus Fabius and Quintus Pedius to hold a celebration, although they had merely been his lieutenants and had achieved no individual success. Naturally this occasioned ridicule, as did also the fact that they used wooden instead of ivory representations of certain achievements together with other similar triumphal apparatus. Nevertheless, most brilliant triple triumphs and

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τριταί πομπαί τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐποιήθησαν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἱερομηνίαι ἐπὶ πεν-3 τήκοντα ἡμέρας ἤχθησαν. τά τε Ἀρείπια ἰπ-ποδρομία ἀθανάτῳ, οὔτε γε καὶ διὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὅτι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκτίστω, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος νίκην, ὅτι ἡ ἀγγελία αὐτῆς τῇ προτεραιᾷ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἀφίκετο, ἐτιμήθη.

43 Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῇ 'Ρώμη ἐδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν τε στολὴν τὴν ἐπίνικιον ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πανηγύρεσι κατὰ δόγμα ἐνεδύετο, καὶ τῷ στεφάνῳ τῷ δαφνίῳ ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ ὁμοίως ἐκοσμεῖτο. καὶ προ-φασιν μὲν ἐποιεῖτο τοῦτον ὅτι ἀναφαλαντίας ἦν, παρεῖχε δὲ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνων λόγον τινά, καὶ ὅτι τότε ἦτο, καὶ περὶ παρηθηκός, ἐς κάλλος ἦσκεν.

2 τῇ τε γὰρ ἐσθήτη χανοτέρα ἐν πάσιν ἐνηθρύνετο, καὶ τῇ ὑποδέσει καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐνίστε καὶ ὑψήλη καὶ ἐρυθροχρῶ κατὰ τοὺς βασιλέας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀλβῃ ποτὲ γενομένως, ὡς καὶ προσήκων

3 σφίσα διὰ τὸν Ἰουλίου, ἔχρητο. τὸ τε ὅλον τῇ τε Ἀφροδίτῃ πᾶς ἀνέκειτο, καὶ πείθειν πάντας ἡθελεν ὅτι καὶ ἄνθος τῷ ὀρας ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἔχοι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ γλυμμα αὐτῆς ἐνσπλήν ἐφορεῖ, καὶ σύνθημα αὐτῆν ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις καὶ μεγάστοις

4 κινδύνους ἐποιεῖτο. τὸ δ' οὖν χάνων τοῦ ζώματος7 αὐτοῦ ο μὲν Σύλλας ὑπετόπησεν, ὡστε καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτὸν ἐθελήσα, τοῖς τε ἐξαιτησίμενοι εἰπεῖν ὅτι "ἐγὼ μὲν χαριοῦμαι τοῦτον ἤμων, ύμεῖς μέντοι καὶ πάνυ τοῦτον τὸν κακὸς ζωνυ-

1 τοῦτον Ῥκ., τοῦ γάρ Λ. 2 τοῦτον Ῥκ., τοῦτο Λ. 3 ὅτι supplied by Leucl. 4 Ἰουλίου Χυλ., Ἰουλίου Λ. 5 ἀνέκειτο Χυλ., ἀνεκινεῖτο Λ. 6 πάντας ἡθελεν Ρ. Steph., πάντες ἡθελον Λ. 7 ζώματος Χυλ., σώματος Λ Χυφ. 8 εἰπεῖν Χυφ., εἶπεν Λ. 286
triple processions of the Romans were held in honour of those very events, and furthermore a thanksgiving of fifty days was observed. The Parilia was honoured by permanent annual games in the Circus, yet not at all because the city had been founded on that day, but because the news of Caesar's victory had arrived the day before, toward evening.

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

\(^1\) Implying licentiousness and general laxity of morals.
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μενον φυλάττεσθε.” ὅ δε δὴ Κικέρων οὐ συνενο- 
5 σεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφαλεῖς ἔφη ὅτι “οὐκ ἂν ποτε 
προσεδόκησα τὸν κακῶς οὕτω ξωνύμενον Πομ-
πηίου κατρήσειν.”

Τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ἐν ἑκβολῇ τοῦ λόγου, ὡστε 
μηδένα μηδέν τῶν περὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος λεγομένων 
44 ἀγνοῆσαι, ἔγραψα· ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῇ νίκῃ ἐκείνῃ τε 
ὅσα εἶπον ἡ γερονσία ἐγνω, καὶ προσέτη αὐτῶν 
τε Ἐλευθερωτὴν καὶ ἐκάλουν καὶ ἐς τὰ γραμματεῖα 
ἀνέγραφον, καὶ νεῶν Ἐλευθερίας δημοσία ἐψηφί-
2 σαντο. τὸ τε τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὁνόμα ὦν κατὰ 
τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐτί μόνον, ὡσπερ ἄλλοι τε καὶ ἐκείνος 
pολλάκις ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ἐπεκλήθησαν, οὐδ’ ὡς 
οἱ τινα αὐτοτελῆ ἰδεμονίαν ἢ καὶ ἄλλην τινά 
ἐξουσίαν λαβόντες ὦνομάξοντο, ἀλλὰ καθάπαξ 
τούτῳ δὴ τὸ καὶ νῦν τοῖς τὸ κράτος ἁλε ἐχούσει 
διδόμενον ἐκεῖνῳ τὸτέ πρώτῳ τε καὶ πρῶτον, 
3 ὡσπερ τι κύριον, προσέθεσαν. καὶ τοσαύτη γε ὁ 
ὑπερβολῆ κολακείας ἐχρῆσαντο ὡστε καὶ τούς 
pαιδας τοὺς τε ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ οὕτω καλείσθαι 
ψηφίσασθαι, μήτε τέκνον τι αὐτοῦ ἔχοντος καὶ 
γέροντος ἢδη ὄντος. ὧδενπερ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς 
μετὰ ταύτα αὐτοκράτορας ἡ ἐπίκλησις αὐτῆ, 
ὡσπερ τις ἱδία τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν οὕσα καθάπερ 
4 καὶ ἡ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀφίκετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ 
ἀρχαῖον ἐκ τούτων κατελύθη, ἀλλ’ ἐστιν ἐκάτερον 
καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ δεύτερον ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ἐπάγεται, 
ὅταν νίκην τινα τοιαύτην ἀνέλωνται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ 
αὐτὸ τούτο οὐτοκράτορες. ἄπαξ τῇ προσηγορίᾳ

1 ἔγραψα Bk., διέγραψα L. 
2 πολλάκις Bk., ὡς πολλάκις L. 3 γε H. Steph., τε L. 
4 ἡ ἐπίκλησις αὕτη Leuncl., τῇ ἐπικλήσει αὐτῆ L.
on your guard against this ill-girt fellow." And Cicero could not comprehend it, but even in the moment of defeat said: "I should never have expected one so ill-girt to conquer Pompey."

This I have written by way of digression from my history, so that no one might be ignorant of any of the stories told about Caesar. In honour of his victory the senate passed all those decrees that I have mentioned, and further called him "Liberator," entering it also in the records, and voted for a public temple of Liberty. Moreover, they now applied to him first and for the first time, as a kind of proper name, the title of imperator, no longer merely following the ancient custom by which others as well as Caesar had often been saluted as a result of their wars, nor even as those who received some independent command or other authority were called by this name, but giving him once for all the same title that is now granted to those who hold successively the supreme power. And such excessive flattery did they employ as even to vote that his sons and grandsons should be given the same title, though he had no child and was already an old man. From him this title has come down to all subsequent emperors, as one peculiar to their office, just like the title "Caesar." The ancient custom has not, however, been thereby overthrown, but both usages exist side by side. Consequently the emperors are invested with it a second time when they gain some such victory as has been mentioned. For those who are imperatores in the special sense use

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6. Moreover, the others, as well as the first, since the people, having been trained in the art of governing, and having realized that the affairs of the state were being handled with honesty and justice, and that the state was being governed with wisdom and skill, and that the people were being governed with justice, the people, having realized this, were not satisfied with the existing system. Therefore, they sought to establish a government that was fair and just, and that was based on the principles of virtue and wisdom. Therefore, they sought to establish a government that was fair and just, and that was based on the principles of virtue and wisdom.
BOOK XLIII

this title once, as they do the other titles, and place it before the others; but those of them who also accomplish in war some deed worthy of it acquire also the title handed down by ancient custom, so that a man is termed imperator a second or a third time, or as many more times as the occasion may arise.

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

46 Ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ (λέγω δὲ οὐ πάντα, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐξιδόλογα εἶναι μοι ἐδοξευ) οὐκ ἐν μῷ γε ἡμέρα, ἀλλ' ὡς ποῦ καὶ ἔτυχεν, ἄλλο ἄλλη ἐκυρώθη καὶ σφόν ὁ Καίσαρ τοῖς μὲν χρησθαὶ ἧξατο τοῖς δὲ ἔμελλεν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τινα 2 αὐτῶν παρῆκατο. τὴν δ' οὖν ἄρχην τὴν ὑπατον' παραχρῆμα μέν, καὶ πρὶν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθεῖν, ἀνέλαβεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ διὰ τέλους ἐσχεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ γενόμενον ἀπείπτε τε αὐτὴν καὶ τῷ Φαβίῳ τῷ Κυῖντῳ τῷ τε Τρεβωνίῳ τῷ Γαίῳ ἐνέχειρισε. καὶ ἐπειδ' γε ὁ Φάβιος τῇ τελευταίᾳ τῆς ὑπατείας ἡμέρα ἀπέθανεν, εὐθὺς ἠντ' αὐτὸν ἐτερον πρὸς τὰς περιλοίπους ὧρας Γάιον

3 Κανίνιον τ' Ῥῆβιλον ἀνθείλετο. πρῶτον μὲν δὴ τότε τοῦτο παρὰ τὸ καθεσθηκὸς ἔγενετο, τὸ μῆτε ἐτησίαν μήτε ἐς πάντα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον τοῦ ἐτους τὴν ἄρχην ἐκείνην τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχεω, ἀλλὰ ζῶντα τινα αὐτῆς καὶ μὴ ἀναγκασθέντα μήτε ἐκ τῶν πατρίων μὴτε ἐξ ἐπηγορίας τινὸς ἐκστήναι,

1 ὁγδόης Bk., ὁγδόωι L. 2 γε H. Steph., τε L.
3 Ταρκυνίους R. Steph., ταρκυνίους L.
4 τῇ supplied by Pfugk. 5 λέγω R. Steph., λέγων L.
6 ὑπατον R. Steph., ὑπατον L.
7 Κανίνιον R. Steph., κάνινιον L (and so just below).
8 Ῥῆβιλον Wagner, Ῥῆβιον L.
9 τῶν πατρίων Ῥκ., πατρίων L.
BOOK XLIII

of Rome. Now it occurs to me to marvel at the coincidence: there were eight such statues,—seven to the kings, and an eighth to the Brutus who overthrew the Tarquins,—and they set up the statue of Caesar beside the last of these; and it was from this cause chiefly that the other Brutus, Marcus, was roused to plot against him.

These were the measures that were passed in honour of his victory (I do not mention all, but as many as have seemed to me notable), not in one day, to be sure, but just as it happened, at different times. Caesar began to avail himself of some, and was intending to use others in the future, however emphatically he declined some of them. Thus he took the office of consul immediately, even before entering the city, but did not hold it through the whole year; instead, when he got to Rome he renounced it, turning it over to Quintus Fabius and Gaius Trebonius. When Fabius died on the last day of his consulship, he straightway named another man, Gaius Caninius Rebilus, in his place for the remaining hours. This was the first violation of precedent at this time, that one and the same man did not hold that office for a year or even for all the rest of the same year, but while living withdrew from it without compulsion from either ancestral custom or any accusation, and another took
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4 καὶ ἑτέρου ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ ἀντικαταστήματα. δεύτερον δὲ ὦτι-ὁ Κανίνος ἀπεδείχθη τε ἄμα ὑπατος καὶ ὑπάτευσε καὶ ἔπαυσατο ὦτερ καὶ ὁ Κκέρων διασκόπτουν τοσαύτῃ ἐφη τοῦ ὕπατον καὶ ἄνδρειά καὶ φροντίδι ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ κεχρήσθαι ὦστε μηδὲ τὸ

5 βραχύτατον ἐν αὐτῇ κεκομήσθαι. έκ δ’ οὖν τοῦ χρόνου ἑκείνου οὐκετί οἱ αὐτοὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἔτους, πλὴν οἱ λίγων πάλαι γε, ὑπάτευσαν, ἀλλ’ ὦσ που καὶ ἔτυχον, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ πλείους οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ ἐλάττους, οἱ μὲν μήνας οἱ δὲ ἡμέρας, ἐπεὶ νῦν γε οὐδεὶς οὔτε ἐπ’ ἐνιαυτὸν οὔτε ἐς πλείον διημήνυ χρόνον

6 ὡς πλήθει σὺν ἑτέρῳ τινὶ ἄρχει. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐδὲν διαφέρομεν ἀλλήλων, τὴν δὲ ἔξαριθμησιν τῶν ἔτων οἱ κατὰ πρώτα ποτ' αὐτῶν ὑπατεύοντες καρποῦνται. καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τοὺς τοὺς πράγμασιν ἀναγκαίους ὀνομάζω, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὴν τῶν ἀεὶ πραπτομένων δήλωσιν τοὺς πρώτους ἄρξαντας, καὶ μηδὲν ἔργον ἐς αὐτὰ παράσχωνται.

47 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοὺς ὑπάτους ταὐθ’ οὔτως ἐγένετον: οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες λόγῳ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὰ πάτρια (τὴν γὰρ ἀπόδειξιν αὐτῶν ὁ Καίσαρ οὐκ ἔδεξατο), ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπ’ ἐκείνου κατέστησαν, καὶ ἐς γε τὰ

2 ἐθνῆ ἀκληροτὶ ἐξεπέμφθησαν. ἀριθμὸν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σοιπερ καὶ πρότερον, στρατηγοὶ δὲ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ταμίας τε τεσσαράκοντα ἀπε- δείχθησαν. πολλοὺς γὰρ δὴ πολλαὶ ὑπεσχημένοι

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

While the consuls were appointed in this manner, the remaining magistrates were nominally elected by the plebs and by the whole people, in accordance with ancestral custom, since Caesar would not accept the appointment of them; yet really they were appointed by him, and were sent out to the provinces without casting lots. As for their number, all were the same as before, except that fourteen praetors and forty quaestors were appointed. For, since he had made many promises to many people,
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3 οὐκ εἶχεν ὅπως σφᾶς ἄλλως ἀμείψηται, καὶ
diὰ τοῦτο ταῦτ' ἐποίει. καὶ προσέπε παμπλήθεις
μὲν ἐσ᾽ τὴν γερουσίαν, μηδὲν διακρίνων μὴτ'
eὶ τις στρατιώτης μὴτ' εἰ τις ἀπελευθέρων
παῖς ἦν, ἐσέγγραψεν, ὡστε καὶ ἐνακοσίους 2 τὸ
κεφάλαιον αὐτῶν γενέσθαι, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς
tοὺς εὐπατρίδας τοὺς τῇ ὑπατευκότας ἢ καὶ
4 ἄλλην 3 ἀρχὴν τινα ἀρξάντας ἐγκατέλεξεν. εὐθυ-
νομέονος τε ἐπὶ δόρων τινὰς καὶ ἐξελεγχομέονος
γε ἀπέλυσεν, ὡστε καὶ αἰτίαν δωροδοκίας ἔχειν.
προσυνελάβετο γὰρ τοῦ λόγου τοῦτον ὅτι καὶ
tοὺς χώρους τοὺς δημοσίους, ωὰ ὅτι τοὺς βεβή-
lους ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἔρεος, πάντας τε ἐξέδηκεν
ἐς τὸ 4 πρατήριον, καὶ ἀπεκήρυξε τοὺς πλείονας.
5 συγχαὶ δ' ὁν ὅμοι καὶ ἐν ἀργυρῷ τῇ τε πράσει
tῶν χωρίων ἔστιν ὅις ἐνείμε καὶ Λουκίῳ των
Βασιλὶ ὁ ἡγεμονίαν μὲν ἐθνοὺς οὐδεμίαν καὶ τοιο
στρατηγούντι ἐπέτρεψε, χρήματα δὲ ἀντ᾽ αὐτῆς
πάμπολλα ἐχαρίσατο, ὡστε καὶ ἑπιβόητον αὐτῶν
ἐν τῇ 6 τούτῳ γενέσθαι, καὶ ὅτι προπηλακισθεὶς
ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἀντεκατέργησεν. 7
6 ταῦτα δὴ πάντα τοὺς μὲν λαμβάνοναι τι ἢ καὶ
προσδοκῶσι λήψεσθαι ἀρεστὰ ἐγίγνετο, μηδὲν τοῦ
κοινοῦ προτιμῶσι πρὸς τὸ ἄει δ᾽ αὐτῶν αὐξέσθαι
οὶ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι πάντες δεινῶς ἐφεροῦν, καὶ πολλὰ
γε ἐλογοποίουσι πρὸς τὸ ἄλληλον, καὶ ὅσις
γε καὶ ἀσφάλειά τις ἦν, παρησιαζόμενοι, καὶ
βιβλία δὲ 8 ἀνώνυμα ἐκτιθέντες.

1 ἐς Β. ἡν L.  2 ἐνακοσίους Βκ., ἐνακοσίους L.
3 ἄλλην supplied by Nipperdey.
4 ἐξέδηκεν ἐς τὸ supplied by R. Steph.
5 Βασιλιῷ Β., βασιλιωὶ L.  6 το L., γε L.
7 ἀντεκατέργησε Β. ἀπεκατέργησε L.  8 δὲ L., τὸ L.

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he had no other way to reward them, and hence took this method. Furthermore, he enrolled a vast number in the senate, making no distinction whether a man was a soldier or the son of a freedman, so that the sum of them grew to nine hundred; and he enrolled many also among the patricians and among the ex-consuls and such as had held some other office. He released some who were on trial for bribery and were being proved guilty, so that he was charged with bribe-taking himself. This report was strengthened by the fact that he also put up at auction all the public lands, not only the profane, but also the consecrated lots, and sold most of them. Nevertheless, he granted ample gifts to some persons in the form of money or the sale of lands; and in the case of a certain Lucius Basilus, who was praetor, instead of assigning him a province he bestowed a large amount of money upon him, so that Basilus became notorious both on this account as well as because, when insulted during his praetorship by Caesar, he had held out against him. All this suited those citizens who were receiving or even expecting to receive something, since they had no regard for the public weal in comparison with the chance of the moment for their own advancement by such means. But all the rest took it greatly to heart and had much to say about it to each other and also—as many as felt safe in so doing—in outspoken utterances and the publication of anonymous pamphlets.
...Ἐν δὲ οὖν τῷ ἔτει ἐκεῖνῳ ἐκείνα τε ἐπιράχθη, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως. δύο τῶν πολιανομοῦντων, ἐπειδὴ ταμίας οὔδεις προεκεχειρόταν, ἐγένοντο. ὡσπερ γάρ ποτε πρῶτερον, καὶ τότε ἔν τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος οἱ πολιανομοὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀστεὶ πράγματα μετὰ τοῦ Δεσπιδοῦ 2 ἱππαρχοῦντος ἔσχον καὶ αἰτιαθέντες γε ὡτί καὶ ῥαβδοῦχοι καὶ τῇ ἐσθήτῃ τῷ τε δύρῳ τοῖς ἀρχικοῖς, ὡσπερ καὶ ὁ ἱππαρχός, ἐκέχρητο, ἀφείθησαν, νόμον τινὰ προβαλλόμενοι δὴ οὐ πάσι τοῖς παρὰ δικτάτορος ἀρχῆν τινὰ λαβοῦσιν 3 χρήσθαι αὐτῶν ἐδίδοτο. τὸ δὲ οὖν κατὰ τὴν διοίκησιν, ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ ἀπερ ἐπισον παρατραπέν, οὐκέτι τοῖς ταμίαις αἰεὶ ἐπετράπη, ἀλλὰ τὸ τελευταίου οὐ τὸς ἐστρατηγικὸς προσετάχθη, τοὺς τε οὖν θησαυροὺς τοὺς δημοσίους δύο τὸτε τῶν πολιανομοῦντων διώκησαν, καὶ τὰ Ἀπολλόνια ἐπορεύοντο τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος παρασκευὴ 4 ἐπετέλεσε. καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες οἱ εἰκονίδιοι τὰ Μεγαλήσια κατὰ δόγμα ἐποίησαν. πολιαρχοὶ τε τίς ἐν ταῖς ἀνοχαῖς καταστὰς ἐτερον αὐτὸς τῆς ὑπεραίας ἀνθείλετο, καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἄλλον δὲ μήτε πρῶτερον μήθ' ὑπεραίαν ποτὲ ἐγένετο. 49 Ταῦτα μὲν τότε ἐπιράχθη τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει, ἐν δὲ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐδικτατορευσε τῇ άμα τῷ πέμπτον, ἱππαρχὸν τοῦ Δεσπιδοῦ προσλαβὼν, καὶ ὑπάτευτο τῷ πέμπτον, συνάρχοντα τῶν Ἀντώνιον προσελομενος, στρατηγοὶ τε ἐκκαίδεκα ἱρξαν (καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἔτη ... 2), καὶ τὸ βήμα ἐν μέσῳ που πρῶτερον τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὅν ἐς τὸν νῦν τόπον

1 ἐκέχρητο R. Steph., ἐκέχρητο L.
2 Some word like ἐγένετο, ἐγένετο, or σωφή has fallen out.

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BOOK XLIII

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

These were the events at this time. The next year, during which Caesar was at once dictator for the fifth time, with Lepidus as master of the horse, and consul for the fifth time, choosing Antony as his colleague, sixteen praetors were in power,—a custom, indeed, that was continued for many years,—and the rostra, which was formerly in the centre of the Forum, was moved back to its present

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ἀνεχώρισθη, καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ τοῦ Σύλλου τοῦ τε
2 Πομπήιος εἰκὼν ἀπεδόθη. καὶ ἐπὶ τε 1 τούτῳ
evκλείαν ὁ Καίσαρ ἔσχεν, καὶ ὡς τῷ Ἀντώνιῳ
καὶ τῆς δόξης τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τῆς ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἐπι-
γραφῆς παρεχώρησε. θεατρών τε τι κατὰ τὸν
Πομπήιον οἰκοδομήσας ἐθελήσας προκατεβάλετο 2
μὲν, οὐκ ἐξετέλεσε δὲ. ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν ὁ
Αὐγούστος μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκποίήσας ἀπὸ Μάρκου
3 Μαρκέλλου τοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦ 3 ἐπωνύμασε· τὰς δὲ
οἰκίας τοὺς τε ναοὺς τοὺς ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐκείνῳ
ὅντας ὁ Καίσαρ καθελὼν αἰτίαν ἐλάβεν, ὡς
tε τὰ ἀγάλματα, ἐξύλην πλὴν ὀλίγων ὄντα, κατέ-
καυσε, καὶ θησαυροὺς χρημάτων συχνοὺς εὐρώ
πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐσφετερίσατο.

50 Ταῦτα τε ἔποιει καὶ νόμους ἐσέφερε τὸ τε
πομήριον ἐπὶ πλείον ἑπεξήγαγε. καὶ ἐν μὲν τού-
tους ἀλλοις τέ τισιν ὀμοία τῷ Σύλλᾳ πρᾶξαι
ἐδοξεν· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τοῖς τε περιλειψθείσι τῶν
ἀντιπολεμήσαντων οἱ τάς τε αἰτίας ἀφεῖναι καὶ
2 ἀδελαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἱση καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ὁμοίᾳ δοῦναι, καὶ
ἐκεῖνων τε τὰς ἁρχὰς προσηγαγεῖν καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ
tῶν ἀπολολότων τὰς προϊκῶς ἀποδοῦναι, τοῖς τε
παισὶν αὐτῶν μέρη τῶν ὑσιῶν χαρίσασθαι, τὴν
tε τοῦ Σύλλου μιαῖσθιν μεγάλως ἥλεγξε, καὶ
αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐπ’ ἀνδρείᾳ μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ἐπὶ χρησ-
tότητι ἱσχυρῶς εὐδοκίμησεν, καίτοι χαλεπον δυ
ὡς πλήθει τοῖς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν εἰρή
3 διαπρέπει. τούτοις τε ἄνεμονύνετο, καὶ ὡς
καὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα τὴν τε Κόρινθον ἀνέστησεν.

1 te supplied by Bk.
2 προκατεβάλετο Leuncl., προκατελάβετο L.
3 ἀδελφιδοῦ R. Steph., ἀδελφιδούς L.

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

Besides this, he introduced laws and extended the pomerium; in these and other matters his course was thought to resemble that of Sulla. Caesar, however, removed the ban from the survivors of those who had warred against him, granting them immunity on fair and uniform terms; he promoted them to office; to the wives of the slain he restored their dowries, and to their children he granted a share of the property, thus putting Sulla's cruelty mightily to shame and gaining for himself a great reputation not alone for bravery but also for goodness, although it is generally a difficult thing for the same man to excel both in war and in peace. This was a source of pride to him, as was also the fact that he had restored again Carthage and Corinth.
... πολλάς μὲν. γὰρ καὶ ἄλλας ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἐξω πόλεις ταῖς μὲν ἀνψυχόμην, ταῖς δὲ καὶ ἄλλως. τις ἐπέπρακτο, τὴν δὲ δὴ. Κόρινθον τὴν τε Καρχηδόνα, πόλεις ἀρχαίας λαμπρᾶς ἐπισήμους ἀπολογίας, 1 μὲν ἀποκαίας Ῥωμαίων ἐνόμισεν, ἀπ哕κισεν, 2 δὲ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ὁνόμαις 5 ἐτίμησεν, ἀπεδωκεν τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν ἐνοικοςάντων ποτὲ αὐτῶς, μηδὲν διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἐξήθραν τοῖς χωρίοις τοῖς μηδὲν σφας ἀδικήσαι μνησικακῆς.

Καὶ αἱ μὲν, ὃσπερ ἀμα πρῶτον καθηρέθησαν, οὕτω καὶ τότε ἀμα ἀνεβιώσκοντο καὶ ἐμέλλον καὶ 51 αὕτως ἀνθήσεις πράττοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταύτα ἐπιθυμία. τε πάσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὁμοίως ἐσῆθε τιμωρῆσαι τῷ τοῦ Κράσσῳ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ φθαρεῖσι, καὶ ἐπὶς τότε, εἰπερ ποτέ, τοὺς Πάρθους καταστρέψεσθαι. 3 τοῦ τε οὐν πόλεμον τῷ Καῖσαρι ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ τὴν παρα- 2 σκευὴν 3 αὐτοῦ πολλὴν ἐποιοῦντο. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα, καὶ ὅπως ἐκείνος τε πλεῖον ὑπηρέταις χρησθαί εἴχῃ, καὶ ἥ 4 πόλις μήτ' ἀνευ ἄρχων ἐν τῇ ἀπονοσίᾳ αὐτοῦ γένηται μήτ' αὐθα' ἕαυτὴν αἱρουμένη 5 τινάς στασιάσῃ, διενοοῦντο μὲν καὶ ἐς τρία ἐτη αὐτοὺς προκαταστῆσαι (τοσοῦτον γὰρ χρόνου πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν χρησίμων ἐδόκουσ) οὐ 3 μέντοι καὶ πάντας προαπήδειξαν. ἡρείτο δὲ τῷ μὲν λόγῳ 6 τοὺς ἡμίσεις ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐν νόμῳ τινὶ

1 Ἡ R. Steph., Ἡ L.
2 καταστρέψεσθαι Bs., καταστρέψασθαι L.
3 παρασκευὴν Rk., κατασκευὴ L.
4 Ἡ Rk., Ἡ τε L.
5 αἱρουμένη R. Steph., αἱρουμένης L.
6 δὲ τῷ μὲν λόγῳ Bs., μὲν τοὶ λόγωι L.
BOOK XLIII

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

So these cities, even as they had once been demolished together, now began to revive together and bade fair to flourish once more. But while Caesar was thus engaged, a longing came over all the Romans alike to avenge Crassus and those who had perished with him, and they felt some hope of subjugating the Parthians then, if ever. They unanimously voted the command of the war to Caesar, and made ample provision for it. Among other details, they decided that he should have a generous number of assistants, and also, in order that the city should neither be without officials in his absence nor again, by attempting to choose some on its own responsibility, fall into strife, that the magistrates should be appointed in advance for three years, this being the length of time they thought necessary for the campaign. Nevertheless, they did not designate them all beforehand. Nominally Caesar chose half of them, having a certain legal right to do this, but in reality
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touto poimassomenos, ergh  de pantas, kai es men
to prwton astos tamai tesarokonta proxeir-
sethsan wssper kai prorteron, kai agoranomoi to
prwton duo men kai ex epipatridon, tesarates de
ek tov plhson, dh oun duo tiv ap tis. Dimhtros
episkelhsin ferousin, oper pou kai es tode ex
hnon kataideichthen emmerenike. stratynh de anpe-
deichthesan men ekkaideka; alla oun touto graph
(kai gar prosthven egegonesau) alla' oti 1 kai he
Pouplios o Ouentidios 2 en autous erethi. odtos
gar tov men arxhion ek tou Picynous, wssper erith-
tai mo, h, antipolemhisas de tois 'Pomaios otet
5 ois summakoai sfismi epollemoethsan, hln, te upo
tou Pompyhion tou Strabwos kai en tois
nikhtirous autous dedemenos epompeusse, kai metata
touto afheis es te to syneborion chrwos, wssper
enagraphe kai stratynh tote upo 3 tou Kaisaros
apedeichthe, kai es tosothoun, te proioun epnuxei
oste kai touz Parbous vikhsai kai epivkia autwn
6 pemai. ois men ohn to prwto met ekhino etai arx-
ontes pantes prokatisthsan, es de dh to deuterou
oli te upatou kai ois dhmarchoi monoi tosotho
7 edehse kai es to trioton tiv anepedeichthnai, kai
emelle kai autous dikhtawo en amphoreus autous
arxein, touts te inparchhsontas 4 allon te tiva
kai tou 'Oktadoin, kai sper meirakhion eti kai toto
8 ontas, proxeiristato. es te to paron, en 5 taut
egyretvo, upatou te anoth per tov Dolobhellan
antikatesths, 5 kai toiv 'Antwnon pantas tov

1 'All' sti Bk., 'All' sti Alloi te Rk., Allai te L.
2 Ouentidios R. Steph., Ouentidios L. 3 upo Rk., dh L.
4 tois te inparchhsontas Leuncl., tou te inparchhsontos L.
5 antikatesths R. Steph., antekatesths L.

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he chose the whole number. For the first year, as B.C. 44 previously, forty quaestors were elected, and now for the first time two patrician aediles as well as four from the plebs. Of the latter two have their title from Ceres,¹ a custom which, then introduced, has remained to the present day. And praetors were appointed to the number of sixteen; it is not of this, however, that I would write, since there had formerly been just as many, but of the fact that among those chosen was Publius Ventidius. He was originally from Picenum, as has been remarked, and fought against Rome when her allies were at war with her. He was captured by Pompeius Strabo,² and marched in chains in that general's triumph. Later he was released and subsequently was enrolled in the senate, and now was appointed praetor by Caesar; and he went on advancing until he finally conquered the Parthians and held a triumph over them. All were thus appointed in advance who were to hold office the first year after that, but for the second year only the consuls and tribunes; so far were they from appointing anybody for the third year. Caesar himself intended to be dictator both years, and designated as masters of horse another man and Octavius, though the latter was at that time a mere lad. For the time being, while this was going on, Caesar appointed Dolabella consul in his own stead, leaving Antony to finish out his

¹ The Aediles Cereales.
² The father of Pompey the Great.
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ένιαυτὸν μέλλοντος ἄρξειν· καὶ τῷ Δεσπώτῳ τῆν τε Γαλατίαν τὴν περὶ Νάρβονα καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν
tὴν πλησιόχωρον προστάξας, δύο ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἕτερους, ἰδίᾳ γε ἐκάτερον, ἱππαρχὴσαι ἐποίησε.
9 πολλοίς γὰρ εὐεργεσίας ὅφειλον διά τε τῶν
tοιούτων αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἱερωσυνῶν ἀπεδίδου,
ἐς τε τοὺς πνευτεκαίδεκα ἕνα καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἀπὸ
καλουμένους τρεῖς ἕτερους προσαποδείξας.

1 αὐτοῦ St., αὐτῶν L. 2 εὐεργεσίας Leuncl., εὐεργεσίαν L.
. BOOK XLIII

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

Τάδε ἐνεστὶν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαίων

α. Περὶ τῶν τῷ Καίσαρι ψηφισθέντων.
β. Περὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμῆς τῆς ἐπ’ αὐτὸν συστάσεως.
γ. Ὡς Καίσαρ ἐσφάγη.
δ. Ὡς δόγμα ἐγένετο μὴ μνησικακεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις.
ε. Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ταφῆς καὶ τοῦ λεχθέντος ἐπ’ αὐτῷ λόγου.

Χρόνου πλήθος μέρος τι 1 τῆς Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος δικτατορίας τὸ ἐ’ μετὰ Αιμιλίου Λεπίδου ἱππάρχου καὶ ὑπατείας τὸ ἐ’ μετὰ Μάρκου Ἀντώνιου.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Καίσαρ ταῦθ’ οὕτως ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους στρατεύσων ἔπραξεν, οἴστρος δὲ τισιν ἀληθερίας φθόνος τε τοῦ προϊκοτος 2 καὶ μίσει τοῦ προτετεμιμένου σφῶν προσπεσάν ἐκεῖνον τε ἃνομος ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὸν ἀνοσίαν δόξης ὠνόμα προσλαβών, καὶ τὰ ψηφισθέντα διεσκέδασε, 1 στάσεις τε αὕτως ζε ὁμολογίας καὶ πολέμους ἐμφυλίους τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις παρεσκεύασεν ἔλεγον μὲν γὰρ καθαιρέται τε τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἐλένθεται τοῦ δήμου γεγονέναι, τὸ δὲ ἀληθῆς ἐκεῖνον τε ἀσβῆς ἐπεβούλευσαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὀρθῶς.

1 μέρος τι Βς., μέχρι L.
2 προϊκοτος Leuncl., προσήκοντος L.
BOOK XLIV

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

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

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

ALL this Caesar did as a preliminary step to his campaign against the Parthians; but a baleful frenzy which fell upon certain men through jealousy of his advancement and hatred of his preferment to themselves caused his death unlawfully, while it added a new name to the annals of infamy; it scattered the decrees to the winds and brought upon the Romans seditions and civil wars once more after a state of harmony. His slayers, to be sure, declared that they had shown themselves at once destroyers of Caesar and liberators of the people: but in reality they impiously plotted against him, and they threw the city into disorder when at last it
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2 ἤδη πολιτευμένην ἐστασίασαν. δημοκρατία γὰρ ὄνομα μὲν ἐυσχῆμον ἔχει καὶ τινὰ καὶ ἱσομοιρίαν πᾶσιν ἐκ τῆς ἰσονομίας φέρειν δοκεῖ, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοὺς ἔργοις ἐλέγχεται μηδὲν ὁμολογοῦσα τῷ προσφήματι καὶ τούναντίον ἡ μοναρχία δυσχερές μὲν ἀκοῦσαι, χρησιμώτατον δὲ ἐμπολιτεύσασθαι ἐστὶ. ῥᾴδον τε γὰρ ἐνα τινὰ χρηστὸν ἡ πολλοῖς
2 εὑρεῖν ἂν τε ἅπα τοῦτο χαλεπῶν τισιν εἰναι δοκῇ, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἐκεῖνό γε ἀδύνατον ὁμολογηθῆναι εἰναι: οὐ γὰρ προσήκει τοῖς πολλοῖς ἁρετὴν κτάσθαι. εἰ δ’ οὖν καὶ φαύλος τις αὐταρχήσειν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ γε πλῆθους τῶν ὁμοίων αἱρετῶτερός ἐστιν, ὡσπερ ποιν καὶ τὰ ἐργά τά τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τά τῶν βαρβάρων, τῶν τε Ῥώμαιων αὐτῶν,
3 τεχνηροὶ. τά τε γὰρ ἀμείνω πολὺ μείζω καὶ πλεῖο καὶ πόλεσι καὶ ἰδιώταις ἐκ βασιλεῶν ἡ δῆμων ἂεί ποτε ἐγένετο, καὶ τὰ δυσχερέστερα ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις ἡ ταῖς ὁχλοκρατίαις συμβαίνει. εἰ γὰρ ποιν καὶ δημοκρατία τις ἦνθησεν, ἀλλ’ ἐν γε βραχεὶ χρόνῳ ἤκμασεν, μέχρις οὐ μήτε μέγαθος μήτ’ ἰσχύν ἐσχον ὡστε ἡ ὑβρεῖς σφίσιν εἴ ἐπιτραγίας ἡ φθόνους ἐκ φλοτιμίας ἐγγενέσθαι.
4 πόλιν δὲ αὐτὴν τε τηλικαύτην οὐδαν καὶ τοῦ τε καλλίστου τοῦ τε πλείστου τῆς ἐμφανοῦς οἰκουμενίης ἄρχουσαν, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἡθῇ καὶ διάφορα κεκτημένην πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ μεγάλους πλούτους ἔχουσαν, ταῖς τε πράξεσι καὶ ταῖς

1 τε Bk., γε L.
2 πᾶσα ἀνάγκη R. Steph., πᾶση ἀνάγκη L.
3 γε H. Steph., τε L.
4 One or more words with the meaning “fewer” or “more rarely” have evidently been lost from the text.
5 δὲ Rk., τε L.

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BOOK XLIV

possessed a stable government. Democracy, indeed, has a fair-appearing name and conveys the impression of bringing equal rights to all through equal laws, but its results are seen not to agree at all with its title. Monarchy, on the contrary, has an unpleasant sound, but is a most practical form of government to live under. For it is easier to find a single excellent man than many of them, and if even this seems to some a difficult feat, it is quite inevitable that the other alternative should be acknowledged to be impossible; for it does not belong to the majority of men to acquire virtue. And again, even though a base man should obtain supreme power, yet he is preferable to the masses of like character, as the history of the Greeks and barbarians and of the Romans themselves proves. For successes have always been greater and more frequent in the case both of cities and of individuals under kings than under popular rule, and disasters do [not] happen [so frequently] under monarchies as under mob-rule. Indeed, if ever there has been a prosperous democracy, it has in any case been at its best for only a brief period, so long, that is, as the people had neither the numbers nor the strength sufficient to cause insolence to spring up among them as the result of good fortune or jealousy as the result of ambition. But for a city, not only so large in itself, but also ruling the finest and the greatest part of the known world, holding sway over men of many and diverse natures, possessing many men of great wealth, occupied with every imaginable pursuit, enjoying every imaginable fortune, both
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túχαις παντοδαπαῖς καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ χρω-
μάνη, ἀδύνατον μὲν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ σωφρονῆς,
ἀδύνατωτερὸν δὲ μὴ σωφρονοῦσαν ὀμονῆς.
5 ὥστ' εἴπερ ταῦτα οὕτως ὦ τε Βροῦτος ὦ Μάρκος
καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος ὁ Γάιος ἔξελογγαντο, οὐκ ἂν τοτε
τὸν τε προστάτην καὶ τὸν κηδεμόνα αὐτῆς ἀπέ-
κτειναν, οὐδ' ἂν μυρίων αἰτίων κακῶν καὶ ἐαυτοῖς
καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις ἐγένοντο.
3 Ἐσχε δὲ ὅδε, καὶ αἰτίαιν τήμεν ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ
ἔλαβεν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀναίτιον πάντη τὸ ἐπί-
φθονον ἐκτήσατο, πλὴν καθ' ὁσον αὐτοῖς ἦν
βουλευταί ταῖς τε καίνοτης καὶ ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς
τῶν τιμῶν ἐξάραντες ταύτον καὶ φυσίσαντες
ἐπειτα ἐπ’ αὐταίς ἐκείνας καὶ ἐμέμφαντο καὶ
dιέβαλλον ὡς ἦδεος τε σφας λαμβάνοντα καὶ
2 ὄγκορότερον ἀπ’ αὐτῶν θάνατα. έστι μὲν γὰρ ὅτε
καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἔμαρτε, δεξάμενος τε τινα τῶν
ψηφισθέντων οἰ καὶ πιστεύσας ὀντως αὐτῶν
ἀξιοῦσθαι, πλείστον δὲ ὄμως ἐκείνου, στίναις
ἀρξάμενοι τιμῶν αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ ἄξιον, προήγαγον
3 ἐς αἰτίαιν οἷς ἐψηφίζοντο. οὔτε 1 γὰρ διώθεισθαί
πάντα αὐτὰ ἐτόλμα, μὴ καὶ ὑπερφρονεῖν νο-
μισθείη, οὔτε αὖ λαμβάνων ἁσφάλης εἶναι
ἐδύνατο. 2 τὸ γὰρ ὑπερβάλλον τῶν τε τιμῶν καὶ
τῶν ἑπαίνων χαυνοτέρους πῶς καὶ τοὺς πάντα ὑπο-
φοναί, ἀλλος τε 3 κἂν ἀληθῶς γίγνεσθαι δοκῶσι,
ποτεί.
4 Ἐγένετο δὲ τὰ δοθέντα αὐτῷ μετ’ ἔκεινα ὁσα
εὑρηταί τοσάδε καὶ τοιάδε καθ’ ἐν γὰρ, εἰ καὶ
μὴ πάντα ἀμα μήτε ἐσηνέχθη μήτε ἐκυρώθη,
individually and collectively,—for such a city, I say, to practise moderation under a democracy is impossible, and still more is it impossible for the people, unless moderation prevails, to be harmonious. Therefore, if Marcus Brutus and Gaius Cassius had only reflected upon these things, they would never have killed the city’s head and protector nor have made themselves the cause of countless ills both to themselves and to all the rest of mankind then living.

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

The privileges that were granted him, in addition to all those mentioned, were as follows in number and nature; for I shall name them all together, even if they were not all proposed or passed at one
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2 λελέξεται. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα φέρεσθαι τε αὐτῶν ἀεὶ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει τὴν στολὴν τὴν ἑπι-νικίων ἐνδεδυκότα, καὶ καθέξεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ δίφρου πανταχώ πλὴν ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν, ἐψηφίσαντο. τότε γὰρ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ δημαρχικοῦ βάθρου καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀεὶ δημαρχοῦντων θεᾶσθαι.

3 ἔλαβε. σκυλά τέ τινα ὁπίμα ἐς τὸν τοῦ Δίὸς τοῦ Φερετρίου νεῶν ἀναδεῖναι οἱ ὠσπέρ τινὰ πολέμουν αὐτοστράτηγον αὐτοχειρά πεφονευκότι, καὶ τοῖς ραβδοῦχοις δαφνηφόροις ἀεὶ χρήσθαι, μετὰ ταῖς ἀνοχαῖς τὰς Δατίνας ἐπὶ κέλητος 3 ἐς τὴν πόλιν.

4 ἐκ τοῦ Ἀλβανοῦ ἐσελαύνειν ἐδοσαν. πρὸς τε τοῦτοι τοιοῦτοι οὕσι πατέρα τε αὐτῶν τῆς πατρίδος ἐπωνόμασαν καὶ ἐς τὰ νυμίσματα ἐνεχάραξαν, τά τε γενέθλια αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ θύειν ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τοῖς τε ναοῖς τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη.

5 πᾶσιν ἀνδριάντα τινὰ αὐτοῦ εἶναι ἐκέλευσαν, καὶ ἐπὶ γε τοῦ βήματος δύο, τὸν μὲν ὡς τοὺς πολίτας σεσωκότος τὸν δὲ ὡς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ πολιορκίας ἐξηρημένου, μετὰ τῶν στεφάνων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοι νεομισμένων ἰδρύσαντο. νεῶν τε Ὀμονοίας καινῆς, ὡς καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ εἰρηνοῦντες, οἰκοδομήσατι, καὶ πανήγυριν αὐτῆ 5 ἐτησίαν ἀγειν.

5 ἐγνωσαν. ὡς δὲ 6 ταῦτα ἐδέξατο, τά τε ἔλη οἱ τὰ Πομπτῖνα 7 χόσαι καὶ τὸν ἴσθμὸν τὸν τῆς Πελο-ποννήσου διορύξατι βουλευτήριον τέ τι καινὸν ποιῆσαι προσέταξαν, ἐπείδ' ἡ ὁστίλιον καίπερ 2 ἀνοικοδομηθὲν καθηρέθη, πρόφασιν μὲν τοῦ ναὸν

time. First, then, they voted that he should always ride, even in the city itself, wearing the triumphal dress, and should sit in his chair of state everywhere except at the games; for at those he received the privilege of watching the contests from the tribunes' benches in company with those who were tribunes at the time. And they gave him the right to offer spolia opima, as they are called, at the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, as if he had slain some hostile general with his own hand, and to have lictors who always carried laurel, and after the Feriae Latinae to ride from the Alban Mount into the city on horseback. In addition to these remarkable privileges they named him father of his country, stamped this title on the coinage, voted to celebrate his birthday by public sacrifice, ordered that he should have a statue in the cities and in all the temples of Rome, and they set up two also on the rostra, one representing him as the saviour of the citizens and the other as the deliverer of the city from siege, and wearing the crowns customary for such achievements. They also resolved to build a temple of Concordia Nova, on the ground that it was through his efforts that they enjoyed peace, and to celebrate an annual festival in her honour. When he had accepted these, they assigned to him the charge of filling the Pontine marshes, cutting a canal through the Peloponnesian isthmus, and constructing a new senate-house, since that of Hostilius, although repaired, had been demolished. The reason assigned for its destruction was that a
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Εὐτυχίας ἐνταῦθ' οἰκοδομηθῆναι, ὅν καὶ ὁ Λέπιδος ἵππαρχήσας ἐξεποίησεν, ἔργον δὲ ὅπως μὴτε ἐν ἐκείνῳ τὸ τοῦ Σύλλου ὄνομα σώζοιτο καὶ ἔτερον ἐκ καυχῆς κατασκευασθὲν Ἰουλίων ὄνομασθείη, ὅσπερ πνοι καὶ τόν τε μῆνα ἐν ὧ ἐγεγένητο 1 Ἰουλίων κάκ τῶν φυλῶν μίαν τὴν κλήρῳ λα-

3 χοῦσαν Ἰουλίων ἐπεκάλεσαν. καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν τιμήτθην καὶ μόνον καὶ διὰ βίου εὐν. τά τε τοῖς δημάρχοις δεδομένα καρποῦσθαι, ὅπως, ἀν τις ἡ ἔργαν ἢ καὶ λόγῳ αὐτών ὑβρίσῃ, 2 ἰερός τε ἢ 3 καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄγει ἐνέχθαι, τόν δὲ δὴ νίον, ἀν τινα γεννήσῃ ἢ καὶ ἐσποιήσηται, 4 ἀρχιερεά ἀποδειξ.

6 θῆναι ἐγνηφίσαντο. ὡς δὲ καὶ τούτως ἔχαριν, διόρος τε ὁ ἔπιχρυσος, καὶ στολὴ ἢ ποτει ἡ βασιλῆς ἐκέχρηντο, φρουρᾶ τε ἐκ τῶν ἵππων καὶ ἐκ τῶν θυελεντῶν ἔδοθη καὶ προσέτι καὶ εὐχεθαί ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δημοσία κατ' ἔτος ἔκαστων, τὴν τε τύχην αὐτοῦ ὑμνύναι, καὶ τὰ πραξ.

θησόμενα αὐτῷ πάντα κύρια ἐξειν ἐνόμισαν.

2 κάκ τούτῳ καὶ πενταπετήριδα οἱ ὢς ἦρωι, ἱερο-

ποιοίς τε ἐς τᾶς τοῦ Πανός γυμνοπαιδίας, τρίτην τινὰ ἐταίριὰν ἢν Ἰουλίαν ἀνόμασαν, 5 καὶ ταῖς ὀπλομαχίαις μίαν τινὰ ἀεὶ ἡμέραν καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη

3 καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀλλη Ἰταλία ἀνέθεσαν. καὶ ἐπείδη καὶ
tούτως ἠρέσκετο, οὔτω δὴ ἐς τὰ θέατρα τῶν τε διέ

φρού αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐπίχρυσον καὶ τῶν στέφανον τῶν
dιάλωθον καὶ διάχρυσον, ἐξ ἵππου τοῖς τῶν θεῶν, ἐσκομίζεσθαι καὶ ταῖς ἰπποδρομίαις ὧν 6 ἐσάγεσ-

1 ἐγεγένητο R. Steph., ἐγεγένητο L.
2 ὑβρίσῃ R. Steph., ὑβρίση L.  3 ἢ Reim., ἢ L.
4 ἐσποιήσηται Reim., ἐσποιήσηται L.
5 ἀνόμασαν R. Steph., ἀνόμαστας L.
6 ὧν Cassub., ὧν L.

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

7 Ἐπεὶ γὰρ τίματα τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἔξεφηνε, ἀμα τε ταῦτα ἐψηφίζοντο καὶ τάφον αὐτῷ ἐντὸς τοῦ πωμηρίου ποιήσασθαι ἔδοσαν· τά τε δόγματα τὰ περὶ τούτων γιγνόμενα ἐς μὲν στῆλας ἀργυρᾶς χρυσοῖς γράμμασιν ἐνέγραψαν, ὡς δὲ δὴ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Δίως τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ὑπέθεσαν, δηλοῦντές οἱ καὶ μᾶλα ἐναργῶς ὅτι ἀνθρώπος ἐσθ.

2 Ἡρῴαντο μὲν γὰρ τιμᾶν αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ μετριάσοντα προχωροῦντες δὲ, ἐπειδὴ χαίροντα τοῖς ψηφίζομενοι ἑώρων (πλὴν γὰρ ὑλῶν τινῶν πάντα αὐτὰ ἐδέξατο), ἀεὶ τι μεῖζον ἄλλος ἄλλο καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν ἐσέφερον, οἱ μὲν ὑπερκολακεύοντες αὐτῶν οἱ δὲ καὶ διασκόπτοντες. ἀμελεῖ καὶ γυναιξὶν ὅσαις ἀν ἑθελῆσῃ συνεῖναι οἱ ἐτολμησάν τινες ἐπιτρέψαι, ὅτι πολλαῖς καὶ τότε ἔτι, καίπερ πεπτηκοτοῦτης ἄν, ἔχρητο. ἔτεροι δὲ, καὶ οἱ γε πλείουσι, ἐς τὸ ἐπίθεον καὶ ἐς τὸ νεμεσιτέα προάγων αὐτῶν ὅτι τάχιστα βουλόμενοι τούτ’ ἐποίουν, ἵνα 4 θάσσον ἀπόληται. ὅπερ ποι ἐγένετο, καίτοι του Καίσαρος καὶ δὲ αὐτὰ ταῦτα θαρσῆσαντος ὡς οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ ὅθ’ ὑπ’ ἐκείνων τοιαύτα γε ψηφιζομένων ὅθ’ ὑπ’ ἄλλου τίνος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπιβουλευθησόμενον, κἀκε τούτον οὔδε σωματοφύλαξιν ἐτι χρησιμένον· τὸ γὰρ δὴ λόγῳ τὸ πρὸς τῶν

1 τ’ supplied by Reim. 2 ἀεὶ R. Steph., ἀλλ’ εἰ L. 3 ἔθελησῃ Bk., ἔθελησει L. 4 οὔδε Bk., δὲ L. 5 τὸ Leuncl., τῶι L.

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

At the same time with these measures they passed another which most clearly indicated their disposition: it gave him the right to place his tomb within the pomerium; and the decrees regarding this matter they inscribed in golden letters on silver tablets and deposited beneath the feet of Jupiter Capitolinus, thus pointing out to him very clearly that he was a mortal. When they had begun to honour him, it was with the idea, of course, that he would be reasonable; but as they went on and saw that he was delighted with what they voted,—indeed he accepted all but a very few of their decrees,—different men at different times kept proposing various extravagant honours, some in a spirit of exaggerated flattery and others by way of ridicule. At any rate, some actually ventured to suggest permitting him to have intercourse with as many women as he pleased, because even at this time, though fifty years old, he still had numerous mistresses. Others, and they were the majority, followed this course because they wished to make him envied and hated as quickly as possible, that he might the sooner perish. And this is precisely what happened, though Caesar was encouraged by these very measures to believe that he should never be plotted against by the men who had voted him such honours, nor, through fear of them, by any one else; and consequently he even dispensed henceforth with a body-guard. For nominally he accepted the privilege of being watched over
καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἵππεῶν τηρεῖσθαι προσέμενος, καὶ τὴν ἕκ τοῦ πρὶν φουράνει προσκατέλυσεν. ἐπειδῆ γὰρ ἐν μᾶλλον ἡμέρα τὰ τε πλείω καὶ τὰ μείζονα σφῶν ἃ ψηφισάμενοι (πλὴν γὰρ τοῦ Κασσίου καὶ τινῶν ἄλλων, οἱ περιβολοῦσι ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐγένοντο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπάθον τι, εξ οὕτως καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἡ ἐπιείκεια αὐτοῦ διεφάνη, τοῖς γε ἄλλοις ὁμοθυμάδων ἐγνώσθη) προσήλθον αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀφροδίσιου προνάψαν καθήμενος ὡς καὶ πάντες ἀμα τὰ δεδομένα σφίσιν ἀπαγγέλθητε ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑποτυποδιαλέγοντος. ἐξελεγον μὲν γὰρ ἀπολογούμενοι τινὲς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα ὅτι τῆς τε κοίλας ἀκρατῆς ὑπὸ διαρροῖας ἐγεγονεῖ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἵνα μὴ ἐξεδίση, κατέμενεν οὐ μέντοι καὶ πείδθεν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐδύνατο διὰ τὸ μετ’ οὐ πολὺ ἐξεγερθέντα αὐτὸν ἀὐτοποδία οἰκαδε κομμ-
by the senators and knights, and so dismissed the guard he had previously had. Indeed, when once they had voted to him on a single day an unusually large number of these honours of especial importance,—which had been granted unanimously by all except Cassius and a few others, who became famous for this action, yet suffered no harm, whereby Caesar's clemency was conspicuously revealed,—they then approached him as he was sitting in the vestibule of the temple of Venus in order to announce to him in a body their decisions; for they transacted such business in his absence, in order to have the appearance of doing it, not under compulsion, but voluntarily. And either by some heaven-sent fatuity or even through excess of joy he received them sitting, which aroused so great indignation among them all, not only the senators but all the rest, that it afforded his slayers one of their chief excuses for their plot against him. Some who subsequently tried to defend him claimed, it is true, that owing to an attack of diarrhoea he could not control the movement of his bowels and so had remained where he was in order to avoid a flux. They were not able, however, to convince the majority, since not long afterwards he rose up and went home on foot; hence most men suspected him of being inflated with pride and hated him for his haughtiness, when it was they themselves who had made him disdainful by the exaggerated character of their honours. After this occurrence, striking as it was, he increased the suspicion by permitting himself somewhat later to be chosen dictator for life.
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9 Ἐνταῦθα οὖν αὐτὸν ὁμοὺς οὐδὲν ἐτί ἐνδοιαστῶς οἱ ἐπιβουλεύοντες οἱ ἐπραττοῦν, ἀλλ' ὅπως δὴ καὶ τοῖς πάνω φίλοις ἐν μίσει γένηται, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἐπὶ διαβολῇ αὐτοῦ ἐπολοῦν καὶ τέλος βασιλέα αὐτοῦ προσηγόρευον, καὶ πολὺ τοῦτο τούνομα καὶ κἀκεῖ ἑιδρύλουν. Ἐπειδὴ τε ἐξεστάτο μὲν αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπετίμα τῇ τοῖς οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐπικαλοῦσιν, οὐ γένον καὶ ἐπραξε τι δὲ οὐ ἄν ἀχθεσθαι τῷ προσρήματι ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπι- στεύθη, τῆν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐστῶσαν διαδήματι λάθρα ἀνέθησαν. καὶ αὐτὸ Γαϊον τε Ἐπιδίου Μαρύλλου καὶ Λουκίου Καισα- τίου Φλάουν δημάρχων καθελόντων ἱσχυρῶς ἐξαλέθησε, καὶ τοῦτο ἱεροστικὸν αὐτῶν ἐπόντων, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπαινεσάντων αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πλῆθει ὡς μιθηνὸς τοιοῦτο δεόμενον. καὶ τότε μὲν καὶ γέρας ἄσχαλλων ἰσώχασεν ὡς μέντοι μετὰ τοῦτο ἐσιππεύοντα αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλβανοῦ βασιλέα αὐθίς τινὸς ὑσώμασαν, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἔφη βασιλεὺς ἀλλὰ Καίσαρ καλεῖσθαι, οἱ δὲ δὴ δήμαρχοι ἐκεῖνοι καὶ δικήν τῷ πρώτῳ αὐτὸν ἐπίοντι ἔλαχον, οὐκέτι τῆν ὀργὴν κατέσχε, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων προστασιαζόμενος ὑπεργηγάκτησης. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι οὐδὲν δεινὸν αὐτῶς ἔδρασεν, ὕστερον δὲ σφῶν προγραφὴν ἐκθέτων ὡς οὔτε ἐλευθέραν οὔτ' ἀσφαλῆ τῇ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ παρρησίαιν ἐχόντων περιοργῆς ἐγένετο, καὶ παραγαγὼν σφας ἐς τὸ βουλευτηρίου κατη-

1 ὑπ' R. Steph., ἀπ' L cod. Peir.
2 προστασιαζόμενοι Reim., προστασιαζόμενος L cod. Peir.
3 προγραφὴν R. Steph., προσγραφὴν L.

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BOOK XLIV

When he had reached this point, the men who were plotting against him hesitated no longer, but in order to embitter even his best friends against him, they did their best to traduce him, finally saluting him as king, a name which they often used also among themselves. When he kept refusing the title and rebuking in a way those who thus accosted him, yet did nothing by which it could be thought that he was really displeased at it, they secretly adorned his statue, which stood on the rostra, with a diadem. And when the tribunes, Gaius Epidius Marullus and Lucius Caesetius Flavus, took it down, he became violently angry, although they uttered no word of abuse and moreover actually praised him before the populace as not wanting anything of the sort. For the time being, though vexed, he held his peace. Subsequently, however, when he was riding in from the Alban Mount and some men again called him king, he said that his name was not king but Caesar; but when the same tribunes brought suit against the first man who had termed him king, he no longer restrained his wrath but showed great irritation, as if these very officials were really stirring up sedition against him. And though for the moment he did them no harm, yet later, when they issued a proclamation declaring that they were unable to speak their mind freely and safely on behalf of the public good, he became exceedingly angry and brought them into the senate-house, where he
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γορίαν τε αὐτῶν ἐποιήσατο καὶ ψῆφον ἐπήγαγε.
3 καὶ οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε μὲν αὐτοὺς, καίτοι καὶ
tούτου τινῶν τιμησάντων σφίσι, προαπαλλάξας
dὲ ἐκ τῆς δημαρχίας διὰ Ἐλωνίου Κίννο
συνάρχοντος αὐτῶν ἀπήλευσεν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου.
καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔχαριον τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἢ καὶ ἐπλάττωντο,
ὡς ουδεμίαν ἀνάγγηκν ἐξοντες παρρησιαζόμενοι
κινδυνεύσαν, καὶ ἐξω τῶν πραγμάτων δυτες τα
4 γυνόμενα ὦσπερ ἀπὸ σκοπιάς 1 καθεύρων· ὁ
δὲ δὴ Καίσαρ καὶ ἐκ τούτου διεβλήθη, ὦτὶ δέον
αὐτῶν τοὺς τὸ δομόμα οἱ τὸ 2 βασιλέως προστιθέν-
tας μυσεῖν, ὁ δὲ ἐκείνους ἀφεῖς τοῖς δημάρχοις
ἀντ’ αὐτῶν ἐνεκάλει.

11 Τούτων δ’ οὖν οὕτω γενομένων τούνδε τι
tέτερον, οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν συνενεχθεν, ἐπὶ πλέον
ἐξήλειγεν ὅτι λόγῳ μὲν διεκρούετο τὴν ἐπίκλησιν,
2 ἐργῳ δὲ λαβείν ἐπεθύμει. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν τῇ
tῶν Δυκαίων γυμνοπαιδία ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν 3
ἐσήλθε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος τῇ τῇ ἐσθήτῃ τῇ
βασιλικῇ κεκοσμημένος καὶ τῷ στεφάνῳ τῷ
dιαχρύσῳ λαμπρονόμενος ἐς 4 τὸν δίφρον τὸν
κεχρυσωμένον ἐκαθίζετο, καὶ αὐτὸν τ’ Ἀντώνιος
βασιλέα τε μετὰ τῶν συνυερέων προσηγορευσε
καὶ διαδήματι ἀνέδησεν, εἰπὼν ὦτὶ “τοῦτο σοι ὁ
3 δῆμος δ’ ἐμὸ δίδωσιν,” ἀπεκρίνατο μὲν ὦτὶ “Ζεὺς 5
μόνος τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς εἶ,” καὶ τὸ διάδημα
ἀυτῷ 6 ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐπέμψεν, οὐ μέντοι
καὶ ὀργῆν ἐσχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τὰ ὑπομνήματα
ἐγγραφὴν ἐποίησεν ὦτὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ

1 σκοπιάς Hemsterhuis, σκίας L.
2 ἀγορὰν Xyl., βασιλεύαν L.
3 Zeûs supplied by R. Steph.
4 ἐς Bs., καὶ L.
5 aὐτῷ Rk., aὐτὸ L.

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BOOK XLIV

accused them and put their conduct to the vote. He did not put them to death, though some declared them worthy even of that penalty, but he first removed them from the tribuneship, on the motion of Helvius Cinna, their colleague, and then erased their names from the senate. Some were pleased at this, or pretended to be, thinking they would have no need to incur danger by speaking out freely, and since they were not themselves involved in the business, they could view events as from a watch tower. Caesar, however, received an ill name from this fact also, that, whereas he should have hated those who applied to him the name of king, he let them go and found fault with the tribunes instead.

Another thing that happened not long after these events proved still more clearly that, although he pretended to shun the title, in reality he desired to assume it. For when he had entered the Forum at the festival of the Lupercalia and was sitting on the rostra in his gilded chair, adorned with the royal apparel and resplendent in his crown overlaid with gold, Antony with his fellow-priests saluted him as king and binding a diadem upon his head, said: ‘The people offer this to you through me.’ And Caesar answered: ‘Jupiter alone is king of the Romans,’ and sent the diadem to Jupiter on the Capitol; yet he was not angry, but caused it to be inscribed in the records that he had refused to accept the kingship when offered to him by the
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τοῦ δήμου διὰ τοῦ ὑπάτου διδομένην οἳ οὐκ ἐδέξατο. ὑπωπτεύθη τε οὖν ἐκ συγκεκριμένου τινὸς αὐτὸ πεποιηκέναι, καὶ ἐφίσεθαι μὲν τοῦ ὄνοματος, βούλεσθαι δὲ ἐκβιασθῆναι πως λαβεῖν αὐτῷ, καὶ δεινῶς ἐμισθή. κακὰ τούτων τοὺς τε δημάρχους ἐκείνους ὑπάτους τινὲς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαιοδοτεῖσθαι, καὶ τὸν Βρούτον τὸν Μάρκον τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς φρονηματώδεις ἱδία τε προσώπως ἀνέπειθον καὶ δημοσία προσπάρω-

ζυνον. γράμματα τα γάρ, τῇ ὁμονυμίᾳ αὐτῶν τῇ πρὸς τὸν πάνω Βρούτον τὸν τοὺς Ταρκυνίους καταλύσαντα καταχρώμενοι, πολλὰ ἐκείθεσαν, φημίζοντες αὐτῶν ψευδώς ἀπόγονον ἐκείνου εἶναι ἀμφοτέρων γαρ τοὺς παῖδας, τοὺς μόνους οἱ γενομένους, μειράκια ἐτὶ ὄντας ἀπεκτείνει, καὶ

οὐδὲ ἔγγονον ὑπελίπετο. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα τούτο τε οἱ πολλοὶ, ὅπως ὡς καὶ γένει προσήκων αὐτῷ ἐς ὁμοιότροπα ἔργα προσαχθεῖ̣, ἐπιλάττοντο, καὶ συνεχῶς ἄνεκάλουν αὐτῶν, "ὁ Βροῦτε Βροῦτε" ἐκβοῶντες, καὶ προσπειλέγοντες ὅτι "Βροῦτον

χρῆσομεν," καὶ τέλος τῇ τε τοῦ παλαιοῦ Βροῦτον εἰκόνι ἐπέγραψαν "εἴδε ἐξῆς," καὶ τῷ τούτου βήματι (ἐστρατηγεῖ γὰρ καὶ βῆμα καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτο ὄνομαζεται ἐφ' οὖ τις ἰζόμενος δικάζει) ὅτι "καθευδεῖς, ὁ Βροῦτε" καὶ "Βροῦτος οὐκ εἰ." Ταύτα τε οὖν αὐτὸν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀντιπολεμήσαντα τῷ Καίσαρι, ἀνέπεισεν ἐπιθέσθαι οἱ καίπερ εὐεργέτη μετὰ τοῦτο γενομένῳ,

1 Ταρκυνίους R. Steph., ταρκυνίους L.
2 ὑπελίπετο R. Steph., ὑπελίπετο L.
3 προσήκων Leuncl., προσήκον L.
4 ἐς R. Steph., ἐς καὶ L.

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

Now these were the influences that persuaded
Brutus to attack Caesar, whom he had opposed from
the beginning in any case, although he had later ac-
cepted benefits from him. He was also influenced
καὶ ὅτι τοῦ Κάτωνος τοῦ Οὐτικησίου κληθέντος, ὥστερ εἶπον, καὶ ἄδελφιδοὺς καὶ γαμβρὸς ἦν. καὶ μόνη γε γυναικῶν ἡ γαμετή αὐτοῦ ἡ Πορκία
2 τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν, ὥς φασί, συνέγνω. φροντίζοντι γὰρ τι αὐτῷ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων ἐπιστάσα ἀνεπόθετο ὅ τι σύννοι εἶχ, καὶ ἐπεειθή μηδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο, ὑπώπτευσε τε διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀσθένειαν ἀπιστεῖσθαι, μὴ καὶ ἄκουσά τι ἕκ βασάνων ἔξειπη, καὶ πράγμα μέγα ἐτόλμησε.
3 τον γὰρ μηρον τὸν ἑαυτῆς κρύφα κατέτρωσεν, ὅπως πειραθείη εἰ δύνατο πρὸς αἰκισμοὺς ἀντικαρτηρῆσαι· καὶ ἐπειθή μὴ περιῆλθης, κατεφρόνησε τοῦ τραύματος καὶ προσελθοῦσα αὐτῷ ἔφη "αὐτῷ μὲν, ὡ ἄνερ, καίτοι τῇ ψυχῇ μου πιστεύομαι ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐκλαλήσησι, ὅμως ἡπίστεις τῷ σώματί, καὶ ἐπασχέοις γε τῷ ἄνθρωπῳν ἐγὼ
4 δὲ καὶ τοῦτο εὑρήκα σιωπᾶν δυνάμενον." ταῦτα εἰποῦσα τὸν τε μηρὸν ἐπέδειξέν οί, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ γεγονότος ἐκφύησα ἔφη "λέγε τοῖς βαρσῶν πάνθ', ὅσα συγκρύπτεις· ἔμε γὰρ οὐ πῦρ, οὐ μάστυες, οὐ κέντρα ἀναγκάσις τι ἐκλαλήσας· οὐχ οὐτω γυνὴ γεγένησαι. ὡς, ἂν γε ἀπιστήσῃς μοι ἐτί, καλῶς ἔχει μοι 1 τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἡ ἐμί· ἡ μηκέτι με μηδεῖς μήτε Κάτωνος θυγατέρα μὴτε
14 σὴν γυναῖκα νομιζέτων." ἀκούσσα δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Βροῦτος ἔθαύμαζε, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτ' αὐτὴν ἀπεκρύφασε, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς τε ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἐρρώσθη καὶ
2 ἐκείνη πάντα διηγήσατο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν Κάσσιον τὸν Γάιον, σωθέντα μὲν καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάσσιον καὶ προσέτε καὶ στρατηγία τιμηθέντα, τῆς δὲ ἀδελφῆς ἄνδρας ὄντα, προσέλαβε. κακὸ τοῦ-

1 ἔχει μοι R. Steph., ἔχομι L. 2 δὲ Bk., τε L.

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

νοὺς ἤθροιζον. καὶ ἐγένοντο μὲν οὐκ ὅλιγοι· ἐγὼ
dὲ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὄνοματα οὐδὲν δέομαι
cαταλέγειν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ δὴ ὄχλον γένωμαι, τὸν δὲ
dὴ Τρεβόνιον τὸν τε Βρούτον τὸν Δέκιμον,¹ διὶ καὶ
Ἱούνιον Ἀλβίνον τε ἐπεκάλουν, οὐ δύναμαι

4 παραλυπεῖν. πλείστα γὰρ καὶ οὕτω εὐεργετι-

θέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ ὁ γε Δέκιμος¹ καὶ
ὑπάτος ἐστὶ δὲ δεύτερον ἔτος ἀποδεδεεγμένος καὶ τῇ
Γαλατία τῇ πλησιοχώρῳ προστεταγμένος,
ἐπεβούλευσαν αὐτῷ.

15 Καὶ ὅλιγον γε ἐφωράθησαν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ πλῆθους
tῶν συνειδότων, καὶ τοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος μήτε λόγον
tινά περὶ τοιούτων τινὸς προσδεχομένου καὶ πάνω
ἰσχυρῶς τοὺς ἐσαγγέλλωντός τι τοιοῦτότροπον

2 κολάζοντος, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ διαμέλειν. αἰδὼ τε
gὰρ αὐτὸν ² καὶ δὸς ἔχοντες, καὶ φοβοῦμενοι,
καὶ περὶ μνημεία ἔτι φρουρᾶ χρωμένου, μὴ καὶ ὑπὸ
tῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν ἀεὶ ποτὲ ὕπτων

φθαρόσι, διήγον, ὡστε καὶ κινδυνεύσαι ἐλεγχθέν-

3 τες ἀπολέσθαι. καὶ ἔπαθον ἀν τοῦτο, εἰ μὴ
συνταχύναι τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα καὶ ἀκοντεῖς ἴμαγ-
κάσθησαν. λόγον γὰρ τινὸς, εἰτ' οὐν ἄληθος
ἐέτε καὶ ψευδος, οἵτινος φίλει λογοποιεῖσθαι,
διελθόντος ὡς τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα
καλομένων διαθροούντων ὅτι ἡ Σῖβυλλα
εἰρηκυῖα εἴῃ μῆποτ' ἀν τοὺς Πάρθους ἄλλως πῶς

4 πλὴν ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἀλῶναι, καὶ μελλόντων διὰ
τοῦτο αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ταύτην τῷ Καίσαρι
dοθῆναι ἐσηγησθέαι, τοῦτο τε πιστεύσαντες

¹ Δέκιμος, Δέκιμος Leuncl., δέκιον, δέκιος L (and so in ch. 18).
² αὐτοῦ R. Steph., αὐ τοῦ L.

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

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

16 Ἑδέδοκτο δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τὴν ἐπι- χείρησιν ποιήσασθαι. τὸν τε γὰρ Καῖσαρα ἦκιστα ἐνταῦθα ὑποτοπούντα τι πείσεσθαι εὐαλωτότερον ἔσεσθαι, καὶ σφίσεω εὐπορίαν ἀσφαλῆς ἔρφῳ ἐν κιβώτίως ἀντὶ γραμματείων τινῶν ἐσκομμήθεϊτων ὑπάρξειν, τῶν τε ἄλλως οὐ δυνήσεσθαι, 2 οὖν 2 ποι καὶ ἀπόλους ὄντας, ἀμύναι προσεδόκων εἰ δ' οὖν τις καὶ τολμῆσει τούς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς γε μονομάχους, οὕς πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ Πομπηίου 3 θεάτρῳ, προφασιὸν ὡς καὶ ὀπλομαχήσοντας, προπαρα- σκευάζοντο, βοηθήσειν σφίσον ἡμιπίτου ἔκει γὰρ ποι ἐν ὑκήματι τῶν τοῦ περιστόφοι τυχείσεως ἐμελλόν. καὶ οὶ μὲν, ἐπειδὴ ἡ κυρία ἤκειν, έπε τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀμα ἔφα 4 συνελέγησαν καὶ τὸν

17 Καῖσαρα παρεκάλουν ἔκεινω δὲ προέλεγον μὲν καὶ μάντες τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν, προέλεγε δὲ καὶ ὀνείρατα. ἐν γὰρ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐν ἡ ἐσφάγη ἢ τῇ γυνῇ αὐτοῦ τῆς τε οἰκίαι σφῶν συμπεπτωκέναι καὶ τῶν ἀνδρα συντετρώθαι τε ὑπὸ τινῶν καὶ ἐς τῶν κόλπων αὐτῆς καταφυγειν ἑδοξεί, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῶν νεφῶν μετέωρος αἰώρησθαι καὶ τῆς

2 τοῦ Διὸς χειρὸς ἀπεσθαί. πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ χειμεῖα οὔτ' ὄλγα οὔτ' ἄσθενι αὐτῷ ἐγένετο· τά

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

It had been decided by them to make the attempt in the senate, for they thought that there Caesar would least expect to be harmed in any way and would thus fall an easier victim, while they would find a safe opportunity by having swords instead of documents brought into the chamber in boxes, and the rest, being unarmed, would not be able to offer any resistance. But in case any one should be so rash, they hoped at least that the gladiators, many of whom they had previously stationed in Pompey's Theatre under the pretext that they were to contend there, would come to their aid; for these were to lie in wait somewhere there in a certain room of the peristyle. So the conspirators, when the appointed day was come, gathered in the senate-house at dawn and called for Caesar. As for him, he was warned of the plot in advance by soothsayers, and was warned also by dreams. For the night before he was slain his wife dreamed that their house had fallen in ruins and that her husband had been wounded by some men and had taken refuge in her bosom; and Caesar dreamed he was raised aloft upon the clouds and grasped the hand of Jupiter. Moreover, omens not a few and not without significance.
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te ἐὰν ὅπλα τὰ Ἀρεία παρ' αὐτῷ τότε ὡς καὶ
παρὰ ἀρχιερεῖι κατὰ τι πάτριον κείμενα ψόφον
τῆς νυκτός πολὺν ἐποίησε, καὶ αἱ θύραι τοῦ
dωματίου ἐν οἷς ἐκάθευδεν αὐτόμαται ἀνεφχθησαν. 1
3 τὰ τε ἱερὰ ἐν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔθύσατο οὐδὲν αἰσιον
ὑπέφηνε, καὶ οἱ ὄρνιθες δὲ ἄν ἐμαντεύετο οὐκ
ἐπέτρεπον αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἐξελθεῖν. ἦδη δὲ
tις καὶ τὸ τοῦ δίφρον τοῦ ἐπιχρύσου ἐνθύμιον
μετὰ γε τῆς σφαγῆς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, ὅτι αὐτὸν ὁ
ὑπηρέτης βραδύνοντος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐξεκόμισεν
ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, νομίζας μηκέτ' αὐτοῦ χρείαν
ἐσεσθαι.

18 Χροικόντος δ' οὖν διὰ ταῦτα τοῦ Καίσαρος,
deisantos oi sunwomotai me anaboulhe gevomenei
(θρούς ἃρ της διήλθεν ὅτι οὐκ η ἄνεραν ἐκείνην
μενεί) τὸ τε ἐπιβουλευμά σφισι διατέσση καὶ αὐτοὶ
fωραθῶσι, πέμπουσι τὸν Βρούτων τὸν Δέκιμον,
ὅπως ὅσ καὶ πάνω φίλος αὐτῷ δοκῶν εἶναι ποίηση
2 αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι. καὶ δ' τά τε προταθέντα ὑπ'
αὐτοῦ φαυλίσας, καὶ τῆς γεροντικῆς σφόδρα ἐπι-
θύμειν ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν εἰπτῶν, ἐπεισε προελθεῖν.
καὶ τοῦτο εἰκών τις αὐτοῦ, ἢν ἐν τοῖς προθύροις
ἀνακειμένην εἰχε, κατέστησεν ἀπὸ ταυτομάτον καὶ
3 συνεθραύσθη. ἀλλ' ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸν τότε μετ-
αλλάξαι, οὐδὲν οὕτε 2 τούτου ἐφρόντισε οὕτε τινὸς
tῆς ἐπιβουλῆς οἱ μηνύοντος ἤκουσε. καὶ βιβλιον
τε παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβῶν, ἐν ὁ πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν
ἐπίθεσιν παρεσκευασμένα ἀκριβῶς ἐνεγέγραπτο,
οὐκ ἀνέγνω, νομίζας ἀλλ' τι αὐτὸ τῶν οὐκ ἐπει-
4 γόντων ἐχειν. τὸ τε σύμπαν οὕτως ἐθάρσει ὡστε

1 ἀνεφχθησαν Dind., ἀνεψχθησαν L, Xiph.
2 οὕτε Bk., οὐδὲ L.

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

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

19 Ὁς δὲ οὖν ἀφίκετό ποτε πρὸς τὸ συνέδριον, Τρεβώνιος μὲν Ἄντωνιον ἔξω που ἀποδιέτριψεν. ἐβουλεύσαντο μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τῇ Δέπεδῷ 2 ἀποκτείναντι φοβηθέντες δὲ μὴ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν ἀπολομένων διαβληθῶσιν ως καὶ ἐπὶ δυναστεία ἀλλ' οὖν ἐπὶ ἐνευθερωσεῖ τῆς πόλεως, ἤν 2 προεβάλλοντο, τὸν Καίσαρα πεφονευκότες, οὐδὲ παρείναι τὸν Ἄντωνιν τῇ σφαγῇ αὐτοῦ ἱδέλησαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ Δέπεδῳ ἐξεστράτευτο καὶ ἐν τῷ 3 προαστείῳ ἦν. ἐκεὶνος μὲν δὴ τὸν καὶ διελεύγετο· οὐ δὲ δὴ ἅλλοι τὸν Καίσαρα ἐν τούτῳ ἀδρόι περιστάντες (ἐυπρόσοδος τοις γὰρ καὶ φιλοπροσήγορος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἦν) οὐ μὲν ἐμυθολόγουν, οἱ δὲ ἰκέτευον δὴθεν αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἦκιστα τὲ ὑποτευύη. 4 ἐπεὶ τε ὁ καίρος ἐλαμβανε, προσήλθε τοὺς αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ χάριν τινὰ γιγνώσκας, καὶ τὸ ἴματον αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁμοῦ καθέλκυσε, σημεῖον τὲ 3 τοῦτο κατὰ τὸ συγκείμενον τοῖς συνωμόταις αἰρών καὶ τοῦτον προσπεσόντες αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνοι

5 πολλαχοθὲν ἀμα κατέτρωσαν αὐτὸν, ὡσθε' ὕπο τοῦ πλῆθους αὐτῶν μὴτ εἰπεῖν μήτε πρᾶξαι τι τὸν Καίσαρα δυνηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ συγκαλυφάμενον σφαγήν πολλοῖς τραύμασι. ταῦτα μὲν τάληθεσ-

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

Now when he finally reached the senate, Trebonius kept Antony employed somewhere at a distance outside. For, though they had planned to kill both him and Lepidus, they feared they might be maligned as a result of the number they destroyed, on the ground that they had slain Caesar to gain supreme power and not to set free the city, as they pretended; and therefore they did not wish Antony even to be present at the slaying. As for Lepidus, he had set out on a campaign and was in the suburbs. While Trebonius, then, talked with Antony, the rest in a body surrounded Caesar, who was as easy of access and as affable as any one could be; and some conversed with him, while others made as if to present petitions to him, so that suspicion might be as far from his mind as possible. And when the right moment came, one of them approached him, as if to express his thanks for some favour or other, and pulled his toga from his shoulder, thus giving the signal that had been agreed upon by the conspirators. Thereupon they attacked him from many sides at once and wounded him to death, so that by reason of their numbers Caesar was unable to say or do anything, but veiling his face, was slain

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τατα· ἤδη δὲ τινες καὶ ἐκεῖνο εἶπον, ὅτι πρὸς τὸν Βροῦτον ἵσχυρὸς\(^1\) πατάξαντα\(^2\) ἐφη “καὶ σύ, τέκνον;”

20 Θορύβου δ’ οὐν πολλοῦ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τε ἐνδον ὄντων καὶ τῶν\(^3\) ἐξόθεν προσεστηκότων πρὸς τε τὸ αἰφνίδιον τοῦ πάθους, καὶ ὧτι ἤγγον τούς τε σφαγέας καὶ τὸ πλήθος τὴν τε διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, γενομένῳ πάντες ὡς καὶ κινδύνευσοντες

2 ἔταρασσοντο, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε ἐς φυγήν ὄρμησαν ἢ ἐκαστος ἐδύνατο, καὶ τοὺς προστυγχάνοντάς σφισιν ἐξέπλησσον, σαφές μὲν οὐδέν λέγοντες, αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα μόνον βοώντες, “φεύγε, κλείε, κλείε.” καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ παραλαμβάνοντες παρ’ ἅλληλον ὡς ἐκαστος διεβόων,\(^4\) καὶ τὴν τε πόλιν θρήνον ἐπλήρουν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔς τε τὰ ἐργαστήρια καὶ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἐσπίπτοντες ἀπεκρύπτοντο, καίτοι τῶν σφαγέων ἐς τὴν ἄγορὰν ὅσπερ εἰχον ὀρμησάντων, καὶ τοῖς τε σχήμασιν ἐνδεικνυμένων καὶ προσεκβοῶντων μὴ φοβεῖσθαι.

3 κλείε. καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ παραλαμβάνοντες παρ’ ἅλληλον ὡς ἐκαστος διεβόων,\(^4\) καὶ τὴν τε πόλιν θρήνον ἐπλήρουν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔς τε τὰ ἐργαστήρια καὶ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἐσπίπτοντες ἀπεκρύπτοντο, καίτοι τῶν σφαγέων ἐς τὴν ἄγορὰν ὅσπερ εἰχον ὀρμησάντων, καὶ τοῖς τε σχήμασιν ἐνδεικνυμένων καὶ προσεκβοῶντων μὴ φοβεῖσθαι.

4 ἐκείνοι μὲν γὰρ τοῦτο τε ἀμα ἔλεγον καὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα συνεχῶς ἀνεκάλουν, ὅ δὲ δύμιλος οὔτ’ ἄλλως\(^5\) ἐπίστευε σφισιν ἀληθεύειν οὔτε ῥαδίως καθίστατο· όψε δ’ οὖν ποτε καὶ μόλις, ὡς οὔτε τις ἐφονεύτω οὔτε συνελαμβάνετο, θαρασσαντες

21 ἡσύχασαν. καὶ συνεκλήσων αὐτῶν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν πολλὰ μὲν κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπέρ τῆς δημοκρατίας οἱ σφαγεῖς εἶπον, θαρασσεῖν τέ σφας καὶ μηδὲν δεινὸν προσδέχεσθαι ἑκέλευν·

\(^1\) ἵσχυρός Xiph., τὸν ἵσχυρός L.
\(^2\) πατάξαντα Xiph., παταξάντα L.
\(^3\) τῶν supplied by R. Steph.
\(^4\) διεβόων R. Steph., διαβόων L.
\(^5\) οὔτ’ ἄλλως Pfugk, οὐδ’ ἄλλως L.

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with many wounds. This is the truest account, though some have added that to Brutus, when he struck him a powerful blow, he said: "Thou, too, my son?"

A great outcry naturally arose from all the rest who were inside and also from those who were standing near by outside, both at the suddenness of the calamity and because they did not know who the assassins were, their numbers, or their purpose; and all were excited, believing themselves in danger. So they not only turned to flight themselves, every man as best he could, but they also alarmed those who met them by saying nothing intelligible, but merely shouting out the words: "Run! bolt doors! bolt doors!" Then all the rest, severally taking up the cry one from another, kept shouting these words, filled the city with lamentations, and burst into the workshops and houses to hide themselves, even though the assassins hurried just as they were to the Forum, urging them both by their gestures and their shouts not to be afraid. Indeed, while they were telling them this, they kept calling for Cicero; but the crowd did not believe in any case that they were sincere, and was not easily calmed. At length, however, and with difficulty, they took courage and became quiet, as no one was killed or arrested. And when they met in the assembly, the assassins had much to say against Caesar and much in favour of democracy, and they bade the people take courage and not expect any harm. For they

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οὗτε γὰρ ἐπὶ δυναστεία οὔτ' ἐπ' ἄλλη πλεονεξία οὐδεμιὰ ἀπεκτούνεια αὐτὸν ἔφασαν, ἀλλ' ἵν' ἔλευ-θεροί τε καὶ αὐτόνομοι οὔτε ὁρθῶς πολιτεύωνται.

2 τοιαῦτα ἄττα εἰπόντες τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς κατέ-στησαν, καὶ μάλιστ' ὅτι οὐδένα ἥδικον· αὐτοὶ δὲ δὴ φοβούμενοι καὶ ὃς μὴ τις σφίσιν ἀντεπιβου-λεύσῃ, ἀνήλθον ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὡς καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς προσευξόμενοι, καὶ ἐκεῖ τὴν τε ἡμέραν καὶ

3 τὴν νυκτὰ ἐνδιέτριψαν. καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις τινές τῶν πρώτων ἀφ' ἐστέρας, τῆς μὲν ἐπιβουλῆς οὐ συμμετασχόντες, τῆς δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς δόξης, ὡς καὶ ἐπαινούμενοι σφᾶς ἐώρων, καὶ τῶν ἄθλων ἀ

4 προσεδέχουντο μεταποιησόμενοι,1 συνεγένοντο. καὶ συνέβη γε αὐτοῖς ἐς τούναντίον τὸ πράγμα δικαιο-ότατα περιστῆναι· οὗτε γὰρ ὁ ὅνομα τοῦ ἔργου ἄτε μηδὲν αὐτοῦ προσκοπούντας ἔλαβον, καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου τοῦ τοῖς δράσασιν αὐτὸ συμβάντος ὡς καὶ συνεπιβουλεύσαντες 2 σφισταὶ μετέχον.

22 Ἦδων δὲ ταύτα ὁ Δολοβέλλας οὖδ' αὐτὸς ἡξίου τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν ὑποτ. ἄρχῃ καίπερ μηδέποι προσήκουσαν ἑσθῆκες, καὶ δημηγορίας τι περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐς τὸ

2 Καπιτώλιον ἀνέβη. τούτων δὲ ἐνταῦθα ὄντων, ὁ Λέπιδος μαθὼν τὰ γεγενημένα τὴν τε ἄγοραν μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῆς νυκτὸς κατέλαβε, καὶ κατὰ τῶν σφαγέων ἅμα ἐω ἐδημηγόρει. ὁ οὖν Ἀντώνιος, καίτοι παραχρῆμα μετὰ τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος θάνατον φυγὼν καὶ τὴν τε ἐσθήτα τὴν ἀρχικὴν, ὅπως διαλάθη, ρέψας καὶ τὴν νύκτα

3 κρυφθεῖς, ὁμως ἐπειδὴ τοὺς τε σφαγέας ἐν τῷ

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

Seeing this, Dolabella likewise thought it incumbent on him not to keep quiet, but entered upon the office of consul, even though it did not yet belong to him, and after making a short speech to the people on the situation ascended to the Capitol. While affairs were in this state Lepidus, learning what had taken place, occupied the Forum by night with his soldiers and at dawn delivered a speech against the assassins. As to Antony, although he had fled immediately after Caesar's death, casting away his robe of office in order to escape notice and concealing himself through the night, yet when he ascertained that the assassins were on the Capitol
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Καπιτωλίω καὶ τὸν Δέπιδον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ὄντα ᾦσθενο, τὴν τε γερουσίαν ὡς τῇ Γῆς τέμενος ἱθροίσθε καὶ γνώμας ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων προεθέσθηκε. ¹ καὶ εἶπον ἄλλοι τε ἄλλα, ὡς ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶν ἐγίγνωσκε, καὶ ὁ Κικέρων τάδε, οἰσπερ καὶ ἐπείσθησαν:

23 "Αεὶ μὲν ἔγωγε οἷμαι χρήναι μηδὲν μήτε πρὸς ἡμέραν μήτε πρὸς φιλοτικίαν λέγειν, ἀλλὰ ὁ βέλτιστον ἐκαστὸς εἶναι νομίζει, τούτου ἀποφαίνεσθαι. δεινέν γὰρ ἐς τούς μὲν στρατηγούντας τοὺς ὑπατεύοντας πάντα ἀπὸ ὀρθῆς τῆς διανοίας ποιεῖν ἀξιώσομεν, κἂν ἂρα πὼς σφάλωσι, εὐθύνας παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς τύχης ἀπαιτήσομεν, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ βουλεύσθαι, ἐν ὧ κυριώταιτο τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν γνώμης ἐσμέν, τὰ κοινὰ συμφέροντα τῶν ἵδων ἐνεκα πλεονεξίων προηγοῦμενοι μεθα.

3 μεθα. ἀεὶ μὲν δὴ διὰ ταύτα, ὃ πατέρες, πάντα ἀπλῶς καὶ δικαίως ἴσωμαι δεῖν ἦμας συμβουλεύειν ὑμῖν, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν τοῖς παρούσι πράγμασιν, ἐν οἷς ἃν μὲν ⁴ μηδὲν ⁵ πολυπραγμονήσαντες ὁμονοίασμεν, αὐτοῖ τε σωθησάμεθα καὶ τοὺς ἀλλούς ἀπαντὰς ⁶ περιποιήσομεν, ἃν δ' ἀκριβῶς πάντα ἐξετάσαι ἐκθέλησομεν, δὲδοικα μὴ κακῶς—δυσχέρεις δ' οὖν ἄρχόμενοι τῶν λόγων εἰπεῖν βουλομαι. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ, ὅπως ἐξ ὧν χρόνος, οἱ τὰ δὴ ἔκοιτε καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἐγκρατεῖς ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἔγιγνοντο, ὡστε αὐτοὺς ὃ τι δεῖ βουλεύειν ὑμῖν ἐπιτάττειν, ἀλλ' ² ἐπιθήκης Reim., τροτῆθεικε L.

⁴ μεν added by Bk. ⁵ μηδὲν R. Steph., μηδὲ ἐν L. ⁶ ἀπαντας Rk., ἀκοντας L.
and Lepidus in the Forum, he assembled the senate in the precinct of Tellus and brought forward the business of the hour for deliberation. When some had said one thing and some another, according to what was in their thoughts, Cicero, whose advice they actually followed, spoke to this effect:

"No one ought ever, I think, to say anything either out of favour or out of spite, but every one ought to declare what he believes to be best. We demand that those serving as praetors or consuls shall do everything from upright motives, and if they make any errors, we demand an accounting from them even for their misfortune; how absurd, then, if in discussion, where we are complete masters of our own opinion, we shall sacrifice the general welfare to our private interests! For this reason, Conscript Fathers, I have always thought that we ought to advise you with sincerity and justice on all matters, but especially in the present circumstances, when, if without being over-inquisitive we come to an agreement, we shall both be preserved ourselves and enable all the rest to survive, whereas, if we wish to inquire into everything minutely, I fear that ill—but at the very opening of my remarks I do not wish to say anything that might offend. Formerly, not very long ago, those who had the arms usually also got control of the government and consequently issued orders to you as to the subjects on which you were to deliberate, instead of your
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οὐχ ὡμᾶς ὅ τι χρή πράττειν ἐκείνους προσκοπεῖν.
2 νῦν δ' ἐστὶν καίροι πάνθ' ὡς εἰπεῖν τὰ πράγματα πάρεστιν ὥστε ἐφ' ὡμῖν 1 τε αὐτὰ εἶναι καὶ ὡμᾶς 1 ἀνακείσθαι, καὶ παρ' ὡμῶν 1 ἦτοι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ μετὰ ταύτης τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἡ στάσεις καὶ πολέμους ἐμφυλίους αὕθις καὶ 3 ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ δεσπότην λαβεῖν. ὅ τι γὰρ ἂν τῆμερον ψηφίσσησθε, τοῦτο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἀκολουθήσουσι. 2 τούτων οὖν ὡς, ὡς γε ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, ἐχόντων φημὶ δεῖν ἡμᾶς τὰς μὲν πρὸς ἄλληλους ἐχθρας ὥς φιλονεικίας, ἡ ὁπως ἂν τις αὐτὰς ὁνομάσῃ, καταλύσασθαι, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὴν παλαιὰν ἐκείνην εἰρήνην καὶ 4 φιλίαν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν ἐπανελθεῖν, ἐνθυμηθέντας τούτο γε, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, ὅτι τέως μὲν ἐκείνως ἐπολτευόμεθα, καὶ χώρας καὶ πλούτους καὶ δόξαν καὶ συμμάχους ἐκτησάμεθα, ἂφ' οὐ δὲ ἐς τᾶ πρὸς ἄλληλους κακὰ προήκημεν, οὐχ ὃς ὅσον ὡς ἁμένης ἄλλα καὶ πολὺ χεῖρος ἐγενόμεθα. 5 καὶ ἔγονε τοσοῦτο 3 δέω νομίζειν 4 ἄλλο τι σώσαι ἂν ἐν 5 τῷ παρόντι τὴν πόλιν, ὡστ' ἂν μὴ τῇ μεροὶ καὶ ἤδη γε ὅτι τάχιστα προσθεῖσθαι, οὐδ' ἀναλαβεῖν δυνησόμεθα.

25 "Σκοπεῖτε δὲ ὣς ἀληθὴ λέγω, πρὸς τε τὰ παρόντα ἀπιδότες καὶ τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἀναλογισμένοι. ἦ οὐ όρατε μὲν τὰ γεγονόμενα, καὶ ὅτι διαιρεῖται τε καὶ περισσάται ὁ δήμος αὕθις, καὶ οἱ μὲν ταύτα οἱ δὲ ἐκεῖνα προαιρούμενοι δικῇ τε ἔδη

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

"That you may see, now, that I am speaking the truth, look at present conditions and then consider our position in olden times. Do you not see what is taking place—that the people are again being divided and torn asunder and that, with some choosing this side and some that, they have already fallen into two
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2 νενέμηται καὶ διχῇ στρατοπεδεύονται, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸ Καπιτώλιον προκατειλήφασιν ὃσπερ τινὰς Γαλάτας φοβούμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἁγορᾶς πολιορκεῖν αὐτοὺς παρασκεύαζονται κἀθ' ἄπερ Καρχηδόνιοι τινὲς ἀλλ' οὐ 'Ρωμαίοι καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμότε; οὐκ ἀκούετε δὲ ὃτι καὶ πρότερον πολλάκις διχογνωμονησάντων τινῶν ὡστε καὶ τὸν Ἀοιντίνον ποτὲ καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ἔστι δ' οὗς αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἑρὸν ὅρος κατασχεῖν, ὡσάκις μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ἥ γὰρ βραχὺ τι συνχωρήσαντες οἱ ἔτεροι τοὺς ἔτεροις, κατηλλάγησαν, μισοῦντες

4 τε ἀλλήλους εὐθὺς ἐπαύσαντο, καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὡμονοίᾳ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ χρόνου διήγαγον οὗτως ὡστε καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους πολέμους κοινῇ κατορθώσαν· ὡσάκις δὲ δὴ πρὸς φόνους καὶ σφαγὰς ἔχωρησαν, οἱ μὲν δικαιώσει τοῦ ἄμυνεσθαι τοὺς προὔπαρξαντας, οἱ δὲ καὶ φιλονεκία τοῦ μηδενὸς ἔλασσονθα δοκεῖν ἀπατηθέντες, οὐδὲν πῶστε χρηστὸν ἐγένετο; τί γὰρ δεῖ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἤττον ὑμᾶς εἰδότας τὸν Οὐαλέριον, τὸν Ὀράτιον, τὸν Ἐστορνύτον, τὸν Γλαυκίαν, τοὺς Γράκχους λέγοντα 1 διατρίβειν; τοιαύτ' οὖν παραδείγματα, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀλλότρια ἄλλ' οἰκεῖα ἔχοντες, μὴ μελλήσητε τὰ μὲν ζηλώσαι τὰ δὲ φυλάσσατε, ἀλλ' ἀτε ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν πείραν τῆς ἐκβάσεως ὅν βουλεύσεθε προειληφότες, μικρεῖ τοὺς ἐμοῖς λόγοις ὡς καὶ ῥήματα διασκοπεῖτε, ἀλλὰ τὰ 2 τῷ κοινῷ διαφέροντα ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἤδη οὗτα θεωρεῖτε.

5 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀσαφεὶς τῶν ἐνθυμήσει τὰφανὲς τῆς

1 λέγοντα R. Steph., λέγοντας L.
2 τὰ added by Phugk.

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

26 "Τπάρχει μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν 1 τοῦθ', ὅπερ εἶπον, οἴκοθεν καὶ παρὰ τῶν προγόνων λαβοῦσιν ὅρθως βουλεύσασθαι καὶ διὰ τούτο οὐδὲ ἐξεῖποις παραδείγμασι χρῆσθαι ἡθέλησα, μυρία ἂν εἴπειν ἔχων. ἐν δ' οὖν ὁμοι τῆς ἀριστοτελείας τῆς ἀρχαιοτάτης πόλεως, παρ' ἦς οὖν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐπάγαγον τιμαὶς νόμοις ἀπήγαγον, παρέξομαι 2 καὶ γὰρ αὐτούς ἐνεῖ ἐνοῦτον ἡμᾶς καὶ τῆς ῥώμης καὶ τῆς γνώμης τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπερέχοντας χεῖρον αὐτῶν βουλεύσασθαι. ἐκεῖνοι τούνιν (λέγω δὲ δ' πάντες ἵστε) στασιάσαντές ποτε, καὶ ἐκ τούτοις καὶ ὑπὸ 2 τῶν Ἀκαδαιμονίων καταπολεμηθέντες καὶ ὑπὸ 2 τῶν δυνατωτέρων πολιτῶν 3 τυραννισθέντες, οὐ πρότερον ἀπηλλάγησαν τῶν κακῶν πρὶν συνθέσατο καὶ διομολογήσασθαι τῶν τε συμβεβηκότων σφίσι, πόλεων ποιού δὲν ἄνωτον, ἐπιλήσεσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μήτε ἐγκαλέσειν ποτέ μήτε μυστικακήσειν 4 τινὶ. τοιγάρτῳ σωφρονισθέντες οὖτως οὖχ ὅτι τυραννοῦμενοι καὶ στασιάζοντες ἐπαύσαστο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πᾶσιν εὐθένισαν 3 καὶ τὴν τε πόλιν ἀνεκτήσατο καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῆς ἀντιπολύσαστο, καὶ τέλος κύριοι καὶ σῶσαί καὶ ἀπολέσαι καὶ τοὺς Ἀκαδαιμονίους αὐτούς καὶ 5 τοὺς Ἡθβαίους πολλάκις ἐγένοντο. καίτοι εἰ ἡθελήσαν 4 ἐκεῖνοι οἱ τὴν Φυλήν καταλαβόντες καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς κατελθόντες τιμωρήσασθαι

1 ὑμῖν R. Steph., ὑμῖν L. 2 ὑπὸ Pflugk, ἐκ L. 3 εὐθένισαν Dind., εὐθήνισαν L. 4 ἡθελήσαν St., ἡθελήσαν L.
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your hopes, doubtful at best, but will foresee with justifiable confidence the certainty of your calculations.

"It is in your power, then, if you will receive this evidence that I mentioned from your own land and your own ancestors, to decide rightly; and that is why I did not wish to cite examples from abroad, though I might have mentioned countless such. One example, however, I will offer from the best and most ancient city, from which even our fathers did not disdain to introduce certain laws; for it would be disgraceful for us, who so far surpass the Athenians in might and intelligence, to deliberate less wisely than they. Now they were once at variance among themselves, as you all know, and as a result were overcome in war by the Lacedaemonians and were subjected to a tyranny of the more powerful citizens; and they did not obtain a respite from their ills until they made a compact and agreement to forget their past injuries, though these were many and severe, and never to bring any accusation whatever or to bear any malice against any one because of them. Accordingly, when they had thus come to their senses, they not only ceased being subject to tyrannies and seditions, but flourished in every way, regaining their city, laying claim to the sovereignty of the Greeks, and finally gaining the authority, as often happened, to save or destroy the Lacedaemonians themselves and also the Thebans. And yet, if the men who seized Phyle and returned from the Peiraeus had chosen to take vengeance

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touς ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ὑπὲρ οὗ ἡδίκητο, εὐλογοῦν
μὲν ἂν πράγμα πεποιηκέναι ἐδεδοχέσαν, πολλὰ
d' ἂν καὶ ἐδεδράκεσαν κακὰ καὶ ἐπετὸνθεσαν.
6 ὥσπερ γὰρ κρείττους αὐτῶν παρὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα
ἐγένοντο, τάχ' ἂν τι καὶ ἡλαττῶθησαν αὐθὲς.
27 οὖ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις βέβαιοι οὐδὲν,
οὐδ' ἐξ ὧν ἰσχύει τις, πρὸς ἐπικράτησιν, ἀλλὰ
πάμπολλοι μὲν θαρσοῦντες ἐπταθαναν, πάμπολλοι
dὲ ζητοῦντες ἀμύνασθαι τινα προσαπώλοντο.
2 οὔτε γὰρ τὸ πλεονεκτούμενον ἐν τινὶ πάντως
eὔτυχεῖ, διότι καὶ ἀδικεῖται, οὔτε τὸ δυνάμει
προίχον πάντως κατορθοὶ, διότι καὶ προήκει,2
ἀλλ' ἀμφότερα ἀπὸ τῆς ἱσης καὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ
τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου καὶ τῷ ἀσταθμῆτῃ τῆς τύχης
ὑποκείμενα, καὶ τὴν ῥοτὴν πολλάκις οὐ πρὸς τὸ
σφέτερον εὐελπιζο ἄλλα πρὸς τὸ ἐκεῖνων ἀδόκητων
3 λαμβάνει. ὅθεν ἐκ τῶν τούτων καὶ ἐκ τῆς
φιλονεκίας (δεινὸν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος ἀδικηθεὶς
ἱ νομίσας γε ἀδικεῖσθαι ύπὲρ δύναμιν θρασύνασ-
θαι) καὶ πολλοὶ πολλάκις καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἰσχύν
ἐπαιροῦνται διακινδυνεύειν ὡς καὶ κρατῆσοντες ἢ
4 οὔτε γε καὶ ἀναιμωτῆ διολούμενοι, καὶ οὕτω 3 τὰ
μὲν νικόντες τὰ δὲ ἦττώμενοι, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν
ἀντεπικρατοῦντες ἄλλων τοτὲ δὲ ἀντελαττού-
μενοι, οἱ μὲν πασοῦδι συναπολλυνται, οἱ δὲ
tὴν τε Καδμείαν λεγομένην νίκην νικῶσιν, καὶ ἐν
τῷ χρόνῳ, ὅτ' οὔδὲν ὄφελος ἔστιν, αἰσθάνονται ὅτι
κακῶς ἐξουσίσαντο.

28 "Καὶ ὅτι ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, καὶ ἕμει ἐργῳ
μεμαθήκατε. σκοπεῖτε δὲ ἵσχυσε τινα χρόνον

1 οὕτως Plurgk, οὕτως Leuncl., πράθηκες L.
2 πράθηκε Leuncl., πράθηκες L.
3 οὕτω Bk., οὕτως L.

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

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

¹ A proverbial expression for a victory which is of doubtful advantage to the conqueror.
Εν τοῖς στασιωτικοῖς ὁ Μάριος, εἶτ' ἐκπεσὼν καὶ
dύναμιν ἀθροίσας ἵστε οἷα εἰργάσατο. ὁμοίως ὁ Ἡσύλλας, ἦνα μὴ τὸν Κίνναν μηδὲ τὸν Στράβωνα
μηδὲ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς διὰ μέσου καταλέγω,
dυνηθεὶς τὴν πρώτην, εἶτ' ἐλαττωθεὶς, ἔπειτα
dυναστεύσας οὐδέν οὗ τι οὐχὶ τῶν δεινοτάτων
ἐπραξε. τί γὰρ δεῖ τὸν Μάριον τὸν 1 δεύτερον ἢ
tὸν Κίνναν ἐκείνου αὐτὸν ἢ τὸν Κάρβωνα ὁνο-
μάζειν; 2 μετὰ ταῦτα Δέπτιδος ἱδίαν τὲ τινὰ, ὡς
dὴ καὶ τούτους ἐπεξιών, στάσιν ἡγειρε, καὶ πάσαν
ὁλώνου τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἑτάραξεν. ὡς δ' ἀπηλλάγη-
μέν ποτε καὶ τούτου, μέμισθε δὲσα αὐ καὶ οἶα
πρὸς τὸν Σερτωρίου καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων τῶν
3 μετ' αὐτοῦ φυγόντων ἐπάθομεν. τί δ' ὁ Πομπῆιος,
tί δ' ὁ Καίσαρ αὐτὸς οὕτως; ἦνα μηδὲν ἐνταῦθα
μήτε τοῦ Κατιλίνου μήτε τοῦ Κλωδίου μη-
μονεύσω. οὐ πρότερον μὲν 3 ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλως,
καὶ ταῦτα συγγενεῖς ὄντες, ἔπειτα μυρίων κακῶν
οὐ μόνον τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἢ καὶ τὴν λωτὴν
Ἰταλίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαν ὡς εἰσεῖν τὴν οἰκου-
4 μένην ἀνέπλησαν; ἀρ' οὖν μετὰ τε τὸν τοῦ
. Πομπηίου θάνατον καὶ τὸν πολὺν ἐκείνου τῶν
πολιτῶν ὀλέθρων ἰσχύς τις ἐγένετο; πόθεν;
πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. οἷδε δὲ ἡ Ἀφρική, οἷδεν ἡ
Ἰβηρία τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐκατέρωθι ἀπολομένων.
5 τί οὖν; ἐπὶ γε τούτους εἰρηνήσαμεν; καὶ πῶς;
ὀπότε κεῖται μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ Καίσαρ οὕτω σφαγεῖς,
κατέχεται δὲ τὸ Καπιτώλιον, καὶ πεπλήρωται μὲν
ἡ ἀγορὰ τῶν ὅπλων, πεπλήρωται δὲ καὶ πᾶσα

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

1 See note on Greek text.
2 At Pharsalus.
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29 ἡ πόλις τοῦ φόβου. οὖτως ἐπειδὰν ἀρξωνταὶ τινες στασιάζειν, καὶ τὰ βίαμα ἀεὶ τοὺς βιαίους ἀμύνεσθαι ξητώσει, καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας μήτε πρὸς τὸ ἐπιεικὲς μήτε πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἄλλα πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὑπλῶν ποιῶνται, κύκλος τις ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀεὶ τῶν κακῶν γίγνεται καὶ ἀνταπόδοσις ἐκ διαδοχῆς τῶν
dεινῶν συμβαίνειν. τὸ τε γὰρ εὐπρόσοψαι ὑβρεῖ τε πλεονάζει καὶ οὐδένα ὅρον τῆς πλεονεξίας ποιεῖται, καὶ τὸ πταίσαν ὄργη τῆς συμφορᾶς, ἀν γε μὴ παραχρῆμα ἀπόληται, ἀντιτιμωρήσασθαι τὸν ἄδικησαντα ἐπιθυμεῖ μέχρις ἀν τὸν θυμὸν ἐκ
πλῆσιν. καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος, καὶ μὴ συμμετάχθη τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ τότε γε τῷ τε ἐλέφω τοῦ νευκήμενον καὶ τῷ φθόνῳ τοῦ κεκρατηκότος, δεῖσάν τε ἄμα μὴ καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ἑκείνῳ πάθη, καὶ ἔλπισαν τὰ αὐτὰ τοῦτοι δράσειν,
συναίρεται. καὶ οὕτω καὶ τὰ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν στασιάζειν προάγεται, καὶ ἄλλοι τε ἐπ’ ἄλλοις
tὸ κακὸν, προφάσει τιμωρίας τῶν ἀεὶ ἐλαττομένων, ὡσπερ τι ἐνυμοῦ καὶ ἐγκύκλιον πράγμα, ἀνταμονόμενοι διαιδέχονται, καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ὡς ἔκαστοι ἀπαλλάσσουσι, τὸ δὲ δὴ κοινὸν ἔξ
ἀπαντὸς τρόπου φθείρουσιν. ἦ οὖν ὦρατε πόσον μὲν χρόνον κατατετρίμεθα πολεμοῦντες ἄλλη-
λοις, ὡσα δὲ καὶ οὐλὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πεπόνθαμεν, καὶ δ’ ἐπ’ ἐτὶ τούτου δεινότερον ἐστὶ, καὶ διδράκαμεν;
καὶ τίς ἄν ἀριθμῆσαι δύνατο τὸ πλῆθος τῶν χρημάτων ἄτοις τε συμμάχους περιδύνωσε καὶ
tοὺς θεοὺς περισυλλόγητε, καὶ προσέτει καὶ αὐτοὶ

1 καί δ’ γε ἐτὶ Bs., καί δ’ γε bk., καίτοι τί L.
2 ἀν ἀριθμῆσαι Leuncl., ἀνταριθμῆσαι L.

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with fear? In this way, when men begin sedition and seek ever to repay violence with violence and inflict vengeance without regard to decency or humanity, but according to their desires and the power that arms give them, there necessarily occurs each time a kind of cycle of ills, and alternate requitals of outrages take place. For the fortunate side abounds in insolence and sets no limit to its greed, and the defeated side, if it does not perish immediately, rages at its misfortune and is eager to take vengeance on the oppressor, until it sates its wrath. And the remaining multitude, also, even though it has not taken sides, now through pity for the vanquished and envy of the victorious side coöperates with the oppressed, fearing that it may itself suffer the same evils as the one party, and hoping also that it may cause the same evils as the other. Thus the citizens who have remained neutral are brought into the dispute, and one class after another, on the pretext of avenging the side which is for the moment at a disadvantage, takes up the sorry business of reprisals as if it were a legitimate, everyday affair; and while individually they escape, they ruin the state in every way. Or do you not see how much time we have wasted in fighting one another, how many great evils we have meanwhile endured, and, what is worse than this, inflicted? And who could count the vast amount of money of which we have stripped our allies and robbed the gods and moreover have even contributed ourselves from what
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εξ δυν οὐκ ἔχομεν συνεσφέροντες, ἐπὶ ἀλλήλων δεδαπανήμεθα; τίς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀπολωλότων, οὐχ ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων, ἐπεὶ τούτῳ γ' ἀνεξεῦρετόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν, ὧν εἶς ἔκαστος καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ἐν τοῖς ὀθνείοις πολέμους σώσαι καὶ ξὼν καὶ ἀποθανὼν ἐδύνατο; πόσοι μὲν γὰρ Κούρτιοι, πόσοι δὲ Δέκιοι Φάβιοι Γράκχοι Μάρκελλοι Σκιπίωνες τεθνήκασιν; οὐ μὰ Δὲ οὐχ ἵνα Σαννίτας ἡ Δατίνους ἡ Ἰβηρας ἡ Καρχηδονίους ἀμύνονται, ἀλλ' ἵνα ... 1 καὶ αὐτοὶ προσαπόλων-καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς τετελευτηκότων, εἴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἐκείνων ὁδύρατο ἂν τις, ἀλλ' ἦττον γε ἄξιόν ἐστιν ὀλοφύρασθαι· ἔστε γὰρ τάς μάχας ἐθέλονταί, εἰγε ἐθέλοντας τοὺς ἀναγκασθέντας φὸβῳ καλεῖν δεῖ, ἢλθον, καὶ βάναυτον εἴ καὶ ἄδικον ἀλλὰ ἄνδρεῖον γε ὑπέμειναν, ἐν τῇ ἀγώνι ἰσοπαλεί καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι τοῦ καὶ περιγενέσθαι καὶ κρατῆσαι ἐπεσον 2 ἄναισθητος. τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῇ ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς τῇ τῇ ἄγορᾷ τῷ τῇ βουλευτηρίῳ αὐτῷ τῷ τῇ Καπιτωλίῳ αὐτῷ βιωός, οὐχ ὅτες ἄνδρας ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκας, οὐχ ὅτες ἄκμαξες ἀλλὰ καὶ γέροντας καὶ παῖδας, οἰκτρῶς ἐξολοκλῆσας πῶς ἂν τις κατ' ἄξιαν θηρησει; καὶ τάτα μέντοι τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα 3 ολα καὶ ὅσα οὔτ' αὐτοὶ ποτε πρὸς πάντων ἀμα τῶν πολε-μίων ἑπάθομεν οὔτε ἑκέινους ἑδράσαμεν, διαπεράτες ἀλλήλους οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἄχθομεθα, οὔδ' 4 ἀπαλ-λαχήναι ποτε αὐτῶν ἀνδρικὸς ἐθέλομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαῖρομεν καὶ ἐορτάζομεν καὶ ἐνεργέτας τοὺς ποι- 1 Lacuna recognized by Reim. 2 ἐπεσον Odley, ἐπαίων L. 3 καὶ τοσαῦτα supplied by Bk. 4 οὔδ' Rk., οὔτ' L.
we did not possess, only to expend it against one another? Or who could number the multitude of men who have been lost, not only of ordinary persons (for that is beyond computation) but of knights and senators, each one of whom was able in foreign wars to preserve the whole city by his life or by his death? How many Curtii, how many Decii, Fabii, Gracchi, Marcelli, and Scipios have been killed? And not, by Jupiter, to repel Samnites or Latins or Spaniards or Carthaginians, but [to kill citizens(?)] and to perish also themselves. As for those who have died under arms, no matter how much we may mourn their loss, yet there is less reason to lament in their case. For they entered their battles as volunteers (if it is proper to call by the name of volunteers men compelled by fear), and they met a death which, even if uncalled for, was at least a brave one; in an equal struggle and in the hope that they might really survive and conquer they fell without suffering. But how can one mourn as they deserve those who have perished miserably in their homes, in the streets, in the Forum, in the very senate-chamber, on the very Capitol, all by violence—not only men, but women, too, not only those in their prime, but also old men and children? And yet, while subjecting one another to so many and so terrible reprisals as all our enemies put together never inflicted upon us nor we upon them, so far from loathing such acts and manfully wishing to have done with them, we even rejoice and hold festivals

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8 οὕτως αὐτά ὁνομάζομεν· καὶ τοιῷ έγιγγέ οὐδ’ ἀν-
θρώπινον τίνα βλέν ήγούμαι τοῦ τον ἡμᾶς βεβιωκέ-
ναι, ἀλλὰ τινῶν θηρίων, ἃ δὲ ἀλλήλων φθείρεται.
31 "Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἣδη συμβεβηκότα τί ἀν ἐπὶ πλέον
ὁδυραίμεθα; οὐ γὰρ ποι καὶ ἀγένητα ἃν' αὐτὰ
ποιησάμεθα· τῶν δὲ δὴ μελλόντων προϊδώμεθα·
2 διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ ἐκείνων ἐμνημόνευσα, οὐχ ἦν
τὰς κοινὰς συμφοράς, ἃς γε μηδὲ γενέσθαι ὅφελε,
καταλέξω, ἀλλ’ ἵν’ ὑμᾶς ἔξι αὐτῶν ἀναπείσω τὰ
γοῦν λοιπὰ διασώσαι· τοῦτο γὰρ ἂν τις μοῦ
τῶν κακῶν ἀπὸνειτο, τὸ μηδὲν αὐθίς ἀμοίων σφικτ
3 παθεῖν φυλάξασθαι. ἔξεστὶ δὲ τοῦθ’ υμῖν ἐν τῷ
παρόντι μάλιστα ποιῆσαι, ἐως ἐτὶ τὸ δεῖν ἄρχεσαι
καὶ οὗτοι πολλοὶ πως ἑπενεκτάκασιν, οἳ
τε κεκινημένοι οὗτε πεπλευκτήκασιν ἀπ’ ἀλλή-
λων οὗτ’ ἡλάττωνται, ὡς τ’ ἔλπιδι τοῦ κρείτ-
τονος ἢ ὑργῇ τοῦ καταδεστέρου καὶ παρὰ τὸ
συμφέρον σφίσιν ἀπερισκέπτως κινδυνεύσαι προ-
4 ἀχθῆναι. καὶ τοῦτο μέντοι τηλικοῦτο ἄν κατ-
ορθώσετε μήτε πόνον τίνα ποιῆσαντες μήτε κιν-
δυνεύσαντες, μή χρήματα ἀναλώσαντες, μή σφαγὰς
ποιῆσαντες, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ψηφισάμενοι,
32 μή μησικακεῖν ἄλληλοις. εἰ γὰρ τοὶ τίνα καὶ
ἤμαρτητα τις, ἀλλ’ οὗτε γε καιρὸς ἐστιν οὗτε
πολυπραγμόνησι πολὺ οὗτε ἐξελέγξη οὗτε
τιμωρήσασθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ δικάζετε τις ἐν τῷ
παρόντι, ὡς τὸ πάν ἀκρίβεσ ἔδικων ζητήθηναι
dein, ἀλλὰ βουλευέσθη περὶ τῶν ἐνεστηκότων,

1 ἃν supplied by St.
3 πω Pflugk, τού L.
5 ἃ supplied by Reim.
7 ἐν Leuncl., ἃν ἐν L.
3 ἃν τις supplied by Xyl.
4 ὡς ἢ Rk., ὡς τῆς L.
6 ἃν supplied by Pflugk.
8 ὡς τὸ Xyl., ὡς τοῦ L.

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and term those who are guilty of them benefactors. Verily, I do not regard this life that we have been leading as human; it is rather that of wild beasts which are destroyed by one another.

"Yet why should we lament further what is already past? We cannot now prevent its having happened. Let us rather provide for the future. This, indeed, is the reason why I have been recalling former events, not for the purpose of giving a list of our public calamities (would to Heaven they had never occurred!) but that by means of them I might persuade you to save at least what is left. For this is the only benefit one can derive from evils, to guard against having ever again to suffer their like. And this is within your power especially at the present moment, while the danger is just beginning, while not many have yet united, and while those who have been stirred to action have gained no advantage over one another nor suffered any set-back, that they should be led by hope of their superiority or anger at their inferiority to incur danger heedlessly and contrary to their own interests. Great as this task is, however, you will deal with it successfully without incurring any hardship or danger, without spending money or causing bloodshed, but simply by voting this one thing, to bear no malice against one another. Even if mistakes have been made by certain persons, this is no time to enquire minutely into them, to convict, or to punish. For you are not at the present moment sitting in judgment upon any one, that you should need to search out with absolute accuracy what is just, but you are deliberating about the situation that has arisen and

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2 ὅπως ὃς ἀσφαλέστατα καταστῇ. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἂν ὑπάρξειν ἦμιν, εἰ μὴ τι παρίδομεν, ώσπερ ποιν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν παίδων ποιεῖν εἰώθαμεν. οὖτε γὰρ πάντα ἀκριβῶς ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ἔκλογιζόμεθα, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ παραρώμεν ἀναγκαῖος: τῶν γὰρ μετρῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἔνεκα οὐδὲν’1 ἀνηκέστως δεῖ

3 κολάξειν, ἀλλὰ πράως σωφρονίζειν. καὶ νῦν οὖν, ἀτε καὶ κοινῷ παντὸς τοῦ δήμου πατέρες οὐ μόνον ὄνομαξόμενοι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀληθῶς οὖντες, μὴ καὶ πάντα ἀκριβολογώμεθα, ἵνα μὴ καὶ πάντες ἀπολώμεθα, ἐπεὶ τοῖς πολλά μὲν ἂν τις καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Καίσαρι ἔγκαλεσειν, ὡστε καὶ δικαίως αὐτὸν πεφονεύσθαι δοξά, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀποκτειναντις αὐτὸν αἰτιάσαιτο, ὡστε καὶ τιμωρίας αὐτοὺς ἀξίους εἶναι νομοθήναι. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἔργον ἔστι στασίάσαι αὕτης ἐπιθυμοῦντων· δεὶ δὲ τοὺς ὀρθῶς βουλευομένους μὴ τὸ πάντη δίκαιον ἐξακριβοῦντας βλάπτεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ

5 ἐπιεικεῖ προσχρωμένους σώζεσθαι. ὡστε τὰ μὲν γεγενημένα ταῦτα χαλάζεις τὲ τινος καὶ κατακλυσμὸν τρόπον συμβεβηκέναι νομίσαντες λήθη παράδοτε γνωρίσαντες δὲ νῦν γε ἀλλήλους; ἀτε καὶ ὀμόφυλοι καὶ πολίται συγγενεῖς τε οὖντες, ὀμονόμαστε.

33 "Καὶ ὅπως γε μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ὑποτευνη σε με χαρισσάθαι τι τοῖς τῶν Καίσαρα ἀποκτείνασιν, ἵνα μὴ δίκην δώσων, ὅτι ποτὲ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Πομπηίου μερίδι 2 ἐγενόμην, βούλεσθαι,2 ἐν τὶς οὕν ἑρώ. καὶ γὰρ τοι καὶ νομίζω πάντας ὑμᾶς πεπείθαπα σαφῶς ὅτι οὔτε φιλίαν οὔτε ἔχθραν πρὸς οὐδένα πῶποτε δ’ ἐμαντον ἀνείλομην, ἀλλ’ ἀεὶ πάντας ὑμῶν ἔνεκα

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

"In order, now, that none of you may suspect me of wishing to grant any indulgence to Caesar's slayers to prevent their paying the penalty, in view of the fact that I was once a member of Pompey's party, I will make one statement to you. For I think that all of you are firmly convinced that I have never adopted an attitude of friendship or hostility toward any one for purely personal
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καὶ τῆς κοινῆς καὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ ὀμονοίας τοῦς μὲν ἐμίσῃσα τοὺς δὲ ἡγάπησα. δι' οὐν τότῳ τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ εάσω, βραχὺ δὲ τι ύμῖν μόνον φράσω.
3 τοσοῦτον γὰρ δέω τούτο ποιεῖν καὶ μὴ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας προσκοπεῖν, ὡστε καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις οὐχ ὅτι τὴν ἄδειαν ἀπάντων δὴ ἐπιπολάζαντες ἐπὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔξω τοῦ καθεστηκότος ἐποίησαν δοθήναι φημὶ χρὴναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς, ὡς ἄλλον παρ' αὐτοῦ, καίπερ οὐκ ἄρεσκόμενος τισιν αὐτῶν, φυλαχθῆναι.
4 πρᾶξαι μὲν γὰρ ἐτι καὶ προχειρίσασθαι τι τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἂν ύμῖν συμβουλεύσαιμι· ἔπειδὴ δὲ γέγονεν, οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι οὐμᾶς δείν ύμᾶς πολυπραγμονῆσαι. τι γὰρ ἂν καὶ ξημιῳθείης τοσοῦτον, ἀντι 3 ο δείνα ή ο δείνα ἔξω τοῦ δικαιοῦ καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἄξιαν λαβῶν ἔχῃ, δόσων ὠφελθείης μὴτε φόβον μήτε παραχάν τοῖς γε δυνηθεὶς τότε παρασχόντες;
5 "Ταύτα μὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πρὸς τὸ κατεπείγον ἡδή λέγω· ἐπείδαν δὲ καταστῇ τὰ πράγματα, τότε καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν σκεψόμεθα."

34 Κικέρων μὲν τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν ἔπεισε τὴν γεροουσίαν μηδένα μηδὲνι μηοισικήσακης ψηφίσασθαι· ἐν φ' δε ταύτ' ἐγίνετο, καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς ὑπὲσχοντο τοῖς στρατιώταις μηδὲν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος 2 πραχθέντων καταλύσεις. ἔπειδὴ γὰρ δεινός αὐτῶν ἀγανακτούντας ἦσθοντο μὴ καὶ τῶν δοθέντων σφίςιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ στερηθῶσιν, ἔσπευσαν, πρὶν καὶ ὀτιοῦν τὴν βουλὴν διαγνώσαι, προκατα-

1 τότῳ Bk., ταύτα L.
2 ἐτι Bk., τι L.
3 τι supplied by Bk.

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

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

Cicero by the foregoing speech persuaded the senate to vote that no one should bear malice against any one else. While this was being done, the assassins also promised the soldiers that they would not undo any of Caesar's acts. For as soon as they perceived that the troops were very ill at ease for fear that they would be deprived of what he had given them, they made haste, before the senate reached any decision whatever, to get them on their
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λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς, κὰκ τούτου τοὺς τε παρόντας αὐτοὺς κάτω προκαλοῦντες ἐστιν ἐπήκουν διελέγοντο
3 σφιεῖ τὰ προσήκοντα, καὶ ἐστὶν ἀγοραὶ ὑγαίματα καταπέμποντες ἐπηγγέλλοντο μὴν ἀφαιρήσεσθαι μὴν ἀλλὰς λυπήσειν, τὸ τε κύρος σύμπασι τοῖς πραξθεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκβεβαιών ἐστὶν τὴν ὁμόνοιαν αὐτοὺς προετρέποντο, ὑπὸ τοὺς μεγίστους ἦ μὴν ἄρεν- 4 δήσει τῶν πάντων πιστοῦμεν. ὡς ὅπως καὶ τα τῇ θυσιᾷ δόθαι διηγεὶται, οὕτως ὁ στρατηγός τῷ Δεπίδῳ ἐτε προσῆκον οὕτω ἐκεῖνοι δέος τι αὐτοῦ ἔσχον, ἀλλ' ἐστὶ δυσαλλαγάς, τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τὰ μάλιστα ἐνάγοντος σφαῖ, καὶ παρὰ τὴν γινώμην 5 αὐτοῦ ὁμολογεῖ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Δεπίδος προσχήμα τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος τιμωρίαν ποιοῦμενος νεωτέρων πραγμάτων ἐπεθύμει, καὶ ἀτέ καὶ στρατεύματα ἔχον τὴν τὰ δυσαλλαγάς αὐτοῦ διαδέξεσθαι καὶ ἐν κράτει γενήσεσθαι προσεδόκα, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα 6 ἐπολεμοποιεῖ. οὗτος τά τέκνα τοιαῦτα ὅρων ὅντα, καὶ αὐτούς μηδεμίας ἴσχυν περιβεβλημένοι, οὕτως ἐπολεμήσετο τότε γε νεοχώμασι, καὶ τὸν Δεπίδον ἄντι τοῦ πλείστου, ὅπως μὴ μείζον χων ἔσχον, προσανέπεισεν. συνεβήσαν μὲν οὖν ἐφ' ὀστὴρ ἐπήριον, οὐ μένοι καὶ πρότερον οἱ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ὄντες κατέβησαν πρὸ τῶν τοῦ τοῦ Δεπίδου καὶ τοῦ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου παιδα ἐν διηρων λόγῳ λαβεῖν. καὶ Βρούτους μὲν πρὸς τῶν 7 Δεπίδου (καὶ γὰρ ἐν γένει αὐτῷ ἦν), Κάσσιος δὲ

1 μὴν Pflugk, μην L.
2 ἀφαιρήσεσθαι Pflugk, ἀφαιρεθήσεσθαι L.
3 σύμπασι Xyl., σύν πάσι L.
4 προετρέποντο H. Steph., προετράποντο L.
5 διαδέξεσθαι R. Steph., διαδεξάσθαι L.
side. Next they invited those who were present at
the foot of the Capitol to come within hearing dis-
tance and addressed suitable words to them; and
they also sent down a letter to the Forum announcing
that they would not confiscate anybody's goods
or cause injury in other ways, and that they con-
firmed the validity of all the acts of Caesar. They
also urged them to harmony, binding themselves by
the strongest oaths that they would faithfully carry
out these promises. When, therefore, the action of
the senate also was made known, the soldiers no
longer paid heed to Lepidus nor did the conspirators
have any fear of him, but all hastened to become
reconciled, chiefly at the instance of Antony, and
quite contrary to Lepidus' purpose. For Lepidus,
while making a pretence of avenging Caesar, was
really eager for a revolution, and inasmuch as he had
legions also at his command, he expected to succeed
to Caesar's position as ruler and to come to power;
with these motives he was disposed to begin war.
Antony, perceiving his rival's favourable situation
and having himself no force at his back, did not dare
to begin any revolutionary movement for the time
being, and in order to prevent the other from be-
coming stronger, he furthermore persuaded him to
bow to the will of the majority. So they came to an
agreement on the terms that had been voted, but
those on the Capitol would not come down till they
had secured the son of Lepidus and the son of
Antony as hostages; then Brutus [descended] to
Lepidus, to whom he was related, and Cassius to

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πρὸς τὸν 'Αντώνιον ἐπ’ ἀσφαλεία . . . . . . 1 συν- δειπνοῦντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἄλλα τε, ὡσπερ εἰκός ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ, πολλὰ ἐλέγετο, καὶ ἐπήρετο τὸν Κάσι- σιον ὁ Ἀντώνιος "ἀρά γε καὶ νῦν ξιφιδίων τι ὑπὸ μάλης 2 ἔχεις;" καὶ ὥς "μάλα" ἐφὶ "μέγα, ἂν γε καὶ σὺ τυραννίσῃς ἐπιθυμήσῃς."

35 Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦθ οὕτως ἐπράχθη, καὶ δεινὸν οὖν ἐν εἶ τε ἐγίγνετο οὕτε ἡπλίξετο, ἀλλ' οὐ τε πολλοὶ ἐχαίροιν τῆς 3 δυναστείας τοῦ Κάσιαρος ἀπηλλαγμένου (καὶ τινες καὶ ἀταφόν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ῥέσαι ἐνενόουν), καὶ ἐκεῖνοι εὐθυμοῦντο μήτε προσπεριεραχόμενοι τι καὶ ἐκεῖνη τωσταὶ τυραννοφόροι τε ὅνωμαζόμενοι. τῆς δὲ διαθήκης αὐτοῦ μετὰ ταύτα ἀναγνωσθέντι, μαθὼν οὖ δήμος ὅτι τὸν τε Ὅκταουνον νῦν πεποίηται, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον τὸν τε Δέκιον καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους τῶν σφαγέων ἐπιτρόπους τε αὐτοῦ καὶ κληρονόμους τῆς οὐσίας, ἂν γε μὴ ἐσπευσίν έλθη, 4 καταλέλοιπε, καὶ προσέτε καὶ δωρεάς ἄλλως τε τινὰς καὶ τῇ πόλει τοῦς τε κήπους τοὺς παρὰ τὸν Τίβεριν καὶ δραχμὰς, ὡς μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ Ὅκταουνος γράφει, τριάκοντα, ὥς δὲ ἔτεροι, πέντε καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα ἐκάστῳ σφῶν δοθῆναι κεκέλευκεν, ἐταράχθησαν. 3 καὶ αὐτοῦς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπιπαρόζυνε, τὸν τε νεκρὸν ὡς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀνοικτήτατα 5 κομίσας, καὶ προθέ- μενος ἡματομένου τε, ὡσπερ εἶχε, καὶ τραύματα ἐκφαίνοντα, καὶ τινὰ καὶ λόγον ἐπ' αὐτῶ, ἄλλως μὲν 6 περικαλλὴ καὶ λαμπρόν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ

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

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

36 Ἔι μὲν οὗτος ἰδιωτεύς ἐτεθνήκει κἀγὼ ἐν ἰδιωτείᾳ ὃν ἐτύγχανον, οὔτ᾽ ἀν πολλῶν, ὅ Κυρίται, λόγων ἐδεήθην, οὔτ᾽ ἀν πάσιν τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πεπραγμένοις ἐπεξήλθον, ἀλλ᾽ ὅλγα ἀν περὶ τε τοῦ γένους καὶ περὶ τῆς παιδείας τῶν τε τρόπων αὐτοῦ εἰπὼν, καὶ πη καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν αὐτῷ πεπολιτευμένων μνησθείς, ἤρκεσθην, ἵνα μὴ καὶ δὴ ὄχλου τοῖς οὕτωι οἱ προσήκουσι γένομαι.

ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὗτος τῇ τήν μεγίστην ἐν ύμῖν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχων ἀπόλαλε καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν δευτέραν ἀρχὴν λαβών, τὸν τὸ λόγον ἀνάγκη μοι διπλοῦν, τὸν μὲν ὡς κληρονόμῳ γεγραμμένῳ τὸν δὲ ὡς ἀρχοντι, ποιήσασθαι, καὶ μηδ᾽ ὅτι τῶν λεχθῆναι ὀφειλόντων παραλπεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἄπερ ἀν᾽ ὁ σύμπας δήμος ἀπὸ μᾶς γλώσσῃς, εἰγέ μίαν.

ἀφνὴν ἡδυνήθη λαβεῖν, ἀμνησθεῖν, εἰπεῖν. εὐ μὲν γὰρ οἶδα τοῦθ᾽, ὅτι χαλεπῶν ἐστὶ τῆς διανοίας ύμῶν τυχεῖν. ἀλλὰς τε γὰρ οὐ βάδιον τῶν τηλικούτων ἐφικέσθαι τίς γὰρ ἂν λόγος ἔργοις μεγάλους ἔξισσώθει; καὶ ὅμεις τὰ βουλήματα ἀπληστα ἐξ ὧν σύμπες ἔχοντες οὐκ εὐχερεῖς

αὐτῶν κρυταί γενήσεσθε. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἀγνωσί τισιν οἱ λόγοι εὐγγυνοτο, βᾶστον ἂν ἂν αὐτοὺς τῷ γε μεγεθεὶ τῶν ἔργων ἐκπλήξαντα πεῖσαι νῦν ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ συνήθους ἐλαττοῦν ἀνάγκη ἐστὶν πάν τὸ λεχθῆμενον τοῦ πεπραγμένου νομισθῆναι.

οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀλλότριοι, κἀν ἀπιστήσωσιν αὐτοῖς διὰ φθόνου, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γε ἐκείνου πάν τὸ

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1 ἐκ Rk., τε LM.
2 ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ R. Steph., ἀναγκασθεί L.M.
ornate and brilliant, to be sure, but out of place on that occasion. He spoke somewhat as follows:

"If this man had died as a private citizen, Quirites, and I had happened to be in private life, I should not have required many words nor have rehearsed all his achievements, but after making a few remarks about his family, his education, and his character, and perhaps mentioning his services to the state, I should have been satisfied, desiring only not to become wearisome to those who were unrelated to him. But since this man when he perished held the highest position among you and I have received and hold the second, it is requisite that I should deliver a two-fold address, one as the man set down as his heir and the other in my capacity as magistrate, and I must not omit anything that ought to be spoken, but must mention the things which the whole people would have celebrated with one tongue if they could speak with one voice. Now I am well aware that it is difficult successfully to utter your thoughts; for it is no easy task in any case to measure up to so great a theme—indeed, what speech could equal the greatness of his deeds?—and you, whose wishes are not easily satisfied because you know the facts as well as I, will prove no lenient judges of my efforts. To be sure, if my words were being addressed to men ignorant of the subject, it would be very easy to win their approval by astounding them by the very magnitude of his achievements; but as the matter stands, because of your familiarity with them it is inevitable that everything that shall be said will be thought less than the reality. Strangers, even if through jealousy they doubt the deeds, yet for that very reason deem each
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ἀκουσθὲν αὐτάρκες ἤγονται· τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον ἀκόρεστον ὑπὸ τῆς εὐνοίας ἐξ ἀνάγκης γίγνεται. τῶν ἡγὼ ἀρετῶν τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτοὶ πλεῖστον ἀπολελαυκότες καὶ τὸν ἑπαίνον αὐτῶν οὐ φθονερῶς, ὥς οὐδὲν προσήκουτα, ἀλλ’ εὐμενώς, 6 ὡς οἶκεῖον, ἀπαίτετε. σπουδάσω δ’ οὖν ἐπὶ μακρότατον τὰς βουλήσεις ὑμῶν ἀποπληρώσαι, εἰδώς ὅτι οὐ πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν μοι τῶν λόγων καὶ τὴν προάρεσιν ἔξετάσετε, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς προθυμίας καὶ τὸ κατ’ ἐκείνην ἐνδεές ἀνισόσετε.¹

37 "Δέξω. δὲ περὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ πρῶτον, οὐχ ὅτι λαμπρότατον ἔστι· καίτοι καὶ τούτο οὐ σμικρόν ἐστὶ ἀρετῆς φύσιν φέρει, τὸ μήτε ἀπὸ ταύτομάτου τινὰ ἀλλ’ ἐκ παρασκευῆς συγγενοῦσ’

2 ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι. οἱ μὲν ἡγὼ οὐκ ἐξ εὐγενῶν φύντες δύναντο μὲν ἀν καὶ προσποιητῶς ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι, δύναντο δ’ ἀν καὶ ἐλεγχθῆναι ποτέ ἐστι τὸ κακογενὲς ὑπὸ τοῦ συμφύτου ὅσοι δὲ ἀνωθὲν ἐκ πολλοῦ σπέρμα ἀνδραγαθίας ὑπάρχει, πάσα αὐτῶς ἀνάγκη καὶ αὐτόφυτον καὶ

3 διαρκῆ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχειν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ἔγενε οὐ τούτῳ μάλιστα νῦν ἑπαίνῳ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅτι τὰ μὲν νεώτατα ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ γενναίων ἀνδρῶν ἐφι, τὰ δὲ ἀρχαίοτα ἐκ βασιλέων καὶ θεῶν ἐγένετο, ἀλλ’ ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν ὄλης συγγενής ἐστιν (ἐκ ἡγὼ δὲν οὕτως ἐγεννήθη, πρὸς

4 τούτων ἡμεῖς ψκίσθημεν), ἐπειδ’ ὅτι τῶν προπατόρων αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ τὸ θείου δι’ ἀρετὴν ἀνήκειν νομισθέντων οὐχ ὅπως ἐπηλήθευε τὴν

370 ¹ ἀνισώσετε Dind., ἀνασώσετε LM.
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statement they hear strong enough; but your minds, because of your good-will, must inevitably prove impossible to satisfy. For you yourselves have profited most by Caesar's virtues, and you demand their praises, not half-heartedly, as if he were unrelated to you, but with deep affection as for your own kinsman. I shall strive, therefore, to meet your wishes to the fullest extent, and I feel sure that you will not judge my good-will by the feebleness of my words, but will supply from my zeal whatever is lacking in that respect.

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

5 θεοὶς μὲν γὰρ ἥδη τινὲς οὐκ ἄξιοι παῖδες ἐπεφημίσθησαν· τοῦτον δὲ οὖδ' ἂν εἰς ἀπαξιώσεις θεοὺς τοὺς προγόνους γεγονέναι. ἐβασίλευσε μὲν γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Αἰνείας καὶ τῶν ἑγγόνων αὐτοῦ τινες· τοσοῦτο δὲ οὕτως ἀμείνων ἐκείνων ἐγένετο διὸ αὐτοὶ δὲ Λαοονινὸν 2 καὶ Ἀλβης ἐμονάρχησαν, οὕτως δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης οὐκ ἠθέλησε βασίλευσαι, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν κρητιδὰ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν προκατεβάλοντο, οὕτως δὲ ἐσ τοσοῦτον αὐτὴν ἐπῆρεν ὡστε τά τε ἀλλα καὶ ἀποκίμας μείζους ὃν ἐκείνων πόλεων ἐβασίλευσαν καταστήσατο.

38 "Τὰ μὲν οὐν τοῦ γένους οὕτως αὐτῷ ἔχει· ὅτι δὲ δὴ τὴν τε τροφὴν καί τὴν παιδείαν ἀκόλουθον τῷ τῆς εὐγενείας ὑγικῷ ἑλαβε, πῶς ἂν τὸς μᾶλλον κατανοήσειεν ἡ οἷς τὰ ἔργα πίστιν ἀναγκαίοιν

2 αὐτῷ παρέχεται; φὶ γὰρ τὸ τε σῶμα διαρκέστατον καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ πολυαρκεστάτη πρὸς πάθος ὀμοίως καὶ τα εἰρήναι καὶ τὰ πόλειμα διαφανῶς 3 ὑπῆρξε, πῶς οὐκ ἀνάγκη τούτον καὶ τεθράφθαι 4 ἀριστα; καίτοι χαλεπὸν μὲν περικαλλέστατον τινα ἀνδρῶν. ὡστα καρτερικώτατον γενέσθαι,

3 χαλεπὸν δὲ ἱσχυριζόμενον τινα 5 τῷ σῶματι φρονιμότατον ἐκβιβαίνει, παγχάλεπον δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις διαπρέπει. οὕτως ὅτε μὴν — λέγω δὲ ἐν εἰδόσιν, ὡστε μήτε

1 ἠμφοβήτηε B., ἠμφισβήτηε LM.
2 Λαοονινὸ Bk., λαοονινὸ LM. 3 διαφανῶς Reim., διαφανὲς LM.
4 τεθράφθαι St., τεθράφθαι LM.
5 τινα Rk., τι LM. 6 γε R. Steph., τε LM.
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actually enhanced it; so that if anyone was inclined formerly to argue that Aeneas could never have been born of Venus, let him now believe it. For, although in times past some unworthy sons have been imputed to the gods, yet no one could deem this man unworthy to have had gods for his ancestors. Indeed, Aeneas himself ruled as king and so did some of his descendants; but this man proved himself so much superior to them that, whereas they were monarchs of Lavinium and Alba, he refused to become king of Rome; and whereas they laid the foundation of our city, he raised it to such a height that he even established colonies greater than the cities over which they ruled.

“So much, then, for his family. That he also received a nurture and a training corresponding to the dignity of his noble birth how could one better realize than by the cogent proof his deeds afford? For is it not inevitable that a man who possessed to a conspicuous degree a body that was altogether adequate and a spirit that was more than adequate for all contingencies alike of peace and of war, must have been reared in the best possible way? And yet it is difficult for any man of surpassing beauty to show the greatest endurance, and difficult for one who is powerful in body to attain to the greatest wisdom, but it is particularly difficult for one and the same man to shine both in words and in deeds. Yet this man—I speak among those who know the
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ti òrchyn òseùsasthai, kai yaw òn autòforos áliskoimyn, hínè étì to òmerizòn ógkòswai, kai yaw òn 1 ès toûnàntion ouv bouloimai 2 kathistaimyn.

4 autòs te yaw álazòneùsesthai dikaiòtata, òn gè te toûnto 3 poimèw, òpoteuynòmòmai, kai tìn toûntòn árèthìn elásw toû òparkhousis autò paraph òmìn dògêsis fainèsthai poimèn tôn òmeisòymòmai. Tìs yaw lógos en tì tòwde legòmènou, kànv to braxhýntaton òseùdous 4 proslabhè, ouc òson ouc èpaimon autò fèrei, ìlla kai òlegghìn autòu

5 èxei: tìn yap suneidòs tôn ákroswénw, ouc ómorologów toû pteleiasménoû, pròs te tìn òlòtheiañ fèretai, kai táma arkesthèn autò òmànthai te òma otopòn tina èxrhèn eînai, kai paraðallòn èkâtera kataforà tò leîpòn. Allèthein ouc légo tòû 5, òti ò Kaîsar ouûs tò te òswma òma ikanòtaton

6 kai tìn òseùhèn evkóllovàtaton ògenèto. Tì te yaw tìn òseùhèn fúseos òstochiða vàymasêtì ekêrwróto, kai pайдéia panteodàpì ákribòs òskhtò, kai dia toûnto ouc àpèikóstos kai mîwnai pàv to deîn òxúttata kai èrmhneùsai pethanòttata diathèsthai te kai dioukipè-

sai froumòttata àei òdhnìhè, kai ouè tìs autòv kainòrho òpisth àphydìois òi prospèсовûsa prokatełabew, ouî' ápòrrhòntos méllhèsis òrôv-7 sàsa diélabè.5 pànta yaw àei prèn èpaptè-

thèn 6 kai prodieugwòske, kai pròs pànta tìa sùmbhèn tìn 7 dýnàmena proparèskewàstò: tò

1 òn supplied by Pflugk.
2 bouloimai V, bouleómai L.M.
3 toûnto R. Stepl., toûnto L.M.
4 tò braxhýntaton òseùdous Bk., tò braxhì tò òseùdous L.M.
5 dièlabè Rk., dièlabèto L.M cod. Peir.
6 èpaptèthanì Rk., èpaptèthanì L.
7 tìn L (and M by cor.), tì cod. Peir. (and M originally).

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facts, so that I shall not falsify in the least degree, since I should be caught in the very act, nor heap up exaggerated praises, since then I should accomplish the opposite of what I wish. For if I do anything of that sort, I shall be suspected with full justice of boasting, and it will be thought that I am making his virtue appear less than the belief in it which is already in your own minds. In fact, every utterance delivered under such conditions, in case it contains even the smallest amount of falsehood, not only bestows no praise upon its subject but actually involves censure of him; for the knowledge of the hearers, not agreeing with the fictitious report, takes refuge in the truth, where it quickly finds satisfaction, and not only learns what kind of man he ought to have been, but also, by comparing the two, detects what he lacked. Stating only the truth, therefore, I affirm that this Caesar was at the same time most capable in body and most versatile in spirit. For he enjoyed a wonderful natural force and had been carefully trained by the most liberal education, which always enabled him, not unnaturally, to comprehend everything that was needful with the greatest keenness, to interpret the need most convincingly, and then to arrange and handle the matter most prudently. No critical turn in a situation came upon him so suddenly as to catch him off his guard, nor did a secret menace, no matter how long the postponement, escape his notice. For he decided always with regard to every crisis before it was at hand, and was prepared beforehand for every contingency that could happen to one. He
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te κρυπτόμενον ἵσχυρός ἀνευρεῖν καὶ τὸ φαινόμενον πιθανὸς ψευδαγγος, τὸ τε λαυθάνον εἴδεναι προσποιήσασθαι καὶ τὸ γιγνωσκό-
8 μεν ἀποκρύφασθαι, τοὺς τε καιροὺς σφυρω ἑφαρμόσαι καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀποδούναι, καὶ προσέτει καὶ ἐπιτελέσαι καὶ ἐπεξελθῇν πάνθ’ ὡς ἔκαστα καλῶς ἥπιστατο.
39 τεκμήριον δὲ, τὰ τε ἱδια εὐοικότατος τε ἁμα καὶ εὐδαπανώτατος ἐγένετο, ἀκριβὴς μὲν ὁν ἐσ τὰ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα διαρκῶς φυλάξαι, δασφιλῆς δὲ ἐσ τὰ τὰ προσήκοντα ἀφειδώς ἀναλώσαι, καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς πάντας πλὴν τῶν ἀνοσιωτάτων
2 ἵσχυρός ἡγάσησεν. οὖτε γὰρ δυστυχήσαντά τινα αὐτῶν ὑπερείδειν οὔτε εὐτυχήσαντί του ἐφδιόνῃσεν, ὡλλά καὶ τοῦτος τὰ προὐπάρχοντα συνεπήξησε καὶ ἐκείνοις τὰ ἐλείποντα ἁνετπλη-
ροσε, τοῖς μὲν χρήματα τοῖς δὲ χωρία τοῖς δὲ ἄρχας
3 τοῖς δὲ ἱερωσύνας δούς. καὶ μέντοι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς προσομιλούντας οἱ θαυμαστῶς προσεφέρετο. οὔτε γὰρ ὑπερ-
εφρόνει τινά αὐτῶν οὐδ’ ὑβρίζεν, ἀλλ’ εὐπροσή-
γορος πάσιν ὁμοίως ὁν τοὺς τε ὑπουργοῦντᾶς τι πολλαπλασίως ἡμείβετο καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς εὐεργεσίας ἀνηρτάτο, καὶ οὔτε λαμπρονύμενον τινα ἐβάσκην ποτε οὔτ’ αὐξανόμενον ἔταπεί-
4 νωσεν, ἀλλ’ ὡς καὶ αὐτῶς διὰ πάντων σφῶν καὶ μεγαλυνόμενοι καὶ ἱσχύν καὶ κόσμον προσκτώ-
μενοι, ἔχαρε πλείστους ἑαυτῷ παρισομένους. τοιοῦτος μέντοι περὶ τοὺς φίλους καὶ περὶ τοὺς γνωρίμους ἄνν οὐδ’ ἐσ τοὺς ἑχθροὺς ὁμός οὔδ’

1 λαυθάνον Leuncl., λαυθάνειν LM cod. Peir.
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understood well how to discern shrewdly what was concealed, to dissimulate plausibly what was evident, to pretend to know what was hidden, to conceal what he knew, to adapt occasions to one another and to draw the proper inferences from them, and furthermore to accomplish and carry out in detail every enterprise. A proof of this is that in his private affairs he showed himself an excellent manager and very liberal at the same time, being careful to keep enough of what he had inherited, yet lavish in spending with an unsparing hand what he had acquired, and for all his relatives, except the most impious, he possessed a strong affection. For he did not neglect any of them in misfortune, nor did he envy those in good fortune, but he helped these to increase the property they already had, and made up to the others what they lacked, giving some of them money, some lands, some offices, and some priesthoods. Again, his conduct toward his friends and other associates was remarkable. He never scorned or insulted any of them, but while courteous to all alike, he rewarded many times over those who assisted him in any project and won the devotion of the rest by benefits, never disparaging any one of brilliant position, nor humiliating any one who was bettering himself, but, just as if he himself were being exalted through all of them and were acquiring strength and honour, he took delight in seeing great numbers become equal to himself. And yet, while he behaved thus toward his friends and acquaintances, he did not show himself cruel or
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5 ἀπαραίτητος ἔγένετο, ἄλλα πολλοὺς μὲν καὶ τῶν ἰδία τι προσκρουσάντων οἱ ἄθικοι ἀφήκε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν προσπολέμησάντων ἀπέλυσε, καὶ τισιν αὐτῶν καὶ τιμᾶς καὶ ἀρχὰς ἔδωκεν. οὐτω βούς πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐπεφύκει, καὶ κακίαν οὐ μόνον αὐτός οὐκ εἶχεν ἀλλ' οúde ἐν ἀλλῷ τινὶ ἐνείματε ἐπιστευεν.

40 Ἔστεὶ δὲ ἐς τούτους τοὺς λόγους ἄφικόμην, ἀρξόμαι περὶ τῶν κοινῶν αὐτοῦ πολεμευμάτων λέγειν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ἐβεβίϊκε, τάχ᾿ ἀν ἀνέλεγκτον τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐσχέν γὰρ δὲ ἐπὶ πλείστον αὐξηθεῖσα, καὶ μέγιστος οὐχ ὦτι τῶν καθ᾿ ἐαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπαντῶν τῶν τι δυνηθέντων γενόμενοι, ἐκπρεπέστερον αὐτήν ἐπεδείξατο. ἔκείνους μὲν γὰρ σχεδὸν τι πάντας αὐτὴ ἡ ἐξουσία διήλεγξε, τούτων δὲ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἐξέφηνε. τῷ γὰρ μεγέθει τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντιπάλους πράξεις λαβὼν ἵσοστάσιοι αὐταῖς ἑηρέθη, καὶ μόνος ἀνθρώπων τηλικαύτην αὐτῷ τύχῃ ἐξ ἀνδραγαθίας κτησάμενος οὔτε διεβαλεν αὐτὴν οὐθ᾿ ὑβρισεν. ὥσα μὲν οὖν ἄλλως στρατεύόμενος ἑλαμπρύνετο, ἢ ὥσα εν ταῖς ἐγκυκλίους λειτουργίαις ἐμεγαλοφρονήσατο, παραλείψω, καίπερ τοσαύτα ὡντα ὡς ἄλλῳ τινὶ καὶ πάνυ ἃν ἐς ἐπαινὸν ἐξαρκέσαι· πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς τῆς ἐπιφάνειαν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ ἔργοις σμικρολογεῖσθαι δόξω, ἀν καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἄκριβῶς ἐπεξέπω· ὥσα δὲ ἡ ἀρχών ὑμῶν ἐπράξει, ταῦτ᾿ ἐπεδείξατο Βκ., ἐπεδείξατο LM cod. Peir.

1 ἄφικόμην R. Steph., ἄφικομαι LM cod. Peir.
2 τάχ᾿ ἀν ἀνέλεγκτον L, τάχ᾿ ἀν ἀνανέλεγκτον M, τάχα ἀνέλεγκτον cod. Peir.
3 ἐπεδείξατο Bk., ἐπεδείξατο LM cod. Peir.

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

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

41 “Ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος πρῶτον μὲν πάντων στρατηγήσας ἐν Ἰβηρία, καὶ ὑποτελοῦν αὐτὴν εὐρών, οὐ περείδει σφαῖρα ὑπὸ τὸ τῆς ἑβρήν ὅνοματι ἀναγνώστους γενομένους, οὕτω εἰλετο αὐτὸς ἐν ἦσυχίᾳ τοῦ τῆς ἀρχὴς χρόνον διαγενεῖσθαι μάλλον ἢ τὰ κοινὰ συμφέροντα πράξαι, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ περί ἐκόντες οὐ μετεμέλοντο, καὶ ἀκούσας σφαῖρα ἐσω-

2 φρόνισεν, ὡστε καὶ τοὺς πρότερον ποτε εὐδοκιμήσαντας καὶ αὐτῶν τοσοῦτον ὑπερβαλέσθαι ὑσσών τὸ φυλάξαι τι τοῦ κτήσασθαι χαλεπωτέρον ἐστι, καὶ τὸ μηδ’ αὐθεῖς ποτε νεωτέρισαι τινὰς δυνηθῆναι ἐξεργάσασθαι τοῦ τὴν ἄρχην ὑπηκόους αὐτοὺς, ἀκεραίον τῆς δυνάμεως σφισιν ὦσθε,

3 ποιήσασθαι λυσιτελέστερον. τουγάρτοι καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκεια αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦτ’ ἐψηφίσασθε καὶ τὴν ἄρχην τὴν ὑπατον εὐθὺς ἐδώκατε. ἦκ’ οὐ δὴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα διεφάνη τοῦτο, οτι οὔτε ἐπιθυμίας οὔτε εὐκλείας οἰκείας ἕνεκα τὸν τε πόλεμον ἐκείνον ἐποιήσατο καὶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ παρεσκευάζετο.

4 παρίσων γοῦν τὴν πέμψιν τῶν νικητριῶν διὰ τὸ τὰ πράγματα κατεπείγειν, καὶ χάριν μὲν ύμῖν τῆς τιμῆς γνωστοί, ἀρκεσθεῖς δὲ αὐτὴ ἐκείνη πρὸς τὴν δόξαν, ὑπάτευε.

42 “Καὶ ὡσα μὲν παρὰ τὴν ἄρχην ἐν τῇ πόλει διώκησεν, ἢ μυρίᾳ ἢν εἰς λέγειν. ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τὰχιστὰ ἐκ τὸ ἐκείνης ἐξῆλθε καὶ πρὸς τὸν Γαλα-

1 αὐτὸς R. Steph., αὐτὸ LM cod. Peir.
2 γοῦν Bk., οὔτε LM cod. Peir.
3 πέμψιν R. Steph., μέμψιν LM cod. Peir.

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while he was your magistrate. Yet I shall not even relate all these with scrupulous detail, for I could never get to the end of them, and I should cause you excessive weariness, particularly since you already know them.

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

"Now all his administrative acts in the city during his tenure of that office would verily be countless to name. But as soon as he had ended it and had been
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tikón pòlemovn êstály, thewríaste ósa av kai
2 ëlýka éntaûba kateirýásato. toûs men yar
sýmmáchoi ouç òpws baruv ëgýneto, allá kai
prosebóthsen, êpeidh' mhite ti autouvs ùpóptëvsa
kai proseti kai ádvkouménous eide' toûs de ðh
pòleimous, ouç òti toûs prosoikoûntas autouvs
allá kai toûs ãllous pántas toûs thn Galatían
vémostas, katastréfato, kai toûto men ñwrain
pamplíthi toûto de kai pòleis ãnaribímhtous,
 dön ouðe tâ ónomata próteron ðdeumev, prosekht-
3 sat. kai taûta ménvto pánta, mhite ðunamín
áxiócrwv ñhte1 chríima autárrke par' ùmow
labwv, ouvew men tachéwv katépréaxen ñûte kai
prin aiðhsevai tîn ùmow òti pòleweí ñevikheînai,
orow de ãsphalwv katestísato ñûte2 kai èpy-
ðatîn âp' autovn kai thn Kelítikhn kai thn
4 Bretpavían poiîsas. kai vûn dedoûlîvtaî men
Galatian th toûs te "Ambrwvovns3 kai toûs Kîmbrowv
èf' hmaî apóstelâsa, kai gewróieîta pása
ûstper autî ò Italía, plêvtaî de ou 'Roddâvns
èti mónos ouv' 'Ararw, allâ kai Mósws kai
Lìgrus kai Òrnos autovs kai õkeanov autós.
5 dön yar ouðe tâs èpíkllhseis õkóûntes èpistêuvo-
men autâ èivai, taûth' hmiî proskateîrýasatai,
èmbatâ men tâ prin ãgnwsta, plowtâ de tâ prin
ùdiyfrûhta ñpó te ths megaloûptpeiaî kai âpî
43 ths megaloûnymoûntas poiîsas. kai èivge mh
fðounhstantes autû fîves, mállov de ùmow, èstasía-

1 mhète St., ùndè LM cod. Peir.
2 òste cod. Peir., kai ðste LM.

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sent to conduct this war against the Gauls, observe how many and how great were his achievements there. So far from becoming a burden to our allies, he even went to their assistance, because he was not at all suspicious of them and saw, moreover, that they were being wronged. But our foes, both those who dwelt near the friendly tribes, and all the rest who inhabited Gaul, he subjugated, acquiring, on the one hand, vast stretches of territory, and on the other, numberless cities of which we knew not even the names before. All this, moreover, he accomplished so quickly, though he had received neither a competent force nor sufficient money from you, that before any of you knew that he was at war, he had conquered; and he settled affairs on so firm a basis as to make these places stepping-stones to Germany and to Britain. So now Gaul is enslaved, which sent against us the Ambrones and the Cimbri, and is all under cultivation like Italy itself; and ships sail not only the Rhone and the Arar, but the Mosa, the Liger, the very Rhine, and very ocean itself. Places of which we had not even heard the names, to lead us to think that they existed, he likewise subdued for us; the formerly unknown he made accessible, the formerly unexplored he made navigable, by the greatness of his purpose and the greatness of his resolution. And had not certain persons in their envy of him, or rather of you, begun a revolt and
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κεσαν, καὶ δεύρο ἀυτὸν πρὸ τοῦ προσήκοντος καιροῦ ἐπανελθείν ἡναγκάσαν,1 πάντως ἂν καὶ τὴν Βρεττανίαν ὅλην μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων νῆσων τῶν περικείμενων 2 αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν πᾶσαν μέχρι τοῦ ἄρκτικοῦ ὦκεανοῦ ἐκεχείρωτο, ὥσθ' ἡμᾶς ὁροὺς μὴ γῆν μηδ' ἀνθρώποις τὸ λοιπὸν, ἀλλὰ ἀέρα καὶ τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν ἔχειν. διὰ γὰρ ταύτα καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὀρθοὺς τοὺς τε μέγεθος τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὴν τύχην, ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀρξαί αὐτῷ προσετάξατε· ὅπερ, ἀφ' ὦ ἐδημοκρατήθησαν, οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ὑπήρξε, λέγω δὲ τὸ ὅκτω ἔτεσιν ὅλοις ἐφεξῆς ἡγεμονεύει. οὕτως αὐτὸν πάντα ἔκεινα ὑμῖν ὄντως προσκτάσθαι εὔμοιστε, καὶ οὐδεπώποτε ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὐξηθήσεσθαι ὕπωπτεύσατε.

3 ἀλλὰ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐπὶ μακρότατον αὐτὸν ἐγχρονίσατο τοῖς χωρίοις ἐκείνοις ἐπεθυμῆσατε· οὐ μὲντοι καὶ ἐπέτρεψαν οἱ τὴν πολιτείαν μηκέτι κοινὴν ἀλλ' ἰδιαν αὐτῶν 3 νομίζοντες εἶναι οὕτω τούτῳ τὰ λοιπὰ προσκαταστρέψατοι οὐθ' ὑμῖν πάντων αὐτῶν κυριεύσαι, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἄσχολᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀποχερσάμενοι πολλὰ καὶ 4 ἀνόσια ἐτολμήσαν, ὥστ' ὑμᾶς 5 τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν βοηθείας δεηθῆναι. καὶ διὰ τούτῳ καταλιπὼν τὰ προκείμενα ταχέως ὑμῖν ἐπεκούρησε, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐκ τῶν ἐπαρτηθέντων αὐτῇ κινδύνων ἠλευθέρωσε, καὶ προσέτη τὴν τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀλλο-

1 ἡναγκάσαν Bk., ἡνάγκασαν LM.
2 περικείμενων M cod. Peir., προκείμενων L.
3 αὐτῶν Reim., αυτῶν Rk., αὐτὴν LM cod. Peir.
4 πολλὰ καὶ Bk., καὶ πολλὰ LM cod. Peir.
5 ὑμᾶς R. Steph., ὑμᾶς LM cod. Peir.

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

"Nay, you desired that he should tarry in those regions as long as possible. He was prevented, however, by those who regarded the government as belonging no longer to the public but as their own private property, from subjugating the remaining countries, and you were kept from becoming masters of them all; for these men, making an evil use of the opportunity afforded by his being occupied, ventured upon many impious projects, so that you came to require his aid. Therefore, abandoning the victories within his grasp, he quickly came to your assistance, freed all Italy from the dangers which threatened it, and furthermore won back Spain, which was being estranged. Then,\(^1\)

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\(^1\) See xxxix. 33 and note.
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τριουμπήνυ ἐκομίσατο, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τὴν τε πατρίδα καταλαίμοντα καὶ βασιλεῖαν ἱδίᾳν ἐν
Makedonía κατασκευάζοντα, καὶ ἐκεῖσε πάντα
tὰ ὑμετέρα ἀγαθὰ μεταφέροντα, τούς τε ύπηκόους
ὑμῶν ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς συσκευαζόμενον καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν
ὑμῶν ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς χρώμενον ἱδίῳ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
πείσατ' πως ἥθελησε, καὶ ἠδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ προσ-
pέμπτων, παύσασθαι 1 καὶ μεταβέθαι, πίστεις
λαβόντα μεγίστας ἢ μὴν ἐν τοῖς ἵσοις καὶ ὅμοιος 2

3 αὕτης αὐτὸν γενήσεσθαι· ἐπεὶ δ’ οὐδὲνα τρόπον
ἡδυνήθη τούτο ποιῆσαι, ἀλλ’ ἐκέινος τά τε ἄλλα
καὶ τὴν συγγενείαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Καῖσαρα αὐτῷ
ὑπάρχοντα ἐπερβαζ αὐτῷ πολὺμενον, ἐξεῖν ἐξεῖν;
οὕτω δὴ καταναγκασθῆσθαι τὸ ἐμφυλίου πολέμῳ
προσάψασθαι τι μὲν δεὶ λέγειν 3 ὡς εὐτόλμος ἐπ’

4 αὐτὸν, καίτερ χειμώνοις ὁποῖος, ἔπλευσε, τί δὲ ὡς
εὐθαρσῶς αὐτῷ, καίτιοι πάντα τα ἔκει χωρία 4
ἔχουσι, συνεμίζε, τί δὲ ὡς ἀνδρικῶς αὐτοῦ, καίτερ
πολὺ τῷ πλήθει τῶν στρατιῶν ἐλαττούμενος,
ἐκράτησεν; ἀν γὰρ τις καθ’ ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν
ἐπεξελθεῖν ἐθελήσῃ, παῖδα ἄν ἀποδείξει τὸν
θαυμαστὸν ἐκείνου Πομπήιος· οὕτως ἐν πᾶσιν
αὐτοῖς κατεστρατηγηθῆ.

45 "Αλλὰ ταῦτα μεῖν εἀσῳ· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ’ αὐτῶς ὁ
Καῖσαρ ἐσευμύνατο ποτε ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς, μισῶν ἄει
tὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ δαιμόνιον δικαιῶτα
τὴν μάχην ἔκρινε, τίνα μὲν τῶν τότε πρῶτον
ἀλόντων ἀπέκτεινε, τίνα δὲ οὐκ ἔτιμησεν, οὐχ ὅτι

1 παύσασθαι H. Steph., παύσεσθαι LM cod. Peir.
2 καὶ ὤμοιος Rk., ὤμοιος LM cod. Peir.
4 ἕκει χωρία Pflugk, ἐπιχώρια LM cod. Peir.
5 ἄεὶ τὰ Kübler, αὐτὰ LM, αὐ τὰ cod. Peir.

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

"But all this I will omit, since not even Caesar himself ever took any pride in it, always hating, as he did, the deeds enforced by necessity. But when Heaven had most justly decided the issue of the battle, whom of those then captured for the first time did he put to death? Whom, rather, did he
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τῶν βουλευτῶν ἡ τῶν ἱππέων ἡ καὶ ὅλως τῶν 
πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τῶν 
te ὑπη-
kῶν; οὐδε γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐκείνων τις οὐτ’ ἄπεθανε 
βιαῖς οὔτε αἰτίαν ἔλαβεν, οὐκ ἴδιωτης, οὐ 
βασιλεύς, οὖκ ἔθνος, οὐ τῶλις ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν καὶ συν-
exητάσθησαν αὐτῷ, οἱ δὲ τὴν γοῦν ἀδειαν 
ἐντίμως ἔσχον, ὡστε τὸ τέτο ὡ καὶ πάντα 
doūρεσθαι τὸν 
ἀπολωλότων. τοσαύτη γὰρ περιουσία φιλανθρω-
pίας ἔχρησατο ὡστε τοὺς μὲν συγγραμένους τῷ 
Πομπηίῳ ἐπαινέσαει καὶ πάντα σφίσα τὰ δοθέντα 
ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ φυλάξαει, τὸν δὲ δὴ 1 Φαρνάκην καὶ τὸν 
Ὀρώδην μισῆσαι ὅτι οὐκ ἐπεκουρήσαν 
φίλοι 
αὐτοῦ ὄντες. καὶ διὰ τούτο γε οὐχ ἦκιστα τῷ 
mὲν οὐκ ἔς μακρὰν ἐπολέμησε, τῷ δὲ ἐπιστρα-
tεύσεως ἔμελλε. πάντως δ’ ἄν καὶ . . . 2 ζῶντα 
eἰλήφει. τεκμήριων δὲ ὅτι μήτε εὐθὺς αὐτὸν 
ἐπεδώξεν ἀλλὰ κατὰ σχολὴν ἔιασε φυγεῖν, καὶ 
τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ὑδῶς ἠκουσε, τοὺς τε φουεύ-
σαντας αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπῆνεσεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνταπ-
έκτεινεν οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον, καὶ αὐτὸν γε 
τὸν 
Πτολεμαίον, ὅτι καίτοι παῖς ὅν τὸν εὐεργετὴν 
ἀπολόμουν περιεῖδε, προσδέσθειρε.

46 "Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν ὁπως μὲν τὴν Ἀὐγουστον 
kατεστήσατο, καὶ ὅσα χρήματα ἐκείθεν ὑμῖν 
ἐκόμισε, περιττῶν ἄν εἰθ’ λέγεων στρατεύσας 
de ἐπὶ τὸν Φαρνάκην οὐκ ὁλίγα ἥδη τοῦ τε 
Pόντου 
καὶ τῆς Ἁρμενίας ἔχοντα, προσηγγέλθη 
te ἀμα 
αὐτῷ προσώπων καὶ ὁφθη παρὼν καὶ 

2 αὐθημερον καὶ ἐνίκησεν. ἀφ’ ἀνθρωποκόμων 
doi καὶ 
τῆς Ἀλεξανδρεία

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

"How after this he brought Egypt to terms and how much money he conveyed to you from there, it would be superfluous to relate. And when he made his campaign against Pharnaces, who already held a considerable part of Pontus and Armenia, he was on one and the same day reported to the king as approaching him, was seen confronting him, engaged him in conflict, and conquered him. This better than anything else showed that he had not become weaker in Alexandria and had not
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ἐγένετο, οὐδ' ὑπὸ τρυφής ἐν αὐτῇ ἑνεχρόνισε· πῶς γὰρ ἄν ῥάδως ἐκεῖνα ἔπραξε μὴ πολλὴ μὲν παρασκευὴ διάνοιας πολλὴ δὲ καὶ ρόμη χρώμενος;
3 ὡς δ' οὖν καὶ ὁ Φαρνάκης ἐφυγε, παρεσκευάζετο μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῶν Πάρθων στρατεύσας, στασια-σάντων δὲ αὖθις ἐνταῦθα τῶν ἀνεκομίσθη τε ἄκων, καὶ οὔτως αὖ καὶ ταῦτα διέθετο ὡστε
4 μηδ' ὅτι ἀρχήν ἐταράχθη πιστευθῆναι. οὔτε γὰρ ἀπέθανεν οὔτε ἔφυγεν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἡτιμώθη τὸ παράπαν ἐξ ἐκείνων τῶν πραγμάτων οὕδεις, οὐχ ὅτι οὐ δικαίωτα ἄν πολλοὶ ἐκολάσθησαν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοὺς μὲν πολεμίως ἀφείδως ἀπολλύνα τοὺς δὲ δὴ πολίτας σώζειν, καὶ φαύλοι τινές ὄσιν,
5 ἡγεῖτο δειν., καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῇ μὲν ἀνδρείᾳ τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους κατηγωνίζετο, τῇ δὲ φιλανθρωπίᾳ καὶ τοὺς στασιαζόντας τῶν πολιτῶν, καίτοι καὶ ἀγαξίους πολλάκις τούτων γεγονότας ἄφθον ἔπραττον, διετήρει. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἄφρικῇ τῇ τε Ἰβηρίᾳ αὖθις ἔπραξε, πάντας δ' ὅσιοι μὴ καὶ πρότερον ποτὲ ἄλοντες ὑπ' 1 αὐτοῦ
6 ἡλέγντο 2 ἀφείς. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς πολλάκις ἐπιβουλεύοντάς οἱ ἅπε περιποιεῖσθαι μωρίαν, οὐ φιλανθρωπίαν ἐνόμισε· τὸ δὲ ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοις ἀμαρτημασίσι, συγγραφωσκείν τισί, καὶ μήτ' ἀκατ-άλλακτον ὅργην ἔχειν καὶ προσέτε καὶ τιμᾶς νέμειν, ἀν δὲ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐμέμνωσιν, ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ πάνυ ἀνδρὸς ἔργον ἢγείτο
7 ἐίναι. καίτοι τί τοῦτο εἴποι; πολλοὺς γὰρ τού καὶ ἐκείνους ἐσώσε, δοὺς τοῖς τε ἑταῖροις ἄπασι καὶ τοῖς συνυκήσαν αὐτῷ ἕνα ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἀλόντων περιποιήσασθαι.

1 ὅπ' R. Steph., ἔπ' LM cod. Peir.
2 ἡλέγντο cod. Peir., ἡλέγντο LM.
delayed there out of voluptuousness. For how could he have won that victory so easily without having great mental vigour in reserve and great physical strength? When now Pharnaces had fled, he was preparing to conduct a campaign at once against the Parthian, but as certain men had begun a strife here he returned reluctantly and settled this dispute, too, so well that no one would believe there had been any disturbance at all. For not a person was killed or exiled or even disgraced in any way as a result of that trouble, not because many might not justly have been punished, but because he thought it right while destroying the enemy unsparingly to preserve the citizens, even if some of them are of little account. Therefore by his bravery he overcame foreigners in war, but by his humanity he kept unharmed even the seditious citizens, although many of them by their acts had often shown themselves unworthy of this favour. This same policy he followed again both in Africa and in Spain, releasing all who had not previously been captured and been pitied by him. For while he considered it folly, not humanity, always to spare the lives of those who frequently plotted against him, on the other hand, he thought it the duty of one who was truly a man to pardon opponents on the occasion of their first errors instead of harbouring implacable anger, yes, and even to assign honours to them, but if they clung to their original course, to get rid of them. Yet why do I relate this? Many of these also he spared by allowing all his associates and those who had helped him conquer to save the life of one captive each.
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47 "Καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα ἀπ' ἐμφύτου χρηστότητος, καὶ οὕτε προσποιητῶς οὕτε ἐπὶ κατασκευὴ πλεονεξίας τινός, ὡσπερ ἔτεροι συναθ ἐφιλανθρωπεύσαντο τινα, ἔπραξε, μέγιστον μὲν καὶ ἐκείνῳ μαρτύριον ἔστω, ὅτι πανταχοῦ καὶ διὰ πάντων ὅμοιος ἐγένετο καὶ οὕτ' ὀργὴ τις αὐτὸν ἔγραψαν οὕτε εὐπραγία διέφθειρεν, ὦ τὸ κράτος ἡ ἡλιοίωσεν, οὐχ ἡ ἔξουσία μετέβαλεν. καὶ τοῖς χαλεπώτατον ἐν τοῖς τοσοῦτοι καὶ τοιοῦτοι καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπαλλήλος πράγμασιν ἔξετασθέντα, καὶ τὰ μὲν καταρθωκότα τὰ δὲ ἐν χερσίν ἐτ' ἔχοντα τὰ δ' ὑποτείνοντα, χρηστὸν τοῦ ἂν δὴ ἵςον γενέσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν τραχύ μηδὲ δεινόν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρὸς τιμωρίαν τῶν παρεληλυθότων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς γε φυλακήν τῶν μελλόντων ἐθελήσαι ποιήσαι ἢ καὶ εἰκανὰ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα τὴν χρηστότητα αὐτοῦ τεκμηριῶσαί ἐστιν. οὕτω γὰρ ἐκ θεῶν ὄντως ἐφώς ὅτε ἐν μονὸν ἡπίστατο, καὶ σῶξειν τοῦς γε σῶξεσθαι δυναμένους προσέτι δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνα,4 ὅτι τοῖς τε αὐτῷ 5 πολεμῆσαι τὸ μηδ' ὑπ' ἀλλού τινὸς κολασθήναι παρεσκεύασε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ πρὸν ἐπταίστατο. πάσι μὲν γὰρ τοῖς μετά τοῦ Ἰερουσαλήμ καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Ἰερουσαλήμ γενομένοις ἀδειαν δοθῆμα ἐποίησε, πᾶσι δὲ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἐκ τῶν ἐπικηρυχθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Σώλλου περιελθεῖσι τὴν σωτηρίαν ὑπάρξει παρεσκεύασε, καὶ αὐτοῖς μετὰ τοῦτον κατήγαγε, τοὺς τε παίδας ἀπάντων τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου βασιλεῖσθεντων καὶ τιμῶν καὶ ἄρχων ἡξίωσεν. καὶ 6 τοῦ μέγιστον, πάντα ἀπλῶς

1 ἐν τοῖς R. Steph., ἐσ τοῖς LM.
2 χρηστόν τε M, χρηστότε L. 3 γε R. Steph., τε LM.
4 ἐκείνα LM, ἐκεῖνο cod. Peir. 5 αὐτῷ ΛM, ἐκείνῳ cod. Peir.
6 καὶ Bk., καὶ τοῦ LM cod. Peir.

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"That he did all this, moreover, from inherent goodness and not for appearances or to reap any advantage, as many others have displayed humanness, there is this further very strong evidence, that everywhere and in all circumstances he showed himself the same: anger did not brutalize him, nor good fortune corrupt him; power did not alter, nor authority change him. Yet it is very difficult when tested in so many enterprises of such magnitude, in enterprises, moreover, that follow one another in rapid succession, when one has been successful in some, is still engaged in conducting others, and only surmises that others are yet to come, to prove equally good on all occasions and to refrain from wishing to do anything harsh or terrible, if not out of vengeance for the past, at least as a measure of safeguard for the future. This alone is enough to prove his goodness; for he was so truly a scion of gods that he understood but one thing, to save those who could be saved. But there is also this further evidence, that he took care not to have those who warred against him punished even by anyone else, and that he won back those who had met with misfortune earlier. For he caused amnesty to be granted to all who had been followers of Lepidus and Sertorius, and next arranged that safety should be afforded to all the survivors of those whom Sulla had proscribed; somewhat later he brought them home from exile and bestowed honours and offices upon the sons of all who had been slain by Sulla. Greatest of all, he burned absolutely all the secret
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tà γράμματα ὧσα ἡ παρὰ τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἡ παρὰ τῷ Σκιτίωνι ἀπόρρητα εὐρέθη κατέκαυσε, μὴν ἀναγροῦσι τι αὐτῶν μὴτε τηρήσασι, ὅπα μηθ᾽ ἀλλὰ τινὶ πονηρευθήναι τι δι’ αὐτὰ ἐγγένηται. ὅτι δὲ ταῦθ᾽ οὗτοι οὐκ εἶπε μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ἐπραξὲ, δηλοὶ τὰ ἔργα· οὐδεὶς γοῦν ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐκεῖνων οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἐπαθὲ τι δεινόν, ἀλλ’ οὕδ᾽.

6 ἐφοβήθη. οὐκοινο οὐδ᾽ οἰδεν οὐδεὶς τὸν έξ αὐτῶν περιγενομένους πλην αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνων. τούτῳ γάρ ἐστι παραδοξότατον καὶ μηδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν ἔχων, ὅτι τα ἀφεθησαν πρίν αἰτιαθῆναι καὶ ὅτι ἐσώθησαν πρὶν κινδυνεύσαι, καὶ οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸς ὁ περιποίησας σοφᾶς ἔμαθεν οὕδ᾽ ἤλεπεν.

48 “Καὶ γάρ τοι διὰ ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τάλλα ὡσα ἐνομοθέτησε καὶ ἐπηνώρθωσε, μεγάλα μὲν αὐτὰ καθ᾽ εαυτὰ ὄντα, παρὰ μικρὸν δ᾽ ἄν πρὸς ἐκεῖνα νομισθήνα, ὅ οὐ χρή ἀκριβῶς ἐπεξείναι, καὶ ἐφιληστε αὐτὸν ὡς πατέρα καὶ ἡγαπήσατε ὡς εὐεργέτην, τιμαῖς τε οὐαίς οὐδένα ἄλλον ἡγίλατε,

καὶ προστάτην διατελῆ τῆς τα πόλεως καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπάσης ἐχειν ἐπεθυμήσατε, μηδέν περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων διενεχθέντες, ἄλλα καὶ πάντα αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ ἐλάττονα αὐτοῦ προσθέντες, ἰν ὅσον καθ᾽ ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ νομιζομένου πρὸς τὸ τελείωτατον καὶ τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐνεδεί, τούτο ἐκ τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συντελείας ἀντανα-

3 πληρωθῆ. διὰ γάρ τούτῳ ἀρχιερεύς μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, ὕπατος δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ

1 μηθ’ Bk., μητ’ LM cod. Peir.
2 οὐδ’ Στ., οὗτ’ LM cod. Peir.
3 περιγενομένου LeuncL, περι γένους LM cod. Peir.
4 ἐνομοθέτησε καὶ ἐπηνώρθωσε cod. Peir., ἐνομοθέτησεν ἐπηνώρθωσε LM.

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

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

49 "Ἄλλον οὕτως ὁ πατήρ, οὕτως ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ ἄσυλος ὁ ἱρως ὁ θεὸς τεθνηκεν, οἴμοι, τεθνηκεν οὐ νόσῳ βιασθεῖς, οὐδὲ γήρα μαραθεῖς, οὐδὲ ἔξω ποι ἐν πολέμῳ τινὶ τρωθείς, οὐδὲ ἐκ δαίμονιων τινὸς αὐτομάτως ἄρπασθεῖς; ἀλλὰ ἐνταῦθα ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους ἐπιβουλευθεῖς ὁ καὶ ἐσ Βρεττανίαν

2 ἀσφαλῶς στρατεύσας, ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐνεδρευθεῖς ὁ καὶ τὸ πομηρίων αὐτῆς ἐπαυξήσας, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ κατασφαγεῖς ὁ καὶ ἰδιὸν ἀλλὸ κατασκεύας, ἀσπολος ὁ εὑπόλεμος, γυμνὸς ὁ εἰρημοποιός, πρὸς τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ὁ δικαστής, πρὸς ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὁ ἄρχων, ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ὁ μηδεῖς τῶν πολεμίων μηδ' ἐσ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκτεσόντα ἀποκετείνα ἁδυνθῇ, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐταίρων ὁ πολλάκις αὐτοὺς ἔλεησας.

3 τοῦ δητά σοι, Καίσαρ, ἡ φιλανθρωπία, ποῦ δ' ἡ ἁσυλλα, ποῦ δ' ὡς νόμοι; ἀλλ' σὺ μὲν, ὅπως μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἱσχρῶν τις φονεύηται, πολλὰ ἐνυπερηφάνεσθαι, σὲ δ' ὡς οὔτως ἀκτρῶς ἀπεκτείναι οἱ φίλοι, καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ ἄγορᾳ πρόκεισθαι ἐσφαγμένος, δ' ἂς πολλάκις ἐπώμπωσας ἐστεφανωμένος, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἔρρησε κατατερωμένος, ἐφ' ὅν πολλάκις ἑθημηγόρησας. οἴμοι πολιῶν ἡματωμένων, ὁ στοιχὴ ἐσπαραγμένης, ἡν

1 ἐν λόγῳ Rk., ἐν ὀλγωι LM.
2 ἐπεκαλέσατε M, ἐπεκαλέσατο L.
3 ἄρπασθεῖς Reim. (ἐν Ζον. BC), ἄρπασθεῖς LM Zon. AD.

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for us consul, for the soldiers imperator, and for the enemy dictator. But why do I enumerate these details, when in one phrase you called him father of his country—not to mention the rest of his titles?

"Yet this father, this high priest, this inviolable being, this hero and god, is dead, alas, dead not by the violence of some disease, nor wasted by old age, nor wounded abroad somewhere in some war, nor caught up inexplicably by some supernatural force, but right here within the walls as the result of a plot—the man who had safely led an army into Britain; ambushed in this city—the man who had enlarged its pomerium; murdered in the senate-house—the man who had reared another such edifice at his own expense; unarmed—the brave warrior; defenceless—the promoter of peace; the judge—beside the court of justice; the magistrate—beside the seat of government; at the hands of the citizens—he whom none of the enemy had been able to kill even when he fell into the sea; at the hands of his comrades—he who had often taken pity on them. Of what avail, O Caesar, was your humanity, of what avail your inviolability, of what avail the laws? Nay, though you enacted many laws that men might not be killed by their personal foes, yet how mercilessly you yourself were slain by your friends! And now, the victim of assassination, you lie dead in the Forum through which you often led the triumph crowned; wounded to death, you have been cast down upon the rostra from which you often addressed the people. Woe for the blood-bespattered locks of gray, alas for the
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ἐπὶ τούτῳ μόνον, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἔλαβες, ὅν ἐν ταύτῃ σφαγής.

50 Τοιαύτα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου λέγοντος ὁ δῆμος τά μὲν πρῶτα ἱρεθίζετο, ἔπειτα δὲ ὡργίζετο, καὶ τέλος οὗτος ἐφέλημην ὡστε τοὺς τε φονέας αὐτοῦ ξητεῖν καὶ τόσο ἄλλοις βουλευταῖς ἐγκαλεῖν, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἀπέκτειναν οἱ δὲ ἐπείδου ἀποθνήσκοντα ἄνδρα ὑπὲρ οὐ δημοσίᾳ κατ' ἔτος εὐχεθαί ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ οὐ τὴν τῇ ύπερείαν τὴν τῇ τύχῃ ὁμνυσάν, καὶ ὃν ἐξ ἵσου τοῖς δημάρχοις ἄσυλον

2 ἐπετυχήσαν. κακὸ τοῦτο τὸ τε σώμα αὐτοῦ ἀρπάσαντες οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸ οὐκήμα ἐν φ ψπέσφακτο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον κομίσαντες τε ἐβούλωντο καὶ ἐκεῖ καῦσαν, κωλυθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν φόβῳ τοῦ μη καὶ τὸ θέατρον τοὺς τε ναους συγκαταπρησθῆναι, αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἄγορᾳ, ὀσπερ

3 εἶχον, ἐπὶ πυρὰν ἐπέθηκαν. πολλὰ δ' ἀν καὶ ὡς τῶν πέριξ οἰκοδομήματων ἐφήρη, εἰ μὴ οἱ τε στρατιώται ἐμποδών ἐγένοντο καὶ τινας τῶν θρασυτέρων οἱ ὑπατοὶ κατὰ τῶν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου πετρῶν ἔωσαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπαύσαντο διὰ

4 τούτῳ οἱ λοιποὶ ταραττόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τε τὰς οἰκίας τῶν σφαγέων ὀμνυσάν, καὶ ἄλλοις τε ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ελούνιον Κίνναν δημαρχοῦντα μάτην ἀπέκτειναν οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἐπέβούλευσε τῷ Καλσαρί, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα αὐτῶν ἥγασα. ἐπλανήθησαν δὲ διὸ Κορνήλιος Κίννας ὁ

51 στρατηγὸς συμμετέχεις τῆς ἐπιθέσεως. καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ ἀπειπόντων τῶν ὑπάτων μιᾶν ἕξω τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐνοπλῶν ἐναι, τῶν μὲν φόνων ἀπέ-

1 τε Bk., μὲν LM. 2 εἶχον Xyl., εἶπον LM. 3 ἔωσαν Dind., ἔσαν L, ἔσαν M.

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rent robe, which you assumed, it seems, only that you might be slain in it!"

At this deliverance of Antony's the throng was at first excited, then enraged, and finally so inflamed with passion that they sought his murderers and reproached the other senators, because while the others had slain they had looked on at the death of a man on whose behalf they had voted to offer public prayers each year, by whose Health and Fortune they had sworn their oaths, whose person they had made as inviolable as the tribunes. Then, seizing his body, some wished to convey it to the room in which he had been slaughtered, and others to the Capitol, and to burn it there; but being prevented by the soldiers, who feared that the theatre and temples would be burned to the ground at the same time, they placed it upon a pyre there in the Forum, without further ado. Even so, many of the surrounding buildings would have been destroyed had not the soldiers prevented and had not the consuls thrust some of the bolder ones over the cliffs of the Capitoline. For all that, the rest did not cease their disturbance, but rushed to the houses of the assassins, and during the excitement killed, among others, Helvius Cinna, a tribune, without just cause; for this man had not only not plotted against Caesar, but was one of his most devoted friends. Their mistake was due to the fact that Cornelius Cinna, the praetor, had taken part in the attack. After this, when the consuls forbade any one except the soldiers to carry arms, they
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σχοντο, βωμόν δε τινα ἐν τῷ τῆς πυρᾶς χωρίῳ ἱδρυσάμενοι (τὰ γὰρ ὡστὰ 1 αὐτοῦ οἱ ἐξελθέροι προανείλοντο καὶ ἐσ τὸ πατρὸνυν μνημείον κατέθεντο) θύειν τε ἐπὶ αὐτῷ καὶ κατάρχεσθαι τῷ 2 Καῖσαρι ὡς καὶ θεῷ ἐπεχεῖρουν. οἱ οὖν ὑπατοὶ ἐκεῖνον τε ἀνέτρεψαν, καὶ τινας ἰγανακτήσαντας ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐκόλασαν, καὶ νόμον ἐξῆκαν 2 μηδένα αὐθίς δικτάτορα γενέσθαι, ἀράς τε ποιησάμενοι καὶ θάνατον προειπόντες ἂν τε 3 τις ἐσηγήσηται τούτο ἃν ἰ' ὑποστῇ, καὶ προσέτι καὶ χρῆματα 3 αὐτοῖς ἀντικρες ἐπικηρύξαντες. ταύτα μεν ἐσ τὸ ἔπειτα προειδοντο, 4 ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς οὐνόμασι τῆς τῶν ἔργων δεινότητος οὐσίας, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ὀπλῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐκάστου τρόπου καὶ γυνομένων αὐτῶν καὶ τάς τῆς ἔξουσίας, ἐν Ἰ' ποτ' ἂν 4 τύχῃ δρόμενα, προσφέρεις 5 διαβαλλόντων· ἐν δε τῷ τότε παρώντες τοὺς τε κληρούχους τοὺς ὕπο τοῦ Καῖσαρος προκεχειρισμένους ἐσ τὰς ἀποκίας εὖθύς, μὴ καὶ νεοχωροσοὶ τι, ἐστειλαν, καὶ τῶν σφαγῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀρξαί τινῶν εἰληχώτας ἐς τὰ ἔθνη, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἄλλους ἀλλοσε ἃπτει προφάσει τινὶ ἐξεπεμψαν καὶ αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ εἰσφέρεται σφῶν πολλοὶ ἐτίμησαν.

52 Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ μετήλλαξε. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τε τῷ τοῦ Πομπήιος οἰκοδομήματι καὶ παρὰ τῷ ἀνδριάντι αὐτοῦ τῷ τότε ἑκεῖ ἐστώτι ἐσφάγη, ἔδοξε τινα τιμωρίαν αὐτῷ δεδωκέναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ 6 ὅτι καὶ βρονταὶ ἀπλετοὶ καὶ υετὸς λάβρος

1 ὡστὰ supplied by Leuncl. 2 ἐξῆκαν Bk., ἐξῆκαν LM. 3 τε supplied by Rk. 4 προειδοντο Bk., προδοντες LM. 5 προσφέρεις Xiph., προσφέρει LM. 6 καὶ added by Bk.
BOOK XLIV

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

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

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ἔπειγένετο. ἐν δ' ὅνω τῷ θορύβῳ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τοιούτῳ τι οὐκ ἄπαξιον μνήμης συννεχθῇ.

2 Γάιος γάρ τις Κάσκας δημαρχῶν, καὶ ίδιων ὁτι ο Κίννας ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν ὑμωνυμίας ἀπόλετο, ἐφοβήθη μὴ καί αὐτὸς ἀποθάνῃ, ὡς Ποῦπλιος Σερούλιος Κάσκας ἐκ τῶν δημάρχων

3 καὶ ἕκ τῶν σφαγέων ἦν, καὶ γράμματα ἐξέθηκε τὴν την τι ζουμνιάν σφῶν ἐκ τῆς μιᾶς προσηγορίας καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν τῆς γνώμης δηλῶν. καὶ ἔπαθε μὲν οὐδέτερος δεινῶν οὐδὲν (καὶ γὰρ ο Σερούλιος ἰσχυρός ἐφυλάσσετο), λόγον δὲ δὴ τῶν ὁ Γάιος, ὡςτε καὶ μημονεύεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο, ἔσχεν.

53 Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα πρὸς τῶν ἀλλων καὶ πρὸς τῶν ὑπάτων ἐγένετο. καὶ γὰρ τῶν Δολοβέλλων ὁ Ἦς Αντώνιος, καὶ τοιμ βουληθεὶς ἐν τὰ πρῶτα ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡς οὐδέποτε καθήκουσαν οἱ προσλαβεῖν,

2 ὅμως προσέθετο, δείσας μὴ στασιάσῃ. ὡς μέντοι ὁ τε θόρυβος κατέστη καὶ αὐτῶς ὁ Ἦς Αντώνιος τὸ τε ἐξέτάσασι τὰ διοικηθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Καλσαρος καὶ τὸ πάντα τα δόξαντα αὐτῷ ποιήσαι ἐπετράπη, οὐκέτ’ ἑσωφρόνησεν, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐγκρατικὴ τῆς γραμμάτων αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, πολλὰ μὲν ἀπήλευσε πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀντενέγραψεν, ἄλλα τε

3 καὶ νόμους. καὶ προσετὶ καὶ χρώματα καὶ ἀρχὰς τὰς μὲν ἀφείλετο τινῶν τὰς δὲ ἔδωκεν ἀλλοις, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου δὴ γραμμάτων αὐτὰ ποιῶν. κὰκ τούτου συχνὰ μὲν αὐτὸθεν ἦρπασε, συχρά ὑὲ καὶ παρ’ ἰδιωτῶν τῶν τε δὴμῶν καὶ τῶν βασιλέων

1 μὴ βουληθεὶς Xyl., μὴ φοβηθεὶς LM.
2 τὸ R. Steph., δὲ τι LM. 3 καὶ cod. Peir., om. LM.
4 δὴ γραμμάτων Bk., διαγραμμάτων LM cod. Peir.
5 τὸ M cod. Peir., τὸτε L.

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

These were the actions of the consuls and of the others at that time. I say consuls, for Antony, fearing that Dolabella would head a revolt, took him as his colleague in the consulship, although he was at first not disposed to do so, on the ground that the office did not yet belong to him. When, however, the excitement subsided, and Antony himself was charged with the duty of investigating the acts of Caesar's administration and carrying out all his behests, he no longer acted with moderation, but as soon as he had got hold of the dead man's papers, made many erasures and many substitutions, inserting laws as well as other matters. Moreover, he deprived some of money and offices, which in turn he gave to others, pretending that in doing so he was carrying out Caesar's directions. Next he seized large sums of money there in Rome, and collected large sums also from private persons, communities,
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ἡρυπνολόγησε, τοῖς μὲν χώραν, τοῖς δὲ ἐλευθερίαν,
ἀλλοίς πολιτείαν, ἀλλοίς ἀτέλειαν πωλῶν, καίτοι
τῆς βουλῆς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ψηφισμένης μηδεμίαν
στήλην ὡς καὶ τοῦ Καλσαρος συγγεγραφότος τι
ἀνατεθῆναι (ἐς γὰρ στήλας χαλκᾶς πάντα τὰ
toiātā ἐσειράφετο), ἔτειτα δὲ, ὡς ἐκείνος ἐνέ-
κειτο λέγων πολλὰ καὶ ἀναγκαία ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προ-
βεβουλεύσθαι, κελευσάσης πάντας τοὺς πρῶτους
καὶ αὐτὰ διακρίναι. ἀλλ' οὔτε τι τούτων ἐφρόν-
tιστε, καὶ τὸ σύμμαχα τοῦ μὲν ὁ Ὀκταουίου ἀπειρο-
κεῖτας καὶ μειρακία καὶ πραγμάτων ἀπείρου, τὴν τε κλη-
ρονομίαν ὡς καὶ ἁλεπίνα καὶ δυσμεταχείριστον
οὑσαν ἀπωθουμένου, κατεφρόνησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς
καὶ κληρονομὸς οὗ μόνον τῆς οὐσίας ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς
dυναστείας τῆς τοῦ Καλσαρος ὃν πάντα διεχείριζε,
tα τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ φυγάδας τινὰς κατήγαγεν.

6 ἔπειδη τε ὁ Λέπιδος ἱσχὺν τε μεγάλην εἰχε καὶ
φόβον αὐτῷ πολὺν ἐπήρτα, τὴν τε θυγατέρα τῷ
νιεὶ αὐτὸν συνόψισε καὶ ἀρχιερέα αὐτῶν ἀπο-
deιχθήναι παρεσκεύασεν, ἵνα μηδὲν δὲν ἐπραττε
7 πολυπραγμοναί. ὅπως γὰρ δὴ ῥαδίως αὐτὸ
ποιήσῃ, ἐς τε τοὺς ἱερεῖς αὐθίς ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου
τὴν αἱρέσιν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἐπανήγαγε, καὶ τοὺτοις
αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἢ ὀλίγα τῶν νεομισμένων πράξεως
ἐτέλεσε, δυνηθέλεις δὲν αὐτὸς ἑρώσασθαι.

1 μὲν supplied by Bk. 2 καὶ M, om. L.
and kings, selling to some land, to others freedom, to others citizenship, to others exemption from taxes. And this was in spite of the fact that the senate had voted at first that no tablet should be set up on account of any law alleged to have been framed by Caesar (all such matters were inscribed upon bronze tablets), and that later, when he persisted, declaring that many urgent matters had been provided for by Caesar, it had ordered that all the foremost citizens should jointly determine them. Antony, however, paid no attention to them, and, in a word, despised Octavius, who, as a stripling and inexperienced in business, had declined the inheritance because it was troublesome and hard to manage; and thus he himself, claiming to be the heir not only of the property but also of the power of Caesar, managed everything. One of his acts was to restore some exiles. And since Lepidus had great power and was causing him considerable fear, he gave his daughter in marriage to this leader's son and made arrangements to have Lepidus himself appointed high priest, so as to prevent his meddling with what he himself was doing. In fact, in order to carry out this plan with ease, he transferred the election of the high priest from the people back to the priests, and in company with the latter he consecrated him, performing few or none of the accustomed rites; and yet he might have secured the priesthood for himself.
BOOK XLV

Τάδε ἔκειστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ πέμπτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαίων

α. Περὶ Γαίου Ὀκταουίου τοῦ μετὰ ταύτα Ἀγνοῦστον ἐπι-

κληθέντος.

β. Περὶ Σέξτου Πομπηίου τοῦ Πομπηίου νιέος.

γ. Ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ Ἀντώνιος στασιάζει σὺν ἵππον.

δ. Ὁ Κικέρων κατὰ Αντωνίου ἐδημηγόρησεν.

Χρόνου πληθοῦ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Γ. 1 Ὅουλιου Καῖσαρος δικτατορίας

τὸ ε’ μετὰ Μ. Αἰμιλίου 2 Λεπίδου ἱππάρχου καὶ ὑπατείας τὸ ε’ μετὰ

Μ. Ἀντωνίου. 3

Ἀντώνιος μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ ἐπολεί, ὦ δὲ δὴ Γαίου τοῦ Ὀκταουίου Καῖσαρας (οὗτος γὰρ ὁ τῆς Ἀττίας τῆς

τοῦ Καῖσαρος ἀδελφίδης 3 νῦν ὁνομάζετο) ἦν μὲν ἐξ Ὀὐελιτρῶν τῶν Ὀὐολοσκίδων, ὁρφανὸς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀκταουίου τοῦ πατρὸς καταλείφθηε ἐτράφη

μὲν παρὰ τὴν μητρὶ καὶ παρὰ τῷ ἀνδρὶ 4 αὐτῆς

Δουκίῳ Φιλίππῳ, αὐξηθεὶς δὲ συνδικτυακὸ τῷ

2 Καῖσαρι ἀπαίσ τὸ γὰρ ἔκεινον ὄν καὶ μεγάλα

ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπίθες ἔχουν ἡγάπα τε καὶ περιείπεν

αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ τοῦ ὅνοματος καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας τῆς

τε μοναρχίας διάδοχον καταλείψων, ἄλλως τε καὶ

1 τῆς Γ. Βσ., ἡ τῆς ΛΜ.

2 μετὰ Μ. Ἀντωνίου Π. Στ. Με. μετὰ Ἀντωνίου ΛΜ. There

follows in LM the gloss: παθηρ ἀγνοῦστον ὄκταουίου μήτηρ

αὐτοῦ ἀττία ἐ δημηγόρησεν ἡ συνταγματαρχὴς ὡς εἶναι τὸν ἀγνοοῦστον ἀνεβίαν

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BOOK XLV

The following is contained in the Forty-fifth of Dio's Rome:—
About Gaius Octavius, who afterward was named Augustus (chaps. 1-9).
About Sextus, the son of Pompey (chap. 10).
How Caesar and Antony began to quarrel (chaps. 11-17).
How Cicero delivered a public speech against Antony (chaps. 18-47).

b.c. 44 Duration of time, the remainder of the fifth dictatorship of C. Iulius Caesar, with M. Aemilius Lepidus as his master of the horse, and of his fifth consulship with Marcus Antonius.

So much for Antony's conduct. Now Gaius Octavius Caepias, as the son of Caesar's niece, Attia, was named, came from Velitrae in the Volscian country; after being bereft of his father Octavius he was brought up in the house of his mother and her husband, Lucius Philippus, but on attaining maturity lived with Caesar. For Caesar, being childless and basing great hopes upon him, loved and cherished him, intending to leave him as successor to his name, authority, and sovereignty. He was


\[ \text{iουλίου καίσαρος ("the father of Augustus was Octavius, his mother was Attia, sister of Caesar, so that Augustus was nephew of Julius Caesar").} \]
\[ \text{§ άδελφος Xyl., άδελφης LM Xiph. Zon.} \]
\[ \text{4 άνδρι Xyl., άδελφη LM Xyl.} \]
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οτι ἡ Ἀττία δεινῶς ἱσχυρίζετο ἐκ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτοῦ κεκυνηκέναι, ὅτι καταδροῦσά ποτε ἐν ναῷ αὐτοῦ δράκοντι των μύγνυσθαι εὔνομισε καὶ διὰ 3 τοῦτο τῷ ἱκνομένῳ χρόνῳ ἔτεκε. πρὶν τε ἡ ἐς τὸ φῶς ἔξειναι, ἐδοξεὶ ὅναρ τὰ σπλάγχνα ἐκτῆτι ἐς τὸν ὦρανὸν ἀναφέρεσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐπεκτείνεσθαι καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτί καὶ ὁ ግκτα-

τοιοὺς ἐκ τοῦ αἰδοῖον αὐτῆς τὸν ἠλιον ἀνατέλλειν εὔμομισεν. ἀρτι τε ὁ παῖς ἐγεγέννητο, καὶ Νιγῆ-

dios Φίγουλος 1 Βουλευτής παραχρήμα αὐτῷ τὴν 4 αὐταρχίαν ἐμαντεύσατο ἀριστα γὰρ τῶν 2 καὶ ἔαυτον τὴν τε τοῦ τόλου διακόσμησιν καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀστέρων διαφοράς, ὃσα τε καὶ ἐαυτοῦ γυνώ-

μενοι καὶ ὃσα συμμυγνύντες ἀλλήλοις ἐν τε ταῖς ὁμιλίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς διαστάσεσιν ἀποτελοῦσί, διέγνω, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ αἰτίαν ὃς τινας ἀπορ-

5 ρήτους διατριβᾶς ποιούμενος ἔσχεν. οὗτος οὖν τὸτε τὸν ግκταοιμοῦν βραδύτερον ἐς τὸ συνέδριον διὰ τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς τόκου (ἐσυχε γὰρ βουλὴ ὅσα) ἀπαντήσαντα ἀνήρετο διὰ τί ἐβράδυνε, καὶ μαθὼν τὴν αἰτίαν ἀνεβάσσεν ὅτι “δεσποτὴν ἡμῶν ἐγέν-

νησας,” καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκταραχθέντα ἐπὶ τοῦτο καὶ διαφθείραι τὸ παιδίον ἐθελῆσαν ἐπέσχεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι ἀδύνατον ἐστι τοιοῦτο τι αὐτῷ παθέων. τότε 2 μὲν δὴ ταῦτ’ ἑλέγχη, τρεφομένου δὲ ἐν ἀγρῳ αὐτοῦ ἀετὸς ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ἐξαρτάσας ἄρτον ἐμετεωρίσθη καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καταπτόμενος ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῶν. παιδίσκου τε αὐτοῦ ὄντος καὶ 2 τὴν διατριβὴν ἐν τῇ Ὁρῶμῃ ποιούμενον, ἐδοξεὶ ποτε ὁ Κικέρων ὄναρ ἀλύσει τε αὐτῶν χρυσαῖς

1 Φίγουλος R. Steph., Φίθουλος LM Xiph. Zon.
2 τῶν Xiph., om. LM.

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BOOK XLV

influenced largely by Attia's emphatic declaration that the youth had been engendered by Apollo; for while sleeping once in his temple, she said, she thought she had intercourse with a serpent, and it was this that caused her at the end of the allotted time to bear a son. Before he came to the light of day she saw in a dream her entrails lifted to the heavens and spreading out over all the earth; and the same night Octavius thought that the sun rose from her womb. Hardly had the child been born when Nigidius Figulus, a senator, straightway prophesied for him absolute power. This man could distinguish most accurately of his contemporaries the order of the firmament and the differences between the stars, what they accomplish when by themselves and when together, by their conjunctions and by their intervals, and for this reason had incurred the charge of practising some forbidden art. He, then, on this occasion met Octavius, who, on account of the birth of the child, was somewhat late in reaching the senate-house (for there happened to be a meeting of the senate that day), and upon asking him why he was late and learning the cause, he cried out, "You have begotten a master over us." At this Octavius was alarmed and wished to destroy the infant, but Nigidius restrained him, saying that it was impossible for it to suffer any such fate. These things were reported at that time; and while the child was being brought up in the country, an eagle snatched from his hands a loaf of bread and after soaring aloft flew down and gave it back to him. When he was now a lad and was staying in Rome, Cicero dreamed that the boy had been let

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ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καθισμῆσαι καὶ μάστιγα ἐπαρὰ τοῦ Δίως εἰληφέναι· καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἡπίστατο ὡς ἂν, περιέτυχε τοις αὐτῷ τῆς ύστερας ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, καὶ γνωρίσας αὐτὸν διηγήσατο τοῖς παροῦσι τὴν ὁψιν. ὁ τε Κάτουλος οὐδὲ αὐτὸς πω ἔφρακὼς τὸν Ὁκτάουνον, ἐνόμισε τοὺς παιδὰς ἐν τοῖς ὑπνοις τοὺς εὐγενεῖς πάντας ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ πρόσοδον πρὸς τὸν Δία πεποιήσας, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν θεὸν εἰκόνα τινὰ τῆς γρώμης ἐστὶν ἐκαίνου κόλπον ἐμβεβληκέναι· ἐγκαταλείπεις δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀνήλθεν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον προσευξόμενος τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸν Ὁκταούνον εὐρόν ἀλλὰς ἀναβεβηκότα τῷ τε ἐδος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἐνύπνιον προσήμονοι καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῆς ὁφείσις ἑβεβαιώσατο. μειρακιωθέντος δὲ μετὰ τούτῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐστὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐσιόντως, τὴν τε ἐσθήτα την ἀνδρικὴν ἐνόμωσον, ὁ χιτῶν περιερράγη τὸ ἐκατέρωθεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπωμίδων καὶ μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν κατερρήσατο. τούτῳ αὐτῷ μὲν καθαρόν ἐαυτὸ οὖν ὅπως τέκμαρσιν τινὰ ὡς καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἐνεργοῦσαν τοὺς παρόντας, ὅτι ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἀνδρικοῦ χιτῶνος ἐνδύσει συνεβεβηκέει· ἐπελθὼν δὲ τῷ Ὁκταουνῷ εἰπεῖν ὃτι "τὸ ἄξιομα τὸ βουλευτικόν πάν ὑπὸ τῶν πόδας μοι σχῆσω," ἐκβασίν πρὸς τὸ λέχθην ἐλαβείν. ἐξ οὗ τούτων ὁ Κάισαρ μεγάλα ἐπὶ αὐτῷ ἐπελπίσας ἐς τοὺς εὐπατρίδας αὐτοῦ ἐσήγαγε καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἤσκει, καὶ πάνθος ὁσα προσήκει τῇ μέλλοντι καλῶς καὶ κατ' ἄξιαν

1 μάστιγα Χιφ., μάστιγας ΛΜ.
2 τω Πφλουκ, τω ΛΜ Χιφ.
3 προσημαινον Ρειμ., προσημαίνω ΛΜ.
4 εἰπεῖν Χιφ., εἶπεν ΛΜ.
BOOK XLV

down from the sky by golden chains to the Capitol and had received a whip from Jupiter. He did not know who the boy was, but meeting him the next day on the Capitol itself, he recognized him and told the vision to the bystanders. Catulus, who had likewise never seen Octavius, thought in his sleep that all the noble boys had marched in a solemn procession to Jupiter on the Capitol, and in the course of the ceremony the god had cast what looked like an image of Rome into that boy’s lap. Startled at this, he went up to the Capitol to offer prayers to the god, and finding there Octavius, who had gone up for some reason or other, he compared his appearance with the dream and convinced himself of the truth of the vision. When, later, Octavius had grown up and reached maturity and was putting on man’s dress, his tunic was rent on both sides from his shoulders and fell to his feet. Now this event in itself not only foreboded no good as an omen, but it also distressed those who were present because it had happened on the occasion of his first putting on man’s garb; it occurred, however, to Octavius to say, “I shall have the whole senatorial dignity beneath my feet,” and the outcome proved in accordance with his words. Caesar, accordingly, founded great hopes upon him as a result of all this, enrolled him among the patricians, and trained him for the rule, carefully educating him in all the arts that should be possessed by one who was
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τηλικούτο κράτος διοικήσειν ὑπάρχειν ἀκριβῶς
8 ἔξεπαιδευσέ: λόγους τε γὰρ ῥητορικοῖς, οὗχ ὣτι
τῇ τῶν Δατίνων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ γῆς ἡλίσκετο, καὶ ἐν ταῖς στρατεύαις ἐρρωμένως ἔξε-
πονεῖτο, τὰ τε πολιτικὰ καὶ τὰ ἀρχικὰ ἱσχυρὸς
ἐδιδάσκετο.

3 Οὗτοι οὖν ὁ Ὁκτάογιος ἐτυχεῖ μὲν τότε, ὅτε
ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐσφάγῃ, ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνία τῇ1 πρὸς
τῷ Ἰονίῳ ὄν κόλπῳ ἐπὶ παιδεία (κατὰ γὰρ
τὴν στρατεύαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπὶ τούς Πάρθους ἐκεῖσε
προσεπεμπτο2), πυθόμενος δὲ τὸ συμβεβηκός
ἡγησε μὲν ὅσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ
νεωτέρισι τι εὐθὺς ἔτολμησεν οὐτε γὰρ ὅτι
νῦσσό ὑθ' ὅτι κληρονόμος κατελέειπτο ἡκηκόει3
πω, καὶ προσέτε καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὀμονοῶν ἐπὶ τῷ
2 γεγονότι ἡγγέλλετο τὴν πρώτην. περαιώθεις
δὲ ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, καὶ τὰς τε διαθήκας ἀμα
καὶ τὴν γνώμην τοῦ δῆμου τὴν δευτέραν μαθῶν,
οὐκέτ' ἀναβολάς ἐποίησατο, καὶ μᾶλισθ' ὅτι
καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ στρατιώτας συχνοὺς
συμπροτεμφθέντας εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τε ὅνομα τοῦ
Καίσαρος παραχρῆμα ἀνέλαβε καὶ τοῦ κλήρου
4 αὐτοῦ διεδέξατο, τῶν τε πραγμάτων εὐχετο. καὶ
τότε μὲν προπετῶς τὸ τις τούτο καὶ τολμηρῶς
πεποιηκέναι ἔδοξεν, ὄστερον δὲ ἐκ τε τῆς εὐτυχίας
καὶ ἐξ ὑπὲρ ἐπικατώρθωσε καὶ ἀνδρείας ὅνομα
2 προσεκτήσατο. πολλὰ γὰρ ἦδη τενές οὐκ ὀρθῶς
ἐπιχειρήσαντες δόξαν, ὅτι ἐπιτυχεῖται αὐτῶν ἐγέ-
νοντο, εὐβουλίας ἐσχον· καὶ ἔτεροι ἀριστά τών

1 τῇ Rk., ἔτι LM Xiph.
2 προσεπεμπτο Βκ., προσεπεμπτο LM.
3 ἡκηκόει πω Βκ., ἡκηκόει Rk., ἡκηκόητο LM.

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destined to direct well and worthily so great a power. Thus he was practised in oratory, not only in the Latin language but in the Greek as well, was vigorously trained in military service, and thoroughly instructed in politics and the art of government.

Now this Octavius chanced at the time that Caesar was murdered to be in Apollonia on the Ionic Gulf, pursuing his education; for he had been sent ahead thither in view of Caesar’s intended campaign against the Parthians. When he learned what had happened, he was of course grieved, but did not dare to begin a revolution at once; for he had not yet heard that he had been made Caesar’s son or even his heir, and moreover the first news he received was to the effect that the people were of one mind in the affair. When, however, he had crossed to Brundisium and had been informed about Caesar’s will and the people’s second thought, he made no delay, particularly as he had large sums of money and numerous soldiers who had been sent ahead under his charge, but immediately assumed the name of Caesar, succeeded to his estate, and began to busy himself with public affairs. At the time he seemed to some to have acted recklessly and daringly in this, but later, thanks to his good fortune and the successes he achieved, he acquired a reputation for bravery for this act. For it has often happened that men who were wrong in undertaking some project have gained a reputation for good judgment, because they had the luck to gain their ends; while others, who made the best possible choice, have been
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προελόμενοι μωρίαν, ὅτι μὴ κατέτυχον αὐτῶν,
3 ἄφλον.\(^1\) καὶ ἐκεῖνος σφαλερώς μὲν καὶ ἐπικν-δύνος ἐποίησεν ὅτι τὴν τε ἡλικίαν τὴν ἄρτι ἐκ
παῖδων ἁγων (ὅκτωκαὶδεκέτης γὰρ ἤν) καὶ τὴν
diαδοχὴν καὶ τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τοῦ γένους καὶ
ἐπίθεθον καὶ ἐπάιτιον ὡρίων οὐδὲν, ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ
tοιαῦτα ὠρμήσεν ἐφ' οἷς Ὁ τε Καῖσαρ ἐπεφόνευτο
καὶ τιμωρία οὐδεμία αὐτοῦ ἐγύρισεν, καὶ οὗτε
τοὺς σφαγέας οὐτε τὸν Δέπιδου τὸν τε Ἀντώνιον
4 ἔδεισεν' οὐ μέντοι καὶ κακῶς βεβουλεύθησαι
ἐδοξεί, ὅτι καὶ κατωρθώσε. τὸ μέντοι δαίμονον
πᾶσαν οὐχ ἄσαφῶς τὴν αὐτόθεν μέλλουσαν σφισι
tαραχὴν ἐσέθαι προεσήμηνε· ἐς γὰρ τὴν Ἦρμην
ἐσιόντος αὐτοῦ ἱρις πάντα τὸν Ἕλκον πολλὴ καὶ
ποικίλη περιέσχεν.

5 Οὕτως ὁ πρῶτος μὲν Ὁκτάοιους, τότε δὲ
ἡδη Καῖσαρ, μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ Αὐγουστος ἐπικληθεῖς
ἡψατο τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ κατέπραξε
καὶ κατεργάσατο παντὸς μὲν ἄνδροι νεανικω-
tερον, παντὸς δὲ πρεσβύτου ὁρμομότερον.
2 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ μὸνη τῇ τοῦ κλήρου
diαδοχῆ, καὶ ἰδιωτικῶς καὶ μετ' ὅληων, ἄνευ
ἀγκοῦ τυφός, ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσήθθην· ἐπειτ' οὔτ' 4
ἡπεῖλε ὡδενι ὡδεν, οὔτε ἐνεδεῖκνυτο ὅτι ἀχθοῦτο
τε τῶν γεγονόσεν καὶ τιμωρίαν αὐτῶν ποιστοί.
3 τὸν τε Ἀντώνιον οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἀπήτευ τοὺ πρω-
χημάτων ὁν προπτάκει, ἄλλα καὶ ἐθεράπευε,
καίτοι καὶ προπηλακιζόμενοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ
ἀδικούμενοι· τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἐκεῖνος καὶ λόγῳ

\(^1\) ἄφλον Xyl., ωφείλον LM.
\(^2\) ὁ πρῶτος μὲν Bk., μὲν ὁ πρῶτος LM Xiph.
\(^3\) πρεσβύτου Bk., πρεσβυτέρου LM, γέροντος Xiph.
\(^4\) οὔτ' Bk., οὔδ' LM.
BOOK XLV

charged with folly because they were not fortunate enough to attain their objects. He, too, acted in a precarious and hazardous fashion; for he was only just past boyhood, being eighteen years of age, and saw that his succession to the inheritance and the family was sure to provoke jealousy and censure; yet he set out in pursuit of objects such as had led to Caesar’s murder, which had not been avenged, and he feared neither the assassins nor Lepidus and Antony. Nevertheless, he was not thought to have planned badly, because he proved to be successful. Heaven, however, indicated in no obscure manner all the confusion that would result to the Romans from it; for as he was entering Rome a great halo with the colours of the rainbow surrounded the whole sun.

In this way he who was formerly called Octavius, but already by this time Caesar, and subsequently Augustus, took a hand in public affairs; and he managed and dealt with them more vigorously than any man in his prime, more prudently than any graybeard. In the first place, he entered the city as if for the sole purpose of succeeding to the inheritance, coming as a private citizen with only a few attendants, without any display. Again, he did not utter threats against any one nor show that he was displeased at what had occurred and would take vengeance for it. Indeed, so far from demanding of Antony any of the money that he had previously plundered, he actually paid court to him, although he was insulted and wronged by him. For Antony did him many injuries both in word and deed,
καὶ ἔργῳ αὐτὸν ἐκάκου, καὶ τὸν νόμον τὸν φρατριακὸν ἐσφερόμενον, καθ’ ἐν τῇ ἐστοίχειᾳ αὐτοῦ τνὲς τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος γενέσθαι
4 ἐδει, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐσπούδαξε δῆθεν ἐσενεγκεῖν, διὰ δὲ δημάρχων τινῶν ἀνεβάλλετο, ὅπως, ὥς μηδέπως παῖς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ᾄν, μήτε τῇ τῆς ὦσίας πολυπραγμονοῖς καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα ἀσθενεστέρος
6 εἶη. ἐπ’ οὖν τούτοις ὁ Καίσαρ ἰσχαλλε μὲν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀσφαλῶς παρρησιάσασθαι τι δυνάμενος ἤνεκετο, μέχρις οὖ τὸ πλῆθος, ὥθη ὦτ τῶν πατέρα αὐξηθέντα ἡπίστατο, προσεπούσατο.
2 ὡργὴν τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνου θανάτῳ ἐχοντας εἰδὼς, καὶ ἐαυτὸν ὡς καὶ παίδα αὐτοῦ σπουδάσειν ἐπίστασα, τὸν τε Ἀντώνιον διὰ τῇ ἰππαρχίᾳ καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν σφαγέων οὐ τιμωρίαν μισοῦντας αἰσθόμενος, ἐπεχείρησε μὲν δημαρχήσαι πρὸς τῇ τῆς δημαρχίας ἀφορμὴν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν
3 τῆς ἐξ αὐτῆς δυναστείας, καὶ διὰ τούτῳ τῆς τοῦ Κίννου χώρας κενής οὕσης ἀντεποίησατο, κωλυθεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τῶν Ἀντώνιον οὐχ ἰσύχασεν, ἀλλὰ Τιβέριον Καυσούτων δημαρχοῦντα ἀναπέλασας ἐς τῷ ὅμιλῳ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐσήκη, πρόφασιν τὴν δωρεάν τὴν καταλειφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ποιησάμενος, καὶ δημηγορῆσας ὅσα ἔρμοττε, ταὐτὴν τῇ εὐθὺς ἐκτίσεων σφίσιν ὑπέσχετο καὶ ἀλλὰ αὐτοὺς ὑποστήρισε. καὶ μετὰ τούτο τῆν πανήγυριν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου ἐκποίησεν καταδεικθείσην, ἡν ὑποδεξάμενοι τινὲς ξόωντος ἐτὶ τοῦ

1 φρατριακὸν R. Steph., φρατριακὸν LM.
2 αὐτοῦ Rk., αὐτοῦ LM.
BOOK XLV

particularly when the *lex curiata* was proposed by which the transfer of Octavius into Caesar's family was to take place; Antony himself pretended to be doing his best to have it passed, but through some tribunes he kept securing its postponement, in order that the young man, not being as yet Caesar's son according to law, might not meddle with the property and might be weaker in all other ways. Caesar was vexed at this, but as he was unable to speak his mind freely, he bore it until he had won over the multitude, by whom he understood his father had been raised to honour. For he knew that they were angry at Caesar's death and hoped they would be devoted to him as his son, and he perceived that they hated Antony on account of his conduct as master of the horse and also for his failure to punish the assassins. Hence he undertook to become tribune as a starting point for popular leadership and to secure the power that would result from it; and he accordingly became a candidate for the place of Cinna, which was vacant. Though hindered by Antony's followers, he did not desist, and after using persuasion upon Tiberius Cannutius, a tribune, he was by him brought before the populace; and taking as his pretext the gift bequeathed the people by Caesar, he addressed them in appropriate words, promising that he would discharge this debt at once and giving them cause to hope for much besides. After this came the festival appointed in honour of the completion of the temple of Venus, which some, while Caesar was still alive, had promised

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Καίσαρος ἐπιτελέσειν ἐν ὀλγωρίᾳ, ὡσπερ που καὶ τὴν τῶν Παριλίων ἑποδρομίαν, ἐποιούντο, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πλῆθους θεραπείᾳ, ὡς καὶ προσήκουσαν διὰ τὸ γένος, τοῖς οἰκείοις τέλεσι

5 διέθηκε. καὶ τότε μὲν οὔτε τὸν δίφρον τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος τὸν ἐπίχρυσον οὔτε τὸν στέφανον τὸν διάλθουν ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐσήγαγεν ἡσπερ ἡς-7 φιστο, φοβηθεὶς τὸν Ἀ' Ἀντώνιον ἐπεί μέντοι ἄστρον τι παρὰ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας ἐκ τῆς ἀρκτοῦ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐξεφάνη, καὶ αὐτὸ κομήτῃ τε τινῶν καλούντων καὶ προσημαίνειν οἷα που εἰσθη τελείον οἱ πολλοὶ τούτο μὲν οὐκ ἐπίστευον, τῷ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρι αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ ἀπηθανατισμένῳ καὶ ἐς τὸν τῶν ἅλιτρων ἀριθμὸν ἐγκατελελεγμένῳ ἀνετίθεσαν, θαρσήσας χαλκοῦν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον, ἀστέρα ἅτερ

2 τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχοντα, ἔστησεν. ἡπειδὴ τε οὐδὲ τούτῳ τις φόβῳ τοῦ ὁμίλου ἐκώλυσεν, οὔτω δή καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ τῶν ἐς τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος τιμήν προδεδομένων ἐγένετο τὸν τε γὰρ μῆνα τὸν Ἤολον ὁμοίως ἐκάλεσαν, καὶ ἱερομηνίας των ἐπινικίων ἰδίαν ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τῷ οὐνόματι αὐτοῦ ἐβουθύτησαν, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐτοίμως, ἀλλὰ τοις καὶ χρήμας θεραπευθέντων τινῶν, συνίσταντο πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα.

3 Ὑπόρεις τε οὖν ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἐδόκει τι νέον ἔσεσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι ο Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἀπὸ μετεώρου καὶ ἀπὸ περιόπτου τινῶς, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰώθει ποιεῖν, ἐντυχεῖν τι ἐθελήσαντα οὐ προσεδέξατο, ἀλλὰ

1 παριλίων M, παραλίων L.
2 οὐδὲ Rk., οὔτε LM.
BOOK XLV

to celebrate, but were now holding in slight regard, even as they did the games in the Circus in honour of the Parilia; so, to win the favour of the populace, he provided for it at his private expense, on the ground that it concerned him because of his family. At this time out of fear of Antony he did not bring into the theatre either Caesar's gilded chair or his crown set with precious stones, as had been permitted by decree. When, however, a certain star during all those days appeared in the north toward evening, which some called a comet, claiming that it foretold the usual occurrences, while the majority, instead of believing this, ascribed it to Caesar, interpreting it to mean that he had become immortal and had been received into the number of the stars, Octavius then took courage and set up in the temple of Venus a bronze statue of him with a star above his head. And when this act also was allowed, no one trying to prevent it through fear of the populace, then at last some of the other decrees already passed in honour of Caesar were put into effect. Thus they called one of the months July after him, and in the course of certain festivals of thanksgiving for victory they sacrificed during one special day in memory of his name. For these reasons the soldiers also, particularly since some of them received largesses of money, readily took the side of Caesar.

A rumour accordingly got abroad and it seemed likely that something unusual would take place. This belief was due particularly to the circumstance that once, when Octavius wished to speak with Antony in court about something, from an elevated and conspicuous place, as he had been wont to do in his father's lifetime, Antony would not permit it,
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καὶ κατέστασε καὶ ἐξῆλασε διὰ τῶν ῥαβδοῦχων.

8 δεινῶς γὰρ, δὴ πάντες ἠγανάκτησαν, καὶ οὐχ ἦκιστα ὅτι ὁ Καίσαρ οὐδὲ ἐσ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔτι, πρὸς τε τὸ ἐκεῖνον ἐπίφθονον καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ πλῆθους ἔπαγωγὸν, ἐφοίτησε. φοβηθεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος διελέξατο ποτε τοὺς παροῦσιν ὅτι οὐτὲ τινὰ ὀργὴν τῷ Καίσαρι ἔχοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐνοιαν αὐτῷ ὀφείλοι, καὶ ὅτι ἐτοιμὸς εἰη πᾶσαν τὴν ὑποψίαν ἀπολύσα-σθαι. ἀγχελθέντων δὲ τούτων ἐκείνῳ συνῆθθουν μὲν ἐς λόγους, καὶ κατηλλάχθαι τιοῦν ἔδοξαν (τὰς τε γὰρ γνώμας σφὼν ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες, καὶ ἐξελέγξαι τότε αὐτὰς ἀκαίρων εἶναι νομίσαντες, ἀνθυπετεῖξάν τινα ἀλλήλοις 1 συμβιβαζόμενοι), καὶ ἡμέρας μὲν τινὰς ἡσύχασαν, ἐπειτα δὲ ἀνθυποπτεύσαντες ἀλλήλους, εἰτ' ἐξ ἀληθῶς ἐπιβουλῆς εἰτε καὶ ἐκ ἕνεκος διαβολῆς, διὰ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ φιλεὶ γῆγεσθαι, διηνέκχθησαν αὐθίς.

3 ὅταν γὰρ τινὲς ἔκ μεγάλης ἔχθρας συνενεχθῶσι, πολλά μὲν μηδὲν δεινὸν ἔχοντα πολλά δὲ καὶ ἐκ συντυχιας συμβαίνοντα 2 ὑποτοπούσιν τὰν γὰρ ἐνι λόγῳ ός καὶ ἐξεπίτηδες καὶ ἐπὶ κακῷ τινὶ γυγνομένον πρὸς τὸ προύπάρξαν ἔχθος λαμβάνοσι. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐν τούτῳ καὶ οἱ διὰ μέσου ὄντες συνεπιτίθενται· διαγγέλλοντες γὰρ τινα προσποιήσει εὐνοίας ἐπιπαροξύνουσι αὐτοὺς.

4 πλειστὸν τε γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ βουλόμενον πάντας τοὺς τε δυναμένους ἀλλήλοις διαφέρεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τούτῳ ἐπιχαίρον τε 3 ἐπὶ τῇ ἔχθρᾳ αὐτῶν καὶ συν-επιβουλεύον σφιστ’ καὶ ρᾴστον ἀπατηθῆναι λό-

1 ἀλλήλοις Reim., ἀλλήλοις LM.
2 συμβαίνουσα Bk., λαμβάνοντες LM.
3 διὰ τούτῳ ἐπιχαίρον τε Bk., διὰ τοὺς ἐπιχαίροντας LM.

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but caused his lictors to drag him down and drive him out. All were exceedingly vexed, especially as Caesar, with a view to casting odium upon his rival and attracting the multitude, would no longer even frequent the Forum. So Antony became alarmed, and in conversation with the bystanders one day remarked that he harboured no anger against Caesar, but on the contrary owed him good-will, and was ready to end all suspicion. The statement was reported to the other, they held a conference, and some thought they had become reconciled. For they understood each other's feelings accurately, and, thinking it inopportune at that time to put them to the test, they tried to come to terms by making a few mutual concessions. And for some days they kept quiet; then they began to suspect each other afresh, as a result either of some actual treachery or some false calumny, as regularly happens under such conditions, and fell out again. For when men become reconciled after some great enmity they are suspicious of many acts that have no significance and of many chance occurrences; in brief, they regard everything, in the light of their former hostility, as done on purpose and for an evil end. And in the meantime those who are neutral aggravate the trouble between them by bearing reports back and forth under the pretence of good-will and thus exasperating them still further. For there is a very large element which is anxious to see all those who have power at variance with one another, an element which consequently takes delight in their enmity and joins in plots against them. And the one who has previously suffered from calumny is very easy to deceive with
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γοὺς ἐπιτετηδευμένους ἐκ φιλίας ἀνυπόπτου τὸ προδιαβεβλημένου. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τοῦτον καὶ ἐκεῖνον, οὔδὲ ἐν τῷ πρὶν πιστεύοντες ἄλληλοι, ἐπὶ πλέον ἡλιοτριώθησαν.

9 Ὅρων οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὸν Καίσαρα αὐξανόμενον, ἐπεστρέψεις δελεάσαι τὸ πλήθος, εἰ πῶς ἐκεῖνον τε αὐτούς ἀποσπάσεις καὶ ἐαυτῷ προσποιήσεις καὶ χώραν ἄλλην τε πολλήν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι τοῖς Πομπήιοις, ὡς κεχωρισμένοις ἤδη καὶ 1 γεωργεῖσθαι δυναμένοις, κληρονομήσωμεν διὰ Λουκίου Ἀντωνίου ἀδελφοῦ δημορχίως ἐσηγησατο. τρεῖς γὰρ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ Ἀντώνιοι οὗτοι ὄψιν ἄρχας ἄμα πάντες ἔσχεν, ὦ μὲν Μάρκους ὑπατεύων, ὦ δὲ Λούκιος δημαρχῶν, ὦ δὲ Γαίος στρατηγῶν: ὅθεν οὐχ ἦκιστα ἤδυνθησαν τοὺς μὲν τότε τῶν συμμάχων καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἄρχοντας, πλὴν τῶν σφαγῶν τῶν πλειόνων, ἄλλων τε τινῶν οὗς πιστοὺς σείσαν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι, παύσαι,

3 ἑτέρους δὲ ἄντ' αὐτῶν ἀνθελέσθαι, καὶ τισιν ἐπὶ μακρότερον, παρὰ τὰ νενομοθετημένα πρὸς 2 τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἄρχειν ἐπιτρέψαι, καὶ τὴν μὲν Μακεδονίαν τὴν τῷ Μάρκῳ ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου δεδομένην ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Γαίος σφετερίσασθαι, τὴν δὲ Γαλατίαν τὴν ἐντὸς τῶν Ἀλπεων, ὦ Βρούτος ὁ Δέκιμος προσετέτακτο, αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος μετὰ τῶν στρατευμάτων τῶν 3 ἐς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν προπεμφθέντων, ὡς καὶ ἰσχυροτάτην καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν οὕσαν, ἀντιλαβεῖν.

4 ταῦτα τε οὖν ἐφησίσθη, καὶ τῷ Πομπήιῳ τῷ Σέξτῳ δύναμιν ἤδη πολλὴν ἔχοντι ἢ τε ἀδεια,

1 καὶ Reim., καὶ τῆ (τεί M) LM.
2 πρὸς Bs., παρὰ LM. 3 τῶν supplied by Rk.

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words adapted to the purpose by friends whose attachment is free from suspicion. Thus it was that these men, who even before this had not trusted each other, became now more estranged than ever.

So Antony, seeing that Caesar was gaining ground, attempted to attract the populace by various baits, to see if he could detach them from his rival and win them to himself. Hence he introduced a measure for the opening up to settlement of a great amount of land, including the region of the Pontine marshes, since these had already been filled in and were capable of cultivation. He did this through his brother Lucius Antonius, who was tribune; for the three Antonii, who were brothers, all held offices at the same time, Marcus being consul, Lucius tribune, and Gaius praetor. This in particular enabled them to remove those who were then governing the allies and subjects (except the majority of the assassins and some others whom they regarded as loyal) and to choose others in their place, and also to grant to some the privilege of holding office for an unusually long term, contrary to the laws established by Caesar. And thus Macedonia, which had fallen to Marcus by lot, was appropriated by his brother Gaius, while Marcus himself with the legions previously sent to Apollonia took in its place Cisalpine Gaul, to which Decimus Brutus had been assigned, because it was very powerful in soldiers and money. After these arrangements had been voted, the pardon granted to Sextus Pompey, who already had considerable influence, was confirmed, in spite of the fact that it had
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καίτοι ὑπὸ τοῦ Καῖσαρος ὤσπερ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δοθείσα, ἐβεβαιώθη, καὶ τὰ χρήματα, ὅσα ἐν τε ἀργυρῷ καὶ ἐν χρυσῷ τὸ δημόσιον ἐκ τῆς πατρῴας αὐτοῦ οὐσίας εἰλήφει, ἀποδοθῆμαι ἐγνώσθη τῶν γὰρ χωρίων αὐτῆς 1 τὰ πλεῖον Ἀντώνιος ἔχων οὐδεμιᾶν ἀπόδοσιν ἐποίησατο.

10 Ἐκείνοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπραττόν, διηγήσομαι δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Σέξτον γενόμενα. ὡς γὰρ τότε ἀπὸ τῆς Κορδοβᾶς ἐφυγε, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐσ Δακητανίαν ἑλθὼν ἐνταῦθα ἐκρύψθη· ἐπεδιώκθη μὲν γὰρ, διέλαθε δὲ εὐνοϊκῶς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων οἱ 2 διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς μνήμην ἔχόντων· ἠπείτα δὲ ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῖς Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπῆρε καὶ ἐν τῇ Βαυτικῇ στράτευσα οὐ πολὺ ὑπελείφθη, συνέστησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς μάχης διασώθεντες, καὶ οὕτω μετ' αὐτῶν ἐς τε τὴν Βαυτικήν, ὡς καὶ ἐπιτηδειοτέραν ἐμπολεμῆσαι

3 οὕτων, αὖθις ἀφικετο, καὶ ταῦθα καὶ στρατιώτας καὶ πόλεις, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἠπείτα ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέθανε, τὰς μὲν ἐκούσας τὰς δὲ καὶ βία προσλαβὼν (ὁ γὰρ ἄρχων αὐτῶν Γάιος Ἀσίνιος Πωλίων 2 οὐδενικός ἐιρηνήτης) ὥρμησε μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Καρ- 4 χδονα τὴν Ἰβηρικῆν, ἐπιθεμένου δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τοῦ Πολιώνος 2 τῇ ἀποστιὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ κακοσκαντός τινα ἐπανῆλθε χειρὶ πολλῆ, καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτόν τε ἐτρέψατο, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἴσχυρῶς ἀγωνιζομένους ἠπειτ' ἐκ συντυχίας τοιοῦτον ἐξεπληξε καὶ 5 ἐνίκησεν. ἠπείτας γὰρ ἐκείνος μὲν τὴν χαλαμύδα τὴν στρατηγικὴν 3 ἀπέρριψεν ὡστε Ῥάον τῇ φυγῇ.

1 αὐτῆς R. Steph., αὐτῶς LM, αὐτῶ Xiph.
2 Πωλίων, Πολιώνος Reim., πολίων, πολίωνος LM.
3 στρατηγικὴν Bk., στρατιωτικὴν LM.
originally been granted by Caesar to him as to all the rest. It was further resolved that whatever money in silver or gold the public treasury had received from his ancestral estate should be restored; but as for the lands belonging to it, Antony held the most of them and made no restoration.

This was the business in which these men were engaged. I shall now relate how Sextus had fared. When he had fled from Corduba on the former occasion,\(^1\) he first came to Lacetania and concealed himself there. He was pursued, to be sure, but eluded discovery because the natives were kindly disposed to him out of regard for his father’s memory. Later, when Caesar had set out for Italy and only a small army was left behind in Baetica, Sextus was joined both by the natives and by those who had escaped from the battle; and with them he came again into Baetica, because he thought it a more suitable region in which to carry on war. There he gained possession of soldiers and cities, particularly after Caesar’s death, some voluntarily and some forcibly; for the commander in charge of them, Gaius Asinius Pollio, had no strong force. He next set out against Spanish Carthage, but since in his absence Pollio made an attack and did some damage, he returned with a large force, met his opponent, and routed him, after which the following accident enabled him to terrify and conquer the rest also, who were contending fiercely. Pollio had cast off his general’s cloak, in order to suffer less chance of detection

\(^1\) Cf. xliii. 39, 1.
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λαθεῖν, ἐτερὸς δὲ τις ὀμώνυμός τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπι-
φανὴς ἐπετεύχεν ἐπεσε, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔκειτο ἢ δὲ ἐαλὼκει,1
τὸ μὲν ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατιώται τὸ δὲ ἱδόντες
ἡπατήθησαν ὡς καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σφων ἀπο-
6 λωλότοις καὶ ἐνέδοσαν. καὶ οὕτως ὁ Σέξτος νική-
σας πάντα ὀλίγον τὰ ταῦτα κατέσχε. δυνατοῦ δὲ
ἡδη αὐτοῦ ὄντος ὁ Δέπιδος τῆς το ὦμορου ἵ
㎑ ἱβηρίας ἀρξὼν ἀφίκετο, καὶ ἐπείσεν αὐτόν ἢ ὀμολογίαν
ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ 3 τὰ πατρίδα κομίσασθαι. καὶ οὕτω
καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος διὰ τοῦ τοῦ Δέπιδου φιλῶν
καὶ διὰ τῆς τοῦ Καὶσαρος ἐχθραν ψηφισθῆναι
ἐποίησεν.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω τε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτως ἐκ τῆς
11 ἱβηρίας ἄπηλλαγή. Καϊσαρ δὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιος
πάντα μὲν ἐπὶ ἀλληλοις ἐπράττον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ
φανερῶς ποι συνεργῶσαν, ἀλλὰ καίπερ τῷ ἔργῳ
ἐκτεπολεμώμενοι, τῇ γοῦν ἤκοίησε ἐπεκρύπτοντο.
κάκ τούτον καὶ ταλλα τὰ ἐν τῷ πολει πάντα ἐν
2 τε ἀκρισία 4 πολλῆ ἢν καὶ συνεκέχυτο. εἰρήνουν
ἐτι καὶ ἐπολέμουν ἡδη το τῆς ἐλευθερίας σχῆμα
ἐφαντάζετο καὶ τὰ τῆς δυναστείας ἔργα ἐγίνετο.
καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ ἐμφανεὶ 5 ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἀτε καὶ
ὑπατεύων, ἐπλεονέκτει, ἢ δὲ ἡ σπουδὴ τῶν ἀν-
θρώπων ἐς τοῦ Καϊσαρα ἑποίη, τὸ μὲν διὰ τὸν
πατέρα αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐπιτίδας ἡν
ὑπισχυεῖτο, μέγιστον δὲ 6 ὁτι τῷ τε Ἀντωνίῳ
πολὺ δυναμένῳ ἤχθοντο καὶ τῷ Καϊσαρι μηδέπω
3 ἵσχύοντι συνήροντο. ἐφίλουν μὲν γὰρ οὐδέτερον,
νέων δὲ ὑπὶ μὲν πραγμάτων ἐπιθυμοῦντες, καὶ τὸ

1 ἐαλὼκει L ἀλὼκει M. 2 ὦμορου Xiph., ἀμοχώρου LM.
3 τῷ L Xiph., τὸ M. 4 ἀκρισία L Xiph., ἀκρασίαi M.
5 ἐμφανεὶ Xiph., ἀφανεὶ LM. 6 δὲ Rk., τε LM Xiph.

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in his flight, and another man of the same name, a distinguished knight, had fallen. The soldiers, hearing the name of the latter, who was lying there, and seeing the garment, which had been captured, were deceived, thinking that their general had perished, and so surrendered. In this way Sextus conquered and gained possession of nearly the whole region. When he had thus become powerful, Lepidus arrived to govern the adjoining portion of Spain, and persuaded him to enter into an agreement on the condition of recovering his father's estate. And Antony, influenced by his friendship for Lepidus and by his hostility toward Caesar, caused such a decree to be passed.

So Sextus, in this way and on these conditions, departed from Spain. As for Caesar and Antony, in all their acts they were opposing each other, but had not yet fallen out openly, and while in reality they had become enemies, they tried to disguise the fact so far as appearances went. As a result all other interests in the city were in great confusion and turmoil. The citizens were still at peace and yet already at war; the appearance of liberty was kept up, but the deeds done were those of a monarchy. To a casual observer Antony, since he held the consulship, seemed to be getting the best of it, but the zeal of the masses was for Caesar. This was partly on his father's account, partly on account of their hopes for what he kept promising them, but above all because they were displeased at the great power of Antony and were inclined to assist Caesar while he was as yet devoid of strength. Neither man, to be sure, had their affection; but they were always eager for a change of government, and it
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μὲν κρείττον ἂν θὰ πᾶν καθαμαρίν τῷ δὲ πιεζόμενῳ βοηθεῖν πεϕυκότες, ἀπεχρώντο αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰ σφέτερα ἐπιθυμήματα, ταπεινώσαντες οὖν τότε διὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῶν Ἀντώνιων, ἐπείτα κάκεινον καταλύσαι ἐπεχείρησαν. Τοὺς γὰρ τι ἄει δυναμένοις βαρυνόμενοι τοὺς τε ἀσθενεστέρους προσελάβαναν καὶ διὰ τούτων αὐτοὺς καθήκουν; ἐπείτα καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἠλλοτριώντο. Κακὸς τούτον ἀντικαθιστάντες σφᾶς ἐς τὸ ἐπὶφθονον τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐφίλουν καὶ ἐμόσουν, καὶ ήδου καὶ ἐταπείνουν.

12 Ὁυτῶς οὖν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ περὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐχόντων ἁρχὴν τήνδε οὐ πόλεμος ἔλαβεν. ὁ Καίσαρ τοῦ Ἀντώνιου ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον πρὸς τοὺς στρατιωτὰς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας περαιωθέντας ἀφορμήσαντος ἐκεῖσε μὲν ἐτέρους τινὰς μετὰ χρημάτων, ὡς σφᾶς σφετερίσωσι, προαιρεστειλεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μέχρι Καμπανίας ἔλθων πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν ἐκ τῆς Κατύνης μάλιστα, ἄτε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἵνα τιμωρεῖν ἔλεγε, τὴν τε χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἰληφότοις, ἠθοριεσθεν, ὑποσχεθεῖτο τῆς σφοινίκας τολλᾶ, καὶ ἔδωκεν εὐθὺς τότε κατὰ πεντακοσίας δραχμᾶς.

3 ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὸ τῶν ηυκατων σύστημα, οὐς ἀνακλήτους ἄν τις ἐλληνίσας, ὅτι πεπαυμένοι τῆς στρατείας ἐπ' αὐτὴν αὐθις ἀνεκλήθησαν, ὑπομάσετον, ἐνομίσεθε, καὶ αὐτούς παραλαβὼν ὁ Καίσαρ ἤπειρθη τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην πρὶν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνακομισθῆναι, καὶ ἐς τὸν

1 ἴηυκατων Xyl., ηυκατων ἡ Βελκατων LM.
2 στρατείας H. Steph. στρατείας LM.
3 αὐθί R. Steph. αὐθίν LM.
BOOK XLV

was their nature to overthrow every party that had the upper hand and to help the one that was being oppressed. Consequently they made use of the two to suit their own desires. Thus, after humbling Antony at this time through Caesar, they next undertook to destroy the latter also. For in their irritation against the men successively in power they regularly took up with the weaker side and attempted with its help to overthrow the others; afterwards they would become estranged from this side also. Thus exposing both of them to envy in turn, they alternately loved and hated, elevated and humbled, the same persons.

While they were thus disposed toward Caesar and Antony, the war began in the following way. When Antony had set out for Brundisium to meet the soldiers who had crossed over from Macedonia, Caesar sent some men to that city with money, who were to arrive there before Antony and win over the men, while he himself went to Campania and collected a large number of men, chiefly from Capua, because the people there had received their land and city from his father, whom he said he was avenging. He made them many promises and gave them on the spot two thousand sesterces apiece. From these men was constituted the corps of evocati, which one might translate the “recalled,” because after having ended their military service they were recalled to it again. Caesar took charge of them, hastened to Rome before Antony returned, and came

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ὅμιλον ὑπὸ τοῦ Καννουτίου παρασκευασθέντα αὐτῷ ἐσελθὼν πολλά μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦς ἀνέμνησεν, ἐπεξείδων ὡσα καλῶς ἐπεποιήκει, πολλά δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μέτρια διελέχθη, τούτῳ τ' Ἀντωνίου κατηγόρησε, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἀκολουθήσαντάς οἱ ἐπήνευσεν ὡς καὶ ἐθελοντὶ πρὸς ἐπικουρίαν τῆς πόλεως παρόντας καὶ ἑαυτὸν τε ἐπ' αὐτή προκεχειρισμένους καὶ δι' ἑαυτοῦ πάσι ταὐτὰ δηλοῦντας. ἐπαίνων τε ἐπὶ τούτωι ἐκ τε τῆς ἄλλης παρασκευῆς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συνόντος αὐτῷ πλῆθους τυχὼν ἀπήρεν ἐς τὴν Τυρσηνίαν, ὅπως καὶ ἐκείθεν δύναμιν τίνα προσλάβη τε καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐπραττεν, 'Ἀντώνιον δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν φιλοφρόνως οἱ στρατιῶται ἐν τῷ Βρετανσίῳ ἐδέξαντο, προσδοκήσαντες πλείω παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν προτεινομένων σφίσω ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος λήψεις, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πολλῷ πλείῳ κεκτήθαι αὐτόν ἐκείνου ἐνόμιζον. ὡς μέντοι ἐκατόν τε ἐκάστωρ δραχμὰς δώσειν ὑπέσχετο, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ θορυβησάντων σφαγήνας ἄλλους τίνας καὶ ἐκατοντάρχους ἐν τε τοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῆς γυναικὸς ὀφθαλμῶς ἐκέλευσε, τότε μὲν ἠσύχασαν, πορευόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἄστυ γεγενημένου ἐνεστίρισαν, καὶ καταφρονήσαντες τῶν ὑποστρατιῶν τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων σφίσι συνχαὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα μετέστησαν καὶ τὸ γε 'Ἀρειών τὸ τε τέταρτον στρατόπεδον ὄνομασμένον ὅλου αὐτῷ προσεχώρησε. παραλαβῶν ὦν αὐτοῦς, καὶ ἀργυρίου καὶ ἐκείνος ὀμοίως δοὺς,
before the people, who had been made ready for him by Cannutius. There he reminded them in detail of the many excellent deeds his father had performed. delivered a lengthy, though moderate, defence of himself, and brought charges against Antony. He also praised the soldiers who had accompanied him, saying that they had come voluntarily to lend aid to the city, that they had elected him to preside over the state, and that through him they made known these facts to all. For this speech he received the approbation of his following and of the throng that stood by, after which he departed for Etruria with a view to obtaining an accession to his forces from that region. While he was doing this Antony had at first been kindly received in Brundisium by the soldiers, because they expected to secure more from him than was offered them by Caesar; for they believed that he possessed much more than his rival. When, however, he promised to give them merely four hundred sesterces apiece, they raised an outcry, but he reduced them to submission by ordering centurions as well as others to be slain before the eyes of himself and of his wife. So far the time being the soldiers were quiet, but when they arrived near the capital on the way to Gaul they mutinied, and many of them, despising the lieutenants who had been set over them, changed to Caesar's side; in fact, the Martian legion, as it was called, and the fourth went over to him in a body. Caesar took charge of them and won their attachment by giving money to them likewise,—an act which added
προσέθετο καὶ ἄλλοις ἐκ τούτου πολλοὺς, καὶ τοὺς τε ἐλέφαντας τοὺς τοῦ Ἀρτωνίου πάντας ἔλαβεν ἐξαπίνης παρακομιζομένοις σφίσων ἐντυχόντος, ἐπειδὴ τε ἐκεῖνος ἀλλὰ τε τινὰ ἐν τῇ 'Ρώμῃ διοικήσας, καὶ τοὺς στρατιῶτας τοὺς λοιποὺς τοὺς τε βουλευτὰς τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ὑντας ὄρκωσας, ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν ἐξώριμησε 2 φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ αὐτῇ τι 3 νεοχμώσῃ, οὐδ' ὁ Καίσαρ ἀνεβάλετο, ἀλλ' ἐπηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ.

14 Ἡρχε μὲν δὴ τότε τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης ὁ Βροῦτος ὁ Δέκιμος, 4 καὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐλπίδα πολλὴν εἰχεν ἀτε καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπεκτονότος· ἐπράξθη δὲ ὅδε. ὁ Δέκιμος οὔτε τι ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα υποπτεύων (οὔτε γὰρ ἐπηπείλει τι τοῖς σφαγεύσι) καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὔδὲν μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνον πολέμου ἦ καὶ εἀντοῦ τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν τι δυναμένων ύπ' ἐμφύτου πλεονεξίας ὀρῶν ὑντα, οὐχ ὑπείξεν αὐτῷ. μαθὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἡπόρησεν ἢ πράξῃ. ἐμέσει μὲν γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους αὐτούς, οὐ μέντοι καὶ εἰχεν ὅπως ἐκατέρω ἀμα μάχιστο- οὔτε γὰρ τῷ ἐτέρῳ σφῶν ὁποτερφοῦν ἀντίπαλος ἦδη ἤν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἐδεδείκη μὴ τοῦτο τολμήσας συντήσῃ τε αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις καὶ καθ' ἐν ἀμφο-

3 τέροις 5 πολεμήσῃ. λογισάμενος οὖν ὅτι ὁ μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἅγων ἦδη τε ἐνέστηκε καὶ ἐπείγει, τῆς δὲ τιμωρίας τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδέπω καίρος εἰ, τὸν Δέκιμον προσηταιρίσατο. καὶ γὰρ εὖ ἡπίστατο ὅτι τοῦτῳ μὲν, ἄν τῶν ἀντικαθεσθη-

1 ἐν Leuncl., καὶ ἐν LM.
2 ἐξώριμη Zon., ἐφάρμησε LM. 3 τι M, τε L.
4 Δέκιμος Leuncl., δέκιος LM (and similarly below).
5 ἀμφοτέραις L, ἀμφοτέρους M.

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many more to his cause. He also captured all the elephants of Antony, by falling in with them suddenly as they were being driven along. Antony stopped in Rome only long enough to arrange a few affairs and to administer the oath to all the rest of the soldiers and the senators who were in their company; then he set out for Gaul, fearing that it, too, might begin an uprising. Caesar, on his side, did not delay, but followed after him.

The governor of Gaul at this time was Decimus Brutus, and Antony placed great hope in him, because he had helped to slay Caesar. But matters turned out as follows. Decimus had no suspicion of Caesar, for the latter had uttered no threats against the assassins; and, on the other hand, he saw that Antony was as much a foe of himself as of Caesar or of any of the rest who had any power, as a result of his natural cupiditiy; therefore he refused to give way to him. Caesar, when he heard of this, was for some time at a loss what course to adopt. For he hated both Decimus and Antony, but saw no way in which he could contend against them both at once; for he was by no means yet a match for either one of the two, and he was furthermore afraid that if he risked such a move he might throw them into each other's arms and have to face their united opposition. After stopping to reflect, therefore, that the struggle with Antony had already begun and was urgent, but that it was not yet a fitting season for avenging his father, he made a friend of Decimus. For he well understood that he should find no great difficulty in fighting against
κότων ἃ δ' αὐτοῦ κρατήσῃ, οὐδὲν μέγα ἔργον μετὰ τούτῳ οἱ προσπολεμήσας ἔξει, ἐκεῖνον δὲ ἱσχυρὸν αὐθις πολέμιον σχήσει· τοσοῦτον ποὺ ἄλληλων διέφερον. πέμψας οὖν πρὸς τὸν Δέκιμον φίλιαν τε αὐτῷ ἐπηγγείλατο, καὶ συμμαχίαν, ἀν μὴ τὸν 'Ἀντώνιον δέξηται, προσυπισχεύτω. καὶ διὰ τούτῳ καὶ οieties ἐν τῷ ἄστει τὴν χάριν τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος συνήρουτο, τότε μὲν οὖν (ήδη γὰρ ὦ τε ἐνιαυτὸς εξῆκε καὶ ὑπάτους οὐδεὶς παρῆν· ὁ γὰρ Δολοβέλλας ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ύπὸ τοῦ 'Ἄντωνιον προεξεπεπεμπτο) ἔσαινοι ἐν τῇ βουλῇ αὐτοῖς τε ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς τοῦ 'Ἀντώνιον ἐγκαταλειποῦσι, τῶν δημάρχων ἐπιψηφισάντων, ἐγένοντο. καὶ ὅπως γε μετὰ ἀδείας τοῦ νέου ἔτους ἕως τῶν ἑβουλεύσωματι περὶ τῶν παρόντων, φρουράς σφίσι στρατιωτῶν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ χρῆσθαι ἐδοξέ. ταῦτα γὰρ ἤρεσκε μὲν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς πλείουσι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε ὄντων (τὸν γὰρ 'Ἀντώνιον δεινῶς ἐμίσουν), μάλιστα δὲ δὴ τῷ Κικέρωνῳ. διὰ γὰρ τὸ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐχθὸς σφοδροτατοῦ ύπάρχων τὸν τε Καίσαρα ἐθεράπευε, καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἑδύνατο καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἐρωφ τοῦτῳ τε ἐβοήθει καὶ ἐκεῖνον εκάκου. καὶ διὰ τούτῳ, καίτοι ἐκχωρήσας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὡς καὶ τοῦ υἱὸν Ἀθήναις ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ προπέμψων, ἐπανήλθεν ἐπειδήπερ ἐκπεπολεμωμένους σφᾶς ἤσθετο.

1 ἀντικαθεσθηκότων Rk., καθεσθηκότων LM.  
2 πολέμιον R. Steph., πόλεμον LM.  
3 ἐγένοντο L, ἐγένετο M.  
4 φρουράς Cobet, φρουράεις LM.  
5 Σερούλιος Xyl., σουλφίκιος LM.  

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Decimus later, if with his aid he could first over-
come his adversaries, but that in Antony he should
again have a powerful antagonist; so serious were the
differences between them. Accordingly he sent to
Decimus, proposing friendship and also promising
alliance, if he would refuse to receive Antony. This
proposal caused the people in the city likewise to
espouse Caesar's cause. Just at this time the year
was drawing to a close and no consul was on the
ground, Dolabella having been previously sent by
Antony to Syria; nevertheless, eulogies both of
Caesar and Brutus themselves and of the soldiers
who had abandoned Antony were delivered in the
senate with the concurrence of the tribunes. And in
order that they might deliberate about the situation
in security when the new year should begin, they
voted to employ a guard of soldiers at their meetings.
This pleased nearly all who were in Rome at the
time, since they cordially detested Antony, and it
was particularly gratifying to Cicero. For he, on
account of his very bitter hostility toward Antony,
was paying court to Caesar, and so far as he could,
both by speech and by action, strove to assist him in
every way and to injure Antony. It was for this
reason that, although he had left the city to accom-
pany his son to Athens in the interest of the young
man's education, he returned on ascertaining that
the two men had become enemies.

Besides these events which took place that year,
Servilius Isauricus died at a very advanced age. I
have mentioned him both for this reason and to
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tōte Ἄρμανόι τοὺς τε τῷ ἄξιόματα προϊόκοντας ἢδοντο καὶ τοὺς ἀναιδεῖα τινὶ χρωμένους καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐλαχίστοις ἔμισον ὡστε, ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος τῶν ἐν ὁδῷ ποτὲ ἀπαντήσανταί οἱ βαδίζοντι ἴππεινοντα, καὶ μήτε ἀποπτηθοῦσαντα καὶ προσεῖτο ἰσχυρῶς προσεξελάσαντα, ἐγνώρισε τε μετὰ τοῦτο ἐν δικαστηρίῳ κρινόμενον καὶ εἶπε τοῖς δικασταῖς τὸ γενόμενον, οὔτε λόγον ἐτέ αὐτῷ ἔδοσαν καὶ κατεψηφίσαντο πάντες.

17 Αὐλοῦ δὲ δὴ Ἰρτῖον μετὰ Γαϊῶν Οὐψίων ὑπατεύσαντος (οὗτος γὰρ, καίτοι τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰ λευκώματα τὰ Σύλλεκτα ἐσχαρφέντως, ὑπατος τότε ἀπεδείχθη) βουλή τε ἐγένετο καὶ γυνώμαι ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἐφεξής ἡμέρας, ἀπὶ αὐτῆς τῆς νυμφημίας ἀρξάμενα, προστῆθησαν ἐκ τε γὰρ τοῦ πολέμου ἐν χερσὶν ὑντὸς καὶ ἐκ τεράτων, ἀ πλείστα καὶ ἐξαισιώτατα ἐγένοντες, ταρασσόμενοι οὐδὲ τῆς ἀποφράξος, τὸ μὴ ἐν ἐκείναις βουλεύσασθαι τι τῶν συμφερόντων δοκίμων, ἀπέσχοντο. κεραυνοὶ τε γὰρ παμπλήθεις ἐπέσον, καὶ τίνες αὐτῶν καὶ ἐστὸν νεόν τὸν τῷ Διῷ τῷ Καπίτωλῳ ἐν τῷ Νικαίῳ ὡνταὶ κατέσκησαν καὶ πνεῦμα μέγα ἐπιγενόμενον τὰς τὴν στήλας τὰς περὶ τὸ Κρόνιον καὶ περὶ τὸν τῆς Πίστεως νεόν προσπεπηγνίας ἀπερήξω οἱ καὶ διεσκέδασε, καὶ τὸ ἀγαλμά τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Φυλακίδος, ὃ πρὸ τῆς φυγῆς ὁ Κικέρων ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνέτεθείκει, κατέβαλε

1 προϊόκοντας Leuncl., προϊόκοντας LM.
2 ἐγνώρισε Leuncl., ἐγνώρισθαι LM.
3 εἶπε Leuncl., εἰπόντος LM.
4 Οὐψίων Xyl., νιοῦ LM.
5 ἡμέρας R. Steph., ἡμεραῖσ LM.
6 βουλεύσασθαι Bk., βουλεύσασθαι LM.
7 δῦτα R. Steph., δύτι LM.
8 ἀνετεθεῖκε Bk., ἀνετθεὶ LM.

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show how the Romans of that period respected men who were prominent through merit and hated those who behaved insolently, even in the smallest matters. This Servilius, it seems, had once while walking met on the road a man on horseback, who, so far from dismounting at his approach, galloped right on. Later he recognized the fellow in a defendant in court, and when he mentioned the incident to the jurors, they gave the man no further hearing, but unanimously condemned him.

In the consulship of Aulus Hirtius and Gaius Vibius (for Vibius was now appointed consul in spite of the fact that his father’s name had been posted on the tablets of Sulla) a meeting of the senate was held and opinions expressed for three successive days, including the very first day of the year. For because of the war which was upon them and the portents, very numerous and unfavourable, which took place, they were so excited that they failed to observe even the dies nefasti and to refrain on those days from deliberating about any of their interests. Vast numbers of thunderbolts had fallen, some of them descending on the shrine of Capitoline Jupiter which stood in the temple of Victory; also a mighty windstorm occurred which snapped off and scattered the tablets\(^1\) erected about the temple of Saturn and the shrine of Fides and also overturned and shattered the statue of Minerva the Protectress, which Cicero had set up on the Capitol before his

\(^1\) *i.e.*, the bronze tablets containing laws, etc.
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4 καὶ κατέθραυσεν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Κικέρωνι τὸν ὄλεθρον προεδήλωσε· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἑκείνα τε ἐτάρατε καὶ σεισμὸς μέγας γενόμενος, ταύρος τε τις τυθεῖς τε δὲ αὐτὸν ἕν τῷ Ἐστιαίῳ καὶ ἀναπηδήσας μετὰ τὴν ἱερουργίαν. πρὸς δὲ δὴ τούτων τοιούτως οὐσὶ λαμπᾷς ἀπ' ἀνίχνευτος ἠλιον πρὸς δυσμᾶς διέδραμε, καὶ τις ἀστήρ καυνὸς ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ὧφθη. τὸ τε φῶς τοῦ ἠλιον ἐλατοῦσθαι τε καὶ σβένυσθαι, τοτε δὲ ἐν τρισὶ κύκλωσαν φαντάζεσθαι ἐδόκει, καὶ ἕνα γε αὐτῶν στεφάνος σταχνῶν πυρώθης περιέσχεν, ὥστε εἶπε τι ἄλλο, καὶ τούτο ἑναργήσατα αὐτὸς ἐκβιβαία. οἱ τε γὰρ ἄνδρες οἱ τρεῖς ἐδυνάστευον, λέγω δὲ τὸν Καῖσαρα καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον, καὶ ἔξ ἄυτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ μετὰ τούτο τὴν νίκην ἔλαβεν.

6 τοτε δ' οὖν ταυτά τε ἐγένετο, καὶ λόγια πρὸς κατάλυσιν τῆς δημοκρατίας φέροντα παντοῖα ἡδέτο. κόρακες τε ἐς τὸ Διοσκόρειον ἐσπετομενοι τὰ τῶν ὑπάτων τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίου καὶ τοῦ Δολοβέλλου ὑνόματα, ἐνταῦθα ποὺ ἐν πινακίω ἐγγεγραμμένα, ἐξεκόλαψαν. καὶ κύνες πολλοῖ νυκτὸς κατὰ τε τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν καὶ πρὸς τή τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τοῦ Λεπίδου οἰκία μάλιστα συστρεφομενοὶ ὁρύνοντο. ὃ τε Ἡρείαν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς πέριξ γῆς πελαγίσας ἐξαίρευσαν ἀνεκχώρησε, καὶ παμπληθεῖσα ἐν τῷ ἔχρῳ ὅφεις ἐγκατέλυσε. καὶ ἰχθύς ἐκ τῆς βαλάσσης ἀμύθητοι κατὰ τὰς τοὺς

1 αὐτῶν Rk., αὐτῶν LM. 2 ἐν R. Steph., ἐσ LM.
3 Ἐστιαίῳ R. Steph., ἐστιδίω LM. 4 τοτε Xiph., τοτε LM.
5 περιέσχεν Xiph., περιέσχου LM.
6 ὥστε εἶπε Rk., ὡσπερ LM.
7 Διοσκόρειον Dind., διοσκούρειον LM.
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exile. This, now, also portended death to Cicero himself. Another thing that frightened the rest of the population was a great earthquake which occurred, and the fact that a bull which was being sacrificed on account of it in the temple of Vesta leaped up after the ceremony. In addition to these omens, clear as they were, a flash darted across from the east to the west and a new star was seen for several days. Then the light of the sun seemed to be diminished and even extinguished, and at times to appear in three circles, one of which was surmounted by a fiery crown of sheaves. This came true for them as clearly as ever any prophecy did. For the three men were in power,—I mean Caesar, Lepidus and Antony,—and of these Caesar subsequently secured the victory. At the same time that these things occurred all sorts of oracles foreshadowing the downfall of the republic were recited. Crows, moreover, flew into the temple of Castor and Pollux and pecked out the names of the consuls, Antony and Dolabella, which were inscribed there somewhere on a tablet. And by night dogs would gather together in large numbers throughout the city and especially near the house of the high priest, Lepidus, and howl. Again, the Po, which had flooded a large portion of the surrounding territory, suddenly receded and left behind on the dry land a vast number of snakes; and countless fish were cast up from the sea on the shore near the
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Τιβέριδος ἐκβολαὶς ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἐξέπεσον.
8 ἐπεγένετο μὲν οὖν καὶ λοιμὸς ὡς εἰπεῖν τὴν Ἰταλία ἰσχυρὸς, καὶ διὰ τούτο τοῦ τε Βουλευτήριον τὸ Ὁστίλιον ἀνοικοδομηθῆναι καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐν ὧν ἡ ναυμαχία ἐγεγόνει συγχωσθῆναι ἐνυψισθῆθα. οὐ μὲντοι καὶ ἐνταῦθα στήσεσθαι τὸ
9 δεινὸν εὐδόκει, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπείδη τοῦ Οὐβίου τὰ ἐσιτήρια τῇ νομηνίᾳ θύοντος ῥαβδοῦχος τις αὐτοῦ ἐπέσεν ἐξαίφνης καὶ ἀπέθανεν. διὰ μὲν ὃν ταῦτα καὶ ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐβουλεύσαν
tοῦ τε, καὶ εἶπον ἄλλοι τε ἐφ' ἐκάτερα πολλοὶ καὶ ὁ Κικέρων ὅδε:
18 "Ων μὲν ἕνεκα τῆς ἀποδημίας, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐκδημηθῆσαι, ἐστειλάμην, καὶ διὰ στοιχῆς τὴν ἐπάνοδον, ὡς καὶ πολλὰ ύμᾶς ὠφελήσων, ἐποιήσαμην, ἥκουσατε πρόφητα, ὦ πατέρες, ὦ'
2 ύμιν περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων ἀπελογησάμην. οὐτε γάρ ἐν δυναστείᾳ καὶ τυραννίδι ζῆν ὑπομείναιμ' ἂν, ἐν ἡ μήτε πολιτεύσασθαι ὄρθως μήτε παρρησιάσ
asθαι ὁσφαλῶς μήτε τελευτῆσαι χρησίμως ύμῖν δύναμαι, οὐτ' αὐτὰρ τῶν δεόντων τι 5 πράξαι, κατοκυνησάμ' ἂν καὶ μετὰ κινδύνου τούτο ποῦσαι.
3 νομίζω γάρ ἄνδρος ἄγαθον ὦμοιος ἐργὸν εἶναι τοῖς τε τῆς πατρίδος συμφέρουσι τηρεῖν ἐαυτῶν, φυλαττόμενον μὴ μάτην ἀπόληται, καὶ τούτω μηδὲν ἐλλείπειν τῶν προσηκόντων μήτε λέγοντα μῆτε πράττοντα, καὶ ἁρα τι καὶ παθεῖν σώζοντα αὐτὴν ἀναγκαῖον ἦ.

1 λοιμὸς v. Herw., δ λοιμὸς LM.
2 Οὐβίου Xyl., ουβίου LM.
3 ἐσιτήρια Xyl., ἐσιτήρια LM.
4 ὄρθως supplied by Bk.
5 παρῶν τῶν δεόντων τι R. Ste h., παρῶν των δεόντω M, παρα
σχάλων δεόντι L.
mouths of the Tiber. Succeeding these terrors a terrible plague spread over nearly all Italy, because of which the senate voted that the Curia Hostilia should be rebuilt and that the spot where the naval battle had taken place should be filled up. However, the curse did not appear disposed to rest even then, especially since, when Vibius was conducting the opening sacrifices on the first day of the year, one of his lictors suddenly fell down and died. Because of these events they took counsel during those days, and among the various men who spoke on one side or the other Cicero addressed them as follows:

"You have heard recently, Conscript Fathers, when I made a statement to you about the matter, why I made preparations for my departure, thinking that I should be absent from the city for a long time, and then hastily returned, with the idea that I should benefit you greatly. For I could not, on the one hand, endure to live under a monarchy or a tyranny, since under such a government I cannot live rightly as a free citizen nor speak my mind safely nor die in a way that would be of service to you; and yet, on the other hand, if opportunity should be afforded to perform any necessary service, I would not shrink from doing it, though it involved danger. For I deem it the business of an upright man equally to keep himself safe in his country's interest, taking care that he may not perish uselessly, and at the same time not to fail in any duty either of speech or of action, even if it be necessary to suffer some harm while saving his country."

1 Cf. xl. 50. 2 Cf. xliii. 23, 4.
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19 "Οὗτοι δὴ τούτων ἔχόντων ἦν μὲν πολλῇ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ ὕμων ἀσφάλεια πρὸς τὸ τά δέοντα βουλεύσασθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ μετὰ φρουρᾶς συνελθεῖν ἐψηφίσασθε, πάνθ' ἡμᾶς οὕτω δεῖ¹ καὶ εἰπεῖν καὶ πραξάι τήμερον ὡστε καὶ τὰ παρόντα καταστήσασθαι καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος προιδέσθαι, μὴ² καὶ αὕθις 2 ἀναγκασθῶμεν ὑμοῖοι ὑπὸρ αὐτῶν διαγνώσαι. ὅτι μὲν οὖν³ χαλεπὰ καὶ δεινὰ καὶ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας καὶ φρουτίδος δεόμενα τὰ πράγματα ἡμῶν ἑστι, καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτὸν ἔληλι, εἰ καὶ ἐκ μηδένος ἄλλου, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐκ τούτου γε πεποίηκατε· οὐ γὰρ ἄν ἐψηφίσασθε φυλακὴν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου σχεῖν, εἰγέ ἐξήν ὑμῶν ἐν τε⁴ τῷ εἰσόθητι κόσμῳ καὶ ἐν ἑσυχίᾳ ἄδεως τι βουλεύσασθαι.⁵ δεὶ δὲ ἡμᾶς καὶ διὰ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς παρόντας ἀξιόλογον τι πραξαί, ἵνα μὴ καὶ αἰσχύνην ὄφλωμεν, αἰτήσαντες μὲν αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ φοβούμενοι τινας, ἀμελήσαντες δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς ἐν οὔδενι δεινῷ καθεστηκότες, καὶ λόγῳ μὲν σφας ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐπ’ Ἀντώνιον προσεῖ 4 ληφότες, ἔργῳ δ’ ἐκείνῳ καθ’ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δεδωκότες, ὡσπερ δέον αὐτῶν, πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους στρατεύμασιν ἃ κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος συγκροτεῖ, καὶ αὐτοὺς τούτους προσλαβεῖν, ἵνα μηδέν μηδὲ τήμερον κατ’ αὐτοῦ ψηφίσησθε.

20 "Καίτοι τινὲς ἐς τούτ' ἀναδείξας ἐληλύθασιν ὡστε τολμᾶν λέγειν ὡς οἱ πολεμεῖ τῇ πόλει, καὶ τοσαύτην γε εὐθείαν ὑμῶν κατεγρώκασιν ὡστε

¹ δεί L, δὴ M. ² μὴ Rk., ὡστε μὴ I.M. ³ οὖν supplied by Rk. ⁴ τε Rk., γε L.M. ⁵ βουλεύσασθαι Bk., βουλεύσαι LM.
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"This being the case, although a large measure of safety was afforded even by Caesar both to you and to me for the discussion of pressing questions, yet since you have further voted to assemble under guard, we must frame all our words and acts this day in such a fashion as to settle the present difficulties and to provide for the future, that we may not again be compelled to decide in a similar way about them. Now that our situation is difficult and dangerous and requires much care and thought, you yourselves have made evident, if in no other way, at least by this measure; for you would not have voted to keep the senate-house under guard, if it had been possible for you to deliberate without fear in accordance with your accustomed good order and in quiet. We must also accomplish something of importance by very reason of the soldiers who are here, so that we may not incur the disgrace that would certainly follow from asking for them as if we feared somebody, and then neglecting affairs as if we were liable to no danger. We should then appear to have acquired them only nominally on behalf of the city against Antony, but in reality to have given them to him to be used against ourselves, and it would look as if in addition to the other legions which he is gathering against his country he needed to acquire these very men also, in order that you might not pass any vote against him even to-day.

"Yet some have reached such a point of shamelessness as to dare to say that he is not warring against the state, and have credited you with a simplicity
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καὶ νομίζειν τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς ἕαυτῶν πείσειν ὑμᾶς

2 προσέχειν μᾶλλον ἡ τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ἐκείνουν. καὶ
tίς ἐν ἀφεῖς τὸ τάς πράξεις αὐτοῦ σκοπεῖν, καὶ
tὴν στρατεύαν ἦν ἐπὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἥμων μῆτε
τῆς βουλῆς μῆτε τοῦ δήμου προστάξαντος πεποίη-
tαι, καὶ τὰς χώρας ὡς κατατρέχει, καὶ τὰς πόλεις
ὡς πολιορκεῖ, καὶ τὰς ἄπειλας ὡς πᾶσιν ἦμῖν
ἀπειλεῖ, καὶ τὰς ἔλπιδας ἐφ' αἷς ἀπάντα ταῦτα
ποιεῖ, τοῖς τὸ ρήματι τοῖς τούτων καὶ ταῖς ψευδο-
λογίαις αἷς ἀναβάλλουσιν ὑμᾶς, σκῆψεσι καὶ
προφάσεις λέγοντες, ἐθελήσειε πεισθεῖς ἀπολέ-

3 σθαί; ἕγω μὲν γὰρ τοσοῦτον δὲ ταῦτα ποιοῦντα
αὐτὸν ἐννοοῦν τί καὶ πολιτικὸν ἐπάργυμα φάναι
πράττειν, ὡστε καὶ ὅτι τὴν τῆς Μακεδονίας
ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου προσταχθεῖσαν αὐτῷ
κατέλιπε, καὶ ὅτι τὴν τῆς Γαλατίας ἁρχὴν τὴν

4 μηδὲν αὐτῷ προσήκουσαν ἀνθέελετο, καὶ ὅτι
στρατεύματα ἀ δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους
προύπεμψε, συλλαβῶν περὶ αὐτόν, μηδενὸς ἐν τῇ
Ἰταλίᾳ δεινοῦ ὄντος, ἔχει, καὶ ὅτι τὴν πόλιν ἐν τῷ
tῆς ὑπατείας χρόνῳ ἐκλιπὼν περιέρχεται τὴν
χώραν πορθῶν καὶ λυμαίνομενος, πάλαι φημὶ

21 πολέμιον αὐτὸν ἀπάντων ἥμων εἰναι. εἰ δὲ μὴ
παραχρῆμα τότε ἡσθανέσθη μηδὲ ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ
αὐτῶν ἡγανακτεῖτε, ἐκείνον μὲν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐτὶ
μᾶλλον μισεῖν ἄξιον ἐστιν, ὅτι τοιούτους δύνας
ὑμᾶς ἄδικων οὐ παύεται, καὶ δυνηθεῖς ἄν ἂν ἰσως
συγγνώμης ἐφ' οἷς τὸ πρῶτον ἡμαρτε τυχεῖν, ἢς
τοσοῦτο τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς πονηρίας προελήφθεν

1 τοῖς supplied by Dind. 2 πολιτικὸν Hug, παντὶ κακῶν LM.
3 περιέρχεται Bk., ἐκπεριέρχεται LM.
4 τούτο Bk., ταῦτα LM.
so great as to think that they will persuade you to pay heed to their words rather than to his acts. But who would choose to shut his eyes to his acts and the campaign he has made against our allies without any orders from the senate or the people, the countries he is overrunning, the cities he is besieging, the threats he is hurling against us all, and the hopes with which he is doing all this, and would choose instead to believe, to his own ruin, the words of these men and their false statements, by which they put you off with pretexts and excuses? I, for my part, do not admit that in doing this he is acting legally or constitutionally. Far from it: he abandoned the province of Macedonia, which had been assigned to him by lot, chose instead the province of Gaul, which did not belong to him at all, assumed control of the legions which Caesar had sent ahead against the Parthians and keeps them about him, though no danger threatens Italy, and after leaving the city during the period of his consulship now goes about pillaging and ruining the country; for these reasons I declare that he has long been an enemy of us all. And if you did not perceive it immediately at the outset or feel indignation at each of his actions, he deserves to be hated all the more on that very account, in that he does not stop injuring you who are so long-suffering. He might per chance have obtained pardon for the errors which he committed at first, but now by his persistence in them he has reached such a pitch of knavery that he ought to be brought
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ὅστε καὶ ύπὲρ ἐκεῖνων χρήναι δίκην ὑποσχεῖν.

2 ύμῶν δὲ ἐς ὑπερβολὴν ἑπιμελητέον ἔστι τῶν πραγμάτων, ὄρωσι καὶ λογιζόμενος τοῦθ', ὅτι τῶν τοσαυτάκις ύμῶν ἐν τοσοῦτοι πράγμασι κατα-

πεφρονηκότα ἀδύνατον ἐστὶν ἐκούσιον ὑπὸ τε τῆς

αὐτῆς ἐπισκειέας καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς φιλονυσθήναι, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη καὶ ἄκοντα

νῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον, τοῖς ὅπλοις κολασθήναι. 1

22 "Μὴ γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ψηφίσασθαι τινα αὐτῷ τὰ

μὲν ἀνέπεισεν ύμᾶς 2 τὰ δὲ ἐξεβιάσατο, ἤττον τι

παρὰ τοῦτο ἀδικεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐλάττωνος διὰ τοῦτο

ἀξιόν τιμωρίας εἶναι νομίσθητε. πάν γὰρ τού-

ναντίον καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦτον μάλιστα δίκην

ὀφείλει δοῦναι, ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ προελέμενος

δρᾶσαι δι’ ύμῶν τέ τινα αὐτῶν ἔποιήσατο, καὶ

ταῖς παρ’ ύμῶν ἀφορμαῖς, ἃς οὔτε εἰδότας οὔτε

προορωμένους τι τοιοῦτον ἐξαπατήσας ἡνάγκασεν

αὐτῷ ψηφίσασθαι, ἐφ’ ύμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπεχρήσατο.

3 τοῦ γὰρ ἄν ἐκόντες ύμεῖς τὰς μὲν παρὰ τοῦ

Καίσαρος ἢ καὶ τοῦ κλήρου δοθείσας ἐκάστοις

ήγεμονιας κατελύσατε, τούτῳ δὲ ἐπετρέψατε τὰ τε

ἄλλα πολλὰ τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς ἑταῖροι διαδοῦναι,

καὶ ἐς μὲν τὴν Μακεδονίαν τὸν ἄδελφον τὸν Γαίον

πέμψα, τὴν δὲ ἡ Γαλατίαν ἑαυτῷ μετὰ τῶν

στρατευμάτων, οἷς οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ ύμῶν χρήσασθαι

4 εἰδὲ, προστάξαι; 3 ἢ ὅτι μέμνησθε ὅπως 4 ταραττο-

μένους ύμᾶς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος τελευτὴ λαβὼν

πάντ' ὅσα ἡ βουλήθη διεπράξατο, τὰ μὲν ἐπι-

κοινῶν ύμῶν ὑπολύως καὶ 5 ἀκαίρως, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶς

1 κολασθήναι Bk., κοιλυθήναι LM.

2 ύμᾶς R. Steph., ὑμᾶς LM.

3 προστάξαι R. Steph., προστάξας LM.

4 ὅπως added by R. Steph.

5 καὶ added by R. Steph.

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to book for his former offences as well. And you ought to be excessively careful in regard to the situation, when you see this and ponder it—that the man who has so often despised you in matters so weighty cannot, as he would like, be corrected by the same gentleness and kindliness as you have shown before, but must now, even though never before, be chastised, quite against his will, by force of arms.

"And do not, because he partly persuaded and partly compelled you to vote him certain privileges, imagine that this makes him less guilty or deserving of less punishment. Quite the reverse: for this very procedure he particularly deserves to be punished, because, after determining beforehand to commit many outrages, he not only accomplished some of them through you, but also employed against you yourselves the resources which came from you, which by deception he forced you to vote to him when you neither realised nor foresaw anything of the sort. For after you had abrogated of your own free will the positions of command assigned by Caesar or by the lot to each man, would you ever have allowed this fellow to distribute numerous appointments to his friends and companions, sending his brother Gaius to Macedonia, and assigning to himself Gaul together with the legions, which he had no occasion to use in your defence? Do you not recall how, when he found you in consternation over Caesar's death, he carried out all the schemes that he chose, communicating some to you carefully dissimulated and at inopportune moments, and executing others on his own responsibility, thus adding villainy to
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ἐφ' ἔαυτοῦ προσκακουργῶν, πάντα δὲ βιαξόμενος; στρατιώταις γοῦν, καὶ τούτοις βαρβάροις, καθ' ὑμῶν ἐχρήσατο. καὶ τοῦτο θαυμάσειν ἂν τις, εἰ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἐψηφίσθη τι ὁδὸν ὦν ἐχρὶ, ὅποτε μὴ δὲ νῦν παρρησίαν ἄλλως εἰπεῖν τι καὶ πράξει τῶν δεόντων, εἰ μή μετὰ φρονῆσαι, ἐσχίκαμεν; ἦν εἰ τότε περιβεβλημένοι ἦμεν, οὐτ' ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ὃν φήσει τις αὐτῶν τυχεῖν ἔστηκα, οὐτ' ἂν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐξηθέλης εξ' αὐτῶν ἔπραξε.

6 μὴ οὖν ὅσα κελευόμενοι καὶ καταναγκαζόμενοι καὶ θηρυνώντες δεδωκέναι αὐτῷ ἐδόξαμεν, ταῦτα τις ὡς καὶ νομίμως καὶ δικαίως γεγονότα προβαλλέσθω. 1 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις, ὅσα ἂν τις ἐστερος υφ' ἐτέρου βιασθέεις πράξῃ, κύρια ταῦτα τηρεῖται.

23 "Καίτοι ταῦτα μὲν, ὅσα γε ψηφίσασθαι 2 δοκεῖτε, καὶ βραχέα καὶ οὐ πάνυ ἔξω τοῦ καθεστηκότος ὄντα 3 εὑρήσετε. τὶ γὰρ δεινὸν εἰ ἐστερος ἄνθετο εἰτέρου Μακεδονίας ἢ Γαλατίας ἀρξεῖν ἐμελλεῖν; ἢ τὶ χαλεπὸν εἰ 4 τις στρατιώτας ὑπατεύων ἔλαβεν; ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα χαλεπὰ καὶ σχέτλια, τὸ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν κακουργεῖσθαι, τὸ τὰς πόλεις τὰς συμμαχίδας πολιορκεῖσθαι, τὸ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἑμετέρους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὀπλίζεσθαι, τὸ τὰ ἡμέτερα καθ' ἡμῶν ἀναλίσκεσθαι· αἱ μὴτε 3 ἐψηφίσασθε μήτε ἐμελλήσατε. μὴ τοῖς, ὅτι τινὰ 5 ἔδωκατε αὐτῷ, διὰ τοῦτο αὐτῶν ἐστε 6 καὶ τὰ μὴ δοθέντα πράττειν· μηδ' ὅτι τινὰ συνεχωρήσατε, παρά τοῦτο οἰεσθε δεῖν καὶ τὰ μὴ συγχωρη-

1 προβαλλέσθω Rk., παραβαλλέσθω LM.
2 ψηφίσασθαι Leuncl., ἐψηφίσασθε LM.
3 ὅστα Leuncl., ἄντως LM. 4 εἰ R. Steph., ἢ LM.
5 τινὰ supplied by Oddey. 6 ἐστε R. Steph., ἄτε LM.

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his deception, while all his acts were accomplished by violence? At least he employed soldiers, and barbarians, too, against you. And need any one be surprised that in those days an occasional vote was passed which should not have been passed, when even now we have not obtained freedom to say and do anything that is needful in any other way than by the aid of a body-guard? If we had then been encompassed by this guard, he would not have obtained what some one may say he has obtained, nor would he have risen thereby to power and have done the deeds that followed. Accordingly, let no one retort that the rights which at his command and under compulsion and amid laments we had the appearance of giving him were legally and rightfully bestowed. For even in private business that is not observed as binding which a man does under compulsion from another.

"And yet all these measures which you may seem to have voted you will find to be unimportant and differing but little from established custom. What was there so serious in the fact that one man was destined to govern Macedonia or Gaul instead of another? Or what was the harm if a man obtained soldiers during his consulship? But these are the things that are harmful and abominable,—that our land should be ravaged, the allied cities besieged, our soldiers armed against us, and our wealth expended to our detriment; this you neither voted nor would ever have voted. Do not, then, merely because you have granted him certain privileges, allow him to usurp what was not granted him; and do not imagine that, because you have conceded certain points, he ought therefore to be permitted to do
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θέντα αυτῷ ποιεῖν ἐξεῖναι. πᾶν γὰρ τοῦναντίον καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τούτο καὶ μισεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὁφείλετε, ὅτι καὶ τῇ τιμῇ καὶ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τῇ παρ' ὑμῶν οὐκ ἐν τούτοις μόνοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασί καθ' ὑμῶν ἐτόλμησεν χρῆσασθαι. σκοπεῖτε δὲ ἐψηφίσασθε τὴν τε εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν ὁμονοίαν τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐμοὶ 1 πεισθέντες. ταύτην οὕτω προτανεύσαι κελευσθέως οὕτω διήχε 2 πρόφασιν τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ταφήν ποιησάμενος, ὡστε πάσαν μὲν τὴν πόλιν ὅλγου καταπηρησθῆναι, παμπόλλους δὲ αὕτης φονευθῆναι. ἐβεβαιώσατε πάντα τὰ δοθέντα τοῦ καὶ νομοθετήθηντα πρὸς τοῦ Καίσαρος, οὐχ ὡς καλῶς πάντ' ἔχοντα (πολλοῦ γε καὶ δει), ἀλλ' ὅτι μηδὲν αὐτῶις μετακινηθῆναι συνέφερεν, ὅπως ἀνυπόπτως χωρίς ὑποῦλον τινὸς ἀλλήλους συνόμεν. τοῦτον ἐξεταστής οὕτος γενόμενος πολλὰ μὲν τῶν πραχθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταλέλυκε, πολλά δὲ ἔτερα ἀντεγέγραφε 3 καὶ γὰρ χώρας καὶ πολιτείας καὶ ἀτελείας καὶ ἀλλὰς τινὰς τιμὰς τοὺς τε ἔχοντας ἀφήρηται, καὶ ἰδιώτας καὶ βασιλείας καὶ πόλεις, καὶ τόις μὴ λαβοῦσι δέδωκε, παραποιησάμενος 4 τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπομνήματα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν μηδὲν ἐθελήσαντας αὐτῷ προέσθαι καὶ τὰ δοθέντα αὐτοῖς ἀφελόμενος, τοῖς δ' ὀψηφίσασι 5 καὶ ἔκεινα καὶ τάλλα πάντα πωλήσας. καὶ περ ὑμεῖς αὐτὰ ταύτα προορώμενοι ἐψηφίσασθε μηδεμίαν στήλην μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἄνατον,

1 ἐμοὶ Rk., καὶ ἐμοὶ LM. 2 διήχε Bk., διήχε LM. 3 ἀντεγέγραφε Pflugk, ἀντεγέγραφε LM. 4 παραποιησάμενος R. Steph., παραποιησαμένους LM. 5 ὀψηφίσασι Dind., δὲν ὀψηφίσασι LM.

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what has not been conceded. Quite the reverse: you should for this very reason both hate and punish him, because he has dared not only in this case but in all other cases to use against you the honour and kindness you have bestowed. Consider a moment. Through my influence you voted that there should be peace and harmony amongst you. This man, when he was ordered to manage the business, performed it in such a way, taking Caesar's funeral as a pretext, that almost the whole city was burned down and once more great numbers were slaughtered. You ratified all the grants made to various persons and all the laws laid down by Caesar, not because they were all excellent—far from it!—but because it was inadvisable to make any change in them, if we were to live together free from suspicion and without malice. This man, appointed to examine into Caesar's acts, has abolished many of them and has substituted many others in the documents. He has taken away lands and citizenship and exemption from taxes and many other honours from their possessors, whether private persons, kings, or cities, and has given them to men who did not receive them, by altering the memoranda of Caesar; from those who were unwilling to give up anything to his grasp he took away even what had been given them, and sold this and everything else to such as wished to buy. Yet you, foreseeing this very possibility, had voted that no tablet should be set up after Caesar's death

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όσ καὶ παρ' ἐκεῖνον τῷ δεδομένῳ τι ἔχουσαν, στήναι. καὶ μέντοι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὧς πολὺ τοῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἐλεγέν ἄναγκαιον εἰναί τινα τῶν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι τοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος εὑρεθέντων ἐκλεξθῆναι τε καὶ πραχθῆναι, ὑμεῖς μὲν μετὰ τῶν πρώτων ἄνδρῶν προσετάξατε αὐτῷ ταῦτα διαλέξαι, ἐκεῖνος δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν φροντίσας, πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλετο μόνος καὶ περὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ περὶ τοὺς φυγάδας καὶ περὶ τὰ ἅλλα ἃ μικρὸ πρόσθεν εἶπον ἐξειργάσατο. ὁὕτω που πάντα τὰ δοκοῦντα ὑμῖν ποιεῖν βούλεται.

24 "Ἀρ' οὖν ἐν τούτοις μόνον τοιοῦτος γέγονε, τὰ δ’ ἅλλα ὄρθως διώκεται; ποῦ; ποθεῖν; οὐ τὰ χρήματα τὰ κοινὰ τὰ καταλειφθέντα υπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιζητήσαι καὶ ἀποδείξαι κελευσθεὶς ἤρπακε, καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῖς δανειστάσις ἀποδέδωκε τὰ δὲ ἐς τρυφὴν κατανάλωσεν, ὡστε μηκέτ' αὐτῷ μηδὲ τούτων τι περιείναι; οὐ τὸ ὅνομα τὸ τοῦ δικτάτορος μισησάντων ὑμῶν διὰ τὴν ἐκεῖνον δυναστείαν καὶ παντελῶς ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ἐκβαλόντων, τούτῳ μὲν ὡσπερ τι αὐτὸ ἐφ' ἐαυτοῦ ἀδικήσαι δυνάμενον οὐκ ἐπιτεθεῖται, τὰ δὲ ἔργα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν ἐν τῷ τῆς ὑπατείας προσρήματι ἐπιδέδεικται; οὐχ ὑμεῖς μὲν πρῶταιν αὐτὸν τὴς ὁμονοιας ἀπεδείξατε, οὕτω δὲ πόλεμον αὐτὸι ἐφ’ ἐαυτοῦ τηλικοῦτον, οὕτε προσήκοντα οὐτε ἐγνωσμένον, ἀνήρτηται πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ Δέκιμον, οὖς ὑμεῖς ἐπαινεῖτε; μυρία δ’ ἄν εἴη λέγειν, εἰ τις ἐπεξεῖναι καθ’

1 τῷ Βκ., τῷ ΛΜ. 2 ὅς Βκ., οὕτως ΛΜ. 3 τοῖς του Λεουνκλ., τοῖς τοῦ ΛΜ. 4 ἐξειργάσατο Στ., ἐξαιρήσατο ΛΜ.

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purporting to contain any privilege granted by him to any one. Nevertheless, when it happened many times after that, and he claimed that it was necessary for some provisions found in Caesar's papers to be specially singled out and put into effect, you assigned to him, in company with the foremost men, the task of making such excerpts; but he, paying no attention to the others, carried out everything alone according to his wishes, in regard to the laws, the exiles, and the other matters which I enumerated a few moments ago. This, indeed, is the way he chooses to execute all your decrees.

"Has he, then, shown himself to be this sort of man only in these affairs, while managing the rest rightly? When or how? Though ordered to search out and produce the public moneys left behind by Caesar, has he not seized them, paying a part to his creditors and spending a part on high living, so that he no longer has any left even of this? Though you hated the name of dictator on account of Caesar's sovereignty and rejected it entirely from the state, has not Antony, even though he has avoided adopting it,—as if the name in itself could do any harm,—nevertheless exhibited a dictator's behaviour and his greed for gain under the title of the consulship? Though you assigned to him the duty of promoting harmony, has he not on his own responsibility begun this great war, neither necessary nor sanctioned, against Caesar and Decimus, whom you approve? Indeed, innumerable cases might be mentioned, if one wished to go into
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έκαστον ἐθελήσειν δὲν ὑμεῖς μὲν ἑπετρέψατε ἀυτῷ ὡς ἐπάτω διοικήσαι, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ὑμῶν ἐστὶν ἐπραξε, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τάναντια καθ' ὑμῶν τῇ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐξουσία δοθεὶση χρόμενος πεποίηκεν. ἄρ' οὖν ἐστὶν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀναδέξισθε καὶ ταῦτα τὰ κακῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπραγμένα, καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντων σφῶν αἴτιοι γεγονότας φῆσετε, ὅτι τὴν διοίκησιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν ἐξετασμὸν αὐτῷ προσετάξατε; ἀλλά ἄτοπον. οὔδε γὰρ ἄν στρατηγὸς ἢ καὶ πρεσβευτής τις ἀἱρεθεὶς μηδὲν τῶν δεόντων δράσῃ, τούτου τὴν αἰτίαν ὑμεῖς οἱ πέμφαντες αὐτοὺς ἐξετησατε. καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἰς δεῖν ἐπί πάντας οἱ προχειριζόμενοι τι πράξαι τὰ μὲν κέρδη καὶ τὰς τιμὰς αὐτοὶ λαμβάνοιεν, τὰ δὲ ἐγκληματα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀναφέροιεν.

25 οὖκον οὐδὲ τούτῳ προσέχειν προσήκει λέγοντι ὑμεῖς γὰρ τὴν Γαλατίαν ἀρχεῖν ἑπετρέψασθε, ὑμεῖς τὰ χρήματα τὰ κοινά διοικήσατε ἐκεῖνον, ὑμεῖς τὰ στρατεύματα τὰ ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐδώκατε. ἐγκυκλίσθη μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα οὕτως, εἰγε δὲ τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου δίκην παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν, ὅτι ταῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἦν ἄγικας γνῶναι' οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ τοὺς υφαίσθας κατάγειν, οὐδὲ τὸ τοὺς νόμους παρεγγράφειν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰς ἀτελείας πωλεῖν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὰ κοινὰ κλέπτειν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὰ συμμάχων ἄρπάξειν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὰς πόλεις κακουργεῖν, οὐδὲ τὸ τῆς πατρίδος τυραννεῖν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐδώκατε ποτε αὐτῷ. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἀλλ' τινς, καὶ τοιοῦτο πολλά

1 ἀναδέξισθε R. Steph., ἀναδέξασθε LM.
2 πρεσβευτής R. Steph., πρεσβυτής LM.
3 ὑμᾶς R. Steph., ἡμᾶς LM. 4 τὰ supplied by Rk.
5 ὑμᾶς R. Steph., ἡμᾶς LM. 6 κατάγειν M, καταγαγεῖν L.

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details, in which you have entrusted business to him to transact as consul, not a bit of which he has performed as the circumstances demanded, but has done quite the opposite, using against you the authority that you granted. Will you, then, take upon yourselves also these base acts that he has committed and say that you yourselves are responsible for all that has happened, because you assigned to him the management and investigation of the matters in question? How absurd! Why, if any one who had been chosen general or envoy should fail in every way to do his duty, you who sent him would not incur the blame for this. Indeed it would be a sorry state of affairs, if all who are elected to perform some task should themselves receive the advantages and the honours, but lay upon you the complaints and the blame. Accordingly, it is not fitting to pay any heed to him when he says, 'But it was you who permitted me to govern Gaul, you who ordered me to administer the public finances, you who gave me the legions from Macedonia.' It is true these measures were voted,—if, indeed, you ought to put it that way, and not, instead, exact punishment from him for his action in compelling you to pass the decree; yet surely you never at any time gave him the right to restore the exiles, to add laws surreptitiously, to sell the privileges of citizenship and of exemption from taxes, to steal the public funds, to plunder the possessions of the allies, to injure the cities, or to undertake to play the tyrant over his native country. In fact, you never
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πολλοὶς ψηφισάμενοι, συνεχώρησατε ὁσα ἐβου-λοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ δίκην ἀεὶ ποτε παρὰ τῶν τοιούτων, ὅσων γε καὶ ἦδυνηθητε, ἐλάβετε, ὡστερ που καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῦ τούτου λήψεσθε, ἂν γε ἐμοὶ νῦν 4 πεισθῆτε. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τούτων μόνων τοιούτος γέγονεν ὁποίον αὐτὸν ἵστε καὶ ἔσχατε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς ὁσα πώποτε πρὸς τὰ 2 κοινὰ προσελθὼν πέπραχε.

26 “Τὸν γὰρ δῆ ἵδιον αὐτοῦ βίον τάς τε ἱδίας ἀσελγείας καὶ πλεονεξίας ἐκών παραλείψω, οὐχ ὅτι οὐχὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις εὔροι τις ἀν 3 αὐτὸν πεποιηκότα, ἀλλ’ ὅτι αἰδοῦμαι νὴ τὸν Ἦρακλέα ἀκριβῶς καθ’ ἐκαστὸν, ἀλλὸς τε καὶ 4 πρὸς οὐδὲν ἤττον εἰδότας ὑμᾶς, λέγειν ὅπως μὲν τῆν ὄραν τὴν ἐν παισὶν ὑμῖν διέθετο, ὅπως δὲ τῆν ἄκμην τὴν ἐφ’ ἡβης ἀπεκήρυξε, τὰς ἐταιρήσεις αὐτοῦ τὰς λαθραίας, τὰς πορνείας τὰς ἐμφανεῖς, ὅσα ἔπαθεν ἐως ἐνεδέχετο, ὅσα ἐδρασεν ἀφ’ οὕτως ἕδυνηθη, τοὺς κόμοις, τὰς μέθας, τάλλα

3 πάντα τὰ τούτων ἐπόμενα. ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἔστιν ἀνθρωπον ἐν τε ἀσελγείᾳ καὶ ἐν ἀναισχυντίᾳ τοσαῦτη τραφέντα μη οὐ πάντα τὸν ἐαυτοῦ βίον μίνανεν ὁθεντερ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱδίων καὶ τὴν κυνικάνιαν καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν προήγαγε.

4 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐάσω, καὶ νὴ Δια καὶ τὴν ἐς Αἴγυπτον αὐτοῦ πρὸς Γαβίνιον ἀποδημίαν, τὴν τε ἐς Γαλατίαν πρὸς Καίσαρα ἀπόδρασιν, ἵνα μή μὲ τις φη πάντα ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι, αἰσχυνθείς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὦ τοιοῦτον αὐτόν ὁντα εἰδότες καὶ

1 ἦδυνηθητε Dind., ἦδυνηθητε LM. 2 τὰ M, τὸ L.
3 ἀν supplied by St. 4 καὶ supplied by Pflugk.
5 ἐν παισὶν R. Steph., ἐν ποσιν L, ἐμποσιν Μ.
6 ἐως Bk., ὡς LM.

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conceded to any others all that they desired, though you have voted many privileges to many persons; on the contrary, you have always punished such men so far as you could, as, indeed, you will also punish him, if you take my advice now. For it is not in these matters alone that he has shown himself to be such a man as you know and have seen him to be, but absolutely in all the undertakings which he has ever performed since entering public life.

"His private life and his personal acts of licentiousness and avarice I shall willingly pass over, not because one would fail to discover that he had committed many dreadful deeds of this sort too, but because, by Hercules, I am ashamed to describe minutely and in detail, especially to you who know it as well as I, how he spent his youth among you who were boys at the time, how he sold to the highest bidder the vigour of his prime, his secret lapses from chastity, his open fornications, what he let be done to him as long as it was possible, what he did as early as he could, his revels, his drunken debauches, and all the rest that follows in their train. It is impossible for a person brought up in so great licentiousness and shamelessness to avoid defiling his entire life; and so from his private life he brought his lewdness and greed into his public relations. I shall let this pass, then, and likewise, by Jupiter, his visit to Gabinius in Egypt and his flight to Caesar in Gaul, that I may not be charged with going minutely into every detail; for I feel ashamed for you, that knowing him to be such a man, you
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δήμαρχον καὶ ἰππαρχον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπατον ἀπεδείξατε· ἃ δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἐπαρφύνησε ¹ καὶ ἐκακούργησε, μόνα νῦν ἐρω.

27 Ὅντοι τοῖνυν δημαρχίσας πρῶτον μὲν ἀπάντων ἐκώλυσεν ὑμᾶς τὰ τὸτε περιστάντα πράγματα εὐθείᾳ, βοῶν καὶ κεκραγός καὶ μόνος εἰς ἀπάντων ἑναντιούμενος τῇ κοινῇ τῆς πόλεως εἰρήνῃ, ἐπευτα δὲ, ἐπειδὴ ἀγανακτήσατος ἐψηφίσασθε δι’ αὐτοῦ ἄπερ ἐψηφίσασθε, τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξεδρα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγκαταλιπτών, ὃ μηδεμίαν ἐκ τῶν νῦν ἐκτα ἀποδημῆσαι ἐξῆν, τοῦτο δὲ ἐς τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπόλα ἀυτομολήσας ἐκεῖνον τε ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐπίγαγε καὶ ὑμᾶς ² ἐκ τῆς ᾠρίμης καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀλλῆς Ἰταλίας ὅλης ἐξῆλθω, καὶ ἐνὶ λόγῳ ³ πάντων τῶν κακῶν τῶν ἐμφυλίων τῶν μετὰ ταῦθ' ὑμῶν ⁴ συμβάντων αὐτώτατος ἐγένετο.

3 εἰ γὰρ μὴ τοῖς βουλήμασιν ὑμῶν ⁵ ἀντεπεπράξει, οὐκ ἄν ποτε ὁ Καίσαρ οὔτε ⁶ σκῆψιν ὑμῶν ὑμῶν ἐνεμίαν τῶν πολέμων εὐρήκει, οὔτε εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀπηνασχύντει, δύναμιν γε ⁷ τινα ἀξίωρων παρὰ τὰ δόγματα ὑμῶν ἐπὶ θροίκει, ἀλλ' ἦτοι ἐκών ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων ἀπήλλακτο ⁹ ἢ καὶ ῥκων ἐσεωφρόνιστο. νῦν δὲ οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ καὶ ἐκεῖνος τῶν προφάσεις ἐνδοὺς καὶ τὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀξίωμα καταλύσας, τὸ τε θράσος τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπανξήσας· οὗτος ὁ τὸ στέρμα τῶν κακῶν τῶν μετὰ ταύτα ἐκφύσων ἐμβαλὼν, οὗτος ὁ κοινὸς ἀληθινὸς ὅμων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς

¹ ἐπαρφύνησε St., παραφύνησε LM. ² ὑμᾶς H. Steph., ὑμᾶς LM.
³ ἐν λόγῳ Pflugk, ἐν ὁλίγωι LM. ⁴ ὑμῶν R. Steph., ὑμῖν LM.
⁵ ὑμῶν R. Steph., ὑμῖν LM. ⁶ οὔτε Bk., οὗτος LM.
⁷ γε Rk., τέ LM. ⁸ ὑμῶν R. Steph., ὑμῖν LM.
⁹ ἀπήλλακτο supplied by Bk.

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appointed him tribune and master of the horse and subsequently consul. But I shall at present mention only his acts of drunken insolence and of villainy in these very offices.

"Well, then, when he was tribune, he first of all prevented you from accomplishing satisfactorily the business you then had in hand, by shouting and bawling and alone of all the people opposing the public peace of the state, until you became vexed and because of his conduct passed the vote that you did. Then, though, as tribune, he was not permitted by law to absent himself for a single night, he ran away from the city, abandoning the duties of his office, and going as a deserter to Caesar's camp, brought Caesar back against his country, drove you out of Rome and from all the rest of Italy, and, in short, became the prime cause of all the civil disorders that have since taken place among you. Had he not at that time acted contrary to your wishes, Caesar would never have found an excuse for the wars and could not, in spite of all his shamelessness, have gathered a sufficient force in defiance of your resolutions; but he would either have voluntarily laid down his arms or have been brought to his senses unwillingly. As it is, this fellow is the man who furnished Caesar with his excuses, who destroyed the prestige of the senate, who increased the audacity of the soldiers. He it is who planted the seeds of the evils which sprang up afterward; he it is who has proved the common bane, not only of us, but also of practically
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οἰκουμένης ὅλην πᾶς ηγενόμενος, ὦς ποιν καὶ
5 τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐναργῶς ἐσήμηνεν. ὦτε γοῦν τοὺς
θαυμαστοὺς ἐκεῖνους νόμους ἐσέφερε, βροντῶν
πάντα καὶ ἀστραπῶν ἐπληρώθη. ὃν οὐδὲν ὁ
μιαρὸς οὕτως, καίπερ σωματικῆς εἶναι λέγων,
φρονίσας, κακῶν καὶ πολέμων, ὦσπερ εἶτον,
οὐ τὴν πόλιν μόνον ἄλλα καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην
ἐπλήρωσε.

“Μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν νῦν τί μεν δεὶ λέγειν ὡς ἐπ’
ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον ἱππάρχεσθαι, διὸ μὴ πω πρῶτερον
28 ἐγεγόνει; τί δ’ ὃτι καὶ τότε μεθύουν τε ἐπαρφύει
καὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τὴν κρατιάλην ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ
2 βήματος μεταξὺ δημηγορῶν ἐξῆμει; τί δ’ ὃτι καὶ
πόρους καὶ πόριας, καὶ γελωτοποιοῦσαν οὐχ ὃτι
ἀνδρας ἄλλα καὶ γυναῖκας, μετὰ τῶν ῥαβδοῦχων
δαφνηφοροῦντων ἐπαγόμενος τὴν Ἰταλίαν περι-
3 ἱηεί; τί δ’ ὃτι τὴν τοῦ Πομπήλου οὕτων μόνος
ἀνθρώπων ἀγοράσαι ἐτόλμησε, μήτε τὸ ἐαυτοῦ
ἄξιωμα μήτε τὴν ἐκεῖνον μημήν αἰδεσθείς, ἄλλ’
ἐφ’ οἷς πάντες ἔτι καὶ τότε ἐθρηνοῦμεν, ταῦτα
μεθ’ ἤδονής ἀρπάσας; καὶ γὰρ ἐπ’ ἐκείνα καὶ ἐπ’
ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐπετήθησεν ὡς μηδεμίαν αὐτῶν τιμὴν
4 ἀποδώσων. ἄλλα καὶ ταύτην μετὰ πάσης ὕβρεως
καὶ βίας ἐσεπράξθη, οὕτως αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ
κατέγινα. καὶ πάνθ’ ὅσπερ ἐκτήσατο, παμπληθῆ
τε γενόμενα καὶ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ἀργυρολογη-
θέντα, κατακεκύβευκε καὶ καταπεπόρυνεκε καὶ
καταβέβρωκε καὶ καταπέπωκεν ὅσπερ ἩΧάρυβδις.

29 “Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐάσω. ἃς δὲ δὴ ὕβρεις
ἀς τὸ κοίνων ὑβρίσε, καὶ τὰς σφαγὰς ἃς κατὰ

1 πολέμων Dind., πολλῶν LM.
2 μεθύων Rk., μεθ’ ὅμων LM. 3 οὖν supplied by Schenkl.

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the whole world, as, indeed, Heaven clearly indicated. For when he proposed those astonishing laws, the whole city was filled with thunder and lightning. Yet this accursed fellow paid no attention to all this, though he claims to be an augur, but filled not only the city but also the whole world with evils and with wars, as I have said.

"Now after this is there any need of mentioning that he served as master of the horse a whole year, something which had never before occurred? Or that during this period also he was drunk and maudlin and in the assemblies would frequently vomit the remains of yesterday's debauch on the very rostra in the midst of his harangues? Or that he went about Italy at the head of pimps and prostitutes and buffoons, women as well as men, in the company of his lictors bearing their festoons of laurel? Or that he alone of all men dared to buy the estate of Pompey, having no regard for his own dignity or that great man's memory, but grasping with delight these possessions over which we all even at that time lamented? Indeed, he fairly threw himself upon this and many other estates with the expectation of making no recompense for them. Yet the price was nevertheless exacted from him with every indignity and show of violence; so thoroughly did even Caesar condemn his course. And all that he has acquired, vast in extent and levied from every source, he has swallowed up in dicing, in harlotry, in feasting and in drinking, like a second Charybdis.

"All this, now, I will omit; but regarding the insults which he offered to the state and the blood-
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πᾶσαν ὁμοίως τὴν πόλιν εἰργάσατο, πῶς ἂν τις σωτήσειν; ἦν οὐ μέμνησθε πῶς βαρύς μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ ὤψει, βαρύτατος δὲ τοῖς ἐργοῖς ἐγένετο; ὡστὶς, ὁ γὰρ καὶ θεοὶ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐτόλμησεν ἐνταῦθα, ἐνῶς τοῦ τείχους, ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ Καπιτω-λίῳ, τό τε ἔσθημα ἀμα τὸ περιτορφυρον ἐνδύοντος καὶ ἐξίσος παραξύννυσθαι βασιδούχος τε χρῆσθαι

καὶ ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν δορυφορεῖσθαι έπειτα δυνη-θεὶς ἀν καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων δορύβους καταπάγω- σαι, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐποίησε τούτο, ἄλλα καὶ ὁμονοοῦντας ὑμᾶς ἐστασίασεν, τῇ μὲν αὐτὸς τῇ δὲ καὶ δι' ἐτέρων. καὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἑκείνους εἰ σφιση τοτε δὲ ἐναντιούμενος, αὐτιώτατος μὲν ἐγένετο τοῦ παμπληθεὶς σφὼν σφαγήναι,

καὶ ὑπὸ μὴ πάντα τὰ τοῦ Πόντου τῶν τε Πάρθων εὐθὺς τότε ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ τοῦ Φαρνάκου νίκῃ χειρωθήναι πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς πατρίττομεν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δεύρῳ διὰ ταχεῶς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἑπειχθεῖς οὐδὲν ἑκείνων, ὡς γε καὶ ἱδυνήθη, παντελῶς κατεργάσατο.

30 "Καὶ οὔτε ταῦτα μέντοι αὐτὸν ἐσωφρόνισεν, ἀλλ' ὑπατεύσας γυμνός, ὁ πατέρες, γυμνός καὶ μεμυρισ-μένος ἐστὶ τῇ ἀγοράν ἐσθῆλε, πρόφασιν τὰ Δυκαία ποιησάμενος, κανταὐθα πρὸς τὸ βῆμα μετὰ τῶν ῥαβδούχων προσῆλθε, καὶ ἐκεῖ κατώθεν

ἐνδημηγόρησεν ὁπερ, ἀφ' οὗ γέγονεν ἡ πόλις, οὐδένα ἄλλου οὐχ ὃτι ὑπατον ἀλλ' οὔτε στρατηγῶν οὔτε δήμαρχον οὖδ' ἀγορανόμον οὖδ' εἰς οἶδε πε-

1 σφιση τοτε δὲ ἐναντιούμενος supplied by Bk.
2 τοῦ supplied by Bk. 3 γε Rk., τε LM.

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shed which he caused throughout the whole city alike how could any man remain silent? Do you not recall how oppressive the very sight of him was to you, but most of all his deeds? Why, merciful heavens, he first dared, within the city walls, in the Forum, in the senate-house, on the Capitol, at one and the same time to array himself in the purple-bordered robe and to gird on a sword, to employ lictors and to have a body-guard of soldiers.\(^1\) Then, when he might have checked the turmoil of the others, he not only failed to do so, but even set you at variance when you were harmonious, partly by his own acts and partly with the aid of others. Nay more, he took up those very factions in turn, and by now assisting them and now opposing them was chiefly responsible for great numbers of them being slain and for the fact that the whole region of Pontus and Parthia was not subdued at that time immediately after the victory over Pharnaces. For Caesar, hastening hither with all speed to see what he was doing, did not entirely complete any of those projects, as he certainly might have done.

"And even this result did not sober him, but when he was consul he came naked—naked, Conscript Fathers—and anointed into the Forum, taking the Lupercalia as an excuse, then proceeded in company with his lictors toward the rostra, and there harangued us while standing below. Why, from the day the city was founded no one can point to any one else, even a praetor, or tribune, or aedile, much less a

\(^1\) Cf. xlii. 27, 2; xlvi. 16, 5.
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ποιηκότα. τὰ γὰρ Δυκαία ἦν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐταιρικοῦ τοῦ Ἰουλίου ἐτέτακτο· ταύτα γὰρ ὁ Σέξτος αὐτὸν ὁ Κλώδιος τῶν δισχιλίων πλέθρων τῶν ἐν 3 τῇ Δεοντίνων γῇ δοθέντων ἐξεπαιδεύσε. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπάτευς, ὁ χρηστέ (ἐρω γὰρ ὡς πρὸς παρόντα σε), καὶ οὕτε ἐπρεπὲ σοι οὕτε ἔξην τοιούτῳ ὕντι ἐν ἡ ἀγορᾷ πρὸς τῷ βῆματι, πάντων ἡμῶν παρόντων, τοιαύτῃ εἰπεῖν, ἐν ἀμα τῷ τὸ θαυμαστόν σου σῶμα καὶ εὐσάρκον καὶ βδελυρὸν θεορῶμεν, καὶ τῆς μιανας σου φωνῆς τῆς μεμνημονίας τῶν δεινὰ εἰκεῖνα λεγούσης ἀκούώμεν. τούτῳ γὰρ περὶ τοῦ στόματος σου μάλλον ἢ τι ἑτερων εἰπεῖν βούλομαι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ Δυκαία καὶ ἄλλως ἄν τῆς προσηκούσης θρησκείας οὐκ ἀπέτυχε, σὺ δὲ πᾶσιν ὁμοί τὴν πόλιν κατηχοῦσα, ἵνα μηδὲν 5 μυθετῶ περὶ τῶν τότε λεχθέντων εἰπω. τῆς γὰρ οὐκ οἴδαν ὅτι ὑπατεία δημοσία τοῦ δῆμου παντός ἐστι, καὶ δεῖ τὸ ἀξίωμα αὐτῆς πανταχοῦ σωζεῖν καὶ μηδαμοῦ μήτε γυμνοῦσθαι μήθ' 31 ὑπερῖσχαι. τάχα γ' ἄν οὕτως ἦ τοῦ Ὀράτιον τὸν παλαιὸν ἔκείνου ἦ καὶ τὴν Κλοιλίαν τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἑμμηνῆσατο, ὅπως ἡ μὲν τὴν ἐσθήτα πᾶσαν ἑνδεδυκία τῶν ποταμῶν διενεξιζο, ὃ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὕπλων ἔς τὸ βρέμα ἐαυτὸν ἑνέβαλεν. ἀξίων γε (οὐ γὰρ;) καὶ τοῦτο τυιά εἰκόνα στήσαι, ἵνα μέν καὶ ἐν τῷ Τιβέριδι ὑπλισμένος, ὃ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἡμνὸς 2 ὄροτο. καὶ γάρ τοι διὰ ταύτα ἔκεινοι μὲν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐσοφοῦν καὶ ἡλευθέρουν, οὕτως δὲ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν ἑλευθερίαν ἡμῶν, ὅσον ἔπ' αὐτῷ ἦν, ἀφείλετο,

1 ἐν supplied by Xyl.
2 οὐκ ἀπέτυχε Βς., οὐκ ἔτυχε ΛΜ.
BOOK XLV

consul, who ever did such a thing. But it was the Lupercalia, you will say, and he had been put in charge of the Julian College. Of course, though, it was Sextus Clodius who had trained him to conduct himself so, in return for the two thousand plethra of the land of Leontini. But you were consul, my fine fellow,—for I will address you as though you were present,—and it was neither proper nor permissible for you as such to speak thus in the Forum, hard by the rostra, with all of us present, and to cause us not only to behold your wonderful body, so plump and detestable, but also to hear your accursed voice, dripping with unguents, uttering those outrageous words,—for I wish to speak of this matter of your mouth rather than anything else. The Lupercalia would not have failed of its proper reverence without this; but you disgraced the whole city at once,—to say nothing as yet about your remarks on that occasion. For who does not know that the consulship is public, the property of the whole people, that its dignity must be preserved everywhere, and that its holder must nowhere strip naked or behave wantonly? Perchance he was imitating the famous Horatius of old or Cloelia of bygone days; yet the latter swam across the river with all her clothing on, and the former cast himself with his armour into the flood. It would be fitting, would it not, to set up a statue of Antony also, so that as the one man is seen armed even in the Tiber so the other might be seen naked even in the Forum. It was by such conduct as has been cited that those heroes of yore were wont to preserve us and give us liberty, while he took away all our liberty from us, so far as was in his power,

1 Cf. xlv. 6. 2 Cf. Cic. Philip. ii. 4, 17, 34, 39; iii. 9.

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πάσαν δὲ τὴν δημοκρατίαν κατέλυσεν, καὶ δεσπό-
tην μὲν ἀντὶ ὑπάτου τύραννον δὲ ἀντὶ δικτά-
tορος ἥμιν ἀντικατέστησε.1 μέμνησθε γὰρ οἷα μὲν προσελθὼν πρὸς τὸ βήμα εἶπεν, οἷα δὲ ἀνα-
3 βὰς ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἐπραξε. καὶ τοι ὅστις ἔτόλ-
μησε, Ὀρμαίῳς τε ὂν καὶ ὑπατεύων, βασιλέα
tινὰ Ὀρμαίων ἐν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ Ὀρμαίᾳ καὶ
πρὸς τῷ βήματι τῷ ἐλευθερίῳ, παντὸς μὲν τοῦ
δήμου πάσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς παρούσης ἀνευπεῖν,
καὶ τὸ τε διάδημα εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ
4 ἐπιθείναι, καὶ προσκαταψεύσασθαι πάντων ἦμῶν
ἀκούντων ὅτι αὐτὸν ταῦτα αὐτῷ καὶ εἰπεῖν καὶ
πρᾶξαι ἐπεσκήψαμεν, τί μὲν οὐκ ἄν τῶν δεινοτά-
tων τὸλμήσειε, τίνος δ' ἄν τῶν χαλεπωτάτων
32 ἀπόσχοτο; ἤμεις, ὥ 'Ἀντώνιος, ἤμεις σοι2 ταῦτ'
ἐνετειλάμεθα, οἱ τοὺς Ταρκυνίους 3 ἕξελάσαντες,
oi τὸν Βρούτουν ἀγαπήσαντες, οἱ τὸν Καπιτωλίουν 4
cατακρημνύσαντες, οἱ τὸν Σπούριον ἀποκτείναντες;
2 ἤμεις βασιλέα τινὰ ἀστάσασθαι σε προσετάξα-
μεν, οἱ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ
προσέτι καὶ τὴν τοῦ δικτάτορος δι' ἐκείνην,
ἐπάρατον ποιησάμενοι; ἤμεις τύραννον τινα ἀπο-
δείξαι σοι ἐκελεύσαμεν, οἱ τὸν Πύρρον ἐκ τῆς
Ἰταλίας ἐκβαλόντες, οἱ τὸν 'Αντίοχον ὑπὲρ τὸν
Ταῦρον ἀπελάσαντες, οἱ καὶ Μακεδονίαν τυραν-
3 νομένην παύσαντες; οὐ μὰ τὰς βάβδους τὰς
Οὐαλερίου καὶ τὸν νόμον τῶν Πορκίου, οὐ
4 μὰ τὸ δόρυ τὸ Δεκίου καὶ τὸ κίρως τὸ Βρούτου. σὺ

1 ἀντικατέστησε M, ἀντικατέστησε L.
2 σοι M, οἱ L. 3 Ταρκυνίους R. Steph., ταρκυνίους LM.
4 Καπιτωλίους R. Steph., Καπιτάλιου LM.

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destroyed the whole republic, and set up a despot in place of a consul, a tyrant in place of a dictator over us. For you recall the nature of his language when he approached the rostra, and the manner of his behaviour when he had mounted it. And yet, when a man who is a Roman and a consul has dared to name any one king of the Romans in the Roman Forum, beside the rostra of liberty, in the presence of the whole people and the whole senate, and straightway to set the diadem upon his head and further to affirm falsely in the hearing of us all that we ourselves bade him say and do this, what outrageous deed will that man not dare, and from what terrible act will he refrain? Did we lay this injunction upon you, Antony, we who expelled the Tarquins, who cherished Brutus, who hurled Capitoline headlong, who put Spurius to death? Did we order you to salute any one as king, we who laid a curse upon the very name of king and because of it upon that of dictator as well? Did we command you to appoint any one tyrant, we who repulsed Pyrrhus from Italy, who drove Antiochus back beyond the Taurus, who put an end to tyranny even in Macedonia? No, by the rods of Valerius¹ and the law of Porcius, no, by the leg of Horatius and the hand of Mucius, no, by the spear of Decius and the sword of Brutus! But you, unspeakable

¹ P. Valerius Publicola, consul in B.C. 509, lowered his fasces upon entering the assembly in token of the superior power of the people. See Frag. 13, 2, and Livy ii. 7.

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dε, ὥ ταγκάκιστε, καὶ ἐδέον καὶ ἴκετευε ἦνα δου-
λεύσης, ὡς Ποστούμιοι ὅπως Σαλβίας έκδοθή,1 ὡς Ῥήγουλος ὅπως Καρχηδονίως ἀποδοθή,1 ὡς Κούρτιος ἦν ἐς τὸ χάσμα ἐμπέση.1 καὶ ποῦ τοῦτο γεγραμμένω 2 εὑρε; οὐ̃περ 3 καὶ τὸ τοὺς Κρήτας ἐλευθέρους μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Βρούτου ἀρχήν
gενέσθαι, ὃν ἡμεῖς ἐκείνων μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος
θάνατον ἀρξαί ἐφηφισάμεθα.

33 'Εν τοσούτοις καὶ τηλικοῦτοις πράγμασι τὴν
ἀλητηρίωδη γρώμην αὐτοῦ πεφωρακότες οὐ τιμω-
ρήσεσθε αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ ἀναμενεῖ 4 καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ
μαθεῖν τι ἀν δράσσειν ὡμᾶς ὑπλισμένον ὑπο τοιαῦτα
2 γυμνὸς εἰργασμένος; ὡς οἴεσθε ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιθυμεῖ
τῆς τυραννίδος, ὅτι οὐκ εὐχεταί ποτε αὐτῆς τυχείν,
ἀλλ' ἐκβαλεί ποτε ἐκ τῆς διανοίας τὴν ἐφεσίν
tαύτην, ὅν ἀπαξ ἐς τὸν νοῦν ἐγκατέθετο, καὶ
καταβαλεὶ ποτε τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς μοναρχίας, ὑπέρ
ἡς τοιαύτα καὶ εἶπὼν καὶ ποιήσας ἀτιμώρητος
3 ἐγένετο; καὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπων ἃ ἀλλ' τῷ συμ-
πράξαι, τῆς φωνῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ μόνης κυριεύων,
ἐπιχειρήσει, ταῦτ' οὖν ἀν αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ δυνη-
θείς κατεργάσαστο; τῆς δ' ἀν ἐτερον τύραννον
καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ ἐφ' ἐαυτὸν ἀμα
ἀποδείξα τολμήσας οὐκ ἀν αὐτὸς μοναρχήσαν
34 ἐθελήσειν; ὡστε εἰ καὶ τότε αὐτοῦ ἐφεσίασθε,
ἀλλὰ νῦν γε καὶ δι' ἐκείνα αὐτῶν μισῆστε· μηδ' ἐθελήσατε μαθεῖν τί κατορθώσας ὡς 6 βούλεται
dράσει,7 ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἤδη προτετολομημένων αὐτῷ

1 ἐκδοθή, ἀποδοθή, ἐμπέση Rk., ἐκδοθῆς, ἀποδοθῆς, ἐμπέσης
LM. 2 γεγραμμένων R. Steph., γεγραμμένον LM.
3 οὔτε Rk., ὡς LM. 4 ἀναμενεῖ R. Phulgk, ἀναμένει LM.
5 & supplied by Reim. 6 ὡς Rk., ὡς LM.
7 ἐδράσει Rk., ἐδράσει LM.

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villain, begged and pled to be made a slave, as Postumius pled to be delivered to the Samnites, as Regulus to be given back to the Carthaginians, as Curtius that he might hurl himself into the chasm. And where did you find this recorded? In the same place, I suppose, where you discovered that the Cretans were to be made free after Brutus' governorship, although it was after Caesar's death that we voted he should govern them.

"So then, seeing that you have discovered his baneful disposition in so many and so great matters, will you not take vengeance on him instead of waiting to learn by experience, too, what the man who caused so much trouble stripped would do to you when he is armed? Do you think that he is not eager for the tyrant's power, that he does not pray to obtain it some time, but will some day cast the desire of it out of his thoughts after having once allowed it a resting-place in his mind, and will some day abandon the hope of sole rulership for which he has spoken and acted as he has with impunity? What human being who, while possessing nothing but his own voice, would undertake to help some one else to secure certain advantages, would not win them for himself when he gained the power? Who that has dared to name another as tyrant over his country and himself as well would not wish to be monarch himself? Hence, even though you spared him then, hate him now for those acts too. Do not wish to learn what he will do when his success equals his desires, but taught by his previous audacity, plan
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2 τὸ μηδὲν ἦτι δεινὸν παθεῖν προνοήσατε. καὶ γὰρ τοι τί καὶ φήσειν ἄν τις; ἥρως τότε τὸν Καῖσαρα ποιήσαι μὴ προσδέξαμεν μὴτε τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ βασιλέως μὴτε τὸ διώδημα; οὐκοῦν οὐτοὶ κακῶς ταῦτα αὐτῷ προύτειν ἢ μηδὲ ἐκεῖνον ἥρεσεν. ἀλλ' ἀμαρτεῖν ὃτι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοιοῦτο τι ἀκούσας καὶ ίδὼν ἥνεχετο; οὐκοῦν εἶπες ἐκεῖνος ἐκότως ἐπὶ τούτους τέθηκε, πῶς οὐ καὶ οὗτος, ὁμολογών τρόπον τινὰ τυραννὶσαι ἐπιθυμεῖν μεῖν, δικαιότατος ἔστιν ἀπολέσθαι; ὅτι γὰρ ταῦτ' οὕτως ἔχει, δῆλον μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ ἐκ τούτων ὁ προείρηκα, φανερώτατα δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν δὲν μετὰ ταῦτ' ἔπραξεν ἐλέγχεται. τίνος μὲν γὰρ ἄλλου ἐνεκα, ἐξον αὐτῷ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀσφαλὼς ἀγείν, ταράττειν ἡ πράγματα καὶ πολυτραγμονεῖν ἐπὶ-κεχείρηκε; τίνος δὲ, παρὸν αὐτῷ ἀκινδύνως οὐκοὺς μένειν, στρατεύεσθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν ἐπανήρθηται; διὰ τί, πολλῶν μηδὲ ἐστὶς ἐπιβαλούσας αὐτοῖς ἀρχὰς βουληθέντων ἐξελθεῖν, οὕτος οὐχ ὅτι τὴς Γαλατίας οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσης ἀντιποιεῖται, ἀλλὰ καὶ 6 ἀκούσαν αὐτὴν βιάζεται; διὰ τί ὁ Βροῦτος τοῦ Δεκίμου καὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἥμιν 1 παραδιδόντως, οὕτως οὐχ ὅπως οὐκ ἐμμήσατο αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολιορκεῖ κατακλείσας; οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ ἔπ' ἀλλο τί καὶ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς 2 κακείνα καὶ τάλλα πάντα παρασκευάζεται.

35 "Ταῦτ' οὖν ὄργοντες μέλλομεν καὶ μαλακίζομεθα, καὶ τηλικοῦτον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς 3 τύραννον ἀσκοῦμεν; καὶ τῶς οὐκ αἰσχρὸν τοὺς μὲν προγόνους ἡμῶν ἐν δουλείᾳ τραφέντας ἐπιθυμήσαι ἐλευθερίας,

1 ἡμῖν H. Steph., ὅμιν L. 2 ἡμᾶς H. Steph., ὅμᾶς LM. 3 αὐτοὺς Bk., αὐτὸν LM.
BOOK XLV

beforehand to suffer no further harm. What, indeed, is one to say? That Caesar acted rightly at that time in accepting neither the name of king nor the diadem? Then this man did wrong to offer something which pleased not even Caesar. Or, on the other hand, that Caesar erred in enduring at all to look on and listen to anything of the sort? If, then, Caesar justly suffered death for this error, does not this man, also, who admitted in a way that he desired to be tyrant, most richly deserve to perish? That this is so is evident even from what I have previously said, but is proved most clearly by what he did after that. For with what other object than supremacy has he undertaken to stir up trouble and to meddle in affairs, when he might have enjoyed quiet with safety? With what other object has he chosen to make campaigns and to carry on war, when it was in his power to remain at home without danger? For what reason, when many have been unwilling to go out and take charge even of the provinces that fell to them, does he not only lay claim to Gaul, which does not belong to him in the least, but uses force upon it because of its unwillingness? For what reason, when Decimus Brutus is ready to surrender to us himself and his soldiers and his cities, has this man not imitated him, instead of shutting him up and besieging him? Surely it can only be for this purpose and against us that he is strengthening himself in this and in every other way.

"Seeing all this, then, do we delay and give way to weakness and train up so monstrous a tyrant against ourselves? Would it not be disgraceful if, after our forefathers, who had been brought up in slavery,
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2 ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐν αὐτονομίᾳ πολιτευθέντας ἐθελοδοὐλήσαι, καὶ τῆς μὲν μοναρχίας τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἡδέως, καὶπέρ 1 πολλὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἁγαθὰ προπαθόντας, ἀπαλλαγὴν, τοῦτον δὲ δεσπότην αὐθαίρετον ἀνθελέσθαι, ὡς τοσοῦτον ἐκεῖνον χείρων ἐστίν ὁ μὲν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κριτήσας

3 πολλῶν ἀφείσατο, οὗτος δὲ, πρὶν καὶ διυπηρήματι τι, τρικοσίους στρατιώτας, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκατοντάρχους τινάς, μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντας, οἶκοι παρ' ἑαυτῷ, παροῦσης τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ βλεποὺσας, ἐφόνευσέ, ὡστε καὶ τοῦ αἴματος αὐτήν ἀναπληρασάι. 4 καὶ τοῦτον οὕτως ὦμος ἐκεῖνος, ὅτε καὶ θεραπεύειν αὐτοὺς ὤφειλε, χρησάμενον τὸ ὄφειλεν ὀλεσθε 2 τῶν δεινοτάτων πάντας ὦμᾶς, ἐν καὶ νικήσῃ, ποιήσεων; καὶ τοῦ ἀσελγῶς οὕτω μέχρι νῦν βεβιακότάτω πῶς ὦκ ἐπὶ πᾶν ἤβρεως, ἀν καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὄπλων ἐξουσίαν προσλάβῃ, χωρίςειν νομίζετε;

36 "Μὴ τοίνυν ἀναμείνῃ τε παθόντες τι τοιοῦτο μεταγενῶναι, ἀλλὰ πρὶν παθεῖν φυλάξασθε· σχέτλιον γὰρ, ἐξὸν προκαταλαβεῖν τὰ δεινά, εἰτα περιδοὺς ταύτα γενόμενα μετανοήσαι. μηδὲ ἐθελήσῃτε, προέμενοι τὰ παρόντα, Κασσίου τινὸς αὐθίς ἄλλου καὶ Βρούτων 3 τινῶν ἄλλων δεηθήμαι· γελοῖον γάρ, ἐξὸν αὐτοὺς έαυτοῖς τὰ κατὰ καιρὸν βοηθήσατε, ζητεῖτε μετὰ ταύτα τοὺς ἐλευθεροῦντας

2 ἡμᾶς. οὐς ἴσως οὐδέ εὐρήσομεν, ἀλλὰς τε κἀν οὕτω τοῖς παροῦσι χρησίμωθα. τὶς γὰρ ἄν ἰδία ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας κινδυνεύσαι ἐθελήσειν,

1 καίπερ M by correction, καὶ L (and M originally).
2 οἴσθε R. Steph., οἴσθαι LM.
3 Βρούτων M, βρούτου τῶν L.
felt the desire for liberty, we, who have lived under a free government, should become slaves of our own accord? Or, again, if after gladly ridding ourselves of the dominion of Caesar, though we had already received many benefits at his hands, we should deliberately choose as our master in his stead this man, who is far worse than he? For Caesar spared many after his victories in war, whereas this man before attaining any power slaughtered three hundred soldiers, among them some centurions, guilty of no wrongdoing, in his own country, and in the presence and sight of his wife, so that she was actually stained with their blood. And yet what do you think the man who treated them so cruelly, when he owed them care, will not do to all of you,—aye, down to the utmost outrage,—if he shall conquer? And how can you believe that the man who has lived so licentiously up to the present time will not proceed to every extreme of insolence, if he shall also secure the authority given by arms?

"Do not, then, wait until you have suffered some such treatment and then rue it, but be on your guard before you suffer; for it is rash to allow dangers to come upon you and then to repent of it, when you might have anticipated them. And do not choose to neglect the present opportunity and then ask again for another Cassius or other Brutuses; for it is ridiculous, when we have the power of aiding ourselves in time, to seek men later on to set us free. Perhaps we shall not find them, either, especially if we handle the present situation in such a manner. For who would choose to encounter danger personally for the republic, when he sees that
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ὅρων ἡμᾶς δημοσία πρὸς τὴν δουλείαν ἐτοίμως ἤχοντας; καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὔ στήσεται ποτὲ ταύτα ποιῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς πόρρω καὶ ἐλάττωσιν ἐφ'

3 ἡμᾶς αὐξάνεται, παντὶ δὴ λόγον ἔστιν. οὐ γὰρ πον ὑπ' ἅλλο τι Δεκίμῳ πολεμεῖ καὶ Μοῦσιναν πολιορκεῖ ἢ ἦν νικήσας αὐτοὺς καὶ λαβὼν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς συσκευάστηκαί· οὔτε γὰρ ἢδίκηταί τι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὡστ' ἀμύνασθαι δοκεῖν, οὔτ' αὖ τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν τῶν παρ' ἐκείνους ἐπιθυμεῖ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πόνους καὶ κινδύνους ὑπομένει, τῶν δ' ἡμετέρων, οὐ καὶ ἐκείνα καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ κεκτήμεθα,

4 ἐθελουθής ἀφέξεται. τοῦτ' οὖν ἀναμενοῦμεν, ἦν καὶ ταύτα καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα προσλαβῶν δυσπολιορκέμποτος γένηται; καὶ πιστεύσομεν 1 ἐξαπατώντι

37 αὐτῷ καὶ λέγοντι ὃτι 2 οὐ πολεμεῖ τῇ πόλει; καὶ τὸς οὔτως εὐήθης ἔστιν ὥστε τοῖς ρήμασι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἔργοις τοῦ πολεμοῦντα ἡμῖν ἢ μή σκοπεῖν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὖν πρῶτον, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκδέρακε καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐστράτευκε καὶ Βρούτῳ προσβάλλει καὶ τὰς πόλεις πολιορκεῖ, κακόνων 3 αὐτῶν ἡμῶν εἶναι φημι, ἄλλα καὶ ἐξ διὶ πρότερον ποτε, οὐχ ὅτι τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἄλλα καὶ ζῶντος ἔτι, καὶ κακῶς καὶ ἀσελγῶς ἔπραξεν, καὶ ἔχθρον καὶ ἐπίβουλον καὶ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἡμῶν γεγονέναι

3 διόριζομαι· τὸς γὰρ ἄν τὴν πατρίδα φιλῶν ἡ τῆς τυραννίδα μισῶν ἐν γε τὶ τούτων ἐποίησεν ἄ πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ οὕτως δέδρακε; πολέμως μὲν δὴ πάλαι καὶ πανταχόθεν ὅν ἡμῖν ἐλέγχεται,

1 πιστεύσομεν R. Steph., πιστεύσωμεν LM.
2 ὃτι supplied by Dind.
3 κακόνων R. Steph., κακὸν οὖν LM.

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we are publicly resigned to slavery? And yet it is evident to everybody that Antony will not stop short with what he is now doing, but that even in remote and smaller matters he is strengthening himself against us. Surely he is warring against Decimus and besieging Mutina for no other purpose than that he may, after conquering them, take them and employ them against us. For he has not been wronged by them, that he can appear to be defending himself; nor, again, will he, while desiring the goods that they possess and with this in view enduring toils and dangers, be willing to refrain from the possessions belonging to us, who own their property and much besides. Shall we, then, wait for him to secure this prize and still others, and thus become a dangerous foe? Shall we trust his deception when he says that he is not warring against the city? Who is so simple as to decide whether a man is making war on us or not by his words rather than by his deeds? I claim that this is not the first time he has been unfriendly to us, now that he has abandoned the city and made a campaign against our allies and is assailing Brutus and besieging the cities; but in view of his former evil and licentious behaviour, not only after Caesar's death but even in the latter's lifetime, I decide that he has shown himself an enemy of our government and of our liberty and a plotter against them. For who that loved his country or hated tyranny would have committed a single one of the many and manifold offences which he has perpetrated? Surely he is proved to have been for a long time and in every way an enemy of ours, and the case stands
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ἐχει δὲ οὔτως. ἃν μὲν ἡδη καὶ τὴν ταχίστην ἀμυνόμεθα αὐτοῦ, πάντα καὶ τὰ προειμένα ἀναληψόμεθα. ἃν δὲ ἀμελήσαντες τούτο ποιεῖν περιμένωμεν ἐως ἂν ἦμιν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐπιβουλεύων ὁμολογήσῃ, πάντων ἀμαρτησόμεθα. τούτο μὲν γὰρ οὐδέν πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν προσελαύνη ποιήσει, ὡσπερ οὔδε ὁ Μάριος οὐδὲ ὁ Κίννας οὐδὲ ὁ Σύλλας ἂν δὲ ἐν τῷ κράτει τῶν πραγμάτων γένηται, οὐκ ἔστιν δὲ τι οὐ δράσει τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνως, ἡ καὶ χαλεπώτερον. ἀλλὰ τε γὰρ λέγειν οἱ πράξαι τι ἡγιάζομεν καὶ ἀλλὰ ποιεῖν οἱ κατορθώσαντες εἰώθασιν πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ κρατῆσαι τούτων πάντα πλάττονται, τυχόντες δὲ αὐτοῦ οὖδεν δ' ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἀπέχουνται. καὶ προσέτει καὶ τὰ τετολμημένα τισιν οἱ ἐπιγιγνόμενοι νικᾶν ἀεὶ ἐθέλουσι, τὸ μὲν ὅμοιον ὡς καὶ σμικρὸν ἐκ τοῦ προπετράχθαι νομίζοντες, τὸ δὲ ἀτοπὸν ὡς καὶ μόνον σφῶν ἄξιον ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου προαιροῦμενοι.

38 "Ταῦτ’ οὖν ὄροντες, ὃ πατέρες, μηκετί μέλλομεν, μηδ’ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ παρόντι ραστώνης δελεαζώμεθα, ἀλλὰ τῆς πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἀσφαλείας προϊδόμεθα. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ αἰσχρόν Καίσαρα μέν, ἀρτί τε ἐκ παῖδων προεληλυθότα καὶ οὐ πολύς ἢ οὐ χρόνος ἢ τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐγγεγραμμένον, τοσαύτην τοῦ κοινοῦ πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι ὡστε καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ ἀναλίσκειν καὶ στρατιώτας ἀθροίζειν, ἡμᾶς δὲ μήτ’ αὐτοῦ τι τῶν δεόντων πράξαι μήτε ἐκεῖνοφ

1 προειμένα R. Steph., προειμένα LM.
2 πράξαι τι Pflugk, τι πράξαι Rk., πράξαι LM.
3 μόνον Reim., μόνον LM.

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thus. If we now take measures against him most speedily, we shall also recover all that has been lost; but if we neglect to do this and wait till he himself admits that he is plotting against us, we shall lose everything. For this he will never do, not even if he should actually march upon the city, any more than did Marius or Cinna or Sulla; yet if he gets control of affairs, he will not fail to act precisely as they did, or still worse. For men who are eager to accomplish some object are wont to say one thing, and those who have succeeded in accomplishing it are wont to do quite a different thing; to gain their end they pretend anything, but after obtaining it there is no desire they deny themselves. Furthermore, the latest comers always desire to surpass what their predecessors have ventured, thinking it a small achievement to behave like them because that has been done before, but preferring to do something original as the only thing worthy of themselves, because unexpected.

"Seeing all this, then, Conscript Fathers, let us no longer delay nor fall a prey to the indifference of the moment, but let us provide for the safety of the future. Is it not shameful, when Caesar, who has just emerged from boyhood and was but recently registered among the youths of military age, shows so great thought for the state as to spend his money and gather soldiers for its preservation, that we should neither choose to perform our duty ourselves
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συνάρασθαι 1 προελέσθαι, καίτερ πείραν ἔργῳ τῆς
3 εὐνοίας αὐτοῦ εἰληφότας; τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι 2
εἰ μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καμπανίας στρατιωτῶν
ἐνταῦθα ἀφίκτω, πάντως ἀν 3 'Αντώνιος ἐκ τοῦ
Βρεττεσιῶν εὐθὺς, ὥσπερ ἐίχεν, ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἥμων
μετὰ πάντων τῶν στρατεύματός ὥσπερ τις χει-
4 μάρους ἐσεπεπτώκει; καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐκεῖνο δεινόν,
toὺς μὲν πάλαι ἐστρατευμένους ἐκουσίους ἑαυτοὺς
ὕμων πρὸς τὰ παρόντα πράγματα ἐπιδεδω-
κέναι, μήτε τὴν ἡλικίαν μήτε τὰ τραύματα, ἂ
πρότερον ποτὲ πολεμοῦντες ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἔλαβον,
ὑπολογισμένους, ᾗμᾶς 4 δὲ μηδὲ ἐπικυρώσαι τῶν
πόλεμον ἐθελήσαι τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων προ-
5 κεχειροτονημένου, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτοι χεῖρος καὶ τῶν
κινδυνεύοντων αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι οὕτω ἐπαινεῖν
μὲν τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς τὴν τε μαριάν
τοῦ Ἀντώνιου καταδόντας καὶ ἐκείνου μὲν καὶ
ὑπατεύοντος ἀποστάντας, τῷ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρι, τοῦτ
ἐστὶν ὑμῖν δι' αὐτοῦ, προσθεμένους, δ' ὁ ὀρθῶς
αὐτοὺς πεποιηκέναι φατε, ταῦτ' ὀκνῆσαι ψηφίσα-
6 σθαι. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τῷ Βροῦτῳ χάρων ἦσαν στι
μῆτε τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐσεδέξατο τῶν Ἀντώνιων ἐς
τὴν Γαλατίαν καὶ νῦν ἐπιστρατεύσαντα ἀπω-
θεῖται. τί ποτ' οὐν οὐχὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ αὐτά
ποιοῦμεν; τί δὲ οὐ τοὺς ἀλλοὺς οὗς ὀρθῶς
39 φρονοῦντας ἐπαινοῦμεν, μιμούμεθα 5; καίτοι δυοῖν
ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκη θάτερον, ἢ τούτους πάντας, τῶν
Καίσαρα λέγω, τὸν Βροῦτον, τοὺς πάλαι στρατιώ-
BOOK XLV

nor to coöperate with him, even after obtaining a tangible proof of his good-will? For who does not realize that, if he had not arrived here with the soldiers from Campania, Antony would certainly have rushed at once from Brundisium, just as he was, and would have burst into our city with all his armies like a torrent? This also is disgraceful, that when the veterans have voluntarily placed themselves at your service for the present crisis, taking thought neither for their age nor for the wounds which they received in past years while fighting for you, you should both refuse to approve the war already declared by these very men, and show yourselves altogether inferior to them who are facing the dangers. For while you praise the soldiers who discovered the wickedness of Antony and withdrew from him, though he was consul, and attached themselves to Caesar,—that is, to you through him,—you shrink from voting for that which you say they were right in doing. And yet we are grateful to Brutus because he not only did not admit Antony to Gaul in the first place, but is trying to repel him now that the other has made a campaign against him. Why in the world, then, do we not do the same ourselves? Why do we not imitate the rest whom we praise for their proper attitude? Yet there are only two courses open to us: either we must say that all these men, Caesar, I mean, and Brutus, the veterans,
τας, τὰ στρατόπεδα,¹ κακῶς τε βεβουλεύσθαι
φάναι καὶ τιμωρίαν δεῖν ὑποσχεῖν ὅτι μὴ ημῶν ²
μὴτοῦ δήμου ψηφισμένων ἐτόλμησαι, οἱ μὲν
τῶν ὑπατῶν σφῶν καταλιπόντες οἱ δὲ ἐπ᾿ αὐτῶν
2 ἀθροισθέντες, προσπολεμήσαι αὐτῷ. ἢ τὸν
Ἀντώνιον πάλαι τε καὶ νῦν ³ ὑφ᾿ ἡμῶν ⁴ τοῖς
ἐργοῖς αὐτοὺς πολέμουν ὁμολογεῖν εἶναι κεκρίσθαι,
καὶ χρήσις καὶ κοινῆ γνώμη πρὸς πάντων ἡμῶν
κολασθῆναι. καὶ μὴν ὅτι τούτῳ οὐ μόνον δικαιό-
tερον ἀλλὰ καὶ λυσιτελέστερον ἡμῖν ⁵ ἐστιν,
3 οὐδές ἄγνοεί. ὃ μὲν γὰρ ⁶ οὐτʼ αὐτοὺς χρῆσασθαι
πράγμασιν ἐπίσταται (πῶς γὰρ ἡ πόθεν ἀνθρώπος
ἐν μέθαι καὶ κύβοις ξών;) οὐτε τῶν συνόντων
οὐδένα ὁδὸν ἄξιον εἶναι λόγου ἔχει. τοὺς γὰρ τοῖς
ὁμοίους ἑαυτῷ μόνους καὶ ἀγαπᾶ καὶ κοινωνοῦν
4 ἀπάντων καὶ ὕπτων καὶ ἀπορρήτων ποιεῖται. καὶ
μέντοι καὶ δειλότατος ἐν τοῖς μεγάστοις τῶν
κυνδύνων καὶ ἀπιστότατος καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πάνω
φίλους ἐστίν. ὃν οὐδέτερον στρατηγία καὶ πολέμων
40 προσήκει. τίς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν
πάντα τὰ ἐμφύλια κακὰ παρασκευάσας ἐπειτ’
ἐπ᾿ ἐλάχιστον τῶν κυνδύνων μετέχειν, ἐπὶ πολὺ
μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθραίᾳ καταμείνας ⁸ ὑπὸ δειλίας,
ὅστ’ ὀλίγον τὸν Κάισαρα μονωθέντα δὴ αὐτὸν
πταίσαι, πάντας δὲ τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα πολέμους,
tὸν πρὸς Αἰγυπτίους, τὸν πρὸς Φαρνάκην, τὸν ἐν
2 Ἀφρικῇ, τὸν ἐν Ἰβρίᾳ ἐκοστάς; τίς δ’ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι
τὸν τε Κλώδιον προσποιησάμενος καὶ τῇ δημαρχίᾳ

¹ στρατόπεδα Rk., στρατόπεδα ἀν LM.
² ἡμῶν H. Steph., ὑμῶν LM. ³ νῦν supplied by Bs,
⁴ ἡμῶν H. Steph., ὑμῶν LM. ⁵ ἡμῖν Bk., ἡμῖν LM.
⁶ γὰρ Bs., γε LM. ⁷ ἐν added by Xyl.
⁸ καταμείνας R. Steph., κατὰ μόνας LM.

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and the legions,—have planned unwisely and ought to suffer punishment, because without our sanction or that of the people they have dared to offer armed resistance to their consul, some having deserted his standard, and others having been gathered against him; or else we must say that Antony has in our judgment long since admitted and still admits by his deeds themselves that he is our enemy and ought to be punished by common consent of us all. Now no one can fail to be aware that the latter course is not only more just but more expedient for us. For the man neither understands how to handle business himself—how or by what means could one who lives in drunkenness and dicing?—nor has he any companion who is of any account; for he loves only such as are like himself and makes them the confidants of all his open and secret undertakings. Moreover he is most cowardly in the gravest dangers and most treacherous even to his intimate friends; and neither of these qualities is suited for generalship and war. Who does not know that after causing all our domestic troubles himself he then shared the dangers as little as possible, tarrying long in Brundisium through cowardice, so that Caesar was isolated and almost failed on his account, and holding aloof from all the wars that followed against the Egyptians, against Pharnaces, Africa, and Spain? Who does not know that he won the favour of Clodius, and after using
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αὐτοῦ πρὸς πάντα τὰ δεινότατα ἀποχρησάμενος καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτοχειρία, εἴγε ἐγὼ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν
3 αὐτοῦ ταύτην ἐδεδέμην· καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι τούτῳ μὲν ταμεύων στρατηγοῦντι ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ συνεξετασθεὶς, τούτῳ δὲ ἐν τῇ δημαρχίᾳ παρὰ τὴν ἀπάντων ἡμῶν γνώμην προσθέμενος, καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ καὶ χρήματα παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀμφιθητα καὶ τιμᾶς ὑπέρογκους λαβών, ἐπεχείρησεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὲ μοναρχίας ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἐς διαβολὴν ἐμβαλεῖν, ὡς ἄντερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀπέθανεν;

41. "Καίτοι εἶπεν ποτὲ ὅτι ἐγὼ τοὺς σφαγέας ἐπ' αὐτὸν παρεσκεύασα· οὕτω γὰρ ἀνόητος ἦστιν ὡστε μου καταψυχεῖσθαι τολμάν τηλικοῦτος ἑπαίνους. ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτόχειρα μὲν αὐτὸν οὐ λέγω γεγονέναι τοῦ Καίσαρος, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τούτῳ κατέδεικε· τοῖς μέντοι πράγμασιν αὐτοῖς φημὶ ἐκεῖνον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπο-
2 λωλέων. ὁ γὰρ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῷ τοῦ δικαίῳ ἐπιβεβουλεύσθαι δοκεῖν παρασχῶν οὕτως ἐστιν ὁ βασιλέα αὐτὸν προσαγορεύσας, ὁ τὸ διάδημα αὐτῷ δοῦσιν, ὁ καὶ τοῖς φιλοῦσιν αὐτὸν πρότερον διαβαλῶν. ἢ ἐγὼ μὲν· χαίρω τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ μηδὲν ἐξώ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀπ' 1
3 αὑτοῦ ἀπολαύσας, 'Αντώνιος δὲ ἀχθεῖαι ὁ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν ἑκείνου οὐσίαν διαρτάσας, τάμπολλα δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν γραμμάτων αὐτοῦ προφάσει κακουργήσας, καὶ τέλος πρὸς τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς δυναστείας αὐτοῦ ἐπεγόμενος;

42. "Ἀλλ' ἐκείστε ἐπάνειμι, ὅτι οὔτ' αὐτός ἀξιο-
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1 ap' St., et' LM.
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the other's tribuneship for all the most outrageous ends, would have killed him with his own hand, if I had accepted this offer of his? And again, as regards his relations to Caesar, that after being first associated with him as quaestor, when Caesar was praetor in Spain, then attaching himself to him during the tribuneship, contrary to the liking of us all, and later receiving from him countless sums and excessive honours, he tried to inspire him with a desire for sole rulership and in consequence to expose him to calumny, which two things more than anything else were responsible for Caesar's death?

"Yet he once declared that it was I who instigated the assassins against Caesar; so senseless is he as to venture to invent such high praise for me. Now I, for my part, do not say that he was the actual slayer of Caesar,—not because he was not willing, but because here, too, he was timid,—yet I do say that by the very nature of his conduct Caesar perished at his hands. For the one who provided the motive, so that there seemed to be some justice in plotting against Caesar, is this fellow who called him king, who gave him the diadem, who previously slandered him even to his friends. Do I then, rejoice at the death of Caesar, I, who never enjoyed anything but liberty at his hands, and is Antony grieved, who has seized upon all his property and has done much mischief on the pretext of his papers, and who, finally, is eagerly striving to succeed to his sovereignty?"

"But I return to my point that he has none of the qualities of a great general or such as to win victories and does not possess many or
ματα πολλά ἢ ἀξιώμαχα κέκτηται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ
πλεῖστοι οἱ τε ἀριστοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐγκατα-
λεοίπασιν αὐτῶν, καὶ νῆ Δία καὶ τῶν ἑλεφάντων
ἐστέρηται: οἱ δὲ δὴ λοιποὶ ὑβρίζειν καὶ ἀρπάζειν
tὰ τῶν συμμάχων μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμεῖν μεμε-

2 λειτήκασι. τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦ μὲν τρόπου τῆς
προαιρέσεως αὐτῶν, ὅτι καὶ νῦν ἐτ' αὐτῶν συντρα-
τεύονται, τῆς δὲ ἀνανδρίας, ὅτι τὴν Μουτιναν
τοσοῦτον ἢδὲ χρόνου πολιορκοῦντες οὐχ ἤρήκασι,
καὶ τὰ μὲν τὸν Ἀντωνίου τῶν τε συνώντων αὐτῶ

3 τοιαῦτα ὄντα εὑρίσκεται. τὰ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρος τοῦ
τε Βροῦτον καὶ τῶν συνεξεταζομένων σφίσι
δύσμαχα μὲν καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὰ ἑστὶν (ἄμελει Καίσαρ
μὲν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ συγχυόμεθα ἑσφετέρι-
σται, Βροῦτος δὲ ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας αὐτὸν ἔξειργει),

4 ἂν δὲ δὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπικουρήσητε αὐτοῖς, πρῶτον
μὲν ἐπαινεσάντες σφας ἐφ' ὦς ἰδιογνωμονήσαντες
ἐποίησαν, ἐπεῖτα δὲ τὰ πραχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν
βεβαιώσαντες, πρὸς τε τὸ μέλλον ἐξουσίαν
ἐννομοῦν αὐτοῖς δόντες, ἐπεῖτα τοὺς ὑπάτους
ἀμφοτέρους ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεμον ἐκπέμψαντες, οὐκ
ἐστιν ὅπως Βοσθήσουσί1 τινες αὐτῷ τῶν νῦν

5 συνώντων. οὐ μὴν οὖν ἂν τὰ μάλιστα συμ-
μείνωσιν, ἀντιαχεῖν γε πρὸς πάντας ἡμᾶς τῶν
ἀλλῶν δυνησθεῖσαι,2 ἀλλ' ἦτοι ἐκών, ἔπειδ' ἂν
πρῶτον πύθηται ταῦθ' ὑμᾶς 3 ἐψηφισμένους, τὰ
tε ὑπὰ καταθήκασθαι καὶ ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἑαυτὸν ποιή-
σεται, ἢ καὶ ἄκων ἐκ μιᾶς μάχης ἀλώσεται.

6 "Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν παραινῶ, καὶ εἴη

1 Βοσθήσουσί Dind., Βοσθήσουσί LM.
2 δυνησθεῖσαι Oddey, δυνησουσί LM.
3 ὑμᾶς R. Steph., ἡμᾶς LM.
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formidable legions. For the majority of the soldiers and the best ones have deserted him, yes, and what is more, he has been deprived of his elephants; as for the rest of his troops, they have practised outraging and pillaging the allies more than waging war. Proof of the sort of spirit that animates them is seen in the fact that they still adhere to him, and proof of their lack of bravery in their failure to take Mutina, though they have now been besieging it for so long a time. Such is the condition of Antony and of his followers found to be. But Caesar and Brutus and those arrayed with them are formidable opponents quite by themselves,—Caesar, at any rate, has won over many of his rival's soldiers, and Brutus is keeping him out of Gaul,—and if you also come to their assistance, first by approving what they have done on their own initiative, next by ratifying their acts, at the same time giving them legal authority for the future, and then by sending out both the consuls to take charge of the war, it is certain that none of his present associates will continue to aid him. However, even if they cling to him most tenaciously, he will not be able to resist all the others at once, but will either lay down his arms voluntarily, as soon as he ascertains that you have passed this vote, and place himself in your hands, or will be captured against his will as the result of a single battle.

"This is my advice to you, and, if it had been
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υπατεύων ἐτυχον, πάντως ἀν καὶ ἐποίησα, καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον, ὅτε καὶ τὸν Κατιλίναν καὶ τὸν Δέντουλον, αὐτῷ τούτῳ προσήκοντα ἐπιβουλεύσαντας ¹ ύμῶν ἡμινάμην. εἰ δὲ τις ύμῶν ταῦτα μὲν ὄρθως ἥγενται λέγεσθαι, πρόσβεις δὲ πρότερον ἡμᾶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποστείλαι δεῖν οἴεται, καὶ ἔπειτα μαθόντας τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ, ἅν μὲν ἐκὼν ἀπαλλάττηται τῶν ὀπλῶν καὶ ² ύμῶν αὐτὸν ἐπιτρέπῃ, τὴν ἃσυχίαν 2 ἀγεῖν, ἀν δὲ ἔπει τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμένῃ, τότε καὶ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῷ ψηφισθῆναι (ταῦτα γὰρ πυνθάνομαι τινας παρανεᾶται ύμῶν ἔθελεν), λόγῳ μὲν εὐπρεπέστατον, ³ τῷ δὲ ἐργῷ καὶ αἰσχρῷ καὶ ἐπικίνδυνον τῇ πόλει πράγμα ποιεῖ. πῶς μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ αἰσχρὸν κῆρυξιν ύμᾶς καὶ προσβείαις πρὸς

3 τοὺς πολίτας χρησθαι; τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀλλοφύλους καὶ ἐπικηρυκευέσθαι καὶ διαπροσβείεσθαι δεῖ πρότερον καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἐστί, τοῖς δὲ δὴ πολίτας τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι τι παραχρήμα τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐπάγει, ἃν μὲν ὑπὸ ταῖς ψῆφοις αὐτοῦς λάβητε, δικάζοντας, ἃν δὲ τοῖς ὀπλοῖς, πολεμοῦντας. 4 δοῦλοι γὰρ εἰσὶ πάντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι καὶ ύμῶν καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν νόμων, ἃν τε ἔθελον ἃν τε καὶ μή καὶ οὕτε θρύπτειν αὐτοὺς οὐτε ἐξ ἰσον τοῖς ἐλευθερωτάτοις ἄγειν προσήκον ἐστιν, ἄλλωστε τοὺς οἰκέτας τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας καὶ 44 μετίεναι καὶ κολάζειν έκ τοῦ ὑπέρφρονος. πῶς δὲ οὐ δεινὸν ἐκεῖνον μὲν μὴ μελλῆσαι ἡμᾶς ἀδικεῖν, ἡμᾶς δὲ δὴ μέλλειν ἑμύνασθαι; καὶ

¹ ἐπιβουλεύσαντας R. Steph., ἐπιβουλεύσαντα L.M.
² καὶ L, om. M.
³ εὐπρεπέστατον Xyl., εὐπρεπεστάτω L.M.

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my lot to be consul, I should certainly have carried it out, as I did in former days when I defended you against Catiline and Lentulus (a relative of this very man), who had conspired against you. Perhaps, however, some of you, while regarding these suggestions as well made, think we ought first to send envoys to him, and then, after learning his decision, in case he voluntarily gives up his arms and submits himself to you, to take no action, but if he persists in the same course of action, to declare war upon him; for this is the advice which I hear some persons wish to give you. Now this plan is very attractive in theory, but in point of fact it is disgraceful and dangerous to the city. For is it not disgraceful that you should employ heralds and embassies to your fellow-citizens? With foreign nations it is proper and necessary to treat first through heralds and envoys, but upon citizens who are guilty of some wrong-doing you should inflict punishment straightway, by trying them in court if you can get them within reach of your votes, and by warring against them if within reach of your arms. For all such are your servants and servants of the people and of the laws, whether they wish it or not; and it is not fitting either to coddle them or to put them on an equal footing with the freest of the citizens, but to pursue and chastise them like runaway servants, in the consciousness of your own superiority. Is it not shameful that while he does not hesitate to wrong us, we hesitate to defend ourselves? Or,
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ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐκ πολλοῦ τὰ ὀπλα ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντα πάντα τὰ τοῦ πολέμου πράττειν, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐν ψηφίσμασι καὶ προσβείαις τοὺς χρόνους κατατρίβειν, καὶ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἁδικοῦντα πάλαι πεφωράκαμεν, τούτον συλλαβαῖς, καὶ ῥήμασι μόνοις μεταχειρίζεσθαι; τὰ προσδοκῶντας; ἢ ὅτι ὑπακούσει ποτὲ ἡμῖν καὶ αἰδεσθήσεται ποτε ἡμᾶς; καὶ πῶς, ὅσ γε ἐς τούτ' ἥδη προκεχώρηκεν ὡστε μὴ ἄν βούληται δύνασθαι δημοκρατίκως ἡμῖν συμπολιτεύεσθαι; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐσως καὶ κοινῶς ξῆν ἡβουλεύτω, οὐδ' ἄν ὡς ἀρχὴς τοιοῦτος πράγμασιν ἐπεχείρησε, εἰ τε καὶ ὑπ' ἀνοίας ἢ καὶ προπετείας τούτ' ἐποίησε, πάντως ἄν ἔκων

3 εὑρὼν αὐτῶν ἀπηλλάγην νῦν δ' ἄπαξ καὶ ἐκ τῶν νόμων καὶ ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ἐκβάς, καὶ τινα καὶ δύναμιν ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐξουσίαν προσλαβών, οὐκ ἐστὶν ὅπως ἄν ἐθελούσος μεταβάλλοιτο καὶ τῶν δογμάτων τι τῶν ὑμετέρων προτιμήσειεν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη τὸν τοιοῦτον αὐτοὶς τοῖς ὀπλοῖς, οἷς ἡμᾶς ἁδικεῖν ἔτολμησε, καὶ κολασθῆναι. 45 καὶ μοι νῦν μάλιστα τὸ λέχθην ποτὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου μνημονεύσατε, ὅτι οὐχ οἷον τέ ἐστιν ύμιν, ἂν μὴ κράτησῃ, σωθῆναι. οὔδεν οὖν ἄλλο ποιοῦσιν οἱ κελεύντες ύμᾶς προσβεύσασθαι ἡ ὅπως ύμεῖς μὲν βραδύνητε, κάκτωτον καὶ τὰ τῶν συμμαχοῦντων ύμῖν ἄργοτερα καὶ ἀθυμότερα 2 γένηται, ἐκείνος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καθ' ἃς καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἄν βούληται πράξῃ, καὶ τὸν τε Δέκιμον

1 μεταβάλλοιτο R. Steph., μεταβάλλοιτο LM.
again, that while he for a long time, weapons in hand, has been carrying out all the deeds of war, we are wasting our time in decrees and embassies, and that we retaliate only with words and phrases upon the man whom we have long since discovered by his deeds to be a wrong-doer? What are we hoping for? That he will some day render us obedience and pay us respect? Yet how would this be possible in the case of a man who has come to such a point that he would not be able, even should he wish it, to live as an ordinary citizen with us under a democratic government? Indeed, if he were willing to live on a basis of common equality, he would never have entered in the first place upon such a career as his; and even if he had done so under the influence of folly or recklessness, he would certainly have given it up speedily of his own accord. But as the case stands, since he has once overstepped the limits imposed by the laws and the constitution, and has acquired some power and authority by this action, it is not conceivable that he would change of his own free will or heed any one of your resolutions, but it is absolutely necessary that such a man should be punished with those very weapons with which he has dared to wrong us. And I beg you now to remember particularly the remark which this man himself once uttered, to the effect that it is impossible for you to be saved unless you conquer. Hence those who bid you send envoys are doing nothing else than causing you to delay and causing your allies to become in consequence more remiss and dispirited; while he, on the other hand, will meanwhile do whatever he pleases, will destroy
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έξελθε καὶ τὴν Μουτιναν ἐκπολιορκήσῃ τὴν τε
Δαλατίαν πάσαν λάβῃ, ὡστε μηκέθ᾿ ἡμᾶς ὅπως
αὐτῷ χρησιῶμεθα εὐρεῖον δυνηθῆναι, ἀλλ᾿ ὑποδει-
έναι τε καὶ θεραπεύειν αὐτὸν καὶ προσκευτί
3 ἀνάγκην ἔχειν. ἦν δὲ ἔτι τοῦτο περὶ τῆς
πρεσβείας εἰπὼν παύσομαι, ὅτι οὐδὲ ὁ Ἄντωνιος
λόγον τινὰ ἦμιν ἔδωκε περὶ ὅν πράττειν ἔμελλεν,
ἰνα καὶ ἦμεις τοῦτο ποιήσητε.
4 "Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τὰλλα
πάντα συμβουλεύω ὑμῖν μὴ μέλλειν μηδὲ
dιατρίβειν, ἀλλ᾿ ὅτι τάχιστα αὐτῷ πολεμήσαι,
λογισμένος ὅτι τὰ πλαύν τῶν πραγμάτων τοῖς
5 καροίς ἡ ταῖς δυνάμεις κατορθοῦται, καὶ πάντως
ποὺ καὶ ἐκ τοῦτο συνέχει ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτε τὴν
εἰρήνην, ἐν ἕ καὶ πλεῖστον ἱσχὺς καὶ πλοῦτον
καὶ δόξαν ἐκτησάμην, ἀφεὰς, εὔγε καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ
eἰρήνη ἦν, πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ γε καὶ συμφέρειν
46 ἡγούμην, παρθένεσα. καὶ σοὶ δὲ, ὁ Καλήνη,
τοῖς τε ἅλλοις τοῖς ταῦτα σοὶ φρονοῦσι συμ-
βουλεύω καθ᾿ ἱσυγλαν ἐπιτρέψῃ τῇ γερουσίᾳ τὰ
προσήκοντα ψηφίσασθαι, καὶ μὴ τῆς ὑδαίας ὑμῶν
πρὸς Ἀντώνιον χάριτος ἔνεκα τὰ κοινὰ πάσιν ἦμῖν
2 συμφέροντα καταπραγόνται. ὡς ἐγών οὖν τῶν
γνώμης, ὁ πατέρες, ἡμῖν ὅστε, ἄν μὲν πεισθῆτε μοι,
καὶ πάνυ ἄν ἱδέως καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ τῆς
σωτηρίας μεθ᾿ ὑμῶν ἀπολαύσαι, ἄν δ᾿ ἀλλο τι
ψηφίσησθε, τεθύναι μᾶλλον ἡ ἐξῆ ἐλέσθαι.
3 οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως τῶν θάνατον ποτὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς

1 ἀνάγκῃ R. Steph., ἀνάγκῃ L.M. 2 ἔτι M, ὅτι L.
3 κατορθοῦται Reim., κατορθοῦται L.M.
4 εἰρήνη ἐν Bk., εἰρήνη L.M.
5 παρθένεσα Dind., παρανύσαι L.M. 6 σοὶ R. Steph., σο L.M.
7 τῇ Rk., τῇ τε L.M. 8 πάνυ Reim., πάντα L.M.

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Decimus, will take Mutina by storm, and will capture all Gaul, with the result that we shall no longer be able to find means of dealing with him, but shall be under the necessity of trembling before him, paying court to him, and worshipping him. Just this one point further about the embassy and I am done: Antony did not on his part give you any account of what he intended to do, that you should do so yourselves.

"I, therefore, for these and all the other reasons advise you not to delay or to lose time, but to make war upon him as quickly as possible, reflecting that the majority of enterprises owe their success rather to opportune occasions than to their strength; and you should by all means feel perfectly sure for this very reason that I would never have given up peace, in the midst of which I have most influence and have acquired wealth and reputation, if it really were peace, nor would have urged you to make war, did I not think it to your advantage. And I advise you, Calenus, and the rest who are of the same mind as you, to be quiet and allow the senate to vote the requisite measures, and not for the sake of your private good-will toward Antony to betray the common interests of us all. For this is my feeling, Conscript Fathers, that if you heed my counsel, I shall very gladly enjoy freedom and safety with you, but that if you vote anything different, I shall choose to die rather than to live. For I have never at any time been afraid of death

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παρρησίας ἐφοβήθην (καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ κατόρθωσα πλείστον· τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι καὶ θύσαι καὶ ἐφορτάσαι ἐφ’ οἷς ὑπατεύων ἐποίησα ἐψηφίσασθε, ὅπερ οὖν ὑπὸ πῶς ἄλλῳ μὴ οὖκ ἐν πολέμῳ γέ τι καταπράξαντι ἐγένετο), νῦν δὲ καὶ ἤκιστα.

4 καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν θάνατος οὐκ ἀν ἄφρος ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸ τοσούτων ἐτῶν ὑπατευκότι μοι γένοιτο (καίτοι μνημονεύετε ὅτι τούτῳ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὑπατείᾳ ὑμῖν εἶπον, ἵνα μοι πρὸς πάντα ᾧ καταφρονοῦντι αὐτοῦ προσέχητε· τὸ δὲ δὴ φοβηθῆναι τινα καθ’ ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ δουλεύειν τινι μεθ’ ὑμῶν καὶ πάνυ ἀν μοι ἀφρότατον ἑυμβαίη. 5 δὲ εντερ τούτῳ μὲν καὶ συμφόραν καὶ ὄλεθρον, οὗ τοῦ σώματος μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς τις τε δόξης, ὃς ἂς που καὶ μόνης ἀίδιοι τρόπον τινὰ γιγνόμεθα, εἶναι νομίζω· τὸ δὲ δὴ λέγοντά τε καὶ πράττοντα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀποθανεῖν ἴσοστάσιον ἀθανασία 3 ἀγω.

47 "Καὶ εἶγε καὶ 'Ἀντώνιος ταῦτ' ἐγίγνωσκεν, οὐκ ἀν ποτε ἐς τοιαῦτα πράγματα προοψώρησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἂν, ὡσπερ ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ, μάλλον ἢ τι τῶν ὁμοίων τῷ Κίννα τῷ ἑκείνων ἂν ἀποκτείναντι ποιήσαι προεῖλετο. πρὸς γὰρ αὖ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁ μὲν Κίννας οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον ἀντεσφάγη διὰ τοῦτο καὶ διὰ τὰ ἄλλα ὅ κακῶς ἐπραττε (διὸσπερ καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ 'Ἀντωνίου τεθαίμακα, ὅτι τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ μιμούμενος οὐ φοβεῖται μήποτε ὁμοία καταστροφῆ περιπέσῃ), ἐκεῖνος δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ τοῦτῳ τὸ δοκεῖν τινὶ εἶναι

1 καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν Bk., καὶ ὁ μὲν γὰρ LM.
2 ἀφρότατον Dind., ἀφρότατον LM.
3 ἀθανασία Rk., ἀθανασίαν LM.

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as a consequence of my outspokenness (this accounts, Indeed, for my overwhelming success, the proof of which lies in the fact that you decreed a sacrifice and festival in memory of the deeds done in my consulship, an honour which had never before been granted to anybody except one who had achieved some great success in war) and now I fear it least of all. For death, if it befell me, would not be at all unseasonable, especially when you consider that my consulship was so many years ago (yet remember that in that very consulship I expressed the same sentiment, in order that you might pay heed to me in everything, knowing that I despised death), but to dread any one for what he may do against you, and to be a slave to any one in common with you would prove most unseasonable to me. Therefore I deem this last to be the ruin and destruction not only of the body but also of the soul and reputation, by which, and by which alone, we become in a certain sense immortal; but to die speaking and acting in your behalf I regard as equivalent to immortality.

"Now if Antony, also, realized this, he would never have entered upon such a career, but would have even preferred to die as his grandfather died rather than to behave like Cinna, who killed him. For, to mention nothing else, Cinna was in turn slain not long afterward for this and the other crimes he had committed; so that I am surprised also at this feature in Antony's conduct, that, imitating his deeds as he does, he shows no fear of some day falling a victim to a similar fate. The murdered man, on the other hand, left behind to this very descendant
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3 κατέλιπεν. ἀλλ' οὕτι γε καὶ σώζεσθαι διὰ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἠτί δικαίος ἦστι, μήτε τὸν πύρπον ζηλῶσας μήτε τὸν πατέρα τῆς οὐσίας κληρονομήσας. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τοῦθ', 1 ὅτε πολλοὺς φεύγοντας καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων δὴ τῶν ἐκείνου καταγαγών 2

4 οὐκ ἔπεκούρησε τῷ θείῳ, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν συγκυβευτὴν τὴν Δευτέρουλον τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ βίου ῥαδιουργίᾳ φυγόντα ἐπανήγαγε, καὶ τὸν Βαμβαλίωνα τὸν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ἐπιβοήσας ἄγαπὰ, τοῖς δὲ δὴ συγγενεστάτους οὕτως ὁσπερ εἰπον 3 κέχρηται, καθάπερ τινὰ ὀργὴν αὐτοῖς

5 ἔχων ὅτι τοιούτος ἐγεννήθη. τοιγαροῦν τῶν μὲν ἐκείνου 4 χρημάτων οὐκ ἐκληρονομημένων, ἀλλὰν δὲ δὴ καὶ πάνυ πολλοὺς, τοὺς μὲν μὴν ἱδὼν ἀχούσας πῶς τοι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ νῦν ὕπι ζῶντας: οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀποδέδυκε καὶ σεσύληκεν ὡστε μηδέν σφας νεκρῶν διαφέρειν."

1 τοῦθ' Bk., ταῦθ' LM. 2 καταγαγὼν Rk., ἀγαγὼν LM.
3 ὁσπερ εἰπον Bk., ὁσ προεἰπον LM.
4 ἐκείνου V, ἐκείνων LM.
the reputation of greatness. But Antony has no b.c. 48
longer any claim to be saved on account of his
relatives, since he has neither emulated his grand-
father nor inherited his father's property. Who,
indeed, is unaware of the fact that in restoring many
who were exiled in Caesar's time and later, in accord-
ance, forsooth, with the directions of Caesar's papers,
he did not aid his uncle, but brought back his
fellow-gambler Lenticulus, who had been exiled for
his unprincipled life, and cherishes Bambalio,\(^1\) who is
notorious for his very cognomen, while he has treated
his nearest relatives as I have described, as if he
were half angry at them because he was born to
so noble a name? Consequently he never inherited
his father's goods, but has been the heir of very
many others, some of whom he never saw or heard
of, and others who are still living; for he has so
stripped and despoiled them that they differ in no
way from dead men."

\(^1\) M. Fulvius Bambalio, Antony's father-in-law. The
name Bambalio signifies "stutterer."
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