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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

V
DIO'S
ROMAN HISTORY

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

LONDON
WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
MCMLV
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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

BOOK XLVI

Τάδε ἐγεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακόστῳ ἐκτρι τῶν Δίωνος Ὁμαϊκῶν

α. Ὅς Καλῆνος ὑπὲρ Ἀντωνίου Κικέρωνι ἀντεῖπεν.

β. Ὅς Ἀντώνιος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων περὶ Μουτιναν ἡττήθη.

γ. Ὅς Καίσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην ἠλθε καὶ ὑπάτος ἀπεδείχθη.

δ. Ὅς Καίσαρ καὶ Ἀντώνιος καὶ Λέπιδος συνώμοσαν.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἐτος ἐν, ἐν δὲ ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμοῦμενοι οὐδὲ ἐγένοντο

Γ. Οὐίβιος 1 Γ. υ. Πάννας Καπρωνιανὸς 8π. 2

Αδ. Ἰρτιος Αδι. νι.

Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Κικέρωνος εἰπόντος ὁ Καλῆνος ὁ Κύντος ὁ 3 Φούβιος ἀνέστη καὶ ἔλεξεν "ἲλλως μὲν οὐδὲν οὕτω ὑπὲρ Ἀντωνίου τι ἀπολογήσασθαι οὔτε Κικέρωνος καθάψασθαι ἐδεόμην. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ ήγούμαι δεῖν ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις σκέψεσιν οἵα ἡ παρούσα ἐστὶν οὐδέτερον αὐτῶν ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς ἀ τις φρονεῖ ἀποφαίνεσθαι ἐκεῖνα μὲν γὰρ δικαστηρίου, ταῦτα δὲ συμβουλίας ἐργα ἐστίν.

2 ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὗτος τῶν τε Ἀντώνιου κακῶς διὰ τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν σφισι λέγειν ἐπέχειρησεν, ὃν ἔχριμην, εἰπερ τι ἡδικήκει, ἐσηγγελκέναι,

1 Οὐίβιος Xyl., λίβιος LM. 2 Ὡπ. supplied by Bs.
3 ο supplied by Bk.
The following is contained in the Forty-sixth of Dio's Rome:—
How Calenus replied to Cicero in defence of Antony (chs. 1–28).
How Antony was defeated at Mutina by Caesar and the consuls (chs. 29–38).
How Caesar came to Rome and was elected consul (chs. 39–49).
How Caesar, Antony, and Lepidus formed an alliance (chs. 50–56).
Duration of time, one year, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated:—
B.C. 43 C. Vibius C. F. Pansa Capronianus, A. Hirtius A. F.

When Cicero had finished speaking in this vein, Quintus Fufius Calenus arose and said:—"Ordinarily I should not care either to say anything in defence of Antony or to assail Cicero; for I do not think it at all necessary in such discussions as the present to do either of these things, but simply to make known one's own opinion; the former method belongs to the court-room, whereas this is a matter for deliberation. Since, however, this man has undertaken to speak ill of Antony on account of the enmity that exists between them, instead of lodging information against him, as he ought, in case Antony were guilty
καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐμοὶ διαβόλως ἐμνημόνευσεν, ὡς οὖν ἂν ἄλλως τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δεινότητα δια- 
δείξας εἰ μὴ τινας ἄνεδην1 προσπηλακίσειε, 
3 προσήκει καὶ ἐμοὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπολύσασθαι τὰ δὲ 
ἀνταίσασθαι, ἢν μὴ τοῦτον ἢ τε οἰκεία 
θρασύτης ἀντιλογίας ἀμαρτοῦσα καὶ ἢ ἐμὴ σιωπὴ 
πονηροῦ συνειδότος ὑποψίαν λαβοῦσα ὡφελήσῃ, 
μήδ' ὑμεῖς ἀπατηθέντες ὅφ' ὅν εἴπεν χείρον βου- 
λεύσησθε, τὴν ἒδαν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν 'Ἀντώνιον 
ὀργήν ἀντὶ τῶν κοινῆς συμφερόντων ἀντικαταλ-
2 λαξάμενοι. οὔδε γὰρ ἄλλο γε οὔδεν διαπράξαι 
βουλεῖται ἢ ἂν ἡμεῖς, τὸ τὰ ἀσφαλέστατα τὸ 
κοινὸ προίδειν ἄφεντες, στασιάσωμεν αὐθίς. 
τούτο γὰρ οὐ νῦν πρῶτον ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ ἀπ' ἀρχής, 
ἂφ' οὔπερ πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν προσήλθεν, ἄνω 
2 καὶ κάτω ταράττων διατετέλεκεν. ἡ γὰρ οὗχ οὐτὸς 
ἐστιν ὁ τὸν τε Καΐσαρα τῷ Πομπήιῳ συγκρούσας 
καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τῷ Καΐσαρι καταλλαγήναι 
κωλύσας; ὁ πείσας μὲν ὑμᾶς ἐκεῖνα κατὰ 'Ἀν-
τωνίου ψηφίσασθαι δι' ὅν παράξευε τὸν Καί-
σαρα, πείσας δὲ τὸν Πομπήιον τὴν τε Ἑλλάδαν 
3 ἐκλιπεῖν καὶ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν μετοικῆσαι; ὅπερ 
που αἰτιώτατον πάντων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα συμβάν-
των ἡµῶν κακῶν ἐγένετο. οὐχ οὔτὸς ἐστιν ὁ τὸν 
τε Κλώδιον διὰ Μίλωνος ἀποκτείνας καὶ τὸν 
Καΐσαρα διὰ Βρούτου φονεύσας; ὁ τὸν τε Κα-
tιλίναν ἑκπολεμώσας ἡµῶν καὶ τὸν Δεντολοῦ 
3 ἄκριτον ἀπολέσας; ὅθεν ἔγωγε καὶ πάνω ἄν ὑµῶν 
θαυμάσαµι, εἰ τότε ἐπ' ἐκείνως μεταγνώτες καὶ 
dίκην παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντες, εἰτα καὶ νῦν ὀµοια

1 ἄνεδην Bk., ἄναβην LM.
of any wrong-doing, and since, furthermore, he has made insulting reference to me, as if he could not have exhibited his own cleverness without indulging in unrestrained abuse of people, it behooves me also both to refute his accusations and to bring counter-charges against him. For, in the first place, I would not have him profit either from his own impudence, if allowed to go unchallenged, or from my silence, which might be suspected of coming from a guilty conscience; nor, again, would I have you be deceived by what he has said and come to an unworthy decision by letting his private grudge against Antony take the place of the public interest. For the purpose he wishes to accomplish is nothing else than that we should give up providing for the greatest safety of the commonwealth and fall into discord once more. Indeed, it is not the first time he has done this, but from the outset, ever since he entered politics, he has been continually turning things topsy-turvy. Is he not the one who embroiled Caesar with Pompey and prevented Pompey from becoming reconciled with Caesar? Or the one, again, who persuaded you to pass that vote against Antony by which he angered Caesar, and persuaded Pompey to leave Italy and transfer his quarters to Macedonia,—a course which proved the chief cause of all the evils that subsequently befell us? Is he not the one who killed Clodius by the hand of Milo and slew Caesar by the hand of Brutus? The one who made Catiline hostile to us and put Lentulus to death without a trial? Hence I should be very much surprised at you if, after changing your mind then about his conduct and making him pay the penalty for it, you should now heed him again, when his
2 aυτῷ καὶ λέγοντι καὶ πράττοντι πεισθήσεσθε. ἥ
οὐχ ὅρατε ὅτι καὶ μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος θανα-
tου, ὅτε μὲν τὰ πράγματ' ἡμῶν δι᾽ Ἀντώνιον
οτὶ 1 μάλιστα, ὡς οὐδ’ αὐτὸς ἀρνήσασθαι δύναται,
kατέστη, ἀπεδήμησε, καὶ ἀλλότριον καὶ ἐπικίνδυ-
νον ἕαυτῷ τὸν τῆς ὁμονοίας ἡµῶν βίον εἶναι νοµή-
ζων. έπει δὲ τεταραγμένα αὐτὰ αὕτες ἡσθετο,
μακρὰ χαίρειν τῷ τις νιεὶ καὶ ταῖς Ἀθήναις φρά-
3 σας ἐπαυήλθην, καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀντώνιον, ὅν τέως
ἀγαπᾶν ἔλεγεν, ὑβρίζει καὶ λοιδορεῖ, τῷ δὲ δὴ
Καίσαρι, οὐ καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἀπέκτεινε, συναί-
ρεται 2; καὶ οὗτῷ τῷ χή, κάκεινοι οὐκ ἔσ μακρὰν
4 ἐπιθήσεται: αἵπιστός τε γὰρ φύσει καὶ ταραχώδης
ἐστὶ, καὶ οὕτε τι ζῆμα ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἐχει καὶ πάντα
ἀεὶ κι καὶ στρέφει, πλείονας μὲν τροπὰς τρεπό-
μενος τοῦ πορθμοῦ πρὸς ὃν ἔφυγεν, ἔφ’ ὡπερ καὶ
αὐτόμολος ἐπωνομάσθη, πάντας δὲ ύµᾶς ἄξιον
καὶ φίλον καὶ ἐχθρὸν νοµίζειν ὅν ἀν αὐτὸς
κελεύσῃ.

4 ὡς ἐρώπων.
γόνῃ γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ μάγος, καὶ ἐκ μὲν τῶν κακῶν
τῶν ἀλλοτρίων καὶ πλούτει καὶ αὐξεῖ, συκοφαν-
tῶν ἐλκὼν σπαράττων τοὺς μηδεν ἁδικοῦντας
ὡσπερ οἱ κύνες, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ κοινῇ ὁμονοίᾳ ἀπορεῖ
καὶ πληίων: οὕτε γὰρ ἡ φίλια οὐθ’ ἡ εὐνοια ἡµῶν
ἡ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοιοῦτον δύναι τρέφεις ἤ-
2 τορά. ἐπεὶ πόθεν ἀλλοθεν πεπλούσθηκεν αὐτὸν
σεσθε, πόθεν μέγαν γεγονέναι; οὐ γὰρ ποὺ καὶ ὁ
πατὴρ αὐτῷ ὁ 3 κναφεύς, ὁ τὰς τε σταφυλὰς καὶ

1 ὅτι Xyl., ἔτι LM.
2 συναίρεται Rk., συναίρει L, συναίρει (corrected from
συναίρειν) M. 3 ὁ added by Bk.

6
words and actions are similar. Or do you not observe how also after Caesar's death, when order had been restored in our state chiefly by Antony, as not even Cicero himself can deny, Cicero went abroad, because he considered our life of harmony alien and dangerous to him? And how, when he perceived that turmoil had again arisen, he bade a long farewell to his son and to Athens, and returned? Or, again, how he insults and abuses Antony, whom he was wont to say he loved, and coöperates with Caesar, whose father he killed? And if chance so favour, he will ere long attack Caesar also. For the fellow is naturally faithless and turbulent, and has no ballast in his soul, but is always stirring up and overturning things, shifting his course oftener than the waters of the strait \(^1\) to which he fled,—whence his nickname of "turn-coat," \(^2\)—yet demanding of you all that you consider a man as friend or foe according to his bidding.

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

\(^1\) The reference is to the Euripus, the narrow channel between Euboea and the mainland of Greece.

\(^2\) Cf. xxxvi. 44, 2; xxxix. 63, 5.
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τὰς ἑλαίας ἀεὶ ποτὲ ἑργολαβῶν, ἥ γένος ἡ πλοῦτον κατέληπεν, ἀνθρώπος ἅγαπητῶς ἐκ τε τούτων
3 καὶ ἐκ τῶν πλυνῶν διατρεφόμενος, καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα τῶν αἰσχίστων ἀναπιπλαμένους. ἐν οἷς αὐτὸς τραφεὶς οὐκ ἀπεικότως τοὺς κρείσσονας αὐτοῦ καὶ πατεὶ καὶ πλύνει, λοιπών τισιν ἐξ ἐργαστηρίων καὶ τριόδων ἐπιτεθεῖλεν

5 "Εἶτα τοιοῦτος αὐτὸς ὄν, καὶ γυμνὸς ἐν γυμνοῖς αὐξηθεῖς, καὶ οἰςπώτας 1 καὶ ὑπελέονθος καὶ σπαίλας συλλέγων, ἑτόλμησας, ἢ μιαρώτατε, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν τοῦ 'Ἀντωνίου ὄραν διαβαλεῖν, ἀνθρώπον καὶ παιδαγωγοῖς καὶ διδασκάλοις κατὰ τὴν τῶν γένος ἄξιαν κεχρημένου, ἑπείτα δὲ κατηγορήσαι ὅτι τὰ Δυκαία τὴν πάτριον ἐορτὴν ποιῶν

2 γυμνὸς ἐς τὴν ἀγοράν ἐσῆλθεν; ἀλλὰ τί, ἢ πάσαις μὲν ταῖς ἀλλοτρίαις ἐσῆθη διὰ τὴν πατρῴαν τέχνην ἂν χρησάμενος, ὅφ' ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν ἀπαντώντων καὶ γυνωριζόντων αὐτὰς ἀποδυθεῖς, ἔχρην ποιῆσαι ἀνθρωπῶν μὴ μόνον ἱερεά ἀλλὰ καὶ ἴγμανα τῶν συνιερέων 2 ὅντα; μὴ πέμψω... τὴν πομπῆν, μὴ ἐσρώσαι τὴν ἐορτὴν, μὴ ἥσυχας κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, μὴ γυμνωθῆναι, μὴ ἀλείψασθαι 3; ἀλλ' ὅτι τοὺς αὐτὸν, φησίν, ἐγκαλῶ, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ γυμνὸς ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ καὶ ὅτι τοιαύτα ἐδημηγόρησεν. πάνυ γὰρ πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα ἀκριβῶς ἐν τῷ κναφεῖῳ μεμάθηκεν, ὦν καὶ ἀμαρτήματός τινος ἀληθινοῦ αἰσθάνεται καὶ ἐπιτιμᾶν αὐτῷ δικαίως δύνηται.

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1 οἰςπώτας Lambert Bos, oisptatas LM.
2 συνιερέων R. Steph., συνερέων LM.
3 ἀλείψασθαι Rk., ἀλεύψαι LM.
BOOK XLVI

was always trading in grapes and olives, a fellow who was glad enough to support himself by this and by his wash-tubs, who every day and every night defiled himself with the foulest filth. The son, reared amid these surroundings, not unnaturally tramples and souses his superiors, using a species of abuse practised in the workshops and on the street corners.

"Now when you yourself are of such a sort, and have grown up naked among naked companions, collecting clothes stained with sheep dung, pig manure, and human excrement, have you dared, most vile wretch, first to slander the youth of Antony, who had the advantage of attendants and teachers, as his rank demanded, and then to reproach him because in celebrating the Lupercalia, that ancient festival, he came naked into the Forum? But I ask you, you who always wore nothing but the clothes of others on account of your father's business and were stripped by whoever met you and recognized them, what ought a man who was not only priest but also leader of his fellow-priests to have done? Not conduct the procession, not celebrate the festival, not sacrifice according to the custom of our fathers, not appear naked, not anoint himself? 'But it is not for this that I censure him,' he answers, 'but because he delivered a speech, and that kind of speech, naked in the Forum.' Of course this fellow has become acquainted in the fuller's shop with all the nice proprieties, so that he may detect a real mistake and may be able to rebuke it properly!
6 "'Εγώ δὲ ἕπερ μὲν ἐκείνων μετὰ ταῦτα ἀ προσή-
κει πάντα ἐρώτησε τούτοις ἀλλοτρίωσις κακοῖς ἐντεθαργαί καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῶν πέλας συμ-
2 φοραῖς ἐκπεπαίδευσαι, καὶ διὰ τούτο ἐλευθέριον μὲν μάθημα οὐδὲν ἐπίστασαί, συνέδριον δὲ τι 
κατασκευάσασα ἐνταῦθα ὡσπερ εἰ πόρναι τὸν δῶ-
σοντά τι ἄει ἀ ναμένεις, καὶ προσαγωγέας τὸν 
λημμάτων πολλοὺς ἔχων πολυπραγμονεὶς τίς τίνα 
ἡδίκηκεν ἡ δοκεῖ γε ἡδικηκέναι, τίς τίνα μισεῖ, τίς 
3 τίνι ἐπιβουλεύει; καὶ τούτωι συναίρη, καὶ διὰ 
τούτων τρέφῃ, πωλῶν μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰς παρὰ τῆς 
τύχης ἑλπίδαις, ἐργολαβῶν δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν δικα-
στῶν ἀποφάσεις, καὶ φίλον μὲν μόνον τὸν τὸ πλέον 
ἀεὶ διδόντα, ἐχθροὺς δὲ δὴ πάντας τοὺς ἀπρά-
γμονας ἢ καὶ ἄλλω τινὶ συνηγόρῳ χρωμένους 
4 νομίζων, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν χερσὶν ἡδὴ ὄντας οὐδὲ 
εἰδέναι δοκῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δὴ ὁχλὸν ποιούμενος, 
τοὺς δὲ ἄρτι προσίνοιτας σαίνων καὶ γελῶν ὡσπερ 
αἱ πανδοκευτριαί.
7 "Καὶ πόσῳ κρείττον ἡν καὶ σὲ Βαμβαλίωνα 
γεγονέναι, εἰ γέ τις ὁ Βαμβαλίων οὔτος ἔστω, ἡ 
τοιοῦτον ἐπανηρήσθαι βίον ἐν ὃ πάσα ἀνάγκη 
ἤτοι τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου λόγου πωλεῖν ἡ καὶ 
2 τοὺς ἀδικούντας σώζειν; καίτοι σύγει οὐδὲ ταῦτα 
καλῶς ποιεῖν, καίπερ τρία ἐν Ἀθηναῖς ἔτη κατα-
τρίψασ, δύνασαι. ποῦ; πόθεν; ὀστὶς ὑποτρέμων

1 προσαγωγέας Naber, προσαγωγέας LM.
BOOK XLVI

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

"Yet how much better it would be for you, too, to have been born Bambalio\(^1\)—if this Bambalio really exists—than to have taken up such a livelihood, in which it is absolutely inevitable that you should either sell your speech on behalf of the innocent, or else save the guilty also! Yet you cannot do even this effectively, though you spent three years in Athens. When, then, did you ever do so? Or how could you? Why, you always come to the courts trembling,

\(^1\) See xlv. 47, 4.
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ἀεὶ πρὸς τὰ δικαστήρια προσέρχῃ καθάπερ ὅπλο-
μαχεῖν μέλλων, καὶ φθειξάμενος ταπεινὸν τι καὶ
τεθυκός ἁπαλλάττῃ, μὴ δὲν οὐκοθεὶν ἐσκεμμένος
ηκεῖς μυμομενῶν, μήτε ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμά τι
3 εἰπεῖν εὐρίσκων. ἐς μὲν γὰρ τὸ φήσαι καὶ
ὑποσχέσθαι τι θρασύτητι πάντας ἀνθρώπους
ὑπερβάλλεις, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοὺς ἀγώστων αὐτοῖς, ἐξω
τοῦ λοιδορῆσαι τινα καὶ κακῶς εἰπεῖν, καὶ ἀσθε-
νέστατος καὶ διελότατος εἰ. ἦ οἰεὶ τινὰ ἀγνοεῖν
ὅτι μηδένα τῶν θαυμαστῶν σου τούτων λόγων ὅσ
ἐκδέδωκας εὐρίκας, ἀλλὰ πάντας αὐτοὺς μετὰ
tαῦτα συγγέγραφας, ὡσπερ οἱ τοὺς τε στρατη-
γοὺς καὶ τοὺς ῥπάρχους τοὺς πηλίων πλάτ-
tontes; εἰ δ' ἀπιστεῖς, ἀναμνῆσθητι πῶς μὲν τοῦ
Οὐέρρου¹ κατηγόρησας, καίπερ καὶ ἐκ τῆς τέχνης
tι τῆς πατρίδος αὐτῶ παρασχῶν, ὅτε ἐνύρησας.
"Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁκνῶ μὴ τὰ προσήκοντά² σοι
ἀκριβῶς λέγων αὐτῶς οὐ προσήκοντας ἐμαυτῷ
8 λόγους ποιεῖσθαι δόξω. ταῦτα μὲν οὐν ἐάσω,
καὶ νη Δίᾳ καὶ τὸν Γαβίνων, ὡ τοὺς κατηγόρους
παρασκευάσας³ ἐπείτα οὔτω συνεῖπες ὡστ' αὐτῶν
καταδικασθῆναι, τὰ τε συγγράμματα δ' κατὰ τῶν
φιλῶν συγγράφεις, ἐφ' οἷς οὔτω σαυτῷ⁴ ἀδικοῦντι
σύνοισθα ὡστε μηδὲ δημοσιεύειν αὐτὰ τολμᾶν.
καίτοι καὶ σχετικῶτατον καὶ ἐλεεινότατον ἐστὶν
μη δύνασθαι ταῦτα ἀρνήσασθαι ἢ πάντων⁵ αἰ-
2 σχιστῶν ἐστιν ὁμολογήσαι. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ταῦτα
μὲν παραλείψω, τὰ δὲ δὴ λοιπὰ ἐπεξέξαξο.

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

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

1 Dio in this sentence imitates closely the words of Demosthenes against Aeschines, in the De Corona (129).
2 Cf. xxxix. 10.
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ημείς μὲν γὰρ, καὶ περὶ δισχίλια τῷ διδασκάλῳ πλέθρα τῆς Λεοντίνων γῆς, ὡς φῆς, δεδωκότες, οὔδὲν ἄξιον αὐτῶν ἐμάθομεν· τὰ δὲ δὴ σὰ παιδεύματα τίς οὐκ ἦν θαυμάσειν; τίνα δ' ἐστὶ ταύτα; φθονεῖς ἀεὶ τῷ κρείττονι, βασκαίνεις ἀεὶ τὸν προήκοντα,1 διαβάλλεις τὸν προτετιμημένον, συκοφαντεῖς τὸν δεδυνημένον, καὶ μισεῖς μὲν τοὺς ἁγαθοὺς ὁμοίως πάντας, προσποιήθη δὲ δὴ φιλεῖν ἐκείνους μόνους δὲ ὧν ἦν κακουργήσεις τι προσδοκήσης. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς τε νεωτέρους ἐπὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἀεὶ παροξύνεις, καὶ τοὺς πιστεύοντάς σοι καὶ ὀπίον ἐς κινδύνους προαγαγῶν2 προλείπεις.

9 "Τεκμήριον δὲ, πράξειν μὲν οὐδεμίαν πόσποτε ἐλλογύμον ἀνδρὸς ἄξιαν, οὔτ' ἐν πολέμῳ οὔτε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, πέπραξας· ποῖος μὲν γὰρ πολέμους ἐνικήσαμεν σοῦ στρατηγοῦντος, ποίαν δὲ χώραν ἐκτησάμεθα σοῦ ὑπατεύοντος; ἔξαπατὼν δὲ ἀεὶ τινας τῶν πρώτων καὶ σφετεριζόμενος ἰδία μὲν διὰ τούτων πολιτείᾳ καὶ πάνθ' ὁσα βούλει 2 διοικεῖς, δημοσίᾳ δὲ βοᾶς ἄλλως, κεκραγὼς τοὺς μιαρούς ἐκείνους λόγους ἑγὼ μόνος ὑμᾶς φιλῶ, καὶ εἰ οὔτω τύχων,3 'καὶ ὁ δείνα, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες μισοῦσι, καὶ ἑγὼ μόνος ὑμῖν εὐνοῶ, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἐπιβουλεύουσι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐξ ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἐπαίρων καὶ φυσών προδίδωσι, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκπλήττων προστίθεσαί.

3 κἂν μὲν τι χρηστῶν υφὶ ὀποπείδη τῶν πάντων γένηται, ἀντιποίητ' τε αὐτοῦ καὶ σεαυτὸν ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἐπιγράφεις,

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

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

1 Cf. xlv. 30, 2.
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θρυλῶν 'ἐγὼ γὰρ εἶπον, ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔγραψα,1 καὶ διὸ ἔμε ταῦτα ὁτὶ πέπρακται' ἄν δὲ τι συμβῇ οἷον οὐκ ἔδει, σαυτὸν μὲν ἔξαρεῖς,2 τοὺς δὲ δὴ ἄλλους πάντας αἴτια, λέγων 'μὴ γὰρ ἐστρατήγουν ἐν 4 ἔγω; μὴ γὰρ ἐπρέσβευον; μὴ γὰρ ὑπάτευον,' καὶ λοιποῖς μὲν αἰ τὰ πάντα πανταχοῦ, τὴν ἐν τοῦ θρασέως παρρησιάζεσθαι δοκεῖν δύναμιν περὶ πλείους τοῦ 3 τί τῶν δεόντων ἐπειν ποιούμενος,

10 ἔργον δὲ δὴ ῥήτορος οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγου παρέχῃ. τί μὲν γὰρ τῶν κοινῶν ἢ σέσωσται ἢ ἐπηνιώρθωται διὰ σὲ; τίνα δὲ ἀδικοῦντα οὖντως τὴν τόλμην ἐσήγγελκας, τίνα ἐπιβουλεύοντα ἀληθῶς ἡμῖν ἐπὶ- 2 δέδειχας; ἢν γὰρ τᾶλα κάσω, αὐτὰ ταῦθ ἀ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ νῦν ἐγκαλεῖς, τοιαύτα καὶ τοσαύτα ἔστιν ὡς τε μηδένα ἂν δίκην ἄξιαν αὐτῶν ὑποσχεῖν. τί ποτ' οὖν, ὅρων ἡμᾶς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὅς γε καὶ φής, ἀδικουμένους, οὐδέποτε ἐπεξήλθες 3 αὐτῷ παραχρῆμα οὐδὲ κατηγόρησας, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἡμῖν λέγεις ὡσα δημαρχήσας παρενόμησε καὶ ὡσα ἱππαρχήσας ἐπλημμέλησε καὶ ὡσα ὑπατεύσας ἐκακούργησεν, ἐξὸν σοι τότε εὖθὺς καθ' ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν τὴν προσήκουσαν παρ' αὐτοῦ δίκην εἰληφέναι, ἢν αὐτὸς τε φιλόπολις ὡς ἀληθῶς ὅν ἐπεφήνει καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἁθλαβῆ καὶ ἀσφαλῆ τὴν τιμωρίαν παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ ἀδικήματα ἐπεποίημεθα. 4 καὶ μὴν ἁνάγκη δυνῶν θάτερον, ἡ πεπτυστευκότα σε τότε ταῦθ' οὖτως ἔχειν καθυφεικέναι τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἁγώνας, ἡ μὴ δυνηθέντα τινὰ αὐτῶν ἔξε- λέγξαι μάτην νῦν συκοφαντεῖν.

1 ἔγραψα Rk., ἔπεγραψα LM. 2 ἔξαιρεῖς St., ἔξαιρεῖς LM. 3 τοῦ supplied by Reim. 4 παρενόμησε Cobet, παρηγόρησε LM.
BOOK XLVI

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

καὶ γὰρ οὕτως πάνθε ὡς εἴπειν ὅσα ὑπὲρ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐγγυνώσκετο. ἂλλ' ἐμποδῶν, φησίν, ἐγγύνετο τῇ κοινῇ τῆς βουλῆς γνώμη. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πῶς ἂν εἰς ἀνήρ τοσοῦτον ἄσχυσεν; ἐπειτα δὲ, εἰ καὶ κατεψηφίσθη διὰ τοῦθ', ὡςπερ λέγει, πῶς οὐκ ἂν καὶ ἐκολάσθη; ἑφυγε γὰρ,

ἐφυγε πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπελθὼν. οὖκοιν καὶ σὺ, ὁ Κικέρων, οὐκ ἀπεδήμησας νῦν ἂλλ' ἑφυγες, ὡςπερ καὶ πρῶτερον. ἂλλὰ µήτι γε καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς τὰ σεαυτοῦ ὀνείδη προπετῶς οὕτως ἄγε νυγεῖν μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦτο δ σὺ πεποίηκας, τὸ τε δικαστήριον φοβηθεῖς καὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν

αὐτὸς σαυτοῦ προκαταγγυνοῦς. ἀμέλει καὶ ἔγραφη σοι κάθοδος; πῶς μὲν καὶ διὰ τίνα, οὐ λέγω, ἐγράφη δ' οὖν, καὶ οὐ πρὶν γε ἐπέβης τῆς Ἰταλίας πρὶν ἐκείνην σοι δοθήναι. Ἀντώνιος δὲ καὶ ἀπῆλθε πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα μηνύσων αὐτῷ τὰ πεπραγμένα, καὶ ἐπανῆλθε μηδένος ψηφίσματος
dεηθεῖς, καὶ τέλος τὴν τε εἰρήνην τὴν τε φιλίαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τότε

1 µήτι γε Cobet, µήτοι γε LM 2 σαυτοῦ Bk., ἐαυτοῦ LM.
"That all this is true, Conscript Fathers, I shall show you by going over each point in detail. Antony did have something to say during his tribuneship on Caesar's behalf, as indeed did Cicero and some others on behalf of Pompey. Why, now, does he blame him for having preferred Caesar's friendship, but acquit himself and the rest who supported the opposite cause? Antony prevented some measures from being passed against Caesar at that time; and this was all right, since Cicero prevented practically everything that was to be decreed in his favour. 'But Antony,' he replies, 'thwarted the united will of the senate.' Well, now, in the first place, how could one man have had so much power? And, secondly, if he had really been condemned for it, as this fellow says, how could he have escaped punishment? 'Oh, he fled, he fled to Caesar and got out of the way.' Well, then, Cicero, what you also did a while ago was not 'taking a trip abroad,' but taking flight, as on the former occasion. Come now, do not be so ready to apply your own shame to us all; for flee you did, fearing the court and condemning yourself beforehand. To be sure, a measure was passed for your recall,—how and for what reasons I do not say,—but at any rate it was passed, and you did not set foot in Italy until the recall was granted to you. But Antony not only went away to Caesar to inform him what had been done, but also returned, without asking for any decree, and finally brought about peace and friendship with him for all those who were at the time found in Italy; and the rest,
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εὑρεθείσων ἐπρυτάνευσέν· ἂς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἂν μετασχήκεσαν, εἰ μὴ σοὶ πεισθέντες ἐπεφεύγεσαν.

12 'Είτα τούτων οὔτως ἑχόντων τολμᾶς λέγειν ὅτι τὸν τε Καίσαρα ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐπήγαγε καὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ἐκίνησε καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα κακῶν αἰτιώτατος ἡμῖν ἐγένετο; οὐ μὲν οὖν, ἀλλὰ σὺ, ὅστις Πομπήιος μὲν καὶ στρατεύματα ἀλλότρια καὶ ἧγεμονίαν ἔδωκας, Καίσαρα δὲ καὶ τῶν δεδομένων ἀποστερήσασι ἐπεχείρησας.

2 ὅστις τῷ τε Πομπήιοι καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις συνε-βούλευσας τὰ μὲν προτεινόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος μὴ προσιέσθαι, τὴν δὲ δὴ πόλιν τὴν τε Ἰταλίαν ὀλην ἐκλιπεῖν· ὅστις Καίσαρα μὲν οὔδε ἐς τὴν Ὁródον ἐλθόντα εἴδες, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀπέδρας. καὶ οὔδε ἐκείνῳ μέν-τοι οὔδὲν συνήρω, ἅν δὲ περιθών τὰ γιγνόμενα ἐπειτ', ἐπειδὴ ἐδυστύχησεν, ἐγκατέλυτες αὐτὸν. οὔτως οὔδε ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὡς δικαιότερα αὐτῷ πράτ-τοντι ἐβοήθησας, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε στάσιν κινήσας καὶ τὰ πράγματα ταράξας εἰτ' ἐκ τοῦ ἄσφαλος αὐτοῖς ἐφύδρευσας, καὶ τοῦ μὲν πταίσαντος ὡς καὶ ἀδικοῦντός τι διὰ τούτ', εὐθὺς ἀπέστησις, πρὸς δὲ τὸν κρατήσαντα ὡς καὶ δικαιότερον ἀπέκλινας, καὶ οὔτω γε, πρὸς τοῖς ἅλλοις κακοῖς, καὶ ἀχάριστος εἴ ὡστε οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἄγαπᾶς ὅτι ἐσώθης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγανακτεῖς ὅτι μὴ καὶ ἢ ἰππάρχησασ.

13 'Είτα ταῦτα σαυτῷ συνειδῶς τολμᾶς λέγειν ὅτι οὔκ ἔχρην τὸν 'Αὐτώνιον δι' ἔτους ἰππαρχῆσαι; οὔδε γὰρ τὸν Καίσαρα δι' ἔτους δικτατορέσσαι.

1 συνήρω Μ, συνηρεῖ L. 2 ὑπ' Χιλ., ἀπ' ΛΜ. 3 μὴ καὶ R. Steph., καὶ μὴ ΛΜ.
too, would have had a share in it, if they had not taken your advice and fled after Pompey.

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

"Then, with this on your conscience, do you dare to say that Antony ought not to have been master of the horse for a whole year, because Caesar himself ought not to have been dictator for a whole
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άλλ' εἶτε καλῶς εἶτε καὶ ἀναγκαῖος ταύτ' ἐγένετο, ἐψηφίσθη τε ὁμοίως ἀμφότερα καὶ ἥρεσε καὶ
2 ἡμῖν1 καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ. τούτοις οὖν, ὥς Κικέρων, ἔγκαλει, εἰ τι παρεστώμησαν, μὴ μὰ Δία μὴ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν τετυμημένους ὅτι ἄξιοις ἑαυτοὺς καὶ
tῶν τηλικούτων τυχεῖν παρέσχου ὡς εἶγε ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων τῶν τότε ἡμᾶς περιστάντων ἦναγκάσθημεν 2 αὐτὰ οὕτω καὶ παρὰ τὸ προσήκον
πούσατ, τί τούτο3 Ἀντωνίῳ νῦν ἐπιφέρεις, ἀλλ' οὐ τότε ἀντέλεγε, εἴπερ ἐδύνασο; ὦτι ἐφοβοῦσθα, 4
3 Δία. εἴτε σὺ μὲν τότε σιωπήσας συγγνώμης διὰ τὴν δείλαιαν τεύξη, οὕτως δὲ ὧτι σοῦ προετιμήθη,
δίκην διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑφέξει; καὶ ποῦ ταύτα τὰ δίκαια ἐμαθες, ἢ ποῦ ταύτα τὰ νόμιμα ἀνέγινος;

14 ""Ἀλλ' οὐκ ὥρθος τῇ ἰππαρχίᾳ ἐχρήσατο.'
διὰ τί; ὧτι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, φησί, 'τὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου ἠγόρασε.' πόσοι δὲ ἀλλοι πόσα ἀλλά ἐπρίαντο, ὥς οὐδεὶς αἰτίαν ἔχει; καὶ γὰρ τοιν
tοῦτο καὶ ἐδημεύθη τινὰ καὶ ἐς τὸ πρατήριον ἐξετέθη καὶ τῇ τοῦ κοινοῦ κήρυκος φονῇ ἀπε-
2 κηρύχθη, ἵνα τις αὐτὰ ἀγοράσῃ. 'ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐχόην τὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου κτήματα5 πεπρᾶσθαι.'
oύκοιν ἤμεις ἡμάρτομεν καὶ κακῶς ἐποίησαμεν
dημεύσαντες αὐτά: ἦ, ἵνα σὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς τὶς ἀπο-
λύῃ, πάντως ποῦ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπλημμέλησεν ὃ
tοῦτο γενέσθαι κελεύσας: ὦ οὐδὲν ἐπεκάλεσας.
3 ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τούτῳ καὶ πάνυ μωραίων ἐξελέγχεται.

1 ἡμῖν Bk., ὥμῖν LM.
2 ἦναγκάσθημεν Rk., ἦναγκάσθητε LM.
3 τοῦτο R. Steph., τούτωι LM. 4 νῆ Cobet, μὰ LM.
5 κτήματα L, χρήματα M (but corrected in margin to
ktήματα).

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BOOK XLVI

year? But whether or not it was wise or necessary for this to be done, at any rate both measures alike were passed, and they suited both us and the people. Therefore censure these men, Cicero, if they have transgressed in any particular, but not, by Jupiter, those whom they have chosen to honour for showing themselves worthy of rewards so great. For if we were forced by the circumstances which then surrounded us to act in this way, even contrary to what was was fitting, why do you now lay this upon Antony's shoulders, instead of having opposed it at the time, if you were able? Because, by Jupiter, you were afraid. Shall you, then, who were silent at the time, obtain pardon for your cowardice, and shall he, because he was preferred before you, submit to punishment for his virtue? Where have you learned this kind of justice, or where have you read this kind of law?

"'But he made an improper use of his position as master of the horse.' Why? 'Because,' he answers, 'he bought Pompey's possessions.' But how many others are there who purchased countless articles, no one of whom is blamed! Why, that was the purpose, naturally, in confiscating goods and putting them up at auction and proclaiming them by the voice of the public crier, namely, that somebody should buy them. 'But Pompey's goods ought not to have been sold.' Then it was we who erred and did wrong in confiscating them; or—to clear us both of blame—it was Caesar anyhow, I suppose, who acted irregularly, since he ordered this to be done; yet you did not censure him at all. But in making this charge Cicero stands convicted of playing the utter
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δύο γοῦν ἐναντιώτατα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κατηγορηκεν, ἐν μὲν ὦτι πλείστα τῷ Καίσαρι συμπράξας καὶ πάμπολλα διὰ τοῦτο παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβὼν ἔπειτα τὴν τιμὴν αὐτῶν βιαίως ἀπητήθη, ἔτερον δὲ ὦτι μήτε τοῦ πατρὸς κληρονομῆσαι, καὶ πάνθ᾽ ὦτα ἐκτῆσατο καταναλώσας ὀσπερ ἡ Χάρυβδις (ἀεὶ γὰρ τι ἢμῖν ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας, καθάπερ ἐπιλεηθησένοι ὦτι ἐστὶν ἐφυγε, παραφέρει), τὴν τιμὴν πάντων ὄν ἐπρίατο ἀπέδωκεν.

15 "Ἐν μὲν οὖν τούτου οὕτω τὰ ἐναντιώτατα αὐτῶς ἐαυτῷ λέγων ὁ θαυμαστὸς οὖτος ἔξελέγχεται, καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ ἐν ἑκείνοις, ὥτι τοτὲ μὲν πάντα αὐτὸν τὰ τῷ Καίσαρι πραχθέντα συνάρασθαι καὶ πάντων διὰ τοῦτο τῶν ἐμφυλίων κακῶν αὐτώτατον γεγονέναι λέγει, τοτὲ δὲ ἐγκαλεῖ αὐτῷ, δειλίαν ὀνειδίζων, ὦτι μηδενὸς ἄλλου πλὴν 2 τῶν ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλίᾳ πραχθέντων μετέσχε. καὶ ἐγκλημά τε αὐτοῦ ποιεῖται λέγων ὦτι τῶν φευγόντων τινὰς κατήγαγε, καὶ μέμφεται αὐτὸν ὥτι μὴ καὶ τῷ θείῳ τὴν κάθοδον ἔδωκεν, ὦσπερ τινὸς πιστεύοντος ὥτι οὐκ ἂν ἐκείνου πρῶτον, εἶπερ γε καὶ ὄντινοι ἥδυνῆθ̣[3] καταγαγεῖν, ἐπανήγαγε, μὴτε τἴ ἐγκαλῶν αὐτῷ μὴτε ἐγ-

3 καλουμένος, ὥς καὶ αὐτῶς οὕτως οἴδειν ἀμέλει πολλά καὶ ἐπέστια αὐτοῦ καταψευσάμενος οὔδεν τοιοῦτον εἴπειν ἐτόλμησεν, οὕτω μὲν οὖν οὔδ᾽ ὀτιοῦν αὐτῷ διαφέρει πᾶν ὦ τι ποτέ ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν γλῶτταν αὐτοῦ ἐπέλθῃ, καθάπερ τι πλύμα, ἐκχέαι.

1 συνάρασθαι R. Steph., συναίρασθαι LM.
2 ἐγκλημά τε Bk., ἐγκληματι L, ἐγκληματι M.
3 ἥδυνηθ̣[3] St., ἥδυνηθ̣ LM.

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BOOK XLVI

fool. In any event he has brought against Antony two utterly contradictory charges—first, that after help-
ing Caesar in very many ways and receiving in return vast gifts from him, he was then required under compulsion to surrender the price of them, and, second, that, although he inherited naught from his father and swallowed up all that he had acquired 'like Charybdis' (the speaker is always offering us some comparison from Sicily, as if we had forgotten that he had gone into exile there), he nevertheless paid the price of all he had purchased.

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

4 πολλά καὶ Bk., πολλάκις LM.
5 πλύμα Naber, πνεῦμα LM.
"Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τί ἄν τις ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐπεξίοι; ἐπεί δὲ τραγῳδεῖ περιών, καὶ νῦν γε εἰπέ πον λέγων ὅτι βαρυτάτην τὴν τῆς ἱππαρχίας ὄψιν παρέσχετο, πανταχοῦ καὶ δία πάντων τῷ τε ξίφει ἄμα καὶ τῇ πορφύρᾳ τοῖς τε ραβδούχοις καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις χρώμενος, εἰπάτω μοι σαφῶς, πῶς καὶ τί ἐκ τούτων ἥδικημεθα. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι· εἰ γὰρ εἰχεν, οὐδὲν ἂν τοῦτο πρότερον ἐξελάλησεν. πάν γὰρ τούναντίον οἱ μὲν στασιάσαντες τότε καὶ πάντα τὰ κακὰ ἐργασάμενοι Τρεβέλλιος τε καὶ Δολοβέλλας ἦσαν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ καὶ οὕτως οὕτε τι ἡδίκησε καὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἔπραττεν ὡστε καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους, οὐχ ὁπως ἀντιλέγοντος τοῦθαμμαστοῦ τοῦτου ῥήτορος (παρῆν γὰρ) ἀλλὰ καὶ συναινοῦντος, ἐπετράπη. ἡ δειξάτω, τίνα φωνὴν ἔρρηξεν ὄρων τὸν ἄσελγη καὶ μιαρὸν, ὡς αὐτὸς λοιδορεῖ, πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν αὐτὸν τῶν δεόντων ποιεῖν καὶ ἐξουσίαν τοσαύτην παρ' ὑμῶν προσλαμβάνουτα. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι δείξαι. οὕτω που ὁ μέγας οὕτος καὶ φιλόπολις ῥήτωρ, ὁ πανταχοῦ καὶ ἂεὶ θρυλῶν καὶ λέγων, ἐγὼ μόνος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνίζομαι, ἐγὼ μόνος ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας παρρησιάζομαι· ἐμὲ οὕτε χάρις φίλων οὕτε φόβος ἐχθρῶν ἀπείρηγε τοῦ μὴ οὐ τὰ συμφέροντα ὑμῖν προσκοπεῖν· ἐγὼ, κἂν ἀποθανεῖν ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λόγοις δεήσῃ, καὶ μάλ' ἢδέως τελευτήσω· οὐδ' ὅτιοι τούτων ὃν νῦν βοᾷ τότε

1 πῶς supplied by Cobet.
BOOK XLVI

"But why should one pursue this subject further? Still, inasmuch as he goes about declaiming tragically, and has but this moment said, in the course of his remarks, that Antony rendered the sight of the master of the horse most odious, by using everywhere and always the sword and the purple, the lictors and the soldiers at one and the same time, let him tell me clearly how and in what respect we have been wronged by this. But he will have nothing to say; for if he had, he would have blurted it out before anything else. In fact, the very reverse is true: those who were quarrelling at that time and causing all the trouble were Trebellius and Dolabella, whereas Antony was so far from doing any wrong and was so active in every way in your behalf that he was even entrusted by you with the guarding of the city against those very men, and that, too, without any opposition on the part of this remarkable orator (for he was present), but actually with his approval. Else let him show what word he uttered when he saw that ‘the licentious and accursed fellow’ (to quote from his abuse) not only performed none of the duties of his office but also secured from you all that additional authority. But he will have nothing to show. So it looks as if not a word of what he now shouts so loud was ventured at that time by this great and patriotic orator, who is everywhere and always saying and repeating: ‘I alone am fighting for freedom, I alone speak out boldly for the republic; I cannot be restrained by favour of friends or fear of enemies from looking out for your advantage; I, even if it should be my lot to die in speaking on your behalf, will perish very gladly.’ And his
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5 εἰπεῖν ἐτὸλμησεν. καὶ πάνυ εἰκότως· λογίζεσθαι γὰρ αὐτῶ ἔπηει τούτο, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ραβδούχους καὶ τὸ ἔσθημα τὸ περιπόρφυρον κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τὰ περὶ τῶν ἱππάρχων νεομισμένα εἶχε, τῷ δὲ δὴ ἐξέφει καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις κατὰ τῶν στασια-ξόντων ἀναγκαῖος ἐχρῆτο. τί γὰρ οὐκ ἂν τῶν δεινοτάτων ἐποίησαν εἰ μὴ τούτως ἐκείνος ἐπέφρακτο, ὅποτε καὶ οὕτως αὐτοῦ κατεφρόνησάν τινες;

17 "Οτι τοίνυν καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τάλλα πάντα ὅρθως καὶ κατὰ τὴν γνώμην ὅτι μάλιστα τὴν τοῦ Καὶ-σαρος ἐγένετο, δῆλοι τὰ ἔργα· ἢ τε γὰρ στάσις οὐ περαιτέρω προεχώρησε, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος οὐχ ὅσον οὐ δίκην ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐδωκεν ἄλλα καὶ ὑπατος μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπεδείχθη. καὶ μοι καὶ ταύτην αὐτοῦ τὴν ἄρχην θεάσασθε ὡς διέθετο· εὐρήσετε γὰρ αὐτήν, ἀν τάκριβες σκοπήτε, πάνυ πολλοῦ ἀξίαν τῇ 1 πόλει γεγενημένην. ὅπερ ποὺ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰδὼς οὐκ ἤγγικε τὸν φθόνον, ἀλλ' ἐτόλμη-σεν ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτοῦ διαβαλεῖν ἃ καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν πεποιηκέναι εὔξατο. καὶ διὰ τούτο γε καὶ τὴν γύμνωσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν τε ἀλοιφήν τοὺς τε μύθους τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἐκείνους ἐπεσήγαγεν, οὐχ ὅτι τι προσέδει νῦν αὐτῶν, 2 ἀλλ' ἢν τὴν τε περι-τέχνησιν 3 αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν κατόρθωσιν τοῖς ἔξωθεν ψυφοίς συσκιάσῃ. ὅστις, 4 ὅ γη καὶ θεοί (μει-ξον γὰρ σοῦ βοήσομαι καὶ δικαιότερον αὐτοὺς ἐπικαλέσομαι), τυραννομένην ἢδη τῷ ἔργῳ τὴν πόλιν ἴδον τῷ πάντα μὲν τὰ στρατόπεδα ἀκούειν

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

"That these and all his other acts, then, were correct and most thoroughly in accord with Caesar's intention, the facts themselves show. For the rebellion went no farther, and Antony, far from suffering punishment for his course, was subsequently appointed consul. Notice also, now, I beg of you, how he administered this office of his; for you will find, if you examine the matter carefully, that his tenure of it proved of great value to the city. His traducer, of course, knows this, but not being able to control his jealousy, has dared to slander him for those deeds which he would have longed to do himself. That is why he introduced the matter of his stripping and anointing and those ancient fables, not because any of them was called for on the present occasion, but in order to drown out by irrelevant noise Antony's consummate skill and success. Yet this same Antony, witness earth and gods! (I shall call louder than you and invoke them with greater justice), when he saw that the city was already in reality under a tyranny, inasmuch as all the legions
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tου Καίσαρος, πάντα δὲ αυτῷ τὸν δῆμον μετὰ
5 τῆς βουλῆς εἰκειν, οὕτως ὤστε τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ
dικτάτορα αὐτοῦ διὰ βίου εἶναι τῇ τε σκευῇ τῇ
tῶν βασιλέων χρήσθαι ψηφίσασθαι, καὶ ἐξή-
λεγέει σοφώτατα καὶ ἐπέσχεν ἁσφαλέστατα,
ὡστε καὶ αἰδεσθέντα καὶ φοβηθέντα μῆτε
tὸ ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως μῆτε τὸ διάδημα,
 quam αἰκόνων ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀυτῷ δώσειν ἐμελλέ,  
6 λαβεῖν. ἄλλος μὲν γὰρ ἂν 1 τις ὑπὸ τε ἐκείνου
tαὐτ' ἐφ' ποιῆσαι κεκελεύθαι, καὶ τὴν τε
ἀνάγκην ἀν προσεῦνατο καὶ συγγνώμης ἐπ' αὐτῇ
ἐτυχε, πῶς γὰρ οὖ, τοιάυτα τε ἡμῶν τὸτε 2
ἐψηφισμένον καὶ τοσοῦτο τῶν στρατιωτῶν δε-
dυνημένων; "Ἀντώνιος δὲ, ἀτε καὶ τῆς διανοίας
tῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος διαπέφυκὼς 3 καὶ πάντα ἀκρι-
βῶς ὅσα παρεσκευάζετο συννοῦν, φρονιμώτατα
αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέτρεψεν 4 ἄπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέστευσε.
7 τεκμήριον δὲ ὡτι οὐδὲν ἔτι τὸ παράπαν ὡς καὶ
dυναστεύων ἐπραξε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ κοινῷς καὶ
ἀφυλάκτως πάσιν ἡμῖν συνὴν ἀφ' οὕτε καὶ τὰ
μάλιστα ἡδυνήθη παθεῖν ἄ ἐπαθε.
8 "Ταῦθ' οὐτος, ὁ Κικέρων ἡ Κικέρκουλε ἡ Κικε-
ράκιε ἡ Κικέρισκε ἡ ᾿ Αραίκουλε, ἡ ὁ τε ποτὲ
cαὶ χαίρεις ὁνομαζόμενος, ἐπραξέν ἄπαθεν
2 ὁ γυμνός, ὁ μεμυρίσμενος· ἄν οὔδεν σὺ ἐποίησας
ὁ δεινός, ὁ σοφός, ὁ πολὺ πλεῖον τῷ ἐλαιῷ τοῦ
οἴνου χρώμενος, ὁ καὶ μέχρι τῶν σφυρὸν τὴν
ἐσθήτα σύρων, ὦ μὰ Δία οὐχ ὁπερ οἱ ὀρχησταὶ
οἱ τὰς ποικιλίας τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων διδάσκοντές

1 αν supplied by Rk.  
2 τότε M, τότ' L.  
3 διαπεφυκὼς Plhugk, διαπεφοιτηκὼς M, διαπεφοιτηκώς L.  
4 ἀπέτρεψεν Reim., ἀπέστρεψεν LM.  
5 Κικέρισκε Cobet, Κικέριθε LM. 

30
obeyed Caesar and all the people together with the senate submitted to him to such an extent that they voted, among other measures, that he should be dictator for life and use the trappings of the kings—this Antony, I say, convinced Caesar of his error most cleverly and restrained him most prudently, until Caesar, abashed and afraid, would not accept either the name of king or the diadem, which he had in mind to bestow upon himself even against our will. Any other man, now, would have declared that he had been ordered by his superior to do all this, and putting forward the compulsion as an excuse, would have obtained pardon for it—and why not, considering that we had passed such votes at that time and that the soldiers had gained such power? Antony, however, because he was thoroughly acquainted with Caesar's intentions and perfectly aware of all he was preparing to do, by great good judgment succeeded in turning him aside from his course and dissuaded him. The proof is that Caesar afterwards no longer behaved in any way like a monarch, but mingled publicly and unprotected with us all; and for this reason more than for any other it became possible that he should meet the fate he did.

"This is what was accomplished, O Cicero,—or Cicerculus, or Ciceracius, or Ciceriscus, or Graeculus,\(^1\) or whatever you delight in being called,—by the uneducated, the naked, the anointed man; and none of it was done by you, so clever, so wise, you who use much more oil than wine,\(^2\) who let your clothing drag about your ankles—not, by Jupiter, as the dancers do, who teach you intricacies of reasoning

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\(^1\) Various diminutive forms, expressing contempt.

\(^2\) A reference to his abstemiousness and to his burning of the midnight oil.
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3 sceleten synkrunptes. ou gár pou kai upo soforesuqns toyto poieis ó ta pollla ékeina peri tis toú 'Antwvion diaítis eirnqws. tis méne gár oux órā sou tá lepetta taúta xlaunidia; tis δ' ouk ñsphraínetai1 tón poliwn sou tón katektevln-

mevon; tis δ' ouk oídeun òti tìn méne ynuainka tìn protéra tìn tekoúsqan sou duo tékna èxeBales, èteran ðè èpesêghagw parthévon úpereghrws òn, ìn èk tìn ouxías aútìn tà daveísmata ápotoýsòs;

4 kai oude èkeíunh méntou kateçhes, ìna Kairel-

lían2 èp' àdeías èxh, ÷n tòsouvòs prèsvutéra

sanoutou ouxan émoiçeuvas ósòw nevètéra tìn korhè ègmmas, pròs ìn kai aútìn tòmaiata èpistolàs gràphiis ouías ìn gràphiiew anhè skoppó-
lhs ðèvrougylosqos pròs ynuainka èbðomhkonotutin

5 plhktóûmenos. kai taúta méne álllous èxhychèn,

ò patéres, èitpeïn, ìna mìde èn toútois èlattou3

èxwn àpêlth. kaiço to kai svmpoqíon tì ètòlmhse
tò 'Antwvion pròonegekeîn, aútòs méne ùdor, òs

phqsi, pínwv, ìna tòus kai' ìmòwv logous vukte-

reúwv svuggráfhn, tòn ðè vîwv èn tòsaúth méth

tréfow òstte miète vúktwv miète meb' ðèrèvan svw-

6 froneiv. kai pròseít kai tò stòma aútòu diaðá-

leiv èpexêirhse, tosaúth àseleqweia kai akadhari-

sía para páunta tòv bìon chrómenos òstte miède tòn

svugnevestátswv ápèkheshtai, allà tìn te ynuainka

proagwgyweiv4 kai tìn thugatéra moixeiveiv.

1 ñsphraínetai R. Steph., ñsphretai LM.
2 Kairellían Bs., kerealián LM.
3 èlattou Bs., èlattón tì LM.
4 proagwgyweiv M (corrected from proagwgyweiv), proagw-

gyweiv L.
by their poses, but in order to hide the ugliness of your legs. Oh no, it is not through modesty that you do this, you who delivered that long screed about Antony’s habits. Who is there that does not see these delicate mantles of yours? Who does not scent your carefully combed gray locks? Who does not know that you put away your first wife who had borne you two children, and in your extreme old age married another, a mere girl, in order that you might pay your debts out of her property? And yet you did not keep her either, since you wished to be free to have with you Caerellia, whom you debauched though she was as much older than yourself as the maiden you married was younger, and to whom, old as she is, you write such letters as a jester and babbler might write if he were trying to get up an amour with a woman of seventy. I have been led to make this digression, Conscript Fathers, in order that he might not get off on this score, either, without receiving as good as he gave to me. And yet he had the effrontery to find fault with Antony because of a mere drinking party, himself a drinker of water, as he claims,—his purpose being to sit up at night and compose his speeches against us,—even though he brings up his son amid such debauchery that the son is sober neither night or day. Furthermore, he undertook to make derogatory remarks about Antony’s mouth—this man who has shown so great licentiousness and impurity throughout his entire life that he would not spare even his closest kin, but let out his wife for hire and was his daughter’s lover.
“Ταύτα μὲν οὖν ἔσω, ἐπάνειμι δὲ ὅθεν εξέβην. οἳ γὰρ Ἀντώνιος ἔκεινος, οὐν οὗτος καταδεδράμηκεν, ἵδιν τὸν Καίσαρα ὑπὲρ τὴν πολιτείαν ἠμῶν αἱρόμενον, ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν μηδέν ὃν ἐπιεύει πρᾶξαι, ὥς αὐτῶν ὃν χαρίζεσθαι αὐτῷ ἔδόκει.
2 οὖν γὰρ οὕτως ἀποτρέπει τινὰς ὃν ἂν μὴ ὀρθῶς ἐπιθυμοῦντες τυχεῖν διαπράσσονται, ὥς τὸ τοὺς φοβούμενους αὐτὰ μὴ πάθωσιν ἔθελοντας
3 δὴ δοκεῖν ὑπομένειν. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ, ἐξ ὃν ἀδικοῦσιν ἐαυτοῖς ἱσυνίασιν, οὐ πιστεύουσιν, πεφωράσθαι δὲ νομίζοντες καὶ αἰσχύνονται καὶ φοβοῦνται, τὰ μὲν λεγόμενα ἄλλως, ὃς καὶ κολακείαν, μετ' ἐλέγχου λαμβάνοντες, τὰ δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποβησόμενα, ὃς καὶ ἐπιβουλήν, μετ' αἰ-σχύνης ὑποπτεύοντες. ἀπερ ποι καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀκριβῶς εἰδὼς πρῶτον μὲν τά τε Αὐκαία καὶ τὴν πομπὴν ἔκεινην ἐπελέξατο, ἵν' ὁ Καίσαρ ἐν τῷ ἀνειμένῳ τῆς γνώμης καὶ ἐν τῷ παγινώ-δει τῶν γιγνομένων ἁσφαλῶς σωφρονισθῇ, ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀγοράν καὶ τὸ βήμα, ἵνα ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν
4 χωρίων αἰσχυνθῇ τάς τε ἐντολὰς τὰς παρὰ τοῦ δήμου συνέπλασεν, ἵν' αὐτὰς ἀκούσας λογίσηται οὕς ὅσα τότε ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔλεγεν, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἄν ὁ δήμος ὁ Ῥωμαίων εἵπειν τινὶ ἐνετείλατο. πόθεν γὰρ ἂν ἐπίστευσε τὸν δήμον ταῦτ' ἐπεσταλκέναι τῷ, μήτε ἐψηφίσμενον τι τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν εἰδὼς μήτε

1 ἐαυτοῖς R. Steph ; ἐαυτοῖς LM.
2 καὶ supplied by Rk.
BOOK XLVI

"I propose, now, to leave this subject and to return to the point where I started. Well then, when Antony, against whom he has inveighed, saw that Caesar was becoming exalted above our government, caused him, by means of the very proposals which were supposed to gratify him, not to put into effect any of the projects he had in mind. For nothing so diverts persons from purposes which they cherish a wrongful desire to achieve and can put into effect, as for those who fear that they may have to submit to such things to pretend that they endure them of their own choice. For these persons in authority, being conscious of their own wrongful purposes, do not trust the sincerity of the others, and believing that they have been detected, are ashamed and afraid, construing to the opposite effect, in their distrust, what is said to them, counting it mere flattery, and regarding with suspicion, in their shame, the possible outcome of what is said, as if it were a plot. It was of course because Antony knew this thoroughly that he first of all selected the Lupercalia and its procession, in order that Caesar in the relaxation of his spirit and merriment of the occasion might with safety be rebuked, and that, in the next place, he selected the Forum and the rostra, that Caesar might be made ashamed by the very places. And he fabricated the commands from the populace, in order that Caesar, hearing them, might reflect, not on all that Antony was saying at the time, but on all that the Roman people would order a man to say. For how could he have believed that this injunction had been laid upon any one, when he neither knew of the people's having voted anything of the kind nor
6 ἐπιβοῶντα αἰσθόμενος; ἀλλ' ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν τῇ ὑγορᾷ τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ, ἐν ἡ πολλὰ πολλάκις ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐβουλευσάμεθα, καὶ παρὰ τῷ βῆματι, ἀφ' οὐ μυρία ἐπὶ μυρίους ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἐπολυτευσάμεθα, ἐν τῇ ἕορτῇ τῶν Λυκαίων, ἦν ἀναμνησθῆ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑπάτου, ἦν ἐννοήσῃ τὰ τῶν ἄρχαίων ὑπάτων ἔργα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ δήμου ὅνοματι ταῦτα ἀκούσαι, ἦν ἐνθυμηθῆ τοῦθεν, ὅτι οὐκ Ἀφρων οὐδὲ Γαλατῶν οὐδὲ Αἰγυπτίων ἀλλ' αὐτῶν Ῥωμαίων τυραννεῖν ἐπεχείρει. ταῦτα αὐτὸν τὰ βῆματα ἐπέστρεψεν, ταῦτ' ἐταπείνωσε καὶ τάχα ἃν τὸ διάδημα, εἴπερ τις ἄλλος αὐτῷ προσήνεγκε, λαβὼν, ἔπειτα δ' ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἐκολούθησεν καὶ ἐφριξε καὶ κατέδεισε.

8 "Τὰ μὲν οὖν Ἀντωνίου ἔργα σοι ταῦτά ἐστιν, οὐ σκέλος ἄλλως κατάξαντος ἵνα αὐτὸς φύγῃ, οὐδὲ χεῖρα κατακαύσαντος ἵνα Πορσένναν φοβήσῃ, ἀλλὰ τὴν τυραννίδα τὴν τοῦ Καύσαρος σοφία καὶ περιτεχνήσει, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ δόρυ τὸ Δεκίου καὶ ὑπὸ τὸ ἐξίφος τὸ Βρούτου, παύσαντος.

20 οὕτ' ὁ Κικέρων, τί ἐν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ σοι οὖν ὅτι σοφὸν ἦ ἄγαθὸν, ἀλλ' οὐ καὶ τιμωρίας τῆς μεγίστης ἄξιον ἔπραξας; οὖχ ἦσυχάζοσαν μὲν καὶ ὀμονοουσαν τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν καὶ ἔσταραξας καὶ ἐστασίασας, τὴν ἄγοραν καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἄλλων τε τινων καὶ δουλών παρακλήτων πληρώ-2 σας; οὐ τὸν Κατιλίναν σπουδαρχήσαντα μόνον, ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν δεινὸν ποιήσαντα κακῶς ἀπώ-36
heard them shouting their applause? But, in fact, it was necessary for him to hear this in the Roman Forum, where we have often joined in many deliberations for freedom, and beside the rostra, from which we have sent forth thousands upon thousands of measures on behalf of the republic, and at the festival of the Lupercalia, in order that he might be reminded of Romulus, and from the lips of the consul, that he might call to mind the deeds of the early consuls, and in the name of the people, that he might ponder the fact that he was undertaking to be tyrant, not over Africans or Gauls or Egyptians, but over very Romans. These words brought him to himself, they humiliated him; and whereas, if any one else had offered him the diadem, he might perhaps have taken it, as it was, through the influence of all these associations, he checked himself; he shuddered and felt afraid.

"Here, then, you have the deeds of Antony; he did not break a leg in a vain attempt to make his own escape, nor burn off a hand in order to frighten Porsenna, but by his cleverness and consummate skill, which were of more avail than the spear of Decius or the sword of Brutus, he put an end to the tyranny of Caesar. But as for you, Cicero, what did you accomplish in your consulship, I will not say that was wise and good, but that was not deserving of the greatest punishment? Did you not throw our city into confusion and party strife when it was quiet and harmonious, and fill the Forum and the Capitol with slaves, among others, whom you had summoned to help you? Did you not basely destroy Catiline, who had merely canvassed for office but had otherwise done nothing dreadful? Did you not
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λεσας; οὐ τὸν Λέντουλον καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ μῆτ' ἀδικήσαντάς τι μῆτε κριθέντας μῆτε ἐλεγχέντας οἰκτρῶς διέφθειρας, καίτοι πολλὰ μὲν περὶ τῶν νόμων πολλὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ θρυλῶν; ἄ εἰ τις ἄφελοιτο
3 τῶν σῶν λόγων, τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδὲν ἔστι. Πομπηίῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐνεκάλεις ὥτι τῷ Μίλωνι παρὰ τὰ νεομυσμένα τὴν κρίσιν ἐποίησε· σὺ δὲ οὐτὲ μικρὸν οὔτε μεῖζον οὐδὲν ἐκ τῶν περὶ παῦτα τεταγμένων Λεντοῦλω παρέχεις, ἀλλὰ ἀνεύ λόγου καὶ κρίσεως ἐνέβαλες ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἄνδρα ἔπεική γέροντα, πολλὰ μὲν καὶ μεγάλα πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα ἐκ προγόνων ἐνέχυρα φιλίας ἔχοντα, μηδὲν δὲ μήθ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἥλικιας μῆθ' ὑπὸ τῶν τρόπων νεω-
4 τερίσαι δυνάμενον, τί μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ κακὸν παρῆν, ὃ τῇ μεταβολῆ ἀν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξιάσατο; τί δ' οὐκ ἄγαθὸν εἶχε, περὶ οὐ πάντως ἀν νεοχμώσας τι ἐκκινδύνευσε; ποία ὅπλα ἡθροίκει, ποίους συμμάχους παρεσκεύαστο,1 ἵν' οὕτως οἰκτρῶς καὶ ἀνοσίως ἀνὴρ ὑπατευκός, στρατηγῶν, μῆτε τι2 εἴποιν μήτ' ἁκοῦσας ἐς τε τὸ οὐκημα ἐμπέσῃ καὶ ἐκεὶ ὅσπερ οἱ κακουργότατοι φθαρή; 5 τούτῳ γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ μάλιστα ὁ καλὸς οὕτος Τούλλιος ἐπεθύμησεν, ἵν' ἐν τῷ ὀμωνύμῳ αὐτοῦ χωρίῳ3 τὸν ἐγγονον τοῦ Λεντοῦλου ἐκεῖνον τοῦ προκρίτου ποτὲ τῆς βουλῆς γενομένου ἀποκτείνῃ.

21 καίτοι τί ποτ' ἄν ἐποίησεν ἐνοπλίου ἐξουσίας λαβόμενος ὁ τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα ἐκ μόνων τῶν

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

¹ i.e. the Tullianum, later known as the Mamertine prison.
λόγων εἰργασμένος; ταύτα γὰρ σου τὰ λαμπρὰ ἔργα ἔστι, ταύτα τὰ μεγάλα στρατηγήματα· ἐφ' οἷς οὕτως οὖχ ὤπως ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων κατεγγύσθης, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς σαυτὸν ἑκατεψηφίσω, ὡστε πρὶν 2 καὶ κριθήναι φυγεῖν. καίτοι τίς ἰν ἐτέρα μείζων ἀπόδειξις τῆς σῆς μαίνουνας γένους ἢ ὁτι καὶ ἐκινδύνευσας ἀπολέσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐσκήπτησα ταύτα πεποιηκέναι, καὶ ἐφοβήθης αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους οὐς ἔλεγες ἐκ τούτων εὑργητηκέναι, 2 καὶ οὐχ ὑπέμεινας οὐτ' ἀκούσαί τι αὐτῶν οὐτ' εἴπειν τι αὐτοῖς ὁ δεινὸς, ὁ περιττός, ὁ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βοηθῆν, ἀλλὰ φυγῆ τὴν σωτηρίαν 3 ὡσπερ ἐκ μάχης ἐπορίσω; καὶ οὕτω γε ἀναίσχυντος εἶ ὡστε καὶ συγγράψαι ταύτα τοιαύτα ὑμεῖς ἐπεχείρησας· ὅτι ἐχρήμα εὔχεσθαι μηδὲ τῶν ἄλλων τινὰ αὐτὰ συνθέαν, ἵνα ἀλλὰ τοῦτο γε κερδάνης, τὸ συναπολέσθαι σοι τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ μηδεμίαν αὐτῶν μνήμην τοῖς ἑπείτα παραδοθήναι. καὶ ὡσπερ γε καὶ γελάσητε, 4 ἀκούσατε τὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ. προɵδεμένος γὰρ πάντα τὰ τῇ πόλει πεπραγμένα συγγράψαι (καὶ γὰρ σοφιστῆς καὶ ποιητῆς καὶ φιλόσοφος καὶ ῥήτωρ καὶ συγγραφέας εἶναι πλάτηται) ἐπειτ' οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως αὐτῆς, ὡσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τοῖς ποιοῦντες, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπατείας τῆς ἐαυτοῦ ἡρξατο, ἵνα ἀνάπαυσην προχώρων ἀρχὴν μὲν τοῦ λόγου ἐκείνην, τελευτὴν δὲ τὴν τοῦ 'Ῥωμαίου βασιλείαν ποιήσηται.

22 "Δέγε τοινυν, τοιαῦτα γράφων καὶ τοιαῦτα πράττων, οία δεῖ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἄνδρα καὶ λόγω

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

"Tell me now, you whose writings and whose deeds are such as I have described, what a good man
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dημηγορείν καὶ ἔργῳ ποιεῖν ἄμείνων γὰρ εἰ ἑτέροις τισῶν ὁτιοῦν παραίνειν ἢ αὐτὸς τὰ προσ- ἴκοντα πράττειν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιτιμᾶν ἢ

2 σεαυτὸν ἐπανορθοῦν. καίτοι πόσῳ σε κρεῖττον ἦν, ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς δειλίας ἢν 'Ἀντωνίῳ ὅνειδίζεις, αὐτὸν τὴν μαλακιάν καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώ- ματος ἀποθέσθαι, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς ἀπιστίας ἢν ἐκεῖνῳ προφέρεις, αὐτὸν μῆτ' ἀπιστὸν τι ποιεῖν μήτ' αὐτομολεῖν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς ἀχαριστίας ἦς ἕκείνου

3 κατηγορεῖς, αὐτὸν μὴ ἄδικείν τοὺς εὐεργέτας; ἐν γάρ τοι καὶ τούτο τῶν κακῶν τῶν ἐμφύτων αὐτῷ ἐστίν, ὅτι μισεῖ μάλιστα πάντων τοὺς τι αὐτῶν εὕ πεποιηκότας, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων αἰεί tινας θεραπεύει, τούτοις δὲ ἐπίβουλευε. ἦν γοῦν τάλλα ἐάσω, ἐλεηθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Καῖσαρος καὶ σωθεῖς ἐσ τε τοὺς εὐπατρίδας ἐγγраφεῖς ἀπ- ἐκτεινεν, οὐκ αὐτοχειρία (πόθεν, δειλός τε οὕτω καὶ γύννις ὄν;) ἀλλ' ἀναπείσας καὶ παραδικεύσας

4 τοὺς τούτο ποιήσαντας. καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα ἄληθῆ λέγω, αὐτὸλ ἐκείνῳ ἐδήλωσαν· ὅτε γοῦν γυμνοῖς τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἐς τὴν ἁγορὰν ἐσέδραμον, ὄνομαστι αὐτὸν ἀνεκάλεσαν συνεχῶς εἰπόντες, ὁ Κικέρων,

5 ὁσπέρ που πάντες ἱκουσατε. ἐκεῖνὸν τε ὅσῳ εὐεργέτην ὄντα ἐφόνευσε, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ 'Ἀντωνίου καὶ τῆς ἰερωσύνης καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας, ὅτ' ἀπολέσθαι ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ ὑπὸ τῶν στρα- τιωτῶν ἐκινδύνευσε, τυχῶν τοιαύτας αὐτῷ χάριτας ἀνταποδίδωσι, κακηγορῶν τε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄ

1 ἦς Dind., τῆς LM.

42
ought to say in addressing the people and to do in action; for you are better at advising others about any matter in the world than at doing your duty yourself, and better at rebuking others than at reforming yourself. Yet how much better it would be for you, instead of reproaching Antony with cowardice, yourself to lay aside your effeminacy both of spirit and of body; instead of bringing a charge of disloyalty against him, yourself to cease from doing anything disloyal against him and playing the deserter; and instead of accusing him of ingratitude, yourself to cease from wronging your benefactors! For this, I must tell you, is one of Cicero’s inherent defects, that he hates above all others those who have done him any kindness, and that while he is always fawning upon men of the other kind, yet he keeps plotting against these. At any rate (to omit other instances), after being pitied and spared by Caesar and enrolled among the patricians, he then killed him, not with his own hand, of course—how could he, cowardly and effeminate as he is?—but by persuading and bribing those who did it. That I am speaking the truth in this matter was made plain by the murderers themselves; at any rate, when they ran out into the Forum with their naked blades, they called for him by name, crying ‘Cicero!’ repeatedly, as you, no doubt, all heard them. Therefore, I say, he slew Caesar, his benefactor, and as for Antony, the very man from whom he had obtained not only his priesthood but also his life, when he was in danger of perishing at the hands of the soldiers in Brundisium, he repays him with this sort of thanks, accusing him of deeds with which neither he himself nor any one else ever
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μήτ' αὐτὸς μήτ' ἄλλος τις πώποτε ἐμέμψατο, καὶ
κατατρέχων ἐφ’ οἷς ἄλλους ἐπαινεῖ. τὸν γοῦν
Καίσαρα τοῦτον, μήθ' ἥλικιαν ἄρχειν ἢ τι τῶν
πολιτικῶν πράττειν ἔχοντα μήθ' ύφ' ἧμῶν προ-
κεχειρισμένον, ὅρων καὶ δύναμιν πεπορισμένον
καὶ πόλεμον μήτε ἐψηφισμένον ἦμῶν μήτε προσ-
τεταχότων αὐτῶ ἀνηρημένου, οὐ μονὸν όμικ
7 αἰτιᾶται τι ἄλλα καὶ ἐγκωμιάζει. οὕτως οὗτε τὰ
dίκαια πρὸς τοὺς νόμους οὗτε τὰ συμφέροντα
πρὸς τὸ τῶ κοινὸ χρήσιμον ἐξετάζει, ἀλλὰ πάντα
ἀπλῶς πρὸς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ βούλησιν διάγει, καὶ ἐφ’
οἷς ἄλλους ἀποσεμνώνει, ταῦθ' ἔτεροις ἐγκαλεῖ,
καὶ καταψευδόμενος ἦμῶν καὶ προσδιαβάλλων
23 ὑμᾶς. σύμπαντα γὰρ τὰ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος
tελευτὴν ὑπ’ Ἀντωνίου πεπραγμένα εὐρήσετε ὑπ’
ὑμῶν κεκελευσμένα. καὶ τὸ μὲν περὶ τε τῆς τῶν
χρημάτων διοικήσεως καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν γραμ-
μάτων εξετάσεως λέγειν περιττὸν εἶναι νομίζω.
2 διὰ τί; ὅτι τὸ μὲν τῷ κληρονομοῦντι αὐτοῦ τῆς
οὐσίας προσήκον ἄν εἰπα πολυπραγμονεῖν, τὸ δὲ,1
eἶπερ τινὰ ἄληθεναν κακουργίας εἰχε, τότε ἐχρῆν
παραχρῆμα κεκωλύσθαι. οὗτε γὰρ ὑπὸ μάλλος
tι αὐτῶν, ὦ Κικέρων, ἐπράχθη, ἀλλ’ ἐστὶν,
3 ὦς καὶ αὐτὸς φής, πάντα ἀνεγράφη· εἰ δὲ ἐκείνους
φανερῶς οὕτω καὶ ἀναισχύντως τὰ τε ἄλλα
ἐκακούσθησεν ὡς λέγεις, καὶ τὴν Κρήτην ὅλην
ηρπασεν ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος γραμμάτων
ἐλευθέραν μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Βρούτου ἀρχὴν ἀφειμένην,
ἡν ύστερον ἐκείνος παρ’ ἦμῶν ἐπετράπη, πῶς μὲν
ἂν σὺ ἐσιώπησας, πῶς δ’ ἂν τῶν ἄλλων τις

1 At this point a quaternion has been lost from M; it resumes in the middle of chap. 43, 2.
found any fault and hounding him for conduct which he praises in others. At all events, when he sees that this young Caesar, who, although he has not attained the age yet to hold office or take any part in politics and has not been elected by you to office, has nevertheless equipped himself with an armed force and has undertaken a war which we have neither voted nor committed to his hands, he not only has no blame to bestow, but actually eulogizes him. Thus, you will perceive, he estimates neither justice by the standard of the laws nor expediency by the standard of the public weal, but manages everything simply to suit his own will, and what he extols in some he censures in others, spreading false reports against you and slandering you besides. For you will find that all Antony’s acts after Caesar’s death were ordered by you. Now to speak about Antony’s disposition of Caesar’s funds and his examination of his papers I regard as superfluous. Why so? Because, in the first place, it would be the business of the one who inherited Caesar’s property to busy himself with it, and, in the second place, if there were any truth in the charge of malfeasance, it ought to have been stopped immediately at the time. For none of these transactions was carried out in secret, Cicero, but they were all recorded on tablets, as you yourself admit. But as to Antony’s other acts, if he committed these villainies as openly and shamelessly as you allege, if he seized upon all Crete on the pretext that in Caesar’s papers it had been left free after the governorship of Brutus,—although it was only later that Brutus was given charge of it by us—how could you have kept silent, and how could any one else have tolerated such
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4 ἧνέσχετο; ἀλλὰ ταύτα μέν, ὦσπερ εἶπον, παραλείψω, οὔτε γὰρ ὁμομαστὶ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν εἰρήται, οὔτ' Ἀντώνιος ὁ δυνάμενος ὡμᾶς ἀκριβῶς καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ὄν πεποίηκε διδάξαι πάρεστι· περὶ δὲ δὴ τῆς Μακεδονίας τῆς τε Γαλατίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑνὸς τῶν τε στρατοπέδων ύμέτερα ἔστιν, ὡς πατέρες, ψηφίσματα, καθ’ ἄ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ὡς ἐκαστα προσεξατε καὶ ἐκείνῳ τὴν Γαλατίαν μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐνεχειρίσατε. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ Κικέρων οἶδεν· παρῆν γάρ, καὶ πάντα γε
5 αὐτὰ ὁμοίως ὑμῖν ἐγνήφιζο. καίτοι πόσω κρείττον ἦν τότε αὐτῶν ἀντείπτειν, εἴπερ τι αὐτῶν μὴ δεόντως ἐγίγνετο, καὶ διδάξαι ὑμᾶς ταύτα ἄ νῦν προϊσχεται, ἡ παραχρήμα μὲν σιωπήσαι καὶ ἕ περιδεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀμαρτάνοντας, νῦν δὲ λόγῳ μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ ἐγκαλεῖν ἔργῳ δὲ τῆς Βουλῆς κατηγορεῖν;

24 "Οὔδε γὰρ οὔδε τούτο δύνατ' ἂν τις σωφρονῶν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἐκείνος ταύθ' ὑμᾶς ψηφίσασθαι ἐβιάσατο. οὔτε γὰρ αὐτῶς ἴσχυν τινα στρατιωτῶν εἴχεν ὡστε παρὰ γνώμην ὑμᾶς ποιῆσαι τι καταναγκάσαι, καὶ τὸ πράγμα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως πε- 2 πρακται. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ προστερμπτο 2 μὲν τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ συνειστήκει, δέος δὲ ἣν μὴ πυθόμενα τῆς τοῦ Καῖσαρος σφαγής στασιάση καὶ τινα φλαδρον προστησάμενα αὐθίς πολεμήσῃ, ἔδοξεν ύμῖν, ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς ποιοῦσι, τοῖν Ἀντώνιον ἐπ’ αὐτὰ ἐπιστῆσαι, τὸν ὑπατον, τὸν τῆν ὀμόνοιαν προτανεύσαντα, τὸν τῆν δικτατορίαν
3 παντελῶς ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ἐκκόψαντα. καὶ διὰ

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

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

25 "Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν πρὸς χάμας εἶπον, ἵν' εἰδήτε ὀρθῶς βεβουλευμένοι. πρὸς δὲ δὴ Κικέρωνα καὶ ἔκεινός μοι ὁ λόγος ἐξήρκει, ὅτι καὶ παρὰν πᾶς τούτων ὅτε ἐγίγνετο, καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν αὐτὰ ἐφη- φίσατο, μήτε στρατιώτην τινὰ 'Ἀντωνίου ἔχοντος, μήθ' ὅλως ἐνδείξασθαι τι φοβερὸν ἡμῖν δυναμένου, δι' ὃ καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων ἄν τι παρείδομεν. 

2 ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τότε ἐσιώπησας, νῦν γε εἰπέ, τί ἔχρην ἡμᾶς ποιήσαι τούτων οὔτως ἐχόντων; ἀφεῖναι τὰ στρατεύματα ἄναρχα; καὶ πῶς οὐκ ἄν μυρίων κακῶν καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν

3 ἐνέπλησεν; ἀλλ' ἐτέρῳ τινὶ προστάζαι; καὶ τίνα ἄν ἀναγκαίωτερον καὶ ἐπιτηδειότερον τοῦ 'Ἀντω- νίου εὑρομεν, τοῦ υπάτου, τοῦ πάντα τὰ τῆς πόλεως διοικοῦντος, τοῦ τοσαύτην φυλακὴν τῆς ὄμονοιας ἡμῶν πεποιημένου, τοῦ μυρία ἐπι- δείγματα τῆς πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν εὐνοίας παρεσχή- 

4 μένου; τινὰ τῶν σφαγέων; οὔς οὖδ' ἄλλως ἐν τῇ πόλει διατρίβειν ἀσφαλὲς ἐγίγνετο. τινὰ τῶν τάναντια αὐτοῖς φρονούντων; οὔς πάντες ὑπώ- πτευνον. τίς ἀξίωσει προέχων, τίς ἐμπειρία

5 προφέρων παρὰ τούτον ἄλλος ἦν; ἀλλ' ἀγα- νακτείς ὅτι μὴ σὲ προειλόμεθα. καὶ τίνα μὲν ἀρχὴν εἶχες, τί δ' οὔκ ἄν ἔδρασας ὀπλα καὶ στρατιώτας λαβὼν ὁ τοσαύτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα ἐν τῇ υπατείᾳ ταράξας ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτετηδευμένων

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

"To you I have said these things, that you may know that you have decided rightly. As for Cicero, that other point of mine was sufficient, namely, that he was present during all these proceedings and voted with us for the measures, although Antony had not a soldier at the time and was quite unable to bring to bear on us any intimidation that would have made us neglect any of our interests. But even though you were then silent, tell us now, at least, what we ought to have done in the circumstances? Leave the legions leaderless? Would they not have filled both Macedonia and Italy with countless evils? Entrust them, then, to another? And whom could we have found more closely related and suited to the business than Antony, the consul, the official who was directing all the city's affairs, who had kept so close a watch over our harmony, who had given countless examples of his loyalty to the common weal? Appoint one of the assassins, then? Why, it was not even safe for them as it was to live in the city. Appoint, then, a man of the party opposed to them? Why, everybody suspected the members of that party. What other man was there who surpassed him in public esteem or excelled him in experience? Nay, you are vexed that we did not choose you. What office, now, were you holding? And what act would you not have committed if you had obtained arms and soldiers, seeing that you succeeded in stirring up so much serious turmoil during your consulship when armed with only those antitheses of yours, the result
26 οὐι τούτων ἀντιθέτων, ὅν μόνων ἦς κύριος; ἀλλ' ἐκείσε ἐπάνειμι, ὅτι καὶ παρῆς τούτως ὅτε ἐφηφη·-ζετο, καὶ οὖνδὲν ἀντείπαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ συγκατέθου πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ ἀρίστοις καὶ ἀναγκαίοις δῆλον ὅτι οὖσιν. οὐ γάρ πού καὶ παραρχιας εὔδεις ἡσθα: πολλὰ γοῦν καὶ μᾶτην ὑλάκτεις.

2 οὐ μὴν οὖν ἐφοβηθῆς τινα· πῶς γὰρ Ἀν ἐδείξας τον γυμνὸν ὁ μὴ φοβούμενος τὸν ὡπλισμένον; πῶς τὸν μόνον ὁ μὴ ἡ τον τοσσοῦτος στρατιώτας ἔχοντα; καίτοι σύγχε ὡς ἐπί τούτῳ σεμνύη, ὅτι πάνω τοῦ θανάτου, ὡς γε καὶ φής, καταφρονεῖς.

3 "Οὕτω δή τούτων ἔχοντων πότερος ὑμῖν ἀδικεῖν δοκεῖ, Ἀντώνιος ὁ τάς δυνάμεις τᾶς δοθείσας αὐτῷ παρ' ἡμῶν διοικῶν, ἡ Καίσαρ ὁ τοσαύτην ἑχών ἱδίαν περιβεβλημένος; Ἀντώνιος ὁ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιτραπείσαν αὐτῷ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀρχὴν ἀπεληλυθῶς, ἡ Βροῦτος ὁ κωλύων αὐτὸν τῆς χώρας ἐπεβῆναι; Ἀντώνιος ὁ τοὺς συμμάχους ἡμῶν ἀναγκάσαι ἐθέλων τοὺς ψηφίσμασιν ἡμῶν πεισθῆναι, ἡ ἐκεῖνοι οἱ τὸν μὲν πεμφθέντα υφ' ἡμῶν ἀρχοντα μὴ προσδεδιέμενοι, τῷ δὲ ἀπεψηφισμένῳ

5 προστεθειμένοι; Ἀντώνιος ὁ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἡμετέρους συνεχῶν, ὡς οἱ στρατιώται οἱ τὸν ἀρχοντα αὐτῶν ἐγκαταλελοιπότες; Ἀντώνιος ὁ μηδένα τούτων τῶν στρατιώτων τῶν υφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶ δοθέντων ἐσ τὴν πόλιν ἐσαγαγών, ἡ Καίσαρ ὁ τοὺς πάλαι ἐστρατευμένους ἀναπείσας χρήσαι

6 ἐνθρο ἐθείειν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὖν ἐκ τούς ἱμάζω ὡς ἐτὶ ἐθεῖν ἡγοῦμαι πρὸς τὸ μὴ οὐκ ἐκεῖνο μὲν πάντα

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

"Since all this is so, which of the two seems to be in the wrong—Antony, who is directing the forces granted him by us, or Caesar, who has surrounded himself with so large a band of his own? Antony, who has departed to assume the office committed to him by us, or Brutus, who is trying to prevent him from setting foot in the country? Antony, who wishes to compel our allies to obey our decrees, or the allies, who have not received the ruler sent them by us but have attached themselves to the man who was rejected by our vote? Antony, who keeps our soldiers together, or the soldiers, who have abandoned their commander? Antony, who has not brought into the city a single one of the soldiers who were granted him by us, or Caesar, who has bribed to come here the veterans who were long ago discharged from service? For my part, I do not think there is any further need of argument to answer the imputation that he is not properly performing all the
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τὰ προσταχθέντα αὐτῷ ύφ' ἡμῶν ὀρθῶς δοκεῖν, τούτους δὲ καὶ δίκην ἄν αὐτοὶ καθ' 7 αὐτοὺς ἐτόλμησαν ὑποσχεῖν ὀφείλειν. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν φυλακὴν ἐλάβετε, ἵν' ἀσφαλῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων, όuin 'Αντώνιου ἐνεκα τοῦ μήτε ἱδία τι πεποιηκότος μήτ' ἐν τινι ὑμᾶς πεφοβηκότος, ἀλλ' ἐκείνου τοῦ καὶ δύναμιν ἐπ' αὐτῶν 1 συνειλοχότος 2 καὶ πολι- λοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει πολλάκις ἐσχηκότος, θουλεύσησθε.

27 "Ταύτα μὲν οὖν διὰ Κικέρωνα εἶπον, ἐπειδὴ ἄπειρ' ἀδίκων ἐς ἡμᾶς λόγων ὑπῆρξεν· οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως φιλαπεχθήμων εἰμὶ ὡσπερ οὗτος, οὔτ' ἐμοὶ μέλει τὰ ἀλλότρια κακὰ πολυπραγμονεῖν, ὡσπερ οὗτος ἵππον σεμνύνεται. ἀδ' οὖν παραίνω μήτ' 'Αντωνίῳ τι χαριζόμενος μήτε Καίσαρα ᾣ Βρούτον διαβάλλων, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῆ συμφερόντων, ὡσπερ ποὺ προσήκει, θουλεύων, νῦν ἡδη φράσω. 2 φημὶ γὰρ δεῖν μήτε ἐχθρόν ποὺ μηδένα τούτων τῶν τὰ ὄπλα ἐχόντων ποιήσασθαι, μήτ' ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάζειν τί καὶ πῶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν πέπρακται. οὔτε γὰρ ὁ παρών καιρὸς ἐπιτήδειος ἐστὶ πρὸς τοῦτο, καὶ πολιτῶν αὐτῶν ἰμετέρων πάντων ὁμοίως ὅντων, ἀν τὲ τις πταῖσῃ σφῶν, ἡμῖν ἀπολέσται, ἀν 3 τε καὶ κατορθώσῃ, ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὐξηθήσεται. δι' οὖν ταύτα καὶ πολιτικῶς καὶ φιλικῶς αὐτοὺς ἠγούμαι χρήμαι μεταχειρίσασθαι, καὶ πέμψαι μὲν πρὸς πάντας ὁμοίως κελεύοντας αὐτοῖς ὡκ τε τῶν ὀπλῶν ὑπαλλαγήναι καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν 3 καὶ ἕαυ-

1 αὐτὸν R. Steph., αὐτοῦ L.
2 συνειλοχότος Reim., συνειλεχότος L.
3 ἡμῖν H. Steph., ὑμῖν L.
BOOK XLVI

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

"So much I have said for Cicero's benefit, since it was he who began by making unjust accusations against us; for I am not generally quarrelsome, as he is, nor do I care to pry into others' misdeeds, as he prides himself in doing always. But I will now state the advice I have to give you, without either favouring Antony or calumniating Caesar or Brutus, but simply consulting the general good, as is proper. For I declare that we ought not yet to make an enemy of either of these men in arms nor to enquire too closely into what they have been doing or in what way. For the present is not a suitable occasion for such action, and as they are all alike our fellow citizens, if any one of them fails the loss will be ours, and if any one of them succeeds his advancement will be a menace to us. Wherefore I believe that we ought to treat them as citizens and friends and send messengers to all of them alike, bidding them lay down their arms and put themselves and
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toûs kai tâ stratôpêda poîhsasvtaî, pôlemonon ðè
µêdeîw prôs µênêvna avtûv ðêvewkêinv, âllê ék
 tôv ãpâgghêvthiânomévwn toûs mèn Òbehêvtaîs
ìmiûn peiâphêvtaî Æpavêvtaî, tôs ðè ãpêvthêvtaî
4 pôlemêvtaî. tòuto ãâr kai òikaiou kai sumvfrôn
ìmiûn1 èstî, µête èpeîxhêvna µête prôpetôs tî
práxei, âllê èpîscheîn, kai kariñv tîna kai avtôs
èkeinôs kai tôv stratîwtaîs ès tô metavôvtaî
dûntas èpeîth' ouîvûs, ân tôv pôlemon dehêñh, tôs
ûpátov avtûv pœsstèvai.

28 "Kâi sos ðè, ò Kikêvrou, pârâinô µête ãynai-
keîvôs ãhrasûnesvtaî µête tôv Bâm'bâlîvna muveî-
svtaî, µêde pôlempôpoieîn, µête dia tîn ìdîavan prôs
 tôv 'Avntôvîon èxêravn Òdîmosiâ pâsann tôv pûlîv
2 ès kînduvou avthîs kathistávnaî.2 kalôs mèn ãâr
poîhseîs, ân kai èkeîvîv ñuâallagîs ìmê' ou
pôllà dhî pòllâkîs ãfrîkà èpráxas' eî ð' ouîn
âkataalláktoîs avtûv èxeîs, âllî ìmiûn ge phiësai,
mêde ãesîngêthîs ìmiûn tôs prôs ãllhîlous fiîlias
3 geneîvôs vûv avthîn katalûsîs, âllhà ãnâmêvstheîs
tîs te ìmiêrâs èkeîvîs kai tôv lôgôn òn èn tô
tîs 'Hmônîa tâúthi par' ãì vûv ãvouênômeta, ìnà mh
kai èkeîvâ diavbâlêhís òsh òûk âp' ðrhêhís diaâovâs
4 âll' apô3 tîvos ãllhov tôte lekhêvnta: tôuto ãâr
kai tôv tôleî sumvfreî kai sos plêîstvnh dôxv
ôsîeî. mh ãâr tîv nômôshs òtî tôv ãhrasûnesvtaî
2 ìmêv nûv ãsphalês, mh' ân èptês òtî tôv
Âanátov katafroneîs, kai èpavîvëîsîai èpî tôutôv

1 ìmiûn H. Steph., ìmiûn L.
2 kathistávnaî R. Steph., kâhêstávnaî L.
3 apô Polak, ìpô L.
their legions in our hands, and that we ought not yet to wage war on any one of them, but in accordance with the reports brought back to approve those who are willing to obey us and to make war upon the disobedient. This course is just and expedient for us—not to be in a hurry or to do anything rashly, but to wait, and after giving the leaders themselves and their soldiers an opportunity to change their minds, then, if in such case there be need of war, to give the consuls charge of it.

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

1 Cf. xlv. 47, 4.  
2 Cf. xliv. 22, 3.
5 πιστεύσης. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ τοιούτους ὡς καὶ κακῶν ἄν τι ὑπ' ἀπονοίας τολμήσαντας καὶ ὑπο-πτεύονσι πάντες καὶ μισοῦσιν οὕς δ' ἀν ἴδωσι περὶ πλείστου τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν ποιομένους, καὶ ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ἐγκωμίαζουσιν ὡς μηδέν ᾗν ἑκόντας ἄξιον θανάτου ποιήσαντας. καὶ σὺ οὖν, εἵπερ οὖντως σώζεσθαι τὴν πατρίδα ἐθέλεις, τοιαῦτα καὶ λέγε καὶ πράττε ἐξ ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς σωθήσῃ, μη μὰ Δί' ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἡμᾶς συναπολεῖς.”

29 Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Καλήνου εἰπόντος ο Κικέρων οὐκ ἦνεγκεν αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀκράτω καὶ κατακορεί τῇ παρρησίᾳ αἰὲ πρὸς πάντας ὁμοίως ἐχρήτο, παρὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ἦξιον τὴν ὁμοίαν ἀντιλαμβάνειν. καὶ τότε οὖν ἄφεσι τὸ τὰ δη-μόσια διασκοπεῖν ές λοιδορίας αὐτῷ κατέστη, ὡστε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐχ ἡκίστα

2 μάθην κατατριβήναι. τῇ δ' οὖν ὑστεραία καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἐφ' ἐκάτερα λεχθέντων ἐκράτησαν οἶ τά τοῦ Καῖσαρος πράττοντες, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ εἰκόνα καὶ τὸ βου-λεύειν ἐν τοῖς τεταμιευκόσι, τὸ τε τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς δέκα ἔτεσι θάσσον παρὰ τὸ νεομισμένον

3 αἰτήσαι, καὶ τὸ τὰ χρῆματα ἃ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀναλώκει, παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι δὴ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς δὴ παρεσκεύασέ σφας, λαβεῖν, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἕγκαταλιπόσι, τὸ μήτ' ἄλλον τινὰ πόλεμον πολεμῆσαι καὶ χώραν εὐθὺς δοθῆναι

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

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

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1 Inasmuch as the quaestorship was the regular stepping-stone to the senate, they conferred upon him the rank of an ex-quaestor in order that he might be eligible to membership in that body.
4 ἐψηφίσαντο. πρὸς τε τῶν Ἀντώνιου πρεσβείαν ἐπεμψαν κελεύσονταν οἱ τὰ τε στρατόπεδα καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν ἀφείναι καὶ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀπελθεῖν. καὶ τοῖς συστρατευομένοις αὐτῷ προείπον οἰκαδε ἑντὸς ῥητῆς ἡμέρας ἀναχωρῆσαι, ἢ εἰδέναι ὅτι ἐν πολεμίῳ μοῖρα γενήσονται. καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς τοὺς ἀρχὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαβόντας καταλύσαντες ἐτέρους

5 ἀντι αὐτῶν ἀντιπεμφθῆναι ἔγνωσαν. τότε μὲν ταὐτ’ ἐκυρώθη ὑστερον δὲ οὐ πολλά, πρὶν καὶ τὴν γρώμην αὐτοῦ μαθεῖν, ταραχῇ τε εἰναι ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν βουλευτικὴν ἀπεδύσαντο, τὸν τε πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, στρατηγοῦ τινα ἀρχὴν
dόντες, προσέταξαν, καὶ σφισι καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον Λούκιον τε Μονατίον Πλάγκον ἐν μέρει τῆς ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἀλπειῶν Γαλατίας ἀρχοντα βοηθῆσαι ἐκέλευσαν.

30 Οὔτω μὲν τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ ἄλλως πολεμησεῖόν τινα τὴν πρόφασιν τῆς ἕχθρας παρέσχον. ἀσμενὸς γὰρ τῶν ἐψηφισμένων λαβόμενος αὐτίκα τε τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἐξωνείδισεν ὡς οὔτ’ ὀρθῶς οὔτ’ ἵσως οἱ πρὸς τὸ μειράκιον, τὸν Καίσαρα λέγων, ἔχρη-

2 σαντο, καὶ ἀντιπέμψας ἐτέρους, ὅπως ἐς ἐκεῖνος τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πολέμου περιστήσῃ, ἀντιπροετεῖνατό τινα, ἃ αὐτῷ μὲν εὐπρέπειαν ἐφερεν, ἀδύνατα δ’ ἣν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συναρμομένων οἱ πραχθῆναι. ἔμελλε μὲν γὰρ οὐδέν τῶν προσταχθέντων ποιήσειν, εἰ δὲ ἐπι-στάμενος ὦτι οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι τι τῶν προβληθέντων
given them at once. To Antony they sent an embassy to order him to give up the legions, leave Gaul, and go back to Macedonia; and to his followers they issued a proclamation commanding them to return home before a given day or to know that they would be regarded in the light of enemies. Moreover, they removed from office the senators who had received from him governorships over the provinces and decided that others should be sent in their place. These were the measures ratified at that time; and not long afterwards, even before learning his decision, they voted that a state of disorder existed, laid aside their senatorial garb, entrusted the war against Antony to the consuls and to Caesar, granting the latter the authority of a praetor, and they ordered Lepidus and also Lucius Munatius Planeus, who was governor of a part of Transalpine Gaul, to render assistance.

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

1 He was technically propraetor; cf. Cicero, Philipp. v. 17, xiv. 8.
2 Gallia Narbonensis and Belgica were governed by others.
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ύπ' αὐτοῦ πράξουσιν, ὑπισχυεῖτο¹ δὴθεν πάντα τὰ δεδογμένα σφίσι ποιήσειν, ὅπως αὐτὸς τε ἀναφυγήν ὡς κἀπ πράξας αὐτὰ ἔχῃ, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἑναντίων, ἀρνησαμένων ἄ ἐπήγγελλεν, αἰτία τοῦ πολέμου φθάσῃ γενόμενα. τὴν τε γὰρ Γαλατίαν ἐκλείψειν καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα ἀφῆσειν ἐλεγεν, ἃν τούτοις τε τὰ αὐτὰ ἀπερ τοὺς τοῦ Καῖσαρος ἐψη-φίσαντο δῶσιν, καὶ τῶν Κάσσιου τὸν τε Βρούτον τὸν Μάρκου ὑπάτους ἔλονταί. καὶ γὰρ τούτῃ ἤτοισε προσποιούμενος τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἵνα μηδεμίαν αὐτῷ ὀργὴν τῶν πρὸς τὸν Δέκιμον τὸν συνωμότην σφῶν πραττομένους ἔχοιεν.

31 Ἀντώνιος μὲν ταῦτα προῴχετο, σαφῶς εἰδὼς μηδέτερον αὐτῶν ἐσόμενον· ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἀν ποτε ὑπέμεινεν οὔτε τοὺς σφαγέας τοὺς τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπατεύσας, οὔτε τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ λαβόντας προσφυλεστέρους αὐτῷ μᾶλλον γενέσθαι. οὖκοιν οὐδὲ ἐκυρώθη τι αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τε Ἀντωνίῳ τὸν πόλεμον πάλιν ἐπήγγειλαν, καὶ τοῖς συνουσίν οἱ προηγόρευσαν αὕτhis ἐγκαταλιπτεῖν αὐτῶν, ἐτέραν τινὰ ἢμέραν τάξαντες. τὰς τε χλαμύδας τὰς στρατιωτικὰς πάντες, καὶ οἱ μὴ ἐκστατεύσοντες,² ἡμπέσχοντο, καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως ἐπέτρεψαν, ἐκεῖνο δὴ τὸ εἰθισμένον τὸ δόγματι προσγράψαντες, τὸ μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτὴς ἀποτριβήναι. ἐπειδὴ τε πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐδέοντο, πάντες μὲν τὸ πέμπτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν τῆς ὑπαρχοῦσης σφίσιν οὐσίας ἐπέδωκαν, οἱ δὲ δὴ βουλευταὶ καὶ τέσσαρας ὀβολοὺς

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

Antony made these offers knowing well that neither of them would be accepted. For Caesar would never have endured that the murderers of his father should become consuls or that Antony's soldiers by receiving the same rewards as his own should feel still more kindly toward his rival. Accordingly, not one of Antony's proposals was ratified, but the senate again declared war on him and once more gave notice to his associates to leave him, setting another time limit. All, even such as were not to take the field, arrayed themselves in their military cloaks, and they committed to the consuls the care of the city, attaching to the decree the customary clause "that it suffer no harm." And since there was need of much money for the war, they all contributed the twenty-fifth part of the wealth they possessed and the senators also four obols ¹ for each roof-tile of all

¹ Probably ten asses, inasmuch as Dio regularly takes the drachma (six obols) as the equivalent of the denarius (sixteen asses in his time).
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καθ' ἐκάστην κεραμίδα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει οἰκιῶν, ὅσας ἢ αὐτοὶ ἐκέκτηντο ἢ ἄλλων οὐσας φίκουν. 4 καὶ χωρίς ἔτερα οὐκ ὄλγα ὦι πάνυ πλοῦσιοι συνετέλεσαν, τά τε ὁπλα καὶ τά ἄλλα τά πρὸς τήν στρατείαν ἀναγκαία συχναὶ μὲν πόλεις συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ ἰδιῶται προῖκα ἐξεποίησαν· τοσαύτη γὰρ ἀχρηματία τὸ δημόσιον τότε ἔσχεν ὡστε μηδὲ τὰς πανηγύρεις τὰς ἐν τῷ καίρῳ ἐκείνῳ γενέσθαι ὀφειλοῦσας ἐπιτελεσθῆναι, ἔξω 1 βραχέως ὑπὸ τῶν ὀσίας ἔνεκα. ταῦτα δὲ ὅσι μὲν τῷ τε Καίσαρι ἔχαρεξόντο καὶ τῶν Ἀντώνιον ἐμίσουν προθύμως ἐπραττοῦν οἷς δὲ δὴ πλείους, ἀτὲ καὶ ταῖς στρατείαις ἁμα καὶ ταῖς ἐσφοραῖς βαρούμενοι, ἐδυσχέραινον, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι ἀδηλὸν μὲν ἦν ὀπότερος αὐτῶν κρατήσει, πρόδηλον δὲ ὦτὶ τῷ 2 νικήσαντι δουλεύσουσι. συχνοὶ δ' οὖν καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου βουλόμενοι, οἱ μὲν ἀντικρύς πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἄλλοι τε 2 καὶ ὅμιραχοι στρατηγοὶ τέ τινες, ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δὲ καὶ κατὰ χώραν μείναντες, δὴν καὶ ὁ Καλήνος ἦν, ἐπραττοῦν ύπὲρ αὐτοῦ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐδύναντο, τὰ μὲν ἐπικρυπτόμενοι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ 3 τοῦ φανεροῦ διαδικαίοντες. οὐκουν οὐδὲ τὴν ἐσθήτα εὐθὺς ἡλάξαντο, ἄλλα καὶ ἐπεισαν αὖθις τὴν γερουσίαν πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν Ἀντωνίον ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα πέμψαν, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς καὶ πείσοντα αὐτὸν ὡμολογήσαι, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἐπιξειρεθῆ σφισί. συνυνόησας οὖν τούτ' ἐκείνος ἐφοβήθη καὶ οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ὁπλα ἐκδούναι. κακὸς τούτου οὖδ' ἄλλος τις τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἀπήρεν.

33 Ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο, τέρατα αὖθις οὐ

1 ἔξω Xyl., ἔξ &ν L. 2 τε Reim., δὲ L.

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

While all this was going on, portents of no small
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σμικρὰ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ ὑπάτῳ τῷ Ὀυίβίῳ ἕγένετο. ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, μεθ' ἦν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐξώρμησεν, ἀνθρωπός τις τὴν νόσου ποὺ τὴν ἱερὰν καλουμένην ἔχων δημή-2 γοροῦντός τι αὐτοῦ κατέπεσεν· καὶ ἀνδριάς αὐτοῦ χαλκοῦς ἐν τῷ τῆς οἰκίας προθύρῳ ἐστῶς ἀνε-τράπη αὐτόματος τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τε ὁρᾳ ἦ ἐξεστρά-τευσεν. τα τε ἱερὰ τὰ προπολέμια οἱ μάντεις οὐκ ἣδυνήθησαν ύπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ αἵματος διαγρώναι· καὶ τις ἐν τούτῳ φοίνικα αὐτῷ προσ-φέρων ἐν τῇ αἵματι τῷ προκεχμενῷ ὀλισθε καὶ πεσὼν τὸν φοίνικα ἔμιανεν. ἐκείνῳ μὲν δὴ
tαῦτ' ἐγένετο. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἱδιωτεύνοντι οἱ συνενη-
νεκτο, ἐς μόνον ἄν αὐτῶν ἔτεινεν, ἔπει δ' ὑπάτευνε,
cαὶ ἐς πάντας ὁμοίως ἤγεγεκνεν, ὡσπερ τὸ τε τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ὅν (πρὸς γὰρ τοῦ τὰς τοῦ ἥλιου ἀνατολᾶς πρότερον βλέπων πρὸς δυσμᾶς ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου μετε-
στράφη) καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ πρὸς τῇ Μοντίνη, παρ' ἦ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐμαχέσαντο, τιμώμενον
(αἱμά τε γὰρ πολὺ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ γάλα ἄνηκε), καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὸ τοὺς ὑπάτους τὴν ἔξοδον πρὸ τῶν Δατίων ἀνοχῶν ποιήσασθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἐστίν ὅποτε τοῦτο γενομένου καλῶς ἀπῆλ-
λαξαν. ἀμέλει καὶ τότε οἱ ὑπατοὶ ἀμφότεροι καὶ
ἐκ τοῦ ὀμίλου πάμπολυ πλήθος, τὸ μὲν ἐν τῷ
παρὸντι τὸ δὲ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, τῶν τε ἱππέων καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν πολλοί, καὶ οἱ μάλιστα ἄνα
πρώτους ὄντες, ἀπώλοντο· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αἱ μάχαι, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ οἱ οἴκοι σφαγαὶ τῶν Σύλλειον
1 Ὀυίβίῳ Βκ., οὐιοβίῳ Λ; before this word Λ has βιβιφ, omitted by Xyl.
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moment again occurred, significant both for the city and for the consul himself, who was Vibius. Thus, in the last assembly before he set out for the war a man with the disease called the sacred disease fell down while Vibius was speaking. Also a bronze statue of him which stood in the vestibule of his house turned around of itself on the day and at the hour that he set out on the campaign, and the sacrifices customary before war could not be interpreted by the seers by reason of the quantity of blood. Likewise a man who was just then bringing him a palm slipped in the blood which had been shed, fell, and defiled the palm. These were the portents in his case. Now if they had befallen him when a private citizen, they would have pertained to him alone, but since he was consul, they had a bearing on all alike. So, too, these portents: the statue of the Mother of the Gods on the Palatine, which had formerly faced the east, turned around of itself toward the west; that of Minerva worshipped near Mutina, where the heaviest fighting occurred, sent forth a quantity of blood and afterwards of milk also; furthermore, the consuls took their departure just before the Feriae Latinæ, and there is no instance where this has happened and the Romans have fared well. At any rate, on this occasion also, a vast multitude of the people, including the two consuls, perished, some immediately and some later, and also many of the knights and senators, including the most prominent. For in the first place the battles, and in the second place the murders at home which occurred again as in the

1 i.e. epilepsy, called also morbus comitialis, inasmuch as its occurrence was sufficient to postpone a meeting of the comitia.
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τρόπον αὕθεις γενόμεναι πάν ὦ τι περ ἢν ἁνθος αὐτῶν, ἐξω τῶν δρώντων σφᾶς, ἐφθειραν.

34. Αὔτιοι δὲ τῶν κακῶν τούτων αὐτοὶ ἐαυτοῖς οἱ βουλευταὶ ἐγένουντο. δέων γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐνα τινὰ τὸν τὰ ἁμείνω φρονοῦντα προστήσασθαι καὶ ἐκεῖνῳ διὰ παντὸς συνάρασθαι, τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησαν, ὑπολαβόντες δὲ δὴ τινὰς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐπανζήσαντες ἔπειτα καὶ ἐκείνους ἀντικαθελεῖν ἐπεχείρησαν, κὰκ τούτου φίλον μὲν οὐδένα, ἐχθροὺς δὲ πάντας ἑσχὼν. οὐ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον πρὸς τε τοὺς λυπησάντας τινὲς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνεργησάντας διατίθενται, ἀλλὰ τὴς μὲν ὅργης καὶ ἀκοντες μημονεύουσι, τῆς δὲ δὴ χάριτος καὶ ἐκόντες ἐπιλανθάνονται, τὸ μὲν τι ἀπαξίοντες εὖ πεπονθέναι δοκεῖν ὑπὸ τινῶν, ὡς καὶ ἀνθενέστεροι σφῶν δόξοντες εἰναι, τὸ δὲ ἀγανακτοῦντες εἰπερ ἀνατι κεκακῶσθαι νομισθήσουται πρὸς τινὸς, ὡς καὶ ἀνανδριὰν οὐφλῆσοντες. καὶ ἐκείνοι οὐν ἐνα μὲν μηδένα προσ-δεξάμενοι, ἀλλω δὲ καὶ ἀλλω ἐν μέρει προσθεμένοι, καὶ τὰ μὲν ύπὲρ αὐτῶν τὰ δὲ καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ ψηφισάμενοι καὶ πράξαντες, πολλὰ μὲν δι’ αὐτῶν πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ύπ’ αὐτῶν ἐπαθὼν. ἢ μὲν γὰρ ὑπόθεσε τοῦ πολέμου μία πᾶσι σφισιν ἢν, τὸν τε δῆμον καταλυθῆναι καὶ δυναστεῖαν τινὰ γενέσθαι· μαχόμενοι δὲ οἱ μὲν ὅτω δουλεύσουσιν, οἱ δὲ ῥήμας αὐτῶν δεσπόσει, τὰ μὲν πράγματα ἀμφότεροι ὁμοίως ἐφθειρον, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τῇ τῶν τύχης διάφορον ἐκάτεροι δόξαν ἐκτήσαντο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ

1 ὁ τι περ ἢν Hemsterhuis, ὅτι περιήν L.
2 συνάρασθαι Bs., συναίρασθαι L.
3 δόξοντες flg., δόξαντες L.
4 ἀνατι κεκακῶσθαι flg., ἀντικεκακῶσθαι L.
Sullan régime, destroyed all the flower of the citizens except those who perpetrated the murders.

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

'Εσ τούτο μὲν δὴ τότε τὰ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων πράγματα προϊχθη, λέξω δὲ καὶ καθ' ἑκαστον τῶν γενομένων καὶ γὰρ καὶ παϊδευσις ἐν τούτῳ τὰ μάλιστα εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ, ὅταν τις τὰ ἔργα τοῖς λογισμοῖς ὑπολέγων τὴν τε ἐκείνων φύσιν ἐκ τούτων ἐλέγχον καὶ τούτους ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνων ὁμολογίας τεκμηριοῦ.

2 Ἔπολιόρκει μὲν ὁ 'Ἀντώνιος τὸν Δέκιον ἐν τῇ Μουτίνῃ ὄντα, ὡς μὲν τὰκριβὲς εἶπεῖν, ὅτι οὐ παρῆκεν αὐτῷ τὴν Γαλατίαν, ὡς δ' αὐτὸς ἔπλάττητο, ὅτι τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος σφαγέων ἐγεγόνει. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὖτε κόσμον οἱ ἡ ἀλήθης τοῦ πολέμου αἰτία ἐφερε, καὶ ἁμα καὶ τὰ τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τιμωρία ἀποβλέποντα ἑώρα, τούτο τὸ πρόσχημα τοῦ πολέμου προεβάλετο. ὅτι γὰρ ἐσκυπτέτο αὐτὸ ἦνα τὴν Γαλατίαν κατάσχη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐδήλωσε τὸν τε Κάσσιον καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον τὸν Μάρκον ὑπάτους ἀποδειχθῆναι αἰτήσεσ. πρὸς γὰρ τοι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ συμφέροντα ἐκάτερον ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντιωτάτου προσεποίετο. Καίσαρ δὲ ἔστρατευτο μὲν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πρὶν καὶ ψηφισθηναι οἱ τὸν πόλεμον, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐπεποιήκει λόγου ἅξιον οὐδὲν. μαθὼν δὲ δὴ τὰ δεδογμένα τὰς μὲν τιμὰς ἀπεδέχετο καὶ ἔχαρεν, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ὅτι θύνητι αὐτῷ, ὅτε τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὴν ἔξουσιαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἀνέλαβε, δίττα τὰ ἦπατα ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἱερεῖοις δώδεκα οὐσιν εὑρέθη. τῷ δὲ δὴ καὶ πρὸς τὸν 'Ἀντώνιον καὶ πρέσβεις καὶ λόγους πεμφθῆναι, ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐκ
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For those who were successful were considered shrewd and patriotic, while the defeated were called enemies of their country and accursed.

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

The reason for Antony’s besieging Decimus in Mutina, to be exact, was that Decimus would not give up Gaul to him, but he pretended that it was because Decimus had been one of Caesar’s assassins. For since the true cause of the war brought him no credit, and at the same time he saw that the feelings of the people were turning toward Caesar to help him avenge his father, he put forward this excuse for the war. For that it was a mere pretext for getting control of Gaul he himself made plain when he demanded that Cassius and Marcus Brutus should be appointed consuls. Each of these two pretences, utterly inconsistent as they were, he made with an eye to his own advantage. Caesar, now, had begun a campaign against his rival before the command of the war was voted to him, though he had achieved nothing worthy of mention. When, however, he learned of the decrees passed, he accepted the honours and rejoiced, the more so, since, when he was sacrificing at the time of receiving the distinction and the authority of praetor, the livers of all the victims, twelve in number, were found to be double. But he was vexed that envoys and proposals had been sent to Antony, also, by the senate instead of their de-
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ἀκήρυκτον εὐθὺς αὐτῷ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπαγγελθήναι,
6 ἥσχαλλε, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐκεῖνοι τε ἱδίᾳ τι περὶ τῆς ὁμονοίας ἐπεσταλκότας, καὶ γράμματα παρ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τινάς τῶν βουλευτῶν πεμφθέντα καὶ ἀλόντα τούτοις τε ἀποδόντας καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀποκρυψαμένους, τὸν τε πόλεμον μήτε σπουδὴ μήτε παραχρῆμα τῇ τοῦ
7 χειμῶνος προφάσει ποιομένους ἡσθέντο. οὐ μέντοι ἔχων ὅπως ἐκφήνευεν αὐτά (οὔτε γὰρ ἀλλοτριώσαί σφας ἦθελεν οὔτ' αὖ πείσαί τι ἣ καὶ βιάσασθαι ἐδύνατο) ἤσυχίαν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Κορυνλίου ἀγορὰ χειμάζων ἤγε, μέχρις οὐ περί τῷ Δεκίμῳ ἐφοβήθη.

36 Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ πρότερον μὲν ἱσχυρῶς τὸν Ἄντω- νιον ἠμύνετο, καὶ ποτὲ υποτοπήσας τινὰς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ διαφθορᾶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἑσπερέμφθαι συνεκάλεσε πάντας τοὺς παρόντας, καὶ βραχέα ἅττα υπειπῶν ἐκήρυξε, δείξας τι χωρίον, τοὺς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὁπλίοις ἐπὶ τάδε τοὺς δὲ ἵδιώτας ἐπὶ θάτερα αὐτοῦ ἀπελθεῖν, καὶ οὕτως ἀπορήσαντας τοὺς τοῦ Ἄντωνίου ὅπη τράπωται καὶ μονωθέντας κατεφώρασε καὶ συνέλαβεν.
2 ἔπειτα παντελῶς ἀπετείχίσθη. δείσας οὖν ὁ Καίσαρ μὴ βία ἢ καὶ ἀπορία τῶν ἔπι- τησεῖν ὁμολογηθῆ, ἤνάγκασε τὸν Ἰρτιον συνεπι- στρατεύσαι: ο γὰρ Οὐίβιος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἔτι τοὺς τε καταλόγους ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τοὺς νόμους τῶν
3 Ἀντωνίων κατέλυεν. ὀρμήσαντες οὖν Βοιωνίαν μὲν ἔκλειψιν ὑπὸ τῶν φρουρῶν ἄμαχει παρέ- λαβον, καὶ τοὺς ἱππεῖς τοὺς μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπαντή- σαντάς σφισιν ἐτρέψαντο, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ πρὸς τῇ
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clearing against him at once a war to the finish, and most of all because he ascertained that the consuls had forwarded to Antony some private message about harmony, also that when some letters sent by the latter to certain senators had been captured, these officials had handed them to the persons addressed, concealing the matter from him, and that, with the winter as an excuse, they were not carrying on the war zealously or promptly. However, as he could not publish these facts, because he did not wish to alienate them and on the other hand was unable to use any persuasion or force upon them, he also remained quiet in winter quarters in Forum Cornelii, until he became alarmed about Decimus.

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

¹ Cf. xlv. 9.
Μούτινη ποταμοῦ τῆς τε ἐπ’ αὐτῷ φυλακῆς οὐχ οἶοι τε ἐγένοντο περαιτέρω προχωρῆσαι. Βουλό- μενοι οὖν καὶ ὃς τὴν γε παρουσίαν σφῶν τῷ Δεκίμῳ, μὴ καὶ φθάσῃ τι συμβάς, δηλώσαι, τοῦ μὲν πρώτου ἀπὸ τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων δένδρων ἐφρυκτώρουν, ἑπεὶ δὲ οὐ συνίει, ἐς ἐλασμὸν μολύβδου λεπτὸν ἐγγράψαντες τινα συνείλιξαν ἀυτὸν ὦσπερ τι χαρτίν, καὶ κολυμβητὴ νυκτὸς ὕψυσθρῳ διενεκείνν ἐδωκαν. καὶ οὕτως ὁ Δέκιμος τήν τε παρουσίαν ἁμα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν τῆς ἐπικουρίας μαθῶν, ἀντεπέστειλε σφισι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, κἀκε τούτου συνεχῶς ἢδη πάντα ἀλλήλως διεδήλων.

37 Ὡς οὖν Ἀντώνιος ἵδιν ὅτι ὁ Δεκίμος οὐκ ἐνδωσεῖε, ἐκεῖνος μὲν Λουκίου τὸν ἀδελφὸν παρα- κατέλειπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τε τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰρτιον ἐχώρησε. καὶ αὐτῶν ἀντιστρα- τερευόμενων ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἤμερας ἰππομαχίαι 2 τινες βραχεῖαι καὶ ἵστοπαλεῖς ἐγένοντο, μέχρις οὐ οἱ Κελτοὶ ἰππῆς, οὓς μετὰ τῶν ἐλεφαντῶν ὁ Καίσαρ προσεπεισθη, πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀντώνιον αὐξῆς ἀπέκλινεν, καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξελθόντες προεξώρμισαν μὲν ὡς καὶ καθ’ ἐαυτοὺς τοῖς ἀντιπροσέλασον προσμέξοντες, ὑπεστρεφαν δὲ δι’ ὀλίγου, καὶ παρὰ δόξαν μὴ προσδεχομένοις τοῖς ἐφεπομένοις σφισὶ προσ- 3 πεσόντες συχνοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα προνομεύσοντες τινὲς ἀπ’ ἀμφοτέρων ἐς

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

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

1 Cf. xlv. 13.
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χείρας ἢλθον, καὶ τοῦτον καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπιβοηθησάντων ἐκατέρως μάχῃ τε σφων ὀξεία ἐγένετο καὶ ἐκράτησεν ὁ 'Ἀντώνιος. τούτως τε οὖν ἐπαιρόμενος, καὶ τὸν Ὀὐίβιον πλησιάζοντα αἰσθόμενος, προσέβαλε πρὸς τὸ ἔρυμα τῶν ἀντικαθεστηκότων, εἰ πως προεξελὼν αὐτὸ ῥῶν τοῦ λοιποῦ πολεμήσειν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰ τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς τοῖς συμφοράς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα τὴν παρὰ τὸν Ὀὐίβιον διὰ φυλακῆς ἐποιοῦντο καὶ οὐκ ἄντεπεξῆγον, κατέλιπτε 1 καὶ ἐκεῖ μέρος τι τοῦ στρατοῦ, προσμιγώναι τε σφισὶ κελεύσας, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁτι μάλιστα παρείναι δοκοῖ, καὶ ἐπι-φυλάττειν ἁμα μὴ τινες κατὰ νῶτον οἱ προσπέ-5 σωσι. διατάξας τε ταῦτα ἀπήρε νυκτὸς λαθῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ὀὐίβιον ἀπὸ Βοωνίας προσιόντα, καὶ αὐτὸν τε ἐνεδρέμας κατέτρωσε καὶ τοὺς πλείους 2 τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς τε λοιποὺς ἐς τὰ ταφρεύματα κατέκλεισεν. καὶ 3 ἔξελεν αὐτοὺς,
6 εἰ καὶ ἐφ’ ὀποσονοῦν προσηδρεύκει σφίσι. νῦν δ’ ἐπειδὴ τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ οúdeν ἐπέρανεν, ἐφοβήθη μὴ καὶ χρονίσῃ καὶ τι ἐν τούτῳ πρὸς τοῦ Καῖσαρος καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων πλεονεκτηθῆ, καὶ ἀντὶ 38 τῶν Ἀντώνιον ὄρμησεν. ἦττηθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ 7 καὶ ἐπ’ ἐκείνους αὐθίς ἐτράπετο. καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰρτιός ἐκ τε τῆς πορείας ἐκατέρας καὶ ἐκ τῆς μάχης πεπονηκότι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐν ἄνελπιστῳ ἀντὶ μὴ ποτ’ ἂν πολέμιον τίνα γενικήκοιτι ὁι προσμελεῖαι, ἀπαντήσας πολὺ ἐκράτησεν: ὃς γὰρ ἔγνωσαν τὸ γιγνόμενον, Καῖσαρ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ στρατοπέδῳ φυλακῆ κατέμεινεν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐπὶ

1 κατέλιπτε H. Steph., κατέλειπτε L.
2 πλεῖους Zon., λοιποὺς L.
3 καὶ Bk., καὶ ἂν L.
sides came to blows, and then, when the remainder of each party came to the rescue, a sharp battle ensued between the two forces, in which Antony was victorious. Elated by this success and learning that Vibius was approaching, he assailed his opponents' camp to see if he could capture it before Vibius' arrival and thus make the war easier for the future. And when the others, besides being on their guard in other ways, in view of their reverses and the hope they placed in Vibius, would not come out to meet him, he left a portion of his army behind there also with orders to engage them and thus make it appear so far as possible that he himself was present, and at the same time to take good care that no one should fall upon his rear. After issuing these injunctions he set out secretly by night against Vibius, who was approaching from Bononia, and by means of an ambush he succeeded in wounding Vibius himself severely, in killing the majority of his soldiers and in shutting up the rest within their ramparts. Indeed, he would have annihilated them if he had gone on and besieged them for any considerable time. As it was, after accomplishing nothing by the first assault, he began to be alarmed lest while he was delaying he should receive some setback from Caesar and the others; so he again turned against them. But while he was still wearied by the journey both ways and by the battle and was not looking for any hostile force to attack him after his victory, Hirtius met him and defeated him decisively. For when Hirtius and Caesar had perceived what was going on, Caesar had remained to keep watch over the camp and Hirtius had set out against Antony. Upon the defeat of Antony not
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αὐτοκράτορες οὐ μόνον ὁ "Ιρτιος ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Ὀὐίβιος, καίπερ κακῶς ἀπαλλάξας, ὁ τε Καίσαρ, καίτοι μηδὲ μαχεσάμενος, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν στρα-
2 τιωτῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ὄνομασθήσαν. τοῖς
tε συναγωνισαμένοις σφίσι καὶ τελευτήσασι ταφή
tε δήμοσια καὶ τὸ τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς τε πατράσιν
αὐτῶν πάντα τὰ γέρα, ὡσα ᾧν αὐτὸι ἐκεῖνοι
ξῆςαντε ἐλαβον, ἀποδοθῆναι ἐψηφίσθη.

3 Ὡς οὖν ταῦτα ἐγένετο, καὶ Πόντιος Ἀκύλας,
ἐκ τε τῶν σφαγέων ὄν καὶ τῷ Δεκίμῳ ὑποστρα-
tηγοῦν, Τίτον Μουνάτιον Πλάγκον ἀντιπολεμοῦν-
tα αὐτῷ μάχαις ἐνίκησεν, ὡ τε Δεκίμος βούλευ-
tοῦ τινος αὐτομολήσαντος πρὸς τὸν 'Αυτώνιον
4 οὐχ οὖν οὐκ ὁρηγὸν αὐτῷ ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ
σκεύη τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡσα ἐν τῇ Μουτίῳ ὑπελέ-
λειπτο πάντα ἀπέσευξε, κάκ τούτον οὐ τε στρα-
tιῶται οἱ 'Αυτώνιοι ἠλλοιοῦντο καὶ τῶν δήμων
τινῶς τῶν ὁμοφρονούντων οἱ πρὸτερον ἐστασίαζον,
5 ὁ μὲν Καίσαρ ὁ τε Ἰρτιος ἐπήρουτο τε ἐπὶ τού-
tοις, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔρυμα τὸ τοῦ Ἀυτώνιον προσ-
ιόντες προεκαλοῦντο αὐτῶν ἐσ χεῖρας, ἐκείνοις δὲ
tέως μὲν κατεπέπληκτο καὶ ἠσύχαζεν, ἐπειτ' ἐπειδὴ
dύναμὶς τῆς1 αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ Λεπίδου
6 πεμφθείσα ἤλθεν, ἀνεθάρσησεν. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ
ὁ Λεπίδος οὐκ ἀπεσάφησεν ὀποτέροις τὸ στρα-
tευμα πέμψεις τὸν τε γὰρ Ἀυτώνιον συγγενῆ
ἀντα ἡγάπα, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπ' αὐτῶν
ἐκέκλητο, καὶ διὰ τε ταῦτα, καὶ ἀμα καὶ ἀνα-
χώρησιν ἐαυτῷ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους σφᾶς προπαρα-
σκευάζων, οὐδὲν σαφὲς Μάρκω Σιλανὸ το στρα-
7 τιάρχῳ ἐνετείλατο· ἐκείνοις δὲ ἀκριβῶς ποὺ τὴν

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

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

39 Μέχρι μὲν οὖν τούτων ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ πρὸς τοῦ δῆμου καὶ πρὸς τῆς βουλῆς ηὔξετο, κἂν τούτου τὰ τε ἄλλα τιμηθῆσθαι καὶ ὑπάτος εὐθὺς ἄπο-δειχθῆσθαι προσεδόκα· συνέβη γὰρ τὸν τε "Ιρτιον ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου 1 στρατοπέδου κατα-λήψει καὶ τὸν Οὐίβιον ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων μὴ πολλῶν ὑστερον φθαρῆναι, οἶδεν αἰτίαν τοῦ θανά-του αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς διαδοχὴν ἐσχεν.

2 ἡ δὲ γερουσία πρότερον μὲν, ἐῶς ἐτὶ ἀδηλῶν ἦν ὑπότερος σφῶν κρατήσει,2 πάνθ' ὡσα ἐν τῷ πρὶν δυναστείας τισίν ἐξω τῶν πατρίων δοθέντα παρε-σκευάκει προκατέλυσαν,3 ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέρως μὲν ποι ταῦτα ψηφισάμενοι ὡς καὶ προκαταληψόμενοι δι’ αὐτῶν τὸν υἱόχοντα, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν ἐς τὸν ἐτερον

3 τὸν ἡττηθησόμενον μέλλοντας ἀναφέρειν. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἀπείπου μηδένα ἐπὶ πλείων 4 χρόνων ἐνιαυ-τοῦ ἄρχειν, τοῦτο δὲ ἀπηγόρευσαν μήτε τινὰ σίτου ἐπιμελητὴν μήτε τροφῶν ἐπιστάτην ἕνα αἰρεῖσθαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ πραχθέντα ἐμαθοῦν, τῇ μὲν τοῦ Ἀντώνιον ἦττη ἔχαιρον, καὶ τὰς τε στολὰς μετενέδυσαν καὶ ἱερομηνίας ἐπὶ ἐξήκοντα ἡμέρας ἤγαγον, τοὺς τε συνεκτασθέντας αὐτῷ πάντας ἐν τε πολεμίων μοίρᾳ ἐνόμισαν καὶ τὰς

1 Ἀντωνίου Rk., ἀντωνίου L.
2 κρατήσει R. Steph., κρατησῆι L.
3 προκατέλυσαν (προκατέλυσει) St., προσκατέλυσαν L.
4 πλείω R. Steph., πλείον L.
knowing well his superior’s views, went on his own responsibility to Antony. So when Antony had received these reinforcements, he became bold and made a sudden sortie, but after great slaughter on both sides, he turned and fled.

Up to this time Caesar was being aggrandized by the people and the senate, and consequently expected that among other honours to be bestowed he would forthwith be appointed consul; for it happened that Hirtius perished in connection with the capture of Antony’s camp and that Vibius died of his wounds not long afterwards, so that Caesar was charged with having caused their death that he might succeed to the office. But the senate had already, while it was still uncertain which of the two would prevail, taken the precaution to abolish all the privileges the granting of which hitherto to any individuals contrary to established custom had paved the way to supreme power; they voted, of course, that this edict should apply to both parties, intending thereby to forestall the victor, but planning to lay the blame upon the other who should be defeated. In the first place, they forbade anyone to hold office for a longer period than a year, and, secondly, they provided that no one man should be chosen superintendent of the corn supply or commissioner of food. And when they learned the outcome of the struggle, although they rejoiced at Antony’s defeat, and not only changed their attire, but also celebrated a thanksgiving for sixty¹ days, and, regarding all those who had been on Antony’s side as enemies, took

¹ Appian (B.C. iii. 74) says fifty days; cf. Cicero, Philipp. xiv. 11, 29, and 14, 37. Dio is frequently careless about such details.
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ουσίας, ὡσπερ ποι καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου, ἀφει-
λοντο. τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίσαρα οὐχ ὅτι μεγάλου τινὸς
ἐτ' ἡξίωσαν, ἀλλᾶ καὶ καταλύειν ἐπεχείρησαν,
πάνθ' ὅσα ἐκεῖνος ἠλπίζε λήψεσθαι τῷ Δεκίμῳ
dόντες. οὐ γὰρ ὅτι θουθυσίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπινίκια
αὐτῷ ἑψηφίσατο, τὰ τε λοιπὰ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ
στρατόπεδα ἀλλὰ τε καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ὀὐβισίου προσ-
2 ἐταξαν· τοῖς τε στρατιώταις τοῖς συμπολιορκη-
θεῖσιν οἱ καὶ ἑπαῖνοι καὶ τάλλα ὅσα τοῖς τοῦ
Καίσαρος πρότερον προεπήγγελτο, καίπερ μηδὲν
ἐς τὴν νίκην συμβαλλόμενοι ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν
tειχῶν αὐτὴν ἱδοῦσι, δοθήναι ἑγνωσαν. καὶ τὸν
'Ακύλαν ἀποθανόντα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ εἰκονὶ ἐτίμησαν·
tά τε χρήματα ἀ ἐς τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν τοῦ
Δεκίμου στρατιώτῶν οἴκοθεν ἀναλώκει, τοῖς κλη-
3 ρονόμοις αὐτοῦ ἀπεδώκαν. τὸ τε σύμπαν ὡς
ἐπεῖν, ὅσα τῷ Καίσαρι ἐπὶ τὸν 'Αντώνιον ἐγε-
γόνει, ταῦτα ἐπ' αὐτόν ἐκείνου ἄλλοις ἑψηφίσθη.
καὶ ὅπως γε ἀν μηδ' ἀν τὰ μάλιστα βουληθῇ
τι κακὸν δρᾶσαι καὶ δυνηθῇ, πάντας αὐτῷ τοὺς
ἐχθροὺς ἐπησκηναν· τὸ τε γὰρ Πομπηίῳ τῷ
Σέξτῳ τὸ ναυτικὸν καὶ τῷ Βρούτῳ τῷ Μάρκῳ
tὴν Μακεδονίαν τῷ τε Κασσίῳ τὴν τε Συρίαι
καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ἐνε-
4 χείρισαν. πάντως δ' ἀν καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ὅς εἰχε
προσπαρείλουτο, ἡ μὴν ἐφοβηθησαν φανερῶς
αὐτῷ ψηφίσασθαι διὰ τὸ εὑνοῦ ὁ τοὺς στρατιώ-
tας ἐπίστασασθαί ὅντας. στασιάσαι δ' ὅὺν σφας
καὶ ὅς καὶ πρὸς ἁλλήλους καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐπε-
5 χείρισαν. οὔτε γὰρ ἑπαινέσαι τε καὶ τιμήσαι

1 συμβαλλόμενοι R. Steph., συμβαλλόμενοι L. 2 προσπαρείλουτο Χυλ., προσπαρείχοντο L.
away their property, as they did in the case of Antony also, yet as regards Caesar, they not only did not consider him any longer as deserving of any great reward, but even undertook to overthrow him by giving to Decimus all the prizes for which Caesar was hoping. For they voted in Decimus’ honour not only sacrifices but also a triumph, and gave him charge of the rest of the war and of the legions, including those of Vibius. Upon the soldiers who had been besieged with him they decreed that praise should be bestowed and likewise all the other rewards which had formerly been promised to Caesar’s men, although these troops had contributed nothing to the victory, but had merely beheld it from the walls. They honoured Aquila, who had died in the battle, with a statue, and restored to his heirs the money which he had expended from his own purse for the equipment of Decimus’ troops. In a word, all that had been done for Caesar to thwart Antony was now voted to others to thwart Caesar himself. And to the end that, no matter how much he might wish it, he should not be able to do any harm, they arrayed all his personal enemies against him. Thus to Sextus Pompey they entrusted the fleet; to Marcus Brutus Macedonia, and to Cassius Syria together with the war against Dolabella. They would certainly have gone further and deprived him of the forces that he had, had they not been afraid to vote this openly, because they knew that his soldiers were devoted to him. But they attempted, even so, to set them at variance with one another and with Caesar himself. For they wished neither to praise and honour
πάντας αυτούς ἠθέλησαν, μή καὶ τὸ φρόνημα αὐτῶν ἐπὶ μεῖζον ἄρωσιν, οὔτ' ἀτιμάσαι καὶ παριδεῖν πάντας, μή καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἀλ- λοτριώσωσι καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ συμφρονεῖν 6 ἀναγκάσωσι. διὰ μέσου οὖν ἐποίησαν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπαινέσαντες αὐτῶν τοὺς δ' οὖ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν στέφανον ἐλαίας ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι φο- ρεῖν δόντες τοῖς δ' οὖ, καὶ προσέτι καὶ χρήματα τοῖς μὲν δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακόσιας δραχμὰς τοῖς δὲ οὐδὲ χαλκοῦν ψηφισάμενοι, συγκρούσειν τε αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις καὶ τοῦτον καὶ ἀσθενώσειν ἠλπι- σαν. καὶ τοὺς γε 1 διαγγελούντας σφισὶ ταῦτα οὕ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐπεμ- ψαυν. περιοργῆς οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων γενόμενος ἐπέτρεψε μὲν τῷ λόγῳ τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἄνευ ἐαυτοῦ τῷ στρατεύματι συμμίξαι, προπαραγ- γείλας μητ' ἀπόκρισιν τινα αὐτοῖς δοθήναι καὶ ἐαυτὸν παραχρήμα μεταπεμφθήναι ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ συνακούσας σφίσι τὰ ἐπε- σταλμένα, πολὺ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων 41 2 φιλεώσατο. οἳ τε γὰρ προτετιμημένοι οὐ τοσοῦ- τον τῇ πλεονεξίᾳ ἔχαρον ὅσον ὑπώπτευον τὸ γιγνόμενον, τοῦ Καίσαρός σφας ὅτι μάλιστα ἐνάγοντος καὶ οἱ ἡτιμασμένοι ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὐδὲν ὤργίζοντο, προσδιαβάλλοντες δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ἐψηφισάμενων τίνω τε ἀτιμάν σφῶν ἐπὶ πάν- 3 τας ἦγον καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτοῖς ἐκοινώνυμο. μαθόν- τες οὖν ταῦθ' οἳ ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ φοβηθέντες, ὑπατον μὲν οὐδ' ὃς αὐτὸν ἀπέδεεξαν, ὅπτερ που τὰ μάλιστα ἐγλίχετο, ταῖς δὲ δὴ τιμαῖς ταῖς

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

4 ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὔτω τὸν Καίσαρα, ὡσπερ ἡς ἀληθῶς μειράκιον τε τι καὶ παῖδα, ἀπερ πον διεθρύλουν, ὡντα, σοφῶς μετακεχειρί-

σθαι ἐδοξαὶ ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τούτῳ, ὅτι παῖς ἦκουε, δεινῶς ἀγανακτῶν ὑπετ’ ἔσ ἁναβολὰς ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τε τὰ  

5 ὅπλα καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἴσχυν αὐτῶν ἐτράπητο, καὶ πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀντώνιον κρύφα ἐκεκρυκένσατο, καὶ τοὺς διαφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης, οὐς αὐτὸς τ’ ἐνενικήκει καὶ ἡ βουλή πολεμίους ἐψηφίστο, συνήθροιζε, καὶ κατηγορίας παρ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ κατὰ 

τῆς γερουσίας καὶ κατὰ τοῦ δήμου πολλάς ἐποιεῖτο.  

42 Ἀκούοντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἐν τῷ ἀστεὶ τέως μὲν ἐν ὀλγώρια αὐτῶν ἤγουν, ἔπει δέ τὸν τέ Ἀντώνιον καὶ τῶν Δέπιδου συμπεφρονηκότας ἔστησαν, θερα-

πεύειν τε αὐθές ἢρξαντο, ἀγνοοῦντες τοὺς λόγους οὗς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπεποίητο, καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ  

2 τῷ πρὸς ἐκεῖνους προσέταξαν. ὃ οὖν Καίσαρ καὶ τούτον μὲν, εἰ πως ὑπατος δι’ αὐτὸν ἀποδειχθεῖ, ὑπεδέξατο. πάνω γὰρ τι ἐπράσεαν διὰ τὰ ἄλλων καὶ διὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ὅπως 

χειροτοιχωθεῖ, οὔτως ὡστε καὶ συνύπατον αὐτῶν ὑποσχέσθαι οἱ ποιή-

3 σευν. ἔπει δ’ οὐδ’ ὡς 4 ἢρέθη, ἠτοιμάζετο μὲν ὡς καὶ πολεμήσων καθάπερ ἐδέδοκτο, παρασκευάσας

1 κρύφα H. Steph., κρύφα καὶ L.  
2 ἐψηφίστο Bk., ἐψηφίστο L.  
3 τι Bk., τοι L.  
4 δ’ οὐδ’ ὡς v. Herw., δ’ οὕτως L.  

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

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

\[1\] \textit{i.e. praetor instead of propraetor}; cf. note on chap. 29.
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dè èn tòú tw toús stratatíóstas aútòw, ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν δήθεν, ὀμόσαι αἰφνιδίως πρὸς μιθὲν τῶν στρατοπέδων τῶν τοῦ Καῖσαρος γενομένων πολεμήσειν (ὅπερ που πρὸς τὸν Λέπιδον καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἁυτῶν έφερεν. 1 τὸ γὰρ πλεῖστον τῶν συστρατευμένων σφίσιν εξ ἑκείνων ήν), ἀνέσχε, καὶ πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τούτῳ πρὸς τὴν βουλήν εξ αὐτῶν τῶν στρατιωτῶν τετρακοσίων ἔπεμψε.

43 Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρόσχημα τῆς πρεσβείας αὐτοῖς ἦν, τὸ δ' ὅλον τὰ τε χρήματα τὰ ἐνημοσύνα σφίσιν ἀπῆτοι καὶ ὑπάτων τὸν Καῖσαρα ἀπο- 2 δειχθῆναι ἐκέλευον. ἀναβαλλομένων οὐν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ὡς καὶ σκέψεως δεομένην, ἀδειῶν τινὶ τῶν τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πραξάντων ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Καῖσαρος, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐντολὴς ἠτίησαν, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἐβούλοντο αὐτῆς τυχεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἵνα ἀποπειραθῶσι τε αὐτῶν εἰ τάτην γε δώσουσί σφισιν, ἢ καὶ ἀφορμὴν ὁργής λάβωσι τὸ καὶ δἐ ἑκείνην 3 δοκεῖν χαλεπαίνειν. ἀποτυχόντες γοῦν αὐτὴς (ἀντεῖπε μὲν γὰρ οὔδεις, πολλῶν δὲ τὸ 2 αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὑπὲρ ἑτέρων ἀμα ἁξιωσάντων, καὶ τὸ κατ' ἑκείνους, ὡς πολὺ ἐγκυμένο, εὐπρεπῶς πως διε- 4 κρούσθη) οἳ τε ἄλλοι φανερῶς ὑργίζοντο, καὶ εἰς τις αὐτῶν ἐξήλθε τε ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, καὶ τὸ ξίφος λαβών (ἀοπλοὶ γὰρ ἐσεληνύθεσαν) ἦπιστό τε αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν ὅτι, "ἀν ὑμεῖς τὴν ὑπατείαν μὴ δώτε τῷ Καῖσαρι, τοῦτο δώσει" καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Κικέρων ὑπολαβὼν "ἀν οὔτως," ἐφη, "παρα- 5 καλῆτε, λήψεται αὐτήν." ἑκεῖνῳ μὲν καὶ τοῦτο τὸν ὀλθρον παρεσκεύασεν ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ τὸ

1 ἐφερεν Xyl., ἐφερον L.
2 τὸ Bk., τοῦ LM.

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

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

44 Καὶ τῶν τε ἰππέων τινὰ καὶ ἄλλους ὑποτοπίσαντες ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴ σφών παρεῖναι ἐσφαξαν, καὶ τὰ χωρία τῶν ἀντιγυμνοῦντων σφίσιν ἐλυμάνουτο, ἐπὶ τε τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ καὶ ἄλλα 2 πολλὰ ἐκακούργουν. πυθόμενοι οὖν οἱ βουλευταὶ τὴν ἐφοδίαν αὐτῶν, τὰ τε χρήματα αὐτοῖς πρὸν πλησιάσαι σφάς ἐπεμψαν, εἰ πὼς λαβόντες αὐτὰ ἀναχωρῆσειν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ διὶ ἥπειροντο, 3 ὑπατον τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπέδειξαν. οὐδὲν1 μέντοι οὐδὲ ἐκ τοῦτοῦ ἀπώνημτο.2 ὦν γὰρ οὐχ ἐκόντες ἀλλ' ἀναγκασθέντες ἐπραξαν, οὐδεμίαν σφίσι χάριν οἱ στρατιῶται ἐσχον, ἄλλα καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον, ἀτε καὶ ἐκπεφοβηκότες αὐτοὺς, ἠθρασύνοντο.

4 μαθοῦσα οὖν ταῦθ' ἡ γερουσία μετεβάλετο,3 καὶ ἐκεῖνος τε ἀπηγόρευσε μὴ πελάσαι τῇ πόλει, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐπτακοσίους σταδίους ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀποσχεῖν, καὶ αὐτὸι τὴν τε ἐσθήτα αὐθίς ἢλλαξαντο καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τῆν φυλακὴν 5 τῆς πόλεως ἐνεχείρισαν, ὡσπερ εἰθιστο. καὶ τὰ

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

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

45 "Εδώς μὲν δὴ ἐν ὃδὸ ἔθ' ὁ Καίσαρ ἦν, ταὐτά τε οὖτως ἐγίνετο, καὶ ὁμοθυμαδὸν αὐτῶν πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε ὄντες ἀντελαμβάνοντο, ἄσπερ πον φίλοισιν οἱ πολλοί, πρὶν ἐς τῆν ὄψιν καὶ ἐς τὴν πείραν τῶν δεινῶν ἁφικέσθαι, θρασύνεσθαι.

2 ἐπει δὲ ἐν τῷ προαστεῖω ἐγένετο, ἐφοβήθησαν, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῶν βουλευτῶν τινες, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῦ δῆμου συχνοί πρὸς αὐτὸν μετέστησαν, κακὸς τούτον καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκ τε τοῦ Ἰανίκουλου κατέβησαν καὶ τοὺς τε στρατιώτας καὶ ἑαυτοὺς

3 αὐτῶν παρέδωκαν. τὴν τε οὖν πόλιν οὕτως ὁ Καίσαρ ἀμαχεὶ κατέσχε, καὶ ὑπατος καὶ πρὸς τοῦ δῆμου ἀπεδείχθη, δύο τινῶν ἀντὶ ὑπάτων πρὸς τὰς ἀρχαιοσίας αἰρεθέντων, ἐπειδὴ ἀδύνατον ἦν μεσοβασιλέα δι’ ὁλίγου οὕτως ἐπ’ αὐτᾶς κατὰ τὰ πάτρια γενέσθαι, πολλῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν τὰς εὐ-

4 πάτριδας ἡ ἀρχαῖς ἐχόντων ἀποδημοῦντων. τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ δύο ἁνδρὰς διὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τοῦ ἀστυνόμου ψηφισθῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ τοὺς ὑπάτους δι’ αὐτῶν χειροτονηθῆναι ὑπέμειναν, ὅτι μηδὲν πλέον τῶν ἀρχαιοσιῶν ποιήσεων ἐμελλον, καὶ κατὰ τούτο μηδ’ ἀρχήν τινα ἵσχυστεραν αὐτοῦ

5 ἐσχηκέναι δόξειν. καὶ ἐγίγνετο μὲν ποι ταῦθ’

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1 εὐπάτριδας Dind., εὐπατρίδας I.M.
2 τὸ δύο ἀνδρὰς Bs. following Bk., τῶν δύο ἁνδρῶν LM.
3 αὐτοῦ Rubino, αὐτῶν L.
they promptly occupied the Janiculum with the soldiers that were in the city and with others who had come from Africa.

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

\(^1\) In case of the death or resignation of both consuls, the senate appointed an interrex to hold the comitia for the election of their successors. But first it was necessary that the auspices should return to the senators, which could happen only by the resignation of all the patrician magistrates; the absence of some of these from the city in the present instance prevented their prompt resignation.
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υπὸ τῶν ὅπλων· ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ, ὡνα δὴ μὴ βεβιάσθαι τι αὐτοῦς δόξη, οὐκ ἀπηντησεν ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὡσπερ τινῶν τῆς παρουσίαν ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ φοβουμένων.

46 Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ὑπατὸς ἥρεθη, καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ συνάρχων, εἰγέ τοῦτο δεί, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὑπαρχοῦν,

2 αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν, ὁ Πέδιος ὁ Κύπιτος ἔδοθη. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ μέγιστον ἐφρόνει, ὅτι ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, ὁ μηπώποτε τινὶ ἐγεγονεί, ὑπατεύσειν ἐμελλε, καὶ ὅτι τῇ 1 πρώτῃ τῶν ἀρχαιοτὰς ἐς τὸ πεδίον τὸ Ἀρείου ἐσελθὼν ὑπάς ἐξ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα δημηγορῶν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας

3 ἀλλοῦ δώδεκα εἰδε· πρὸς τε γὰρ τὸν Ῥωμαίον καὶ πρὸς τὸ οἰώνισμα τὸ ἐκείνῳ γενόμενον ἀναφέρων καὶ τῇ μοναρχίᾳ αὐτοῦ λήψεθαι προσεδόκησεν. οὐ μέντοι ὡς καὶ δεύτερον ὑπατεύων, ὅτι ταῖς τιμαῖς ταῖς ὑπατικαῖς ἐκεκοσμητο, ἐσεμνύνατο. καὶ τούτο καὶ ἐπειτα ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν

4 ὀμολογοὺς μέχρις ἡμῶν ἐπηρήθη· Σεούήρος 2 γαρ αὐτοκράτωρ πρῶτος Πλαντιανὸν ὑπατικαῖς τιμαῖς τιμήσας, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὸ βουλευτικὸν ἐσαγαγὼν καὶ ὑπατον ἀποδείξας, ὡς καὶ δεύτερον ὑπατεύουσαν 3 ἀνεκήρυξεν, καὶ ἀπ' 5 ἐκείνου καὶ ἐφ' ἐτέρων τῷ αὐτῷ ἔγενετο. ὁ δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ τά τε ἄλλα τά ἐν τῇ πόλει πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτῷ κατεστήσατο, καὶ χρήματα τοῖς στρατιωταῖς, τοῖς μὲν ὡσα τε καὶ ὅθεν ἐψήφιστο, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ὡς ἐκάστοις, λόγῳ μὲν οίκοθεν ἔργῳ δὲ ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἔδωκε.

6 Τότε μὲν οὕτω τε καὶ ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας οἱ

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

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

In this way and for the reasons mentioned the
στρατιωταί τὸ ἀρχύριον ἔλαβον· παρακούσαντες δὲ τινὲς τούτο ἔδοξαν ἀεὶ πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς τοὺς πολιτικοὺς στρατοπέδους, δόσα ἀν ἐς τὴν 'Ρώμην μεθ' ὅπλων ἀφίκηται, τὰς δισχίλιας καὶ πεντα-7 κοσίας δραχμὰς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι δίδοσθαι. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Σεουήρου ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ καθαρέσει ἐς τὸ ἀστν ἐλθόντες φο- βερώτατοι αὐτῷ τε ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἧμιν ἐγένοντο ἀπαιτοῦντες αὐτῶν· καὶ σφας, οὔτε εἰδότων τῶν ἄλλων ὁ τι ποτὲ ἥξιον, ἐθερέπευσεν ὁ Σεουήρος πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας δραχμαῖς.

47 Ὅ δ' οὖν Καίσαρ τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις τά τε χρήματα ἔδωκε καὶ χάριν καὶ πλείστην καὶ ἀληθεστάτην ἔγνω· ἀνευ γὰρ τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν φρούρας οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἔσφοιταν ἐτόλμα· τῇ δὲ δὴ γερουσία χάριν μὲν ποι, πλαστῶς δὲ δὴ καὶ προσποιητῶς, ἐσχέν· ἅ γὰρ βιασάμενος σφας εὐρήτο, ταύθ' ὡς καὶ παρ' ἐκόμπων αὐτῶν εἶληφός ἐν εὐεργεσίας μέρει δῆθεν

2 ἐπὶ θετο. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι οὖν ἐπὶ τε τούτοις, ὡς καὶ ἐθελονταί αὐτὰ δедοκότες, ἐσεμνύοντο, καὶ προσ-έτι δὴ οὐδ' ὑπατον ἐλέσθαι πρότερον ἥθελήκεσαν, τούτῳ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἄρχην πάντων τῶν ἀεὶ ὑπατευόντων, ὁσάκις ἀν ἐν στρατοπέδῳ ἦ, προ-

3 τιμᾶσθαι ἔδοσαν· ὃτι δὲ χρήματι ἐπιτέλους ὑπηρεσίας καθ' ἑαυτὸν μηθενὸς ψυχισμένου συνέστησεν ἡπειλήκεσαν, τούτῳ καὶ ἑτέρας προσκαταλέξαν προσέταξαν· καὶ ἐφ' οὐ τῇ τε ἄτιμω καὶ τῇ καταλύσει τῷ Δεκάμῳ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον πολε-μίσαι ἑκεκελεύκεσαν, τούτῳ καὶ τα ἐκείνου στρα-

4 τόπεδα προσέθεσαν. καὶ τέλος τὴν τε φυλακήν
soldiers received their money on that occasion. But some men have misunderstood the matter and have thought it was compulsory that the ten thousand sesterces be given always to absolutely all the citizen legions that enter Rome under arms. For this reason the followers of Severus who had entered the city to overthrow Julianus¹ became most terrifying both to their leader himself and to us when they demanded this sum; and Severus won their favour with only a thousand sesterces apiece, the other leaders not even being aware of what it was the soldiers were demanding.

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

¹ In A.D. 193, that is, in Dio's own lifetime.
τῆς πόλεως, ὡστε πάνθ' ὅσα βούλοιτο καὶ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ποιῶν ἔχειν, παρέλαβε, καὶ ἐσ τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος γένος κατὰ τὰ νομίζομεν ἐσπευσθῆ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν μετέθετο. ἢνόμαζε μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρότερον αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν, ὡς γε τισὶ δοκεῖ, Καίσαρα, ἐξ οὗ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῷ τοῦτο μετὰ τοῦ κλήρου κατελείφθη. οὐ μέντοι οὔτ' ἀκριβῆ τὴν προσηγορίαν οὔτε ἐπὶ πάντας ἔχε, πρὶν δὴ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πατρίων αὐτὴν τότε ἐβεβαιώσατο, καὶ οὐτως ἐξ ἐκείνου Γάμων Ἰούλιος Καίσαρ Ὅκταουιανὸς

6 ἐπεκλήθη· νεόμισται γὰρ, ἀν τις ἐσποιηθῇ, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην αὐτὸν πρόσηρειν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιησαμένου λαμβάνειν, ἐν δὲ τὶ τῶν προτέρων ὅνομάτων σχήματι, ματιαθεὶν πως τηρεῖν. τούτῳ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχει· ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ Ὅκταουιανὸν ἄλλα Καίσαρα αὐτὸν, ὅτι πάσι τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων κράτος λαμβάνουσιν ἡ προσηγορία αὐτὴ ἐκνευκήκεεν, ὅνομάσων.

7 προσεκτήσατο μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐτέραν τὴν τοῦ Ἀὐγοῦστον, καὶ αὐτὴν διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ ἐπείτα αὐτοκράτορες τίθενται· ἀλλ' ἐκείνη μὲν ὅταν ἐς τὴν συγγραφὴν ἔλθῃ λελέξεται, μέχρι δὲ δὴ τότε ἀρκοῦντως ἡ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπίκλησις τῆς τοῦ Ὅκταουιανοῦ δήλωσιν ἀποπληρώσει.

8 Οὗτος οὖν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπειδὴ τὰχιστα τοὺς τε στρατιώτας φικείωσατο καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐδούλωσε, πρὸς τε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τιμωρίαν ἐτράπετο, καὶ φοβηθεῖς μὴ πη τῶν ὦμιλον διὰ τοῦτ' ἐκταραξῆ, οὐ πρότερον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην ἐξέφηνε πρὶν τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν καταλειφθέντων σφίσι

2 ποιήσασθαι. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς χρήμασι, καίπερ ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν οὔσι καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ
finally, he obtained the guardianship of the city, so that he was able to do everything he wished in accordance with the laws, and he was adopted into Caesar's family in the regular way and changed his name in consequence. To be sure, even before this he had been accustomed, as some believe, to call himself Caesar, from the time this name had been bequeathed to him along with the inheritance, but he did not use this appellation with any strictness or in his dealings with everybody until at this time he got it confirmed in accordance with established custom, and was thus named, after his adoptive father, Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus. For it is the custom for a person, when he is adopted, to take most of his name from his adopter but to keep one of his previous names somewhat altered in form. This is the way of the matter, but I shall call him, not Octavianus, but Caesar, inasmuch as the latter name has prevailed among all who have held sway over the Romans. For although he acquired another name also,—that of Augustus,—and the emperors who succeeded him consequently assumed it also, that one will be described when it comes up in the history, and until then the title Caesar will be sufficient to show that Octavianus is indicated.

This Caesar, then, as soon as he had conciliated the soldiers and dominated the senate, turned himself to avenging his father's murder; but as he was afraid of stirring up the populace more or less in carrying out this plan, he did not make known his intention until he had seen to the payment of the bequests made to them. But when they had been won over by means of the money, although it belonged to the public funds and had been collected
πολέμου προφάσει συναχθεῖσι, κατελήφθησαν, οὕτω δὴ τοὺς σφαγέας μετήλθε. καὶ ἵνα γε μὴ βιαίως ἄλλ' ἐν δίκῃ τινὶ ποιεῖν αὐτὸ δόξῃ, νόμον τέ τινα περὶ τῆς κρίσεως αὐτῶν ἐσήνεγκε καὶ
3 δικαστήρια καὶ ἀποτείχι σφισιν ἐκάθισεν. οἳ τε γὰρ πλείους αὐτῶν ἀπεδήμουν, καὶ τινὲς καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἕθουν εἰχον' καὶ οἱ παρόντες οὔτ' ἀπήντησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους, καὶ προσέτε καὶ διαλαθόντες ἐξεχώρησαν. ἔρημην οὖν οὗ οὖν οὔς οἳ τε αὐτόχειρες τοῦ Καίσαρος γενόμενοι καὶ οἱ συνομόσαντες σφισιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί, οὔχ ὅτι μὴ ἐπιβουλεύσαντες τῷ Καίσαρι ἄλλ' 4 οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε γε ὄντες, ἤλωσαν. τοῦτο δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τὸν Σέξτον μάλιστα κατεσκευάσθη· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνος ἦκιστα τῆς ἐπιθέσεως μετασχῆν ὅμως κατὰ τὸ πολέμιον αὐτοῦ κατεψηφίσθη, καὶ αὐτοῖ τε πυρὸς καὶ ὑδατος εἰρχθησαν, καὶ αἱ οὐσίαι αὐτῶν ἐδημευθησαν· τά τε ἔθνη, οὐκ ἐκείνα μόνον ὃν τινες αὐτῶν ἤρχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα τοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος φίλοις ἐπετράπη.

49 Ἐν τούτοις δὲ τοῖς ὑπαιτίοις καὶ ὁ Κάσκας ὁ Πούπλιος ὁ Σερουίλιος ὁ δήμαρχος ἐγένετο· καὶ ἐπειδὴ προούποτοπήσας τὸν Καίσαρα ὑπεξῆλθε πρὶν καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἐσελθεῖν, τῆς τε ἀρχῆς ὡς καὶ παρὰ τὰ πάτρια ἀποδημήσας ἐπαύθη, τοῦ πλῆθους ὑπὸ Πούπλιου Τιτίου συνάρχοντος αὐτῷ ἰδο
2 ἀθροισθέντος, καὶ οὕτως ἐάλω. ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ Τίτιος οὔκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐβεβαιώθη τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ
on the pretext of the war, then at length he began to follow up the murderers. And in order that he might not appear to be doing this by force but in accordance with some principle of justice, he proposed a law about their trial and convened the courts even in their absence. For the majority of the assassins were abroad and some were even holding commands over provinces; and those who were present not only failed to appear, by reason of their fear, but also secretly left the country. Consequently not only those who had been the actual murderers of Caesar, and their fellow-conspirators, were convicted by default, but many others also who, so far from having plotted against Caesar, had not even been in the city at the time. This action was concocted chiefly against Sextus Pompey; for although he had had no share whatever in the attack, he was nevertheless condemned because he had been an enemy. Those adjudged guilty were debarred from fire and water and their property confiscated. The provinces, not only those which some of them were governing, but all the others as well, were entrusted to the friends of Caesar.

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

3 ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω τετηρηται, τῶν δὲ δή τοῦ Καίσαρος φονέων συχνοὶ μὲν ἐς τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ χάριν, συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄθλων προσαναπεθέμενοι κατηγόρουν χρήματα τε γὰρ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀλόντος οὐσίας καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τὴν τε ἄρχην τὴν ἐκείνου, εἴ τινα ἁρά ἔχων ήν, τὸ τε μηκέτι μὴτ' αὐτὸν μῆτε τοὺς νιεῖς τοὺς τε ἐγγ.

4 γόνους αὐτοῦ στρατεύονται ἐλάμβανον. τῶν γε μὴν δικασάντων σφίσιν οἱ μὲν πλείους τῇ τε χάριτι καὶ τῷ δέει τῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος κατεψηφίζοντο αὐτῶν, εὐδεικνύμενοι πη ὡς καὶ δικαίως αὐτὸ ποιοῦντες εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τὴν ψήφον οἱ μὲν τῷ νόμῳ τῷ περὶ τῆς τιμωρίας σφῶν γεγραμμένω, οἱ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὅπλους τοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔδοσαν.

5 καὶ τις Σιλίκιος Κορωνᾶς βουλευτής ἀντικρὺς τὸν Βροῦτον τὸν Μάρκου ἀπέλυσε. καὶ τότε μὲν αὐτός τε ἐπὶ τοῦτο μέγα ηὐχεί καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπαίνοις κρυφά ἐλάμβανε, τῷ τοις Καίσαρι, ὅτι μὴ εὐθὺς ἀπέθανε, δόξαν ἐπιεικείας παρέσχεν, ύστερον δὲ εἰ προγραφῆς ἔθανατόθη.

50 'Ταῦτ' οὖν πράξας ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπὶ τοῦ Δέπτιδον καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ 'Αντώνιου δῆθεν ἐστρατεύεσεν. ὦ γὰρ 'Αντώνιος, ὡς τότε ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐφυγε καὶ αὐτὸν

1 ἀπημαντισεν Bk., ἀπενιατισεν LM.
2 ἄθλων Bk., ἄλλων LM.

100
from of old; for no one up to that time who had expelled a colleague had lived the year out. In the first place, Brutus died after removing Collatinus from office, then Gracchus was murdered after deposing Octavius, and Cinna, who put Marullus and Flavius out of the way, perished not long afterward. Thus has the tradition been observed. Now the murderers of Caesar had many accusers who were anxious to ingratiate themselves with his son, and many who were persuaded to act thus by the rewards offered. For they received money from the estate of the convicted man and the latter’s honours and office, if he had any, and exemption from further service in the army both for themselves and for their sons and grandsons. And as for the jurors, the majority voted against the accused, indicating in one way or another that they were justified in doing this, both in order to win Caesar’s favour and through fear of him; but there were some who cast their votes out of respect for the law enacted in regard to the punishment of the culprits, and others out of respect for the arms of Caesar. And one Silicius Corona, a senator, voted outright to acquit Marcus Brutus. He made a great boast of this at the time and secretly received approval from the others; and the fact that he was not immediately put to death gained for Caesar a reputation for clemency, but Silicius was afterwards proscribed and executed.

After accomplishing all this Caesar made a pretence of making a campaign against Lepidus and Antony. Antony, it seems, on fleeing from the battle previously
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οὐθ' ὁ Καϊσαρ, διὰ τὸ τῷ Δεκάμῳ τὸν πόλεμον ἐγχειρισθήναι, οὔτε ἐκεῖνος, διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλευσθαι τῶν ἀντιπαλῶν τῷ Καϊσαρι ὑπεξαρεθήναι, ἐπε-2 διώξε, συνελέξατο ὅσους ἤδυνήθη τῶν ἐκ τῆς μάχης περισσοτέρων, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Λέπιδον ἀφίκετο παρασκευασμένον μὲν ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατὰ τὸ δόγμα στρατεύσοντα, προσ-3 ταχθέντα δὲ αὐθίς κατὰ χώραν μεῖναι. οἱ γὰρ
βουλευταὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐπύθοντο τὸν Σιλανὸν τὰ τού
'Ἀντωνίου πράξαντα, ἐφοβήθησαν τὸν τε Λέπιδον
καὶ τὸν Πλάγκον τὸν 1 Δούκιον, μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι
αὐτῶν συνάρωνται, 2 καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς αὐτοὺς
4 οὖδὲν ἔτι δείσθαι σφῶν ἔφασαν. ἦν τε μηδὲν
ὑποτοπήσωσι κἀκε τοῦτο τι κακοργήσωσιν,
ἐκέλευσαν αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἐκ Οὐιέννης τῆς Ναρβω-
νησίας ὑπὸ τῶν ᾽Αλλοβρίγων ποτὲ ἐκτεσόμενας
καὶ ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε ῾Ροδανοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἶραρ-
δος, ἢ συμμείγνυται 3 ἀλλήλοις, ἱδρυθέντας συν-
5 οικίσαι. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνοι ὑπομείναντες τὸ
Δουγούδουνον μὲν ὄνομασθέν μὲν δὲ Δούγδουνον
καλούμενον ἐκτισάν, οὐχ ὅτι οὐ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰτα-
λίαν σὺν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ἤδυνήθησαν ἄν ἐλθεῖν, 4
eἴπερ ἥθελήκασαν (ἀσθενέστατα γὰρ ἤδη τὰ
ψηφίσματα πρὸς τοὺς τὰς δυνάμεις ἔχοντας
6 ἵγετο), ἀλλ' ὅτι τὴν ἐκβασίν τοῦ ᾽Αντωνιείου
πολέμου περισκοποῦντες τῇ τε βουλῇ πετει-
θαρχηκέναι δοξαὶ καὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἀμα κρατύνα-
σθαι ἐβούλοντο. ἀμέλει τὸν τε Σιλανὸν ὁ Ἐπι-
51 δος ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ὀντωνίου συμμαχία διεμέμψατο,

1 τὸν Xyl., καὶ τὸν LM.
2 ἐκεῖνοι αὐτῷ συνάρωνται Oddey, ἐκεῖνος αὐτῷ συνάρωται LM.
3 συμμείγνυται R. Steph., συμμείγνυται LM.
4 ἄν ἐλθεῖν Leuncl., ἀνελθεῖν LM.
BOOK XLVI

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

2 τὸν μὲν δὴ ἄλλον χρόνον διὰ ταῦτα οὔτε προσίετο τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὔτε ἀπεωθεῖτο, ἀλλὰ περιείχα τοῖς ἐγγὺς ὄντα καὶ τοῖς συστρατευμένοις οἱ προσμιλοῦντα, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς λόγους αὐτῷ ἤγει ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὴν ὁμολογίαν αὐτοῦ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπύθετο, τότε καὶ αὐτὸς ἀμφοτέροις

3 σφίσει συνηνέχθη. μαθὼν δὲ τὸ γεγονόμενον Μάρκος Ἰουνόντιος ὑποστράτηγος αὐτοῦ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀποτρέπειν αὐτὸν ἐπειρᾶτο, ὡς δὲ οὖκ ἔπεισεν, αὐτὸς ἔαυτὸν τὸν στρατιωτῶν ὁρῶντων

4 κατεχρήσατο. καὶ ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐπαίνους τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἢ βουλὴ καὶ ἀνδριάντα τὴν τε ταφῆν τὴν δημοσίαν ἐγκηφάλα, τὸν δὲ δὴ Λέπιδον τὴν τε εἰκόνα τὴν ἐν τῷ βῆματι ἰδρυμένην ἀφείλοντο καὶ πολέμου ἔποιησαντο· καὶ τινα καὶ ἠμέραν τοῖς συνούσιν αὐτῷ προέθεντο, πόλεμον σφίσειν ἀπειλήσαντες ἄν μὴ ἐντὸς ἐκείνης ἐγκαταλείπωσιν

5 αὐτὸν. πρὸς δὲ ἐτὶ τὴν τε ἐσθήτα αὐθίς μετέβαινον (ἐπὶ γὰρ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπατεία τὴν ἀστικὴν ἀνειλίφθεσαν) καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον τὸν Μᾶρκον τὸν τὸν Κάσσιον καὶ τὸν Σέξτον ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς μεταπεμψαντο· ἐπειδὴ τε ἐκεῖνοι χρονεῖν ἐδόκουν, τῷ Καίσαρι, ἀμυνόντη τῆς συνωμοσίας

52 αὐτῶν, τὸν πόλεμον ἐπέτρεψαν. καὶ δὴ τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ὑπεδέξατο αὐτὸν, καίτοι τοὺς στρατιώτας

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

1 M. Juventius Laterensis.
συμβοήσαι ποιήσας ἀπερ εὑρηται, ἔργον δ' οὖν ἔχομεν αὐτοῦ ἐπραξεν, οὕχ ὅτι καὶ ἑκεκοιμολόγητο τῷ τε 'Αντωνίῳ καὶ δι' ἐκείνον καὶ τῷ 1

2 Δεπίδω (Βραχὺ γάρ τι τούτου ἐφρόντιζεν), ἀλλ' ὅτι ἰσχυροὺς τε αὐτοὺς ἥσαρα ὑντας καὶ συμφρονοῦντας ὑπὸ τῆς συγγενείας ἴσθανεν, καὶ οὔτε βιάσασθαι σφας ἐδύνατο, καὶ ἐπήλπισε τῶν τε Κάσσιον καὶ τὸν Βρούτων μέγα ήδη δυναμένους δι' αὐτῶν κατεργάσεσθαι, 2 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ 3 ἐκείνους δι' ἀλλήλων χειρώσεσθαι. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα καὶ ἄκους τὰς συνθήκας πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐφύλαξε, καὶ σφίσι καὶ καταλλαγάς πρὸς τε τὴν βουλήν καὶ πρὸς τὸν δήμον ἐπροτάνευσεν, οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐσηγησάμενος, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ὑποπτευθείη τι τῶν γεγονότων, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐξεστράτευσεν ὡς καὶ πολεμήσων αὐτοῖς, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κύντος τὴν τὲ ἀδειαν καὶ τὴν κάθοδον σφίσιν, ὡς καὶ ἀφ' 3 ἐαυτοῦ γνώμης, δοθῆναι συνεβούλευσεν. οὐ μὲντοι καὶ ἔλαβον αὐτὴν πρὶν τῷ τε Καίσαρι τὴν γερουσίαν ὡς καὶ ἀγνοοῦντι τὸ γεγονόμενον κοίνωσασθαι, καὶ ἐκείνου ἀκούτα δῆθεν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀναγκασθῆναι συγκαταθέσθαι.

53 Ὁν φ' δὲ ταύτ' ἐπράττετο, ὁ Δέκιμος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὦς καὶ πολεμήσων αὐτὸς ὄρμησεν, καὶ τὸν γε Πλάγκον τὸν Δούκιον, ἔποιεῖ καὶ συνύπατος οἴ ἐσ τὸ ἐπὶ ὕστο προαπεδέεικτο, προσ- 2 ηταίρισατος μαθῶν δὲ δὴ τὴν τὲ ἐαυτοῦ καταψήφισιν καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων συναλλαγὴν ἡθέλησε μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπιστρατεύσαι, ἐγκατα-

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

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

\(^1\) A reference to the latter half of chap. 42, where Caesar binds his soldiers by oath never to fight against any of their former comrades.
λειφθείς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλάγκου τὰ τε τοῦ Λεπίδου καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου φρονήσαντος, τὴν τε Γαλατίαν ἐκλιπεῖν καὶ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν πρὸς τὸν Βροῦτον πέζῃ δι᾽ Ἰλλυρίων ἐπειξήθηναι ἐγγω, καὶ τινας στρατιώτας, ἐν οἷς τὰ ἐν χερσὶ καθίστατο, προέπεμψεν. ὡς δὲ ἐκείνοι τε τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀνθείλοντο, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ὦ τε Λεπίδος καὶ ὦ Ἀντώνιος ἐπιδιώκαντες δὲ ἐτέρων προσέθησαν, συνελήφθη τε μονωθεῖς ὑπ᾽ ἐχθροῦ τίνος, καὶ μέλλων σφαγῆσθαι ἐδεινοπάθει καὶ ὁδύρετο, μέχρις ὦ Ἑλευνίς τις Βλασίων, εὐνοϊκός οἶ ἐκ συστρατείας ἐχῶν, ἐαυτὸν ἐκὼν ὀρῶντος αὐτοῦ προσέκτειν.

54 Καὶ ὦ μὲν οὕτως ἐπαπέθανεν, ὦ δὲ δὴ Ἀντώνιος ὦ τε Λεπίδος ἐν μὲν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ὑποστρατήγους κατέλειπον, αὐτὸι δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ὁρμήσαν, τὸ τε πλεῖστον καὶ τὸ κράτιστον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπαγόμενοι. οὕτε γὰρ ἀκριβῶς πω ἐπίστευσεν αὐτῷ, οὕτε εὐεργεσίαν τινὰ ὧφειλεν ἢθελον, ὡς καὶ δι᾽ ἐαυτοὺς τὴν τε σφετέραν ἴχθυν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ δι᾽ ἐκεῖνον καὶ τῆς ἀδείας καὶ τῆς καθόδου τετυχηκότες καὶ προσετί καὶ ἡλπιζον πάνθ᾽ ὥσα ἐβοῦλοτα καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἀστεί τῇ τῶν στρατευμάτων πέδων σφῶν περιουσία ἐξεργάσεσθαι. τοιαύτη μὲν ὑπὸ γνώμη ὦς καὶ διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας ἤσσαν ἐκακουργεῖτο δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῆς τε θρασύτητος αὐτῶν οὐδενὸς πολέμου βραχύτερα. καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὦ Καίσαρ μετὰ πολλῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπήντησε περὶ Βοιωτίαν, μάλα εὖ παρεσκευασμένος ἀμύνασθαι σφαζ ἀν τι βίαιον πάσχῃ.

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

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

1 *i.e.* Marcus Brutus. It will have been observed that Dio regularly calls Decimus Brutus by his first name only.
4 ού μέντοι καὶ ἐδείθη τότε τῶν ὁπλῶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οὐδέν· ἐμίσουν μὲν γὰρ δεινῶς ἀλλήλους, τῷ δὲ δὴ τάς τε δυνάμεις ἀντιπάλους πως ἔχειν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἑχθροὺς προτιμωρήσασθαι δι' ἀλλήλων βούλεσθαι, προσποιητῶν ὀμολογίαν ἐποιήσαν-55 το. συνήλθον δὲ ἐς τοὺς λόγους οὐ μόνοι, ἀλλὰ στρατιώτας ἱσαρίθμους ἔχοντες, ἐν νησίδῃ τοις τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ παρὰ τὴν Βουωνίαν παραρρέουν-τος, ὡστε μηδένα ἄλλον μηδετέροις προσγενέσθαι.

2 καὶ οὕτω πολὺ ἀπό τῶν παρόντων σφίσιν ἀποστάντες ἀλλήλους τε διηρεύνησαν, μὴ καὶ ξἰφίδιον τις ὕπο μάλης ἔχοι, καὶ διαλεξάμενοι τινα ἡσυχῇ τὸ μὲν σύμπαν ἐπὶ τε τῇ δυναστείᾳ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἑχθρῶν συνόμοσαν, ἰνα δὲ δὴ μὴ καὶ τῆς ὀλγαρ-χίας ἀντικρὺς ἐφίεσθαι δόξωσι, καὶ τις αὐτῷς φθόνος καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐναντίωσις παρὰ τῶν

3 ἄλλων γένηται, τάδε διωμολογήσαντο κοινῇ μὲν τοὺς τρεῖς πρὸς τε διοίκησιν καὶ πρὸς κατάστασιν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμελήτας τε τινας καὶ διορθώ-τας, καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐς αἰὴ δὴθεν ἄλλ' ἐς ἐτη πέντε, αἰρεθήναι, ὡστε τὰ τέ ἄλλα πάντα, καὶ μηδὲν υπὲρ αὐτῶν μήτε τῷ δήμῳ μήτε τῇ Βουλῇ κοινώ-σοσι, διοικεῖν, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς τέ ἄλλας τιμᾶς οῖς ἀν ἐθελήσωσι διδόναι, ἱδίᾳ δὲ δὴ, ὡποὶς μὴ καὶ πᾶσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν σφετερίζεσθαι νομισθῶσι, Καίσαρι μὲν τὴν τε Λιβύην ἑκατέραν καὶ Σαρδό καὶ Σικελίαν, Λεπίδῳ δὲ τὴν τε Ἰβηρίαν πᾶσαν καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν 2 Ναρβωνησίαν, 3 Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ τὴν Λουτὴν Γαλατίαν, τὴν τε ἐντός τῶν

1 προτιμωρήσασθαι R. Steph., προστιμωρήσασθαι LM.
2 τὴν R. Steph., καὶ τὴν LM.
3 Ναρβωνησίαν R. Steph., ταρβωνησίαν LM.
at this time he found no need of arms to oppose them. For although they hated one another bitterly, yet since they had forces about equal and desired to have one another's assistance in taking vengeance on their other enemies first, they reached a pretended agreement. And the three men came together for the conference, not alone, but each with an equal number of soldiers, on a little island in the river that flows past Bononia, so that no one else might be present on the side of any of them. And so they withdrew to a distance from their several escorts and searched one another carefully, to make sure that no one had a dagger concealed. Then they considered various matters at leisure and, in brief, made a solemn compact for the purpose of securing the sovereignty and overthrowing their enemies; but in order not to appear to be aiming directly at an oligarchy and thus to arouse envy and consequent opposition on the part of the others, they came to the following agreement. In common, the three were to be chosen as commissioners and correctors of a sort, for the administration and settlement of affairs, and that not as permanent officials, they pretended, but for five years, with the understanding that they should manage all public business, whether or not they made any communication about it to the people and the senate, and should give the offices and other honours to whomsoever they pleased. Individually, however, in order that they should not be thought to be appropriating the entire government, they arranged that both Africas, Sardinia, and Sicily should be given to Caesar to rule, all of Spain and Gallia Narbonensis to Lepidus, and the rest of Gaul,
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"Ἀλπεων καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτὰς οὖσαν, ἀρχειν 5 δοθῆραι. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἐκείνῃ μὲν τογάτα, ὥσπερ εἶτον, ὅτι τε εἰρηνικωτέρα παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας ἐδόκει εἶναι καὶ ὅτι καὶ τῇ ἐσθήτῃ τῇ Ῥωμαίκῃ τῇ ἀστικῇ ἔχρωντο ἡδη, αὕτη 2 δὲ δὴ κομάτα, 3 ὅτι οἱ Γαλάται οἱ ταύτῃ ἐς κόμην τὸ πλεῖστον τὰς τρίχας ἀνίεντες ἐπίσημοι κατὰ τοῦτο παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἦσαν. ταύτα τε οὖν οὔτω διέλαχον, ἦν αὐτοὶ τε τὰ ἱσχυρότατα λάβωσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δόξαν τοῦ μὴ καὶ τῶν πάντων ὄργυνασθαι παράσχωσι, καὶ προσανεβεντο τῶν τε ἔχθρῶν σφόν σφαγάς ποιήσασθαι, καὶ Δεπιδών μὲν ἐς τὴν τοῦ Δεκίμου χώραν ὑπατον ἀποδείχθεντα τὴν τε Ῥώμην καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν Ἰταλίαν διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχειν, ἐκείνους δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Βρούτον καὶ ἐπὶ 2 τοῦ Κάσσιον στρατεύσασθαι. καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ ὀρ- κοὺς ἐπιστῶσαντο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τοὺς στρα- τιώτας, ὅπως καὶ ἐπίκοιοι δῆθεν καὶ μάρτυρες τῶν ὀμολογημένων σφίσι γένονται, συγκαλέ- σαντες ἐδημηγόρησαν ὅσα καὶ εὐπρέπεις καὶ 3 ὁσφαλὲς ἦν αὐτοῖς εἶπειν. κἂν τοῦτῳ οἱ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου στρατιῶται τῇ θυγατέρᾳ τῆς τῆς Φουλονίας τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, ἤν ἐκ τοῦ Κλωδίου εἰχε, τῷ Καίσαρι καίτοι ἐτέραν ἡγγυημένω 4 προ- εξένησαν, τοῦ Ἀντωνίου δήλον ὅτι τοῦτο κατα- 4 σκευάσματος. καὶ δὲ οὐκ ἄτηρνήσατο· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐμποδισθήσεθαι τι ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγαμίας πρὸς ἀ

1 τογάτα Bk., τόγατα LM.
2 αὕτη Leuncl., αὐτῇ LM.
3 κομάτα Bk., κόματα LM.
4 ἡγγυημένω Dind., ἐγγεγυημένωι LM.

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both south and north of the Alps, to Antony. The former was called Gallia Togata, as I have stated, because it seemed to be more peaceful than the other divisions of Gaul, and because the inhabitants already employed the Roman citizen-garb; the other was termed Gallia Comata because the Gauls there for the most part let their hair grow long, and were in this way distinguished from the others. So they made these allotments, for the purpose of securing the strongest provinces themselves and giving others the impression that they were not striving for the whole. It was further agreed that they should bring about the murder of their personal enemies, that Lepidus after being appointed consul in Decimus’ stead should keep guard over Rome and the remainder of Italy, and that the others should make an expedition against Brutus and Cassius. And they confirmed these arrangements by oath. After this, in order that the soldiers might ostensibly be hearers and witnesses of the terms they had made, they called them together and harangued them, telling all that it was proper and safe to tell them. Meanwhile the soldiers of Antony, of course by his arrangement, recommended to Caesar the daughter of Fulvia, Antony’s wife, whom she had by Clodius,—and this in spite of Caesar’s being already betrothed to another. He, however, did not refuse her, as he did not think this marriage would hinder

1 Evidently in a lost portion of the work.
κατὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πράξειν ἦμελλεν εὐόμισε· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τὸν πατέρα τὸν Καῖσαρα οὐδέν τι ἤττον ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον συγγενείας πάνθ' ὡσα ἡθέλησε κατ' αὐτοῦ πράξαντα ἠπί-στατο.
him at all in the designs which he had against B.C. 43 Antony. For, in addition to other considerations, he understood that his father Caesar had not failed to carry out all his plans against Pompey, in spite of the kinship between them.
BOOK XLVII

Τάδε ἵνεστιν ἐν τῇ Δλώνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν τετταρακοστῇ ἐβδόμῃ

α. Ὁσ Καῖσαρ καὶ Ἀντώνιος καὶ Λέπιδος ἐσ Ῥώμην ἐλθόντες σφαγὰς εἰργάσαντο.

β. Περὶ Βρούτου καὶ Κασσίου καὶ ἤν ἔπραξαν πρὸ τῆς πρὸς Φιλίπποιν 1 μάχης.

γ. Ὁσ Βρούτος καὶ Κάσσιος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἦττήθησαν καὶ ἀπέθανον.

Χρόνου πλήθος τά λοιπά τῆς Γαίου Οἰδίπου 2 Πάνου καὶ Αἴλου Ἰρτίου ὑπατείας, καὶ ἀλλο ἐτος ἐν, ἐν ξ 3 ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμοῦ· μενοι οὐδε ἐγένοντο.

Μ. Αἰμίλιος Μ. υἱ. Λέπιδος τὸ β’ ὑπ.

Δ. Μουνάτιος 4 Δ. υἱ. Πλάγκος.

Ταῦτ’ οὖν συνθέμενοι καὶ συνομόσαντες ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, δόξη μὲν ὡς καὶ πάντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἱσθη ἄρξοντες, γνώμη δὲ ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκαστὸς πάν τὸ κράτος ἔξων, ἡπείροντο, καὶ περ ἑναρχέστατα μὲν καὶ πρὸτερον, σαφέστατα δὲ καὶ τοτε τὸ μέλλον 2 ἐσεσθαι προμαθόντες τῷ μὲν γὰρ Λεπίδῳ ὁφις τε τις ξίφει ἐκατοντάρχου περιπλακεῖς καὶ λύκος ἐς τε τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν δειπνοποιουμένου αὐτοῦ ἐσελθὼν καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν καταβαλὼν τὴν τε ὁσχὺν ἁμα καὶ τὴν δυσχέρειαν τὴν ἐπ’ αὐτῆ προεσήμηνεν, τῶ ὅ” Ἀντωνιῷ γάλα

1 Φιλίπποις Dind., φιλίππον LM.
2 Οὐιβίου Dind., οὐιβίου LM.
3 ξ Reim., οἰς LM.
4 Δ. Μουνάτιος Xyl., λμ’ συνάτιος LM.

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BOOK XLVII

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

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

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

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

After forming this compact and taking oaths they hastened to Rome, giving the impression that they were all going to rule on equal terms, but each having the intention of getting the entire power himself. Yet they had learned in advance very clearly before this, and very plainly at this time also, what was going to happen. For in the case of Lepidus a serpent that coiled about a centurion's sword and a wolf that entered his camp and his tent while he was eating dinner and knocked over the table foretold at once his future power and the trouble that was to follow it; in the case of Antony, the flowing of milk round about
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τε πέριξ περὶ τὸν τάφρευμα περιπατεῖν καὶ συνωδία τις νυκτὸς περιηχήσασα τάς τε θυμηδίας καὶ τὸν ὀλεθρον τὸν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν προδειξεν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ταῦτα πρὶν ἐς τὴν Ἱταλίαν ἐλθεῖν ἐγένετο τῷ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρι τότε εὐθὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἀετὸς ὑπέρ τε τῆς σκηνῆς αὐτοῦ ἱδρυθείς, καὶ δύο κόρακες προσπεσώντας οἱ τίλλειν τε τῶν πτερών πειρωμένους ἀποκτείνας, τὴν νίκην κατ’ ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἔδωκε.

2. Καὶ οἱ μὲν οὖτος ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, πρὸτερος μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, χωρὶς ἐκάτερος, μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπάντων ἠλθον, καὶ παραχρήμα τὰ δόξαντά σφισι διὰ τῶν δημάρχων ἐνομοθέτησαν. ἀ γὰρ ἐπέταττον καὶ ἐβιάζοντο τὸ τὸ οἴνομα τὸ τοῦ νόμον ἑλάμβανε καὶ προσέτη καὶ παράκλησιν αὐτοῖς ἐφερε· πάνυ γὰρ ἰκετευ-θήναι σφας ἐδει ἑνα αὐτά ποιῆσαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ θυσίαι ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ ἐπ’ εὐνυχήμασι τισιν ἐψηφίσθησαν, καὶ ἡ ἐσθής ὡς καὶ εὐδαιμονοῦσων σφῶν μετεβλήθη, καῖπερ πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν πραττομένων, πολλῷ δὲ ἐτὶ τρεῖς πλείους ἐκ τεράτων δέουσι αὐτοῖς οὖντος. τα τε γὰρ σημεία τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ τὴν πόλιν φυλάττοντος ἀραχνιῶν ἀνεπλήσθη, καὶ ὅτι κὰ τῆς γῆς ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνύωτα ὤφθη, κτύπος τε ἀπ’ αὐτῶν πολὺς ἤκουσθα, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀσκληπιείῳ μελίσσαι ἐς τὴν ἀκραν πολλαὶ συνεστράφησαν, γυτές τε ἐπὶ τε τοῦ νεώ τοῦ Γενίου τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς Ῥωμαίας παμπληθείς ἱδρύθησαν.

1 τὸ Χιφ., τὶ ΛΜ. 2 τῷ Ἀσκληπιεῖῳ Βρ., τοῖς Ἀσκληπείοις ΛΜ. 3 Γενίου Χελ., γενελοῦ ΛΜ. 4 τοῦ added by Rk.
the trenches and the resounding of a kind of chant at night foreshadowed the satisfactions that he was to experience and the destruction that was to grow out of them. These portents befell them before they entered Italy; but in Caesar's case it was at this very time, immediately after the covenant had been made, that an eagle settled upon his tent and killed two crows which had attacked it and were trying to pluck out its feathers—a sign which gave him the victory over both his rivals.

So they came to Rome with all their troops, first Caesar and then the others, each one separately, and immediately they enacted through the tribunes the laws they had agreed upon. For the measures which they dictated and forced through not only assumed the name of law, but actually had to be supported by petitions, since the triumvirs required to be besought earnestly to pass them. Hence sacrifices were voted in honour of them as if for successes and the people changed their attire as if they had been blessed by fortune, although great fear was upon them because of these very acts and still greater fear because of omens. For the standards of the army which was guarding the city became covered with cobwebs, pieces of armour were seen to rise up from the earth to the sky and a great clashing that came from them was heard; in the shrine of Aesculapius bees gathered in swarms on the ceiling, and crowds of vultures settled on the temple of the Genius Populi and on that of Concordia.
3 If the question is to be answered, yes, he is among the scholars who have given us a Roman history. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5

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

\(^1\) Cf. Frg. 109.
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τοιούτου πειρώμενοι, καὶ οὕκ ἐκ προβουλῆς ἔποιούντο, καὶ διὰ τοῦ θ' ζητοῦν τὰ πλεῖώ κακοτρόπως, οί δὲ οὕκ ἐκ προνοίας ἀλλ' ἐκ συντυχίας, ἔπραττον καὶ οἱ πάσχοντες ἐξαπιναίας τε καὶ ἀνηκούστοις συμφοραῖς περιπίπτοντες ῥαστώνην τινὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνελπίστου τῶν παθῶν ἐλάμβανον.

2 τότε δὲ πάντα μὲν τὰ προτολμηθέντα οἱ μὲν αὐτὸι χειρουργῆσαντες, οἱ δὲ ἱδόντες, οἱ δ' ἀκοῇ γονὸν ὑπογόφ 1 ἀκριβοῦντες, πολλὰ δ' οὖν 2 εν τῷ διὰ μέσον τῆ προσδοκία τῶν ὁμοίων οἱ μὲν ως δράσουσι προσεπιστήσαντες, οἱ δ' ως πείσονται

3 προσδείσαντες, ἕκεινοι τε πλείστην ἀποτίνα τῇ τῇ χειλώσει τῶν προτέρων ἐργῶν καὶ τῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν σπουδῇ 3 εἰς τὸ καἰνώσαι 4 πως τὰ ἐπιβουλεύματα ἐξ ἐπιτεχνίσεως παρεῖχον, καὶ οἱ ἔτεροι πάνθ' ὅσα παθεῖν ἐδύναντο λογιζόμενοι τολύ ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ πρὸ τῶν σωμάτων, ως καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς

5 ἤδη ὄντες, διεκναίοντο. καὶ τε 5 τούτῳ καλεστέρως ἢ πρὶν ἀπῆλλασσον, καὶ διότι τότε μὲν μόνοι οἱ τοῦ Σύλλου τῶν τε περὶ αὐτῶν δυνατῶν ἔχροι διώλοντο, τῶν δὲ δὴ φίλων αὐτοῦ τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων οὐδεὶς ἐκεῖνον γε κελεύσαντος

2 ἐφθάρῃ, ὡστε ἐξώ τῶν πάνω πλουσίων (τούτως γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε εἰρήνη πρὸς τὸν ἱσχυρότερον ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις γίγνεται) οὐ γε λοιποὶ ἐθάρσουν· ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς δευτέραις ταῦταις σφαγαῖς οὐχ ὅπως οἱ

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1 ὑπογόφ R. Steph., ὑπογόφωι LM.
2 δ' οὖν Bk., γονῷ LM.
3 σπουδῇ supplied by Xyl.
4 καὶνωσαί R. Steph., κενωσαί LM.
5 τε added by Bk.
BOOK XLVII

first time, and not as the result of deliberate planning, and hence in most cases they behaved less wickedly, since they were acting, not with malice aforethought, but as chance dictated; and the victims, encountering misfortunes which came upon them suddenly and had never before been heard of by them, found some alleviation in the unexpectedness of their sufferings. At this time, however, when men had either taken part themselves in all the former terrible deeds, or had beheld them, or were at any rate thoroughly acquainted with them from recent descriptions, and accordingly in all the time between, in the expectation of a recurrence of similar outrages, had, on the one hand, been devising many additional horrors, with the idea that they would inflict them, and, on the other hand, been conjuring up additional terrors with the idea that they would suffer them, the perpetrators resorted to most unusual devices in their emulation of the outrages of yore and their consequent eagerness to introduce into their schemes, by their ingenuity, novel features of some sort; and the victims, reflecting upon all that they might suffer, underwent great tortures in their minds even before their bodies were put to torture, as if they were already in the very midst of their sufferings. Another reason for their faring worse on this occasion than before was that previously only the enemies of Sulla and of the leaders associated with him were destroyed, whereas among the friends of Sulla or of the other men no one perished, at least not at Sulla's bidding; so that, apart from the very wealthy, who can never be at peace on such occasions with the man more powerful than themselves, all the rest had no cause for fear. In this second series of murders,
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3 filoi kai parà dòzan ekteíνontο. Āllwos μéν γάρ ἡ τις ὡς καὶ σφαγήναι πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐληλύθεν τὰ δὲ ἡ κοινὰ πράγματα καὶ αἵ τῶν δυναστείων διαλλαγαὶ καὶ τὰς φιλίας τάς τε ἐχθρᾶς τὰς σφοδρὰς αὐτοῖς ἐπετοιῆκεσαν.

4 πάντας γὰρ τοὺς τῷ πέλας συναραμένους 1 τὸ τι καὶ συμπράξαντας ἐν πολεμίῳ μοίρα οἱ ἔτεροι ἐτίθεντο· καὶ οὔτω συνέβαινε τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ φίλους τινὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐχθροὺς πάντων 2 γεγο- νέναι ὦστε, ἐν ὧ ἰδίᾳ ἐκαστὸς τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσαν- τάς οἱ ἡμύνετο, καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους κοινῇ συν-

5 απώλευσαν. ἐκ γὰρ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους πραγμά- 


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

2 ὀσπερ ἐν πρατηρίῳ. εἴ μὲν γὰρ ἐς τις ἐνὸς τινος ἀντάξιος ὅστ' ἰσομοιρεῖν εὐρίσκετο, ἀπλῇ ἢ ἀντίδοσις ἐγίγνετο. ὁσοὺς δὲ δὴ ἅρετὴ τις ἢ ἀξίωσις ἢ καὶ συγγένεια ἀνετίμα, ἅντι πλειώνων ἀπώλλυτο. ἀτε γὰρ ἐν ἐμφυλίως πολέμοις, καὶ πολλῷ μὲν χρόνῳ πολλαῖς δὲ καὶ πράξει γενομένοις, συχνῷ καὶ τοῖς πάνυ συγγενέσθι 2 κατὰ τὸ

3 στασιωτικὸν προσεκεκρούκεσαν. ἀμέλει τῷ τε Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ ὁ θείος Λούκιος 3 Καῖσαρ καὶ τῷ Δεπίδῳ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Λούκιος Παῦλος ἐπεπολέμωντο. ἀλλ' οὕτωι μὲν ἐσώθησαν, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων πολλοὶ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς τε φίλοις καὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις, ὕφ' ὀσπερ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ σωθήσεθαι καὶ τιμηθήσεθαι προσέδοκων, ἐσφάγησαν. ὅπως γὰρ μηδεὶς στερηθῆσεθαι τῶν ἄθλων φοβηθεῖσ, ὅτι τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ Σύλλου φονεύσαντάς τινας ὁ Κάτων ὁ Μάρκος ταμεύσας ἀπήτησε πάνθ' ὅσα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰλήφεσαν, ἢπτόν τινα ἀποκτείνῃ, προηγόρευσαν ὅτι οὐδένα αὐτῶν

4 ἐς τὰ δημόσια γράμματα ἐσγράψουσι. 4 τοὺς 5 τε ὅνιν ἄλλοις ἐτοιμότερον διὰ τοῦτ' ἐσφάζον καὶ τοὺς εὐπόρους, εἰ καὶ μηδεὶν αὐτῶν ἀπῆχθοντο-παμπόλλων τε γὰρ χρημάτων δεόμενοι, καὶ οὔκ ἔχοντες ὁπόθεν ἄλλοθεν τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποπληρώσωσι, κοινῆν τινα κατὰ τῶν

1 γὰρ supplied by Bk.
2 συγγενέσθι R. Steph., συγγενεύσι LM.
3 Λούκιος Xyl., λούκιος ἀντάνιος I.M.
4 ἐσγράψουσι Reim., ἐσγράφουσι LM.
5 τοὺς M cod. Peir., τούτους L.

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

7 Ταύτα δὲ ἐπράττετο μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Λεπίδου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ 'Αντωνίου μάλιστα (πρὸς τε γὰρ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ προτέρου ἐπὶ μακρότατον τιμηθέντες, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄρχαις ταῖς τε ἡγεμονίαις ἐπὶ πλείστον γενόμενοι, πολλοὺς ἔχθρους εἶχον),

2 ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος κατὰ τὴν τῆς δυναστείας κοινονίαν γίγνεσθαι, ἐπεὶ αὐτός γε οὐδὲν τι συχνὸς ἀποκτεῖναι ἐδείησθι. τῇ τε γὰρ φύσει οὐκ ὥμος ἦν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ἱθεσιν ἐνετέθραπτο. πρὸς δ' ἐτι νέος τε ὦν καὶ ἀρτι ἐς τὰ πράγματα παρὼν οὔτ' ἄλλως ἀνάγκην πολλοὺς σφοδροὺς μισεῖν εἰχε καὶ φιλεῖσθαι.

3 ἦθελε. σημείον δὲ ὦτι, ἂφ' οὐ τῆς τε πρὸς ἐκείνους συναρχίας ἀπηλλάγη καὶ τὸ κράτος μόνος ἔσχεν, οὐδὲν ἐτὶ τοιοῦτον ἔπραξεν. καὶ τότε δὲ οὐχ ὁσον πολλοὺς οὐκ ἐφθειρεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔσωσε πλείστους, τοῖς τε προδοοὺς τοὺς δεσπότας ἡ τοὺς φίλους χαλεπώτατα καὶ τοῖς συναραμένοις τις ἐπεικέστατα ἐχρήσατο. τεκμήριον δὲ, Τανουσία γυνὴ ἐπιφανὴς τῶν ἄνδρα Τίτον Οὐίνον ἐπικηρυχθέντα τοῦ μὲν πρῶτον ἐς κιβωτὸν παρὰ ἀπελευθέρω των Φιλοποίμενι κατέκρυψεν, ὡστε καὶ πίστιν τοῦ τεθνηκέναι αὐτὸν παρασχεῖν· μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ δημοτελὴ ἐσρτῆν, ἰν' συγγενῆς τις αὐτῆς ποιήσειν ἐμμελλε, τηρήσασα, τὸν τε Καίσαρα

1 προσέθεντο M cod. Peir., προέθεντο L.
2 παρευμομῆθη L, παρευμομήθη M, παρευμομήθη cod. Peir.
3 ἀνάγκην Xiph., ἄν ἀνάγκην LM.
4 συναραμένοις cod. Peir., συναραμένοις LM.

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against the rich. And among the many other lawless acts they committed in carrying out this policy, they took a lad and enrolled him among the youths of military age, in order that they might kill him as now classed among the grown men.

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

διὰ τῆς Ὄκτανοιας τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐς τὸ θέατρον
5 μόνον τῶν τριῶν ἐσελθεῖν διεπράξατο, καύταυθα ἐσπηρήσασα τὸ τε πραξθὲν ἀγνοοῦντι οἱ ἐμήνυσε, καὶ τὴν κιβωτῶν αὐτὴν ἐσκομίσασα ἐκείθεν τὸν ἄνδρα ἐξήγαγεν, ὥστε τὸν Καίσαρα θαυμάσαντα πάντας μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀφεῖναι (καὶ γὰρ τοῖς συγκρυ-ψασί τινα θάνατος προείρητο), τὸν δὲ ἜΦιλοποι-μένα καὶ ἐς τὴν ἱππάδα κατατάξατι.

8 Ἐκείνως μὲν ὑπὸ πολλοὺς, ὅσους γε καὶ ἡδυνήθη, διεσώσατο· ὁ τε Λέπιδος τῷ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷ Παύ-λῳ ἐς Μίλητον ἐκδρᾶναι ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους οὐκ ἀπαραίτητος ἦν· ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ὁμῶς καὶ ἀνηλεώς οὐχ ὧτι τοὺς ἐκτεθέντας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπικουρήσατι τινι αὐτῶν ἐπιχειρήσαντας

2 ἔκτεινε. τὰς τε κεφαλὰς σφων, εἰ καὶ σιτοὺ- μενος ἐτύγχανεν, ἐπεσκόπησε, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῆς τε ἀνοσιώτατης καὶ τῆς οἰκτροτάτης αὐτῶν ὃφεως ἐνεπίμπλατο. καὶ ἡ γε Φουλούια πολλοὺς καὶ αὐτή καὶ κατ’ ἕχθραν καὶ διὰ χρήματα, καὶ ἐστών οὕς ὦδε γιγνωσκομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ

3 ἀνδρὸς, ἐθαυμάτωσεν· ἐνὸς γοῦν τινὸς κεφαλῆς ἱδὼν ἔσπει ὧτι “τοῦτον οὐκ ἡπιστάμην.” ὥς δ’ ὑπὶ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ποτε ἐκομίσθη σφίσι (φεύγων γάρ καὶ καταληφθεῖς ἐσφάγη), ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος πολλὰ αὐτῷ καὶ δυσχερὴ ἐξουσίδισας ἔπειτ’ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὴν ἐκφανέστερον τῶν ἄλλων ἐν τῷ βήματι προτεθῆναι, ἣν’ ὄθεν κατ’ αὐτὸν δημηγορῶν ἥκοῦσε, ἐνταῦθα μετὰ τῆς χειρὸς τῆς

4 δεξιᾶς, ὡσπερ ἄπετέμητο, ὀρὸτο· ἡ δ’ ἜΦιλο- λοιία ἐς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτὴν πρὶν ἀποκομισθῆναι

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

So Caesar saved the lives of as many as he could; and Lepidus allowed his brother Paulus to escape to Miletus and was not inexorable toward the others. But Antony killed savagely and mercilessly, not only those whose names had been posted, but likewise those who had attempted to assist any of them. He always viewed their heads, even if he happened to be eating, and sated himself to the fullest extent on this most unholy and pitiable sight. And even Fulvia also caused the death of many, both to satisfy her enmity and to gain their wealth, in some cases men with whom her husband was not even acquainted; at any rate, when he saw the head of one man, he exclaimed: "I knew not this man!" When, however, the head of Cicero also was brought to them one day (he had been overtaken and slain in flight), Antony uttered many bitter reproaches against it and then ordered it to be exposed on the rostra more prominently than the rest, in order that it might be seen in the very place where Cicero had so often been heard declaiming against him, together with his right hand, just as it had been cut off. And Fulvia took the head into her hands before it was
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ēdēxato, kai ἐμπικραναμένη οἱ καὶ ἐμπτύσασα ἐτή τε τὰ γόνατα ἐπέθηκε, καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς διανοίξασα 1 τὴν τε γλώσσαν ἐξεῖλκυσε καὶ ταῖς βελώναις αἰς ἐς τὴν κεφαλήν ἔχριτο κατεκέντησε, πολλὰ ἁμα καὶ μιαρὰ προσεπισκόπτουσα. 5 καὶ οὗτοι ὁ οὖν ὑμώς ἐσωσάν τινας, παρ’ ὅν γε καὶ πλείω χρήματα ἔλαβον ἢ τελευτησάντων εὐρήσειν ἠλπίσαν· καὶ ἰνα γε μὴ κεναί αἱ ἐν τοῖς λευκώμασι χῶραι τῶν ὁνομάτων αὐτῶν ὅσιν, ἐτέρους ἀντενέγραψαν. πλὴν γε ὅτι τῶν θείων θ’ Ἀντώνιος, πολλὰ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τῆς Ἰουλίας ἴκετευσάς, ἄφικεν, οὐδὲν ἅλλο χρήστων εἰργάσατο. 2

Πολύτροποι μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα αἱ σφαγαῖ, πολυειδεῖς δὲ καὶ σωτηρία τισιν ἐγένοντο. συχνοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρὸς τῶν φιλτάτων ἀπώλοντο, συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρίστων ἐσώθησαν. ἄλλοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπέκτειναν, ἄλλους αὐτοὶ οἱ ἐπελθόντες ὡς καὶ φονεύσοντες 3 ἀπέλυσαν. προδόντες δὲ τινες δεσπότας ἢ καὶ φίλους ἐκολάσθησαν, καὶ ἐτεροὶ δ’ αὐτὸ τούτο ἐτιμήθησαν· οἳ τε περιποίησαντες τινας οἱ μὲν δίκην ἔδοσαν οἱ δὲ καὶ 2 γέρα ἔλαβον. οἰα γὰρ ὅσι ἐνδός ἀνδρὸς ἄλλα τριῶν πρὸς τε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐκάστου καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὦδιον συμφέρον πάντα ποιοῦντων, καὶ μήτε τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἢ φίλους ἤγουμένους, σωθηναί τε πολλάκις δὴν ὁ 4 ἐτερος ἀπολέσθαι, καὶ φθαρήναι αὐ δὲν ὁ ἐτερος περιγενέσθαι ἦθελε, σπουδαζόντων, πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα συνέβαινεν, ὡς που


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

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

10 ἐγὼ οὖν τὸ μὲν πάντα αὐτὰ ἄκριβῶς καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἐπεξελθεῖν παραλείψω (πάμπολυ τε γὰρ ἔργον ἄν εἰ, καὶ οὐδὲν μέγα τῇ συγγραφῇ παρέξεται), ἀ δὲ ἀξιομημόνευτα μάλιστα εἶναι νομίζω, διηγή-

σομαί.

2 Τούτο μὲν γὰρ ἐς ἐπαυλῖν1 τις τὸν δεσπότην κατακρύψας, εἰτ’ ἐπειδὴ καὶ2 ὃς καθ’ ἐτέρου τινὸς μήνυσιν ἀπολεῖσθαι ἐμελλε, τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦλλαξατο, καὶ μετ’ αὐτῆς τοῖς ἐπιού-

σιν ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκείνος ὃν προαπήντυσε καὶ ἐσφάγη καὶ οὔτως οἱ μὲν ἀπετράπουσι, νομίζαν-

τες ὅν ἐβούλοντο πεφονευκέναι, ὁ δὲ ἀπελθόντων

3 αὐτῶν ἐτέρωσε διέφυγε. τούτο δὲ ἀλλὸς τις τῇ

σκευῇ ὁμοίως ἀπασαν πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην διαλ-

λάξας αὐτὸς τε ἐς φορεῖον κατάστεγον ἐσήλθε καὶ ἐκείνον διφροφορεῖν ἐποίησε· κὰς τούτῳ κατα-

ληθέντες ὁ μὲν οὖν ὡφθεὶς ἐφονεύθη, ὁ δὲ ὡς τις

4 σκευοφόρος διεσώθη. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἵσως3 ἐκεῖνοι

ἐς ἐνεργεσίας τινὸς προὔπαρχοῦσης σφών τοῖς εὐ

ποίησασιν ἀνταπέδοσαν· στυγματιὰς δὲ τις οὐχ

ὁσον οὐ προέδωκε τὸν στίξαντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνιν

προθύμως ἔσωσεν. ὡς γοῦν ὑπεκκομίζων ποι

αὐτὸν ἐφωράθη καὶ ἐδιώκετο, ἀπέκτεινε τε τὶνα

ἐντυχόντα οἱ κατὰ τύχην, καὶ τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ

τῷ δεσπότῃ δοὺς τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ πυραν ἐπέθηκεν,

5 αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον τοῦ

δεσπότου λαβὼν ἀπήνυσε τοῖς διόκουσι, καὶ

πλασάμενος ὡς καὶ φεύγοντα αὐτὸν ἀπεκτοῦὼς

1 ἐπαυλῖν Schwartz (from Appian), σπήλαιον LM cod. Peir.
2 καὶ cod. Peir., om. LM.
3 ἵσως cod. Peir., om. LM Xiph.

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they felt good-will or hatred toward anyone. I shall accordingly refrain from giving an accurate and detailed description of all such incidents, since this would be a vast undertaking and there would be no great gain to my history, but shall relate what I regard as most worthy of remembrance.

In one case a slave had hidden his master in a villa, and then, when even so the master was likely to perish through information given by a third person, this slave changed clothes with him, and wearing his master's apparel, went to meet the pursuers as if he were himself the master, and was murdered. So they turned aside, thinking they had slain the man they wished, and when they had departed, the master made his escape to some other place. Again, another slave likewise changed his entire dress with his master and entered a covered litter himself, making his master one of the carriers; and so, when they were overtaken, he was killed without being even looked at, while the master was spared as being a porter. These, perhaps, are instances of favours repaid by these slaves to their indulgent masters in recognition of some kindness previously received. But there was also a branded runaway slave who, so far from betraying the man who had branded him, very gladly saved him. It was discovered that he was smuggling his master to some place of safety and a pursuit was begun; so he killed a man who met him by chance, gave the man's clothes to his master, and placing the corpse upon a pyre, he himself took his master's clothing and ring, went to meet the pursuers, and upon claiming that he had killed his master while fleeing, his word was believed,
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ἐπιστεύθη ἐκ τε τῶν σκύλων καὶ ἐκ τῶν στιγμάτων, καὶ ἐκεῖνόν τε ἀμα ἔσωσε καὶ αὐτὸς ἔτιμήθη.
6 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐς οὐδεμίαν ὀνόματος μνήμην ἀνήκει. ὁ Οσίδιον ἔδει Ἡγέαν ὁ υἱὸς, ἐκφορὰν δὴ τίνα αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ πεθυκότος σκεύασας, ἔξεσωσε, καὶ Κύντων Κικέρωνα τὸν τοῦ Μάρκου ἀδελφὸν ὁ παῖς ἐξέκλεψε καὶ ὅσον ἐφ' ἐαυτῷ ἔσωσεν.
7 αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ καὶ κατέκρυψε τὸν πατέρα ὡστε μὴ εὑρεθῆναι, καὶ στρεβλοθεὶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάσαις βασάνοις οὐδὲν ἔξελάλησε· μαθὼν δὲ ἐκεῖνος τὸ γιγνόμενον, καὶ θαυμάσας τε ἀμα τὸν παίδα καὶ ἐλεήσας, ἦλθεν ἐθελοντὴς ἐς τὸ ἐμφανές καὶ αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν τοῖς σφαγεύσι παρέδωκεν.

11 Ἀρετῆς μὲν δὴ καὶ εὐσεβείας τοσαῦτα τότε ἐπιφανῇ ἔργα ἐγένετο· Ποπίλιος δὲ δὴ Λαίνας τὸν Κικέρωνα τὸν Μάρκου ἀπέκτεινε καὶ περ
2 εὐεργέτην αὐτοῦ ἐκ συνηγορήματος ὄντα, καὶ ὡς γε μὴ ἀκονύμενος μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ὀρώμενος πίστιν τοῦ πεφονευκέναι αὐτὸν λάβῃ· εἰκόνα ἐαυτοῦ πλησίον τῆς ἐκεῖνον κεφαλῆς ἑστεφανωμένην ἐθηκε, καὶ τὸ ὁνόμα καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένον ἔχουσαν καὶ οὕτω γε καὶ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ διὰ τοῦτ' ἦρεσεν ὡστε καὶ χρήματα
3 πλείω τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων λαβεῖν. Μάρκος δὲ Τερέντιος Οὐάρρων ἠδίκησε μὲν οὐδὲν, ὃμωνυμος δὲ δὴ τινὶ τῶν ἐπικεκπηρυγμένων πλῆν μας προσηγορίας ὄν, καὶ δείσας μὴ τι κατὰ τούτο, ὠν

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

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

1 The Varro who was proscribed was the celebrated antiquary and satirist; the identity of the tribune is uncertain, though perhaps he was the one whose brave death after Philippi is recorded by Velleius (ii. 71).
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καὶ ο Κίννας, πάθη, ἐξέθηκε γράμμα αὐτὸ τοῦτο

4 δηλών ἐδημάρχει δέ. καὶ ο μὲν διατρήθη καὶ
gέλωτα ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὡφλισκαίνεν τὸ δὲ δὴ ἀστάθ-
μητον τοῦ βίου καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου ἐτεκμηριώθη, ὅτι
Δούκιος 1 μὲν Φιλούσκιος ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου πρό-
τερον ἐπικηρυχθεὶς καὶ διαφυγὼν ἐς τε τὸ λευ-
κωμα αὕτης τότε ἐσεγράφη καὶ ἀπέθανε, Ἔμρκος
dὲ Οὐαλέριος Μεσσάλας ὑπὸ τοῦ Αντωνίου
θανατωθεὶς οὐχ ὅπως ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ διεβίω, ἀλλὰ
cαὶ ὑπατος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου ὑπεδείχθη.

5 οὐτως ἐκ τὲ τῶν ἀπορωτάτων πολλοὶ περιγίγνον-
tαι καὶ ἐκ τῶν θαρσούντως ἐχόντων οὐκ ἐλάττους
ἀπόλλυνται καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χρὴ μήτε ἐς τὸ
ἀνέλπιστον πρὸς τὰς αὐτίκα συμφοράς ἐκπλή-
tεσθαί τινα μήτε ἐς τὸ ἀφρόνιστον ὑπὸ τοῦ παρα-
χρῆμα περιχαροὺς ἐπαιρεσθαί, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ μέσον
ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ μέλλοντος τιθε-
μενον ἀσφαλείς ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τοὺς λογισμοὺς
ποιεῖσθαι.

12 Καὶ τότε γοῦν ταῦτα τε οὕτως ἐγένετο, καὶ
πλείστοι μὲν τῶν μὴ προγραφέντων διὰ τε ἐχθραν
καὶ διὰ χρήματα παραπώλουν, πλείστοι δὲ τῶν
ἐπικηρυχθέντων οὐχ ὅτι περιεγένοντο ἀλλὰ καὶ
κατηλθοῦν αὕτης, καὶ τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ ἀρχας
ἐσχον. ἢ δ' ἀναχωρήσις σφισι πρὸς τοὺς
Βροῦτον καὶ πρὸς τὸν Κάσσιον τὸν τῇ Σέξτον

2 ἐγένετο. καὶ ο' γε 2 πλείους πρὸς τοῦτον συγ-
kατέφυγον ναυαρχεῖν τε γὰρ πρότερον αἴρεθεὶς
καὶ χρόνου των ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ δυνηθεὶς ἱσχύν τε

1 Δούκιος Χυλ., λούσκιος ΛΜ.
2 γε R. Steph., τε ΛΜ.
similar to that of Cinna;\(^1\) therefore he issued a \(\text{B.C. 43}\) statement making known this fact (he was tribune at the time) and for this he became the subject of amusement and ridicule. Now the uncertainty of life was illustrated not only by this incident, but also by the case of Lucius Philuscius,\(^2\) who had previously been proscribed by Sulla and had escaped, had his name now inscribed on the tablet once more and perished, whereas Marcus Valerius Messalla, who had been condemned to death by Antony, not only continued to live in safety, but was later appointed consul in place of Antony himself. So it is that many come out safe from the most desperate situations, while just as many who feel no fear lose their lives. Hence one should neither be so alarmed in the face of the calamities of the moment as to lose all hope, nor be so carried away by his immediate elation as to be reckless, but, by placing his expectation of the future midway between the two, should make reliable calculations for either event.

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

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\(^1\) See xliiv. 50, 4; 52, 2.

\(^2\) Pliny, \(N.H.\) vii. 134, gives the name as Fidustius. The error is doubtless due to Dio or some Greek scribe.
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οἴκειαν, καίπερ τῆς ἀρχῆς μετὰ τούθ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀποστερηθείς, περιεβάλετο, καὶ τὴν Σικελίαν κατασχον, ἐπειδ’ ὡς καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐπεκηρύχθη αἱ τε ἄλλαι σφαγαί ἐγίγνοντο, πλείστον

3 τοῖς ὁμοίοις συνήρατο. τῇ γὰρ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐγγύθευν ἐφορμῶν διέπεμπεν ἐς τε τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ ἐς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, τά τε ἄλλα τοῖς τινα περισσώσαι καὶ 1 διπλάσια τῶν τοῖς φονεύσουσι προκειμένων ἐπαγγελλόμενος, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους καὶ ὑποδοχὴν καὶ ἐπικουρίαν καὶ χρήματα καὶ τιμὰς ὑπηρεσίαν-μενος. οὕτως δὲ διηνοτοῦ τε αὐτὸν ἠλθον. ἀριθμὸν γὰρ ὡς τῶν προγραφέων ὡς τῶν φονευθέντων ἢ καὶ διαφυγόντων οὔδε νῦν ἐγγραφα, ὅτι πολλοί μὲν τῶν τὸ πρῶτον ἐς τὰ λευκόματα ἐγγραφέων ἀπηλήφησαν,2 πολλοὶ δὲ υστερον ἀντ’ αὐτῶν ἀντενεγράφησαν, καὶ τούτων τε 3 οὐκ ὁλίγω διεσώθησαν καὶ ἄλλοις συχνοὶ διεφθάρησαν. καὶ αὐτοὺς οὔδε πενθεῖν τισιν ἐξουσία ἦν, ἄλλα πολλοὶ καὶ ἐκ τούτου παραπόλοντο. καὶ τέλος, ὡς τὸ τε πεπλασμένον αὐτῶν πᾶν αἱ συμφοραί ἐξενίκων, καὶ οὐδεὶς οὔδε τῶν πάνω ἀνδρικῶν ἀντικαρτερεῖν πρὸς αὐτὰς 4 ἔδυσατο, ἄλλ’ ἐν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις πάσι καὶ ἔργοις καὶ λόγοις ἑσκυθρώπαξαν καὶ εἰ ὡς ἀρχῇ τοῦ ἔτους οὐκ 5 ἤμελλον, ὥσπερ εἰῶθασίν, ἔορτάσειν, ἐκελεύσθησαν διὰ προγραφής εὐθυμείσθαι, τῆναν δὴ τὰ ἐκφύγοντες ἀν ἡ πειθαρχήσωσιν οὔτω που, ὡς καὶ ἐπ’ ἁγαθοῖς, τοῖς κοινοῖς κακοῖς χαίρειν ἡναγκάζοντο. καὶ τί τούτο εἶπον, ὅποτε καὶ ἐκείνοις (τοῖς τρισὶν

1 καὶ supplied by Leuncl.
2 ἀπηλήφησαν St., ἀπηλέφησαν LM. 3 τε Bk., γε LM.
4 αὐτὰς M, αὐτὰ L. 5 οὐκ Bk., οὐ LM.

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surrounded himself with a force of his own, even though he had subsequently been deprived of his office by Caesar. He had occupied Sicily, and then, when the order of proscription was passed against him, too, and all the other murders were taking place, he proved of the greatest assistance to those who were in like condition. For, anchoring near the coast of Italy, he kept sending to Rome and to the other cities, offering among other things to those who saved anybody double the reward that had been proposed for those who should murder them, and promising to the men themselves a refuge, assistance, money, and honours. Therefore a considerable number came to him. As to the exact number, now, either of those who were proscribed or slaughtered or of those who escaped, I refrain even at the present time from recording it, because many names originally inscribed on the tablets were erased and many were later inscribed in their place, and of these not a few were saved and many perished who were not on the lists. And it was not permitted in any case even to mourn for the victims, and many lost their lives on this account also. And finally, when the calamities broke down all their assumed calm and no one even of the most stout-hearted could longer bear up against them, but in all their work and conversation their countenances were gloomy and they had no thought of celebrating the new-year festival, as was their wont, they were ordered by a proclamation to be of good cheer, on pain of death if they should disobey. So they were forced to rejoice over their common evils as over blessings. Yet why do I mention such a thing, when they voted to those men
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ἀνδράσι λέγω) ἄλλα τε ὡς εὐεργέταις καὶ σω-
τήρι τῆς πόλεως γεγονόσι καὶ τοῦς στεφάνους
τοὺς πολιτικοὺς ἐψηφίσαντο; οὔ γαρ ὅτι τινὰς
ἐφόνευν, αὐτίαν ἔχειν ἥξιον, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ πλείο-
νας, προσεπαίνεισθαι ἥθελον. καὶ πρὸς γε τὸν
δήμον φανερῶς ποτε εἴπον ὅτι οὔτε τὴν τοῦ
Μαρίου τοῦ τε Σύλλου ὄμότητα, ὡστὲ καὶ μιση-
θῆναι, οὔτ' αὖ τὴν τοῦ Καῖσαρος ἐπιείκειαν, ὡστὲ
καὶ καταφρονηθῆναι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιβου-
λευθῆναι, ἐξηλώκασι.

14 ῾Τοιαῦτα μὲν περὶ τὰς σφαγὰς ἐγίγνετο, πολλὰ
dὲ δὴ καὶ ἄτοπα καὶ περὶ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ὀντίας
συνέβαινε. καίτοι ταῖς τε γυναιξί ταῖς τῶν
φονευμένων τὰς προϊκὰς καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις τοῖς
μὲν ἁρρεσὶ τὸ δέκατον ταῖς δὲ θηλείαις τὸ εἰκο-
στὸν τῆς ἐκάστου σφῶν ὀντίας δῶσειν, ὡς καὶ
dὴ δίκαιοι φιλάνθρωποὶ τε ὡστε, ἐπηγγείλαν-

2 το. ἀλλ' οὔτε ταῦτα πλὴν ὀλίγων ἔδοθη, τά τε
tῶν λοιπῶν καὶ πάνυ πάντα ἄδεως ἐπορθεῖτο.
tοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐνοίκιον ἐνιαύσιον πασῶν τῶν τε ἐν
tῶ ἄστει καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ οἰκίων, ὡν
μὲν ἐμεμισθώκεσάν τινες, ὠλου, ὅν δὲ αὐτοὶ ὄκουν,
ἐξ ἡμισέιας, πρὸς τὴν τῆς καταγωγῆς ἄξιαν ἐσέ-
πραξαν· τούτῳ δὲ τούς τὰ χωρία ἔχοντας τὸ

3 ἡμισυ τῶν προσόδων αὐτῶν ἀφεῖλοντο. καὶ προσ-
έτη καὶ τοὺς στρατιωτὰς τὴν τε τροφῆν παρὰ
tῶν πόλεων, ἐν αἷς ἔχειμαζον, προϊκά λαμβάνειν
ἐποίησαι, καὶ κατὰ τὴν χώραν, ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ δεδη-

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(to the triumvirs, I mean) the civic crowns and other distinctions as to benefactors and saviours of the state? For these men not only would not allow themselves to be blamed because they were murdering people, but, what is more, wished to be praised because the number of their victims was not greater. And to the populace they once openly stated that they had emulated neither the cruelty of Marius and Sulla, that they should be hated, nor, on the other hand, the mildness of Caesar, that they should be despised and consequently plotted against.

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

tes (καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους, ὅτι μὴ ἔντος τῆς προρρη-
θείσης σφίσιν ἡμέρας μετέστησαν, πολεμίους
ἐποιήσαντο) πάντα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσδιήρπαζον.

4 ἵνα γὰρ καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἔργων τοὺς μισθοὺς ἔχοντες
πάν τὸ πρόθυμον σφίσι παρέχονται, ταῦτα τε
αὐτοῖς πράττειν ἐπέτρεπον καὶ πόλεις χώρας τε
δώσειν ὑπισχυόντο· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο καὶ γεωνόμους
ὀμοῦ καὶ οἰκίστας αὐτοῖς 1 προσαπέδειξαν.

το
μὲν οὖν πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν τούτως ἀνηρ-

tῶν, τῶν δὲ δὴ λογιμωτέρων τούς μὲν τοῖς
κτήμασι τοῖς τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἐδελεάζον, τὰ μὲν
ἐπευωνιζόντες τὰ δὲ καὶ προϊκα σφίσι χαριζό-
μενοί, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ταῖς τε ἱερωσύναις

5 αὐτῶν ἐτίμων. ὅπως γὰρ ἀδεώς αὐτοῖ τε τὰ
κάλλιστα καὶ τῶν χωρίων καὶ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων
λαμβάνοντα καὶ ἐκείνους ὅσα βούλονται διδώσαι,
προεῖπον μηδένα τῶν ἅλλων μὴ ὑπησεῖντα ἐς τὸ
πρατήριον ἀπαντῶν, εἰ δὲ μὴ γε, θυνήσειν 2 τὸν
tούτο ποιῆσαντα. καὶ ἐκείνους γε οὕτω μετε-
χειρίζοντο ὡστε μήτε 3 τι καταφωρᾶν καὶ πλεῖ-
στου ὅσου ἁγοράζειν ὃν ἐχρῆζον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
μηδ' ἀνητιὰν ἔτι.

15 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ κτήματα τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐγίγνετο,

1 αὐτοῖς Leuncl., αὐτοῖς LM.
2 θυνήσειν R. Steph., θυνήσειν LM.
3 μήτε supplied by Madvig.
tending that they were sent to take charge of the confiscated property or that of the persons who still opposed them. For they counted the latter class as enemies, because they had not come over to the side of the triumvirs before the appointed day. Thus the whole country outside the towns was also pillaged. Indeed, the triumvirs not only allowed the soldiers to do this, in order that, having their pay even in advance of their services, they might devote all their zeal to their commanders' interests, but also promised to give them cities and lands. And to carry out this promise they appointed special commissioners to divide the lands among them and to establish them in colonies. Now the mass of the soldiers was made loyal by these measures; but in the case of the more prominent, they tempted some with the possessions of those who were being put to death, both by lowering the price on certain articles and by granting others to them free, and others they honoured with the offices and priesthooods of the victims. For, in order that they themselves might with impunity secure the finest both of the lands and of the buildings and yet might give their followers all they wanted, the triumvirs gave notice that no one but themselves and the soldiers should visit the auction unless he wanted to buy something; whoever did so should die. And they managed even those who came under these conditions in such a way that they detected no irregularity and had to pay the very highest price for what they wanted, and consequently had no further desire to buy.

This was the course followed in regard to the property of the proscribed. As to the offices and


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tás de 1 ἀρχὰς τὰς τε ἱερωσυνὰς τῶν θανατωθέντων οὐ πρὸς τὸ νομίζομενον ἐκ τῶν νόμων, ἀλλ’ ὡς πον καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, διέδοσαν. καὶ ὑπάτους

2 τε,2 τοῦ μὲν Καίσαρος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπειπόντος3 (ἣ γὰρ οὕτως ἐπεθύμησεν ὡστε καὶ πολεμήσαι δ’ αὐτὴν,4 ταύτης ἐκῶν ἐξέστη) τοῦ δὲ συνάρ-χοντος αὐτοῦ μεταλλάξαντος, ἀλλον τε τινα καὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον καίπερ στρατη-γοῦντα ἀπέδειξαν, ὡς τῇ στρατηγίᾳ αὐτοῦ

3 τῶν ἀγορανομοῦντων τινὰ ἐσῆγαγον καὶ πάντας μετὰ τοῦτο τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, πέντε ἡμέρας ἐτὶ ἀρχοντας, παύσαντες ἐκεῖνους μὲν ἐς τὰς ἡγε-μονίας τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐστείλαν, ἐτέρους δὲ ἀντ’ αὐτῶν ἀντικατέστησαν. νόμους τε τοὺς μὲν ἀπῆλευσαν τοὺς δὲ ἀντενέγραφαν. καὶ συνελόντι εἶπεν, καὶ τᾶλα πάντα ὅπως ποτὲ καὶ ἐδοκεῖ αὐτοῖς

4 ἐπρασσοῦ τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐπικλήσεων τῶν ἐπι- φόνων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καταλυθεισῶν οὐκ ἀντε- ποιήσαντο, τὰ δὲ δὴ πράγματα πρὸς τὸ βούλημα καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθύμημα τὸ ἔαντων διῆγου, ὡστε χρυσὸν τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος μοναρχίαν φανῆναι.

Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐναυτὸν ἐκεῖνον ταὐτά τε οὕτως ἐποίησαν, καὶ νεὼν τῷ τῷ Σαράπιδι καὶ τῇ Ἡσιδι

16 ἐψηφίσαντο· τοῦ δὲ δὴ Λεπίδου τοῦ Μάρκου τοῦ τῇ Πλάγκου τοῦ Δουκίου ὑπατευσάντων λευκώ- ματα αὐθίς ἐξετέθη, θάνατον μὲν μηδενί ἐτὶ φέροντα, τὰς δὲ οὐσίας τῶν ἡμῶν ἀποσυλώντα·

2 προσδεόμενοι γὰρ χρημάτων, ἀτε πολλά μὲν καὶ

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

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

\(^1\) Q. Pedius; cf. xlvi. 46, 1.
\(^2\) C. Carrinas.
πολλοῖς στρατιώταις προσφειλήσαντες,1 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς γιγαντομένους δι' αὐτῶν δαπανῶντες, πολλῷ δὲ ἐτὶ πλεῖω ἐσ τοὺς προσδοκομένους πολέμους ἀναλώσειν νομίζοντες, ἡργυρολόγουν. 3 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν τῶν τελῶν τῶν πρότερον μὲν ποτε καταλυθέντων τότε δὲ αὕτης ἐπαναχθέντω ἡ, καὶ ἐκ καίνης προσκαταστάντων, τὸ τε τῶν συντελεῖν, ὅποι πολλὰς μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς οἰκείας ἐπράττοντο, μετρίως ποῑς 4 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐλύπει: τὸ δὲ δὴ τοὺς καὶ ἐφ' ὅποσονοιν ἔτι οὐ μόνον τῶν βουλευτῶν ἡ καὶ τῶν ἱππῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων, καὶ ἀνδρῶν ὀμοίως καὶ γυναικῶν, εὐποροῦντας ἐς λευκόματα ἐσγραφῆναι καὶ δεκατείαν τινὰ καίνην δεκατευθή- 5 ναι σφόδρα πάντας ἴνασε. τῷ μὲν γὰρ λόγῳ τὸ δέκατον τῆς οὐσίας παρ' ἐκάστοι σφῶν ἐπράξθη, ἔργῳ δὲ οὐδὲ τὸ δέκατον των κατελείφθη· ἐπειδή γὰρ οὐ ρητὸν τι ἀργύριον πρὸς τὴν τῶν κτημάτων ἀξίαν ἐσενεγκεῖν ἐκελεύσθησαν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς αἱ τιμήσεις τῶν σφετέρων ἐγένοντο, κάκ τούτον ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς αὐτὰ τετειμημένοι διεβάλλοντο, καὶ τὰ 17 λοιπὰ προσαπώλλουσαν. εἰ δ' οὖν τινες τοῦτο πως διέφυγον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τε τῶν τάξεων ἐς στενῶν κατακλείμενοι καὶ ἀργύριον δεινῶς σπανίζουτες πάντων καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀπεστεροῦντο, καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἔτερον τι τούδε, βαρὺ μὲν καὶ 2 ἀκούσαν βαρύτατον δὲ πραχθῆναι, ἐγένετο· τῷ γὰρ βουλομένῳ σφῶν ἐδόθη, πάσης τῆς οὐσίας ἐκστάντι, τὸ τρίτον μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτῆς ἀπαίτησαι, τοῦτ' ἐστι μήτε τι 2 λαβέιν καὶ προσέπτε καὶ

1 προσφειλήσαντες Leuncl., προσφειλήσαντες LM. 2 τι M Zon., τινα L.
large sums to large numbers of soldiers, were spending large sums on undertakings then being carried out by them, and expected to spend far more still on the wars in prospect; they therefore proceeded to collect funds. Now the reintroduction of the taxes which had been formerly abrogated, or the establishment of new ones, and the institution of the joint contributions, which they levied in large numbers both on the land and on the slaves, caused the people some little distress, it is true; but that those who were in the slightest degree still prosperous, not only senators or knights, but even freedmen, men and women alike, should be listed on the tablets and mulcted of another "tithe" of their wealth irritated everybody exceedingly. For it was in name only that a tenth of each one's property was exacted; in reality not so much as a tenth was left. For since they were not ordered to contribute a stated amount according to the value of their possessions, but had the duty of assessing the value of their own goods, they were as a result liable to be accused of not having made a fair assessment and to lose in addition what they had left. And even if some persons did somehow escape this fate, yet they were brought into straits by the assessments, found themselves terribly short of ready money, and so, like the others, were deprived of practically everything. Moreover, the following device, distressing even to hear about, but most distressing in practice, was put into operation. Any one of the proscribed who wished to do so was permitted, if he would abandon all his property, to make requisition afterwards for one-third of it, which meant getting nothing and having trouble besides.
πράγματα σχείν. ὅποτε γὰρ βία τὰ δύο μέρη φανερῶς ἐσυλώντο, πῶς ἂν τὸ τρίτον ἀπέλαβον, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐλαχίστον αὐτῶν πωλουμένων; 3 τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ πολλῶν ἀμα ἀποκηρυττομένων, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν πλειώνων καὶ ἄχρισσων καὶ ἀναργύρων ὄντων, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν μὴ τολμῶν ὡς καὶ ἐχόντων τι ἀγοράσαι, ἵνα μή καὶ ἐκεῖνο προσαπολέσωσιν, αἱ τιμαὶ ἀνείντο. 1 τούτῳ δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις πολὺ παρὰ τὴν ἄξιαν πάντα ἐπι- πράσκετο. ὅστε τῶν μὲν ἰδιωτῶν οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν, ὃ τι καὶ ἄξιον εἴπειν, διεσώσατο τοὺς γὰρ αὐ τοῖς ἀλλοις ἐς τε τὸ ναυτικὸν ὀικέτας, εἰ καὶ μὴ εἰχὼν τινες, ὄνωμενοι γε ἐδίδοσαν, καὶ τὰς ὄδους οἰκείοις οἱ βουλευταὶ δαπανήσασιν ἐπεσκεύαζον. μόνοι δὲ δὴ οἱ τὰ ὀπλὰ ἐχοντες ὑπερπλούτησαν. 5 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐξήρει σφίσιν οὔτε ἡ μισθοφορά 2 καίπερ ἐντελῆς 3 οὐσα, οὔτε αἱ ἐξωθεὶν ἐπιφοραὶ 4 καίτοι παμπληθεῖσι γενόμεναι, οὐ τὰ ἄθλα τῶν φῶνων μεγίστα δὴ δοθέντα, οὐχ αἱ κτήσεις τῶν χωρίων προκιμαίαι τρόπον τινὰ αὐτοῖς ὑπάρ- ξασιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ προσέτι οἱ μὲν τὰς οὐσίας τῶν τελευτῶν οἷας καὶ ἔτους καὶ ἐλάμβανον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔσ τὰ τῶν ἐξωτῶν ἐπὶ γερῶντων τε καὶ ἀτέκνων 6 γένη ἐσεβίαξότοι. ἐσ τοσοῦτον γὰρ τῆς τε ἀπληστίας καὶ τῆς ἀναισχυντίας ἐχώρησαν ὡστε τινὰ καὶ τὴν τῆς Ἀττίδος τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος μητρὸς οὐσίαν, ἀποθανοῦση τότε καὶ δημοσίᾳ ταφῆ 5 τιμηθείσης, παρ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος αἰτήσαι.
For when they were being openly and violently despoiled of two-thirds, how were they to recover the other third, especially since their goods were being sold for an extremely low price? For, in the first place, a great deal of property was being offered at auction all at once and most people were without gold or silver and the rest did not dare to show by buying that they had money, lest they should lose that too, and consequently the prices were lowered; in the second place, anything would be sold to the soldiers far below its value. Hence none of the private citizens saved anything worth mentioning; for, over and above all the other exactions, they had to furnish slaves for the navy, buying them if they had none, and the senators had to repair the roads at their individual expense. Only those, indeed, who bore arms gained great wealth. For they were far from satisfied with their pay, though it was given in full, or with their outside perquisites, though these were very numerous, or with the prizes bestowed for the murders, though they were exceedingly large, or with the lands they acquired, though they were practically a free gift to them; but in addition some would ask for and receive all the property of those who died, and others would force their way into the families of the survivors who were old and childless. For they had reached such a degree of greed and shamelessness that one man actually asked Caesar himself for the property of Atia, his mother, who had died at that time and had been honoured with a public funeral.
18 Ταύτα τε οὖν οὕτως οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκεῖνοι οἱ τρεῖς ἔποιον, καὶ ἀμα καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν πρότερον ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐσέμυνον. ἀτε γὰρ τῆς μοναρχίας ἐφεμενοί καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπειγόμενοι τοὺς τε 2 σφαγέας αὐτοῦ τοὺς λοιποὺς ὅργῃ μετήσαν, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τούτου τήν τε ἀδειαν σφίσιν ὅν ἐποίουν καὶ τὴν ἁσφάλειαν πόρρωθεν προπαρασκευάζοντες, καὶ πάνθ' ὅτα ἐς τιμὴν αὐτοῦ ἐφέρε, προθύμως ἐξπραττόν ἐς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ καὶ αὐτοὶ ποτε τῶν ὁμοίων ἁξιωθῆναι καὶ διὰ τούτῳ τοῖς τε ἐψηφισμένοις ἡγαλλον αὐτὸν καὶ ἐτέροις ἃ τότε 1 3 προσέθεσαν. ἐν τε γὰρ τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρα αὐτοῖ τε ὄμοσαν καί τοὺς ἄλλους ὄρκωσαν βέβαια νομείν πάντα τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνου γενόμενα (καὶ τούτῳ καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ πάσι τοῖς τοῦ κράτος ἀεὶ ἱσχουσιν, ἢ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ποτε γενομένοις καὶ μὴ ἁτιμωθεῖσιν, γίγνεται), καὶ ἡρῴον οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐν ὧν ἐκέκαυτο προκατεβάλοντο, 2 καὶ τί καὶ ἁγαλμα αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς ἵσπο- δρομίαις μεθ' ἐτέρου Αφροδισίῳ ἐπεμπὸν. εἰ τε νίκη τις ἡγγέλθη ποθεν, χωρὶς μὲν τῷ κρατήσαντι χωρὶς δὲ ἐκεῖνῳ καὶ τεθνεώτει τιμήν ἱερομνυσίας 5 ἐνεμον. τά τε γενέσια αὐτοῦ δαφνηφοροῦντας καὶ εὐθυμομενοὺς πάντας ἐστάξειν ἡγάγασαν, νομοθετήσαντες τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους τοὺς ἀμελή- σαντας αὐτῶν ἐπαράτους τῷ τε Διὶ καὶ αὐτῶ ἐκεῖνῳ εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ δὴ βουλευτὰς τοὺς τε νεῖς 6 σφων πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ὀφλισκαίειν. καὶ συνεβαίνε γὰρ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ τᾷ Ἀπολλώ- 1 ἐτέροις ἃ τότε (ἐτέροις ἃ αὐτοῦ τότε) Bk., ἐτέροις αὐτότε LM. 2 προκατεβάλοντο Bk., προκατεβάλλοντο LM.

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While these three men were behaving in this wise, they were also magnifying the former Caesar to the utmost degree. For as they were eager for sole rulership and were striving for it, they vindictively pursued the rest of the assassins, with the idea that in this way they would be preparing, long in advance, immunity for themselves in what they were doing as well as safety; and so they eagerly did everything which tended to his honour, in expectation of some day being themselves thought worthy of like honours, and for this reason they exalted him, not only by the honours which had already been voted him, but also by others which they now added. Thus, on the first day of the year they themselves took an oath and made all the rest swear that they would consider all his acts binding; and the same thing is still done to-day in honour of all those who successively enter upon the supreme power and also of those who have possessed it and have not been dishonoured. They also laid the foundation of a shrine to him, as hero, in the Forum, on the spot where his body had been burned, and caused an image of him, together with a second image, that of Venus, to be carried in the procession at the Circensian games. And whenever news came of a victory anywhere, they assigned the honour of a thanksgiving to the victor by himself and to Caesar, though dead, by himself. And they compelled everybody to celebrate his birthday by wearing laurel and by merry-making, passing a law that those who neglected these observances should be accursed in the sight of Jupiter and of Caesar himself, and, in the case of senators or senators' sons, that they should forfeit a million sesterces. Now it happened that the Ludi Apollinares fell on the
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віа гίγνεσθαι, ἐψηφίσαντο τῇ προτέραιᾳ τὰ γε- 

νέσια ἀγάλλεσθαι, ὡς καὶ λογίου τινὸς Σι- 

βυλλείον ἀπαγορεύοντος μηδενὶ θεῶν τότε πλὴν 

τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἑορτάζεσθαι. ταυτὰ τε ὅπων αὐτῷ ἔδωκαν, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἧ ἐφονεύθη, κυρίαν ἀεὶ ποτὲ ἔδραν βουλής ἔχουσαν, ἀποφράδα ἐνό- 

μισαν, τὸ τε οἶκημα ἐν ὃ ἐσφάγη, παραρθῆμα 

tε ἐκλεισαν καὶ ὕστερον ἐς ἀφοδὸν μετεσκέυασαν καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ Ἰουλίου ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ κληθέν 

παρὰ τῷ Κομιτίῳ ἀνομασμένῳ ρωξόδομῳ, ὡσπερ 

ἐψηφιστο. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀπείπου μὲν μηθεμίαν 

eἰκόνα αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ θεοῦ τινος ὡς ἀληθῶς ὅντος, ἐν ταῖς τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκφοραισ 

πέμπεσθαι, ὁπερ ἐκ τοῦ πάυν ἀρχαίον καὶ τότε ἔτι ἐγιγνετο ἀπηγορεύσαν δὲ μηθενα ἐς τὸ ἥρων 

αὐτοῦ καταφυγόντα ἐπ’ ἀδείας μῆτε ἄνδρηλα- 

τεὶδαθαι μῆτε συλλᾶσθαι, ὁπερ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῶν 

θεῶν, πλὴν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου γενομένων, ἐδεδώκεσαν. καίτοι καὶ ἐκεῖνο τὸ χωρίον ὠνόματι 

τὴν ἀσυλίαν, μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀθροισιν, 

ἀνευ τοῦ ἔργου αὐτῆς ἐσχεν οὕτω γὰρ περιε- 

φράχθη ὡστε μηθένα ἐτὶ τὸ παράπαν ἐσελθεῖν ἐς 

αὐτὸ δυνῃηναι.

Τῷ μὲν δὴ Καὶσαρι ταῦτῃ ἔδωκαν, ταῖς δὲ ἀειπαρθένους ῥαβδούχω ἐνὶ ἐκάστῃ χρήσθαι, ὅτι 

tῆς αὐτῶν ἀπὸ δείπνου πρὸς ἐπέραν οὐκαδὲ 

ἐπανοῦσα ἡγούμηθεν τε καὶ ἱβρίσθη. τάς τε 

1 Ἀπολλώνια Bs., ἀπολλώνεια LM (and so in chap. 20).

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

These were the honours which they granted to Caesar; they also allowed the Vestal Virgins to employ one lictor each, because one of them, not being recognised, had been insulted while returning home from dinner toward evening. And they assigned

bration. Now Caesar's birthday fell on the twelfth, and the day before that would have conflicted quite as much with the festival of Apollo; hence this expression, "the previous day," must mean the fifth.
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ἀρχὰς τὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπὶ πλείω ἐτη προαπέ-
deixan, τοὺς τε ἐπιτηδείους σφίσιν ἁμα δι' αὐτῶν
timóntes, καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐπὶ μακρότερον ταῖς
tῶν ἀρξόντων διαδοχαῖς κρατυνόμενοι.

20 Πράξαντες δὲ ταῦτα, Δέπιδος μὲν αὐτοῦ, τὴν τε
tολίν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν διάξων, ὠσπερ
eἶπον, ὑπέμεινε, Καίσαρ δὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιος ἐξε-
στράτευσαν. οὐ τὸ γὰρ Βροῦτος καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος τὸ
μὲν πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς πρὸς τὸν
Ἀντώνιον τοὺς τε ἄλλους σφίσι γενομένου καὶ ἐς
tὴν ἀγορὰν ἐσῆσαν, καὶ τὰς στρατηγίας ἐν τῷ

2 αὐτῶ δ' καὶ πρὶν κόσμῳ διόρκουν ἐπεὶ δ' ἡρξαντό
tines ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος σφαγῇ χαλεπαίνειν,
ἐξεχώρησαν ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἔξω ἀρχὰς, ἄς προσε-
tετάχατο, ἐπειγόμενοι. καὶ τοι καὶ ἀστυνόμος ὁ Ἀν-
τώνιος ἦν, τὰ τε Ἀπολλωνία οὐδέπω διεωρ-
tάκει. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν δι' Ἀντωνίου τοῦ συστρα-
τηγοῦ καὶ ἀπὸν ἐκπρεπέστατα ἐπετέλεσεν, αὐτὸς

3 δὲ οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπέπλευσεν, ἀλλ' ἐν
tῇ Καμπάνια μετὰ τοῦ Βροῦτον χρονίσας ἐπετήρει
tὰ γεγονόμενα. καὶ τινα καὶ γράμματα ἐς τὴν
Ῥώμην, ἄτε καὶ στρατηγοῦντες, πρὸς τὸν δῆμον
ἐπεμπον, μέχρις οὐ ὁ Καίσαρ ὁ Ὁκταουιάνος
tῶν τε πραγμάτων ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ τὸ

4 πλῆθος σφετερίζεσθαι ἡρξατο. τότε γὰρ τῆς τε
dημοκρατίας ἁμα ἀπογιόντες καὶ ἐκεῖνον φοβη-
θέντες ἀπήραν. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι λαμ-
πρῶς ὑπεδέξαντο· ἐτιμῶντο μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν

1 δ added by R. Steph.
the offices in the city for several years ahead, thus at the same time honouring their friends and strengthening their cause for a longer time by controlling the succession of those officials.

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

άλλων σχεδόν τι πάντων ἐφ' οἷς ἐποίησαν, ἐκείνοι δὲ καὶ εἰκόνας σφίσι χαλκᾶς παρά τε τὴν τοῦ Ἀρμοδίου καὶ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἀριστογείτονος, ὡς καὶ ξηλωταῖς αὐτῶν γενομένους, ἐψηφίσαντο.

21 Κἂν τοῦτῳ πυθόμενοι τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπὶ μείζου αἴρεσθαι, Κρητῶν μὲν καὶ Βιθυνῶν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐστέλλοντο, ἠμέλησαν, οὐδεμίαν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀξιόχρεον ὀφελίαν ὀρόντες οὕσαν, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὴν τε Συρίαν καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν, καίπερ μηδὲν σφίσι προσηκούσας, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῷ καίρῳ καὶ τοῖς χρήμασι ταῖς τε δυνάμεσιν ἦκμαξῶν, ἐτράποντο. καὶ Κάσσιος μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Σύρους ὡς καὶ συνῆθεις οἱ καὶ φίλους ἐκ τῆς μετὰ τοῦ Κράσσου στρατείας ὄντας ὄρμησε, Βροῦτος δὲ τὴν τε Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν συνίστη. ἀλλὰς τε γὰρ ἐκ τῆς δόξης τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ ἑπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσι τῶν ὁμοίων προσείχον αὐτῷ, καὶ διότι καὶ στρατιώτας συχνοὺς, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Φαρσάλῳ μάχης ἐκεῖ που καὶ τότε ἔτι περιπλανώμενους, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν τῶν Δολοβέλλα συνεξελθόντων ὑπολειφθέντας ἢ διὰ νόσου ἢ διὰ ἀταξίαν, προσλαβῆσαι ἐδίκε' καὶ οἱ καὶ χρήματα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας παρὰ τοῦ Τρεβδωνίου ἦλθε. τὸ μὲν οὖν Ἑλληνικὸν ἀπονητότατα ἐκ τούτων, ἀτε μηδὲ δύναμιν τινα ἀξιόλογον ἔχον, προσεποίησατο· ἐς δὲ δὴ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἦλθε μὲν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καίρῳ ὡς ὁ τέ Αντώνιος ὁ Γάιος ἀρτι ἀφικτα καὶ Κύνττος
everybody else for what they had done, the inhabitants of this city voted them bronze images by the side of those of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, thus intimating that Brutus and Cassius had emulated their example.

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

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1 i.e., they hoped that Brutus would liberate them from the Romans as he had liberated the Romans from Caesar.
2 In B.C. 48, i.e. six years before this.
3 Cf. xlv. 15, 2.
'Oρτήσιος ὁ προάρξας αὐτῆς ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι
5 ἐμελλεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πρᾶγμα τι ἐσχεν. οὗτος
tε γὰρ εὐθὺς αὐτῷ προσεχώρησε, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος
κωλυθεῖς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπικράτησιν πράσσειν τι τῶν τῇ ἀρχῇ προσηκόν-
6 τῶν ἀσθενής ἦν. ὁ τε Οὐατίνος ἤρχε μὲν Ἰλ-
lυρίων τῶν πλησιοχώρων, καὶ τὸ τε Δυρράχιον
ἐκείθεν ἐπελθὼν προκατέλαβε καὶ ἢν αὐτῷ κατὰ
tὸ στασιωτικὸν διάφορος, οὐ μὴν ἠδυνήθη τι αὐ-
tὸν βλάψαι· οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται ἀχθόμενοι τι
cαὶ προσκαταφρονήσαντες αὐτὸν διὰ νόσου
7 μετέστησαν. καταλαβὼν οὖν καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ τε
tὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνία ὄντα ἐστράτευσε,
καὶ προσπαντήσαντός οἱ αὐτοῦ τοὺς τε στρατιώτας
ἀκιώσατο, καὶ ἐκείνων ἐς τὸ τεῖχος προκαταφυ-
gόντα ἀπετείχισε μὲν καὶ ἐξώγρησεν ἐκ προδοσίας,
κακὸν δὲ οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο.

22 Πράξας δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ τὴν τε Μακεδονίαν μετὰ
tοῦτο πᾶσαν καὶ τὴν Ἡπειρον προσλαβὼν, ἐπέ-
stειλε τῇ γεροσίᾳ, τὰ τε πραγμένα ἡ δῆλων
cαὶ ἐαυτὸν τα τε ἐθνὶ καὶ τοὺς στρατιῶτας ἐπ'
2 αὐτῇ ποιούμενοι, οἱ δὲ (ἐτυχον γὰρ ὑπόπτως
ἡδὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἔχοντες) ἰσχυρῶς τε αὐτὸν
ἐπήγεεσαι καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐκεῖ χωρίων ἀρχεῖν
ἐκέλευσαν. ὡς οὖν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δόγματος τὴν
ἡγεμονίαν ἐβεβαιώσατο, αὐτὸσ τε ἐπὶ πλεῖον
προευμηνήθη καὶ τὸ ὑπῆκοον ἀπροφασίστως συν-
3 αἱρόμενον ἐσχε. καὶ τέως μὲν τῷ τε Καίσαρι
πέμπων, ὅτε ἕδοκει τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ πολεμεῖν,
παρᾶνει ἐκεῖνῳ τε ἀνθίστασθαι καὶ ἐάντῳ συναλ-

1 ὁτε R. Steph., ὁτε LM.
tensius, who was his predecessor in the governorship, was about to retire; however, he experienced no trouble. For Hortensius embraced his cause at once, and Antonius was weak, being hindered during Caesar's supremacy in Rome from performing any of the duties belonging to his office. Vatinius, who was governor of Illyricum near by, came from there to Dyrrachium, seized it before Brutus could prevent, and acted as an enemy in the present strife, but could not injure him at all; for his soldiers, who disliked him and furthermore despised him by reason of a disease, went over to the other side. So Brutus, taking over these troops, led an expedition against Antonius, who was in Apollonia; and when Antonius came out to meet him, Brutus won over his soldiers, shut him up within the walls when he fled thither before him, and captured him alive through betrayal, but did him no harm.

After this success, Brutus next acquired all Macedonia and Epirus, and then despatched a letter to the senate, stating what he had accomplished and placing at its disposal himself as well as the provinces and the soldiers. The senators, who, as it chanced, already felt suspicious of Caesar, praised him highly and bade him be governor of all that region. When, then, he had had his command confirmed by the decree, he not only felt more encouraged himself, but also found his subjects ready to support him unreservedly. For a time he both communicated with Caesar, when the latter appeared to be making war on Antony, urging him to resist his enemy and to become reconciled
λαγήναι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐσ τὴν Ἱταλίαν πλεῦσαι παρεσκευάζετο, ὅτι 1 ἡ γερουσία μετέπεμψεν αὐ-
τὸν ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Καίσαρ τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἀκρι-
βῶς κατέσχε καὶ τοὺς τοῦ πατρὸς φονέας φανε-
ρῶς ἐτιμωρεῖτο, κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινε, καὶ διεσκόπει ὅπῃ ποτὲ ἐπιόντα αὐτῶν καλῶς ἀμύναιτο, καὶ τὰ 
τε ἄλλα ἅριστα δὴ τὴν τε Μακεδονίαν διήγαγε,
καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα στασιασθέντα οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ 
'Αντωνίου κατεστῆσατο.

23 Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ, καίτοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ 2 τοῦ στρα-
τηγικοῦ 3 κόσμου στερηθεῖσι, οὐκ ἤγάπησε τὴν 
_OPTIONAL: ἤςυχίαν ἐν τε ἀδεία καὶ ἐν τιμῇ ἔχων, ἀλλ' ἐς 
_ORDINAL: τοῦ Βροῦτον στρατιώτας ἐπραττεν ἀπόστα-

2 σιν φωραθεῖς τα ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸν μέγα τι κακὸν 
ὅρασαι, καὶ τῶν τε ἐπισήμων τῆς στρατηγίας 
ὄψεις καὶ φυλακῇ τινω ἀδέσμῳ, ἵνα μηδὲν 
νεοχμόσῃ, παραδοθεῖς οὐδ' ὃς ἤςυχασεν, ἀλλὰ 
καὶ ἐπὶ μάλλον ἢ πρὶν ἐνωτέρισεν, ὡστε καὶ τῶν 
στρατιώτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀλλήλους ἐς χειρὰς ἐλθεῖν, 
τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον ἐς τὴν 'Απολλωνίαν, ὅπως 
3 ἔξαρπασσων αὐτὸν, ὅρμησαι. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν οὐκ 
ἡδυνήθησαι ποιῆσαι ὁ γὰρ Βροῦτος ἐκ γραμ-
μάτων τινῶν ἀλῶντων προμαθῶν τὸ γενησόμενον 
ὑπεξήγαγεν αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ νοσοῦν ὁμα ἐς δί-
φρον κατάστεγον ἐμβαλὼν οὕτε δὲ ἐκεῖνον εὐρεῖν 
δυνάμενοι καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον φοβοῦμενοι λέον 
4 ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως κατέλαβον. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ 
Βροῦτος ἐς τὸ ὑμολογίαν ὑπαγαγόμενος, καὶ ὅλι-
γος τῶν ἥραστυτῶν τοὺς μὲν θανατώσας τοὺς 
δὲ ἀπαλλάξας ἐκ τῆς συστρατείας, οὕτω διέθηκεν 

1 ὅτι Reim., ὅθεν LM.
2 αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ supplied by Bk., τοῦ Βροῦτον οὐδὲ Xyl.
3 τοῦ στρατηγικοῦ Xyl., τοῦ στρατηγικοῦ LM.

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

For Antonius, although Brutus had not even deprived him of his praetorian dress, was not content to keep quiet, his safety and office secure, but was stirring up a revolt among the soldiers of Brutus. And when he was discovered at this work before he had done any great harm, he was stripped of his praetorian insignia, and delivered up to be guarded, though not confined, that he might not cause any rebellion. Yet he did not remain quiet even then, but concocted more schemes of rebellion than ever, so that some of the soldiers came to blows with one another and others set out for Apollonia to fetch Antonius himself, with the intention of rescuing him. This, however, they were unable to do; for Brutus had learned beforehand from some intercepted letters what was to be done and by putting him into a covered litter, on the pretence that he was moving a sick man, got him out of the way. The soldiers, unable to find Antonius and being also afraid of Brutus, seized a hill commanding the city. Brutus induced them to come to an understanding, and by taking a few of the most audacious, of whom he executed some and dismissed others
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ὅστε σφᾶς τοὺς τε ἀποπεμφθέντας ὡς καὶ τῆς στάσεως αἰτιωτάτους συλλαβῄειν καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι, καὶ τὸν ταμίαν τοὺς τε ὑποστρατήγους τοῦ Ἀν-

24 τούτου ἔξαιτῆσαι. ὦ οὖν Βροῦτος ἐκεῖνων μὲν οὐδένα σφίσιν ἔξέδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἐς πλοία αὐτοὺς ἐμβαλὼν ὡς καὶ καταποντώσων ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλές ἀπέπεμψε φοβηθεὶς δὲ μὴ καὶ αὕθις τῶν ἐν τῇ Ὁμή πραττομένων ἐπὶ τὸ φοβερότερον ἀγγελ.

2 λομέων πυνθανόμενοι μεταβάλλωται, ¹ τὸν μὲν Ἀντώνιον ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνία κατέλυπε, Γαίῳ τινὶ Κλωδίῳ παραδόξω γυλάσσειν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ τε πλείστον καὶ τὸ ἱσχυρότατον τοῦ στρατοῦ λαβὼν ἐς τε τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίαν ἀνέχωρησε, καντεῦθεν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ὑστερον ἔπλευσεν, ὡς σφᾶς ὅτι τε πορρωτάτω τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπαγάγῃ κακὸς τῶν ἐκεῖ ὑπηκόων διατρέψῃ. καὶ ἄλλους τε ἐν τούτῳ συμμάχους προσεποιήσατο καὶ τὸν Δηνόταρον, καίπερ ὑπεργύρων ² τε ὄντα καὶ τῷ Κασσίῳ ἀπειπόντα τὴν βοήθειαν.

Διατρίβοιτος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ, ἐκείνῳ τε Γέλλιος Ποπλικόλας ἐπεβούλευσε καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὁ ἄδελφος ὁ Μάρκος ἐξαρπάσαι, πέμψας τινάς, ⁴ ἐπεχείρησε. καὶ τούτον μὲν ὁ Κλώδιος, ως οὐκ ἡδυνήθη σῶον ³ φυλάξαι, ἀπέκτεινεν, εἰτ' αὐτογυωμονήσας εἰτε καὶ ἐξ ἐντολῆς τοῦ Βροῦτον. καὶ γὰρ λόγος ἔχει ὅτι πρότερον μὲν ἐν παντὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ ἐποιεῖτο, ὑστερον δὲ, μαθὼν τὸν Δέκιμον ἀπολολότα, παρ' οὐδὲν αὐτὴν ἤγαγεν.

5 ὁ δὲ δὴ Γέλλιος ἐφωράθη μὲν, ἐπάθε δὲ δεινὸν

¹ μεταβάλλωνται Zon., μεταβάλλωνται LM. ² ὑπεργύρων R. Steph., ὑπεργύρω LM. ³ σῶον R. Steph., σῶον LM.

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

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

6 αἵτων δὲ ὡς ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Πώλλα1 προμαθοῦσα τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν, καὶ δείσασα περὶ τε τῷ Κασσίῳ μὴ προκαταληφθῇ (σφόδρα γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἡγάπα) καὶ περὶ τῷ υἱῷ μὴ καταφωραθῇ, τό τε ἐπιβουλευμα αὐτὴ ἐκούσα τῷ Κασσίῳ προεμήνυσε καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν τοῦ παιδὸς ἀντέλαβεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ βελτίω αὐτοῦ ἐποίησεν· πρὸς τε γὰρ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀυτόνιον ἀπὸ τῶν εὐεργετῶν ἀπευθυνόμενην.

25 Ὁ δὲ οὖν Βροῦτος ὡς τάχιστα τὴν τε τοῦ Ἀυτώνιου τοῦ Μάρκου πείρασιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ σφαγὴν ἔμαθεν, ἐδεισε μὴ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ παρὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν αὐτοῦ νεωτερισθῆ, καὶ εὔθυς ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπεικήθεις τὴν τε χώραν τὴν τοῦ Σαδάλου2 γενομένην παρέλαβεν (ἀπαίς γὰρ τελευτῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὴν κατέλυτε), καὶ ἐς Βησσαρίων ἐμβαλὼν, εἰ πως ἀμύναιτο τε ἄμα αὐτοὺς ὅν ἐκακούργην, καὶ ὅνομα ἄξιωμα τε αὐτοκράτορος, ὡς καὶ ὅν έκ τούτου τῦ τὶς τὴν Καίσαρι καὶ τῷ Ἀυτώνιῳ προσπολεμήσων, περιβάλοιτο,3 ἀμφότερα διεπράξατο, Ῥασκυτόριδος οἱ δυνάτος τινὸς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα βοηθῆσαι τοις ἐντεύθεν δὲ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἔλθων καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖ κρατουνάμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν αὕθας ἀνεκομίσθη.

1 Πώλλα Bs., πάλα LM.  
2 Σαδάλου Χυλ., ἀδάλον LM.  
3 περιβάλοιτο Βκ., περιβάλλοιτο LM.
for Brutus released him, inasmuch as he had always held him to be among his best friends and knew that his brother, Marcus Messalla, was on very close terms with Cassius. The man also made an attempt upon Cassius, but suffered no harm in that case, either. The reason was that his mother Polla learned of the plot in advance, and fearing for Cassius lest he should be caught off his guard (for she was very fond of him) and for her son lest he should be detected, in person and of her own free will informed Cassius of the plot beforehand, and received the life of her son as a reward. However, she did not succeed in making a better man of him; for he deserted his benefactors to join Caesar and Antony. Now as soon as Brutus learned of the attempt of Mark Antony and of the killing of Antony's brother, he feared that some other insurrection might take place in Macedonia during his absence, and immediately hastened to Europe. On the way he took charge of the territory which had belonged to Sadalus, who had died childless and had left it to the Romans, and he also invaded the country of the Bessi, in the hope that he might at one and the same time punish them for the mischief they were doing and invest himself with the title and dignity of imperator, thinking that he should thus carry on his war against Caesar and Antony more easily. He accomplished both objects chiefly by the aid of a certain prince named Rhascyboris. And after going thence into Macedonia and making himself master of everything there, he withdrew again into Asia.
3 Βρούτος μὲν ταύτα τε ἔπρασσεν, καὶ ἐσ τὰ νομίσματα ἀ ἐκόπτετο εἰκόνα τε αὐτοῦ καὶ πυλιόν ¹ ξιφίδια τε δύο ἐνετύπου, δηλῶν ἐκ τε τούτου καὶ διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ὅτι τὴν πατρίδα μετὰ τοῦ
26 Κασσίου ἥλευθεροκός εἰ ἦν δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους χρόνους ὁ Κάσσιος ἦς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν πρὸς τὸν Τρεβώνιον, φθάσας τὸν Δολοβέλλαν, ² ἐπεραιώθη, καὶ λαβὼν παρ' αὐτοῦ χρήματα, τῶν τε ἰππέων συχνῶς, οὓς ὁ Δολοβέλλας ἦς τὴν Συρίαν προσεπτόμενες, καὶ ἐτέρους πολλοὺς τῶν τε Ἀσια-
2 νῶν καὶ τῶν Κιλίκων προσέθετο. κακὸν τούτον καὶ τὸν Ταρκοῦνδιμοτον τοὺς τε Ταρσεάς καὶ ἄκοντας ἐς τὸ συμμαχικὸν προσηγαγέτον ὁ ποὺ ἀπὸ προσφιλῶς τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ πρωτέρῳ, καὶ δι' ἐκείνον καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ, οἱ Ταρσεῖς εἶχον ὡστε καὶ Ἰουλιοπολίν σφας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μετονομάσαι. ταῦτ' οὖν ὁ Κάσσιος πράξας ἦς τὴν Συρίαν ἦλθε, καὶ ἀμαχεὶ πάντα τὰ τῶν δήμων καὶ τὰ τῶν στρατευμάτων
3 προσεποιήσατο. ἦ δὲ δὴ κατάστασις ἦ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τότε τωάδε ἦν. Κακίλλιος Βάσσος ἤππενς συστρατεύσας ³ τῷ Πομπηίῳ καὶ ἀναχωρήσας ἦς Τῦρον, ἐκεῖ ἐν τῷ ἐμπορίῳ τὰς διατριβὰς λαυθάνων ἐποιεῖτο. ἦρχε δὲ τῶν Σύρων Σέξτος· τοῦτῳ γὰρ καὶ ταμία καὶ συγγενεῖ αὐτοῦ ὁντι ὁ Καῖσαρ πάντα τὰ τῇ δε κατὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Αὐγούστου ἐπὶ τοῦ
4 Φαρνάκην ἔλασσαν ἐπέτρεψεν. ὁ οὖν Βάσσος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡσυχίαν ἤγεν, ἀγαπῶν ἐὰν τοὺς αὐτοῦ ζῆν ἐάσειν ὁς δὲ τῶν τῇ ὁμοίων τινὲς πρὸς αὐτοῦ

¹ πελίον Reim., πελίον LM.
² Δολοβέλλαν R. Steph., δολαβέλλαν LM (so just below and in chap. 28, 5; elsewhere δολοβέλλαν, etc.).
³ συστρατεύσας Bs., στρατεύσας LM.

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In addition to these activities Brutus stamped upon the coins which were being minted his own likeness and a cap and two daggers, indicating by this and by the inscription that he and Cassius had liberated the fatherland. Meanwhile Cassius crossed over to Trebonius in Asia, forestalling Dolabella, and after securing money from him, attached to himself many of the cavalry, which Dolabella had sent before him into Syria, and also many Asiatics and Cilicians besides. He next brought Tarcondimotus, also, and the people of Tarsus into the alliance, though against their will, for the Tarsians were so devoted to the former Caesar, and out of regard for him to the second also, that they changed the name of their city to Juliopolis after him. After accomplishing this much Cassius went to Syria, and without striking a blow completely won over both the people and the legions.

The situation in Syria at that time was as follows. Caecilius Bassus, a knight, who had made the campaign with Pompey and in the retreat had arrived at Tyre, was secretly spending his time there in the mart. The governor of Syria was Sextus; for since he was not only quaestor but also a relative of Caesar's, Caesar had placed in his charge all the Roman interests in that quarter, having done this on the occasion of his march from Egypt against Pharnaces. So Bassus at first remained quiet, satisfied if only he might be allowed to live; but when some men in like case had associated them-

1 The cap of liberty, given to slaves at the time of their manumission.  
2 Sextus Julius.
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συνελέγησαν, καὶ τῶν τοῦ Σέξτου στρατιωτῶν ἄλλωτε ἄλλους ἐς φυλακὴν τής πόλεως φοιτῶντας ἀνηρτῆσατο, περὶ τε τοῦ Καῖσαρος πολλὰ καὶ
dεινὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἠγγέλλετο, οὐκέτι τοῖς παροῦσιν ἔστερξεν, ἀλλ' ἡ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα τὸν τε Κάτωνα καὶ τοὺς Πομπηίους συναίρομενος, ἢ καὶ ἕαυτῷ δυναστεῖαν τινὰ περιβαλλόμενος, ἐνεόχυρου. φωραθεῖς τούτῳ τοῦ Σέξτου πρὶν παρασκευάσασθαι, ἐφη τε τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ Περγαμηνῷ τὴν ἑπικουρίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσπορον ἀβροῦ.

6 ζευ, καὶ πιστευθεὶς ἀπελύθη. καὶ οὕτω μετὰ ταῦτα γράμματα τινα συνέπλάσεν ὡς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος οἱ πεμφθέντα, καὶ ἔξι αὐτῶν τὸν τε Καίσαρα ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ἤπτησθαι καὶ ἀπολογεῖαι διηγήσεσθαι, καὶ ἕαυτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Συρίας προσ-

7 τετάχθαι ἔλεγε. κὰκ τούτου τῆς τε Τύρουν μετὰ τῶν προπαρασκευασμένων κατέλαβε, καὶ τευκθεὶς πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Σέξτου στρατόπεδα προσχωρῶν περιέπεσεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἠττηθεὶς ἐτρώθη. παθὼν δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἱσχυρὸν οὐκέτι αὐτοῦ ἐπείρασε, τοῖς δὲ ἡ στρατιώταις προσπέμπου τινὰ τρόπον οὕτω τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐσφετερίσατο ὡστε καὶ αὐτοχειρας τοῦ Σέξτου γενέσθαι.

27 Ἀποθανόντος δὲ ἐκείνου τὸ τε στρατευμα πὰν πλὴν ὀλίγου προσηταιρίσατο (τοὺς γὰρ ἐν Ἀπαμείᾳ χειμάζοντας ἐπεδίωξε μὲν ἐς Κιλικίαν προ-

αποχωρήσαντας, οὐ μὴν καὶ προσεποιησατο), καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐπανελθὼν στρατηγὸς τε ὁμομάρθη καὶ τὴν Ἀπαμείαν ἐκρατύνατο, ὡς ὅρμητήριον

2 οἱ τοῦ πολέμου γένηται. τὴν τε ἡλικίαν οὐχ ὅτι τὴν ἐλευθέραν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν δοῦλων κατέλεγε,
selves with him and he had attached to himself various soldiers of Sextus who came there at different times to garrison the city, and when, moreover, many alarming reports kept coming in from Africa about Caesar, he was no longer content with the existing state of affairs, but began to stir up a rebellion, his aim being either to help the followers of Scipio and Cato and the Pompeians or to win for himself some political power. But he was discovered by Sextus before he had finished his preparations, and explained that he was collecting these troops for the use of Mithridates the Pergamenian in an expedition against Bosporus; his story was believed, and he was released. So after this he forged a letter, which he pretended had been sent to him by Scipio, on the basis of which he announced that Caesar had been defeated and had perished in Africa and claimed that the governorship of Syria had been assigned to him. He then seized Tyre with the aid of the forces he had got ready, and from there he advanced against the legions of Sextus, but was defeated and wounded while attacking him. After this experience, he did not again make an attempt by force upon Sextus, but sent messages to his soldiers, and in some way or other won some of them to himself to such an extent that they murdered Sextus with their own hands.

When Sextus was dead, Bassus gained possession of all his army except a few; for the soldiers who had been wintering in Apamea withdrew into Cilicia before his arrival, and although he pursued them, he did not win them over. Returning then to Syria, he took the title of praetor and fortified Apamea, so as to have it as a base for the war. And he proceeded to enlist the men of military age, not only freemen
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καὶ χρήματα ἦθροιζε καὶ ὅπλα κατεσκευάζετο. πράσσοντα δὲ αυτὸν ταῦτα Γάιός τις Ἀντίστιος ἐς πολιορκίαν κατέκλεισε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀγχώμαλα ἀγωνιζόμενοι, καὶ μηδετεροὶ ἱσχυρὸν τι παραλαβεῖν δυνάμευν, ἀσπόνδῳ διοκοχῆ πρὸς 3 συμμάχον ἐπαγωγὴν διελύθησαν. καὶ Ἀντιστίῳ μὲν έκ τε τῶν περιχώρων οἱ τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονοῦντες καὶ έκ τῆς Ὁρώμης στρατιώταίν ὑπ' αυτοῦ πεμφθέντες προσεγένοντο, τῷ δὲ δὴ Βάσσῳ ὁ Ἀλχανδόνιος ὁ Ἀράβιος: οὕτος γὰρ τῷ τε Λουκούλλῳ πρότερον, ὦσπερ εἰρητά μοι, ὡμολογήσας, καὶ τοῖς Πάρθοις μετὰ τοῦτο κατὰ τοῦ 4 Κράσσον συναρίμενος, τότε παρεκλήθη μὲν ὑπ' ἀμφότερων, ἐλθὼν δὲ τοῦ μέσον τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων, πρὶν τι ἀποκρίνασθαί σφίσι, τῇ τε συμμαχίαν ἀπεκήρυξε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ο Βάσσος ὑπερέβαλε τοῖς χρήμασιν, ἐπεκούρησε τε αυτῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πολὺ τοῖς τοξεύμασιν ἐπε- 5 κράτησεν. οἱ δὲ δὴ Πάρθοι ἦλθον μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ Βάσσῳ ἐπίκλητοι, οὐ μεντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν χειμώνα συνεγένοντο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ ἔπραξάν τι ἀξιόλογον. καὶ ο μὲν δυνηθείς τινα χρόνον, ἐπειτα ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαρκίου 1 Κρίστου καὶ ὑπὸ Δουκίου Σταίου 2 Μοῦρκου αὖθις κατ- είρχθη.

28 Τοιούτων δὲ δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτοῖς οὖν, ο Κάσσιος ἐπελθὼν ταῖς τε πόλεις πάσαις εὐθὺς πρὸς τῇ τὴν δόξαν δὲν ἐν τῇ ταμείᾳ ἐπεποίηκει καὶ πρὸς τὴν λοιπὴν εὐκλειαν ὑκειώσατο, καὶ τὰ

1 Μαρκίου Reim., μάρκου LM.
2 Σταίου Bs., σταίου LM (and so in the following chapters except 33, where they read σταίου).

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

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

1 Cf. xxxvi. 2, 5.  2 Q. Marcius Crispus.
στρατόπεδα τά τε τοῦ Βάσσου καὶ τὰ τῶν ἑτέρων

2 οὐδὲν ἐπιπονήσας προσέθετο. καὶ αὐτῷ καθ’ ἐν μετὰ πάντων αὐτῶν αὐλιξομένῳ ύδωρ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρ- ρανοῦ αἰφνίδιον πολὺ ἐπεγένετο, καὶ τούτῳ σύς ἀγριοὶ ἐσ τὸ στρατόπεδον κατὰ πάσας ἀμα τὰς πύλας ἐσπεσόντες πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ὄντα συνέ- χεαν καὶ συνετάραξαν, ὡστε τινὰς ἐκ τούτων τὴν τε ἱσχὺν αὐτοῦ τὴν αὐτίκα καὶ τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα

3 καταστροφὴν τεκμήριασθαι. παραλαβὼν οὖν τὴν Ἑυρίαν ἐς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὀρμήσε, πυθόμενος τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Λιγύτῳ ύπὸ τοῦ Καί- σαρος καταλειφθέντας προσέλαν, καὶ ἐκεῖνος τε

4 ἀκούσα καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους παρεστήσατο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τοῦ μὲν Βάσσου καὶ τοῦ Κρίστου, τοὺς τε ἅλλους τοὺς οὐκ θελήσαντάς οἱ συστρα- τεύεις, ἀπέπεμψε μηδὲν ἀδικήσας, τῷ δὲ δὴ Σταῦφ τὸ τε ἄξιωμα μεθ’ οὐ ἀφικτὸ ἐτήρησε, καὶ προσέτε καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐπέτρεψεν.

5 Ὁὔτω μὲν καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος ἵσχυρὸς διὰ ταχέων ἐγένετο, καὶ τῷ τε Καίσαρι περὶ τῶν συναλλαγῶν καὶ τῇ γερονυόνα περὶ τῶν παρόντων ὁμοία τῷ Βροῦτῳ ἐπέστειλε. καὶ αὐτῷ διὰ ταῦτα ἡ Βουλὴ τὴν τε ἄρχην τῆς Ἑυρίας ἐβεβαιώσε καὶ τὸν τοῦ

29 Δολοβέλλου πόλεμον ἐψηφίσατο. οὔτως γὰρ ἐτέτακτο μὲν τῆς Ἑυρίας ἀρχεῖν καὶ τὴν ἔξοδον ύπατεύων ἐπετοίητο,1 χρόνιος δὲ διὰ τῇ Μακε- δονίας καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἑράκης ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸ ἔθνος

2 κομισθεὶς καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐνδιέτριψεν. ἐπειδὴ τε ἐνταῦθα ἑτὶ ὄντι αὐτῷ τὸ δόγμα ἡγγέλθη, πρὸς μὲν τὴν Ἑυρίαν οὐ προεχόρησεν, αὐτῶν δὲ δὴ καταμένας τοῦ Τρεβώνιον οὔτω μετεχερίσατο ὡστε δόξαν οἱ

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

Thus Cassius quickly became strong; and he sent a despatch to Caesar about reconciliation, and to the senate about the situation, composed in similar language to that of Brutus. Therefore the senate confirmed him in the governorship of Syria and voted for the war with Dolabella. Dolabella, it will be recalled, had been appointed to govern Syria and had set out while consul, but travelling by way of Macedonia and Thrace, had been late in arriving in the province of Asia, and he had delayed there also. He was still there when he received news of the decree, and so did not go on into Syria, but remained where he was; and he treated Trebonius in such a manner as to inspire
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ευνοίας πλείστην παρασχεῖν, καὶ τὴν τε τροφὴν τοῖς στρατιώταις παρ᾽ ἐκόντος αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν καὶ
3 τὴν δίαταν ἀδείως σὺν αὐτῷ ποιεῖσθαι. ἔπειδὴ τε ἐν τῷ θαρσοῦντι διὰ ταῦτ᾽ ἐγένετο καὶ φυλακὴν ὦυδεμίαν ἐαυτοῦ ἐποιεῖτο, τὴν τε Σμύρναν, ἐν ἡ ἦσαν, νυκτὸς ἑξαιπιναίως κατέλαβε, καὶ ἔκεισθιν ὑποκτείνας τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Καί-
σαρος εἰκόνα ἔρριψε, κακὸ τούτο πᾶσαν τὴν
4 Ἀσίαν κατέσχε. πυθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ Ῥωμαίοι πόλεμον αὐτῶν ἐπίθρηγελαν ὄυδέπω γὰρ ὁ Κάισαρ οὔτε τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἑνεικήκει οὔτε τα ἐν τῷ ἀστεὶ διὰ χειρὸς ἐπεποίητο. καὶ τοῖς τε συνούσιν οἱ ρήτην ἤμεραν ἐς ἐκλευσθὲν τῆς φιλίας αὐτοῦ προεῖπον, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἔκεισθιν ἐν ἔχθρων
5 μοίρα γένωνται, καὶ τὴν ἀντίταξιν τὸν τοὺς πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸ μὲν σύμπαν τοὺς ὑπάτοις προσ-
ἐταξαν, ἐπειδὰν τὰ παρόντα κατορθώσωσι, ποιή-
σασθαι (τὸν γὰρ Κάσσιον οὐδέπω τὴν Συρίαν ἐχοῦτα ἤδεσαν), ἴνα δὲ μὴ ἐπὶ μείζον ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ αὐξηθῇ, τοῖς τῶν προσόρων ἐθνῶν ἀρχουσιν
6 ἀνεχείρισαν· καὶ μετὰ τούτοι μαθόντες τὰ κατὰ τὸν Κάσσιον, πρὶν καὶ ὁτιοῦ ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνων πρα-
χῆναι, ταῦθ᾽ ἀπερ ἔπον ἐψηφίσαντο.
30 ὁ δὲ οὖν Δολοβέλλας ἐγκρατῆς οὔτω τῆς Ἀσίας
gενόμενος ἐς τὴν Κιλκίαν ἤλθε, τοῦ Κασσίου ἐν
tῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ὄντος, καὶ τοὺς Ταρσεῖας ἐκουσίους
προσλαβὼν φρουροὺς τινας αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἀιγέαις ὤν·
2 τας ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐνέβαλε. καὶ τῆς
μὲν Ἀντιοχείας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμφρουροῦντων αὐτῆς
ἀπεκρούσθη, τὴν δὲ δὴ Λαδίκειαν ἀμαχεῖ διὰ τὴν
φιλίαν αὐτῶν, ἴνα πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν πρότερον

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in him a firm belief in his friendly disposition toward him, and thus to secure from him, with his full consent, food for his soldiers and the privilege of living with him in security. And when Trebonius became in this way imbued with confidence and ceased to be on his guard, Dolabella one night suddenly seized Smyrna, where they were staying, slew him, and hurled his head at Caesar's statue; and after that he occupied all Asia. When the Romans at home heard of this, they declared war upon him; for as yet Caesar had neither conquered Antony nor got the affairs of the city under his control. They also set a definite day before which Dolabella's followers must leave off friendship with him if they also were not to be regarded in the light of enemies. And they instructed the consuls to take complete charge of the measures against him and of the war, as soon as they should have brought their present business to a successful conclusion (for they did not yet know that Cassius held Syria); however, in order that he should not become more powerful in the meantime, they gave the governors of the neighbouring provinces charge of the matter. When they subsequently learned the truth about Cassius, they passed the decree mentioned above before anything had been done by the provincial governors.

Dolabella, accordingly, after becoming in this way master of Asia, came into Cilicia while Cassius was in Palestine, took over the people of Tarsus with their consent, conquered a few of Cassius' guards who were at Aegae, and invaded Syria. From Antioch he was repulsed by the garrison of the place, but he gained Laodicea without a struggle on account of the friendship which its inhabitants felt for the former
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εἰχον, προσεποιήσατο. κάκ τούτων ἡμέρας τινὰς ἵσχύσας (τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐτῷ διὰ ταχέων ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπῆλθε) διέβαλεν ὦ 'Αραδόν, ὅπως καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων καὶ χρήματα καὶ ναὸς λάβῃ· κανταῦθα ἀποληφθεῖς μετ' ὀλίγων ἐκινδύνευσε. διαφυγὼν δ' ὅν ἀπήντησε τε τῷ Κασσίῳ προσελαύνοντι, καὶ συμβαλῶν αὐτῷ ἤπτηθη. κατακλεισθεὶς τε ἐς τὴν Δαοδίκειαν ἐπορθεῖτο, τῆς μὲν ἦπείρου παντελῶς εἰργόμενος (ἀλλοι τε γὰρ τῷ Κασσίῳ καὶ Πάρθοι τινὲς ἐβοήθησαν), ταῖς δὲ δὴ ναυσί ταῖς τε Ἀσιαναῖς καὶ ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις, ἃς ἡ Κλεοπάτρα αὐτῷ ἐπεμψε, καὶ προσέτε καὶ τοῖς χρήμασι τοῖς παρ' αὐτῆς ἐλθοῦσιν ἵσχύων, μέχρις οὐ δ' ὁ Στάιος τό τε ναυτικῶν συνεκρότησε, καὶ ἐς τὸν τῶν Δαοδίκεων λιμένα ἐσπλεύσας τοὺς τε ἀνταναχθέντας ἐκράτησε καὶ ἀπέκλεισεν οἱ καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. τότε γὰρ ἀμφοτέρωθεν τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων εἰρχθεὶς ἐπεκδρομῆν μὲν σταίει τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐποιήσατο, καταραχθεὶς δὲ διὰ ταχέων ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ προδιδόμενον αὐτῷ ἰδών, ἐφοβήθη μὴ ζων ἅλοιη καὶ ἐαυτὸν κατεχρήσατο. ὅπερ πον καὶ Μάρκος Ὀκτάυιον ὑποστράτηγος αὐτοῦ ἐπράξε. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταφῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κασσίου, καὶ παρὰ τὸν Τρεβώνιον ἄταφον ρήψαντες, ἥξιώθησαν· οἱ τε συνοπτατεύσαντες σφίσι καὶ περιγενόμενοι καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ ἀδείας, καὶ τοιοῦ τολέμου ὑπὸ τῶν 7 οἰκοὶ Ὀρμαίων νομισθέντες, ἐτυχον. οὐ μὲντοι οὔδ' οἱ Δαοδικείς κακῶν τι πλὴν συντελείας χρημάτων ἐπαθον. ἀλλ' οὔδ' ἀλλος οὐδείς, συχνῶν

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

31 'Εν ὧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, οἱ Ταρσεῖς Τίλλιον Κλῖμβρον φονέα τε τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄντα καὶ τότε Βιθυνῶν ἀρχοντα πρὸς τῇ τοῦ Κασσίου ἐπικομίαν ἐπειγόμενον ἐπεχείρησαν τῶν τοῦ Ταῦρον διόδων εἰρῄσκειν, προεκλπόντες δὲ ἕν αὐτὰς ὑπὸ δέους παραχρῆμα μὲν ἐσπείραν αὐτῷ, νομίζοντες ἵσχυρὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατανοήσαντες οὔτε τῇ πόλει αὐτῶν ἐδέξαντο οὔτε τὰ ἐπιτίθεντα οἱ παρέσχον.

3 τοῦ Κασσίου πρασσοντα ποιησάμενοι. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ἑκεῖνοι πρότερον μὲν, ὡς ἐτὶ ὁ Δολοβέλλας ἔζη, Δούκιον Ῥούφον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψεν, ὡστέρον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἠλθεί, καὶ (ἢ) ἡ γὰρ ἀμαχεῖ τῷ Ῥοῦφῳ προσεκεχωρήκεσαν) ἄλλο μὲν σφαῖρα ὡς ἄκους εἰργάσατο, τὰ δὲ χρήματα τὰ ἕδια καὶ τὰ δημόσια πάντα ἅφειλτο. κακὸς τοῦτον Ταρσεῖς ἑπάνως τε παρὰ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν (ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ τὰ πράγματα ἦδη τὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ εἶχον) καὶ ἔπειδα ἀντιλήψασθαι τι ἀντί τῶν ἀπολογολότων ἔλαβον. ἦ τε Κλεοπάτρα διὰ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἦν τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ ἐπεμψεν, εὐρετὸ τὸν ὑψὸν, ὅν Πτολεμαῖον μὲν ὀνόμαζε, ἐπιλᾶττετο

1 δὲ v. Herw., τε Λ.Μ. 2 πάντα Μ, πάντας Λ. 3 εὐρετὸ Μ, εὐρετὸ τε Λ.
although many of them subsequently plotted against Cassius.

While this was going on the people of Tarsus had attempted to keep from the pass through the Taurus Tillius Cimber, an assassin of Caesar, who was then governor of Bithynia and was hurrying forward to help Cassius. Out of fear, however, they abandoned the place and at the time made a truce with him, because they thought him strong; but afterwards, when they perceived the small number of his troops, they neither received him into their city nor furnished him with provisions. And when he had constructed a fort against them and had set out for Syria, believing it to be of more importance to aid Cassius than to destroy their city himself, they made an attack upon this fort and got possession of it, and then set out for Adana, a place on their borders always at variance with them, giving as an excuse that it was supporting the cause of Cassius. Now when Cassius heard of this, he at first, while Dolabella was still alive, sent Lucius Rufus against them, but later came himself; and finding that they had already surrendered to Rufus without a struggle, he inflicted no severe penalty upon them, except to take away all their money, private and public. As a result, the people of Tarsus received praise from the triumvirs (for they were already holding sway in Rome), and were inspired with hope of obtaining some return for their losses. Cleopatra also, on account of the aid she had sent to Dolabella, was granted the right to have her son called king of Egypt; this son, whom she named Ptolemy,
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dè èk toû Kaisaros tetokeînai kai katà toûto
Kaisarîona prosygoróve, basileía tîs Aigíuptou
klíthnai.

32 Kássios dè èpeidh tâ te èn tî Suryâ kai tâ èn
tî Kilkia katesthrasato, ès tîn 'Asgían prôs toû
Brouîton afiketo. òws gar tîn te synswmosiâan
tôn triw ánndwv èmâthoû kai tà prattômena ùp'
aútôn kató sôvon ësthouto, swnëhôn te èkeî kai
2 tâ prágymata èti kai mállon èkoinôsanvto. tîn te
gar aitîan tîn toû polêmou tîn aútôn èxontes
kai tôn kîndunon tôn aútôn prôsdechômenoi, tîn te
ûpèr tîs tûv ðîmou èleuthêrias gnômîn mède tîtô
èxistâmenvoi, kai èkeîvous âte kai treîs òntas kai
toiâvta drôntas prôskatalûsai ëliçêmenvoi,
pollò prôsthymôteron kouînî pánta kai èboulev-
3 oînto kai èptoiouv. kai to môv swmpav ègnwsov
ès te tîn Makedôiniân èltheîn kai peraiowhînai
aútovws èkeîse kowldwsai, õi kai ès tîn 'Italiân
prodiabînai. èptei de tâ te èn tî 'Rômhe kathî-
stasathâi èt' ëlégonu, kai prôs toûn Sèxtou ète
kai èghûvhen èfheðreûnta vàf sîch sv anaxoûn èxeiv
4 èvnomîzownto, ouk èúthvs taînt' èptoiouv, allâ aútov
te periôntes kai ètèrous diapémpontes toûs te
mêdêp toû òmôfroûiônvtas vàf sîch prósektoûnto kai
chrîmata kai stratìwta và throujv.

33 Kai aútovs oî mèn álloî taînto pántes, kai oî
prôsthèn periôrômenvoi, paraxhêma òmôloðghsan,
o'de dh 'Ariobazânhs oû te 'Ródoi kai oî Lûkioû
állovs mèn ouk ànthîstastu, ou màntov kai sôm-
2 makhûsai ëðelov. ùppoteûsanvtes oûn aútovs tâ
tôn èwntîwv, èpeidh eû ùpò toû Kaisaros toû

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she pretended was her son by Caesar, and she was therefore wont to call him Caesarion.

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

Nearly all the other peoples in that region, even those who had before been waiting for the turn of events, at once came to terms; but Ariobarzanes, the Rhodians, and the Lycians, while not opposing them, were yet unwilling to form an alliance with them. Brutus and Cassius therefore suspected them of favouring their enemies, since they had been well treated by
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προτέρου ἐπεπόνθεσαν, φρονεῖν, καὶ φοβηθέντες μὴ καὶ 1 αυτὸ τε ἄπελθόντων σφῶν ταράξωσι τι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συναποστήσωσι, γνώμην ἐποίησαντο ἐπ' ἐκείνους πρῶτον τραπέζῃ, ἐλπίσαντες σφας, ἀτε καὶ τοὺς ὄπλους πολὺ αὐτῶν ὑπερέχοντες καὶ ταῖς εὐρεγεσίαις ἀφθόνως χρώμενοι, 3 διὰ βραχέος πεῖσειν ἡ καὶ βιάσεσθαι.2 καὶ Κάσσιος μὲν Ἄρδιους, καίτοι τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ φρονοῦντας ὡστε εἰς τε 3 τὴν ἥπειρον ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν προδιαπλεῦσαι καὶ τὰς πέδας ἃς ἐκόμιζον ὡς καὶ ζώντας πολλοὺς αἱρήσαντες ἐπιδεικνύοντας σφίσι, ναυμαχία πρότερον μὲν περὶ Μύδουν, ἔπειτα δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴ τῇ Ῥόδῳ διὰ τοῦ Ἐσταίου, τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν νεῶν τὴν ἐμπειριάν 4 σφῶν κρατήσας, ἐνίκησε· καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν νῆσον περαιωθεὶς ἄλλο μὲν κακῶν οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἔδρασεν (οὔτε γὰρ ἀντέστησαν οἱ, καὶ εὐνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς διατριβῆς ἢν ἐκεί κατὰ παρεδέα ἐπεποίητο εἰχε), τὰς δὲ δὴ ναῦς καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰ ὁσία καὶ τὰ ιερά, πλὴν τοῦ ἄρματος τοῦ Ἡλίου, παρεστάσατο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ Ἀριοβαρζάνην συνανθέων ἀπέκτεινε.

34 Βροῦτος δὲ τὸ τε κοινὸν τῶν Λυκίων στράτευμα ἀπαντήσαν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ μεθόρια μάχη τε ἐκράτησε καὶ συγκαταφυγόν ἐς τὸ ἔρμα αὐτοβοεῖ εἰλε, καὶ τῶν πόλεων τὰς μὲν πλείους ἀμαχεὶ προσηγάγετο, Ξάνθων δὲ ἐς πολιορκίαν κατε- 2 κλείσε. καὶ αὐτῶν ἑξαίφυς ἐκδραμόντων καὶ πῦρ ἐς τὰς μηχανὰς ἐμβαλόντων, τὰ τε τοξεύματα

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

As for Brutus, he overcame in battle the combined army of the Lycians which met him near the border, and when it fled in a body into the camp, captured it without a blow; he won over the majority of the cities without a struggle, but Xanthus he besieged. Suddenly the inhabitants made a sortie, hurling fire upon his machines, and at the same time shooting
καὶ ἄκοντια ἅμα ἄφέντων, ἡς πᾶν κινδύνου ἀφίκετο. καὶ πασσοῦδι ἀπόλετο, εἰ μὴ δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πυρὸς ὀψάμενοι οἱ στρατιῶται προσέμιζαν αὐτοῖς ἀπροσδόκητοι γυμνητεύουσιν, καὶ ἐκεῖνοις τε ἐς τὸ τείχος κατήραξαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ συνεστεσόντες σφίσι τοῦ το τυρός ἐς οἰκίαις τινάς ἐνέβαλον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀρῶτας τὸ γυγνόμενον προκατέπληξαν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπωθεὶν ὅσι δόξας ὡς καὶ πάντα ἄρδην ἡρηκότες παρέσχουν ἵκ γὰρ τοῦτον καὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τὰ λουτὰ ἐθελονταί συγκατέπρησαν καὶ ἄλληλος οἱ πλείους ἀνεχρήσαντο. μετὰ δὲ τούτο πρὸς τὰ Πάταρα ὁ Βροῦτος ἦλθε, καὶ προεκαλέσατο μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐς φιλίαν, ὡς δ' οὐχ ὑπέκουσαν (οἳ τε γὰρ δούλοι καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων οἱ πένητες, οἱ μὲν ἐλευθερίας οἱ δὲ χρεῶν ἀποκοπῆς προτετυχηκότες, ἐκώλυν σφας συμβήναι), τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῶν Ξανθίων (καὶ γὰρ ἐν γένει αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐπιγαμίαν τολλοῖ ἦσαν) ἐπεμψε σφισιν, ἐλπίδα ἔχων δ' ἐκείνων αὐτοὺς προσ-

5 ἄξεσθαι. ἐπει δ' οὔδεν μᾶλλον ἐνέδοσαν καίπερ προίκα αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἀναγκαίους ἐκάστῳ διδόντος, πρατήριων τι ὑπ' αὐτὸ τὸ τείχος ἐν ἀσφαλεί κατεστήσατο, καὶ παράγων ἕνα ἐκαστὸν τῶν πρῶτων ἀπεκήρυτεν, εἰ πως διὰ γε τοῦτον τοὺς Παταρέας ὑπαγάγοιτο. ὡς δ' οὔδε τότε αὐτῷ προσεχώρησαν, ὅλγους ἀποδόμενος τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀφῆκεν. ἐδόντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ ἐνδόν σκότε ἀντήραν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ ἀρετὴν ἔχοντι προσέθεντο, μηδὲν ἔξω τῶν χρημάτων ζημιωθέντες. καὶ τοῦτο

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

35 ἦπειροι πράξαντες, ἐς τῇ τῆν 
Ἀσίαν αὐθὶς ἤλθον, καὶ πάνθε' ὅσα ἐκ διαβολῶν, 
οία ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις φιλεὶ συμβαίνειν, ὑποπτα 
πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἶχον, ἐς τῇ τὸ μέσον καὶ κατὰ 
μόνας προενεγκόντες καὶ διαλυσάμενοι ἐς τῆν

2 Μακεδονίαν ἰηπείγοντο. καὶ αὐτοὺς Γάιὸς τὸ 
Νωρβανὸς καὶ Δεκίδιος Σάξας ἐφθησαν τῶν τῇ 
Ἰόνιον, πρὶν τὸν Σταῖον ἐλθείν, περαιωθέντες, καὶ 
πάσαν τὴν μέχρι τοῦ Παγγαίου γῆν προκατα-

3 σχόντες, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς Φιλίπποισ στρατοπε-

δευσάμενοι. τὸ δὲ δὴ ἄστυ τοῦτο παρὰ τῇ τῷ 
Παγγαίῳ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Συμβόλῳ κεῖται. Σύμ-


βολὸν γὰρ τὸ χωρίον ὄνομαζοσι καθ' ὃ τὸ ὄρος 
ἐκεῖνο ἐτέρῳ τινὶ ἐς μεσόγειαν ἀνατείνοντι συμ-
bάλλει, καὶ ἐστὶ μεταξὺ Νέας πόλεως καὶ τῶν 
Φιλίππων ἡ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ κατ' 
ἀντιπέρας Θάσου ἴν, ἡ δὲ ἐντὸς τῶν ὀρῶν ἐπὶ τῷ 

4 πεδίῳ πεπόλυσται. καὶ ἔτυχον γὰρ τῇν συντομω-

τάτῃν αὐτοῦ ὑπερβολῆν ὃ τοῦ Σάξας καὶ ὁ Νωρ-


βανὸς προκαταλαβόντες, ταύτῃ μὲν ὁ Βρούτος ὃ 
τοῦ Κάσσιος όυδὲ ἐπείρασαν διαβῆναι, ἐτέραν δὲ 
τινα μακροτέραν κατὰ τὰς Κρηνίδας ἀνομασμένας 
περιελθόντες φυλακὴ μὲν καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐνέτυχον,

5 βιωσάμενοι δὲ αὐτὴν εἰσὶν τῇ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐγένοντο, 
καὶ πρὸς τῇν πόλιν κατὰ τὰ μετέωρα ἐπιπαρελ-

θόντες ἐνταῦθα χωρίς ἐκάτερος, ὡς γε τῷ λόγῳ 
eπείν, ἑστρατοπεδεύσαντο. 2 τῷ γὰρ ἔργῳ καθ'

1 Δεκίδιος Η. Steph., δεκίλιος Λ.Μ.
2 ἑστρατοπεδεύσαντο Λ, ἑστρατοπεδεύσατο Μ.

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

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

¹ i.e. "The Springs," an early name for Philippi.
6 ἐν ἡμῖνσαντο. τὰ μὲν γὰρ στρατόπεδα, ὡς καὶ ἐντακτότεροι οἱ στρατιώται καὶ ῥάονς ἄρχειν ὅσι, διχῇ κατέστη, παντὸς δὲ δὴ καὶ τοῦ διὰ μέσον αὐτῶν καὶ τάφρον καὶ σταυρώματι περιληφθέντος εἰς τὸ πᾶς περίβολος ἀμφιτέρων ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐν κοινῷ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀσφάλειαν εἶχον.
36 Ἡσαυ δὲ πολὺ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἐναιτίῶν τῶν τότε παρόντων καθυπέρτεροι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ τὸ Σύμβολον ἐκκρουόσαντες αὐτοὺς κατέλαβον, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεία ταῦτα τῇ ἐλάττονος ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπήγγυτο καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου κατα-
2 θέοντες ἐλάμβανον. ὁ γὰρ Νωρβανὸς ὁ τὸ Σάξας παντοκρατιὰ μὲν οὐδὲ ἐτόλμησαν αὐτοῖς προσ-
µίξαι, ἐκπέμπτοντες δ' ἵππες ἐκδρόμους ὅπῃ παρείκοι, οὐδὲν ἐπέραινον, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ τε διὰ φυλακῆς μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ κινδύνων τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐποιεύτο, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν ἦν τοὺς Ἀντώνιον
3 σπουδὴ μετεπέμπτοντο. οὗτοι γὰρ τέως μὲν περί τε τοὺς Ῥοδίους καὶ περὶ τοὺς Λυκίους τὸν τὸν Κάσσιον καὶ τὸν Βρούτουν ἀσχόλους ὄντας ἐπιθαν-
νυντο, ἐπὶ πλείον τε αὐτοῖς ἐδοξάσαν σφίσι προσ-
pολεμήσειν καὶ οὐκ ἡπείχθησαν ἀλλὰ τὸν τὸν
Σάξαν καὶ τὸν Νωρβανὸν ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν
4 προέπεμψαν' αἰσθόμενοι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐαλωκότας, τοῖς μὲν Λυκίοις καὶ τοῖς Ῥοδίοις ἐπαινοὺς τε ἐδοξάσαν καὶ χρήματα χαριεῖσθαι ὑπέσχοντο, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῆς πόλεως εὔθυς ἐξώρμησαν, ἐγχρον-
ίσαντες δὲ Ἀντώνιος μὲν περὶ Βρεντέσιον (ὑπὸ
γὰρ τοῦ Ἡγίαν καθείργετο) Καίσαρ δὲ περὶ
Ῥήγιον (πρὸς γὰρ τὸν Σέξτον τὴν τὴν Σικελίαν

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

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

37 Ὡς θ' οὖν οὕτως τε οὐ καθαίρετος ἐδοξεῖν εἰναι σφισί, καὶ τα τοῦ Κασσίου τοῦ τε Βροῦτου μᾶλ-λον αὐτούς ἥπειξε, μέρος μὲν τι τοῦ στρατοῦ πρὸς φρονμὰν τῆς Ἰταλίας κατέλιπτον, τῷ δὲ δὴ πλείονι
2 τοῦ Ἰόνιου ἄσφαλῶς ἐπεραιωθήσαν. καὶ Καῖσαρ μὲν ἐν Ἰουραχίῳ νοσήσας ὑπελείφθη, Ἀντώνιος δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Φιλίππους ἠλάσε, καὶ παραντίκα μὲν ρώμην τινὰ τοῖς σφετέροις παρέσχεν, ἐνεδρεύ-σας δὲ τινὰς τῶν ἐναντίων στιγμωγούντας καὶ
3 σφαλεῖς οὐκέτη' οὖδ' αὐτῶς ἔθαρσε. ο γὰρ Καϊ-σαρ πυθόμενος τοῦτο καὶ δείσας ἐκάτερον, εἰτε τι ἐλαπτωθείη κατὰ μόνας συμβαλλὼν εἰτε καὶ κρα-τήσειν (ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ τοῦ τε Βροῦτον καὶ τοῦ Κασσίου, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τῶν Ἀντώνιου πάντως ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν ἑλπίζειν ἐνόμισεν), ἤπείχθη καίπερ καὶ
4 τότε ἔτη ἀρρωστῶν. καὶ τοῦτο ἀνεθάρσησαν μὲν οὶ περὶ τῶν Ἀντώνιον ἔπει δ' οὐκ ἄσφαλες ἐφαίνετο τὸ μὴ οὐχ ἄμα πάντας αὐτοὺς αὐλίξε-σθαι, ἐς τε χωρίον ἐν καὶ ἐς ἔρυμα ἐν τὰ τρία
5 στρατεύματα συνῆγαγον. ἀντικαθημένων δὲ αὐ-τῶν ἀλλήλως ἐκδρομαὶ μὲν καὶ ἀντεπέξοδοι παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ὡς ἔτυχεν ἐγίγνοντο, μάχη δὲ ἐκ παρα-τάξεως ὀυδεμία χρόνον τινὰ συνηνέχθη, καίτοι καὶ τοῦ Καῖσαρος καὶ τοῦ Ἀντώνιου πάνω συμ-
6 βαλεῖν σπουδάζοντων ταῖς τε γὰρ δυνάμει τι μᾶλ-λον τῶν ἐναντίων ἔρρωντο, καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων
1 Heller regards the words τὴν τε Σικελίαν... πειρώντα as an interpolation. They recur in chap. 38, 1, and can hardly be genuine in both instances.
2 οὖ καθαίρετος Dind., οὐκ αὐθαίρετος LM.
3 αὐτὸς M, αὐτοὺς L. 4 ἔτι M, om. L.
Sextus, who held Sicily and was making an attempt on Italy.

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

38 Ὅτι, μὲν οὖν δὴ διὰ τε ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τοῦ Σέξτου τὴν τε Σικελίαν ἔχοντα καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πειρόντα, μὴ καὶ ἡρωισμῶν αὐτῶν τὴν τε Ἰταλίαν καταλάβῃ καὶ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἔλθῃ,

2 ὄργων. ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάσσιος ὁ τε Βροῦτος ἄλλως μὲν οὖν ὀκνοῦν τὴν μάχην (ὅσον γὰρ τῇ ῥώμῃ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἠλαττοῦντο, τοσοῦτον τῷ πλήθει ἐπλεονέκτουν), ἐκλογιζόμενοι δὲ τάτα ἐκείνων καὶ τὰ σφέτερα (σύμμαχοι τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς καθ' ἐκάστῳν

3 ἥμεραν προσεγίγνοντο, καὶ τὴν τροφὴν ἀφθονον ὑπὸ τῶν νεὼν εἶχον) ἀνεβάλλοντο, εἰ πως ἄνευ κινδύνου καὶ φθόρου τινῶν ἐπικρατήσειαν ἄτε γὰρ δημεράσται τε ἀκριβῶς ὄντες καὶ πρὸς πολιτείας ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἐκείνων τε οὐδὲν ἤττον ἢ τῶν συνόντων σφίσι διεσκόπουν, καὶ ἐπεθύμουν ἐκατέρους ὀμοίως καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ τὴν ἐλευ-

4 θερίαν παρασχεῖν. χρόνον μὲν οὖν τινα διὰ ταῦτα ἀνέσχον, οὐκ ἔθελοντες σφισίν εἰς χειρας ἐλθεῖν· ὥς μὲντοι τὰ στρατεύματα, ἀτε ἐκ τοῦ ὑπηκοόν τοῦ πλείστου ὄντα, τῇ τε τριβή Βαρυνόμενα καὶ τῶν ἀντιπολεμοῦντων καταφρονήσαντα, ὅτι τὸ καθάρσιον τὸ πρὸ τῶν ἀγώνων γιγνόμενον ἐντὸς τοῦ

5 ἐρύματος ἡς καὶ δεδιώτες ἐποιήσαντο, ἐς τε τὴν μάχην ὀρμήσαν καὶ διελύσαν ὅτι, ἂν ἐπὶ πλείον διατριφθώσι, τὸ τε στρατόπεδον ἐκλείψουσι καὶ διασκεδασθήσονται, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἀκοντες συνε-μίζαν.

39 Μέγιστον δὴ τὸν ἀγώνα τούτον καὶ ὑπὲρ πάν-

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

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BOOK XLVII

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

Hence these men, for the reasons given and because of Sextus, who held Sicily and was making an attempt on Italy,¹ were full of eagerness owing to their fear that while they delayed he might capture Italy and come into Macedonia. As for Cassius and Brutus, they had in general no aversion to a battle, inasmuch as the weakness of their troops was counterbalanced by their superior numbers; but when they reflected upon the situation of their opponents and upon their own and observed that fresh allies were being added to their own numbers every day and that they had abundant food by the aid of their ships, they held off in the hope of gaining their ends without danger and loss of men. For, as they were genuine friends of the people and were contending with citizens, they consulted the interests of the latter no less than those of their own associates, and desired to afford safety and liberty to both alike. For some time, therefore, they waited, for the reasons given, not wishing to come to blows with them. The troops, however, composed mostly of subject nations, were vexed by the delay and despised their antagonists because they had offered inside their camp the sacrifice of purification, which regularly precedes a conflict, and thus showed signs of fear; hence they were eager for the battle and talked to the effect that if there should be more delay, they would abandon the camp and disperse. In these circumstances Brutus and Cassius reluctantly joined battle.

That this struggle proved tremendous and surpassed

¹ See end of chap. 36 and note on Greek text there.
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tas toûs emfuliónous toûs toûs ’Rômâiois gevenótas
ouk àpteikotós án tis sumbíndai nomíseis, oux
ôti kai toûs plèthesin ëi kai taûs ârretais tôn
makhésméewn dihýnegken1 autón (pôllê gar kai
pleîous kai âmeînous sfôn polláchothi ëgwni-
santo), ìllô òti perî te tîs élênwterías kai tîs
dêmokratías tòte ãs oupòpote épolémishan.

2 sunnêpseon ìnve gar kai auðhis allîlous, ònístper
kai próteron: ìllê èkeívous méu tôn ougôna
ûpër tòu tînous èptakoûthos èpòsißantò, tòte ðè
ôi mév ès dynastéiau autóous ògoun, ôi ðè ès autô-
nomían èxhîrountô. òthe ouô anêknûfen ëti2 pròs
ákrîthi parrossían ò dîmosos kaïper ìp' oudevos

3 allotrióu ëttûthiéis (tò gar tòi úppikou tò te
summakhîkôn tò tòte autóus paragénîmenon èn
prostèhikè merèi toû politikou òn), ìllô autós te
èantôn kreîttôn te ìma kai ëttôn gevnîmenos kai
ësfîleuèn èantôn kai èsfálle, kàk toûtò tò te
dêmokratikôn sumparanàlwse kai tò monarakîkon

4 èkratúne. kai ou légh òs ou sunhînegkeu autóis
ëttûthiéis tòte: tì gar ãn tis allò perì autôn
âmforèthven makhesaméewn èînâo òti ’Rômâioi
mév ènukîthèsan, Kàîsar de èkratîshen; òmofrów-
nîshai mév gar èn tò kathêstòti trópo tîs poli-

teîas oukèð' ouî te ënâ: ouî gar èstîn òpòs

dêmokratia àkratos, ès tosoútòn árkhês ògkon
prokhôrîshasa, sôfrîshshai dünnatai polloûs ð'
ân ëti polloûs kai auðhis ëgônas oumîous ânveló-
meuoi péntwos ãn pòte èdoulàðhèsan ò kai èfthá-
rîshen.

1 ðihýnegkev Leuncl., ðihýnegêan LM.
2 ëti M, òti L.

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

2 εμαντεύσατο. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἄστει δὲ ἦλιος τοτε μὲν ἡλιοτούτο καὶ ἐλάχιστος ἐγένετο, τοτε δὲ καὶ μέγας καὶ τριττὸς ἔξεφαίνετο, καὶ ποτὲ καὶ νυκτὸς ἔξελαμψε καὶ κεραυνοὶ ἀλλοσέ τε πολλαχόσε καὶ ἐς τὸν Νικαίον Διὸς βωμὸν ἐφέροντο, λαμπάδες τε ἐνταῦθα κάκεισε ἦπτον, καὶ σαλπίγγων ἤχαι ὅπλων τε κτύποι καὶ στρατοπέδων βοαί νυκτὸς ἐκ τε τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἐκ τῶν-οὖ 'Ἀντωνιοῦ κήπων, ὁμοχώρων ἀλλήλων παρὰ

3 τῷ Τιβέριδι ὄντων, ἢκούοντο. καὶ προσέτι καὶ κύων κυνὸς σώμα πρὸς τὸ Δημήτριον προσελκύσας τὴν τε γῆν τοὺς ποσῶν ὀρνύτε καὶ κατέχωσεν αὐτό. καὶ τι παιδάριον δεκαδακτύλους χεῖρας ἔχον ἐγεννήθη, ἡμίονος τε διφυὲς τέρασ ἐτέκε: τα μὲν γὰρ πρόσθια ἦπτον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἡμίονοι ἔφκει.

4 καὶ ὁ τῆς 'Αθηνᾶς ὁχὸς πρὸς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐξ ἱπποδρομίας τινὸς ἐπανών συνετρίβη, τὸ τε ἀγαλμα τοῦ τοῦ Δίως τὸ ἐν τῷ 'Αλβανῷ ὁν αἰμα παρ’ αὐτὰς τὰς ἀνυχὰς ἐκ τε τοῦ δεξιοῦ ὠμοῦ καὶ

5 ἐκ τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἀνέδωκε. καὶ ταύτα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου σφίσι προεδείχθη, ποταμοὶ τε ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν παντάπασιν ἐξέλιπον οἱ δ’ ἀνάπαλιν ἰεὶν ἤρξαντο· συνεννέχθαι τὸ πως ἐς

1 ἦπτον Odoley, ἦπτον L, ἦπτον M.
2 ἢκούοντο R. Steph., ἢκούετο LM, ἢκουόντο Zon.
3 συνεννέχθαι BK., συνενέχθαι LM.
We may infer also from the portents which appeared to them at that time that it was manifestly a supreme struggle in which they were engaged; for Heaven, even as it is ever accustomed to give warning signs before the most unusual events, foretold to them accurately both in Rome and in Macedonia all the results that would come of it. Thus, in the city the sun at one time would be diminished and grow extremely small, and again would show itself huge and trebled in size, and once it even shone forth at night; thunderbolts descended at many places and in particular upon the altar of Jupiter Victor; meteors darted hither and thither; notes of trumpets, clashing of arms, and shouts of armed hosts were heard by night from the gardens both of Caesar and of Antony, which were close together beside the Tiber. Moreover, a dog dragged the body of another dog to the temple of Ceres, where he dug up the earth with his paws and buried it. A child was born with hands that had ten fingers each, and a mule gave birth to a prodigy of two species, the front part of it resembling a horse and the rest a mule. The chariot of Minerva while returning to the Capitol from the races in the Circus was dashed to pieces, and the statue of Jupiter on the Alban Mount sent forth blood from its right shoulder and right hand at the very time of the Feriae. These were the warnings they had from Heaven; and there were also rivers in their land which gave out entirely or began to flow backward. And on the
Jupiter Latiaris was the protecting deity of Latium, and his festival is practically identical with the Feriae Latinae. Roscher thinks that Dio has here confused the praefectus
part of men, whatever of their doings were directed by chance seemed to point to the same end; thus, during the Feriae the prefect of the city celebrated the festival of Latiaris, which neither belonged to him nor was ordinarily observed at that time, and the plebeian aediles celebrated in honour of Ceres contests in armour in place of the games in the Circus. These were the events occurring in Rome; and certain oracles also both before and after the events were recited which pointed to the downfall of the republic. In Macedonia, of which Mt. Pangaeum and the territory surrounding it are regarded as a part, bees in swarms surrounded the camp of Cassius, and in the course of the purification of the camp some one set the garland upon his head wrong end foremost, and a boy fell down while carrying a Victory in a procession such as the soldiers hold. But the thing which most of all portended the destruction that was to come upon them, so that it became plain even to their enemies, was that many vultures and also many other birds that devour corpses gathered above the heads of the conspirators only and gazed down upon them, screaming and screeching in a horrible and frightful manner.

To that side, then, these signs brought evil, while to the other, so far as we know, no bad omen occurred, but visions appeared to them in their dreams as follows. A Thessalian dreamed that the former Caesar had bidden him tell Caesar that the battle would occur on the second day after that one and to

urbi with a special official (dictator feriarum Latinarum causa) appointed when the consuls were unable to attend. Compare xxxix. 30, 4, where our historian does not commit himself to any definite name for this magistrate.
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μάχη γενήσοιτο, καὶ ἵνα ἀναλάβῃ τι ὅπως ἔφορεί· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν δακτύλιον
ἀυτοῦ τότε τε εὑρήσει περιέθετο καὶ ἐπείτα πολ-
λάκιν ἔφερεν. οὔτος μὲν δὴ τοῦτο εἶδεν, ὁ δὲ
ιατρὸς οὐ συνὼν τῷ Καίσαρι ἐνόμισεν οἱ τὴν 'Αθη-
νᾶν προστάσσειν ἐκ τε τῆς σκηνῆς αὐτοῦ, καίτοι
καὶ τότε ἔτι κακῶς ἄρρωστοῦντα, ἐξαγαγεῖν καὶ
ἐς τὴν παράταξιν καταστῆσαι· ύφ' οὕπερ καὶ
ἐσώθη. ὁ γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν μὲν τῷ στρατο-
πέδῳ τῷ τε ἐρώματι αὐτοῦ μένουσι σωτηρίαν, τοῖς
δὲ δὴ τὰ ὄπλα τάς τε μάχας ἱοῦσι κίνδυνον φέρει,
tοῦτο τότε ἐπὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος διηλλάγη· ἐκ τε
γὰρ τῆς ἐξόδου τῆς ἐκ τοῦ ταφρεύματος καὶ ἐκ τῆς
πρὸς τοὺς μαχομένους ὁμίλιας περιφανεστάτα,
καίπερ χαλεπῶς καὶ ἀνευ τῶν ὀπλῶν ὑπὸ τῆς
ἀσθενείας ἐστῶς, περιεγένετο.

1 Ἐπράχθη δὲ ὅδε. οὐχ ὀμολόγησαν μὲν ὅποτε
τὴν μάχην ποιήσονται, ὡσπερ δὲ ἀπὸ συγκεκριμένου
τινὸς πάντες ἁμα ἐφ' ἐξωτικιστάντε, καὶ ἐς τοῦ
χωρίου τὸ μεταίχμιον σφῶν καθάπερ ἀγωνισταὶ
tines σχολῆ προήλθουν, καῦταβα ἤσυχα παρε-
tάξαντο. ὥς δὲ ἀντικατέστησαν, παραινέσεις,
tοῦτο μὲν ἀθρόοις τοῦτο δὲ καὶ καθ' ἐκάστους,
ἀμφιτέροις ἀπὸ τε τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν
ὕποστρατήγων τῶν θ' ὑπομειῶνων ἐγένοντο, πολλά
μὲν πρὸς τὸ αὐτίκα του κινδύνου ἀναγκαῖα
πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐπείτα ἄρμοζοντα αὐτῶν
λεγόντων, ὅσα ἀν τινες ἐν τε τῷ παραχρῆμα
κινδυνεύσοντες καὶ τῷ μέλλοντι προκάμισοντες

1 LM read μένουσιν in the text, but add σωτηρίαν in the margin.
2 τοῦτο τότε Μ, τοῦ τότε Λ.

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

The contest took place as follows. Although no arrangement had been made as to when they should begin the battle, yet as if by some compact they all armed themselves at dawn, advanced into the space between the two camps leisurely, as though they were competitors in a game, and then quietly drew themselves up in battle order. When they had taken their stand facing each other, exhortations were addressed to each side, partly to the armies collectively and partly to the separate bodies of troops, according as the speakers were the generals or the lieutenants or the lesser officers; and much that was said consisted of the necessary advice called for by the immediate danger and also of sentiments that bore upon the consequences of the battle,—words such as men would speak who were to encounter danger at the moment and were looking forward
3 έποιεν. 1 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὀμοιοτροπώτατα, ἀτε καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἄμφιτερωθεὶν ὀμοιῶς μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων σφῶν ὅντων, ἐρρήθη: διήλαξε δὲ ὦτι οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Βροῦτον τὴν τε ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν τὸ τε ἀτυράννευτον καὶ τὸ ἀδέσποτον τοὺς σφετέρους προεβάλλοντο, καὶ τὰ τε ἐν ἱσονομίᾳ χρηστὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν μοναρχίᾳ ἀτοπα, ὡς ποτὲ αὐτοὶ τε ἐπετόνθεσαν καὶ περὶ ἐτέρων ἡκηκόσαν, προεφερόν, παραδεικνύντες τε καὶ θε ἐν ἐκαστὸν ἐκάτερα καὶ ικετεύοντες 2 σφας τῶν μὲν ὁριγνωσάθαι τὰ δὲ ἐκκλίναι καὶ τῶν μὲν
5 ἔρωτα λαβεῖν τὰ δὲ μὴ παθεῖν φυλάξασθαι, οἱ δὲ ἐτέρωι τῷ σφετέρῳ στρατῷ τοὺς τε σφαγέας τιμωρῆσασθαι καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀντικαθεστῶτων σχεῖν, ἀρξαὶ τε πάντων τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἐπιθυμήσαι, παρῆμον, καὶ ὁ γε μᾶλιστα αὐτοὺς ἑπέρρωσε, καὶ κατὰ πεντακισχιλίας σφίσι δραχμὰς δώσειν ὕπερχοντο.

43 Κακὸς τοῦτον πρῶτον μὲν τὰ συνθῆματα αὐτοῖς διήλθεν (ὅν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον Ἐλευθερία, τοῖς δὲ ἐτέρωις ὁ τι ποτὲ καὶ ἐδόθη), έπειτα σαλπικτής 3 εἴς ἐκατέρωθεν ὑπεσήμηνε, καὶ οὐτω καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐπήχησαν, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ τὸ τε στάσιμον 4 καὶ τὸ παρασκευαστικὸν ἐν τόπῳ τοῖς κυκλοτερεῖ διὰ 5 σαλπίγγων μελωδούντες, έπειτα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τῶν τε θυμὸν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἑπεγείρουντες καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν σύνοδον αὐτοὺς ἐξοτρύνουντες. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο σιωπῆ τε

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

Thereupon watchwords were going around—for the followers of Brutus it was "Liberty" and for the other side whatever the word was which was given out,—and then one trumpeter on each side sounded the first note, after which the rest joined in, first those who sounded the "at rest" and the "ready" signals on their trumpets while standing in a kind of circular space, and then the others who were to rouse the spirit of the soldiers and incite them to the onset. Then there was suddenly a great silence, and after
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εξαπίνης πολλῆ ἐγένετο, καὶ σμικρῶν ἐπισχόντες αὐτοῦ τε διάτορον ἐξεφώνησαν καὶ αἱ τάξεις
3 ἐκατέρωθεν συνεβόησαν. καὶ τοῦτον ἀλαλά-
ξαντες οἱ ὀπλίται τάς τε ἁσπίδας τοὺς δορατίοις
ἐκρουσαν καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους ἐξηκόντισαν,
καὶ οἱ σφενδονηταί οἱ το τοξόται βέλη καὶ λίθους
ήκαν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ τε ἱππικον ἄντεξ-
ήλασαν καὶ τὸ ϑωρακοφόρον συνεπιστόμενον
σφίσιν ἐν χερσὶν ἐγένετο.
44 Καὶ πολλῷ μὲν ὀδισμῷ πολλῷ δὲ καὶ ξιφισμῷ
ἐχρήσαιτο, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα περισσοποιήσατε ὅπως
tε τρώσουσί τινας καὶ ὅπως αὐτοὶ μὴ τροθῶσι
(τοὺς τε γὰρ ἀνθρεστηκότας ἀμὴ ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ
ἐαυτοὺς σώσαι ἐβούλοντο), ἐπείτα δὲ ὡς ἢ τε
ὀρμὴ σφῶν ὁξῆθη καὶ ὁ θυμὸς ἐφλέγημην, ὡμόσε
tee ἁπερισκέπτως χωροῦντες καὶ μιθεμίαν ἐπ
ἀσφαλείαν ξαντῶν ποιούμενοι, ἄλλα ἐπιθυμεῖν τοὺς
ἀντιπάλους ἀπολέσαι καὶ ἑαυτοὺς προϊμεῖνοι.
2 καὶ τινὲς τάς τε ἁσπίδας ἀπερρίπτουν, καὶ ἀντι-
λαββανόμενοι τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων οἱ μὲν ἐκ τε
τῶν κρανῶν αὐτοὺς ἤγχον καὶ κατὰ υότου ἐπαιουν,
oi δὲ τά τε προβλήματα ἀπέστων καὶ ές τά
στήθη ἐτυπτον. ἄλλοι τῶν ξιφῶν αὐτῶν λαμβα-
nόμενοι τά σφέτερα ὡς καὶ ές 1 ἀόπλους σφᾶς
ἐώθουν καὶ ἑτεροι τρωθὴν τε μέρους τῶν σωμα-
tων σφῶν προβάλλοντες ἐτοιμότερον τῷ λοιπῷ
3 ἐχρῶντο. συμπλεκόμενοι τε τὶνες τὸ μὲν παῖειν
ἀλλήλους ἀφηροῦντο, τῇ δὲ δὴ συμμίξει καὶ τῶν
ξιφῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων διώλυντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν
μιᾷ πληγῆ οἱ δὲ καὶ πολλαῖς ἐθνησκοῦν, καὶ οὕτε
tῶν τραυμάτων αἰσθησιν εἶχον, τὸ γὰρ ἀλγὴσον

1 is added by Xyl.

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

For a long time there was pushing of shield against
shield and thrusting with the sword, as they were
at first cautiously looking for a chance to wound
others without being wounded themselves, since they
were as eager to save themselves as to slay their
antagonists; but later, when their ardour increased
and their rage was inflamed, they rushed together
recklessly and paid no more attention to their own
safety, but in their eagerness to destroy their adver-
saries would even throw away their own lives. Some
cast away their shields and seizing hold of the foes
facing them choked them by means of their helmets
while they struck them in the back, or else tore
away their armour and smote them on the breast.
Others seized hold of the swords of their opponents,
who were thus as good as unarmed, and then ran
their own into their bodies; and some exposed a part
of their own bodies to be wounded and thus gained a
freer use of the rest. Some clutched their opponents
in an embrace that prevented either one from striking
and perished through the commingling of their
swords and bodies. Some died of a single blow, others
of many, and they neither were conscious of their
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ο θάνατος προελάμβανεν,1 οὔτε τοῦ ὀλέθρου σφῶν ὀλοφυρμὸν ἐποιοῦντο, ἐς γὰρ τὸ λυπῆσον οὐκ 4 ἐξικνοῦντο. ἄλλος τις ἀποκτείνας τινὰ οὐδ' ἀποθανεῖσθαι ποτὲ ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτικά περιχαρείας ἡλπίζει καὶ ὁ ἀεὶ πίπτων ἔς τε τὸ ἀναίσθητον καθίστατο καὶ σύνεσιν τοῦ πάθους οὐκ ἐλάμβανεν.

45 Ἐμενον δὲ κατὰ χῶραν ἀκριβῶς ἀμφότεροι, καὶ οὔθ' ὑπαγωγαῖς οὔτε διώξειν οὐδέτεροι ἐχρήσαντο, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖ, ὡσπερ εἶχον, ἔτιτρωσκον ἐπιτρώσκοντο, ἐφόνευον ἐφονεύοντο μέχρι πόρρω 2 τῆς ἡμέρας. καὶ εὑγε πάντες πᾶσιν, οἷα ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ συμβαίνει, συνεμείχεσαν, ἡ Βροῦτος μὲν κατὰ 'Αντώνιον Κάσσιος δὲ κατὰ Καίσαρα ἀντετέκτο, ἰσοπαλεῖς ἄν ἐγεγόνεσαν. υὐν δὲ ὁ τε Βροῦτος τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἄρωστίαν ἔξε- βιάζατο, καὶ ὁ 'Αντώνιος τὸν Κάσσιον οὐδὲν 3 οἱ όμοιοι τὰ πολέμια οὔτα ἔξενίκησε. καὶ τότε δὲ τῷ μη πάντας ἀμα τοὺς ἐτέρους,2 ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μέρει ἀμφότερος καὶ ἤττηθήναι καὶ κρατήσαι ταυτῶν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ ἐνίκησαν ἀμφότεροι καὶ ἤττηθήσαν, ἐπειράμας τε τοὺς ἀντιταγμένους σφίσιν ἐκάτεροι καὶ ἔτραπτοντο, καὶ αὐτὸ τοίνυν καὶ αἱ φυγαὶ ἀμφοῖν ὁμοίως συνέβησαν, καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα ἀμφότεροι θευ 4 ἐάλω. τοῦ τε γὰρ πεδίον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ἀτέ καὶ πολλοὶ οὔντες, ἐπέσχον, ὡστε μη καθοράν ἀλλή- λους· καὶ οὔτε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πλὴν τὸ καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἐκαστὸς ἐγνώ, ἐπεὶ τε ἡ τροπὴ ἐγένετο, ἐς τα 5 τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐκάτεροι ἀμεταστρεπτὶ ἐφυγον, καὶ

1 προελάμβανεν Χίρφ., προσελάμβανεν LM. 2 ἐτέρους St., ἔταρυονus LM. 3 ἀμεταστρεπτὶ St., ἀμεταστρεπτεῖ LM.
wounds, since death forestalled their suffering, nor lamented their end, since they never reached the point of grieving. One who killed another thought in the excessive joy of the moment that he could never die; and whoever fell lost consciousness and had no knowledge of his state.

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

46 Τῆς μὲν δὴ οὖν μάχης ἔνεκα καὶ ἐκράτησαν οὔτως ἀμφότεροι καὶ ἴττηθησαν' οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐσχεῖρας ἐτὶ τὸτε ἀφίκοντο, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἴδοντες ἐν τῇ ὑποστροφῇ ἄλληλους καὶ τὸ συμβεβηκός ἐγνώσαν, ἀντιπαρεξήλθουν μηδὲν μηδέτεροι

2 τολμήσαντες. ἐπλεονέκτησαν δὲ καὶ ἡλαττόθη-σαν ἄλληλων τῷ τοῦ τε τάφρευμα τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ τ' Ἀντωνίου πᾶν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα ἄλωναι (ἂν' οὔτε καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τέκμαρσιν τὸ ἄναρ έσχεν' εἰ γάρ τοι κατὰ χώραν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐμεμενίκει, πάντως ἄν ἀμα τόις ἄλλοις ἀπολωλέν θεί' τῶν Κάσσιον ἕκ μὲν τῆς μάχης σω-θῆναι, τοῦ τε ἐρύματος στερηθέντα ἄλλοσε ποι- διαφυγεῖν, ὑποτοπήσαντα δὲ καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐσφάλθαι καὶ τίνας τῶν κεκρατηκότων ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ

3 ἐπιέναι, ἐπειχθῆναι πρὸς τὸν θάνατον. ἐπειμψε μὲν γὰρ ἐκατονταρχὸς κατασκεψάμενος καὶ ἀναγ-γελοῦντα αὐτῷ ὅπου τε ὁ Βροῦτος εἶη καὶ ὁ τι ποιοίῃ ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκείνοις συμβαλὸν ὑπεύθυν οὐς ὁ Βροῦτος ξητήσοντας αὐτὸν ἀπεστάλκει ἀνε-στρεψε, καὶ σχολῇ μετ' αὐτῶν ὡς οὐδενὸς ἐπεί- γοντος, ἀτε μηδενὸς δεινοῦ ὁντος, ἤει, ὑπώπτευσε

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

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

47 Ὅς οὖν Βροῦτος τὸ μὲν τοῦ Κασσίου σῶμα ἐς
Θόσον εὐθὺς κρύφα ἔπεμψεν, ὄκνησας κατὰ χώ-
ραν αὐτὸ θάψαι, μὴ τῷ στρατῷ πένθος τε ἁμα
cαὶ ἀθυμίαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ποιομένων ὄψεως ἐμ-

2 βάλῃ τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ
παραλαβῶν, καὶ λόγοις τὲ σφας παραμυθο-
μενος καὶ δόσει χρημάτων ἀνθ’ ὅν ἀπωλωλέκε-
sαν ἀνακτησάμενος, ἔς τε τὴν ταφρείαν αὐτῶν
ἐπιτηθειστέραν 1 οὕσαν μετεστρατοπέδευσατο, καὶ
ἐκεῖθεν ὀρμώμενος τὰ τε ἅλα τοὺς ἑναντίονς
ἐλύπει καὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ σφῶν νυκτὸς προσέ-

3 μισγε. μάχη μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐ
dιενοεῖτο αὐθὶς συνενεχθῆναι, πολλὴν δὲ δὴ ἐλ-
pίδα ἀκινδύνως ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ κατεργάσεσθαι σφας
ἐχὼν θορυβεῖν τε αὐτοὺς ἄλλως καὶ παράττειν
νύκτωρ ἐπειρᾶτο, καὶ ποτε καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν
παρατρέψας πολὺ τοῦ ἑρύματος αὐτῶν κατέκλυ-

4 σεν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῦσαρ ὁ τε Ἀντώνιος ἐσπανίζον
μὲν τῆς 2 τροφῆς καὶ χρημάτων, ὅθεν οὐδὲ τοῖς
στρατιώταις τι ἀντὶ τῶν διαρπασθέντων ἐδώκαν
καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντε-
sίου ἐπιδιαπλέοσαν ἐν ὅλκασιν ἀπώλεσαν υπὸ

5 τοῦ Σταίου· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀσφαλῶς οὔτ’ ἄλλοσὲ
ποι μεταναστῆται οὔτ’ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀνακομι-
σθῆναι δυνάμενοι, ἀλλ’ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ τότε
ἐτί μόνον τὰς ἐλπίδας οὐχ ὅτι τῆς νύκης ἅλλα καὶ
tής σωτηρίας ποιούμενοι, ὀρμητό καὶ διακιν-

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

Now Brutus immediately sent the body of Cassius secretly to Thasos, since he shrank from burying it where he was, for fear he should cause grief and dejection to fall upon the army if they should witness what was taking place. But he took in charge the remnant of Cassius' soldiers, consoled them in a speech, won their devotion by a gift of money to make up for what they had lost, and then transferred his position to their intrenchments, which were more suitable. Making his headquarters there, he proceeded to harass his opponents in various ways, especially by assaulting their camp at night. For he had no intention of joining issue with them again in a set battle, but, having great hopes of overcoming them in time without risking an engagement, he tried to throw them into confusion in various ways and to disturb them by night, and once he diverted the course of the river and washed away a considerable part of their camp. Now Caesar and Antony were running short of both food and money and consequently did not so much as recompense their soldiers for the property they had lost by pillage; furthermore, the force that was sailing to them in transports from Brundisium was destroyed by Staius. Yet they could not safely transfer their position to any other region nor return to Italy, and so, even as late as this, they once more placed in their arms all their hopes not merely of victory but even of safety; and they were eager to have a decisive engagement.
δυνεύσαι πρὶν ἐκπυστών τοῖς τε σφέτεροις καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὸ θαλάσσιον πάθος γενέσθαι. μὴ βουλομένου δὲ τοῦ Βροῦτου συμμίξαι σφισι βιβλία ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα αὐτοῦ τρόπον τινὰ ἐνέβαλον, προκαλούμενοι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἡ τὰ σφέτερα φρονήσαι (καὶ γὰρ ὑπισχιστοῦ τινα αὐτοῖς) ἡ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, ἃν γε καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον ἵσχύσωσι. καὶ τῇ διατριβῇ ταύτῃ ἡντομόλησαν μὲν καὶ παρ' ἐκεῖνων πρὸς τὸν Βροῦτον ἐκ τοῦ Κελτικοῦ τινες, ἡντομολήσαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς Ἀμύντας τε ὁ τοῦ Δησιόταρου στρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ Ρασκύπορις. 1 καὶ οὕτος μὲν οἴκαδε εὐθύς, ὡς τινὲς φασιν, ἀπεχώρησε· δεῖσας δ' οὖν ἐκ τούτων ὁ Βροῦτος μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον τι νεώ-3 τερισθῇ, συμμίξαι σφισιν ἔγνω. καὶ ἑπειδὴ πολλοὶ τε αἱχμάλωτοι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτοῦ ἦσαν, καὶ οὐκ εἶχεν οὗθ' 2 ὅπως διὰ φυλακῆς αὐτοῦς ἐν τῷ τῆς μάχης καιρῷ ποιήσηται οὗθ' ὅπως πιστεύσῃ σφίσι μηδὲν λυμανεῖσθαι, διέθειρε τοὺς πλείους, τῇ ἀνώγκῃ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην δουλεύσας, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι οἱ ἐναντίοι τοὺς ξωγρηθέντας 4 τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ ἀπεκτόνεσαν. πράξας δὲ τοῦτο ἔχοπλισάτο. καὶ αὐτῶν ἀντιπαρατατειμένων ἤδη ἅνετον δύο ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ὑπερπότει-μενοι ἀλλήλοις τε ἐμαχῆσαντο καὶ ἐκεῖνοις τὸ τέλος τοῦ πολέμου προέφημαν· ὅσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἅνετος ὁ κατὰ τὸν Βροῦτον ὃν ἡλαττώθη τε καὶ ἐφυγεν, οὕτω τὸ τε ὅπλιτικὸν αὐτὸν ἀγχώμαλα ἐπὶ πλείον τοῦ γνωσίσαμεν Ἰππίτηθή, καὶ τούτων πεσόντων πολλῶν καὶ τὸ ἰππικὸν, καῖτοι γεν- 1 ὁ Ρασκύπορις Reim., θρασκύπορις LM.
2 οὖθ' St., οὖθ' LM.
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before their reverse at sea became noised abroad among their own men and their opponents. But as Brutus was unwilling to join battle with them, they managed in some way to cast pamphlets into his camp, urging his soldiers either to embrace their cause (and they made them certain promises) or to come to blows if they had the least particle of strength. During this delay some of the German contingent deserted from their side to Brutus, and Amyntas, the general of Deiotarus, and Rhaseyoporis deserted Brutus and came to them—though Rhaseyoporis, as some say, immediately returned home. As for Brutus, this incident made him afraid that the disaffection might spread and so he decided to join issue with his foes. And since there were many captives in his camp, and he had no way to guard them during the progress of the battle and could not trust them to refrain from doing mischief, he put the majority of them to death contrary to his own inclination, being a slave in this matter to necessity; but he was the more ready to do it because his opponents had killed such of his soldiers as had been taken alive. After doing this he armed his men for battle. And when the two armies were already drawn up in line of battle, two eagles that flew above the heads of the two armies battled together and foretold to the combatants the outcome of the war; for just as the eagle on the side of Brutus was beaten and fled, so his heavy-armed force was defeated after a long and close struggle, and then, when many had fallen, his
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5 ναίως μαχόμενον, ἐνέδωκε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο φυγόντας αὐτοὺς ἀλλοι. ἅλλῃ ἐπεδίωξαν μὲν οἱ κεκρατηκότες, οὔτε δὲ ἀπέκτειναν οὐθ’ εἰλόν τινα, ἅλλα προσεδρεύσαντες αὐτοῖς τὴν νύκτα ὡς ἐκάστοις οὐκ εἶσαν αὐθίς συστραφήναι.

49 Ὁ οὖν Βροῦτος ἐπεχείρησε μὲν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πη διαπεσεῖν (ἐς γὰρ χωρίον τι ἐρυμὸν ἀναπεφυγὼς ἦν), μὴ δυνηθεῖς δὲ, καὶ προσέτι καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι τινὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοῖς νυκήσασιν ὡμολογηκασιν, οὐδεμίαν ἤτ’ ἐλπίδα ἔσχεν, ἅλλα ἀπογονοῦσ μὲν τὴν σωτηρίαν ἀπαξιῶσας δὲ τὴν ἀλωσιν ἐς τὸν θάνατον καὶ αὐτὸς κατέφυγεν.

καὶ ἀναβοῆσας τούτο δὴ τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ὃ τιλήμων ἄρετή, λόγος ἀρ’ ἡσθ’, ἐγὼ δὲ σε ὡς ἔργον ἡσκοῦν τοῦ ἀρ’ ἐδούλευες τύχῃ, παρεκάλεσέ τινα τῶν συνόντων, ἵνα αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνῃ. καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο σῶμα ταφῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἔτυχεν, ἣ δὲ δὴ κεφαλὴ ἐπέμφθη μὲν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, χειμώνι δ’ ἐν τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δυρραχίου διάπλω περιπεσοῦσα ἐς τὴν θάλασ-

3 σαν ἐρρίφη. τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτίκα ἀδείας σφίσι κηρυχθείσης μετέστη, ἡ δὲ Ἡ Πορκία ἀνθρακα διάπυρον καταπιούσα ἀπέθανε. τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων τῶν ἄρχας τινας σχόντων ἢ καὶ ἐκ τῶν σφαγών τῶν τε ἐπικεκηρυγμένων ἐτὶ ὄντων οἱ μὲν πλείους ἐαυτοὺς παραχρήμα ἀπέκτειναι ἢ ἄλοντες, ὡσπερ καὶ ὁ Φαουνώνιος, ἐφθάρησαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τότε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν διέφυγον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῷ Σέξτῳ προσέθεντο.

1 ἄλλοι Xyl., ἄλλοι LM. 2 ἡσθ’ Xyl., ἡσθα ἄλλως LMXiph. 3 καταπιούσα Xiph., πιούσα LM.

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

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

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

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

2 Cf. xliv. 13.
Τάδε ένεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ οὐγόῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαίων

α. 'ῖως Καίσαρ Φουλούια καὶ Δούκις Ἀντωνῖφ ἐπολέμησεν.

Β. 'ῖως Σέξτος Πομπήιος Σικελίαν κατέσχεν.

γ. 'ῖως Πάρθοι τὰ μέχρι τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου κατέσχον.

δ. 'ῖως Καίσαρ καὶ Ἀντώνιος πρὸς Σέξτον συνέβηντο.

ε. 'ῖως Πούπλιος Οὐεντίδιος 1 Πάρθους ἐνίκησε καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐκτήσατο.

ζ. 'ῖως Καίσαρ Σέξτῳ πολέμειν 2 ἠρξατε

η. Περὶ Βαιών.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἐτη πέντε, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμοὺς μενοι οἷς ἐγένοντο

Α. Ἀντώνιος Μ. ὑπ. Πίετας
Π. Σερούλιος Π. ὑπ. Ἰσαυρίκος 3 τὸ β' ὕπ. 4
Γν. Δωρίτιος Μ. ὑπ. Καλουίνος 5 τὸ β' ὕπ. 5
Γ. Ἀσίνιος Γν. 6 ὑπ. Πωλίνων
Α. Μάρκιος Λ. ὑπ. Κηνσωρίνος ὕπ.
Γ. Καλουίσιος Γ. ὑπ. Σαβίνους
'Ἀππίος Κλαύδιος 7 Γ. ὑπ. Πούλχρος ὕπ.
Γ. Ναρβάνδης 8 Γ. ὑπ. Φλάκκος
Μ. Οὐσίανος Λ. ὑπ. Ἀγρίππας ὕπ. 9
Α. Κανίνιος Λ. ὑπ. Γάλλος

'Ὁ μὲν οὖν Βρούτως ὁ τε Κάσσιος οὕτως ἀπώλοντο, τοῖς ξίφεσιν οἷς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπεχρήσαντο σφαγέντες: οἱ τοῦ ἄλλοι οἱ τῆς ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλής μετασχύντες, οἱ μὲν πρότερον, οἱ δὲ τότε,

1 Οὐεντίδιος R. Steph., ὑφεντιδίος LM.
2 πολέμειν Ba., πολεμήσειν LM.
3 Ἰσαυρίκος R. Steph., σαυρίκος LM.
4 τὸ β' ὕπ. Ba., ὕπατος τὸ β' LM.
5 Καλουίνος H. Steph., καλούνιος LM.
The following is contained in the Forty-eighth of Dio's Rome:

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

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

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

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

6 LM omit from Γυ. υ. to Γ. Καλουσιος. Thorbecke supplied Γυ. υ., Χυλ. Παλίων (Πολλίων), Α. Μόρκιος, and Γ. Καλουσιος, Βς. Δ. υ. Κηνασώριος.  7 Κλαύδιος Χυλ., κΑ ΛΜ. 8 Γ. Νυβάνδος Χυλ., γ' μ' ώρβανδος ΛΜ. 9 οπ. supplied by Βς.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

οἱ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα, πλὴν πάνυ ὀλύγων, ἐφθάρησαν, ὡς ποῦ τὸ τε δίκαιον ἐφερε καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἦγεν ἄνδρα αὐτοὺς εὐεργέτην σφῶν, ἡ τοσοῦτον καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς τύχης προχωρῆσαν, ἀπὸ-κτείναντας παθεῖν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἄντώνιος τοῦ μὲν Λεπίδου παραχρῆμα, ἀτε μὴ συννοικήσαντος σφίσιν, ἐπλεονέκτησαν, ἐμελλὸν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν τρέψεσθαι παλεύειν ἀλλοποιῶν γὰρ ἄνδρας τρεῖς ἢ καὶ δύο ὀμοτίμους, ἐγκρατεῖς τηλικούτων ἐκ πολέμου πραγμάτων
geneoménoi, ὀμονοήσαι. καὶ διὰ τούτο ὅσα τέως ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνθισταμένων σφίσι καταλύσει συμφοροῦσαντες κατέπραξαν, ταῦτα τότε ἀθλα τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλοτιμίας ἥραντο ποιεῖσθαι τὴν γὰρ ἄρχην αὐτίκα ἀνεδάσαντο, καὶ Καῖσαρι μὲν ἢ τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ ἡ Νομιδίᾳ Ἄντωνιῳ δὲ ἢ τῇ Γαλατίᾳ καὶ ἡ Ἀφρικὴ ἐγένετο· καὶ συνέθεντο ὡς, ἂν τινα ἀγανάκτησιν ὁ Λέπιδος ἐπὶ τούτῳ
ποιήσηται, τῆς Ἀφρικῆς αὐτῷ ἑκστῆιν. ταῦτα δὲ δὴ μόνα διέλαχον, ὡς Σαρδῷ μὲν καὶ Σικελίαν ὁ Σέξτος ἔτι κατείχε, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τὰ ἑξω τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐν ταραχῇ ἔτι ἦν. ἐκεῖνης γὰρ δὴ πέρι οὐδὲν δέομαι λέγειν ὡς ἐξαιρετος ἀεὶ ποτε ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἐμενεν' οὐδὲ γὰρ οὔδ' ὡς περὶ αὐτῆς ποτε, ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀγωνιζόμενου τοὺς
λόγους ἐποιοῦντο. ἐν κοινῷ οὖν ταῦτα ἄφεντες, Ἄντωνιος μὲν τὴν τε κατάστασιν τῶν ἀντιπολεμησάντων σφίσι καὶ τὴν ἀργυρολογίαν τὴν ἐς τὰ χρήματα τὰ τοῖς στρατιωταῖς ἐπαγγελθέντα ἀνεδέξατο, Καῖσαρ δὲ τὸν τε Λέπιδον, ἂν τι παρα-

1 σφῶν R. Steph., ἐφῶν LM.
2 τὰ supplied by Rk.
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before this, some at this time, and some subsequently. For justice and the Divine Will seem to have led to suffer death themselves men who had killed their benefactor, one who had attained such eminence in both virtue and good fortune. As for Caesar and Antony, on the other hand, they secured an advantage over Lepidus for the moment, because he had not shared the victory with them; yet they were destined ere long to turn against each other. For it is a difficult matter for three men, or even two, who are equal in rank and as a result of war have gained control over such vast interests, to be of one accord. Hence, whatever they for a time had gained while acting in harmony for the purpose of overthrowing their adversaries, all this they now began to set up as prizes to be won by rivalry with each other. Thus, they immediately redistributed the empire, so that Spain and Numidia fell to Caesar, Gaul and Africa to Antony; and they further agreed that, in case Lepidus showed any vexation at this, they should give up Africa to him. This was all they allotted between them, since Sextus was still occupying Sardinia and Sicily, and the other regions outside of Italy were still in a state of turmoil. About Italy itself I need say nothing, of course, as it was always excluded from such allotments; for they never even talked as if they were struggling to obtain it, but as if they were defending it. So they left Italy and the places held by Sextus to be common property, and Antony undertook to reduce those who had fought against them and to collect the money necessary to pay what had been promised to the soldiers; and Caesar undertook to curtail the power of Lepidus, in case he should make any hostile move, to conduct
κινή, κολούσαι, και τῷ Σέξτῳ προσπολεμήσαι,
3 τὴν τε χώραν ἣν τοῖς συστρατευμένοις σφίσθων ὑπέσχυτο κατανείμαι τοῖς ἔξω τῆς ἥλικίας αὐτῶν οὕσιν, οὕς καὶ εὐθὺς διήκαν. καὶ προσέτι οὖτος μὲν δύο τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ στρατόπεδα τῶν συνόντων οἱ συνέπεμψεν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἔτερα ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τότε ὄντων ἵσα ἀντιδώσεων αὐτῷ ἐπηγ-γείλατο. ταῦθ' οὖτως κατὰ μόνας συνθέμενοι καὶ ὑμάψαντες καὶ καταστημημάνειν, τα τε γραμ-ματεία ἀλλήλους ἀντέδοσαν, ἵν', ἂν τι παραβαθῇ, ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐλεγχθῇ, καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν Καίσαρ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφωρ-μίθῃ.

3 Καὶ αὐτὸν ἢ νόσος ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ καὶ ἐν τῷ πλῆ ἱσχυρῶς ἐπίσεσεν, ὡστε καὶ θανάτου δόξαν τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ παρασχεῖν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρρωστίας τοσοῦτον οὕσιν ἔπι παρασκευῇ κακοῦ τινος χρονίζειν αὐτὸν ἐνόμιζον, κακὸ τούτου πάνθ' ὅσα ἐνεδέχετο σφας παθεῖν ὑπετόπουν.

2 καίτοι ἄλλα τοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ πολλὰ αὐτοῖς ἐψηφί-σαντο, ἀπερ ποι καὶ τοῖς ἐτέροις ἄν, εἰ ἐκεκρα-τήκεσαν, ἐδέδοτο (ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῖς τοιούτοις τὸ τε ἀπολολῶς πάντες ἀεὶ κατατρέχουσι καὶ τὸ κρα-τήσαν τιμῶσι), καὶ δὴ καὶ ἱερομηνίας ἐν ἀπαντί ὦς εἰπεῖ τῶ ἐτει καὶ ἄκουσες ἄγειν ἐγείωσαν τοῦτο γὰρ σφίσιν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν σφαγέων ΤΙΤΩΡΙΑ ἈΝΤΙΚΡΟΣ ΠΟΙΗΣΑΙ ἘΚΕΛΕΥΣΕ. χρονίζοντος δ' οὖν αὐτοῦ λόγοι τε παντόπασοι ἑθρυλοῦντο καὶ παθῆματα ἀπ' αὐτῶν παντοῖα συνέβαινε. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ οἱ μὲν ὡς τέθυνχε διεθρόουν, καὶ

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

Caesar was so prostrated by his sickness on the journey and during the voyage as to cause even the people in Rome to look for his death. They did not believe, however, that he was lingering so much by reason of ill health as because he was devising some mischief, and consequently they expected to suffer every possible injury. Yet they not only voted to the conquerors many honours for their victory, such as would have been given, of course, to their opponents, had they conquered (for on such occasions everybody always spurns the loser and honours the victor), but they also decided, though against their will, to celebrate a thanksgiving during practically the entire year; for Caesar ordered them outright to do this in recognition of the vengeance taken upon the assassins. During this delay of Caesar's all sorts of stories were current and all sorts of feelings resulted from them. For example, some spread a report that he was dead and caused pleasure to many
ΔΙΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΝΗ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ

ηδονήν πολλοίς ἐνέβαλλον, οἱ δὲ ὡς κακῶν τι

4 βουλεύοντο, καὶ φόβουν συχνοίς ἐνεποίουν. "καὶ
diὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν τὰ σφέτερα συνέκρυσσαν καὶ
ἐαυτοὺς ἐν φυλακῇ ἐποίουντο, οἱ δὲ ὅτη ποτὲ
ἀποδράσοιτο διεσκόπουν. ἀλλοι, καὶ οἱ γε πλεί-
ους, οὔδὲ ἐπινοήσαι τι ὑπὸ τοῦ σφοδροῦ δέος
dυνάμενοι, παρεσκευάζοιτο ὡς καὶ πάντως ἀπο-

5 λούμενοι. βραχύ τε τι καὶ κομιδῇ σμικρὸν τὸ
θαρσοῦν ἦν ἐκ γὰρ δὴ τῆς πρόσθεν πολλῆς καὶ
ποικίλης καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων
φθορᾶς οὔδεν ὃ τι οὐχὶ καὶ τῶν ὁμίων καὶ τῶν
χειρόνων, ἄτε καὶ παντελῶς κεκρατημένοι, προσε-
δέχοντο. ὀθενπερ καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ φοβηθεὶς μὴ τι
ἀλλοις τε καὶ τοῦ Δεπίδου παρόντος νεοχμῶσω-
σιν, ἐπέστειλε τῇ γερουσίᾳ θαρσεῖν τε αὐτῇ
παραίνων, καὶ προοπτισχνούμενοι πάντα καὶ
πρῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως κατὰ τὸν πατέρα 1 ποιή-
σειν.

6 Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτ’ ἐγένετο, τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει
ἂνοματὶ μὲν ὁ τε Σερούλιος ὁ Πούπλιος καὶ ὁ
Ἀντώνιος ὁ Δούκιος, ἔργῳ δὲ οὕτως τε καὶ ἡ
Φουλουία ὑπάτευσαν τοῦ τε γὰρ Καίσαρος πεν-
θερὰ καὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου γυνὴ οὐσά τὸν τε Δεπίδου
ὕπο νωθείας παρ’ οὐδὲν ἤγεν καὶ αὐτῇ τὰ πρά-
γματα διεχείριξεν, ὡστε μήτῃ τὴν βουλήν μήτῃ τὸν
dήμον ἄλλο τι παρὰ τὸ ἐκείνη δοκοῦν χρηματίζειν.

2 τοῦ γοῦν Δούκίου αὐτοῦ σπουδάζοντος ἐπινίκια
τινων ἐν ταῖς Ἀλτεσίων οἰκονυτων, ὡς καὶ μικρῷ
σαυτὸς σφας, πέμψα, τέως μὲν ἡ Φουλουία ἀντε-
λεγειν, οὕτεις οἱ συνεχώρησεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκείνη θερα-

3 πευτείσα ἑπτέρεσε, πάντες ἐψηφίσαντο, ὡστε τῷ

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

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

πεύσαι. πολὺ γοῦν πλείον ἐκείνον, ἀτε καὶ ἀλη-

θέστερον, ἐσεμμύνετο· τὸ γὰρ δοῦναι τινὶ ἐξουσίαν

τῆς τῶν νυκτηρίων πέμψεως μείζον τοῦ διεστάσαι

ἀυτὰ παρ' ἐτέρου λαβώντα ἦν. πλὴν γε ὦτι τὴν
tε σκευὴν τὴν ἐπινίκιον ὁ Δούκιος ἐνεδύσατο καὶ
tοῦ ἀρματος ἐπέβη, τὰ τὰ ἀλλὰ τὰ καθήκοντα

ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἔπραξεν, αὐτὴ ² ἡ Φουλονία
tὴν πανήγυριν, ὕπηρέτη ἐκείνῳ χρωμένη, ποιεῖν

5 ἐδοξεῖν. ἡχθῇ δὲ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἐτους ἡμέρα.

καὶ ἐπὶ τε τούτῳ ὁ Δούκιος ἐξ ἵσου τῷ Μαρίῳ

ἐσεμμύνετο, ὅτι τῇ νομημία αὐτήν, ἐν ς ὑπα-
tεύειν ἥρξατο, ἐπετέλεσε· καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὑπὲρ

ἐκείνου ἡγάλλετο, λέγων αὐτὸς μὲν ἔθελοντις τὰ
tε τῆς πομπῆς κοσμήματα ἀποτεθείσθαι καὶ τὴν

βουλὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγοραῖῳ στολῆ ἥθροικέναι, τὸν δὲ

6 δὴ Μάριον ἀκούτα αὐτὰ πεποιηκέναι. προσε-
tίθει τε ὃτι ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἡ τῆς ἡ οὔδεὶς στέφανος

ἐδόθη, αὐτῶς δὲ ἄλλους τε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου

catat fvyln, ὁ μηδενὶ τῶν προτέρων ἔγεγόνει, διά
tε τὴν Φουλονίαν καὶ διὰ τὰ χρήματα ἃ λάθρα
tišin análōswen, ἐλαβέν.

5 'Εν δ' οὖν τῷ ἐτεί τούτῳ ἐς τῇ τῆς Ἀρώμην ὁ

Καίσαρ ἀφίκετο, καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐπὶ τῇ νίκᾳ

ποίησας πρὸς τε τῆν διοίκησιν καὶ πρὸς τὴν

diagwghn tōn pragmatōn étrápeto. ὦ τε γὰρ

ⁱ LM here exhibit a gap of almost three lines.

² αὐτὴ Leuncl., αὐτὴ LM.

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therefore, though it was nominally Antonius who
.... and celebrated a triumph over the people
whom he claimed to have vanquished (in reality he
had done nothing deserving a triumph and had held
no command at all in those regions), yet it was
actually Fulvia . . . .

At all events, she assumed a
far prouder bearing over the affair than he did,
because she had a truer cause; for to give any one
authority to hold a triumph was a greater thing
than to celebrate one which had been received at
another's hands. Except that Lucius donned the
triumphal garb, mounted the chariot, and performed
the other rites customary in such cases, it was Fulvia
herself who seemed to be giving the spectacle, employ-
ing him as her assistant. It took place on the first
day of the year, and Lucius plumed himself as much as
Marius had done on the circumstance that he held it
on the first day of the month in which he began his
consulship. Moreover, he exulted even more than
Marius, claiming that he had voluntarily laid aside the
trappings of the procession and had assembled the
senate in his civilian dress, whereas Marius had done
so unwillingly. And he added that scarcely a single
crown had been given to Marius, whereas he himself
had obtained many, and particularly from the people,
tribe by tribe, an honour which had been conferred
upon no former victor—in his case owing to the
influence of Fulvia and to the money which he had
secretly lavished upon various persons.

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

1 See note on Greek text.
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Λέπιδος, τὰ μὲν τῷ φόβῳ αὐτοῦ τὰ δὲ καὶ τῇ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀσθενεία, οὐδὲν ἐνεωτέρισε· καὶ οἱ Δούκιος ὁ δὲ Φουλονία, ὦς καὶ συναγερμοὶ καὶ κοινωνοὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτῶ ὄντες, ἥσυχασαν τὴν τε πρώτην.

2 προϊόντος γὰρ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου διηνέχθησαν, οἱ μὲν ὅτι τοῦ μέρους τῆς τῶν ἄγρων νομῆς τοῦ τῶν Ἀντωνίῳ προσήκοντος ὑπὲρ τοῦ, ὁ δὲ ὅτι τὰ στρατεύματα παρ' αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀντέλαβε. κακὸς τούτων ἢ τε συγγένεια αὐτῶν ἢ ἑκ τῆς ἐπιγραμματίας διελύθη, καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ἐμφανῆ προῆκθησαν.1

3 ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ τὴν χαλεπότητα τῆς πενθερᾶς μὴ φέρων (ἐκεῖνη γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν Ἀντωνίῳ διαφέρεσθαι δοκεῖν ἐβουλευτό) τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῆς ὥσ καὶ παρθένου ἐτὶ οὖσαν, ὁ καὶ ὅρκω ἐπιστῶσατο, ἀπεπέμψατο, οὐκ ὠκενσας οὔτε εἰ τοσοῦτον ἄλλως ἢ γυνὴ πεπαρθενευόμενο παρ' αὐτῷ χρόνον νομισθείη, οὔτε πρὸς τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν ἐσομένων εἰ ἕκ πολλοὺ δόξειεν αὐτῷ προβεβουλεκέναι.2

4 γενομένου δὲ τούτου οὐδὲν ἐτὶ φίλιον ἐποίουν, ἀλλ' ὁ τε Δούκιος μετὰ τῆς Φουλονίας τῶν τε πραγμάτων, ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μάρκου ταῦτα δρῶν, ἀντελαμβάνετο καὶ οὐδενός αὐτῶ· ὕφιετο (διὰ γὰρ τῆς πρὸς τῶν ἀδελφῶν εὐσέβειαν καὶ ἐπωπομίαν ἐαυτῷ Πλέταν ἐπέθετο), καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τῶν μὲν Μάρκου οὐδὲν δῆθεν ὑτίατο, μὴ καὶ ἐκπολεμώσει εναυτῶν τὰ εἰν3 τῆς Ἀσία ἐθνικὴ διέποντα,4 ἐκεῖνος δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐπεκάλει καὶ ἀντέπραττεν ὡς

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

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

6 Ἡν δὲ ἐν τῇ κληρονομίᾳ ἀμφότεροι ἢ πλείστη τῆς δυνάμεως ἐλπίς, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ᾽ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς πρῶτον ἀρξάμενοι διεφεροντο. οὐ τις Ἀπίσαρ αὐτὸς πάσιν τοῖς τε ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς τῶν Ἀντωνίων συστρατευσαμένοι ἦθελεν αὐτὴν κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς μετὰ τὴν νίκην αὐτοῖς γενομένας, ὅπως ἐς εὐνοιαν σφας ὑπαγόγηται, ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἔκεινοι τὴν τε ἐπιβάλλουσαν τοῖς σφετέροις κληρονομίᾳ καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτοὶ ἀποκισία ἤξιον, ἵνα τὴν ἵσχυν αὐτῶν σφετερίσωται. καὶ ἃ γὰρ ἐτοιμότατον ἀμφότερου ἐδοκεί εἶναι τὰ τῶν ἀόπλων τοῖς συμπολεμήσασι χαρίσμασθαι. ὥς δ᾽ οὖν 1 παρὰ τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν πολλῇ ταραχῇ ἐγγυνετο καὶ τὸ πράγμα ἐς πόλεμον προήγητο

3 (πάσαν γὰρ κατ᾽ ἄρχας τὴν Ἑπιεικὲς, πλὴν εἰ τί τις 2 τῶν εὐστρατευμένων ἐν δωρεῖς μὲρει λαβὼν ἢ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου πριάμενοι εἰχε, μετὰ τε τῆς δουλείας καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀλλῆς κατασκευῆς τοὺς δεσπότας ὁ Ἀπίσαρ ἄφηρεν καὶ ἔκεινοις ἐδίδου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν κτημάτων ἀποστεροῦν.

4 μενοὶ δεινῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡγανάκτουν), μετεβάλλοντο 3 ἢ τε Φονδούνια καὶ ὁ ὑπατος, πλείω δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς ἑτέροις τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις σχήσει ἐλπισάντες, καὶ τῶν μὲν ληψιμένων τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἡμέλησαν, πρὸς δὲ ἐκεῖνους, ἀτε καὶ πλείωνας οὔτας καὶ ὁργὴν δικαίων ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπεστεροῦντο. 5 ποιουμένους, ἐπιτρήσαντο. καὶ τοῦτον ὑπολαμ-

1 δ᾽ οὖν Pflugk, γοῦν LM.
2 τί τις Rk., τίς τι Leuncl., τίς LM.
3 μετεβάλοντο Bk., μετεβάλλοντο LM.
they were acting in all respects contrary to Antony's desire and were aiming at their own supremacy.

Both sides placed the greatest hope of power in the allotment of land, and consequently the beginning of their quarrel was concerned with that. For Caesar wished to act by himself in distributing the territory to all those who had made the campaign with himself and Antony, according to the compact made with them after the victory, in order to win their goodwill, while Lucius and Fulvia claimed the right to assign to their troops the lands that fell to them and to colonize the cities, in order to appropriate to themselves the influence of these colonies. For it seemed to both sides to be the simplest method to give to the troops which had fought with them the possessions of the unarmed. But, contrary to their expectation, great disturbance resulted and the matter began to tend toward war. For at first Caesar proceeded to take from the possessors and to give to the veterans all Italy (except what some old campaigner might have received as a gift or bought from the government and was then holding), together with the slaves and the entire equipment of the estates; consequently the persons who were being deprived of their property were terribly enraged against him. Thereupon Fulvia and the consul changed their plan, since they hoped to gain more power in the cause of the oppressed, and consequently neglected those who were to receive the estates and turned their attention to the other class, which was more numerous and was animated by a righteous indignation at the despoliation they were suffering. Next they espoused the cause of these per-
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βάνοντες αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐκάστους καὶ συνήροντο καὶ συνίστων, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ πρὶν τῶν Καίσαρα
φοβουμένους τότε προστατῶν ἐπιλαβομένους ἀνα-
θαρσήσαι καὶ μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν οἰκείων ἀφεῖσθαι καὶ γὰρ καὶ τῷ Μάρκῳ ταῦτα συνδοκεῖν ἐνόμι-
ζον. τούτους τε ὅν τε Δούκιος καὶ Ἡ Φου-
λούια προσεποιοῦντο, καὶ τοῖς ἐτέρους τοῖς ἀμφί τῶν Καίσαρα οὐδὲν προσέκρουν. οὐ γὰρ ὡς αὐτὸς δεόν αὐτοὺς κληρονυμεῖσαι τινα προεβάλλον-
το, ἀλλὰ ἀρκοῦντα αὐτοῖς τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολεμη-

7 σάντων σφίσιν ἀπέφαινον, καὶ μάλιστ' ὅτι καὶ χωρία καὶ ἐπιπλα τὰ μὲν ἐτι τοῦτα τὰ δὲ καὶ πεπραμένα ἀπεδεικνυσαν, ὅν τὰ μὲν αὐτὰ τῶν δὲ τὴν τιμήν ἐφασκον αὐτοῖς δοθήματ χρῆμα
εἰ δ' ὅν μιθῇ ταῦτα σφισιν ἀρκέσει, ταῖς γε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐλπίσι πάντας αὐτοὺς ἀνηρτῶντο.

3 ὥστε ταχύ έκ τούτων συνέβη Καίσαρα μέν, ἀτε καὶ βία τὰ τῶν κεκτημένων τι υφαιροῦμενον καὶ πόνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ κινδύνους πᾶσιν ὀμοίως προσάγοντα, ἀμφοτέροις αὐτοῖς προσκρούσαν, ἐκείνους δὲ δή, οἷα μήτῃ τι ἀποστεροῦντάς τινα καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σφίσι τὴν πλήρωσιν τῶν ἐπαγγελίων ἀμαχεῖ τοῖς ληψομένοις αὐτὰ ὑπό-

4 δεικνύσας, ἐκατέρως προσθέσασι. ἐκ τε ὅν τοῦ τοῦ λιμοῦ, ὃς τότε τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς μὲν κατὰ Σικελίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σέξτου τῆς δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ ὑπὸ Γναίου Δομιτίου Ἀννοβάρ-

5 βου κατεχομένης δεινῶς αὐτοὺς ἐπίεσεν, ἐν τολ-

6 λῆ ἀμηχανία ὁ Καίσαρ ἐγένετο. ὁ γὰρ Δομίτιος

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

8 Ταυτά τε ούν τον Κάισαρα δεινός έλυτει, καὶ ὅτι ἐν ταῖς διαφοραίς ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς θουκλούτας καὶ πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος τὸ τοὺς ἀγροὺς κεκτημένον τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις συμβαινούσας (πλεῖσται δὲ δὴ ἄτε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ἀγωνιζομένων σφίσιν ἐγίγνοντο) οὐδετέροις ἀκινδύνως

2 προσετέθετο. ἀμφοτέροις μὲν γὰρ ἄδυνατον ἂν αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι ὡς μὲν γὰρ ὑβρίζειν οἱ δ' ἀπαθεῖς ἐγνον, καὶ οἱ μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια λαβεῖν οἱ δὲ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἔχειν ἤθελον. ὅσικες δὲ δὴ τὰ τοῦτων ἡ τὰ ἐκεῖνων, ὡς ποι καὶ ἴναγκάζετο, προέλοιτο, τοὺς ἐτέρους ἀπῆχθετο, καὶ οὐ τοσαύτης γε ἡμίτοιος ἐξ ὧν ὑπούργει τισίν, ὡς ἀργησ

3 ἐξ ὧν μὴ συνεχόμεν. ἐτύγχανεν οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὡς καὶ ὁφειλόμενα σφίσι πάντα τὰ διδόμενα 2 λαμβάνοντες ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ αὐτὰ ἐνεργεσία ἐτίθεται, οἱ δὲ ὡς καὶ τῶν οἰκείων στερισκομένοι ἐχαλέπαινον. καὶ ἐκ τούτων διετέλει ἡ τούτως ἡ ἐκείνως προσκρούων καὶ τοτε μὲν ὡς φιλόδημος τοτε δὲ ὡς

4 φιλοστρατιώτης ἐγκαλούμενος. καὶ διὰ ταύτα ἐπειδὴ μήτε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ προσέτα καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐργαν έμαθεν ὅτι οὐδέν τὰ ὑπέλα πρὸς τὸ τοὺς ἀδικομένους εὐνοϊκός οἱ ἐχεῖν ἐδύνατο, ἀλλὰ ἀπολέσθαι μὲν πάν τὸ μὴ ὑπείκον δ' αὐτῶν οἰόν τε ἄν, ἀναγκασθῆναι δὲ τινά 3 φιλεῖν διν μὴ

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

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

9 Ἡραχθέντος δὲ τούτου ἡ μὲν γερουσία καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ μηδενὸς στερόμενοι πρῶς πῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔσχον, οἱ δὲ ἐστρατευμένοι τὴν τε φειδό καὶ τὴν τιμήν τὴν ἐς ἐκεῖνους ἀτιμίαν τε ἁμα καὶ ξημιάν ἑαυτῶν, ὡς καὶ ἐλάττων ληψόμενων, νομί-

2 ξοντες εἶναι ἐδυσσχέραινον, καὶ τῶν τε ἐκατοντάρχων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐπιτηδείως τε τῶ Καί- σαρι ἔχοντων καὶ θορυβεῖν αὐτοὺς κωλύοντων συχνοὺς ἀπέκτειναν, αὐτὸν τε ἐκείνου παρ' ὅλιγον ἤλθον ἀποχρήσασθαι, πᾶσαν αὐτάρκη πρόφασιν

3 τῆς ὁργῆς ποιούμενοι. καὶ οὐ πρὸτερον γε ἐπαύ- σαντο χαλεπαϊνοντες πρίν τοῖς τε συγγενέσι σφῶν καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις πεσόντων πατράσι καὶ παισὶ τὴν χώραν, ὅσην τινὲς αὐτών εἰχον, ἀφεθή- ναι. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τά μὲν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπι- τηδείοτερά οἱ αὐθίς ἐγένετο, ὃ δὲ δῆμος κατ' αὐτὸ

4 δὴ τούτο πάλιν ἡγανάκτει. καὶ ἐς τε χεῖρας αὐ- τοῖς ᾦσαν καὶ μάχαι σφῶν συνεχεῖς ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ τιτρώσκεσθαι καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν παρ'

1 οὔτε Bk., οὔτε LM. 2 σφίσιν Bk., τισιν LM Xiph. 3 τε Rk., γε LM. 4 ἦσαν Bs., ήσαν LM.

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

When this was done the senate and the others who were having nothing taken from them became fairly meek in their attitude toward him, but the veterans were indignant, feeling that Caesar's sparing of the others' property and the honour shown them were at the expense of their own honour and profit, since they would thus receive less. They killed many of the centurions and of the others who were friendly to Caesar and were trying to restrain them from rioting, and they came very near slaying Caesar himself, making any excuse suffice for their anger. And they did not cease from their irritation until their own relatives and also the fathers and sons of those who had fallen in battle had had restored to them all the land that any of them had possessed. As a result of this the soldiers became more friendly toward him once more, while for that very reason the populace was again indignant. They repeatedly came to blows and there was continual fighting between them, so that many were wounded and killed on
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άμφοτέρων ομοίως πολλούς. οί μὲν γὰρ δή τῇ τῶν ὀπλῶν παρασκευὴ καὶ τῇ τῶν πολέμων ἐμπειρία, οἱ δὲ τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τῷ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν αὐτούς βάλλειν ἐπεκράτουν, ὡστε καὶ οἰκίας διὰ τούτο συχνὰς καταπρησθῆναι, καὶ τὸ ἐνοίκιον τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ ἀστεί μέχρι πεντακοσίων δραχμῶν οἴκοισι πᾶν, τοῖς δὲ ἐν τῇ Λοιπῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατὰ τὸ τέταρτον ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐνὸς ἀνεβήμαι. ἐν πάσαις γὰρ δή ταῖς πόλεσιν ομοίως, ὅπη ποτὲ συντύχουειν ἀλλήλοις, ἐμάχοντο.

10 Ὡς οὖν ταύτα τε οὕτως ἐγίγνετο, καὶ στρατιώται ἐς Ἴβηριαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καῖσαρος προπεμφθέντες θόρυβόν τε τινα ἐν Πλακεντίᾳ ἐποίησαν, καὶ οὐ πρότερον πρὶν χρήματα παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων λαβεῖν κατέστησαν, καὶ προσέτε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καλήνου τοῦ τε Οὐεντιδίου τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς ἐχόντων ἐκωλύθησαν ὑπερβαλέων αὐτῶς, ἐφοβήθη τε ὁ Καῖσαρ μὴ καὶ σφαλῇ τί, καὶ καταλαγήσας τῇ τε Φουλονίᾳ καὶ τῷ ὑπάτῳ ἠθέλησεν. ἐπειδὴ τε οὕδεν ἰδία καὶ καθ’ ἐαυτοῦ προσπέμπων σφίσων ἐπέραινεν, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐστρατευμένους ὄρμησε καὶ δὴ αὐτῶν τὰς συναλλαγὰς ἐπραττεν. Ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τούτοις ἐπαιρόμενοι καὶ τοὺς στερομένους τῆς χώρας προσποιούμενοι, Δούκιος μὲν πανταχόσε συνιστάς τε αὐτούς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Καῖσαρος ἀποσπών περιήγη, Φουλονία δὲ τὸ τε Πραινέστε κατέλαβε καὶ προσεταρίστος βουλευτάς τε καὶ ἰππέας ἐξοῦσα τὰ τε ἀλλα πάντα μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐβουλεύσετο, καὶ τὰς παραγ- γέλεως ὡς ἐκασταχόσε ἐχρῆν ἐπεμπε. καὶ τί ταύτα ἑαυτάσειεν ἂν τις, ὧποτε καὶ ξίφος παρε-

1 προσεταρίστος Bk., προσηταρίστο τοὺς LM.

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

When these things kept occurring, and soldiers sent ahead by Caesar into Spain made an uprising at Placentia and were not quieted until they had received money from the people there, and when, furthermore, they were hindered from crossing the Alps by Calenus and Ventidius, who held Transalpine Gaul, Caesar became afraid that he might meet with some disaster and began to wish to be reconciled with Fulvia and the consul. And when he could not accomplish anything by making overtures to them personally and on his own responsibility, he had recourse to the veterans and through them attempted to effect a reconciliation. The others were elated at this, and since they were winning over those who had lost their land, Lucius went about in every direction organizing them and detaching them from Caesar, while Fulvia occupied Praeneste, and with senators and knights for her associates was wont to conduct all her deliberations with their help, even sending orders to whatever points required it. And why should anyone be surprised at this, when she
11 ἐκεῖνα τῷ Καϊσαρὶ προσίστασθαι. οὐ μέντοι ἔχων ὅπως αὐτοὺς καταλύσῃ (οὐ γὰρ μόνον τῇ δυνάμει ἄλλα καὶ τῇ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων εὔνοια πολὺ αὐτῶν ἠλπίτον· αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ πολλοὺς ἐλύπει, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ πάντας ἐπήλπιζον) πολλάκις μὲν σφας ἵδια διὰ τῶν τίτλων ἐς τὰς καταλλαγὰς προεκαλέσατο, ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἦνυτεν, ἐκ τῶν ἐστρα-2
tεμένων πρέσβεις πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπέστειλε. μάλι-3
στα μὲν γὰρ τεύξεσθαι τε αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ παρόντα καταστήσεσθαι ἐς τε τὸ ἐπείτα ἀντισχύσειν ἐκ τούτων ἠλπίσεων· ἄν δὲ δὴ καὶ διαμάρθῃ σφῶν, τὴν γούν αἰτίαν τῆς διαφορᾶς οὐκ αὐτὸς ἄλλο
3
ἐκεῖνος ἔσεν ἐνόμισεν. δ' καὶ ἐγένετο. ἐπειδὴ ἔγνετο. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐδὲν οὔδε διὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπέρανε, βουλευτὰς ἐστείλε, τὰς τε συνθήκας σφίσι τὰς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον αὐτῷ γενομένας ἐκφήνας καὶ δικαστὰς τῶν διαφορῶν δῆδεν αὐτοὺς ποιήσας. 4
ἀς δ' οὐδὲν οὔδε τότε ἐπράξθη (καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τούτω μὲν πολλὰ καὶ ὅσα ὁ Καϊσαρ οὐκ ἐμελλὲ ποιήσειν ἀντιπροετένυντο, τούτο δὲ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐποίουν, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ἀντώνιου τοῦ Μάρκου ἐντολῆς πράττεν ἔλεγον), οὔτω δὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἐστρατευ-μένους αὕτης ἀπέκλινε. 12
καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκεῖνοι πλήθει πολλῷ, ὡς καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῇ τε βουλῇ κοινωσό-μενοί τι, συνελθόντες τούτων μὲν οὔδὲν ἐφρόν-τισαν, ἀθροισθέντες δ' ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον τὰς τε συνθήκας, ὡς ὁ τε Ἀντώνιος καὶ ὁ Καϊσαρ ἐπε-ποίητο, ἀναγνωσθῆναι σφίσιν ἐκέλευσαν, καὶ
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would gird herself with a sword, give out the watch-word to the soldiers, and in many instances harangue them, all of which gave additional offence to Caesar? He, however, had no way of overthrowing his opponents, being far inferior to them not only in troops, but also as regards the good-will of the citizens; for he was causing distress to many, whereas they were filling everyone with hope. Accordingly he often proposed reconciliation to them personally through friends, and when he accomplished nothing, he sent to them envoys from the veterans. For he expected by this means, if possible, to obtain his request, adjust his present difficulties, and gain a strength equal to theirs for the future; but in case he should fail of these aims, he believed that, at any rate, they and not he would bear the responsibility for the quarrel. And this actually happened. For when he effected nothing even through the soldiers, he sent senators, showing them the compact which Antony had made with him and appointing them arbitrators of their "differences," as he expressed it. But even then nothing was accomplished, since his opponents in the first place made many counter-proposals, demands which Caesar was sure not to comply with, and then claimed to be doing everything that they did by the order of Mark Antony; thereupon Caesar betook himself once more to the veterans.

After this the veterans assembled in Rome in great numbers, giving out that they intended to make some communication to the people and the senate. But instead of troubling themselves about this errand, they assembled on the Capitol, and after commanding that the compact which Antony and Caesar had made should be read to them, they rati-
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2 ἐναυτοὺς δικαστάς γενέσθαι ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ ταῦτα τε ἐς δέλτους γράψαντες καὶ κατασημηνάμενοι ταῖς ἀειπαρθένοις φυλάττειν ἔδοσαν, καὶ τῷ μὲν Καῖσαρι παρόντι, τοῖς δὲ ἐτέροις διὰ πρεσβείας, ἐς Γαβίους ἐν ῥητῇ τινὶ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τὴν ἰδίκην ἀπαντῆσαι προσέταξαν. ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἔτοιμος διαδικασθῆναι ἐγένετο, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ὑπέσχοντο μὲν ἀφίξεσθαι, οὐκ ἡλθον δὲ, φοβηθέντες ἢ καὶ ἀπαξιώσαντες (διεσκόπτον γοῦν σφας, ἀλλὰ τε καὶ βουλήν καλλιγάταν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιωτικῆς ὑποδημάτων χρήσεως ἀποκαλοῦντες), τοῦ τε Δουκίου καὶ τῆς Φουλούνίας ὡς καὶ ἀδικοῦντων τι κατεψηφίσαντο καὶ τὰ τοῦ

3 Καίσαρος ἐπρέσβευσαν, καὶ τούτου πολλάκις αὖθις βουλευσάμενοι τὸν τε πόλεμον αὐθίς ἀνείλοντο καὶ τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς ἡσυχὴ ἡτοιμάζοντο. τὰ τε γὰρ ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα ἀπανταχόθεν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἥθροισαν τὰ γὰρ ἀναθήματα, ὡσα γε καὶ ἔχαργυρισθῆναι εὕνατο, τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τῇ ἐν τῇ ἐπικρατείᾳ αὐτῶν ὀὔσῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν ἀντί τῇ Ρώμῃ ἀνακείμενα καθεῖλον. καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας τῆς τυγάτης, ἣ καὶ ἐς τὸν τῆς Ἰταλίας ὡς νομόν, ὡστε μηδένα ἄλλου προφάσει τῆς ἑνταῦθα ἅρχης στρατιώτας ἐντὸς τῶν Ἀλπεων τρέφειν, ἑσεγεραπτο, καὶ χρήματα καὶ στρατιώται ἥλθον.

13 "Ο τε οὖν Καῖσαρ παρεσκευάζετο, καὶ ἡ Φουλούνία καὶ ὁ Δούκιος τά τε πρόσφορα ἐπορίζοντο

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

Both Caesar was making his preparations, then, and Fulvia and Lucius were gathering their supplies and
καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις συνεκρότον. κἂν τούτῳ καὶ
ἀντεπρεβεύοντο καὶ διέτειμπον ἐκασταχόσε καὶ
στρατιώτας καὶ στρατιάρχους ἐκάτεροι, καὶ τὰ
μὲν προκατελάβανον τῶν δ' ἀπεκρούντο. καὶ
αὐτῶν ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν πολλά, καὶ ἐν οἷς οὔτε τι μέγα
οὔτ' ἄξιολογον ἐπράξῃ, παρῆσω, τὰ δὲ δὴ λόγου
μάλιστα ἀξία συντόμως διηγήσομαι.

2 Ὅ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ Νουρσίαν ἐς τοὺς Σαβίνους
στρατεύσας τὴν μὲν φρουρὰν τὴν προκαθημένην
σφῶν ἐτρέψατο, τῆς δὲ δὴ πόλεως ὑπὸ Τισιήνου
Γάλλου ἀπεκρούσθη. μεταστὰς οὖν ἐς τὴν Ὀμβρικήν
Σεντινάτας ἐπολύρρησε μὲν, οὐ μέντοι
καὶ εἶλεν αὐτοῖς· τοῦ γὰρ Δούκιον ἐν τούτῳ τὸ
μὲν πρῶτον στρατιώτας λάθρα κατ' ἄλλην καὶ
ἄλλην πρόφαιν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην πρὸς τοὺς φίλους
πέμψαντος, ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἔξαίφνης ἐπελ-
θόντος, καὶ τὸ τε ἵππικόν ἀπαντήσαν οἱ κρατή-
σαντος καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καταράξαν-
τος, κὰς τούτου καὶ τὸ ἀστυ, συνεπιθεμένων τοῖς
ἐνδοθεν ἄμυνομένους τῶν προαφιγμένων, λαβόντος
(οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Λέπιδος ὃ τὴν φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπι-
τετραμμένος ἀντέπραξε τι ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμφύτου νω-
θείας, οὔτε ὁ Σερούλιος ὃ ὑπατος ἑσυχαίτερος
πως ὁν), πυθόμενος ταῦθ' ὁ Καῖσαρ τοῖς μὲν Σεν-
τινάταις Κύντον Σαλουδίηνον Ῥοῦφον παρακατ-
έλιεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀρμησε. μα-
θὼν οὖν τούτῳ ὁ Δούκιος προὔπεξιλθε, διαπρα-
ξάμενος ψηφισθήναι οἱ ὡς ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τῶν
ἐκστρατεύσαι καὶ ἐν γε τῇ στρατιωτικῇ σκευῇ
ἐδημηγόρησεν, ὁ μηδεὶς ἄλλος ἐπεποιήκει. καὶ

1 Τισιήνου Leunel., τισιήνου LM.
2 προαφιγμένων Leunel., προσαφιγμένων LM.

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

Caesar made an expedition against Nursia, among the Sabines, and routed the garrison encamped before it, but was repulsed from the city by Tisienus Gallus. Accordingly he went over into Umbria and laid siege to Sentinum, but failed to capture it. For Lucius meanwhile had sent soldiers at first to his friends in Rome on one excuse and another, and then had suddenly marched against the city himself, conquered the cavalry force that met him, hurled the infantry back within the walls, and after that had taken the city, since his soldiers who had already arrived there joined in attacking the defenders inside, and since neither Lepidus, who had been entrusted with the guarding of the place, offered any resistance by reason of his inherent slothfulness, nor did Servilius, the consul, who was too easy-going. So on ascertaining this Caesar left Quintus Salvidienus Rufus to look after the people of Sentinum, and himself set out for Rome. Now when Lucius learned of this, he withdrew before Caesar's arrival, having had a vote passed authorizing him to leave the city in order to begin a war; indeed, he delivered an address before the people in military uniform, which no one
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οὗτως ὁ Καίσαρ ἀμαχεὶ τε ἐς τὸ ἀστυ ἐσε- δέχθη, καὶ ἐπευδὴ ἐπιδιώξας αὐτὸν οὐ κατέλαβεν,
ἀνέστρεψεν, καὶ φρουρὰν τῆς πόλεως ἀκριβε-
6 στέραν ἐπουήσατο. καὶ τοῦτο ὁ Ῥοῦφος, ὡς τά-
χιστα ἐκείνος τε ἀπὸ τῶν Σεντινατῶν ἀπεχώρησε
καὶ Γάιος Φούρμιος ὁ τὸ τεῖχος φρουρῶν ἐπεξήλθεν
ἐπὶ πολὺ διώκων αὐτόν, προσέβαλε τε ἀπροσδο-
kήτοις τοῖς ἐνυδὸν οὖσι, καὶ ἐλῶν τὴν πόλιν διή-
pασε καὶ κατέκαυσεν. Νουρσίνοι δὲ ἐς μὲν
ὁμολογήματι ὑδέων κακὸν παθόντες ἦλθον, ἐπει μέν-
tοι τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρά σφισι
γενομένη πεσόντας θάψαντες ἐπέγραψαν τοὺς
μνημείοις αὐτῶν ὅτι ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγω-
νιζόμενοι ἐτελεύτησαν, παμπόλλοις χρήμασιν ἐξη-
μωθήσαν, ὡστε καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἅμα
πᾶσαν ἐκλιπεῖν.

14 Καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐπραττοῦν, ὁ δὲ Δοῦκιος ὡς
τότε ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπῆρεν, ὀρμησε μὲν ἐς τὴν
Γαλατίαν, εἰρχθεὶς δὲ τῆς ὀδοῦ πρὸς Περοὺσιαν
Τυρσηνίδα πόλιν ἀπετράπετο· καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα
πρότεροι μὲν οἱ ὑπαρχοὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἔπειτα
dὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνοι ἀπολαβόντες ἐπολιορκοῦν.

2 χρονίου δὲ ἦ τῆς προσεδρείας σφίσι γιγνυμένης
(τὸ τε γὰρ χωρίον τῇ τε φύσει καρπεῖν ἐστὶ καὶ
τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις ἱκανῶς παρεσκεύαστο, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς
προεκπεμφθέντες ὁ Ἰππίαν, πρὶν παντελῶς περι-

3 μινοὺν αὐτῶ) πολλὰ μὲν πρὸς τούτους ὡς ἐκάστους,
pολλὰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τεῖχεσιν ἐπράξθη, μέχρις
οὐ καίτι πλεονεκτοῦντες τὰ πλείω οἱ περὶ τὸν

1 προεκπεμφθέντες H. Steph., προσεκκεμφθέντες LM.

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

While they were thus engaged, Lucius withdrew from Rome as I have stated and set out for Gaul; but finding his way blocked, he turned aside to Perusia, an Etruscan city. There he was intercepted first by the lieutenants of Caesar and later by Caesar himself, and was besieged. The investment proved a long operation; for the place is naturally a strong one and had been amply stocked with provisions; and horsemen sent by Lucius before he was entirely hemmed in greatly harassed the besiegers, while many others besides came speedily to his defence from various quarters. Many attacks were made upon these reinforcements separately and many engagements were fought close to the walls, until the followers of Lucius, even though they were generally successful, nevertheless were
Λούκιον ὁμώς ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἐάλωσαν. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἄλλοι τέ τινες ἄδειαν εὑροντο, οἱ δὲ δὴ πλει-
ους τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐφθάρσαν.
4 καὶ λόγος γε ἐχεῖ ὁτι οὐδ' ἀπλῶς τοῦτο ἐπαθον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὸν τῶν Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ ἁςιωμένον ἀχθεντες ἵππης τε τριακόσιοι καὶ βου-
λευται ἄλλοι τε καὶ δὸ Καννουτίους ὁ Τιβέριος, 2 ὁς ποτὲ ἐν τῇ δημαρχίᾳ τὸ πλῆθος τῷ Καίσαρι
5 τῷ 'Οκταουιανῷ ἱδροίσεν, ἐτύθησαν. τῶν δὲ Περουσίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἔκει ἄλοντων οἱ πλείους ἀπώλοντο, καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτή, 3 πλὴν τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου τοῦ τε τῆς Ἡρας ἔδους, πᾶσα κατε-
καύθη. τοῦτο δὲ (εσώθη γάρ πως κατὰ τύχην)
ἀνήχθη τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐξ ὁψεως οὐνεῖρον ἡν ὁ Καίσαρ εἰδε καὶ παρέσχε καὶ τῇ πόλει πρὸς τῶν
βουλομένων συνοικισθήναι, πλὴν ὃτι τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν ὑπερ ἐπτὰ καὶ ἡμισὺ σταδίους ἐκτῆσαντο.
15 Ἐκείνης δ' οὖν ἐπὶ τε Γναῖου Καλουίου δευ-
tερον καὶ ἐπ' Ἀσινίου Πωλίωνος ὑπάτων ἀλούσης καὶ τάλλα τά ἐν τῇ Ἰταλία, τά μὲν βία τά δὲ ἐθελοῦτι, 4 τῷ Καίσαρι προσεχόρησε· καὶ διὰ τοὺθ' ἦ τε Φουλούια πρὸς τὸν ἀνδρα μετὰ τῶν
2 τέκνων ἀπέδρα, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρώτων
συχνὸι οἱ μὲν πρὸς ἔκεινοι οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν
Σέξτον ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἀπεχώρησαν. ἦ τε Ἰουλία ἦ τῶν Ἀντωνίων μῆτηρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
ἐνταῦθα ἦλθε, καὶ πάνυ φιλικός ὕπο τοῦ Σέξτου
ὑπεδέχθη, ἐπειτ' ἐπὶ πρὸς τὸν νῦν τὸν Μάρκον
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπέμφθη, λόγους τέ ὁ ὑπὲρ φιλίας καὶ
3 πρέσβεις ἅγουσα. μετὰ τούτων τῶν τότε πρὸς

1 γε H. Steph., τε L.M. 2 Τιβέριος Fabr., τίτους L.M.
3 αὐτῆ Reim., αὐτὴ L.M. 4 ἐθελοῦτι Reim., ἐθελοῦτη L.M.
5 πρέσβεις Rk., πρεσβελας L.M.

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forced by hunger to capitulate. The leader and some others obtained pardon, but most of the senators and knights were put to death. And the story goes that they did not merely suffer death in an ordinary form, but were led to the altar consecrated to the former Caesar and were there sacrificed—three hundred knights and many senators, among them Tiberius Cannutius, who previously during his tribuneship had assembled the populace for Caesar Octavianus.1 Of the people of Perusia and the others who were captured there the majority lost their lives, and the city itself, except the temple of Vulcan and the statue of Juno, was entirely destroyed by fire. This statue, which was preserved by some chance, was brought to Rome, in accordance with a vision that Caesar saw in a dream, and it secured for the city the privilege of being peopled again by any who desired to settle there, though they did not acquire anything of its territory beyond the first mile.

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

1 Cf. xlv. 6, 3.
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tὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκχωρησάντων καὶ Κλαύδιος Τιβέριος Νέρων ἐφύγε. φρουρὰν γὰρ τινὰ ἐν τῇ Καμπανίᾳ εἶχε, καὶ ἔπειδὴ καθυπέρτερα τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐγένετο, ἀπῆρε σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ Διουία Δροουσίλλη καὶ σὺν τῷ νιῖ τῇ Ἡ

4 Βερίῳ Κλαύδῳ Νέρωνι, ὡστε καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς παραδοξοτάτοις συμβῆναι· ἢ τε γὰρ Λιουία αὐτὴ ἢ τὸν Καίσαρα τότε φυγοῦσα μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτῷ ἔγιματο, καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος οὐτος ὁ σὺν τοῖς τοκεύσαι τότε ἐκδράς τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ διεδέξατο.

16 Ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο· τότε δὲ τὴν τε εἰρημικὴν ἐσθῆτα οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὄντες ἀνέλαβον (ἐκδεδυκότες γὰρ αὐτὴν ἄνευ ψηφίσματος ἀνάγκη τοῦ δήμου ἦσαν) καὶ αὐτοὶ τε ἐώρταξον, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐν τε στολῆ ἐπινικίῳ ἐς τὸ ἀστυ ἐσεκόμισαν καὶ δαφνίῳ στεφάνῳ ἐτίμησαν, ὡσθ’ ὁσίως οἱ τὰ νικητηρία πέμψαντες εἰώθεσαν αὐτῷ ἡ

2 χρησθαι, καὶ ἐκεῖνον οἱ κοσμεῖσθαι. Καίσαρ δὲ, ἔπειδὴ τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ κατείργαστον· καὶ ὁ κόλπος ὁ Ἰονίως ἠλευθέρωτο (ὁ γὰρ Δομίτιος, ἀπογούς μηκετί καθ’ ἕαυτων ἱσχύσειν, ἀπέπλευσε πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον), παρεσκευάζετο μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Σέξτον ὄρμησων, αἰσθόμενος δὲ τὴν τε δύναμιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁτι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ διὰ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ διὰ τῶν πρόσβεστων ἐκεκοινολογητό, ἐδείεσε μὴ καὶ ἀμφοῖν

3 ἀμα πολεμήσῃ, καὶ τὸν Σέξτον ὡς καὶ πιστότερον ἢ καὶ ἱσχυρότερον τοῦ Ἀντωνίου προτιμήσας τὴν τε μητέρα αὐτῶ Μουκίαν ἐπεμψε, καὶ τὴν τοῦ πενθεροῦ αὐτοῦ Δουκίου Σκριβώνιον Δίβωνος.

1 κατείργαστο Βκ., κατειργάσατο ΛΜ.
departed from Italy and took refuge with Antony, b.c. 40. He had been in charge of a garrison in Campania, and when Caesar's party got the upper hand, he withdrew with his wife Livia Drusilla and with his son Tiberius Claudius Nero. This, again, was one of the strangest whims of fate; for this Livia, who then fled from Caesar, later on was married to him, and this Tiberius, who then took flight with his parents, succeeded Caesar in the office of emperor.

This, however, occurred later. At the time in question the citizens of Rome resumed the garb of peace, which they had laid aside without any decree, under compulsion from the people; they gave themselves up to merry-making, conveyed Caesar in his triumphal dress into the city and honoured him with a laurel crown, giving him also the right to wear it on every occasion on which it was the custom of those celebrating triumphs to use it. And after Italy had been subdued and the Ionian Gulf cleared (for Domitius, despairing of ever again being able to dominate it unsupported, had sailed away to Antony), Caesar proceeded to make preparations to set out against Sextus. When, however, he learned the power of this foe and that he had been in communication with Antony through Antony's mother and through envoys, he feared that he might become embroiled with both at once; therefore, since he preferred Sextus as more trustworthy, or perhaps as stronger, than Antony, he sent him his mother Mucia and married the sister of Sextus' father-in-law, Lucius Scribonius Libo,¹ in

¹ Scribonia was much older than Augustus and had already been married twice. For her divorce in the following year see chap. 34 infra.
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ἀδελφὸν ἐγήμεν, εἰ πῶς ἔκ τε τῆς εὐεργεσίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενεῖας φίλον αὐτῶν ποιήσατο.

17 Ὅ γὰρ Σέξτος, ὡς τότε ἔκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας κατὰ τὰς πρὸς τὸν Δέπιδον συνθῆκας ἀπηλλάγη καὶ μετὰ τούτο ναύαρχος οὐ πολλῷ ὠστερον κατέστη, τῆς μὲν ἄρχης ὑπὸ τοῦ Καῖσαρος παρελύθη, τοῦ δὲ δὴ ναυτικοῦ καὶ δὲς ἀντεχόμενος ἐτόλμησε μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πλεῦσαι, ἑπικρατοῦντων δὲ ἡδη

2 τῶν ἀμφὶ τοῦ Καῖσαρα αὐτῆς, μαθὼν ὅτι ἔν τοῖς σφαγεύσῃ τοῖς τοῦ πατρός αὐτοῦ ἐῶλωκε, τῆς μὲν ἥπειρον ἀπέσχετο, κατὰ δὲ δὴ τὰς νῆσους περιπλέων τὰ τε γιγνόμενα ἐκαραδόκει καὶ τὴν τροφὴν οὐκ ἐξ ἀδικημάτων ἐπορίζετο· ἀτε γὰρ μὴ μετεσχηκὼς τοῦ φόνου, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καῖ-

3 σαρος ἦλπίζε καταχθήσεσθαι. ἔπει μέντοι καὶ ἐν τῷ λευκῶματι τὸ ὅνομα αὐτοῦ ἐξετάθη καὶ ἐγνω καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπικεκηρυγμένων, ἀπέγνω τε τὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ κάθοδον καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ἡτομάξετο· ναυπηγίαν τε γὰρ τριήρων ἑποιεῖτο καὶ τοὺς αὐτομολούντας ἐδέχετο, τοὺς τε καταποντιστὰς προσηταρίζετο καὶ τοὺς ἐκπήπτοντας ὑπελάμ-

βανε. καὶ τούτων ἐν ὁλίγῳ τε ἱσχυρὸς ἐγένετο καὶ τῆς πρὸς τῇ Ἰταλία λαβάσσης ἐκράτησεν, ἐς τε τοὺς λεμένας αὐτῆς ἀπέβαινε καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ἀπέσπα, ἀρπαγάς τε ἑποιεῖτο. προχωροῦντων δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν πραγμάτων ὡστε καὶ στρατώτατα καὶ χρήματα ἀπ' αὐτῶν πορίζειν, ἐς Ῥικελίαν ἐπλευσε, καὶ Μύλας μὲν τὴν τε Τυνδαίδα ἀμαχεὶ κατέσχε, τῆς δὲ Μεσσήνης ὑπὸ Πομπηίου Βιθύνικοῦ τοῦ τότε τῆς Ῥικελίας ἀρχοντός ἀπε-

κρούσθη. οὐ μέντοι καὶ παντελῶς αὐτῆς ἀπέστη,

1 ἐν Ζών., ὁμ. ΛΜ.  2 Τυνδαίδα Xyl., τυρρήνιδα LM.

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the hope that by this favour and by this relation-
ship he might make him a friend.

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

\(^1\) Cf. xlv. 10, 6.
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άλλα τήν τε χώραν κατατρέχων καὶ τήν ἐσκομι-δὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων κωλύων, τῶν τε προσβοηθη-σάντων σφίασι τοὺς μὲν φόβῳ μὴ καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ πάθωσι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἐνέδρας τινὸς κακώσει προσθέμενος, τὸν τε ταμίαν¹ σὺν τοῖς χρήμασι προσεποίησατο, καὶ τέλος καὶ τήν Μεσσήνην τὸν τε Βιθυνικὸν ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἵππης οἱ ἀρχοντα καθ’ ὁμολογίαν ἔλαβε. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν οὐδὲν τότε γε κακὸν εἰργάσατο, ἐκείνους δὲ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀφείλετο. καὶ μετὰ τούτο τάς τε Συρα-κούσας² καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς πόλεις ὑπηγάγετο, καὶ στρατιώτας τε ἀπ’ αὐτῶν πλείους καὶ ναυτικὸν ἰσχυρότατον συνήγαγε καὶ τινὰ αὐτὸ δύναμιν καὶ Κύντος Κορνουφίκιος ἐκ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἔπεμψε.

6  Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὖτως ἡμιτεό, Καϊσαρ δὲ τέως μὲν οὖν ὁμαλῶν ἐπιστροφὴν αὐτοῦ τῇ τε ἐκείνου κατα-φροίησε καὶ τῇ τῶν ἐν χερσίν ἀσχολία ἐποιή-σατο‘ ἐπεὶ δ’ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ λιμοῦ φθορὰ πολλὴ ἐν τῷ ἀστεί ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ Σέξτος καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπέφρασεν, οὖν δὴ ναυτικὸν τέ τι κατασκευάζε-σθαι ἤρξατο, καὶ τὸν Ῥοῦφον τὸν Σαλουνδήμον 2 σὺν δυνάμει πολλῇ ἐσ ’Ρήμοι προέπεμψε. καὶ ὅσ’ ἐκ μὲν ³ τῆς Ἰταλίας τοῦ Σέξτον ἀπεώσατο, ἀναχωρήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν δερ-μάτινα πλοία κατὰ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ὁκεανῷ πλέοντας ἐκποιήσαι ἐπεχείρησεν, ἐνδοθεν μὲν ῥάβδοις αὐτὰ κούφιαις διαλαμβάνων, ἐξωθεν δὲ βοῶς δέρμα ὁμον ἐς ἀσπίδος κυκλοτεροῦσ τρόπον περιτειών.

1 ταμίαν R. Steph., ταμίαιαν LM (and so generally).
2 Συρακούσας R. Steph., συρακούσας LM.
3 ἐκ μὲν Bk., μὲν ἐκ LM.

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

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

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1 Dio probably has particular reference to the small boats used by the Britons. Cf. Caesar B.C. i. 54, Pliny, N.H. iv. 16, 104 and vii. 56, 206.
3 ὲς δὲ γέλωτά τε ὕφλισκανεν καὶ κινδυνεύσεων, εἰ πειραθείη αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦ πορθμοῦ χρῆσασθαι, ἐπίστευσεν, ἐκεῖνων μὲν ἀφεῖτο, τῶ δὲ δὴ ναυτικῷ τῷ κατασκευασθέντι τε καὶ ἐλθοῦντι ἐπετόλμησε μὲν διαπλεῦσαι, οὐκ ἡδυνήθη δὲ· τὸ τε γὰρ πλῆθος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν νεῶν αὐτοῦ πολὺ τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ ἐμπειρίας καὶ τόλμης ἠλαττώθη.

4 αὐτόπτης οὖν τῆς ναυμαχίας ὁ Καῖσαρ γενόμενος (κατὰ γὰρ τὴν στρατείαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ταύθ' οὕτως ἐπράχθη) χαλεπῶς ἠνεγκε, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι τότε πρῶτον συμβαλὼν ἠττήτο. καὶ διὰ τούτο κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἱσχυρὸν οὐκέτι, καίτοι τοῦ πλείονος ναυτικοῦ σωθέντος οἱ, περαιώθηναι

5 ἐτόλμησε· λάθρα δὲ πολλάκις ἐπιχειρήσας ὡς πάντως, ἀν τῆς νῆσου ἐπιβῇ, πολὺ τῷ πεζῷ κρατήσων, ἔπειθ' ὡς οὐδέν, ἀτε καὶ ἱσχυρᾶς πανταχόθεν φυλακῆς αὐτοῦ οὐσίας, ἐπέραινε, τῇ μὲν Σικελία ἄλλους τινὰς ἐφεδρέυειν προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τὸν 'Ἀντώνιον ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἂφικετο, κάντευθεν τῇ τῶν νεῶν βοηθείᾳ τῶν Ἰώνιον διέβαλε.

19 Γενομένου δὲ τούτου τῆς τε νῆσου πᾶσαν ὁ Σέξτος κατέσχε, καὶ τὸν Βιθυνικὸν ὡς καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα αὐτῷ ἀπέκτεινε, θέας τε ἐπινικίους ἠγαγε, καὶ ναυμαχίαν τῶν αἰχμαλωτῶν ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ παρ' αὐτῷ τὸ 'Ῥήγιον, ὡστε καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ὅραν, ἐποίησε, πλοιαρίᾳ τινα ξύλινα πρὸς ἑτερα βύρσινα ἐς τὸν τοῦ 'Ῥούφου κατάγε

2 ὡς συμβαλῶν. καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ ναῦς τε πλείους ἐναυτηγησάτο καὶ τῆς πέριξ θαλάσσης έκράτησε, δόξαν τέ τινα καὶ φρόνημα ὡς καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδώνος παῖς ὦν, ὃτι πᾶσης ποτὲ ὁ πατήρ

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

After this Sextus occupied the whole of the island and put Bithynicus to death on the charge that he had plotted against him. He also produced triumphal spectacles and held a naval battle of the captives in the strait close to Rhegium itself,—so that his opponents could look on,—causing small wooden boats to contend with others of leather in mockery of Rufus. After this he built more ships and dominated the sea round about; and he assumed a certain additional glory and pride by representing himself to be the son of Neptune, since his father had once ruled the
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αὐτοῦ τῆς θαλάσσης ἦρξε, προσέθετο. ταύτα μὲν, ἐως ἐτί τά τε τοῦ Κασσίου καὶ τά τοῦ Βρού
3 τοῦ συνειστήκει, ἐπράξε· φθαρέντων δὲ ἐκείνων ἄλλου τε πρὸς αὐτὸν συγκατέφυγον καὶ ὁ Στάιος ὁ Λούκιος. καὶ αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἁσμένως ἐδέξατο (καὶ γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν ἢς ἦρξεν ἐπηγά-γετο), ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ δραστήριον καὶ φρονηματικὴ ἱδὼν ὑπτα ἀπέκτεινεν, ἔγκλημα αὐτῶ προδοσίας
4 ἐπενεγκόν. κάκ τούτου τὸ τε ἐκείνου ναυτικῶν καὶ τὸ τῶν δούλων τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀφικνου-μένων πλῆθος προσλαβῶν πάμπολυν ὑβεξήθησα τοσοῦτοι γὰρ δὴ ἡπατομόλοιν ὡστε καὶ τὰς ἀγεπαρ-θένους καθ' ἵερῶν εὐξασθαι ἐπισχεθήναι σφων τὰς αὐτομολίας.

20 Διὰ τε οὖν ταύτα καὶ διὰ τὸ τοὺς φεύγοντας αὐτοῦ ὑποδέχεσθαι τὴν τε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου φιλίαν πράττειν καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πολλὰ πορθεὶν, καταλαγήναι οὐ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεθύμησε· διαμαρτῶν δὲ τούτον ἐκείνω μὲν Μάρκον Οὐιψάνον Ἀγρίππαν πολεμήσαι ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Γαλατίαν
2 ἀπῆρε. μαθὼν οὖν τούτο ὁ Σέξτος ἐτήρησε τὸν Ἀγρίππαν περὶ τὰ Ἀπολλώνια ἔχουσα· ἐστρατι-τήγει γὰρ, καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλά, ἀτε καὶ πάνω φίλος δὲν τῷ Καῖσαρι, ἐλαμπρύνατο, καὶ τὴν ἱπποδρομίαν ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας ἐποίησε, τῇ τε Τροίᾳ καλυμμένη διὰ τῶν εὐγενῶν παῖδων ἐγαυρώθη. ταύτ' οὖν αὐτοῦ πράττοντος ἐπεραιώθη τε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ ἐνεμείνειν ἐν αὐτῇ λεηρατῶν, μέχρις οὗ ἐκείνος ἀφίκετο· τότε γὰρ φρουρὰν ἐν χωρίοις
3 τισὶ καταληπτῶν ἀνέπλευσεν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ τὴν Γαλατίαν πρότερον μὲν δὲ ἐτέρων, ὡσπερ

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whole sea. Thus he fared as long as the forces of Cassius and Brutus held together; but when those men had perished, Lucius Staius and others took refuge with him. He was at first glad to receive him, for he brought with him the force he commanded; but later, observing that he was an active and high-spirited man, he put him to death on a charge of treachery. Thus reinforced by the fleet of Staius and also by the multitude of slaves who kept arriving from Italy, he gained tremendous strength; in fact, so many persons deserted that the Vestal Virgins prayed over the sacrifices that their desertions might be checked.

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

1 Cf. chap. 10.
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εἵρηται, καταλαβεῖν ἐπεχείρησε, μὴ δυνηθεῖς δὲ διὰ τοῦ Καλῆνον καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἀλλοὺς τοὺς τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πράττοντας αὐτὸς τότε κατέσχε, τὸν τε Καλῆνον τεθυνκότα νόσῳ εὐρών καὶ τὸ στράτευμα αὐτοῦ ἀκονιτὶ προσθέμενος. καὶ τοῦ τῶν Δέπιδον ἀγανακτοῦντα τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐπιβαλλούσης αὐτῷ στερήσει ἱδὼν ἐς τὴν Ἐφρικὴν ἐπεμψεν, ἵν' ὡς παρ' ἑαυτῷ μόνον αὐτὴν, ἀλλ' οὐ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου λαβὼν οἰκείοτερόν οἱ προσφέρηται.

21 Ἰύο μὲν δὴ ἐθνη τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ ἐκείνῃ, ὡσπερ εἶπον, ἦν ἥρηχον δὲ πρὸ τῆς τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν συνωμοσίας τοῦ μὲν Νομαδικοῦ Τίτου Σέξτιος, τοῦ δὲ ἐτέρου ὁ τε Κορνουφίκιος καὶ Δέκιμος Δαῖλιος, ὁ μὲν τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, οἱ δὲ τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονοῦντες. καὶ τέως μὲν ὁ Σέξτιος ἀνέμενεν ὃς καὶ ἐκεῖνον (πολὺ γὰρ πλεῖώ δύναμιν εἶχον) ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐσ-βαλοῦντων, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὃς καὶ ἑνταῦθα αὐτοὺς ἀμυνούμενοι ἐπεὶ δὲ διέμελλον, κατε-φρόνησε τα αὐτῶν, καὶ προσεπαρθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ φθεγξαμένης, ὃς φασιν, ἀνθρωπίνη φωνῇ καὶ κε-

3 λευσάσης αὐτῶ τῶν προκειμένων ἐξεσθαί, καὶ εἰς ἐνυπνιοῦ δ' οὖ παύρος τις κατοργυγμένος ἐν τῇ πόλει Τούκκη παρηγεκόγαι οἱ ἐδοξεί τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀνέλεσθαί καὶ ἐπὶ κάμακος, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τούτου νικήσοντι, περιφέρεις, οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλ-λος τε καὶ ὁτι τὸν παύρον ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐν ὑ τὸ

1 καὶ Leuncl., καὶ LM. 2 τῇ supplied by R. Steph.
3 Σέξτιος Bk., σέξτιος LM (so regularly).
4 οἱ δὲ Xyl., ὁ δὲ LM. 5 ἀνέμενεν M, ἀνέμεινεν L.
6 ἑκεῖνων Xyl., εκ τινῶν LM.
7 ἀνελέσθαι Xyl., ἀμελείσθαι LM.

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

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

1 Cf. xliii. 9, 4.
4 Ἀφρικήν προενέβαλε. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τὸ τε Ἀδρυμητὸν καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα χωρία, ἀνελπίστους σφίσι προσπεσῶν, κατέσχεν· ἐπειτα δὲ ἀφυλάκτως διʼ αὐτὸ τοῦτ’ ἐχόν ἐλοχίσθη τε ὑπὸ τού ταμίου, καὶ πολὺ μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀποβαλῶν ἔς τιν Νουμιδίαν ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ ἔτυχε γὰρ ἀνεύ τῆς τοῦ ταύρου κεφαλῆς δυστυχήσας, τήν τε ἤτταν ἐς τοῦτο ἀνέφερε, καὶ παρεσκευά- 5 ξετο ὡς καὶ αὐθίς στρατεύσων. καὶ τούτω φθάσαντες οἱ ἐναντίοι ἀντεσέβαλοι ἐς τὴν ἁρχὴν αὐτοῦ· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Κίρταν ἐπολιόρκουν, ὦ δὲ δὴ ταμίας ἐπʼ ἐκείνου σὺν τοῖς ἱππεύσιν ὅρμησι, καὶ τισὶν ἱππομαχίαις κρατήσας τῶν συνταμίαν προσεποίησατο. πραγάθεντων δὲ τούτων ὁ Σέξτιος νεαλῆ τινα ἐπικουρίαν προσλαβὼν ἀνεκινδύνευσε, καὶ τὸν τε ταμίαν ἀντεσίκησε καὶ τὸν Λαίλιον κατατρέχοντα τὴν χώραν ἐς τὸ ἔρμα 6 κατέκλεισε. τὸν τε Κορνουφίκιον ἐπαμυνοῦντα ἀπατήσας ὦς καὶ ἐαλωκότος ἐκείνου καὶ ἐς ἀθυμίαν ἐμβαλὼν ἠττήσε, καὶ αὐτὸν τε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὸν Λαίλιον ἐπεξελθόντα ὡς καὶ κατὰ νότου σφίσι προσπεσούμενον.

22 Πράξας δὲ ταῦτα τὴν τε Ἀφρικήν κατέσχε καὶ ἐκατέρω τοῦ ἐθνοῦς ἄδεως ἤρχε, μέχρις οὐ̣ς ὁ Καίσαρ έκ τῶν συνθηκῶν τῶν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον οἱ γενομένων τὴν ἁρχὴν αὐτῶν λαβὼν Γαίαν σφίσι Φουφίκιον Φάγγωνα προσέταξε· τότε γὰρ ἐκὼν δὴ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐξέστη.

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

After this achievement Sextius occupied Africa and governed both provinces in security, until Caesar, according to the compact made by him with Antony and Lepidus, took over the command of these provinces and put Gaius Fuficius Fango in charge of them; then, indeed, Sextius voluntarily gave up the provinces. When, however, the battle with Brutus and Cassius had been fought, and Caesar and Antony
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τε ἂλλα ἀνεδάσαντο, καὶ τής Διβύης Καίσαρ μὲν τὴν Νουμιδίαν 'Αντώνιος δὲ τὴν 'Αφρικήν ἔλαβεν (ὁ γὰρ Δέπιδος ἐν αὐτοῖς ὄνοματι ¹ μόνον, ὡσπερ εἴπον, ἦρχε, καὶ πολλάκις γε οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι προσενεγράφετο), ὡς ὦν ταύτα τε ὦτως ἐγένετο καὶ ἡ Φουλονία τὴν 'Αφρικήν αὐτῷ παραλαβεῖν ἐκέλευσεν (ἐν γὰρ τῇ Διβύῃ καὶ τότε ἐτι, πρόφασιν μὲν διὰ τὸν χειμώνα, ἔργω δὲ εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι νεωτερισθήσοιτό τι, ἐνδιέτριψε), τὸν μὲν Φάγγωνα ὥσκ ἔπεισε τῆς χώρας ἐκστήναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιχωρίους ἀχθομένους οἱ (ἐν τὲ γὰρ τῷ μυσθοφορικῷ ἐστράτευτος πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐσ τῷ Βουλευτήριον, ὡσπερ εἰρηταί μοι, κατελελέχατο·² καὶ κακῶς αὐτῶν ἦρχε) προση- 
ταίρισατο. γενομένου δὲ τοῦτον ὁ Φάγγων ἐς τὴν Νουμιδίαν ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ τοὺς τε Κιρτησίους καταφρουήσαντας αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα κακῶς μετεχειρίσατο, καὶ 'Αραβιώνα τινα δυναστεύσαντα ἐν τοῖς προσοικοῦσι σφίσι βαρβάροις, καὶ πρό- 
τερον μὲν τῷ Δαίλῳ συναράμενον, ὦστερον δὲ τῷ Σεξτίῳ προσθέμενον, ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς, 

⁵ ἐπειδὴ ὁι μὴ ἥθελσε συμμαχήσαι. καταφυγόντα 

τε αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν Σεξτίον ἐξαιτήσας καὶ μὴ 

λαβὼν ὄργην τε ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικήν 

ἐμβαλὼν τῆς μὲν χώρας ἐκάκωσεν, ἀντιστρατοπε- 

dευσαμένον δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ Σεξτίου μάχαις βρα- 

χείαις μὲν πολλαῖς δ᾿ οὖν ἦττηθη, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ. 

⁶ ἐς τὴν Νουμιδίαν αὖθις ἀνεκομίσθη. καὶ αὐτῷ 

ὁ Σεξτίος ἀντεπελθὼν ἐλπίδα μὲν ὡς καὶ διὰ 

βραχέος τῇ τοῦ 'Αραβίωνος μάλιστα ἒπείδα νυ- 

¹ αὐτοῖς ὄνοματι Polak, τοῖς ὄνομασι LM. 

² κατελελέχατο Xyl., κατελελέχατο LM. 

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

1 Libya is Dio's general term for the African coast. Cf. xliii. 9, 4.
2 In chap. 1.
3 In xliii. 47, 3; cf. also xlviii. 34, 4, lii. 42, 1.
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kύσων ἐσχεν, ὑποτοπῆσας δὲ τι καὶ δολοφονήσας ἔκεινον οὐδὲν ἔτι τότε γε ἐπραξέν· οἱ γὰρ ἱππῆς χαλεπῶς ἔπὶ τῷ ὀλέθρῳ αὐτοῦ σχόντες ἐγκατέ- λιπον αὐτόν, καὶ οὐ γε πλείους σφῶν τὰ τοῦ

23 Φάγγωνος ἀνθείλοντο. ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι φιλίαν, ώς καὶ τῆς προφάσεως σφίσι τοῦ πολέμου ὑπεξηρμήνευς, συνέθεντο· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τηρήσας ὁ Φάγγων τὸν Σέξτιον ἁδεώς ὑπὸ τῶν σπουδῶν

2 ἔχοντα ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικήν ἐσέβαλε. κάνταυδα συμ- μίζαντες ἀλλήλους τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ ἐνίκησαν ἀμφότεροι καὶ ἴττήθησαν (ὁ μὲν γὰρ τῷ ἱππικῷ τῷ Νομαδικῷ, οὗ δὲ τῇ ἁσπίδῃ τῇ πολιτικῇ ἐκρα- τησεν), ὡστε καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀλλή- λων διαρράσασι, μηδὲν μηδετέρους περὶ τῶν συ- 

3 στρατιωτῶν εἰδώτας· ώς δὲ ἐπαναχωροῦντες ᾠζόντο τὸ γεγονός, ἐς χεῖρας αὐθίς ἠλθον, καὶ τροπῆς τῶν Νομάδων γενομένης οἱ Φάγγων τότε μὲν ἐς τὰ ὀργανοφυγε, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς βουβαλίδων διαδραμοῦσών ὠὕθη τε τὴν πολέμιαν ἱππὸν παρ- 

4 εἶναι καὶ εὐαυτὸν κατεχρήσατο. καὶ οὕτως οἱ Σέξτιος 3 τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀπόνως ἔλαβε, Ζάμην δὲ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀντισχοῦσαν λιμῷ κατεστρέψατο. κακὸς τούτου ἀμφότεροι αὐθίς τῶν ἔθνων ἡγεῖτο,

5 μέχρις οὐ οἱ Λέπιδος ἐπέμφθη· ἐκείνῳ γάρ, ώς καὶ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ συνδοκοῦν, ἢ καὶ ὅτι ταῖς δυνάμεσι πολὺ αὐτοῦ ἠλαττοῦτο, οὐδὲν ἀντέπραξεν, ἀλλ' ἐς καὶ εὐαυτὸ χάριν τὴν ἀνάγκην τιθέμενος ἡσύ- χαζε. 4 καὶ οὕτως οἱ Λέπιδος ἀμφότερα τὰ ἔθνη κατέσχε.

24 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐγένετο, κατὰ δὲ δὴ τοὺς

1 γε L, γ' M. 2 πλείους R, Steph., πλείου LM. 3 Σέξτιος Xyl., σέξτος LM. 4 ἡσύχαζε H. Steph., ἡσύχασε LM.

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

So much for these events. During this same
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αὐτοὺς τούτους χρόνους, μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν πρὸς τοῖς Φιλίπποις συμβάσασαν, ὁ 'Αντώνιος ὁ Μάρκος ἐς τῇ 'Ασίᾳ τὴν ἡπειροῦν ἦλθε, κἂν-ταῦθα τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς περιων, ἐς δὲ τὰ ἄλλους πέμπτων, τὰς τε πόλεις ἥργυρολόγει καὶ τὰς δυνα-

2 στείας ἐπίπρασκ. καὶ τοῦτῳ τῇς Κλεοπάτρας ἐν Κιλικίᾳ οἱ ὀφθείσης ἔρασθεὶς ὁ ὄντιον καὶ δεμίαν τοῦ καλοῦ φρουτίδα ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλὰ τῇ τῇ Αἰγυπτίᾳ ἐδούλευε καὶ τῷ ἐκείνῃς ἔρωτι ἐσχό-

λαξ. καὶ ἄλλα τε διὰ τοῦτο πολλὰ καὶ ἀτόπα ἐπράξε, καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτὴς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν

3 Ἐφέσῳ Ἀρτεμισίοι ἀποστάσας ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ τέλος Ἡλάγκον μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῷ ἔθνηι, Σάξαν δὲ ἐν τῇ Σύρῳ καταλιπὼν ἐς τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν ἀπῆρεο. ὅθενπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἄλλα τε ταρα-

χώδη πολλὰ ἐπεγένετο, ὡστε καὶ τοὺς Ἀφράδιους τοὺς νησιώτας μὴ ὑπακοῦσαι τι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς σφάς ἐπὶ χρήματα πεμφθεὶς, καὶ προσέτε καὶ ἰδεῖραι τινας αὐτῶν, καὶ οἱ Πάρθοι καὶ πρὶν

4 κυνύμενοι, τότε δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον τοῖς Ρωμαίοις ἐπέθεντο. ἤγγον δὲ αὐτοὺς Δαβίδον καὶ Πάκορος, οὔτος μὲν Ὄρωδου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐκείνος δὲ τοῦ Δαβιδοῦ τοῦ Τίτου 3 παῖς ὤν. ἦλθε δὲ ὧδε ἐς τοὺς Πάρθους, καὶ τάδε σὺν τῷ Πακόρῳ ἐπράξεν.

5 ἐτύγχανε μὲν τῷ τῇ Κασσίῳ καὶ τῷ Βρούτῳ συμμαχῶν, πεμφθεῖς δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ὄρωδην πρὸ τῆς μάχης οὔπως τινὰ βοήθειαν λάβῃ, συχνὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χρόνον διετρίβη περιορωμένου καὶ ὁκνοῦντος 4 μὲν συνθέσθαι οἱ, δεδιότος δὲ ἀπαρνή-

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

¹ According to our other sources it was her sister Arsinoe who was dragged from a sanctuary to her death, after her young brother had been poisoned by Cleopatra. And Dio himself has already implied (xlil. 43, 4) that there was but one brother living after Caesar's victory.
6 οὖν τὸ τοῦτο ὡς ἢ τε ἁγγεία τῆς ἡττηθεὶς ἀφίκετο καὶ οἱ κρατήσαντες ἑδόκουν μηδενὸς τῶν ἀντιπολεμησάντων σφίζει φείσεσθαι,1 κατέμευν Παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις, τὸν μετ' αὐτῶν βίον πρὸ τοῦ οίκου ὀλέθρου προτιμήσας. οὕτος οὖν ὁ Δαβιήνος ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τὴν τε ἐκλυσίν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα τῆς τε ἐς τὴν Ἰουγκτον ὄθον ἤσθετο, ἐπεισε τὸν Πάρθον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιχείρησε, τὰ τε γὰρ στρατεύματα αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν παντελῶς ἐφθάρθα τὰ δὲ κεκακώσθαν, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐν στάσει τε εἶναι καὶ πολεμίσειν ἀνθίζῃ ἐφ᾽ ὡς κακὸ τοῦτο παρῆνεσε αὐτῷ τὴν τε Συρίαν καὶ τὰ ὀμορα αὐτῇ καταστρέψασθαι, ἐν ὧν Καῖσαρ μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Σέξτον ἀσχολίαις ἤγεν, Ἀντωνίος δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἰουγκτῳ ἡμ. ἤγεμῶν θ᾽ ὑπέσχετο τοῦ πολέμου γενήσεσθαι, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο τῶν ἔθνων, ἀτε καὶ ἄλλοτρίως τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διὰ τὴν συνεχῆ κάκωσιν ἔχοντα, μεταστήσεις ἐπηγγείλατο.

25 Τοιαῦτ᾽ οὖν εἶπόν, καὶ πείσας αὐτὸν πολεμήσαι, καὶ δύναμιν πολλὴν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Πάκορον ἐπετράπη, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐσ τῇ Φοινίκῃ ἐνέβαλε, καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἀπάμειαν προσέλασα τοῦ μὲν τείχους ἀπεκρούσθη, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ φρουροὺς ἐθελοντας προσέθετο. ἐκ γὰρ τῶν τῶν τοῦ Κασσίῳ καὶ τῶν Βρούτῳ συνεπράτευμεν ἡγαν. ἐπὶ τὸ γὰρ τὰ ἐαυτοῦ στρατόπεδα Ἀντώνιος αὐτοὺς κατέταξε, καὶ τὸτε τὴν Συρίαν ὡς καὶ ἐμπείρους αὐτὴς ἔχοντας φρουρεῖν ἐκέλευσε. τούτους τε οὖν ὁ Δαβιήνος ῥάδιως ὡς καὶ συνῆθεις

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

By these arguments Labienus persuaded Orodes to wage war and was entrusted by him with a large force and with the king's son Pacorus. With them he invaded Phoenicia, and advancing against Apamea, he was repulsed from its walls but won the garrisons in the country to his side without resistance. For these garrisons consisted of troops that had served with Brutus and Cassius; Antony had incorporated them in his own forces and at this time had assigned them to garrison Syria because they knew the country. So Labienus easily won over all these men, since they were well acquainted with
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οἱ ὄνται, πλὴν τοῦ Σάξου τοῦ τότε αὐτῶν ἡγουμένου, ἐσφετερίσατο (ἐκεῖνος γὰρ καὶ ἅδελφος τοῦ στρατιάρχου ὄν καὶ ταμιεύων μόνος αὐτῷ οὐ προσεχώρησε), καὶ τὸν Σάξαν τὸν ἄρχοντα μάχη τε ἐκ παρατάξεως καὶ τὸ πλήθει καὶ τῇ ἁρετῇ τῶν ἱππέων ἐνίκησε, καὶ μετὰ τούτο ἐκδράντα νυκτὸς ἐκ τῆς ταφρείας ἐπεδίωξεν ὁ γὰρ Σάξας φοβηθείς μὴ καὶ οἱ συνόντες οἱ τὰ τοῦ Δαβιδίου, ὑπαγομένου σφᾶς διὰ βιβλίων τινῶν ἣ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐστεόξευε, φρονήσωσιν, ἐφυγεν. καταλαβὼν οὖν αὐτοῦς ὁ Δαβιδίος τοὺς μὲν πλείους ἐφθείρε, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Σάξου ἐς Ἀντίοχειαν διαφυγόντος τὴν τε Ἀπάμειαν, οὐδὲν ἐτί ὡς καὶ τεθνεότος αὐτοῦ ἀντάρασαν, ἔλαβε, καὶ μετὰ τούτο καὶ τὴν Ἀντίοχειαν ἐκλειφθεῖσαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παρεστήσατο, καὶ τέλος καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ἐς Κιλικίαν φυγόντα ἐπιδιώξας καὶ συλλαβών ἀπέκτεινε.

26 τελευτήσαντος δέ αὐτοῦ ὁ μὲν Πάκορος τὴν Συρίαν ἐξειροῦτο, καὶ πᾶσαν γε αὐτήν πλὴν Τύρον κατεστρέφατο· ταύτην γὰρ ὅτι τις Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ περιλιτεῖσι καὶ οἱ ἐπίχωροι οἱ ὦμοφρονοῦντες σφισι προκατέλαβον, καὶ οὐτ' ἀναπεισθήναι οὔτε βιασθῆναι (ναυτικὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν εἶχεν 1) ἦδυνην·

2 θῆσαι. οὕτως μὲν οὖν ἀνάλωτοι ἐμειναν· τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὁ Πάκορος λαβὼν ὡς Παλαιστίνην ἐσέβαλε, καὶ τὸν τε Ῥωκανὸν, ὡς τότε τὰ πράγματα αὐτῶν παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιτραπεῖσ εἶχεν, ἔπαυσε, καὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον τὸν ἅδελφον αὐτοῦ ἁρ-

1 εἶχεν Reim., εἶχον LM. 2 ἐσέβαλε M, ἐσέβαλλε L.

1 This is an error either of Dio or of some scribe. The person who was made king of the Jews at this time was Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus and nephew of Hyrcanus.

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him, with the exception of Saxa, their leader at the time, who was brother of the general Saxa as well as quaestor and therefore refused to go over to the other side, being the only one who did; and Saxa the general he conquered in a pitched battle through the superior numbers and ability of his own cavalry, and when the other later on made a dash by night from his intrenchments, he pursued him. The reason why Saxa fled was that he feared his associates would take up with the cause of Labienus, who was trying to lure them away by means of pamphlets which he kept shooting into Saxa's camp. Now when Labienus overtook the fugitives, he slew most of them, and then, when Saxa made his escape to Antioch, he captured Apamea, which no longer resisted, since the inhabitants believed that Saxa was dead; and subsequently he brought Antioch also to terms, now that Saxa had abandoned it, and finally, after pursuing the fugitive into Cilicia, he seized Saxa himself and put him to death. After the death of Saxa, Pacorus made himself master of Syria and subjugated all of it except Tyre; but that city had already been occupied by the Romans who survived and by the natives who were in sympathy with them, and neither persuasion could prevail against them nor force, since Pacorus had no fleet. They accordingly continued to be proof against capture, but Pacorus secured all the rest of Syria. He then invaded Palestine and deposed Hyrcanus, who was at the moment in charge of affairs there, having been appointed by the Romans, and in his stead set up his brother Aristobulus\(^1\) as a ruler because of the

See Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 13, 9-10; *Bell. Jud.* i. 13, 9-11; compare Dio's own statements in chap. 41, below, and also in xlix. 22.
3 χουτα κατα το ἐκείνων ἐχθος ἀντικατέστησεν. ο δὲ δὴ Λαβιήνος ἐν τούτω τήν τε Κυλικίαν κατ-έσχε, καὶ τῆς 'Ασίας τὰς ἡπειρώτιδας πόλεις (ὅ γὰρ Πλάγκος φοβηθεὶς αὐτὸν ἐς τὰς νῆσους ἐπεραιώθη) παρεστήσατο πλὴν Στρατονικείας, τὰ μὲν πλείστα ἀνέυ πολέμου, Μύλασα δὲ καὶ 'Αλά-βαυδα διὰ κινδύνων ἐλών. οὔτωι γὰρ ἐδέξαντο μὲν παρ' αὐτοῦ φρουροὺς, φονεύσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν ἐορτῇ τινι ἀπέστησαν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς μὲν 'Αλαβαυδέας αὐτοὺς 1 λαβὼν ἐκόλασε, τὰ δὲ δὴ Μύλασα 2 ἐκλειφθέντα κατέσκαψε. τῇ γὰρ Στρατο-νικεία προσήδρευσε μὲν πολύν χρόνον, οὔδένα δὲ αὐτὴν τρόπον ἐλεῖν ἡδυνήθη.

5 Καὶ ὁ μὲν χρήματα τε ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπτράσσετο καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐσύλα, αὐτοκράτορά τε αὐτοῦ καὶ Παρθικών γε ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντιωτάτον τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις ἔθους ὠνόμαζεν· οὔς γὰρ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐτήγεν, ἀπὸ τούτων ἐαυτῶν, ὡς καὶ ἐκείνους ἀλλ' οὐ τοὺς πολιτειατας νικῶν, ἐπεκάλει· Ἄντώνιος δὲ ἐπυνθάνετο μὲν καὶ ταῦτα ὡσπερ πον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλία δρόμενα (οὔδὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν τὸ παράπαν ἡγνόει), οὐ μὲντοι καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν ουδέτεροις ἡμυνεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ἐρωτος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης οὗτε τῶν συμμάχων τί οὔτε τῶν πολεμίων 2 ἐφρύντισε. τέως μὲν γὰρ κατό τε ἐτέτακτο καὶ τῶν πρωτείων ἐφίετο, ἐντόνως τοῖς πράγμασι προσ-εἰχεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ κράτει ἐγένετο, οὐκέτ' οὔδε-

1 αὐτοὺς Kuiper, αὐτὸς LM. 2 Μύλασα Bk., μύλασα LM.
BOOK XLVIII

enmity existing between them. In the meantime Labienus had occupied Cilicia and had obtained the allegiance of the cities of the mainland except Stratonicea, since Plancus, in fear of him, had crossed over to the islands; most of the places he took without conflict, but for Mylasa and Alabanda he had to fight. For although these cities had accepted garrisons from him, they murdered them on the occasion of a festival and revolted; and because of this he punished the people of Alabanda when he had captured it, and razed to the ground the town of Mylasa after it had been abandoned. As for Stratonicea, he besieged it for a long time, but was unable to capture it in any way.

Now in consequence of these successes Labienus proceeded to levy money and to rob the temples; and he styled himself imperator and Parthicus, in the latter respect acting directly contrary to the Roman custom, in that he took his title from those whom he was leading against the Romans, as if it were the Parthians and not his fellow-citizens that he was defeating. As for Antony, although he kept himself informed of all these operations, as no doubt he did in the case of what was going on in Italy also (for he was ignorant of none of them whatsoever), yet he failed in both instances to take defensive measures in time; instead, he was so under the sway of his passion and of his drunkenness that he gave not a thought either to his allies or to his enemies. It is indeed true that he had earnestly devoted himself to his duties so long as he had been in a subordinate station and had been aiming at the highest prizes, but now that he had got into power, he no longer paid strict attention to any of these
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νὸς αὐτῶν ἀκριβῶς ἐπεμελήθη, ἀλλὰ τῇ τῇ Κλεο-
pάτρᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Διονύσιοις συνετρύφα,
3 μέχρις οὐ παντελῶς κατελύθη. ὡς δ' οὖν ποτὲ ἀναγκασθεῖς ἐξαναστῆναι ἐπλευσε μὲν πρὸς τὴν
Τύρων ὡς καὶ θωάς σφίσιν, ἕδων δὲ δὴ τὰ ἄλλα προκατελημένα ἐγκατέλυπεν αὐτοῦ, πρό-
φασιν τοῦ τοῦ Σέξτου πόλεμων ποιησάμενος· καί-
tοι καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον 1 βραδυτήτος τὰ τῶν
4 Πάρθων σκηπτόμενος προεβάλλετο. καὶ οὕτως
οὕτε τοῖς συμμάχοις διὰ τὸν Σέξτον δὴθεν οὕτε τῇ
Ἰταλίᾳ δ' ἐκεῖνος ἐπεκούρησεν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν
ἡπειρόν μέχρι τῆς Ἀσίας παρακομισθείς ἐς τὴν
Ἐλλάδα διεβαλε, κανταῦθα τῇ τε μνητὶ καὶ τῇ
γνακικι συμμίξας τὸν τε Καίσαρα πολέμων ἐποιή-
5 σατο καὶ τῷ Σέξτῳ φιλίαν ἐσπείσατο. καὶ μετὰ
tοῦτο ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περαιοθεῖς Σειφοῦντα 2 μὲν
ἐσχε, Βρεντέσιον δὲ μὴ ἐθελῆσαν οἱ προσχωρη-
σαὶ ἐπολιορκεῖ.
28 Πράσσοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ὁ Καίσαρ τὰς τε δυ-
νάμεις (ἐκ γὰρ τῆς Γαλατίας ἢδη παρῆν) ἠθροίσε,
καὶ Ποῦπλιον 3 μὲν Σερουλίου Ροῦλλον πρὸς Βρεν-
tέσιον, Ἀγρίππαν δὲ ἐπὶ Σειφοῦντα 2 ἐπεμψε· καὶ
οὕτως μὲν βία τῆς πόλιν εἶλε, τὸ δὲ δὴ Σερουλίῳ ὁ
Ἀντώνιος ἐξαίφνης προσπέσων πολλοὺς μὲν ἐφθεῖ-
2 ρε πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ παρεστήσατο. συνεπρωγότων
tε ὅντα ἀυτῶν 4 ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ διαπεμπότων
πρὸς τὲ τὰς πόλεις καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐστρατευμένους,
ὁπόθεν τινὰ ὕφελιαν 5 προσλήψεθαι ἐνόμιζον, ἢ
tε ἄλλη Ἰταλία αὐθίς ἐταράσσετο καὶ ἡ Ῥώμη

1 ἐκεῖνον Leuncl., ἐκεῖνον LM cod. Peir.
2 σειφοῦντα LM; but Dio probably wrote Σιφοῦντα, the
regular Greek form.
3 Ποῦπλιον R. Steph., ποῦπλιον LM.
4 ὅντα αὐτῶν M, ἄντων L.
5 ὕφελιαν Bs., ὑφέλιαι LM.

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things, but joined Cleopatra and the Egyptians in general in their life of luxurious ease until he was entirely demoralized. So when at last he was forced to bestir himself, he sailed to Tyre with the intention of aiding it, but on seeing that the rest of Syria had already been occupied before his coming, he left the inhabitants to their fate, on the pretext that he had to wage war against Sextus; and yet he excused his dilatoriness with regard to the latter by alleging his business with the Parthians. And thus on account of Sextus, as he pretended, he gave no assistance to his allies, and none to Italy on account of his allies, but coasted along the mainland as far as Asia and crossed to Greece. There, after meeting his mother and wife, he made Caesar his enemy and made an alliance with Sextus. After this he went over to Italy, got possession of Sipontum, and proceeded to besiege Brundisium, which had refused to come to terms with him.

While he was thus engaged, Caesar, who had already arrived from Gaul, had collected his forces and had sent Publius Servilius Rullus to Brundisium and Agrippa against Sipontum. Agrippa took the city by storm, but Servilius was suddenly attacked by Antony, who destroyed many of his men and won many over. The two leaders thus broke out into open war and were sending messages to the various cities and to the veterans, wherever they thought they could get any aid; and all Italy was again thrown into turmoil, especially Rome, and some were
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ὅτι μάλιστα, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἦδη πρὸς ἐκάτερον μεθίσταντο, οἱ δὲ ἐμέλλον. μετεώρων δὲ αὐτῶν τε ἐκείνων καὶ τῶν συμπολεμησόντων σφίσιν ὄντων,

3 ἡ Φουλουία ἐν Σικυώνῳ, ἐν ἤ ἦν, ἐτελεύτησε. καὶ αἰτίαν μὲν ο Ἀντώνιος τοῦ θανάτου αὐτῆς πρὸς τε τὸν τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἔρωτα καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνης ἀσέλγειαν ἔσχεν· ὅς δ' οὖν τοῦτ' ἡγγέλθη, τά τε ὅπλα ἀμφότεροι κατέθεντο καὶ συνηλλάγησαν, εἰτ' οὖν ὄντως ἐκπολεμοῦμενοι πρότερον ὑπὸ τῆς Φουλουίας, εἴτε καὶ πρόφασιν τὸν θανατον αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸ παρ' ἀλλήλων δέος, ὡστε καὶ ἀντιπάλους καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχοντες, ποιησάμενοι. καὶ τούτῳ Καίσαρ μὲν Σαρδῶ τε καὶ Δελματίαν 3 τὴν τε Ἰβηρίαν καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν, Ἀντώνίω δὲ πάντα τάλα τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰώνων, τά τε ἐν τῇ Ἕυρώπῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τοῖς Ρωμαίοις ὄντα, ἀπέλαχε· τά τε γὰρ ἐν τῇ Διβύῃ ἔθην ὁ Δέπιδος καὶ τὴν Σικελίαν ὁ Σέξτος εἶχε.

29 Ἡν μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴν οὔτως αὕθης διεδόσαντο, τὸν δ' ἐτ' πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον ἐκοινώσαντο, καὶ τοῦ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ὀρκοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν 2 δ' ἀγγέλων ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι πεποιημένου. καὶ διὰ τούτῳ γε οὖχ ἦκιστα ὁ Καίσαρ ὑπέμεινε πάντας μὲν τοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ κατὰ τὸν Δούκιον τοῦ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἀδελφόν μεταστάντας πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ εἷς αὐτῶν γε 4 τῶν σφαγεῶν ἔστιν οὕς ὄντας, ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν Δομίτιον, πάντας δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐκτεθέντες ἐν τοῖς λευκώμασιν, ἤ καὶ ἄλλως πως τῷ τε Βρούτῳ καὶ τῷ Κασσίῳ συμ-

1 δὲ Bk., τε L.M. 2 τε Bk., τε καὶ L.M. 3 Δελματίαν St., δαλματίαν LM Xiph. Zou. 4 γε R. Steph., τε L.M.

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

They accordingly divided the empire anew in this way and undertook in common the war against Sextus, although Antony through messengers had taken oaths by which he had bound himself to Sextus against Caesar. And it was chiefly for this reason that Caesar brought himself to receive, under a general amnesty, all those who had gone over to Antony in the war with Lucius, Antony's brother,—among them being Domitius and some of the other assassins of Caesar,—as well as all those whose names had been posted on the tablets or had in any way coöperated
3 πράξαντας, καταδέξασθαι ἐπ’ ἄδεια. τοσσύτως μὲν δὴ καὶ τῶν στάσεων καὶ τῶν πολέμων παράλογός ἦστι, δίκη μὲν οὖν δὲν τῶν τὰ πράγματα ἐχοντων νομιζόντων, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὰς τε ἀεὶ χρείας καὶ τὰ συμφέροντά σφων τὸ τε φίλιον καὶ τὸ πολέμιον ἐξεταζόντω, καὶ διὰ τούτο τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοτε μὲν ἐχθροὺς τοτε δὲ ἐπιτηδείους σφῖσι πρὸς τὸν καίρον ἡγουμένων.

30 Συνθέμενοι δ’ οὖν ταύτ’ ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις τοῖς περὶ τὸ Βρεντέσιον εἰστίσαν ἅλληλοις, Καῖσαρ μὲν στρατιωτικὸς τε καὶ ῥωμαϊκῶς, Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἀσιανῶς τε καὶ αἰγυπτιῶς. κατηλλαγμένων δὲ αὐτῶν, ὡς γε ἐδόκουν, περιστάντες τὸν Ἀντώνιον οἱ στρατιώται οἱ τότε τῷ Καῖσαρι συνόντες ἀπήτουν παρ’ αὐτοῦ τὰ χρήματα ἀ πρὸ 1 τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Φιλίππους γενομένης ὑπέσχοντο σφισι: δι’ ἀ 2 καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὡποὺ ὅτι πλείστα ἄθροίσειν, ἔσταλτο. κἂν ἐξειργασάντο τι αὐτῶν μηδὲν διδόντα, εἰ μὴ σφας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπελπίσας την κατέσχε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τοὺς τε ἀφηλικεστέρους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐς τὰς ἀποκιάς, μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον στασιάσωσιν, ἐξε-🔍

4 πεμψαν, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἦπτοντο. ὁ γὰρ Σέκτος ἦλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον οἱ γενομένας ός καὶ τῷ Καῖσαρι μετ’ αὐτοῦ πολεμήσων, μαθὼν δὲ τὴν συμβασίαν σφῶν αὐτῶς μὲν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἀνεκομίσθη. Μηνὴ δὲ ἐξελευθέρω ὦ, ὁ πάνυ προσέκειτο, ἐκέλευσε μέρει τοῦ ναυτικοῦ περιπλέοντι

2 δ’ & cod. Peir., διὰ LM.

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

When they had reached this agreement in their camps at Brundisium, they entertained each other at banquets, Caesar in military and Roman fashion and Antony in Asiatic and Egyptian style. And now that they had become reconciled, as it appeared, the soldiers who were at that time with Caesar surrounded Antony and demanded of him the money which the two had promised them before the battle of Philippi; and, indeed, it was for this that he had been sent into Asia, in order to collect as much as possible.  

And when he failed to give them anything, they would certainly have done him some harm, if Caesar had not restrained them by inspiring them somehow with new hopes. After this experience, in order to guard against further unruliness, they sent the superannuated soldiers to the colonies, and then took up the war. For Sextus had come to Italy in accordance with the agreement he had made with Antony, intending, with Antony's help, to wage war against Caesar; but when he learned of their agreement he himself went back to Sicily, and ordered Menas, a freedman of his to whom he was altogether devoted, to coast about with a portion of the fleet and injure

1 Cf. chap. 2, 2.
κακουργεῖν τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων. καὶ ὅσ τῆς τε Τυρσηνίας πολλὰ ἐκάκωσε, καὶ Μᾶρκον Τίτιον Τιτίον, τῶν τε ἐπικηρυχθέντων καὶ τότε τῷ Σέξτῳ συνόντων, νῦν ὄντα καὶ ναῦς ἐπὶ ἰδίᾳ δυναστείᾳ συγκροτοῦντα, κἂν τῷ Ναρβωνησίῳ ἐθνεὶ ναυλο-χοῦντα, ἔξωγρησε. καὶ ὅσ ἔπαθε μὲν κακὸν οὐδὲν (διὰ τε γὰρ τὸν πατέρα, καὶ διότι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Σέξτου ἐν ταῖς ἀσπίδαις οἱ στρατιώται αὐτοῦ ἔφερον, ἔσωθη), οὐ μέντοι καὶ καλῶς τὸν ἐνεργέτην ἥμειψατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατεπολέμησεν αὐτὸν καὶ κατεφόνευσεν, ὡστε καὶ τοῦτ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τῶν ὀμοίων μυημονευθήναι. ὁ δ’ οὖν Μηνᾶς ταῦτα τε οὕτως ἔπραξε, καὶ ἐπὶ Σαρδῶ πλεύσας συνέβαλε Μάρκῳ Λουρίῳ τῷ ἀρχοντὶ αὐτῆς, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρώτα ἐτράπετο, ἔπειτα δὲ παρὰ δόξαν αὐτῶν ἀπερισκέπτως ἐπιδιώκοντα ὑποστὰς ἀντε-πεκράτησε. καὶ μετὰ τούτο ἐκλυσοῦντος αὐτοῦ τὴν νῆσον κατέσχε τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ ὀμολογία, τὴν δὲ Κάραλιν ἕπολιορκία: συχνοὶ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐς αὐτὴν κατεπεφεύγεσαν. τῶν γε μὴν ἀλόντων ἄλλους τε καὶ Ἔλευν, ἐξελεύθερον τε τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄντα καὶ ἀρέσκοντα αὐτῷ τὰ μάλιστα, ἀφῆκεν ἄνευ λύτρων, εὐεργεσίαν τε ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα πόρρωθεν προκατατιθέμενος καὶ καταφυγήν ἑαυτῷ προπαρασκευάζων, εἴ τι παρ’ αὐτοῦ δειθεὶς.

καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ’ ἐποίει· οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ὡς ἡ τε Σαρδῶ εἵχετο καὶ ἡ παραλία ἐπορθεῖτο,

1 Κάραλιν Palmerius, ἀραδῖν LM.
the property of his opponents. Menas, accordingly, b.c. 40 ravaged many parts of Etruria and captured Marcus Titius, the son of Titius who was one of the proscripted and was then on the side of Sextus; this son had got together some ships in the interest of his own supremacy and had taken up his station off the province of Narbonensis. This Titius suffered no harm, for on his father's account, and because his soldiers carried the name of Sextus on their shields, his life was spared; yet he did not recompense his benefactor fairly, but, on the contrary, defeated him in battle and finally slew him, so that his conduct in this matter is remembered among the most notable examples of its kind. Now after Menas had accomplished all this as described, he sailed to Sardinia and engaged in a conflict with Marcus Lurius, the governor there; and at first he was routed, but later, when the other was pursuing him heedlessly, he awaited his attack and turned the tables upon Lurius by winning an unexpected victory over him. Thereupon Lurius abandoned the island and Menas occupied it, taking all the places by capitulation, except Caralis, which he took by siege; for many fugitives from the battle had taken refuge there. He released without ransom several of the captives, including Helenus, a freedman of Caesar, who stood in high favour with his master, thus laying up for himself with Caesar a store of kindness against some future time and preparing a refuge for himself, if he should ever need anything at Caesar's hands.

Menas, then, was so employed; but as for the people in Rome, they would no longer hold their peace, inasmuch as Sardinia was in hostile hands, the
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τῆς τε σιτοπομπίας ἐστέρημτο, καὶ ὁ λιμὸς τὰ
tε τέλη πολλὰ καὶ παντοία καθιστάμενα καὶ
προσέτι καὶ συντέλεια τοῖς τοὺς δούλους ἔχουσι

2 προστασοῦμενα δεινῶς αὐτοὺς ἔλυσον, οὐκέθ' ἢσύχαξον, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ
tοῦ Καίσαρος καταλαγαίς, ός καὶ σφετέρας
eἰρήνης τῆς ἔκεινων ὁμονοίας οὕσης, ἦσθησαν,
tοσοῦτον ἦ καὶ πλεῖον ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον

3 σφῶν πολέμῳ ἦσχαλλον. ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ τότε
ἐπὶ τε ἱππῶν αὐτοὺς ὠσπερ ἐν ἐπινικίοις τισίν
ἐσαγαγόντες, καὶ τῇ νικητηρίᾳ στολῇ ἐξ ἱσο
τοῖς πέμψασιν αὐτὰ κοσμῆσαντες, τὰς τε1 πανη
γύρεις ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχικῶν δίφρων θεωρεῖν ποιῆσαν
tες, καὶ τὴν 'Οκταυνίαν τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἄδελ-
φὴν γυναῖκα τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, ἔπειδὴ ὁ ἀνήρ αὐτῆς

4 ἔτετελευτήκει, καὶ κυνόσαν προμνησάμενοι, το-
sαύτη μεταβολῆ ἐχρήσαντο2 ὡστε τὸ μὲν πρῶ-
tον κατὰ συστάσεις γιγνόμενοι ἦ καὶ ἐπὶ θέαν
tινὰ ἀθροιζόμενοι παρεκάλουν σφᾶς εἰρηνῆσαι
cαὶ πολλὰ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐπεβόων, ὡς δὲ ὦκ ἐπεί-
θουτο, ἡλιοτριῳθησάν τε αὐτῶς καὶ πρὸς τὸν

5 Σέξτον ἀπέκλιναν. καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐπὶ θεραπεία
αὐτοῦ διεθρόουν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἱπποδρομίαις κρότῳ
tε πολλῷ τὸ τοῦ Ποσειδώνος ἀγαλμα πομπεῦον
ἐτίμων καὶ ἤδονήν ἐπὶ αὐτῷ πολλὴν ἐποιοῦντο.
ἐπεὶ3 τε ἡμέρας τισίν οὐκ ἔσηχθη, τοὺς τε ἐν
tαῖς ἀρχαῖς ὄντας λίθοις ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐξήλασαν
cαὶ ἔκεινων τὰς εἰκόνας κατέβαλον, καὶ τέλος,

1 τάς τε Lemcl., ἐς τε τὰs LM.
2 ἐχρήσαντο L, ἐχρήσατο M. 3 ἐπεὶ Xyl., ἐπὶ LM.

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

¹ Cf. chap. 19.
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επειδή μηδ' ὃς τι ἐπεραινετο, σπουδὴ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς

6 ός καὶ ἀποκτενοῦντες σφας ὁρμησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν
Καῖσαρ, καίτοι τρωθέντων τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτόν ὄντων,
τήν τε ἐσθῆτα περιερρήξατο καὶ πρὸς ἰκετεῖαν
αὐτῶν ἑτράπετο, ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος βιαιότερον σφισι
προσηνέχθη. καὶ διὰ τούτο ὅτι μάλιστα 1 ὄργν
σθέντων τέ σφων καὶ ἐπὶ τούτω καὶ δεινῶν τι πρᾶ
ξειν προσδοκηθέντων, ἡναγκάσθησαν τῷ Σέξτῳ
καὶ ἄκοντες ἐπικηρυκεύσασθαί.

32 Καὶ τοῦτω τοὺς τε στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὑπά-
τους, καὶ περ ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ ἦδη τοῦ ἔτους ὄντος, παυ-
σαντες ἄλλους 2 ἀντικατέστησαν, βραχὺ φροντί-

2 σαντες εἰ καὶ ἐπ' ὀλίγας ἥμερας ἀρξοῦσι. καὶ
eἰς γε τῶν τότε ὑπατευσάντων Δούκιος Κορνήλιος
Βάλβος ἑγένετο, Γαδερεύς τε ὃν καὶ πλοῦτῳ καὶ
μεγαλονοία τοσοῦτον 3 τοὺς καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἀνθρώ-
πους ὑπερενεγκῶν ὡςτε καὶ ὁφειάν τοῖς Ἐρω-
μαίοις ἀνὰ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δραχμᾶς τελευτῶν

3 καταλιπεῖν. τοῦτο τε ὅτι ἐποίησαν, καὶ ἐν τῇ
teleutaiα τοῦ ἔτους ἥμερα ἀγορανόμου τινός ἀπο-
θανόντος ἔτερον ἐσ τάς λοιπὰς ὀρᾶς ἀνθέιλοντο.
καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τοῦτῳ χρόνῳ τῷ τε ὑδωρ τῷ Ἰουλίου

4 ὀνομασμένον ἐς τήν πόλιν ἐπωχετεύθη, καὶ ἡ
πανηγυρις ἡ ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς σφα-
γέας εὐχεθείσα ὑπὸ 4 τῶν ὑπάτων ἐποιήθη. τά τε
tοῖς ἐπτά ἀνδρᾶσιν ὄνομασμένοις προσήκοκαν οἱ
ποντίφικες, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς ἐκείνων παρῆν, ἐπετε-
λεσαν καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλοτε πολλάκις ἑγένετο.

33 Ταῦτα τε ὅτι ὁυτῶς ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνω ἐπράξθη,

1 ὅτι μάλιστα Reim., ἦτι μάλιστα LM.
2 ἄλλους M, ἄλλους L.
3 τοσοῦτον Xiph., τοσαυτὴ LM.
4 ὅπο Reim., ἀπὸ LM.

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

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

Besides these events which took place that year
καὶ Σφαῖρον ὁ Καίσαρ παιδαγωγὸν τε καὶ ἔξελευ-θερον αὐτὸν γενόμενον δημοσία ἔθαψε. τον τε Ὀρύφον τὸν Σαλουδίην ὡς καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσαντά

2 οἱ ὀπέκτεινεν. οὗτος δὲ ἦν μὲν ἐξ ἀφανεστάτων, καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ κεφαλὴ ποιμαίνοντι φλόγα ἀνέδωκεν· ἐς τοσοῦτον δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος προήχθη ὡστε αὐτὸν τε ὑπατον μηδὲ βουλεύοντα ἀποδειχθήναι, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ προαποβανόντα διὰ τοῦ Τιβέριδος, γεφύρασ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τούτο ποιηθείσης,

3 εξενεχθῆναι. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν ἁνθρωπίνων βε-βαιοῦ ἐστὶ, κατηγορήθη τε ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ ὡς πολέμιος ἐκεῖνον καὶ τοῦ δήμου παντὸς ἐσφάγη, ἱερομονήται τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο, καὶ προσετί καὶ ἡ φυλακὴ τῆς πόλεως τοῖς τρισὶν ἁνδράσι μετὰ τῆς εἰθισμένης προσθή-κης, τοῦ μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀποτριβήναι, ἐπετράπη.

4 ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦτον ἔτει θηρία τε ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀπολλωνίων ἱπποδρομία ἀνδρές ἐς τὴν ἱππάδα τελοῦντες κατέβαλον, καὶ ἡμέρα ἐμβόλιμος παρὰ τὰ καθεστικότα ἐνεβλήθη, ἵνα μὴ ἡ νομομαία τοῦ ἐχομένου ἔτους τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν διὰ τῶν ἐνεέα ἡμερῶν ἀγομένην λάβῃ, ὁπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνω ἀρχαίον σφόδρα ἐφυλάσσετο· καὶ ἠδόν ὅτι ἀνθυφηρέθη αὐθίς, ὅπως ὁ χρόνος κατὰ τὰ τῶν

5 Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ δόξαντα συμβῆ. Κάστορι τε τινὶ ἦ τε τοῦ Ἀττάλου καὶ ἦ τοῦ Δηστάρου ἄρχη ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ τελευτησάντων ἐδόθη· καὶ ὁ νόμος ὁ Φαλκίδιος ὁνομασμένος, πλείστην καὶ νῦν ἔτει ἵσχυν ἐς τὰς τῶν κληρῶν διαδοχάς, ὡστε τινὰ τὸ τέταρτον τῆς καταλειφθείσης οἱ οὐσίαις, ἀν γέ

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

34 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς δύο ἔτεσιν ἐγένετο, τῷ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένῳ, ἐν φ' Δούκιος τε Μάρκιος καὶ Γάιος Σαβῖνος ὑπάτευσαν, τὰ τε ὑπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν πραξθέντα ἀφ' οὗ ἐστὶν ἀποθεσαυρισμὸν ἐσήλθον

2 κύρος παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἔλαβε, καὶ τέλη τινὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν προσκατέστη ι διὰ τὸ τὰ ἀναλώματα πολλοῦ πλείω ἦπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος ἐτέστακτο γίγνεσθαι: πάμπολλα γὰρ αὐτὸι καὶ μάλιστα ἐστὶν ἑκατέρωτας δαπανῶντες ἰσχύοντο

3 μόνον παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἀναλίσκοντες. ἀμελεί τὸν πόγωνα ὁ Καίσαρ τότε πρῶτον εὐράμενος αὐτὸς τε μεγάλως ἐώρτασε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασὶ δημοτελῇ ἔορτὴν παρέσχε. καὶ ο μὲν καὶ ἐπειτα ἐπελειοῦτο 4 τὸ γένειον, ὅσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἦδη γὰρ καὶ τῆς Διονίσας ἐρᾶν ἥρχετο, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ τὴν Σκριμβωνίαν τεκοῦσαν οἱ θυγάτριοι

4 ἀπεπέμψατο ἀυθημερόν. τῶν δ᾽ οὖν ἀναλωμάτων πολὺ μειξόνων ἡ πρότερον γιγνομένων, καὶ τῶν προσόδων οὐτ' ἄλλως ἄρκουσῶν καὶ τότε ἐλαττῶν διὰ τὰς στάσεις προσιουσῶν, κατὰ τινὰ τέλη ἐσήγαγον, ἐστὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον πλείστους ὅσοιν οὖχ ὃτι τῶν συμμάχων ἢ καὶ στρα-τιώτας παίδας τε ἀπελευθέρων, ἄλλα καὶ δούλους

5 ἐνεγραψαν. Μάξιμον γοῦν τινὰ ταμειύσεις μέλ-

1 προσκατέστη Leuncl., προκατέστη LM.
2 ἰσχύοντο M, ἰσχύοντο L. 3 μόνον Bs., μόνο ποι. LM.
BOOK XLVIII

feels burdened in any way, he may secure a fourth of the property bequeathed him by surrendering the rest.¹

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

¹ The essential feature of this law was its requirement that the heir or heirs should receive at least one-fourth of the property left by the testator; in other words, that the legacies should not exceed three-fourths of the total estate.
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λόντα ἑγνώρισέ τε ὁ δεσπότης καὶ ἀπήγαγε. καὶ τούτων 1 μὲν ἄδεις ἐγένετο τολμήσαντι τὴν ἀρχὴν αἰτήσαν ἐτερος δὲ ἐν τοῖς στρατηγοῦσι 2 φωραθεὶς κατὰ τῶν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου πετρῶν ἐώσθη, προελευθερωθεὶς ἦν οἰκίωμα ἡ τιμωρία αὐτοῦ λάβη.

35 Προφασίν δὲ σφισὶ τοῦ τῶν βουλευσόντων πλήθους ἡ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου στρατεία, ἦν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους ἤτοιμάζετο, παρέσχεν ἀφ' οὖν παραίς ἀλλας τε ἐπὶ πλεῖο ἐτη καὶ τὴν τῶν ὑπάτων ἐς ὁκτὼ ὅλα προκατεστήσαντο, τοὺς μὲν ἀμειβόμενοι τῶν συναραβικών 3 σφίσι, τοὺς δὲ 2 ὑπαγόμενοι. ὑπάτους δὲ οὗ 4 δύο ἔτησίους, ὄσπερ εἴδιστο, ἀλλὰ πλείους τότε πρῶτον εὐθὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαιοσφαίρις εἶλοντο. καὶ πρότερον μὲν γὰρ μεθ' ἐτέρους τινὲς μήτ' ἀποθανόντας μήτ' ἐπ' ἀτιμία ἢ καὶ ἄλλος πῶς παυθέντας ἡρξαν. 5 ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν, ὡς ποὺ τοῖς ἐς ὄλου τὸν ἐναυτὸν χειροτονηθείσιν ἐδοξε, κατέστησαν, τότε δὲ ἐνιαυ- σίος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἡρέθη, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὰ τοῦ χρόνου 3 μέρη ἄλλοι καὶ ἄλλοι ἀπεδείχθησαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι καὶ τὸ ὅνομα τῆς ὑπατείας κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἑτους, ὃσπερ καὶ νῦν γίγνεται, ἐσχον τοὺς δ' ἑτέρους αὐτοί μὲν οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ τε

1 τούτω Rk., τούτο LM.
2 στρατηγοῦσι Willems, στρατευομένους LM Xiph.
3 συναραβικών R. Steph., συναραβικών LM.
4 οὐ Bk., οὐδ' LM.
5 ἡρξαν Xyl., εἱρξαν LM.

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

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

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

² Cf. xliii. 46, 1-2, and chap. 53 inf.
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άλλη Ἰταλία ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν χρόνῳ ὄνομαζον, ὅ καὶ νῦν ποιεῖται, οἳ δὲ λοιποὶ ἡ τινας αὐτῶν ἡ οὐδένας ἤδεσαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σμικροτέρους σφᾶς ὑπάτους ἐπεκάλουν.

36 Οἴκοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπραττον, τῷ δὲ δὴ Σέξτῳ πρώτον μὲν διὰ τῶν ἐταίρων, καὶ ὅπως καὶ ἐφ' οἷς καταλαγῆσοντο, συνέβησαν, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς Μισηνῷ ἐς λόγους ἤλθον. εἰστή-κεσαν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ, ὁ δὲ ἐν χώματι τινι ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἔπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο περιρρύτῳ οὐ πόρρῳ σφῶν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν αὐτῷ πεποιημένῳ.

2 καὶ παρῆν πάς μὲν ὁ τούτου ναυτικὸς πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐκεῖνων πεζικὸς όχλος, οὐχ ἄπλως, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἐξωπλισμένου παρετε-τάχατο, ὥστε καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦτον ἰήλου πᾶσι γενέσθαι ὅτι ἐκ τε τοῦ φόβου τῆς παρασκευῆς σφῶν καὶ ἐξ ἀνάγκης, οἱ μὲν διὰ τὸν δήμου ὁ δὲ διὰ

3 τοὺς συνόντας οἳ, ἐσπείσαντο.1 αἱ δὲ δὴ συνθῆ-και ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐγένοντο, τοὺς τε αὐτομολήσαντας τῶν δούλων ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας πλὴν τῶν σφαγέων κατελθεῖν τούτους γὰρ δῆθεν ύπεξείλοντο, ἐπεὶ τῷ γε ἔργῳ καὶ ἐκείνων τινῶς κατιέναι ἐμέλλον καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ Σέξτος εἰς ἐξ

4 αὐτῶν γεγονέναι ἐδόκει. ἀλλ' ἐγράφη γε τοὺς ἄλλους πλὴν τούτων πάντας ἐπὶ τε ἀδεία καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τετάρτῳ τῆς δημοτείσθης σφῶν οὐσίας ἐπαν-ελθεῖν, καὶ ἐκείνων μὲν τισὶ καὶ δημαρχίας καὶ στρατηγίας ἱερωσύνας τε εὐθὺς 2 δοθήναι, αὐτῶν

1 ἐσπείσαντο R. Steph., ἐσπείσατο LM.
2 εὐθὺς Zon., αὐτοῖς LM.

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in the rest of Italy during the period of each one's office, as, indeed, is the case to-day, but the other citizens of the empire knew few or none of them and therefore called them "lesser consuls."

These were the acts of Caesar and Antony at home; with Sextus they first reached an understanding through their associates as to how and on what terms they could effect a reconciliation, and later they themselves conferred with him near Misenum. The two took their station on the land and Sextus not far from where they were on a mound that had been constructed in the sea, with water all around it, for the purpose of securing his safety. There was present also the whole fleet of Sextus and the whole infantry of the other two; and not merely that, but the forces on the one side had been drawn up on the shore and those of the other side on the ships, both fully armed, so that it was perfectly evident to all from this very circumstance that it was from fear of each other's military strength and from necessity that they were making peace, the two because of the people and Sextus because of his adherents. The compact was made upon these conditions, that the slaves who had deserted should be free and that all those who had been banished should be restored, except Caesar's assassins. They merely pretended, of course, to exclude the last-named, since in reality some of them also were about to be restored; indeed, Sextus himself was reputed to have been one of them. But at any rate it was recorded that all the rest except those should be permitted to return in safety and with a right to a quarter of their confiscated property; that tribuneships, praetorships and priesthoods should be given to some of them immediately; that
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δὲ τὸν Σέξτον ὑπατόν τε αἰρεθῆμα καὶ οἰωνιστὴν
5 ἀποδειχθῆμαι, ἐκ τε τῆς οὐσίας τῆς πατρίως χιλίας καὶ ἐπτακοσίας καὶ πεντῆκοντα μυριάδας δραχμῶν κομίσασθαι, καὶ Σικελίας καὶ Σαρδοῦς τῆς τε 'Αλχαίας ἐπὶ πέντε ἔτη ἀρξαί μὴν αὐτομολούσις δεχόμενου μήτε ναίς ἐπικτώμενου μήτε τινὰ
6 φρούρια ἐν τῇ 'Ιταλίᾳ ἐχοῦτα, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε εἰρήνην αὐτὴν τὴν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης προτανεύοντα καὶ σίτου τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει τακτὸν πέμποντα. τὸν δὲ δὴ χρόνον αὐτῷ τούτον προσέγραψαν, ὡστε καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς καιρὸν 1 δὴ τινὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀλλ' οὐκ αἴδιον ὑχεῖν δοκεῖν ἤθελον.
37 Ταύτα μὲν 2 οὖν συνθέμενοι καὶ συγγραφάμενοι τὰ τε γραμματεῖα ταῖς ἱερείαις ταῖς ἀειπαρθένους παρακατέθεντο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δεξίας τὲ σφισιν ἔδοσαν καὶ ἐξίλησαν ἀλλήλους. γενομένου δὲ τούτου πολλῆ καὶ ἄπλετος βοή καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἥπειρος
2 ἀμα καὶ ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἤγερθη, πολλοί μὲν γὰρ στρατιώται πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἰδιώται παρόντες ἄθροον καὶ ἐξαιτωμένος, ἀτε καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ δεινῶς ἁχθόμενοι καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἵσχυρῶς ἐπιθυμοῦντες, ἐξέκραγον, ὡστε καὶ τὰ ὅρη συνηχίσασι, κακὸς τούτου καὶ φρίκην σφῶτι καὶ ἐκπλήξιν μεγάλην ἐγγενέσθαι, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τοῦτων ἐκθανατίν, πολλοὺς δὲ συμπαθηθέντας ἥ καὶ ἀπό-
3 πυγέντας ἀπολέσθαι. οὐ τε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σκά-
φεσιν ὄντες οὐκ ἀνέμειναι τῇ γῇ αὐτῇ προσελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔξεπιθδῶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ οἱ ἐτεροὶ ἐς αὐτῶν τὸν βυθὸν ἐπεσέβαινον. καὶ τούτω ἡ σπά-
ζοντο τε ἀλλήλους ἀμα νηχόμενοι καὶ περιε-

1 πρὸς καιρὸν St., πρόσκαιρον LM.
2 μὲν Bk., τε LM.

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

After drafting these compacts and reducing them to writing they deposited the documents with the Vestal Virgins, and then exchanged pledges and embraced one another. Upon this a great and mighty shout arose from the mainland and from the ships at the same moment. For many soldiers and many civilians who were present suddenly cried out all together, being terribly tired of the war and strongly desirous of peace, so that even the mountains resounded; and thereupon great panic and alarm came upon them, and many died of no other cause, while many others perished by being trampled under foot or suffocated. Those who were in the small boats did not wait to reach the land itself, but jumped out into the sea, and those on land rushed out into the water. Meanwhile they embraced one another while swimming and threw their arms around one another's necks.
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4. ἐὰν ποικιλὴν μὲν αὐτῶν ἄλλας κολυμβῶντες, ἡς τε ποικιλὴν ἦν καὶ ἄλλην συμβήναι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τούς τε συγγενεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἑταῖρους ξώντας εἰδότες καὶ τότε παρόντας ὄροντες ἀπλῆστῳ τῇ ἣδοιῃ ἔχοντο· οἱ δὲ ἀπολογοῦντες τέ σφας προτεροῦν νομίζοντες καὶ τότε παρὰ δόξαν θεωροῦντες ἀποροῖ τε ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐγίγνοντο καὶ ἀφασία συνειχόντο, ἀπιστοῦντες τε ἀμά τῇ ὁψει καὶ εὐχόμενοι ἀληθῆ ταύτην εἶναι καὶ οὐ προτεροῦν γε ἐγνώριζον σφας πρὶν τα τε ὀνόματα αὐτῶν ἀνακαλέσαι καὶ

5. φθεγγομένων τι ἀκούσαι· οὐτῳ δὲ ἐχαίρειν μὲν ὡς καὶ ἀναβιωσκομένων σφῶν, ἀναγκαζόμενοι δὲ ἀθρόως ἤδεσθαί οὐκ ἀδακρυτί διήγον. καὶ ἔτεροι ἀγνοοῦντες τε τοὺς φιλτάτους ἀπολωλότας, καὶ ξῆν παρεῖναι τε αὐτοὺς ἡγούμενοι, ἐξῆτον τε σφας ἁμα περιφοιτώντες, καὶ πάντα τὸν προσ.

6. τυγχάνοντα περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπηρώτων· καὶ τέως μὲν οὐδὲν ἀκρίβες ἢ ἀκριβέστερον, μαινομένοις τε ἐφήκεσαν καὶ ἐν ἀπόρῳ καθειστήκεσαν, ἐλπίζοντές τε ἅμα αὐτοὺς εὐρήσειν καὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ τεθνήκασι, καὶ μὴ ἀποφυγῶναί πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν μήτ.

7. ἀπαλγήσαι πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα δυνάμενοι· μαθόντες δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὰς τε τρίχας ἐσπαράττοντο καὶ τὰς ἐσθήτας περιερήγησαν, ὀνομαστί τε αὐτοὺς ἀνεκάλουν ὡς καὶ ἐπακούσα τι δυνάμενοι, καὶ πένθος ὡς καὶ τότε τελευτώντων αὐτοῦ τέ που

8. κειμένων σφῶν ἐποιοῦντο. καὶ εἰγε τισὶ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς τοιοῦτο παρῆν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γε τοίς τῶν ἄλλων παθήμασιν ἐσπαράττοντο· ἡ γὰρ χαίροντι τινι συνήδοντο ἢ πενθοῦντι συνελυποῦντο, καὶ οὐτῶς εἰ καὶ ἐξω οἰκείῳ πάθους ἦσαν, ὡμοὶ οὐκ ἑδύ-
as they dived, making a spectacle of varied sights and sounds. Some knew that their relatives and associates were living, and seeing them now present, gave way to unrestrained joy. Others, supposing that those dear to them had already died, saw them now unexpectedly and for a long time were at a loss what to do, and were rendered speechless, at once distrusting the sight they saw and praying that it might be true, and they would not accept the recognition as true until they had called their names and had heard their voices in answer; then, indeed, they rejoiced as if their friends had been brought back to life again, but as they must yield perforce to a flood of joy, they could not refrain from tears. Again, some who were unaware that their dearest ones had perished and thought they were alive and present, went about seeking for them and asking every one they met regarding them. As long as they could learn nothing definite they were like madmen and were reduced to despair, both hoping to find them and fearing that they were dead, unable either to give up hope in view of their longing or to give up to grief in view of their hope. But when at last they learned the truth, they would tear their hair and rend their garments, calling upon the lost by name as if their voices could reach them and giving way to grief as if their friends had just then died and were lying there before their eyes. And even if any had no such cause themselves for joy or grief, they were at least affected by the experiences of the rest; for they either rejoiced with him that was glad or grieved with him that mourned, and so, even if they were free from an experience of their own,
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vanto dià tην πρός τους ἄλλους ὀμίλιαν ἡσυχά-
9 ζείν. καὶ ἐκ τούτου οὔτε κόρον οὔτε αἰσχύνην, ἀτε καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς συμφερόμενοι, ἐλάμβανον, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε ἡμέραν ὅλην καὶ τής νυκτὸς τὰ πλεῖω ἐς ταύτα κατανάλωσαν.

38 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ ταῦθ' οὗ τε ἄλλοι ὑπεδέχοντο ἄλληλους καὶ ἀνθειστίων ἕκαστος καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔκεινοι, πρό-
tερος μὲν ο̣ Σέξτος ἐν τῇ νησί, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὁ τε Ἄντωνιος ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ τοσοῦτόν γὰρ ὁ Σέξτος τῇ δυνάμει σφῶν περίθεν ὧστε μὴ 
πρότερον αὐτόν ἐς τὴν ἡπείρον ἐκβῆναι πρὶν ἐκεί-

2 νοῦς ἐς τὴν ναῦν ἐσελθείν. καὶ τοῦτο μέντοι 

ποιήσας, δυνηθεὶς τ' ἀν ἀμφοτέρους ἐν τῷ σκάφει 

σὺν ὀλίγοις παρόντας, ὡσπερ ποι καὶ ὁ Μηνᾶς 

αὐτῷ συνεβούλευσε, φονεύσαι, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλὰ 

καίπερ πρὸς τὸν Ἅντωνιον, ἔπειδή τὴν ὀἰκίαν 

αὐτοῦ τὴν πατρῴαν τὴν ἐν ταῖς Καρίναις κατείχε 

(τόπος γὰρ της τῆς 2 τῶν Ἄρμαϊων πόλεως οὕτω 

καλούμενος ἐστὶν), ἄποσκόψας τρόπον τινὰ ἄδι-

3 στον (ταῖς γὰρ τροπίσι ταῖς τῶν νεῶν τῆς αὐτῆς 

ονομασίας ωὐσὶς, ἐν ταῖς Καρίναις αὐτοῖς ἐστιαν 

ἐφη), ὥμως οὐδέν ὡς καὶ μνησικακῶν σφίσιν ἐπρα-

ξεν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε 3 υστεραία ἀνθειστιάθη, καὶ τῆ 

θυγατέρα Μάρκῳ Μαρκέλλῳ τῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος 

ἀδελφίδῳ ἤγγυσεν.

39 Ὁὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ πόλεμος ἀνεβέβλητο, τὰ δὲ δὴ 

τοῦ Λαβύνου τῶν τε Πάρθων ὥδε διεπολεμήθη. 

ὁ Ἅντωνιος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπὸ τῆς 

Ἰταλίας ἐπανελθὼν ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐνεχρό- 

1 ἀνθειστίων Xiph. Zon., ἀναπαραστάσεως LM.

2 τῆς supplied by St. 3 το Μ, om. L.

4 ἤγγυσεν Bk., ἤγγυσεν LM.

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

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

This war, then, had been deferred; and that of Labienus and the Parthians came to an end in the following way. Antony himself returned from Italy to Greece and delayed there a long time, satisfying
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νίσει, τάς τε ἐπιθυμίας ἀμα ἀποπιμπλάς καὶ τὰς πόλεις κακῶν, ἵν' ὁτι ἀσθενέσταται τὸ Σέξτῳ
2 παραδοθῶσι. καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐν τούτῳ πολλὰ ἔξω
tῶν πατρίων ἐξεδιηγηθεῖ, καὶ Διόνυσον ἑαυτὸν
νέον αὐτός τε ἐκάλει καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὄνομά-
ξεσθαί ἦξίων· ἐπειδή τε οἱ Αθηναῖοι πρὸ τε
tούτο καὶ πρὸσ τὰ ἄλλα τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν αὐτῷ κατηγ-
γύσαν, δέχεσθαί τε τὸν γάμον ἔφη καὶ προῖκα
μυρίάδας ἐκατὸν παρ' αὐτῶν ἐξέπραξεν. αὐτὸς
μὲν οὖν περὶ ταῦτα εἰχε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Οὐεντίδιον τὸν
3 Πούπλιον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν προὔπεμψεν. καὶ δὲ
ἡλθὲ τε ἐπὶ τὸν Λαβιῆνον πρὶν ἐκπυστὸς γεν-
exθαί, καὶ καταπλήξας αὐτὸν τὸ τε αἰφνιδίῳ τῆς
ἐφόδου καὶ τοῖς στρατεύμασιν (ἀνευ γὰρ τῶν
Πάρθων μετὰ τῶν αὐτόθεν στρατιωτῶν μόνων
ἡν), ἐκεῖθεν τε μηδὲ ἐς χειρὰς οἱ ὑπομείναντα
εὐθὺς ἐξέσωσε, καὶ φεύγοντα ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐπε-
4 δίωξε, τὸ κουφότατον τοῦ στρατοῦ λαβὼν. καὶ
αὐτὸν πρὸς τῷ Ταῦρῳ καταλαβὼν οὐκέτι περαι-
tέρω προχωρῆσαι εἴασεν, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ πλεί-
ους ἡμέρας καταστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἡς' ἡμαξίαν
Λαβιῆνος μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Πάρθους, Οὐεντίδιος δὲ
40 τοὺς ὅπλιτας ἀνέμεινεν. ὡς οὖν καὶ οὗτοι ἐν ταῖς
αὐταῖς ἀμα ἁμφότεροι ἡμέρας ἠλθον, Οὐεντίδιος
μὲν δέει τῆς ὑποῦ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν τῷ μετεώρῳ,
2 οὕτε ηὐλίζετο, κατέμεινεν, οἱ δὲ δὴ Πάρθοι ἐκ τε
tοῦ πληθοῦς σφῶν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ προνευκηκέναι
ποτὲ καταφρονήσαντες πρὸς τε τὸν γῆλοφον ἀμα
τῇ ἔω, πρὶν καὶ τῷ Λαβιῆνῳ συμμίξαι, προσή-
his desires and injuring the cities, so that they should be in the weakest possible condition when delivered up to Sextus. He lived during this time in many respects contrary to the customs of his country, calling himself, for example, the young Dionysus and insisting on being called so by others; and when the Athenians, in view of this and his general behaviour, betrothed Athena to him, he declared that he accepted the marriage and exacted from them a dowry of four million sesterces.\(^1\) While he was occupied with these matters he sent Publius Ventidius before him into Asia. This officer came upon Labienus before his coming had been announced and terrified him by the suddenness of his approach and by his legions; for Labienus was without his Parthians and had with him only the soldiers from the neighbourhood. Ventidius found he would not even risk a conflict with him and so thrust him forthwith out of that country and pursued him into Syria, taking the lightest part of his army with him. He overtook him near the Taurus range and allowed him to proceed no farther, but they encamped there for several days and made no move, for Labienus was awaiting the Parthians and Ventidius his heavy-armed troops. These reinforcements, however, arrived during the same days on both sides, and though Ventidius through fear of the barbarian cavalry remained on the high ground, where he was encamped, the Parthians, because of their numbers and because they had been victorious once before,\(^2\) despised their opponents and rode up to the hill at dawn, without even waiting to join forces with

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1 Seneca the Rhetorician (*Suas. i. 6*) gives the amount as one thousand talents, or six times the sum here given.

2 A reference to their defeat of Crassus in B.C. 53.
λασαν, καὶ ὡς οὖνεις σφισιν ἀντεπέξης, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὀρθίον αὐτὸ προσέβαλον. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἦδη οὔτας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπιδραμόντες ῥαδίως πρὸς τὸ κάταντες ἔτρεψαντο. καὶ σφῶν πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν χερσὶν ἀπέθανον, τὸ δὲ δῆ πλεῖον ἐν τῇ ἀναστροφῇ περὶ ἀλλήλους, οἱ μὲν ἦδη τετραμμένοι οἱ δὲ ἐτί προσιόντες, ἐσφάλησαν· οἱ τε περιλεψθέντες οὐ πρὸς τὸν Λαβιήνον ἀλλ᾽ ἐς Κιλκίαν ἐφυγον. οὐν Οὐντίδιος ἐπεδίωξε μὲν αὐτοὺς μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἱδῶν δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὸν Λαβιήνον ἐπέσχε. καὶ ὁ παρετάζατο μὲν ὡς καὶ ἐς χείρας αὐτῷ ἦξον, αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀθύμως διὰ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων φυγὴν ἔχοντας οὔτε τότε ἐθάρσησέν οἱ ἀντάραι, καὶ τῆς 5 νυκτὸς ἀποδρᾶναι ποι ἐπεχείρησε. προγνοῦσιν οὖν τοῦτο ἐξ αὐτομόλων οὐκ Ὁυντίδιος πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει ἐνεδρεύσας ἐκτεινε, πάντας δὲ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐγκαταλείφθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ Λαβιήνου παρεστήσατο. καὶ ἐκεῖνος δὲ τότε μὲν τὴν ἐσθήτα μετεκόδυς διέφυγε, καὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἐν τῇ Κιλκίᾳ διέλαθεν, ύστερον δὲ ὑπὸ Δημητρίου ἐάλω· οὗτος γὰρ ἐξελεύθερος τε τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ προτέρου ὤν, καὶ τότε τῇ Κύπρῳ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντωνίου προστεταγμένος, ἀνεξήτητε τε αὐτὸν μαθὼν ὅτι κρύπτοτο, καὶ συνέλαβε. 41 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ τούτῳ ὁ Οὐντίδιος τὴν τε Κιλκίαν ἐκομίσατο, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν παῦνεν καθίσατο, Που- τοῖδιον 2 δὲ δὴ Σίλωνα μεθ᾽ ἵππεων πρὸς τὸν 2 Ἀμανὸν προὔπεμψε. τούτῳ δὲ τὸ ὀρος ἐν τῇ

1 ἐτὶ M, ὅτι L.
2 Πουτῆδιον Val., οὐπῆδιον LM; Bs. suggests Ποπίδιον or Πολπίδιον.

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

After this Ventidius recovered Cilicia and attended to the administration of this district himself, but sent ahead Pompaedius¹ Silo with cavalry to the Amanus. This mountain is on the border between Cilicia and

¹ Or Poppaedius (cf. Livy, Perioch. 76).
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meθορία τῆς τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Συρίας ἐστὶ, καὶ στενοπορίας τοσαύτην δή τινα ἔχει ὡστε καὶ πῦλας ποτὲ ἐν αὐτῇ μετὰ τείχους ἑνοικοδομηθῆναι
καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἐπονομασθῆναι, οὐ μέντοι καὶ κατασχεῖν αὐτὸ ὁ Σίλων ἰδυνήθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκῳδύνευσεν ὑπὸ Φραναπάτου ὑπάρχου τε τοῦ Πακόρου ὄντος καὶ τῆν δίδον φυλάττοντος ἀπολέσθαι. κάν ἔπαθε τοῦτο, εἰ μὴ ὁ Οὔεντίδιος μαχομένω αὐτῷ κατὰ τὺχὴν ἐπιστᾶς ἐπῆμυνεν
ἀνελπιστοις τε γὰρ ἀμα καὶ ἔλαττοσι τοῖς βαρβάροις σφῶν οὐσὶ προσπεσών τὸν το Φραναπάτην καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς ἐφόνευσε, καὶ οὔτω τῇ τῇ Συρίαν ἐκλειφθέσαν ὑπὸ τῶν Πάρθων ἀμαχεί τῇ τῶν Ἀραδίων παρέλαβε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ, Ἀντίγονον τὸν βασιλέυοντα
αὐτῆς ἐκφοβήσας, ἀπόνως κατέσχε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτά τε διῆγε, καὶ χρήματα πολλά μὲν παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὡς ἐκάστων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου καὶ Μάλχου τοῦ Ναβαταίου, ὅτι τῷ Πακόρῳ συνήθραντο, ἐσέπτραζε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, ἀτε οὐκ αὐτοκράτωρ ὃν ἄλλον ἐτέρω ύποστρατη-
γοῦν, εὑρετο, ὃ δὲ Ἀντόνιος καὶ ἐπαύνους καὶ
ἰερομηνίας ἔλαβεν. οὐ γε μὴν Ἀράδιοι δείπταντες μὴ καὶ δίκην ὃν ἐς τῶν Ἀντώνιον ἐτετολμήκεσαν ὑπόσχοσιν, ἐκείνῳ μὲν, καὶ τοῖς χρόνον ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πολιορκηθέντες, οὐ προσεχώρησαν, ὡστερον δὲ ὑπ’ ἄλλων μόλις ποτὲ εἰλίσαν.
καὶ τὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων χρόνον ἑγένετο μὲν καὶ ἐν Ἰλλυρίοις τοῖς Παρθινοῖς κίνησις.

1 L has lost one folio at this point, resuming with χωρίς (chap. 44, 3).
2 ἐν Ἰλλυρίοις Heringa, ἐνιαυρίοις Μ.
3 Παρθινοῖς Bs., παρθηνοῖς Μ.

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

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

1 i.e. the Cilician Gates.
καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Πωλίων μάχαις ἔπαυσεν, ἐγένετο
dὲ καὶ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Κερητανῶν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ
Καλουῖνος κατεστρέψατο, προκατορθώσας τε
τι καὶ προδυστυχήσας διὰ τοῦ υποστρατήγου
λοχισθέντος τε ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἐγκατα-
λειφθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. καὶ οὗ πρό-
tερον γε ἐπεχείρησε τοῖς πολεμίοις πρὶν ἐκείνους
τιμωρήσασθαι συγκαλέσας γὰρ αὐτούς ὡς καὶ
ἐπ᾿ ἄλλῳ τι τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ περιέσχε, καὶ δύο
tε ἐκατονταρχίας ἐδεκάτευσε, καὶ ἐκατοντάρχους
συχνοὺς, ἀλλούς τε καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ πίλῳ
καλουμένω στρατευόμενου, ἐκόλασε. ταῦτα δὲ
ποιῆσας ὡστε καὶ ὅνομα κατὰ τὸν Κράσσον τὸν
Μάρκον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ στρατοῦ δικαίωσε λαβεῖν,
πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτίους ὄρμησε καὶ ὅλους τῶν
αὐτοὺς κατειργάσατο. τυχὼν τε τῶν ἐπινικίων
καίτοι τῆς Ἰβηρίας τὸν Καίσαρα προστεταγμένης
(πρὸς γὰρ τὰς τῶν κρατοῦσιν βουλήσεις καὶ
αὐτής τοῖς ὑποστρατηγοῦσί σφισίν ἐγίγνοντο),
tὸ τε χρυσίον τὸ παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ἐς αὐτὰ
eἰσθάνεται δίδοσθαι ἐκ μόνων τῶν Ἰβηρικῶν ἔλαβε,
καὶ ἢ ἁὐτὸ τὸ μὲν τι ἐς τὴν ἐορτὴν ἀνάλωσε,
tὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖον ἐς τὸ βασίλειον. κατακαυθὲν
γὰρ αὐτῷ ἁρκοδόμησε καὶ καθιέρωσε, ἀλλοὺς
tέ τι σι λαμπρὰς κοσμῆσας καὶ εἰκόσιν, ὡς παρὰ
tοῦ Καίσαρος ὡς καὶ ἀποδώσων ἡτίσατο. καὶ
αὐτάς ἀπαίτηθεις ὕστερον οὐκ ἀπέδωκεν, εὐτρα-
πελία χρησάμενος· ὡς γὰρ οὐκ ἔχων ἱκανοὺς

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

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

2 The *aurum coronarium*, given sometimes in lieu of gold crowns.
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υπηρέτας "πέμψων τινάς" ἔφη "καὶ ἀρον αὐτάς," καὶ οὕτως ἐκείνως ὁκνήσας τήν ἱεροσυλίαν ἀνακείσθαι σφας εἴασε.

43 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἐγένετο· ἔπι δ' Ἀππίου τε Κλαυδίου καὶ Γαίου Νωρβανοῦ ὑπάτων, οἷς πρώτοι δύο ἐκατέρως ταμίας συνεγένοντο, τό τε πλῆθος πρὸς τοὺς τελώνας βαρύτατά σφισιν ἐγκειμένους ἐστασίασε, καὶ αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς ὑπηρέταις τοῖς τε στρατιώταις τοῖς συνεπιτράπασσον σφισι τὰ χρῆματα ἐς

2 χείρας ἡσαν, καὶ στρατηγοὶ ἔπτα καὶ ἐξήκοντα ἄλλοι ἐπ', ἄλλοις ἀποδειχθέντες ἠρξαν. ταμευσά τέ τις ἐν παῖσιν αἱρεθείς ἐπείτα τῆς ύστεραίας ἐς ἐφήβους ἐσήλθε, καὶ ἔτερος ἐς τὸ βου-

3 λευτικὸν ἑσγραφεῖς μονομαχῆσαι ἥθελησε· καὶ ἐκείνος τε ἐκειλύθη τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, καὶ προσαπηγορεύθη μήτε βουλευτὴν μονομαχεῖν μήτε δοῦλον ῥαβδουχεῖν, μήτε τὰς καύσεις τῶν νεκρῶν ἐντὸς πεντεκαίδεκα ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως σταδίῳν γίγνεσθαι.

4 Πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου τερατώδη συνηνέχθη (ἀλλὰ τε γὰρ καὶ ἔλαιον τι παρὰ τῷ Τιβέριδι ἀνέβλυσε), πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τότε. ἦ τε γὰρ σκηνὴ ἢ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου ἐξ ἱερουργίας τινός, ἢν οἱ ποντίκικες ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπεποίηκεν, ἀκαύθη καὶ Ἀρετῆς ἁγαλμα πρὸς τινῶν ἐστὸς ἐπεσεν ἐπὶ στόμα, κάτοχοι τέ τινες ἐκ τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν γενόμενοι ὀργίζεσθαι

5 σφισι τήν θείν ἐφασαν. καὶ ἀνεγνώσθη μὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὰ Σιβύλλεων ἐπή· ως δὲ καὶ ἐκείνων

1 ἡσαν Bs., ἡσαν M. 2 τε Bk., γε M.
3 πρὸ R. Steph., πρὸς M. 4 θείν Bs., θείν M.

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men and take them." And thus Caesar, since he shrank from the sacrilege, allowed them to remain as votive offerings.

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

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

\(^1\) Dio also records the burning of the hut of Romulus among the events of B.C. 12 (liv. 29, 8). There was a casa Romuli on the Capitoline as well as on the Palatine.
Ταυτά τε εἰπόντων, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐπὶ τῇ ἡν θάλασσαν καταχθῆναι καὶ τῶ ν ὑδατὶ αὐτῆς καθαρθῆναι προσταξάντων, ἢ θεὸς πλεῖστον τε ὅσον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐς τὸν βυθὸν ἐχώρησε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνεχρόνισε καὶ μόλις ὅψε ποτε ἀνεκομὶ-

6 σθη, φόβος αὐ καὶ ἐκ τούτου οὐ σμικρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔλαβεν, οὐδὲ ἀνεμάρσησαν πρὶν φονι-κας τέσσαρας περί τε τὸν νεόν αὐτῆς καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀναφύναι.

Ταυτά τε οὖν τὸτε ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ Καῦσαρ τῇ
44 Διούναν ἔγημεν. ἦν δὲ θυγάτηρ μὲν Διουνὸν Δρούσου, ὡς ἐν τε τοῖς ἐκτεθείσιν ἐν τῷ λευκώ-ματι ἐγεγόνει καὶ ἑαυτόν μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ Μακε-δονία ἦτταν κατεκέχομον,2 γυνὴ δὲ τοῦ Νέρωνος, μεθ’ οὐ συνδιεφυγεν, ὡσπερ εἰρήται· καὶ εἰκύει γε
2 ἐξ αὐτοῦ μῆνα ἑκτὸν. διστάζοντος γοῶν τοῦ Καῦσαρος, καὶ πυθομένου τῶν ποντιφίκων εἰ οἱ ὅσιον ἐν γαστρὶ ἑχοῦσαν αὐτὴν ἀγαγέσθαι εἴη, ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι εἰ μὲν ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ τὸ κύμα ἦν, ἀναβληθῆναι τὸν γάμον ἔχρην, ὀμολογομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν κωλύει ἢδη αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, τάχα μὲν ποι καὶ ὅντως ἐν τοῖς πατρίοις τούτῳ εὑροῦ-
tες, πάντως δ’ ἂν, εἰ καὶ μὴ εὑρον αὐτό, εἰπόντες.
3 ἐξεδώκε δὲ αὐτὴν αὐτὸς ὁ ἄνηρ ὡσπερ τις πατήρ. καὶ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον ἐν τῇ ἐστίασει σφῶν συνη-
vέχθη· παιδίον τῷ τῶν ψιθυρῶν, οἷα αἱ γυναῖκες γυμνὰ ὥς πλήθει ἀθύρουσα τρέφουσιν, ἱδον χωρίς μὲν τὴν Διούναν μετὰ τοῦ Καῦσαρος χω-
ρίς δὲ τὸν Νέρωνα μεθ’ ἑτέρου τινὸς κατακεί-

1 ταυτὰ Leuncl., ταῖτα Μ.
2 κατεκέχητο Bs., κατεκεχήσατο M.

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prescribed that the statue should be taken down to
the sea and purified in its waters. Now when the
goddess was taken out a long distance from the land
into the deep water and remained there a good
while, being brought back only after a long time,
this circumstance also caused the Romans no little
fear, and they did not recover their spirits until palm
trees, four in number, sprang up round about her
temple and in the Forum.1
Besides these occurrences at that time, Caesar
married Livia. She was the daughter of Livius
Drusus, who had been among those proscribed on the
tablet and had committed suicide after the defeat in
Macedonia, and the wife of Nero, whom she had
accompanied in his flight, as has been related.2 And
it seems that she was in the sixth month with child
by him. At any rate, when Caesar was in doubt and
enquired of the pontifices whether it was permissible
to wed her while pregnant, they answered that if
there was any doubt whether conception had taken
place the marriage should be put off; but if this was
admitted, there was nothing to prevent its taking
place immediately. Perhaps they really found this
among the ordinances of the forefathers, but cer-
tainly they would have said so, even had they not
found it. Her husband himself gave the woman in
marriage just as a father would; and the following
incident occurred at the marriage feast. One of the
prattling boys, such as the women keep about them
for their amusement, naked as a rule,3 on seeing
Livia reclining in one place with Caesar, and Nero

1 The temple of the Magna Mater was on the Palatine.
2 In chap. 15.
3 Cf. Suetonius, Aug. 83.
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μενον, προσήλθε τε αὐτῇ καὶ ἐφη, “τί ποιεῖς εὔταύθα, κυρία; ὁ γὰρ ἀνήρ σου,” δεῖξας αὐτόν,

4 "ἐκεῖ κατάκειται." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔπραχθη, συνοικοῦσα δὲ ἦδη ἡ γυνὴ τῷ Καίσαρι τίκτει Κλαύδιον Δρούσον Νέρωνα. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Καίσαρ καὶ ἀνείλετο καὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἐπεμψεν, αὐτὸ τούτο ἐς τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐγγράψας, ὅτι Καίσαρ τὸ γεννηθὲν Λιουία τῇ έαυτοῦ γυναικὶ

5 παιδίον Νέρωνι τῷ πατρὶ ἀπέδωκε. καὶ ἐκείνος τελευτῶν οὐ 3 πολλῶν ὠστερον ἐπίτροπον καὶ τούτῳ καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ αὐτὸν τὸν Καίσαρα κατέλιπεν. ὅ δ' οὖν ὁμιλοὺ ἄλλα τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλὰ διεθρύλει, καὶ τοῖς εὐνοχοῖς τρίμηνα παιδία γεννᾶσθαι ἐλεγεν, ὡστε καὶ ἐς παροιμίαν τὸ ἔπος προχώρησαι.

45 Ἐν μὲν δὴ τῆς πόλεως ταύτα 4 ἐγίγνετο, ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον ὁ Βογούας ὁ Μαύρος ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, εἰτ' οὖν κατ' ἐντολὴν τοῦ 'Αντωνίου εἴτε καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ γρώμης, πλεύσας, πολλὰ μὲν ἐλυμῆσατο πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀντέπαθε, 2 καὶ τούτῳ τῶν οἰκοῦ τῶν περὶ τὴν Τύγχων 5 ἐπαναστάτων αὐτῶς τῆς τε Ἰβηρίας ἔξεστη καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν οὐκ ἐκομίσατο. ο' τε γὰρ τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ πράσσοντες καὶ ὁ Βόκχος προσγενόμενος σφίσι κρέατος αὐτοῦ ἐγένοντο.

3 καὶ ἐκείνος μὲν πρὸς τὸν Αὐτώνιον ἀπήλθεν, ο' δὲ δὴ Βόκχος τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ αὕτικα τε κατέσχε καὶ μετὰ τούτο καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐβεβαιώσατο τοῖς τε Τιγγιτανοῖς πολύτεια ἐδόθη.

1 Νέρωνι Μ, Νέρωνα Λ.  2 ἐκείνος Xiph., ἐκείνος τε ΛΜ.
3 οὐ Xiph., om. ΛΜ.  4 ταῦτα L, ταῦτ' Μ.
5 Τύγχων Xyl., γίστιν ΛΜ (Τύγχως Μ in lx. 9, 5).

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in another with a man, went up to her and said: "What are you doing here, mistress? For your husband," pointing him out, "is reclining over there." So much then, for this. Later, when the woman was now living with Caesar, she gave birth to Claudius Drusus Nero. Caesar both acknowledged him and sent him to his real father, making this entry in his memoranda: "Caesar returned to its father Nero the child borne by Livia, his wife." Nero died not long afterward and left Caesar himself as guardian to this boy and to Tiberius. Now the populace gossiped a great deal about this and said, among other things, "The lucky have children in three months"; and this saying passed into a proverb.

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

\(^1\) The modern Tangier.
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4 'Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ, καὶ ἔτι πρῶτον, καὶ ὁ Σέξτος ὃ τε Καῖσαρ ἐπολέμησαν' οἷα γὰρ οὖν ἔθελονταί οὐδ' ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἀλλὰ ἀναγκαστοὶ τὴν ὁμολογίαν πεποιημένοι, χρόνον οὐδένα αὐτῇ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐνέμειναι, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς τὰς σπουδὰς λύσαντες διηνέχθησαν. ἐμελλόν μὲν γὰρ ποι ἄλλως, εἰ καὶ μηδεμίαν σκῆψιν εὐρον, πολεμήσειν αἰτίαν δ' οὖν αἴδε αὐτοῖς ἔγενοντο. ὁ Μηνᾶς ἐν τῇ Σαρδοῖ καὶ τότε ἐτί καθάπερ τις στρατηγὸς ὁ ὑπωπτεύθη τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Σέξτου διὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἐλένου ἀφεσιν καὶ ὅτι καὶ τῷ Καῖσαρι ἐκεκοιμολόγητο, καὶ πη καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων φθόνῳ τῆς δυναστείας διεβλήθη. καὶ τούτου μεταπεμφθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, προφασίζας ὅπως περί τοῦ σίτου καὶ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ὃν διωκήσας ἀπολογίσηται, οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς κατὰ τοῦτο πεμφθέντας συλλαβόν ἀπέκτεινε, πρὸς τὸν Καῖσαρα προκηρυκευσάμενος τὴν τε νῆσον αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ τε ἄλλο στράτευμα καὶ ἑαυτὸν παρέδωκε. καὶ αὐτὸν ἕκεινος ἀσμένως ἵδον, ἔπειδὴ καὶ τὸν Σέξτου τοὺς τε αὐτομολούντας παρὰ τὰ συγκείμενα ὑποδέχεσθαι καὶ ναυπηγήσαι τριήρων ποιεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ φορουμάς ἔχειν ἔλεγεν. οὕτε ἐξέδωκεν ἐξαιτηθέντα καὶ προσέτη καὶ ἐν τιμῇ μεγάλῃ ἡγαγε δακτυλίος τε χρυσοῖς ἐκόμησε καὶ ἐς τὸ τῶν ἑπτάνυ ἐσέγραψε. τὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν δακτυλίων τοιόνυν ἐστὶν. οὐδενὶ τῶν πᾶλαι Ῥωμαίων, οὐχ ὅτι τῶν δουλευσάντων ποτὲ, ἀλλ' οὖν τῶν ἐν ἔλευθερῳ γένει τραφέντων, δακτυλίοις χρυσοῖς πλὴν τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ

1 ἀπολογίσηται Βκ., ἀπολογίσηται ΛΜ.
2 κατὰ Βκ., μετὰ ΛΜ.

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At this time, or even earlier, war was begun between Sextus and Caesar also; for since they had made their agreement, not of their own free will or by choice, but under compulsion, they did not abide by it for any time to speak of, but broke the truce at once and quarrelled. They were bound, of course, to go to war in any case, even if they had found no excuse; their grievances, however, were the following. Menas, who was at this time still in Sardinia, as if he were a kind of praetor, had incurred the suspicion of Sextus by his release of Helenus and because he had been in communication with Caesar; and he was also slandered to some extent by the people of his own rank, who envied him his power. He was therefore summoned by Sextus on the pretext that he should give an account of the grain and money of which he had been in charge; but instead of obeying, he seized and killed the men sent to him on this errand, and after first negotiating with Caesar, surrendered to him the island, the fleet together with the army, and himself. Caesar, on his part, was glad to see him, for he declared that Sextus was harbouring deserters contrary to the treaty, was having triremes built, and was keeping garrisons in Italy; and not only did he fail to give up Menas on Sextus' demand, but even went farther and treated him with great honour, decorated him with gold rings, and enrolled him in the order of the knights. Now the matter of the gold rings is as follows. Of the ancient Romans no one, not merely of those who had once been slaves but even of those who had been brought up as free, was allowed to wear gold rings, except the
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τῶν ἱππεῶν χρησθαι, ὡσπερ εὑρηταί μοι, ἐξῆν.

καὶ διὰ τούτο τοῖς ἐξελευθέροις, οίς ἄν ὁ τὸ κράτος ἐχων ἔθελήσῃ, καίτοι καὶ ἄλλως χρυσοφηροῦσιν, ὡμοί ἐν τιμῆς μέρει, ὡς καὶ βελτίσσων ἢ κατὰ ἀπελευθέριαν ἱππεύειν τε δυναμένοις, δίδονται.

46 Τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τοιούτον ἔστιν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Σέξτος ταῦτα τῷ Καίσαρι ἐγκαλῶν, καὶ ὅτι ἣ Ἀχαΐα ἐκεκάκωτο καὶ οὔτε αὐτῷ οὔτε τοῖς κατελθοῦσι τὰ ὁμολογηθέντα ἐγώμενο, ἐπεμψε Μενεκράτην ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐξελεύθερον καὶ αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ ὄντα, καὶ δὴ ἐκεῖνου ἄλλᾳ τε τῆς Καμπανίας καὶ

2 Οὐδόλτουρνον ἐπόρθησεν. ὁ οὖν Καίσαρ μαθὼν τούτο τὰ τε γραμματεῖα τὰ τῆς συμβάσεως ἀνείλετο παρὰ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον τὸν τε Λέπιδον μετεπέμψατο. καὶ αὐτῷ Λέπιδος μὲν οὐκ εὐθὺς ὑπῆκουσεν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἤλθε μὲν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον (ἐν γὰρ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐτι διὰ ἑτύγχανε), πρὶν δὲ ἡ συμμιξεῖαι τῷ Καίσαρι ἐν Τυρσηνίᾳ ὄντι, δεῖσας ὅτι λύκος ἐς τε τὸ στρατήγιον ¹ αὐτοῦ ἐσήλθε καὶ στρατιώτας ἐφθειρεν, ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα αὐθίς, πρόφασιν τὰ τῶν Πάρθων ὡς

3 κατεπείγοντα ποιησάμενος,² ἀνεπλευσεν. πρὸς οὖν τούτῳ ὁ μὲν ³ Καίσαρ, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐγκαταλελείφθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὅπως μόνος τῷ πολέμῳ συσχεθῇ, ἐνόμιζεν, ἀλλ' οὕτω γε καὶ φανερῶς ὑφίστετο· ὁ δὲ δὴ Σέξτος ἐθρύλει τε ὡς μή δικαιοῦντος τοῦ Ἀντωνίου αὐτοῦ, καὶ προθυμοτερον τῶν προκειμένων εἰχετο, καὶ τέλος τῇ τε

¹ στρατήγιον Zon., στρατηγικὸν LM.
² ποιησάμενος R. Steph., ποιησάμενος LM.
³ μὲν supplied by Bk.

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senators and the knights, as has been stated\(^1\); and for this reason they are given to such freedmen as the ruler may choose, even though these men are already wearing gold in other ways, as a mark of honour indicating that they are superior to the status of freedmen and are eligible to become knights.

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

\(^1\) In a lost portion of his work. Cf. vol. ii. p. 143 (= Zon. 9, 1).
5 ἤπειρει καὶ ἀποβάσεις ποιούμενοι πολλά μὲν ἑκάκου πολλά δὲ καὶ ἀντέπασχε. καὶ τούτων ναυμαχία πρὸς Κύμη τοῦ τε Μενεκράτους καὶ Καλούσίου Σαβίνου γίγνεται· καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ νῆς μὲν πλείους τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀτε πρὸς θαλασσούργους ἀντικαθισταμένου, ἀπώλουτο, ὁ δὲ ὁ Μενεκράτης τῷ Μηνᾷ συμπεσὼν ἐκ φιλονεικίας καὶ φθαρείς ἀντίρροπον τὴν συμφορᾶν τῷ Σέξτῳ παρέσχε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε ἐκεῖνος προσεποίησατό τι τῆς νύκης καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ παρεμυθεῖτο ἐαυτοῦ τῆς ἡττῆς. καὶ ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐν τῷ Ρηγίῳ τοῦ χρόνου τούτου ὄν, δεῖσαντες οἱ Σέξτειοι ¹ μὴ καὶ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν περαιώθη, καὶ τι καὶ πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Μενεκράτους θάνατον ἀδυμήσαντες, ἀπήραν ἐκ τῆς Κύμης. οὐν Σαβίνος ἐπιδιώκων αὐτοὺς μέχρι μὲν Σκυλλαίου τοῦ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀκρωτηρίου ἀπόως ἦλθε· περιβάλλοντι δ’ αὐτῷ ἔκεινο ἀνεμός μέγας προσπεσῶν πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν τὰς μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἀκραν προσήραξε, τὰς δὲ καὶ μετέωροις κατέδυσε, πάσας δὲ τὰς λοιπὰς διέσκεβασε. πυθόμενος οὖν τούτῳ ὁ Σέξτος ἐπεμψεν ἐπ’ αὐτᾶς τὸ ναυτικών, 'Ἀπολλοφάνει προστάξας. καὶ ός εὐρών τὸν Καίσαρα ταχύν που παραπλέοντα, ἵνα μετὰ τοῦ Σαβίνου ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν διαβάλῃ, ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἦξε. ² καὶ τούτῳ ἔκεινός τὰς τε ναύς συνορμίσας καὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐπ’ αὐτῶν παρατάξας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πάνυ γεν- νῶς αὐτὸν ἀπεκρούσατο· αὐτῷ γὰρ νῆς ἀντίπρωροι τεταγμέναι οὐδεμίαν οἱ ἀσφαλῆ ἐμβολῆν ποιήσασθαι ἐπέτρεπον, ἀλλ’ οἶα καὶ παχύτεραι

¹ Σέξτειοι Η. Στέφ., σέξτειοι ΛΜ (and so below in chap. 54).
² ἦξε Wesseling, ἦξε ΛΜ.

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Finally he sailed against Italy, landed at various points, inflicted much injury, and suffered much in turn. Meanwhile a naval battle occurred off Cumae between Menecrates and Calvisius Sabinus, in which Caesar lost a larger number of ships, since he was arrayed against expert seamen; but Menecrates attacked Menas out of jealousy and perished, thus making the loss of Sextus equally great. For this reason Sextus laid no claim to his victory and Caesar consoled himself over his defeat. Now Caesar happened at this time to be at Rhegium, and the followers of Sextus, fearing that he would cross over into Sicily, and furthermore being somewhat disheartened at the death of Menecrates, set sail from Cumae. Sabinus pursued them as far as Scyllaeum, the Italian promontory, without trouble; but as he was rounding that point a great wind fell upon him, dashing some of the ships against the promontory, sinking others out at sea, and scattering all the rest. So when Sextus learned of this disaster he sent his fleet against them, putting Apollopbanes in command. This commander discovered Caesar, as he was coasting along somewhere in those parts with the intention of crossing into Sicily along with Sabinus, and rushed upon him. Thereupon Caesar brought his ships to anchor together, marshalled the heavy-armed soldiers on deck, and at first beat off his assailants nobly; for the ships were drawn up with their prows facing the foe and so offered him no safe point for attack, but, being heavier and higher, did
καὶ υψηλότεραι οὕσαι πλεῖον τοὺς πλησιάσαντας ἔβλαπτον, καὶ οἱ ὀπλίται ἐς χείρας σφίσιν ἱόντες 5 τολὺ κρείττους ἐγύγνυτο. ἔπειτα δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλοφάνους τοὺς μὲν τραγματίας τοὺς τε ἀεὶ πονομένους ἐς ἐτέρας ναῦς ἐπιτεταγμένας οἱ μετεκβιβάζοντος ἐξ ἀνακρούσεως, ἀλλοῦ δὲ ἀκραιφνεῖς μεταλαμβάνοντος, καὶ τοὺς τε πρόσπλους συνεχεῖς ποιουμένου καὶ πυρφόρους βέλεσι χρωμένου, ἐτράπετο καὶ πρὸς τὴν γῆν καταφυγὸν καθωρμίσατο. καὶ ἔπειδή καὶ ὦς οἱ ἐναντίοι σφίσιν ἐνέκειντο, τὰς τε ἀγκύρας τινὲς ἔξαίφνης ἀπέκοψαν καὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀπροσδόκητον ἀντεξώρμησαν, καὶ τούτῳ τε ἐπέσχε μὴ πᾶσας τᾶς ναῦς τοῦ Ἀπολλοφάνη τὰς μὲν καταπήσαι τὰς δ' ἀναδήσασθαι, καὶ ὅτι νῦς τῷ ἔργῳ ἐπεγένετο.

τούτου δὲ τοιούτου συμβάντος, ἀνέμος τις τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔξαίσιος τῷ τε Καίσαρι καὶ τῷ Σαβίνῳ καθ' ἐν ὀρμοῦσιν ἐπιπεσῶν σμικρὸν τὸ πρότερον πάθος αὐτῶν ἀπέφηνε. καὶ τὸ μὲν τοῦ Σαβίνου

2 ναυτικὸν ἦττον ἐπόνησεν ὁ γὰρ Μηνᾶς, ἀτε ἐκ πολλοῦ θαλαττουργὸς ὦν, τὸν τε χειμώνα προεἰδετο καὶ ἐς τῷ πέλαγος εὐθὺς τὰς ναῦς ἀνώρμισε, καὶ αὐτὰς ἀγκύραις χαλαραίς, ἱνα μή τὰ σχοινία τεινόμενα διαρραγῇ, διαλαβών πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν ἀνεμον ἀντήρεττε, καὶ οὕτως οὕτε τὰ σχοινίαν ἐτείνε καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀεὶ ἔμενε, πάν ὅσον ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀπεωθεῖτο, ἐκ τῆς εἰρεσίας ἀνο-

κωχεύων, οἱ δ' ἐτεροί, ἀτε τῇ προτεραίᾳ δεινῶς τεταλαιπωρηκότες καὶ τὰ θαλάττια μηδέποτο ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες, πρὸς τε τὴν γῆν ἐγγὺς οὕσαν ἔξε-

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

After this event an extraordinary windstorm on the following day fell upon Caesar and Sabinus as they were anchored together and made their previous reverse seem a trifling matter. The fleet of Sabinus suffered the less, for Menas, being an old hand on the sea, foresaw the storm and immediately shifted his ships to the open sea and moored them there, placing them at intervals with their anchor-lines slack, so that the lines should not be stretched and break, and kept rowing directly against the wind; in this way no rope was strained and he remained constantly in the same position, recovering by the use of the oars all the ground he lost by the force of the wind. But the other commanders, since they had gone through a severe experience the day before, and had as yet no accurate knowledge of nautical matters,
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βράσθησαν καὶ πολλὰς ναῦς ἀπέβαλον. ἦ τε νῦξ ὥσπερ πρότερον οὐκ ἐλάχιστα αὐτοῖς ἐβεβοηθήκει, οὕτω τότε ἐσ τὰ μάλιστα ἐλυμήματο· ὁ γὰρ ἀνέμος καὶ δ’ αὐτῆς πολὺς γενόμενος ἀπερρήγυν τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγκυρών τὰ σκάφη καὶ πρὸς τὰς πέτρας ἐξεώθη. καὶ ἐκεῖνα τε οὕτω διώκλυτο, καὶ οἱ ναῦται οἳ τε ἐπιβάται μήτε προίδειν τι ὑπὸ τοῦ σκότους μήτ’ ἐπακούσαι διὰ τὸν θύρυθον καὶ διὰ τὴν ἣχον τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὄρων, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀντιπαταγοῦντός σφιστι, δυνάμενοι μάτην προσαπώλυστο. καὶ διὰ τούτο ο’ τε Καῖσαρ τῆς μὲν Σικελίας ἀπέγνω, τῆς δ’ ἤπειρου τῆς παραθαλασσίας φυλακὴν ἀγαπητῶς ἐπούσατο, καὶ ὁ Σέξτος ἔτι καὶ μάλλον ἠρθη, καὶ τοῦ τε Ποσεидῶνος υἱὸς ὤντως ἕπιστευν εἶναι, καὶ στολὴν κυνοειδῆ ἐνεδύσατο, ὑποποντασκόμην, καὶ ἄνδρας ἐς τῶν πορθμῶν ζῶντας ἐνέβαλε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἤγε καὶ ἐφερεν, ἐς δὲ Διβύνη τὸν Ἀπολλοφάνην ἐπεμψε. καὶ τούτων μὲν ὁ Μηνᾶς ἐπιδιώξας καὶ καταλαβὼν ἐκάκωσε· μεθισταμένων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὴν Σικελίαν νησιωτῶν πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον ὁ Καῖσαρ τοὺς Διποραίους προκατέλαβε, καὶ ἐκ τῆς νῆσου ἐξανέστησε καὶ ἔς Καμπανίαν ἐκόμισε, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐν Νέα πόλει κατοικεῖν μέχρις οὗ ἂν πόλεμος ἦ ἡμᾶς ἔγαγαμε. καὶ τούτω πλοῖα τε κατὰ πᾶσαν ὡς εἰπείν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐναντιομείχτων, καὶ ἐρέτας τὰ μὲν πρῶτα παρὰ τῶν φίλων ὡς καὶ ἐκοῦσιν διδόντων, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἔπειρων τῶν τε δημοτῶν τῶν εὐπόρων δούλους συνέλεγεν,

1 ὦντως R. Steph., ὦντος LM.
were cast upon the shore close by and lost many ships. Night, which had been of the greatest aid to them before, was now the chief cause of disaster; for the wind blew violently all night long, tearing the vessels from their anchors and dashing them against the rocks. That was the end of them; and the sailors and marines likewise perished ingloriously, since the darkness prevented them from seeing ahead and they could not hear a word because of the uproar and of the reverberation from the mountains, the more so as the wind drowned out other sounds. Because of this disaster Caesar despaired of Sicily and was satisfied to guard the coast of the mainland; but Sextus was still more elated, believing himself in very truth to be the son of Neptune, and he put on a dark blue robe and cast alive into the strait not only horses but also, as some relate, men as well. He himself pillaged Italy and sent Apollonipes to Africa. Apollonipes was pursued by Menas, who overtook him and did him some damage; and when the inhabitants of the islands off the coast of Sicily proceeded to go over to the side of Sextus, Caesar thwarted the Liparaeans by removing them from their island and taking them to Campania, where he forced them to live in Neapolis as long as the war should continue. Meanwhile he kept constructing vessels throughout practically all Italy and collecting slaves for rowers, first from his friends, who were supposed to give willingly, and then from the rest—senators and knights and well-to-do plebeians. He
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όπλιτας τε κατελέγετο, καὶ χρήματα παρά τε τῶν πολιτῶν 1 καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων τῶν τε ὑπηκόων, τῶν τε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἑξω πάντων, ἠθροίζε.

2. Καὶ τὸν γε ἐνιαυτὸν τούτον τε καὶ τὸν 2 ὑστερον ἔς τε τὴν ναυτηγίαν τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄθροισιν τὴν τε ἀσκησιν τῶν ἑρετῶν κατανάλωσε, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐφορῶν καὶ διατάττων ταῦτά τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τά τε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τά ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ (κίνησις γὰρ τις παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο), τῷ δ' Ἀγρίππα

3 τὴν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ παρασκευὴν ἐγχειρίσας. τοὺς γὰρ Γαλάτας αὐτὸν τους νεωτερίσαντας προσπολεμούμενον, ὑστερεὶ καὶ τῶν Ῥήμων δεύτερος δὴ Γρωμαίων ἐπὶ πολέμῳ διέβη, μετεπέμψατο, καὶ τῇ τε δόσει τῶν νικητηρίων ἐτίμησε καὶ ἐκπονήσα"

4 ἔξασκῆσαί τε τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐκέλευσε. καὶ ὃς (ὑπάτευε δὲ μετὰ Δουκίου Γάλλου) τὰ μὲν ἐπτυχίαν οὐκ ἐπεμψει, αὐσχρῶν εἶναι νομίσας τοῦ Καισάρους κακῶς πεπραγότος γαυρωθήναι, τὸ δὲ δὴ ναυτικῶν πάνω προθύμως ἐξειρηγάσατο. ἐγήγεντο μὲν γὰρ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ παραθαλασσίᾳ Ἰταλίᾳ τὰ σκάφη;

5 ὁς δ' οὐδὲς αἰγιαλὸς ἐγκαθορμίσασθαι αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλῆς εὐρίσκετο (ἀλίμενα γὰρ ἔτι καὶ τότε τὰ πλεῖον τῆς ἕπειρος ταύτης ἤν), ἐργόν μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ ἑνενόησε 3 καὶ ἑξεπούησεν, ὁ ἐγὼ διὰ πλείονον ἐξηγησάμενος ἔκεινο τε ἐπιδείξῳ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τάλλα τὰ κατ' αὐτὸ νῦν ὄντα.

50 Ἐν τῇ Κύμῃ τῇ Καμπανίδι χωρίον τι μεταξὶ Μισηνοῦ καὶ Πουτεόλων μηνοειδὲς ἐστίν· ὀρείσι τε

1 πολιτῶν Leunel., πολιτικῶν LM.
2 τῶν added by Reim.
3 ἑνενόησε R. Steph., ἑνόησε LM.
also levied heavy-armed troops and gathered money from all the citizens, allies, and subjects, both in Italy and abroad.

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

At Cumae in Campania, between Misenum and Puteoli, there is a crescent-shaped region, surrounded,
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γὰρ σμικρῶς καὶ ψιλοίς, πλην βραχέων, περιεί-
2 λήπται, καὶ θάλασσαν τριπλήν κολπώδη ἔχει. ἢ
μὲν γὰρ ἔξω τε καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐστίν, ἡ δ' ὀλίγη διαφυή ἀπ' αὐτῆς διείργεται, ἀλλὰ ἐν αὐτῷ
τῷ μυχῷ λιμνόδης ὀρᾶται. καὶ καλεῖται αὐτῇ
μὲν 'Ἀουερνίς, ἢ δ' μέσῃ Δουκρινίς.1 ἢ γὰρ ἔξω,
tού Τυρσηνικοῦ ὀυσα, ἐς ἐκεῖνο καὶ τήν ἐπωνυμίαν
3 τελεῖ. ἐν ταύτη δὴ τῇ θαλάσσῃ τῇ ἐντὸς ἐκα-
tέρας στενοῖς τότε ἐσπλοῖ τὸ διείργον τῆς Δου-
kρινίδα ἀπὸ τοῦ πελάγους ἐπ' ἀμφότερα παρ' ἀὐτῇ
tήν ἥπειρον ὁ 'Αγρίππας συντρήσας λιμέ-
4 νας ναυλοχωτάτους ἀπέδειξεν. ἐργαζομένων δ' αὐτῶν εἰκὼν τις ὑπὲρ τῆς 'Δουερνίδος, εἰτ' οὖν τῇς
Καλυψοῦς, ἦ τὸ χωρίον ἀνατιθέασιν, ἐς δ' καὶ τῶν
'Οδυσσέα ἐσπλεύσας λέγουσιν, εἰτε καὶ ἐτέρας
τινὸς ἡρώινης οὐσα, ἱδρώτως ωσπερ τι σώμα
ἀνθρώπινον ἀνεπλήσθη. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν ὅπῃ ποτ' ἐσήμανεν,2 οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν τά δ' ἀλλα ὅσα ἐν τῷ
tόπῳ ἐκεῖνῳ ἀξιαφήγητα ἐθεασάμην, φράσω.

51 Τὰ ὅρη ταύτα πρὸς ταῖς ἐνδον θαλάσσαις ὅντα
πηγὰς πυρός τα ἁμα πολλοὺ καὶ ὑδατος συμ-
μιγοῦς ἔχει· καὶ αὐτῷ μὲν καθ' ἐαυτοῦ ἐκάτερον
οὐδαμοῦ εὑρίσκεται (οὔτε γὰρ πῦρ αὐτὸ ὑδατό
ψυχρὸν αὐτὸ φαίνεται), ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῆς ὀμίλιας
σφῶν τὸ τε ὕδαρ θερμαίνεται καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὕγραι-
2 νεται· καὶ ἐκεῖνο μὲν πρὸς τὴν θαλάσσαν διὰ τῶν
προπόδων ἐς τὰς δεξαμενὰς χωρεῖ, τὴν δ' ἀτμίδα
αὐτοῦ ἐς τε οἰκήματα μετέωρα διὰ σωλήνων ἀνα-
γοῦσι, κανταῦθα αὐτῇ πυριώνται ὅσῳ 3 γὰρ ἂν

1 Δουκρινίς Dind., Δουκρινίς LM.
2 ποτ' ἐσήμανεν v. Herw. (who also reads ὅτι for ὅπῃ), ποτὲ
συμβαίνει LM. 3 ὅσφ Rk., ὅσα LM Xiph.
except for brief gaps, by small, bare mountains; and it contains a branch of the sea which is like a bay and is divided into three parts. The first is outside, near the cities,¹ the second is separated from it by a narrow strip of land, and the third, which is marshy in character, is seen at the very head of the inlet. The last is called Avernus, and the middle one the Lucrine Lake; the outer one is a part of the Tyrrhenian Sea and is classed with it also by its designation. Now since the Lucrine lay between a sea on either side, Agrippa cut narrow channels at this time, close to the shore on both sides, through the strip of land that separated it from the open sea, and thus produced excellent harbours for ships. While the men were working, a statue overlooking Avernus, either of Calypso, to whom this place, whither they say Ulysses also sailed, is dedicated, or of some other heroine, was covered with sweat like a human body. Now what this imported I cannot say; but I will go on to tell of everything else worth reporting which I saw in that place.

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

¹ Puteoli and Baiae.
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έπι πλείον ἀπό τε ἡ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑδατος ἀναδράμη, ξηροτέρα γίγνεται. κατασκευαὶ τε οὖν περὶ ἀμφότερα πολυτελεῖς ἥσκηνται, καὶ ἐστιν ἐς τε βίον διαγωγήν καὶ ἐς ἄκεισιν ἐπιτηδειότατα.

3 ταῦτα τε οὖν τὸ ὅρος ἐκείνο καὶ προσέτε καὶ γῆς φύσιν τοιάνδε παρέχεται. τοῦ πυρὸς τὸ μὲν καίειν οὖκ ἔχοντος (ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς τοῦ ὑδατος συνοπίας πάν τὸ φλογώδες αὐτοῦ σβέννυται), διακρίνειν δὲ δὴ καὶ διατίκειν τὰ προστυχόντα οἱ καὶ δὴ δυναμένου, συμβαίνει τῆς γῆς τὸ μὲν λεπαρὸν ἐκτίθεσθαι ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ τραχὺ καὶ ὀστῶδες ὡς εἰπεῖν ὑπολείπεσθαι. σηραγγώδεις τε οὖν οἱ ὄγκοι ἐξ ἀνάγκης γίγνονται, καὶ αὐχμῷ μὲν δοθέντες ἐς κόνιν διαλύουνται, ὑδατὶ δὲ σῦν κονία φυσαθέντες συνώστανται, καὶ ἐφ’ ὅσον γ’ ἂν ἐν τῷ ὑγρῷ ὅσι, πήγμνυνται τε καὶ πτεροῦνται. αὐτίον δὲ ότι τὸ μὲν κραύρων αὐτῶν ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ πυρὸς ὀμοφυνοῦσα οἱ ὄντος ἐπιτείνεται τε καὶ θραύ- ἐται, τῆς δὲ δὴ συμμίξει τῆς νοτίδος ἀναψύχεται, κὰκ τοῦτον εἴσω διὰ παντὸς συμπελληθὲν ἄλτον

5 γίγνεται. τοιαύτα τε μὲν αἱ Βαϊαὶ εἰσὶ, καὶ ἐς αὐτὰς τότε ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ἐπειδὴ τάχυστα τοὺς ἐσπλοὺς ἐξεποίησε, τὰς τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἐρέτας ἦθροισε, καὶ τὰς μὲν κατέφραττε, τοὺς δὲ ἐπ’ ἱκρίων ἐρέπτειν ἔσκει.

52 Ὁι δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐταράττοντο μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ σημείων. ἄλλα τε γὰρ συχνὰ σφίσιν ἔσηγ- γέλθη, καὶ ὡσι δελφῖνες πολλοὶ περὶ τὴν Ἀσπίδα τὴν τῆς Ἀφρικῆς πόλιν ἐμαχόσαντο τε ἀλλήλως καὶ διεφθάρσαν καὶ τι καὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ ἀστεῖ αἰμα ἐκ τοῦ ὑφαραυνό ῥυνὶ ὀργιθες διεφόρησαν.

1 πλείον ἀπὸ τε Χιρήν., πλείονα ποτε L, πλειονάποτε M.

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

Now the population of Rome was being disturbed by signs also. Among the numerous reports brought to them was one to the effect that many dolphins had battled with one another and perished near Aspis, the African city. And in the very vicinity of the city blood flowed from heaven and was carried
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ἐπειδή τε ἐν τῇ πανηγύρι τῇ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων οὕτε τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, ὡσπερ εἴθιστο, εἰστιάθη, ἐν τέκτοις λόγῳ καὶ τούτ' ἐλαβον. τὸ τε τῇ Λιονία συμβαίν ἐκείνη μὲν καθ' ἧδονὴν ἐγένετο, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις δέος ἐνεποίησε: λευκὴν γὰρ ὄρνιθα, κλωνίων δάφνης ἐγκάρπων φέρουσαν, ἀετὸς ἐς τὸν κόλπον αὐτῆς ἐνέβαλε. καὶ ἐδόκει γὰρ οὐ σμικρὸν τὸ σημεῖον εἶναι, τὴν τε ὄρνιθα ἐν ἔπιμελείᾳ ἦγε καὶ τὴν δάφνην ἐφύτευσε. καὶ ἢ μὲν ῥεξοθείσα ηὗξησεν ὅστε καὶ τοῖς τὰ ἐπινίκια μετὰ τοῦτο πέμψασιν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐξαρκέσαι, ἢ τε Λιονία ἐγκολπώσεσθαι καὶ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἱσχύν καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτοῦ κρατήσειν ἔμελλε· τοὺς δὲ δὴ ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτα τε καὶ αἱ διαλλαγαί τῶν ἀρχόντων ἱσχυρῶς ἐτάρασσον· οὐ γὰρ ὅπως οἱ τε ὑπατοὶ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ταβάι ἐπ' ἄλληλοις ἀντικαθίσταντο, καὶ τούτ' ἐπὶ χρόνον ἐγένετο. αὐτοὶ δὲ ὅτι πάντες οὐχ οὕτως ἤν οὐκ οἱ ἐπὶ πλείον ἄρξωσιν, ὡς ἰνα ἐν τοῖς ἄρξαις ἀριθμοῦνται καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τὰς ἄξον λαμβάνωσίν ἐς ἐπούδαξον. οὐκουν οὐδὲ ἐς ρήτον ἐτὶ τινὲς χρόνον ἥροντο, ἀλλ' ὅστε ἐπιβήναι τε τοῦ ὁνόματος τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀποστῆναι ὅταν τοῖς τὸ κράτος ἔχουσι

3 δοξῇ καὶ πολλοὶ γε ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐκάτερον ἐπραξαν. εἰσὶ δὲ οὐ καὶ παντάπασι τὰς ἀρχὰς ὑπὸ πενίας ἐγκατέλιπον· τῶν γὰρ σὺν τῷ Σέξτῳ τότε ὄντων, ὡς καὶ κατὰ δίκην δὴ τ但他 τιν ατιμασθέντων, οὐ μνημονεύω. βουλευο-

1 ἐγκολπώσεσθαι Pflugk, ἐγκολπώσσασθαι LM Xiph.
2 λαμβάνωσιν Rk., λαμβάνειν LM.
in all directions by the birds. And when at the Ludi Romani not one of the senators gave a banquet on the Capitol, as had been the custom, they took this, too, as a portent. Again, the incident that happened to Livia, although it caused her pleasure, inspired the rest with dread; a white bird carrying a sprig of laurel with the berries on it was thrown by an eagle into her lap. As this seemed to be a sign of no small moment, she cared for the bird and planted the laurel, which took root and grew, so that it long supplied those who celebrated triumphs in after time; and Livia was destined to hold in her lap even Caesar's power and to dominate him in everything. However, the other people in the city were greatly disturbed not only by this but also by the changes in the magistrates; for not only the consuls and praetors but even the quaestors were continually succeeding one another, and this lasted for some time. The reason was that all were anxious, not so much to hold office for any considerable time at home, as to be counted among the ex-officials and so secure the offices and military forces outside of Italy. Accordingly, some of the magistrates were no longer chosen for a specified period, but merely for a time sufficient to assume the title of the office, and then to resign from it whenever it seemed good to those in power; indeed, many did both on the same day. But there were some who had to abandon hope of office altogether because of poverty, to say nothing of those who were at this time with Sextus, whose disfranchisement was in a manner justified. Yet when
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μένου δ' οὖν καὶ Μάρκου τινὸς Ὄσπιου ἀγορανομίας ὑπ' ἀπορίας (ἐκ γὰρ τῶν ἐπικεκηρυγμένων καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ ἃν) ἐκστήνα τὸ πλήθος οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλ' ἐσε τὰ ἄλλα τὰ πρὸς τὸν βίον ἀναγκαία καὶ ἐσ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀνάλωμα 5 ἀργύριον αὐτῷ συνεσήγησε. καὶ λόγος γε ἐχει καὶ τῶν κακούργων τινὰς ἐσ αὐτὸ τὸ θέατρον ἐν προσωπείοις, ὡς καὶ ὑποκρινομένους τι, ἐσεθοῦντας συγκαταβαλεῖν 4 τὰ χρήματα. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐτω ξὼν τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ὁμίλου ἡγαπήθη, καὶ ἀποθανὼν οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον ἐσ τὸ Ὅρειον πεδίον 6 ἐκομίσθη καὶ ἐκεὶ καὶ ἐκαύθη καὶ ἐτάφῃ δὲ δὴ θυγατήρια συνακτῆσα τή πάση τοῦ πλήθους περὶ αὐτοῦ σπουδὴ τὰ ὡς ὁμίλως ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ χωρίῳ κείμενα, ἀνείλετο, πεισθείσα τοῖς ποντιφίζει, καὶ περ πολλοὺς ἄλλους ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ πρότερον καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα θάψασα.

54 Καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἤλθε μὲν ἐσ τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὐθις ἐκ τῆς Συρίας, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς καὶ τοῦ Σεξτείου πολέμου διὰ τὰς τοῦ Καίσαρος συμφορᾶς μεθέξοι, οὐ μὲντοι 2 καὶ παρέμεινεν αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἀτε 5 ἐσ κατασκοπησίν αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ ἐργον τινὸς ἐνεκα αφιγμένος, ἐκεῖνω μὲν ναῦς ἐδωκε καὶ ἑτέρας πέμψειν ὑπεσχετό, ἀνθ' ὄν ὀπλίτας ἀντέλαβεν, αὐτός δὲ ὡς 3 καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους στρατεύσων ἀπήρε. πρίν δὲ ἢ ἀποπλείσκαν ἄλλουν 6 ἤτιάσαστο ἄλληλους, πρὸ-

1 τὸ πλήθος οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν om. L.
3 ὑποκρινομένους Naber, ὑποκρινομένους LM.
4 συγκαταβαλεῖν Bk., συγκαταβάλλας LM cod. Peir.
5 ἀλλ' ἀτ R. Steph., ἀλλά τε LM.
6 αὐτοῦ Zon., αὐτοὺς LM.

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BOOK XLVIII

a certain Marcus Oppius planned to resign the aedileship because of poverty (for both he and his father had been among the proscribed), the populace did not permit it, but contributed money to meet the various necessities of his living and the expenses of his office. And the story goes that some criminals, too, actually came into the theatre in masks as if they were acting a play, and contributed their money also. Thus was this man loved by the multitude while in life, and at his death not much later he was carried to the Campus Martius and there burned and buried. The senate, however, feeling vexed at the utter devotion of the masses to him, took up his bones, on the plea that it was impious for them to lie in that sacred ground; they were persuaded by the pontifices to make this declaration, although they buried many other men there both before and after this.

At this same period Antony came back to Italy from Syria. The reason he gave was that he intended to bear his share of the war against Sextus because of Caesar's mishaps; he did not, however, stay by his colleague, but, having come to spy upon his actions rather than to accomplish anything, he gave him some ships and promised to send others, in return for which he received heavy-armed troops and departed, stating that he was going to conduct a campaign against the Parthians. Before he left, they presented to each other their mutual grievances, at
teron mēn diā tōn étaíron, ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ δὲ ἑαυτῶν· καὶ οὐ γάρ πω σχολὴν πολεμήσαι σφίσιν ἕγον, συνηλλάγησαν τρόπον τινά, τῆς Ὁκταούιας ὅτι μάλιστα τούτῳ πρασούσῃς. καὶ ὅπως γε πλείοσι τοῖς τῆς συγγενείας συνδέσμων συνέχοιτο, ὥστε Καῖσαρ Ἀντύλλῳ τῷ τοῦ Ἀντώνιου νιεῖ τὴν θυγατέρα, καὶ ἐκεῖνος τῷ Δομίτιῳ, καίτιο τοῦ Καῖσαρος σφαγεῖ τε γενομένῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπολουμένοις ἐκτεθέντι, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ὁκταούιας ὁ γεννηθεῖσαν ἡγγύσε. ¹ ταῦτα τε ἀμα ² πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπιλάσσοντο· οὐ γάρ ποιοῦσιν τι αὐτῶν ἥμελλον, ἀλλ' ἐσ'tὴν χρείαν τῶν παρόντων σφίσι πραγμάτων ὑπεκρίνουσο. ³ ἀμέλει καὶ τὴν Ὁκταούιαν αὐτὴν εἰθὺς ἐκ τῆς Κερκύρας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐστὶν Ἰταλίαν, ἵνα δῆ μὴ συγκινδυνεύσῃ οἱ τοῖς Πάρθοις πολεμοῦσιν, ἀπέπεμψεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐν γε τῷ τότε ἐκεῖνα τε οὔτως ἐπραξαν, καὶ τὸν μὲν Σέξτον τῆς τε ἱεροσύνης ἀμα καὶ τῆς ὑπατείας ἐς ἧν ἀπεδέδεικτο ἐπαυσαν, ἐαυτοῖς δὲ τὴν ἰγκομίαν ἐς ἄλλα ἐτή πέντε, ἐπειδὴ τὰ πρότερα ἔξεληλύθει, ἐπέτρεψαν. καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ὑπεύγετο, Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καθίστατο. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ γνώμην αὐτῶ ἐχώρει, ὁ δὲ δὴ Μηνᾶς ἀπιστός τε φύσει ὧν καὶ τὰ τοῦ κρείττονος ἀἱ δειραπεύων, καὶ προσέτει καὶ ἀγανακτήσας ὁτι μηδεμίαν ἁρχὴν εἶχεν ἄλλα τῷ Σαβίνῳ ὑπετήτακτο, πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον αὖθις ἡπομόλησεν.

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

a. Ὄς Καίσαρ Σέξτον ἐνίκησε καὶ Δέπιδον καθείλεν.

b. Ὄς Οὐεντίδιος Πάρκος νικήσας ἀπεκτείνει καὶ τοὺς Πάρθους ὑπὲρ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐξήλασεν.

c. Ὄς Ἀρτάνιος ὑπὸ Πάρθων ἠττήθη.

d. Ὄς Καίσαρ Παννονίου κατεστρέφατο.

e. Ὄς Ἀρτάνιος Ἀρταούσδην τὸν Ἀρμενίου βασιλέα ἀπαθήσας εἶλεν.

ζ. Ὄς Ἡ Παύλου σταὶ καθιεράθη.

η. Ὄς Μαυριτανία ἡ περὶ Καισορείαν Ῥωμαίων ἐγένετο.

χρόνου πλήθος ἐτη τέτταρα ἐν οἷς ἀρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο

along with the Greek text:

Δ. Γέλλιος Δ. υἱ. Ποπλικόλας
Μ. Κοκκήιος . . . υἱ. 4 Νέρους 5 ὑπ.
Κ. Κορνουφίκιος Κ. υἱ.
Σέξτος Πομπήιος Σέξτον υἱ.
Μ. Ἀντάνιος Μ. υἱ. τὸ β‘ ὑπ.
Λ. Σκρίβανιος Λ. υἱ. Λίδων ὑπ.
Καίσαρ τὸ β‘
Λ. 8 Ουσλακάκιος Λ. υἱ. Τοῦλλος ὑπ.

'Εν μὲν οὖν τῷ χειμώνι ἐν ὁ Δούκιος τε Γέλλιος καὶ Κοκκήιος Νέρους ὑπάτευσαν, ταῦθ' οὖτως ἐγένετο. Καίσαρ δὲ, ὡς τὸ τε ναυτικὸν ἠτοίμασε καὶ τὸ ἐκαρ ἐνέστη, ἤρε τε ἐκ τῶν Βαϊών καὶ παρὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐκομίσετο, ἑλπίδα οὐκ ἐλαχίστην ἐχων ἀπανταχόθεν πέριξ τὴν

1 Σέξτον, Σέξτος, Σέξτον Dind., σέξτον, σέξτος, σέξτον
2 Ποπλικόλας R. Steph., ποπλικόλας LM.
3 Κοκκήιος Leuncl., κόκκιος LM (and so below).
BOOK XLIX

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

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

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

B.C.
35  L. Cornificius L. F. Sextus Pompeius Sex. F.
33  Caesar (II), L. Volcacius L. F. Tullus.

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

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4 . . . vi. added by Bs.
6 Νέρωνας R. Steph., ἑρβας LM.
6 Πομπήιος Xyl., πόπιος LM.
7 ὑφ. added by Bs. 8 Λ. L, om. M.
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

Σικελίαν περισχήσειν. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ πολλαῖς ναυσίν ἐπέτειλε, καὶ αἱ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἐς τὸν πορθμὸν ἦδη παρῆσαν· ὅ τε Δέπιδος ἄκων μὲν,

2 ὑπέσχητο δ’ οὖν αὐτῷ βοηθήσειν. μέγιστον δὲ τῷ τε ύψει τῶν σκαφῶν καὶ τῇ παχύτητι τῶν ἐξύλων ἐθάρσει ὑπερπαχῆ τε γὰρ καὶ ἑπερ-

μεγέθη κατεσκευάσθη, ὡστε ἐπιβάτας τε πλεί-

στους ὅσους ἄγειν (καὶ γὰρ πύργους ἐφερον,

ὅπως ὅσπερ ἀπὸ τείχους ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων ἀγωνί-

ζωνται) καὶ αὐτὰ πρὸς τε τὰς ἐμβολὰς τῶν ἐναντίων ἀντέχειν, καὶ τοὺς ἐμβόλους αὐτῶν, ἀτε καὶ βιασυνέραν τὴν σύγκρουσιν ποιομένων, ἀπο-

3 στρέφειν. τοιοῦτοι μὲν λογισμοῖς ὁ Καίσαρ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἤπειρετο. καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τὸ Παλίνουρον ὄνομαξόμενον ὑπερβάλλοντι χειμῶν

μέγας ἐπέπεσε· καὶ οὕτος τε πολλὰς ναῦς ἐφθέιρε, καὶ ὁ Μηνᾶς ταραττομέναις ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐπιγενό-

μενος συχνάς ταῖς μὲν ἔκαυσε ταῖς δ’ ἄνεδησμοι. εἰ δὲ μη αὐθίς ἐπὶ τε τῇ ἀδείᾳ καὶ ἐπ’ ἀλλαῖς τισὶν ἐπιστὶ μετέστη, καὶ τριμέρεις ψευδαυτομόλους

dεξάμενοι πάν τὸ ναυτικὸν οὐ ἦρχε προέδωκε,

diὰ κενῆς ἀν καὶ τότε ὁ ἐπίπλους τὸν Καίσαρι

eγένετο. τούτῳ δὲ ἐπραξεν· ὅτι οὕτε ¹ τῷ Δεπίδῳ

πολεμῆσαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Σέξτου ἐπετράπη καὶ πρὸς

5 πάντα τάλλα ὑποπτευότο. Καίσαρ δὲ προση-

κατο μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ τότε ἀρμανέστατα, οὐ μέντοι
cαι ἐπίστευσε τι ἐτ’ αὐτῷ. ὡς δ’ οὖν τὰς τε ἐποιηκυκλεῖς ναῦς ἐπεσκευάσατο, καὶ τοὺς δοῦ-

λους τοὺς τριηρίτας ἥλευθέρωσε, τοὺς τε περίνεως

(πολλοὶ γὰρ φθειρομένων ἐν τῇ ναυαγία τῶν σκα-

φῶν ἀπεκολύμβησαν) ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ναυ-

1 οὕτε Bk., οὐδὲ LM.
BOOK XLIX

For he was sailing thither with many ships himself and those of Antony were already in the strait; also Lepidus had reluctantly promised to assist him. But his chief ground of confidence lay in the height of his vessels and the thickness of their timbers; they had been built unusually stout and unusually high, in order not only to carry the largest possible number of marines (in fact they had towers on them, in order that the men might fight from higher ground, as if from a wall), but also to withstand the attacks of the opposing vessels and at the same time bend back their beaks, since the violence of their collision would be increased thereby. With such plans Caesar was hastening to Sicily. As he was passing the promontory named Palinurus a great storm fell upon him; this destroyed many ships, and Menas, coming upon the rest while they were in confusion, burned or towed away many of them. And had he not again changed sides, on the promise of immunity and because of some other hopes, and betrayed the whole fleet that he commanded by receiving some triremes that simulated desertion, Caesar's voyage to Sicily on this occasion also would have proved fruitless. Menas acted as he did because he was not allowed by Sextus to fight against Lepidus and was under suspicion in all other ways. Caesar received him very gladly on this occasion also, but trusted him no longer. And when he had repaired the damaged ships, freed the slaves that were serving on the triremes, and assigned the reserves (many of whom had escaped by leaping overboard when their vessels were destroyed in the wreck) to Antony's fleet, which was short of men he
6 τικὸν ὀλυγανδροῦν κατέταξεν, ἔστε Λυπάραν ἤλθε, κἀνταύθα τὸν τε 'Ἀγρίππαν καὶ τὰς ναῦς καταλίπτων ἐστὶν ἤπειρον ἐκομίσθη, ἢν καὶ τὸν πεζὸν ἔστε τὴν Σικελίαν, ὅταν καιρὸς γένηται, περαιώς.

2 Μαθὼν δὲ ταύτα ὁ Σέξτος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν Μεσσισῆνη ὑφώρμει, τὸν δὲ Ἀγρίππα Δημοχάρην ἀνθορμεῖν ἐν Μύλαις ἐκέλευσεν. οὕτω οὖν τὸ μὲν πλείστον τοῦ χρόνου ἀποπειρώμενοι μὲν ἀλλήλων κατὰ τὸ παρεῖκον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἑναποκινδυνεύσαι παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ τολμῶντες, κατανάλωσαν. οὕτε γὰρ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀλλήλων ᾦδεσαν, καὶ πάντα πρὸς τὸ μεῖζον καὶ πρὸς τὸ φοβερότερον παρ’ ἀμφοτέρους περὶ τῶν ἐτέρων ἐλογοποιεῖτο. τέλος δὲ ὁ Ἀγρίππας συνιείς ὅτι οὐ συμφέρει οἱ διατρίβειν (οἱ γὰρ τοῦ Σέξτου, ἀτε ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ ναυλοχοῦντες, οὐδὲν ἐδέοντο σπεύδειν) τάς τε ἁρίστας τῶν νεῶν ἐλαβε, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς Μύλας πρὸς κατασκοτήν τοῦ τῶν ἐναντίων πλῆθους ὀρμησε. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μήτε πάντας αὐτοὺς ἴδεῖν ἠδυνήθη μήτ' ἀναχθηναι τις αὐτῶν ἠθέλησε, κατεφρόνησεν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐπανελθὼν παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ πάσαις ταῖς ναυσὶ τῆς ὑστεραίας ἐπὶ τὰς Μύλας ἐπιπλευσούμενος. οὐτὸ τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ τούτο καὶ ὁ Δημοχάρης ἐπαθεὶς μόνας τε γὰρ τὰς ἀφικομένας ναῦς ὑποτοπήσας εἶναι, καὶ βραδύτατα αὐτάς ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους πλεούσας ἴδιων, τὸν τε Σέξτον τῆς νυκτὸς μετεπέμψατο, καὶ ἠτοιμάζετο ὡς καὶ αὕτη τῇ Διπάρᾳ προσμίξας. ἡμέρα τε ὑπέφηνε, καὶ ἀμφότεροι ἀμα ως καὶ ἐπὶ ἐλάττους σφών ἀλλήλους οὕτας ἐπέλευν.

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

On learning of this Sextus himself remained at anchor off Messana, waiting for Caesar to cross, but he ordered Demochares to anchor opposite Agrippa at Mylae. These two men spent most of the time in testing each other's strength as opportunity offered, but they did not dare to risk an engagement with their entire armaments; for they were not acquainted with each other's forces and on both sides the reports that circulated about the opposing fleet were exaggerated and made more fear-inspiring than the reality. But finally Agrippa realized that it was not advantageous for him to delay,—for the forces of Sextus, lying as they did in home waters, had no need of haste,—and so, taking the best of his ships, he set out for Mylae to spy out the numbers of the enemy. And when he found that he could not see them all and that none of them wished to come out into the open sea, he came to despise them, and on his return made preparations to sail against Mylae on the following day with all his ships. And Demochares came to much the same conclusion; for he had the idea that the ships which had approached him were all alone, and seeing that they sailed very slowly by reason of their size, he sent for Sextus by night and proceeded to make preparations to attack Lipara itself. When day broke, they were sailing against each other, both sides expecting to meet...
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

3 έγγυς δὲ δὴ γενόμενοι, καὶ παρὰ δόξαν πολλῷ πλείους τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐκάτεροι δὲν φόντο εἶναι ἰδόντες, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐταράχθησαν ὁμοίως ἀμφότεροι, καὶ τινὲς καὶ πρύμναν ἐκρούσαντο. ἔπειτα δὲ τὴν φυγὴν τῆς μάχης μᾶλλον φοβηθέντες, καὶ ἐν μὲν ταύτῃ καὶ κρατήσασι ἄν ἐλπίσαντες, ἐν δὲ ἐκεῖνῃ πασσυδὶ ἀπολείσθαι προσδοκήσαντες, ἀντεξόμησαν καὶ συμμίξαντες ἐναιμάχησαν.

2 ἦσαν δὲ οἱ μὲν τῷ πλήθει τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δὲ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις τῶν ναυτικῶν προφέροντες, καὶ τοῖς μὲν τὸ τὴν ἅγιον τῶν σκαφῶν καὶ τὸ πάχος τῶν ἐπωτίδων οἱ τε πύργοι συνήρουτο, τοὺς δ’ ἐτέρους ο噍 τε διέκπλοι ἀνέφερον, πρὸς τε τὴν ῥώμην τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιβατῶν ἡ τόλμα αὐτῶν ἀντήρ-κειν αὐτόμολοι γὰρ οἱ πλείους ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας.

3 ὁντες ἀπονοία πολλὴ ἐχρῶντο. καὶ τοῦτον πλεονεκτοῦντές τε ἀμα ἀλλήλων καὶ ἐλαττοῦ-μενοι οἰς εἶπον, ἢσην τὴν ἱσχὺν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σφίσειν ἀντιπάλου εἴχον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χρόνῳ καὶ ἀγχώμαλα ἐπὶ πλείστον ἡγωνύ-σαντο, οἵ τε γὰρ Σέξτειοι τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐναντίους τῷ ῥόδῳ ἐξέπλησσον, καὶ τινὰς ναῦς, ὑμὴ τὲ σφίσει προσπίπτοντες καὶ τὰς παρεξειρεσίας αὐτῶν ἀναρρηγύντες, ἐτίτρω-σκοιν, ἀπὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν πύργων ἐν τῇ προσμίξει βαλλόμενοι καὶ χειρῶν ἐπιβολαῖς σιδηρῶν προσ-

5 αρτώμενοι οὐδέν ἐλαττὸν δὲν ἐδρῶν ἐπισχοῦ καὶ

1 κρατήσασι ἄν ἐλπίσαντες Bk., κρατήσειν ἄνθελπίσαντες LM.
2 πασσυδὶ R. Steph., πασσυδὲ LM (so in chap. 7, 3).

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inferior numbers. But when now they drew near together and each force contrary to its expectation saw that its opponents were much more numerous than they had supposed, both alike were at first thrown into confusion, and some even backed water. Then, fearing flight more than battle, because in the one case they hoped they should prevail, whereas in the other they expected to be utterly destroyed, they sailed out to meet each other and when they came to close quarters joined in battle. The one side surpassed in the number of its ships, the other in the experience of its sailors; one side was helped by the height of the vessels and the thickness of the cat-heads and also the towers, but these advantages were counterbalanced by the manoeuvring of the other side, and the superior strength of Caesar's marines was matched by the daring of those of Sextus, the majority of whom fought with great desperation inasmuch as they were deserters from Italy. Consequently, since each side had the points of superiority and likewise of inferiority that I have named with respect to the other, they found their total strength equal as the result of the even balance of their resources; and on this account they at last fought on even terms for a long time. The followers of Sextus alarmed their opponents by the way they dashed up the waves, and they also damaged some of their ships by assailing them with a rush and ripping open the parts that were beyond the banks of oars,1 but since they were assailed with missiles from the towers at the moment of attack and were brought alongside by grappling irons, they suffered no less harm than they inflicted. And Caesar's forces,

1 The prows and sterns.
οὶ Καισάρειοι ἐς χεῖρας μὲν σφισιν ἱόντες καὶ ἐς τὰς ναῦς σφῶν μετεκβαίνοντες κρείττους ἐγίγνοντο, ἐκπηδώντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ὡπότε βαπτίζοιντο, καὶ ἐτέρων σκαφῶν ῥαδίως ἐκ τοῦ καλῶς νείν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κούφως ἐσκενάσθαι ἐπιβαίνοντων, ἀντιρρότως ἡλαττούντο. καὶ τούτω καὶ τῶν νεῶν ἥ τε τῆς ναυτιλίας τῶν ἐτέρων δόξης ἱσοπαλίς τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων βεβαιότητι καὶ ἡ τούτων βαρύτης ἱσοστασία τῇ ἐκείνων λεπτότητι ἐγίγνετο.

4 'Οψε δ' οὖν ποτε καὶ πρὸς νύκτα ἦδη οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκράτησαν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπεδώξαν τινα, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ εἶκὸς συμβάλλει, ὅτι μήτε καταλαβέων αὐτοῦς ἐδύναντο, καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν, βραχὴ δὲν ἅπειρον ἦσαν ἐχώσαν, ἐφοβηθῆσαν ἐξοικεῖαι: ὡς δέ τινες λέγονσιν, ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ἀτε καὶ ύπὲρ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀλλ' οὐχ ύπὲρ ἕαυτοῦ μαχόμενος, ἐξαρκεῖν οἱ τὸ τρέψατα τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἠγεῖτο. καὶ γὰρ εἰσόθει λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς πάνιν ἐταίρους ὅτι οἱ πλείους τῶν ἐν ταῖς δυναστείαις ἄντων οὐδένα ἐθέλουσι κρείττων σφῶν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πλείω, ὅσα γε καὶ πρόχειρον τὴν νίκην ἔχει, αὐτοὶ δ' ἕαυτῶν ποιοῦνται, τὰ δὲ δὴ χειρὸς καὶ ἀτοπώτερα ἄλλοις προστάττοσι. καὶ ἀρα ποτὲ τῶν ἀμεινόνων τι ἀναγκασθῶσι σφισιν ἐπιτρέψαι, θαρύνονται τε καὶ ἀχθοῦν τῇ εὐδοξίᾳ αὐτῶν ἥττᾶσθαι μὲν γάρ σφας καὶ κακῶς πράττειν οὐκ εὑροῦνται, οὐ μέντοι καὶ παντελῶς τι καταπράξαντας τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦς λαβεῖν αἰροῦνται. δεὶ κ' οὖν παρήγγειλε σε ν ἄνδρα τῶν σωθησόμενον τῆς μὲν δυσχεραίνετω πρίσσων Χίρα., κρείττων Λ.Μ.

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

Late in the day, however, toward nightfall, Caesar's forces were at last victorious, but they did not give chase. The reason, as it appears to me and as may with probability be conjectured, was that they could not overtake the fleeing ships and were afraid of running ashore, since the coast abounded in shoals with which they were unacquainted; but some assert that Agrippa thought it sufficient merely to rout his adversaries, since he was fighting for Caesar and not for himself. For he was wont to say to his intimate friends that most men in positions of power wish no one to be superior to themselves, but attend personally without the use of agents to most matters—to all, in fact, that afford them an easy victory—and assign the more difficult and extraordinary tasks to others. And if they ever do find themselves obliged to entrust an enterprise of the better sort to their assistants, they are irritated and displeased at the fame these subordinates win, and although they do not pray that they may be defeated and fare badly, yet they do not choose to have them win a complete success and secure glory from it. His advice, therefore, was that the man who expected to come out
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πειάς αὐτούς ὁ πραγμάτων ὑπαλλάττειν, τὴν δὲ δὴ κατόρθωσιν σφων ἐκεῖνοις φυλάττειν. ἔγὼ δὲ ὅτι μὲν ταὐθ' οὕτω πέφυκε καὶ ὦτι καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἐπεμελεῖτο αὐτῶν οἶδα, οὐ μὴν ἐν γε τῷ τότε παρόντι τοῦτ' αἴτιον τῆς οὐ διώξεως αὐτοῦ γράφων οὔδὲ γὰρ οὖδ' εἰ πάνω ἐβούλετο, οἷος τε ἦν ἐπιστεῦσαι σφίσιν.

5 Ἔν δὲ οὖν ἡ ναυμαχία ἐγίγνετο, ὁ Καίσαρ ὁς τάχιστα τὸν τε Σέξτον ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνῆς ἀπεληλυθότα καὶ τὸν πορθμὸν φυλακῆς ἔριμον ὄντα ἦσθετο, τὸ μὲν καὶνὸν τοῦ πολέμου οὐ παρέλιπεν, ἀλλ' εὖθυς ἐπιβάς τὸν Ἀντωνιέων νεῶν πρὸς Ταυρομένιον ἐπεραϊώθη, οὗ μὴν καὶ ἐν τúde αὐτῶ

2 ἔχρησατο. πλέουντα μὲν γὰρ οὖθ' ἀποβαίνουντα αὐτὸν οὔδεις ἐκώλυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ καθ' ἡσυχίαιν τῷ τε ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐποιήσατο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤ τε ναυμαχία ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ Σέξτος ἔσ τε τὴν Μεσσηνῆν σπουδὴ ἀφίκετο, καὶ μαθών παρόντα αὐτὸν ἄλλους τε διὰ ταχέων

3 ἀκραίφνεις ἐς ταῖς ναῦς ἀντεεβιβασέ καὶ ἐκεῖναι τε αὐτῷ ἀμα καὶ τοῖς ὀπλίταις κατὰ γῆν προσέμιζε, τούτοις μὲν οὖθ' ἐπεξήλθεν, ἀνταναχθεὶς δὲ καταφρονύσει τῆς τε ὀλιγότητος τῶν ἐναντίων νεῶν καὶ ὦτι καὶ προῆτηντο, τοῦ τε ναυτικοῦ τὸ πλεῖον ἀπέβαλε καὶ αὐτὸς ὀλύγον προσδιεφθάρη.

4 οὕκοιν οὖθ' ἡδυνήθη πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ ὄντας διαφυγεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητῶς ἐς τὴν ἥπειρον ἀπεσώθη· καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν ἀσφαλεί ἦν, ὄρῳ δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ ἀπειλημένον

5 δεινῶς ἡχθετο. καὶ οὗ πρῶτον ἀνεθάρσησε πρὶν

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

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

1 An expression borrowed from Thucydides (iii. 30).
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ιχθύν τινα ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης αὐτόματον ἀναθορόντα πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ προσπεσεῖν· ἐκ γὰρ τούτου πιστεύσας τοὺς μάντεσιν, εἰποῦσιν οἱ στὶς δουλώσεται αὐτήν, ἀνερρόσθη.

6 Καὶ ὁ μὲν τὸν Ἀγρίππαν σπουδὴ πρὸς τὴν ἐπικονυρίαν αὐτῶν μετεπέμπτεν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐπολυροκοῦντο. καὶ ἔπειδὴ τὰ τε ἑπιτηδεία ἐπιλείπειν σφᾶς ἥρχετο καὶ βοήθεια οὐδεμιᾷ πω ἐφαίνετο, φοβηθεὶς ὁ Κορνουφίκιος (οὗτος γὰρ αὐτῶν ἥρχε) μὴ καὶ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ τῷ χρόνῳ κατὰ χόραν

2 μένων ἐκπολυροκηθῆ, καὶ νομίσας διατρίβοντι μὲν οἱ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ μηδένα τῶν πολεμίων ἐς χείρας, ἀτε καὶ κρείττονι τοῖς ὀπλίταις ὁντι, ἥξειν, ἀν δὲ πη προχωρῆ, δυνών θάτερον, ἢ προσμίζανται σφίσιν αὐτοὺς κρατήσειν, ἢ μὴ βουληθέντων αὐτῶν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι πρὸς τε τὸ ἀσφαλεῖ ἀποχωρῆσαι καὶ τῶν ἑπιτηδείων εὐπορήσειν καὶ τινα καὶ ωφελίαν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἢ καὶ τοῦ

3 Ἀγρίππαν σχῆσειν, τὰ τε σκάφη ὅσα ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας ὑπελέειπτο καὶ πρὸς τὸ τάφρευμα ἐξεπεπτώκει κατέκαυσε, καὶ αὐτὸς ἁρας ὡς πρὸς τὰς Μύλας ἐπορεύετο. καὶ αὐτῷ προσβαλόντες καὶ ἱππῆς καὶ ψιλοὶ πόρρωθεν (οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὡς ἡ χρήσαι ἐτὸλμω) ἀποροι δεινῶς

4 ἐγίγνοντο. αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπήσεαν ὅποτε καιρὸς εἶν, καὶ ἀνέστρεφον διὰ βραχέως· οἱ δὲ, ὡς γε ὀπλίται, οὔτ' ἄλλως ἐπιδιώκειν σφᾶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους ἐδύναντο, καὶ τοὺς ἀόπλους τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ σωθέντας περιέστελλον. καὶ τοῦ

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fish of its own accord leaped out of the sea and fell at his feet; this incident gave him courage once more, for he believed the soothsayers who told him that he should make the sea his slave.

Caesar, now, was sending urgent messages to Agrippa to come to the aid of his soldiers in Sicily, and these troops meanwhile were being besieged. And when their provisions began to fail them and no rescuing force appeared, Cornificius, their leader, became afraid that if he stayed where he was he should in the course of time be compelled by hunger to yield to his besiegers; and he reflected that while he tarried there in that same spot none of the enemy would join issue with him, because he was superior in heavy-armed troops, but if he should leave his camp in any direction one of two things would happen—either he would overpower the enemy, if they joined battle with him, or, if they declined battle, he would retire to a place of safety, get a supply of provisions, and obtain some help from Caesar or from Agrippa. Therefore he burned all the vessels that had been left over from the sea-fight and had been cast up beside the entrenchments, and set out as if to proceed to Mylae. Both cavalry and light-armed troops attacked him from a distance, not daring to come to close quarters, and proved exceedingly troublesome to him; for they would not only attack whenever opportunity offered but would also quickly retreat again, whereas his men, being heavily-armed, could not pursue them in any case owing to the weight of their armour, and moreover were endeavoursing to protect the unarmed men who had been saved from the fleet. Consequently they were
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tou ἐπασχούν μὲν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ, ἀντέδρων δὲ οὐδὲν· εἰ γὰρ που καὶ ἐπάξειαν ¹ τισιν, ἐτρεπον μὲν αὐτοὺς, πέρα δ' οὐ δυνάμενοι διόκειν χαλεπωτέρους σφᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀναστροφῇ, ἀτε καὶ μονούμενοι
5 ταῖς ἐκδρομαῖς, εἰχὼν. ἐν τε οὖν τῇ ἄλλῃ πορείᾳ καὶ ἐν ταῖς διαβάσεσι τῶν ποταμῶν μάλιστα ἱσχυρῶς ἐταλαιπώρουν· περιστοιχίζομενοι γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐναντίοι κατ' ὀλίγους, οία ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ, καὶ ² σπουδὴ ἀτάκτως χωροῦνται, ἐς τε τὰ καίρια παραγμυνομένους ἐπαίουν, καὶ ἐς τὰ πηλώδη τὰ τε ῥοώδη ἐσπίπτοντάς τη ³ καὶ ἐνισχομένους ἦ καὶ παραφερομένους ἐβαλλον.

7 Καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τρεῖς ὅλας ἡμέρας ἐποίησαν, καὶ τῇ γε τελευταίᾳ παντελῶς αὐτοὺς ἐκάκωσαν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ Σέξτου τῷ ὀπλιτικῷ προσγενομένου σφίσιν, ὡστε τῶν μὲν ἀπολλυμένων οὐδένα ἐτὶ λόγον ἐποιούντο, ἄλλα καὶ ἐν κέρδει τὸ μηκέτ' αὐτοὺς κακοπαθεῖν ἐπίθευντο, καὶ ἦθελον καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν ἢδη τεθυγκότων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνελπιστίας
2 εἶναι. οἱ δὲ δὴ τραυματία τοῦ πολλοῦ τε καὶ πλείους τῶν τελευτάντων ὄντες (ἀτε γὰρ καὶ λίθους καὶ ἄκοντιοις πόροις ἐκβαλλόμενοι, καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐκ χειρὸς πληγήν ὑπομένοντες, πολλαχῆ τε καὶ οὐ πάντη καιρίαν ἐτιτρώσκοντο) αὐτοὶ τε δεινῶς
3 ἐταλαιπώρουν, καὶ τοῖς περιλοίποις πολὺ πλεῖος πόνον ἢ οἱ πολέμιοι παρεῖχον· εἰτε γὰρ ἐφοίνυτο, καὶ τοὺς ἀνέχοντάς σφᾶς προσαπωλύσαν, εἰτε

¹ ἐπάξειαν Dind., ἐπάξειαν LM.
² καὶ placed here by Bs., before κατ' ὀλίγους in LM.
³ τὴ Cary, ὡς LM.
BOOK XLIX

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

The enemy employed these tactics for three whole days and on the last demoralized them completely, especially since Sextus had now joined them with his heavy-armed contingent. Consequently the troops of Caesar ceased to concern themselves about those who were perishing, but counted them fortunate to escape from further torment, and in their despair wished that they, too, were among those already dead. Indeed the wounded were far more numerous than those who died; for since they were being hit by stones and javelins thrown from a distance and sustained no blows dealt in hand-to-hand fighting, they received their wounds in many parts of their bodies, and not always in a vital spot. Thus men were not only in great distress themselves, but they caused the uninjured far more trouble than did the enemy. For, if they were carried, they usually caused the death of the men who supported them and lost

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καὶ κατελείποντο, τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν ἐς ἀθυμίαν ὁλοφυρόμενοι καθίστασαν, καὶ πασσυνὶ διεφθάρησαν, εἰ μὴ περὶ οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ἀκοντεῖς σφών ἀπέσχοντο. ὃ τε γὰρ Ἀγρίππας τότε μὲν νικήσας τὴν ναυμαχίαν πρὸς τὴν Διπάραν ἀνέπλευσε, μαθὼν δὲ τὸν τε Σέξτον ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην πεφυγότα καὶ τὸν Δημοχάρην ἄλλοσε ποι ἀπεληλυθότα, ἐπεραιώθη ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ καταλαβὼν τὰς τε Μύλας καὶ τὴν Τυναρίδα σίτῳ τὲ σφῖσι καὶ στρατιώτας ἐπεμψε· καὶ ὁ Σέξτος οἰδῆσε καὶ αὐτὸν ἔκεινον ἤσειν ἐφοβήθη καὶ στουδή προανεχώρησεν, ὡστε καὶ σκεῦν τινα καὶ ἔπιτήδεια ἐν τῷ ἐρύματι καταλιπεῖν, ἢ οἱ τὴν τροφὴν ἀφθονον οἱ περὶ τὸν Κορνουφίκιον ἔχοντες πρὸς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἀπεσώθησαν. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ἐπαίνως καὶ δωρεαῖς ἀνεκτήσατο, καίστερ ὑπεροπτικότατα ἕφισιν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀγρίππαν ναυκρατία, ὡς καὶ διαπεπολεμηκότος, χρησάμενος τοσοῦτον γὰρ ποὺ καὶ ὁ Κορνουφίκιος ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν στρατιώτων σωτηρία ἐφρόνει ὡστε καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ ἐλέφαντος, ὡσάκις ἐξὼ τῆς οἰκίας ἐδείπνει, ἀνακομίζεσθαι. 

Τὸ δ’ οὖν Καῖσαρι ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν μετὰ τοῦτ’ ἐλθόντι ὁ Σέξτος περὶ τὸ Ἀρτέμισιον ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο· καὶ μάχῃ μὲν οὐδεμίαν εὐθὺς μεγάλην ἐμαχέσατο, ἵππομαχίας δέ τινας βραχείας ἐποίουτο. ἀντικαθημένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀλλήλως, τῷ μὲν Σέξτῳ ὁ Γάλλος ὁ Τισῆνος, τῷ δὲ Καῖσαρι ἰδίοις σὺν ταῖς δυνάμεις προσεγένοντο. οὕτως τε γὰρ περίπεσον τῷ χειμώνι οὔπερ ἐμνημόνευσα καὶ τῷ Δημοχάρει, ναῦς τε συχνὰς ἀπέβαλε καὶ

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

After this Caesar went to Sicily and Sextus encamped opposite him in the vicinity of Artemisium; yet they did not have any great battle at once, but indulged in a few slight cavalry skirmishes. While they were encamped there opposite one another Sextus was reinforced by Tisienus Gallus and Caesar by Lepidus with his forces. Lepidus had encountered the storm which I have mentioned, and also had fallen in with Demochares, and he had lost a number
oûk eûthûs prôs tòn Kâisara ἦλθεν, ἀλλ’ εἶτε δὴ
diâ tò páðos, εἴθ’ ὅπως καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἐκεῖνος πονοῦ-
to, εἶτε καὶ ἀπαγαγεῖν τὸν Σέξτον ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ
βουληθεῖς, Διλυβαῖῳ πρὸσέβαλε καὶ ὁ Γάλλος
ἐνταῦθα αὐτῷ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σέξτου προσεπο-
λέμει. καὶ οὖτως ἐκεῖθεν ἀμφότεροι, ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν
ἐπέρανυν, πρὸς τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀφίκοντο. καὶ ὁ
μὲν Γάλλος ἐπέρρωσε τὸν Σέξτον, ὁ δὲ δὴ Δέπιδος
τῷ τῇ Καίσαρι δηνέχθη (αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ
ἲσου πάντα αὐτῷ διοικεῖν ὡς καὶ συνάρχων ἥξιον,
καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐς πάντα αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ ὑποστρατήγῳ
οἱ ἔχριτο), κὰκ τούτου πρὸς τε τὸν Σέξτον ἀπέκλειεν
καὶ ἐκοινολογεῖτο αὐτῷ δὲ ἀπορρήτων. ὑποτοπῆ-
σας οὖν τούτῳ ὁ Καίσαρ, καὶ μήτε ἐκφηναὶ τολμῶν,
μὴ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ αὐτῶν πολεμῶσθαι, μῆτ’
αὐτὸ πολυρύσσαθαι ἀσφαλῶς δυνάμενος (ὑποττόν
μὲν γὰρ ἐνόμισεν εἰ μὴ συμβουλευοῖτο τι αὐτῷ,
δεινὸν δ’ εἰ πάντα ἀνακοινοῖτο 1), διακυνδυνεύσαι
ὅτι τάχιστα, πρὶν νεοχυμωθῆναι τι, ἔγνω, καίτοι
τῶν ἅλλων ἕνεκα ἡκιστα ἐπεγρόμενος: οὔτε γὰρ
σωτὸς οὔτε χρήματα τῷ Σέξτῳ ὑπῆν, ἐξ ὧν ἠλπίζεν
αὐτὸν ἀμαχεῖ οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον καταλύσεων. ἐπεὶ
δ’ οὖν ἔκρινε τοῦτο, αὐτός τε κατὰ γῆν τῶν στρατῶν
ἐξώγων πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου προπαρέτασσε, καὶ
ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἀμα ἐπιπλέων ἀπεσάλευεν ὁ γὰρ
Σέξτος πολὺ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν αὐτῶν ἐλαττούμενος
οὐδετέρωσε ἀντεπεξῆ. καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἑπὶ πλείους
ἡμέρας ἐγένετο. τέλος δὲ δεῖσας μὴ καὶ κατα-
φρονηθεῖς διὰ ταύθ’ ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἐγκατα-
λειψθῇ, ἀνταναχθῆναι ποτε ταῖς ναυσὶ προσ-

1 ἀνακοινοῖτο R. Steph., ἀνακοινοῖτο LM.

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

9 Ὡς οὖν τὸ τε σημεῖον ἤρθη καὶ ἡ σάλπιγξ ὑπεσήμηνεν, ἐκείναι τε ἀπάσαι πρὸς τῇ γῇ συνέμιζαν καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἀμφοτέρων ἐμοίως ἐπ᾿ αὐτῆς τῆς ῥαχίας παρετάξατο, ὡστε τὸν θέαν ἄξιολογο·

2 τάτην γενέσθαι. ἡ τε γὰρ θάλασσα ἡ ἐκεῖ πᾶσα τῶν νεῶν ἐπεπλήρωτο (πολλαὶ γὰρ οὐσαι ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐπέσχον), καὶ ἡ χώρα ἡ μὲν ἐγγὺς αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ὦπλισμένων, ἡ δ᾿ ἀλλη ἡ ἑ προσεχὴς ὑπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐκατέρων ὀμίλου κατείχετο. ὀθενπερ καὶ ὁ ἅγιον ἔδοξε μὲν τῶν ναυμαχοῦντων μῶνον εἶναι, τῇ δ᾿ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐγένετο·

3 οἳ τε γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ὄντες προθυμότερον ἐς τὴν τῶν ὀρὼντων σφάς ἐπίδειξιν ἡμιλλώντο, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, εἴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀπείχοντο ἄλληλων, ἄλλα καὶ πρὸς γε τὴν τῶν δρωμέων ὄψιν καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἡγωνίζοντο. ἀντιπάλου γὰρ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς μάχης γενομένης (ὁμοιοτροπώτατα γὰρ τοῖς πρὸσθεν ἐναυμάχησαν) ἵσορρόπῳ καὶ

4 αὐτοὶ συστάσει τῆς γνώμης συνέσχοντο. μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὸν πόλεμον πάντα ἐν αὐτῇ καταληψάσθαι ἡλπίζον· εἰ δὲ μὴ, οἱ μὲν, εἴ καὶ τότε κρατήσειαν, οὔδὲν ἐτί μέγα ἐπιπονήσειν, οἱ δὲ, εἰ τότε γε νικήσειαν, οὐκέθ’ ἴττηθήσεσθαι προσδοκώντες

5 ἔρρωντο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ σιωπῆ, ὡπώς αὐτοὶ

1 ἡ supplied by Pflugk.
the ships to put out to battle; for in these he reposed his chief trust.

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

1 In the following passage Dio was undoubtedly inspired by the dramatic description in Thucydides vii. 70 f.
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τε πρὸς τὰ γεγονόμενα ἀποβλέπωσι καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ μὴ ἀποτρίβωσι, καὶ κραυγῇ μικρῇ ἔχρωντο, τοὺς τε ναυμαχοῦντας ἀνακαλοῦντες καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιβοῶμενοι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν κρατοῦντας σφών

6 ἐπαινοῦντες τοὺς θ' ἠττωμένους λοιδοροῦντες, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐκείνους ἀντιπαρακελεύομενοι πολλά δὲ καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀντιβοῦντες, τοῦ τε τοὺς σφετέρους ρᾴτον τὰ λεγόμενα ἅκοινεῖν καὶ τοῦ τοὺς ἑναντίους ἥττον τῶν οἰκείων ἐπαίειν.

10 Τέως μὲν οὖν ἰσοπαλεῖς ἦσαν, οὕτω τε ταῦτα παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως ἐγγίγνετο, καὶ τι καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ὡς καὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ νοῆσαι δυναμένοις σφισιν ἐνεδείκνυτο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτράποντο οἱ τοῦ Σέξτου, ἐνταῦθα ἡδὴ ἀθρόοι καὶ ἀπὸ μιᾶς ὀρμῆς οἱ μὲν

2 ἐπαινῶσαι οἱ δὲ ὠλοφύραντο.2 καὶ οὕτωι μὲν, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ συνυνικημένοι, πρὸς τὴν Μεσσήνην εὐθὺς ἀπεχώρησαν· ο δὲ δὴ Καίσαρ τοὺς τε ἐκπίπτοντας τῶν ἠττωμένων ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐξεδέχετο, καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν βάλασαν ἐπεσβαίνων πάντα τὰ σκάφη τὰ γε 3 ἐς τὸ τεναγώδες ὀκέλλοντα κατεπίμπρη, ὡστε μὴτε τοῖς ἔτι πλέουσιν ἀσφάλειαν εἶναι (πρὸς γὰρ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ἐκόπτοντο) μὴτε τοῖς προσισχοῦσι 4 πη (πρὸς γὰρ τοῦ Καίσαρος διώλλυντο), πλὴν ὀλίγων, ὡσιν ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην προκατέφυγον. καὶ τοῦτο τῷ πόνῳ ὁ μὲν Δημο-

3 χάρης ἀλισκόμενος ἑαυτὸν ἀπέσφαξεν, ὁ δ' Ἀπολ- λοφάνης ἄθραυστον τὴν ναύν ἔχων καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἄν φυγεῖν προσεχώρησε τῷ Καίσαρι. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ

1 τοῦ τοῦς M, τούτους L.
2 ὠλοφύραντο Bk., ὠλοφύροντο LM Zon.
3 γε Rk., τε LM.
4 προσισχοῦσι Reim., προσισχοῦσι LM.

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gaze fixed upon the action and might not distract those who were taking part in it, they kept silent or indulged in but little shouting. They cheered the men who were fighting and appealed to the gods; they praised those of their own number who were winning and reproached those who were losing; they exchanged many exhortations with their own men, and many shouts with each other, in order that their own men might hear more easily what was said and their opponents might not catch the commands meant for them.

Now so long as the forces were evenly matched, this was the conduct of the partisans of both sides alike, and they even tried to show the combatants by the postures of their bodies that they could both see and understand; but when the adherents of Sextus were being routed, then at length all together and with one impulse they raised the paean on the one side and a wail of lamentation on the other. And the land forces of Sextus at once retired to Messana, as if they, too, had shared in the defeat, whilst Caesar proceeded to take over those of the vanquished who were cast ashore, and going on into the sea itself, to set fire to all the vessels that ran aground in the shallow water. Thus there was no safety for those who continued to sail, for they would be cut to pieces by Agrippa, nor for such as tried to land anywhere, for they would be destroyed by Caesar,—except for a few, who had already escaped to Messana. During this struggle Demochares, when on the point of being captured, slew himself, and Apollophanes, who had his ship unscathed and might have fled, went over to Caesar. The same course was taken by others,
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τούτο καὶ ἄλλοι, ὁ τε Γάλλος καὶ οἱ ἰππῆς οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πάντες, καὶ μετὰ ταύτα καὶ πεζοὶ τινες ἐποίησαν. ἀφ' οὗπερ οὐχ ἦκιστα ὁ Σέξτος ἀπογνώσεις τὰ παρόντα φυγεῖν ἐβουλεύσατο, καὶ παραλαβὼν τὴν τε θυγατέρα καὶ ἄλλους, τά τε χρήματα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐς τὰς ναῦς τὰς ἄριστα τῶν σωθεισῶν πλεοῦσας ἐσθέμενος, ὑπεδώξε τις αὐτῶν ἐκείνος τε γὰρ λάθρα ἐξέπλευσε, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν μεγάλῃ παραχῇ παραχῆμα ἐγένετο.

2 Ὁ γὰρ Λέπιδος τῇ τε Μεσσηνῇ προσέπεσε, καὶ ἐσδεξθεὶς ἐς αὐτὴν τὰ μὲν ἐνετίμπρη τὰ δ' ἡρπαζει. ἐπειδὴ τε ἐκείνος αἰσθόμενος τοῦτ' ἐπῆλθε τε οἱ διὰ ταχέων καὶ ἐμποδῶν ἐγιγνετο, τῆς μὲν πόλεως ὑπεξῆλθε φοβηθεὶς, ἐπὶ δὲ λόφου τινὰ καρπερὸν ἀναστρατοπεδευσάμενος ἐγκλήματα ἐποιεῖτο, καταλέγων πάνθ' ὅσα ἐλαττοῦσθαι ἐνόμιζε,

3 καὶ τά τε ἄλλα ἀπῆτει ὅσα αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην σφῶν συνωμοσίαν ἔδεδοτο, καὶ τῆς Σικελίας ὡς καὶ συγκαταστρεψάμενος αὐτὴν ἀντεποιεῖτο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα τε τῷ Καῖσαρι πέμπτων τινὰς ἐπεκάλει, καὶ ἐς δίκην αὐτὸν προικαλείτο (ἐἰχε δὲ τάς δειναμεις ὡς ἐκ τῆς Διβύνης ἐπῆκτο, καὶ τοὺς ἐγκαταλειφθέντας ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνῇ πάντας, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πρῶτος ἐς αὐτὴν ἐσεληνύθει καὶ τινὰ καὶ ἐπίδια νεωτέρων σφίσι πραγμάτων ὑπεβε-

12 βλῆκει). Καῖσαρ δὲ πρὸς μὲν ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἀντείπε, νομίσας δὲ δὴ πάντα τὰ δίκαια παρὰ τε ἐαυτῷ καὶ παρὰ τοὺς ὅπλοις, ἀτε καὶ ἰσχυρότερος αὐτοῦ ὅν, ἔχειν, εὐθὺς ἐπ' αὐτῶν μετ' ὀλγών τινῶν ὄρμησεν ὡς καὶ ἐκείνων τε ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου, οἵα

1 ἐσθέμενος R. Steph., εὐθέμενος Zon., αἰσθόμενος LM.

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

It seems that Lepidus had attacked Messana and on being admitted to the town had proceeded to set fire to some of it and to pillage other portions. When Caesar, on ascertaining this, came up quickly and interfered with him, Lepidus was alarmed and slipped out of the city, and encamping on a strong hill, made complaints about his treatment; he detailed all the slights he considered that he was receiving and demanded all the rights that had been conceded to him according to their first compact, and, further, laid claim to Sicily, on the ground that he had helped to subdue it. He sent some men to Caesar with these complaints and called upon him to submit to arbitration; his forces consisted not only of those which he had brought over from Africa but also of all those which had been left behind in Messana, as he had been the first to enter it and had suggested to them some hopes of a revolution. Caesar, however, made no answer to these demands, but feeling that he had justice all on his side as well as in his weapons, since he was stronger than Lepidus, he immediately set out against him with a few followers, expecting to alarm him by the suddenness of his move, as Lepidus
μηδὲν δραστήριον ἔχοντα, καταπλήξων, καὶ τοὺς
2 στρατιώτας αὐτοῦ προσποιησόμενος. καὶ ἐσῆλθε
μὲν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον δόξας σφίσα διὰ τὴν ὀληγό-
τητα τῶν συνακολουθοῦντος οἱ εἰρηνικὸν τι πρά-
ξειν ὡς δ’ οὐδὲν κατὰ γνώμην αὐτοῖς ἔλεγε, παρωξύνθησαν καὶ ἑπέθεντο αὐτῷ, καὶ τῶν τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἀπέκτειναν ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐν τάχει βοη-
θεῖας τυχῶν ἐσώθη. καὶ μετὰ τούτ’ ἐπῆλθε τε
αὐθίς αὐτοῖς μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ κατα-
κλείσας σφάς ἐς τὸ τάφρευμα ἐπολιόρκει. φοβη-
θέντες οὐν τὴν ἄλωσιν κοινῇ μὲν οὐδὲν διὰ τὴν τοῦ
Δεπίδου αἰδῶν ἐνεόχωσαν, ἴδια δὲ κατ’ ὀλγοὺς
ὡς ἐκαστοὶ ἐγκατέλυτον αὐτὸν καὶ μεθίσταντο·
καὶ οὔτω καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἡναγκάσθη ἑθελοῦντι δὴ ἐν
4 ἐσθήτι φαιν ἰκέτης αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ
τούτου τῆς τε ἐξουσίας πάσης παρελύθη, καὶ
dιάταν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ οὐκ ἀνευ φυλακῆς εἰςε-
tῶν δὲ δὴ τὰ τοῦ Σέξτου πραξάντων οἱ μὲν ἱπ-
πεύοντες ἥ καὶ βουλεύοντες ἐκολάσθησαν πλὴν
ἂλγων, τοῦ δὲ ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ οὔτος τὸ μὲν
ἐλεύθερον ἐς τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατόπεδα κατε-
λέχθη, τὸ δὲ δεδουλευκὸς τοὺς δεσπόταις πρὸς
5 τιμωρίαν ἀπεδόθη· εἰ δὲ τοῦ μηδεὶς κύριος εὐρί-
σκετο, ἀνεσκολοπίζετο. τῶν τε πόλεων αἱ μὲν
ἐκουσιαὶ οἱ προσχωρήσασι συγγνώμης ἔτυχον,
αἱ δ’ ἀντάρασαι ἐδικαίωθησαν.
13 Πράσσοντι δ’ αὐτῷ ταῦτα οἱ στρατιῶται ἐστα-
σίασαν· ἄλλως τε γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγοι οὔτε πρὸς τὴν
ὄψιν τοῦ πλήθους σφῶν ἐθρασύνοντο, καὶ τοὺς
κινδύνους τάς τε ἐλπίδας τὰς ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ἐκλογι-

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

While Caesar was thus occupied his soldiers revolted. For they were emboldened by observing their own numbers, and moreover, when they stopped to think of the dangers they had encountered and the hopes they had built up on them, they became
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ζῷμενοι πρὸς τε τὰ γέρα ἀπλήστως εἶχον, καὶ συνλεγόμενοι κατ’ ἀλλήλους ἤτοιν ὦ τὶ τις ἐπό-
θει. ἐπειδὴ τε μάτην ἐθρύλουν (ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ,
άτε μηδενὸς ἔτι πολεμίων οἱ παρόντος, ἐν ὀλι-
γωρίᾳ αὐτοῦς ἐποιεῖτο), ἐθορύβουν καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ προφέροντες πάνθ᾽ ὥς ἔτεταλαιπώρηντο, καὶ προ-
βάλλοντες εἰ τί ποὺ ὑπέσχητο σφισί, πολλὰ ἐπη-
πείλουν, καὶ ἐνόμιζον καὶ ἄκουντα αὐτῶν καταδου-
λώσεσθαι. ἔπει δ’ οὐδὲν ἐπέραινον, τῆς γοῦν
στρατείας ὡς καὶ κεκμηκότες ἀφεθήναι ἡξίουν,
θυμῷ καὶ βοῇ ἀπλέτω χρώμενοι, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἐβού-
λουτο αὐτὴς ἀπαλλάγηναι (καὶ γὰρ ἥκμαξ’
σφὼν οἱ πλείονες), ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸν 1 πόλεμον τὸν
πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον οἱ ἐσόμενον ὑπετόπουν καὶ
diὰ τοῦθ’ ἑαυτοὺς ἀνετίμων ὧν γὰρ ἀπαιτοῦντες
οὐκ ἐτύγχανον, ταῦτ’ ἐγκαταλείψειν αὐτῶν ἀπει-
λοῦντες λήψεσθαι προσεδόκων. οὐ μὴν οὖδὲ
tοῦτό σφισὶ προυχώρησεν ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ, εἰ καὶ
tὰ μάλιστα τὸν τε πόλεμον ἀκριβῶς ἦδει γενή-
σόμενοι καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνων βουλήματα σαφῶς συνιεῖ,
ἀλλ’ οὕτω καὶ ὑπείξεν αὐτοῖς, νομίζων μηδὲν
dεῖν τὸν ἄρχοντα παρὰ γρώμην ύπὸ τῆς τῶν στρα-
τιωτῶν βίας ποιεῖν, ὡς καὶ ἄλλα τί αὐθίς σφῶν
14 διὰ τοῦτο πλεονεκτῆσαι ἐθελησόντων. προσποιη-
σάμενος οὖν εὐλογά τε αὐτοὺς ἅξιον καὶ ἀνθρω-
pίνων δεῖσθαι, διήκε πρῶτοι μὲν τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν
 Ἀντώνιον πρὸς τὴν Μοῦταῖον στρατεύσαντας
 αὐτῷ, ἐπείτα δὲ ὡς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐνέκειντο, καὶ 
ἐκ ἐκείνων πάντας τοὺς δέκατον ἔτος ἐν τῇ στρατεία 2
ἐχοντας. καὶ ἱνα γε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπισχῆ, προσ-

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

2 ἐθελήσῃ, χρήσεται. ἀκούσαντες δὲ τοῦτο οὐδὲν ἦτ᾽ ἐφθέγξαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ προσέχειν αὐτῷ ἤρξαντο, ὅτι τοὺς τε ἀφειμένους, οὐ πᾶσι, πλὴν τῶν προτέρων, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀξιωτάτους, τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα ὑπέσχητο δώσειν καὶ χώραν νεμεῖν 1 ἐπηγγείλατο, καὶ σφισι πᾶσι μὲν πειτακοσίας δραχμάς, τοῖς δὲ ἤν ναυκρατήσασι καὶ στέφανον ἐλαίας ἔδωκε.

3 καὶ τούτων τούς τε ἄλλους πολλὰ ὡς ἐκάστους, καὶ τοὺς ἐκατοντάρχους ὡς καὶ ἐς τὰς βουλὰς αὐτοὺς τὰς ἐν ταῖς πατρίσι καταλέξων, ἐπῆλπισε. τοῖς τε ὑποστρατηγοῖς ἄλλοις τε ἄλλα καὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππα στέφανον χρυσοῦν ἐμβόλοις ἰσκημένων ἐδωρήσατο· ὁ μήτε 2 πρότερον μήτ᾽ αὐθίς ἄλλῳ τῷ ἐγένετο. καὶ ὅπως γε διὰ παντός, ὅσαίς οἴ τινα ἐπινίκια πέμψαντες τὸν στέφανον τὸν δάφνινον φοροῦν, 3 ἐκείνοις τούτῳ τῷ ναυκρατητικῷ 4 χρότῳ, δόγματι ὕστερον ἐβεβαιώθη. οὕτω μὲν τότε τοὺς στρατιώτας κατέστησε· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀργύριον αὐτοῖς αὐτίκα, τὴν δὲ χώραν οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον ἔδωκεν. ἐπειδῆ γὰρ οὐκ ἐξήρκεσεν ἢ ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ἔτι τότε οὐσα, προσεξεπρίατο ἄλλην τε καὶ παρὰ Καμπάνῳ τῶν ἐν τῇ Καπτῆ οἰκούντων συχνῆν (καὶ γὰρ ἑποίκων ἢ πόλις πολλῶν ἐδείτο), καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ τε ὑδωρ τὸ Ἰουλίου ἀνομασμένον, ἐφ᾽ ὑν 5 καὶ τὰ μάλιστα διὰ πάντων ἀγάλλωνται, τὴν τε χώραν τὴν Κνωσίαν, ᾧ καὶ νῦν ἔτι καρποῦνται, ἀντέδωκε.

1 νεμεῖν Bk., νέμειν LM.
2 μήτε Bk., μὴ LM.
3 φοροῖει supplied by Bk.
4 ναυκρατητικός Reim., ναυκρατικός LM.
5 ἐφ᾽ ψ Reim., ὑφ᾽ ψ οὖ LM.

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

¹ This is the well-known Gnosos in Crete. Cf. Strabo, x. 4, 9, and Velleius Paterculus, ii. 81, 2.
6 Ταύτα μὲν οὖν ὑστερον ἐγένετο· τότε δὲ τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ διώκησε, καὶ τὴν Διβύην ἐκατέραν ἀμαχεὶ διὰ Στατιλίου Ταύρου παρεστήσατο, τῷ τε Ἀντωνίῳ τὸν ἵσον ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολομένων νεῶν άριθμὸν ἀντέπεμψε. καὶ τούτῳ τὰ τε τῶν Τυρσηνῶν στασιάσαντα ἔπειτα ἁμα τῷ τῆς νίκης αὐτοῦ πυθέσθαι κατέστη, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἐπαίνους τε αὐτῷ ὁμοθυμαδὸν καὶ εἰκόνας καὶ προεδρίαν ἀψίδα τε τροπαιοφόροι, καὶ τὸ ἐφ' ἵππου εσελάσαι τὸ τε στεφάνῳ δαφνίῳ ἀεὶ χρήσθαι, καὶ τῷ ἠμέρᾳ ἐν ἡ ἑνεκικήκει, ἱερομηνία ἀιδίῳ οὐσίᾳ, ἐν τοῦ Δίὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου μετά τε τῆς γυναικὸς μετὰ τῶν 2 παῖδων ἐστιασθαι ἐδωκαν. ταύτα μὲν εὐθὺς σφισα μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἐδοξεν, ἤγγειλαν δὲ αὐτὴν πρότον μὲν στρατιώτης της τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε οὖν, κάτοχος ἐν αὐτῇ ἑκείνῃ τῇ ἠμέρᾳ ἐκ θεοῦ δὴ τινος γενόμενοι, καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλά καὶ εἰπὼν καὶ πράξας, καὶ τέλος ἐς τε τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀναδραμῶν καὶ τὸ ξίφος πρὸς τοὺς τοῦ Δίὸς πόδας ὡς μηκετ' αὐτοῦ χρείας οὕσης θείς, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ παραγενόμενοι τε ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ πεμφθέντες ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπὸ τοῦ 3 Καίσαρος. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀφίκετο, καὶ σφας συναγαγὼν ἐξῳ τοῦ πωμηρίου κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τὰ τε ππραγμένα οἱ ἀπελογίσατο 3 καὶ τῶν ψηφισθέντων τινὰ παρήκατο, τὸν τε φόρον τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀπογραφῶν, καὶ εὶ δὴ τι ἄλλο ἐτὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ ἐς τὸν πρὸ τοῦ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου χρόνον ἐπωφείλετο, ἄφηκε, τέλῃ τε τινὰ κατέλυσε, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Λεπίδου

1 ἵππου L, ἵππους M.  
2 τῶν added by Bk.  
3 ἀπελογίσατο Rk., ἀπελογήσατο LM.
BOOK XLIX

These were later events, however; at the time b.c. 36 Caesar arranged matters in Sicily and through Statilius Taurus won over both the Africas without a struggle and sent back to Antony ships equal in number to those which had been lost. Meanwhile the parts of Etruria which had been in rebellion had subsequently become quiet as soon as word came of his victory. The people of the capital unanimously bestowed upon him votes of praise, statues, the right to the front seat, an arch surmounted by trophies, and the privilege of riding into the city on horseback, of wearing the laurel crown on all occasions, and of holding a banquet with his wife and children in the temple of Capitoline Jupiter on the anniversary of the day on which he had won his victory, which was to be a perpetual day of thanksgiving. These were the honours which they granted him immediately after his victory. The victory had been announced first by one of the soldiers in the city at the time who had become possessed by some god on the very day of the victory (for after saying and doing many strange things he finally ran up to the temple on the Capitol and laid his sword at the feet of Jupiter, to signify that there would be no further use for it), and afterwards by the others who had been present at the victory and had been sent to Rome by Caesar. And when Caesar himself arrived, he assembled the people according to ancient custom outside the pomerium, gave them an account of what he had done, declined some of the honours which had been voted to him, remitted the tribute called for in the registered lists and all the other debts owed to the state for the time previous to the civil war, abolished certain taxes, and refused to accept the priesthood of Lepidus,
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ιερωσύνην διδομένην οἱ οὐκ ἔλαβεν (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐξῆν ξόντα τινα ἀφελέσθαι), καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ αὐτῷ

4 προσεψηφίσαντο. ἦδη μὲν γὰρ τινες διεθρόησαν ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ 'Ἀντωνίου καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ 'Λεπίδου διαβολῆ, καὶ ὅστε τῇν αἰτίαν τῶν πρότερον ἀδίκως γενομένων ἐς ἑκείνους μόνους ἀπώσασθαι, ταῦθ' οὔτω τότε ἐμεγαλοφρονήσατο· ἅλλοι δὲ δὲν, ἐπειδὴ μηδένα τρόπον ἀπολαβεὶν τὰ ὄφειλόμενα ἐδώνατο, χάριν τινὰ ἐαυτοῦ ἡζήμιον τήν ἑκείνων ἀδυναμίαν

5 ἐποιήσατο. ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλως ἔθρυπνείτο, τότε δὲ οἰκίαν τε αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου δοθηκαί ἐγνωσαν· τὸν γὰρ τόπον ὃν 1 ἐν τῷ 'Παλατίῳ, 2 ὥστ' οἰκοδομῆσαι τινα, ἐὼντο, ἐδημοσίωσε καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ιέρωσεν, ἐπειδὴ κεραυνὸς ἐς αὐτοῦν ἐγκατέσκηψε. τὴν τε οὖν οἰκίαν αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ τὸ μήτε ἔργῳ μήτε λόγῳ τι ὑβρίζεσθαι·

6 εἰ δὲ μὴ, τοῖς αὐτοῖς τὸν τοιοῦτο τι δράσαντα ἐνέχεσθαι οἴσπερ ἐπὶ τῷ δημάρχῳ ἐτέτακτο. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βάθρων συγκαθέσθαι σφισιν ἔλαβε.

16 Τῷ μὲν οὖν Καίσαρι ταῦτα παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐδόθη, αὐτός δὲ τὸν τε 'Μεσσάλαν τὸν Ὀυαλέριον, ὃν πρότερον ἐν ταῖς προγραφαίς ἐτεθανατώκει, ἐς τοὺς οἰωνιστὰς ύπὲρ τῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐσέγραψε, καὶ τοὺς Οὐτικησίους πολίτας ἐποιήσατο, τὴν τε ἐσθήτα τῇν ἄλουργὴ μηδένα ἄλλον ἐξω τῶν βουλευτῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὄντων ἐνδύεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν· ἦδη γὰρ τινες καὶ τῶν τυχόντων αὐτῇ ἐχρόντο.

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

These were the privileges bestowed upon Caesar by the senate. And Caesar on his own responsibility enrolled among the augurs, above the proper number, Valerius Messalla, whom he had previously in the proscriptions condemned to death, made the people of Utica citizens, and gave orders that no one should wear the purple dress except the senators who were acting as magistrates; for some ordinary individuals were already using it. In this same year
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2 καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἔτει οὔτ' ἀγορανόμος τις ἀπορία τῶν αἱρεθησομένων ἐγένετο, ἄλλ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ οἱ τε δήμαρχοι τὰ προσήκοντα αὐτοῖς ἔστραξαν, οὔτε πολίαρχος ἢς τὰς ἀνοχὰς ἀπεδείχθη, ἄλλ' ἐκ τῶν στρατηγῶν τινε τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτῷ διήγαγον. τὰ τε ἅλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ τε λοιπῇ Ἰταλίᾳ Γάλιος τις Μαίκης, ἀνὴρ ἰππεύς, καὶ τότε καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπὶ πολὺ διώκησεν.

17 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Σέξτος ἦκ τε τῇ Μεσσηνῇ ἐξαναχθεὶς καὶ τὴν διώξει φοβηθεὶς, προδοσίαν τέ τινα ἅπο τῶν συνακολουθοῦντων οἱ ἔσεσθαι ὑποτοπῆσας, προείπε μὲν σφισιν ὡς διὰ πελάγους τὸν πλοῦν 2 ποιησόμενος, ἀποσβέσας δὲ τὸ φῶς δὲν τοῖς νυκτερινοῖς πλοῖσιν ἔνταλμα κατὰ πόδας αὐτῶν ἐφέπωνται, προδεικνύουσι, παρὰ τῇ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ παρέπλευσε, καὶ διαβαλῶν ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν ἢς Κεφαλληνίαν ἐκεῖθεν ἐλθεῖ Κάνταυθα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι κατὰ τύχην ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐκπεσόντες αἰθίοις αὐτῷ συνεγένοντο.

3 συνκαλέσας οὖν αὐτοὺς τὴν τε σκευὴν τὴν στρατηγικὴν ἀπεδύσατο, καὶ εἰπὼν ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι ἀθροί μὲν ὅντες οὔτ' ὕφελεν τινα ἀλλήλους διαρκὴ παρέξουσιν ὅτε λήσουσι, σκεδασθέντες δὲ βάσον τὴν διάφευξιν ποιήσαται, παρῆνεσεν σφισιν ἰδία καὶ ἀλλ' ἐαυτὸν ἐκάστῳ τῆς σωτηρίας προ-

4 σκοπῆσαι. κακὸ τούτου πεισθέντων οἱ τῶν πλείο-

1 πλοῖσι R. Steph., πλοῖσι LM.
2 διαβαλῶν Leuncl., διαλαβῶν LM.
3 Κέρκυραν R. Steph., κόρκυραν LM (here only).
4 στρατηγικὴν Zon., στρατιωτικὴν LM.

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

Now after Sextus had taken ship from Messana he was afraid of pursuit and suspected that some act of treachery would be committed by his followers. Therefore he gave notice to them that he was going to sail across the sea, but when he had extinguished the light which flagships exhibit during night voyages for the purpose of causing the rest to follow close behind, he coasted along past Italy, then went over to Coreyra, and from there came to Cephallenia. Here the remainder of his vessels, which had by chance been driven from their course by a storm, joined him again. Accordingly, after calling them together, he took off his general's uniform and made an address, in which he said, among other things, that while they remained together they could render no lasting aid to one another or escape detection, but if they scattered they could more easily make their escape; and he advised them to look out for their own safety each man separately and for himself. Thereupon the majority gave heed to him and departed in various directions, while he with the remainder crossed over to Asia with the intention of going straight to Antony.
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μενός δὲ ἐν Δέσβῳ, καὶ ἐκεῖνον τε ἐπὶ Μήδους ἐστρατευκέναι καὶ τὸν Καῖσαρα καὶ τὸν Δέσβων πεπολεμῶσθαι μαθῶν, διενοέτο μὲν κατὰ χώραν

5 χειμάσαι τὸν δὲ Δεσβίων προθυμώτατα αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μνήμην καὶ δεξιαμένων καὶ κατεχόντων, ἐπειδὴ τὸν τε Ἀντώνιου δυστυχήσαντα ἐν τῇ Μηδίᾳ ἐπύθετο καὶ Γάιος Φούρνιος ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας τότε ἀρχων οὐκ εὐνοικῶς οἱ ἐχρήτο, ὁ ὁ κατέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ ἐλπίσας τὴν τοῦ Ἀντώνιου ἀρχὴν διαδεξεῖθαι, ὅτι τε ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας συνοι πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀφίκοντο καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἔτεροι, οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ δόξαν οἱ δὲ καὶ βίοι δεόμενοι, συνελέγησαν, τὸ τε σχῆμα τὸ στρατηγικὸν ἀνέλαβε, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ τὴν περαιάν καταληψόμενοι. καὶ τοὺτο τὸν Ἄντωνίου ἐς τε τὴν φιλιὰν ἀποσωθέντος καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μαθόντος, καὶ τὴν τε ἀδειαν αὐτῶ καὶ τὴν εὐνοιαν, ἅν τὰ ὅπλα κατάθηκαν, ὑποσχομένου δώσειν, ἀντέγραψε μὲν ὡς καὶ πεισθησόμενος οἱ, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐποίησε τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τε τῶν συμφορῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπειδῆ πρὸς τὴν Αἰγυπτον αὐτικά ἀπῆρε, καταφρονήσας τῶν τε παρόντων ἐίχετο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Πάρθους διεκηρύ

2 κεύετο. παυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀντώνιος οὐκ ἀνεστρέψεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τε ναυτικὸν καὶ τὸν Τίτιον τὸν Μάρκον, μεταστάντα τε πρὸς ἑαυτὸν πρὸτερον ὑπὸ τοῦ Σέξτου καὶ τότε συνόντα 1 οἱ, ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἐπεμψε καὶ ὁς προαισθόμενος το τούτο καὶ φοβηθεῖς (οὐδέπω γὰρ ἰκανὸς παρεσκεύαστο) ἐξανήχθη, 2 καὶ προχωρῶν ᾗ μάλιστα διαφεύγεσθαι ἔδοκεν, ἐς

1 συνόντα R. Steph., ξυνόντα LM.
2 ἐξανήχθη Pflugk, ἐξήχθη LM.
When he reached Lesbos, however, and learned that Antony had gone on a campaign against the Medes and that Caesar and Lepidus had gone to war with each other, he decided to winter where he was; and in fact the Lesbians welcomed him with great enthusiasm on account of their recollection of his father and tried to keep him there. But when he learned that Antony had met with a reverse in Media, and when Gaius Furnius, the governor of Asia at the time, was not disposed to be friendly to him, he was against remaining, but hoping to succeed to Antony's leadership, inasmuch as many had come to him from Sicily and still others had rallied around him, some on account of his father's renown and some because they were in need of a livelihood, he resumed the dress of a general and began to make preparations for occupying the land opposite. Meanwhile Antony had got back safely into friendly territory and on learning what Sextus was doing promised to grant him pardon and favour, if he would lay down his arms. Sextus in his answer intimated that he would obey him, but did not do so; instead, because he despised Antony on account of his reverses and in view of his setting off immediately for Egypt, he held to his present plan and entered into negotiations with the Parthians. Antony found this out, but without turning back sent against him the fleet and Marcus Titius, who had formerly deserted Sextus and come over to him and was with him at this time. Sextus received information of this move beforehand, and in alarm, since his preparations were not yet complete, put out to sea, and taking the course which seemed most likely to
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τε Νικομήδειαν ἅφικετο, καὶ ταῦτα καταληφθεῖσα ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο μὲν ἀυτῷ, ἀτε καὶ ἐλπίδα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς ἐυεργεσίας ἡν εὐηργέτητο· ἔχουν ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνοι οὐκ ἔφη οἱ σπείρεσθαι ἂν μὴ τάς τε ναῦς καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν δυνάμιν αὐτοῦ προπαραλάβῃ, τῆς τε κατὰ θάλασσαι σωτηρίας ἀπέγνω, καὶ τὰ σκεῦη τὰ βαρύτερα ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐμβαλὼν ταύτας

4 τε κατέκαυσε καὶ ἐς τὴν μεσόγειαν ὀρμήσε. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιδιώξαντες ὦ τε Τίτιος καὶ ὁ Φούρνιος ἐν τε Μιδαεῖῳ τῆς Φρυγίας κατέλαβον καὶ περισχόντες ἐξώχρησαν. μαθῶν δὲ τούτῳ ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐθὺς μὲν ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἐπέστειλε σφισίν ἴνα ἀποθάνῃ, αὕτης δ' οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον μετανοήσας ἴνα σωθῇ

5 . . . . 2 τοῦ οὖν δευτέρου γραμματοφόρου τὸν πρότερον φθάσαντος, ύστερον τὰ περὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ γράμματα ὁ Τίτιος λαβὼν, καὶ νομίσας ὅντος δεύτερα εἶναι, ἦ καὶ γνώσις μὲν τὴν ἀληθείαν, οὐκ ἐθελήσας δὲ αὐτῇ πιστεύσαι, τῇ τάξει τῆς κομίδης αὐτῶν ἀλλ' οὐ τῇ γνώμῃ προσέσχε. 

6 καὶ οὕτως ὦ τε Σέξτος ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Κορυνουκίου τοῦ Λουκίου καὶ ἑπὶ Σέξτου τινὸς Πομπηίου ὑπάτων ἀπέθανε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἰπποδρομίαν τοὺς ἐποίησε καὶ τὸ Ἀντωνίῳ ἄρμα τε ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος καὶ εἰκόνας τοῦ Ὁμονοείῳ ἐστησε, τὸ τε ἐξουσίαιν σὺν τῇ γνωσικί καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ἐστιάζοις ἐνταῦθ' ἔχειν ἐδωκεν,

7 ὥσπερ ὅτε καὶ αὐτῷ ἐψήφιστο φίλος τε γὰρ ἔτι οἱ εἶναι ἐπιλάττετο, καὶ ἐκείνοι τοῦ ἐπὶ ν. ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν Πάρθων συμφοραῖς παρεμμεθείτο δῆθεν, καὶ

1 εὐηργέτητο St., εὐηργέτητο LM.
2 L here has a lacuna of eighteen to twenty letters, M of about thirty-four. The scribe of L supplied ἐγραφε before ἴνα.
3 ἔπι Pflügk, εν LM.
afford escape, came to Nicomedeia. And when he was overtaken there, he opened negotiations with Titius, placing some hope in him because of the kindness which had been shown him; but when the other refused to enter into a truce with him without first taking possession of his ships and the rest of his force, Sextus despaired of safety by sea, put all his heavier baggage into the ships, which he thereupon burned, and proceeded inland. Titius and Furnius pursued him, and overtaking him at Midaëum in Phrygia, surrounded him and captured him alive. When Antony learned of this, he at once in anger sent word to them that Sextus should be put to death, but repenting again not long afterward, wrote that his life should be spared . . . . Now the bearer of the second letter arrived before the other; and Titius later received the letter ordering Sextus' death, and either believing that it was really the second or else knowing the truth but not caring to heed it, he followed the order of the arrival of the two, but not their intention. So Sextus was executed in the consulship of Lucius Cornificius and one Sextus Pompeius. Caesar held games in the Circus in honour of the event, and set up for Antony a chariot in front of the rostra and statues in the temple of Concord, giving him also authority to hold banquets there with his wife and children, even as had once been voted in his own honour. For he pretended to be Antony's friend still and to be consoling him for the disasters inflicted by the Parthians, and in this way he tried to
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19 Kai ο μὲν ταύτα ἐπράττετε, τὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Ἀν-
τωνίου τῶν τε βαρβάρων ὡδὲ ἔσχεν. ὁ Οὐνετίδιος
ὁ Πούπλιος τὸν Πάκορον στράτευμα τε ἀθροίζειν
καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐμβάλλειν μαθῶν ἔδεισεν, ἔπειδὴ
μὴ τε ἐν τοῖς πόλεις πω καθευστήκησαν καὶ τὰ στρατό-
πεδα ἐν τοῖς χειμαδίοις ἐτί διέσπαρτο, καὶ τοιώνυ
tὶ ἐς τε τὴν διατριβὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς τὴν βραδυτὴν

2 τῆς στρατιάς ἐποίησε. Χανναίον τινα δυνάστην
γνωρίμοις μὲν καὶ αὐτῷ ἔχοντα, τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν
Πάρθων μᾶλλον φρονοῦντα εἰδῶς, τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡς
καὶ πιστότατον οἱ ὄντα ἐτίμα καὶ σύμβουλον
ἐστιν ὃν ἐποιεῖτο, εἴδο ὃν αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν βλαβή-
σεθαι, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐς πίστιν τοῦ καὶ τὰ ἀπορρη-
tότατα δῆθεν αὐτῷ συνειδέναι παρέξειν ἐμελλεῖν.

3 ἔπειδὴ τε ἐνταῦθα ἦν, φοβείσθαι τε ἐπλάσατο
μὴ πως οἱ βάρβαροι τὴν συνήθη σφίσι διάβασιν
τοῦ Ἑὐφράτου, παρὰ ἑνὶ τῷ Ζεύγμα ἡ πόλις ἔστι,
παραλιπόντες ἐτέρα τινὶ ὁδῷ κἀτω τοῦ ποταμοῦ
χρήσωνται (τῇ μὲν γὰρ πεδία τοῖς πολέμιοις
ἐπιτήδεια, τῇ δὲ γηλόφους ἐαυτοῖς πρέπουτας

4 εἶναι ἔλεγε), καὶ τοῦτον τοῦ τοῦ ἀνέπεισε
πιστεύσαι, καὶ τὸν Πάκορον διʼ αὐτοῦ προσέξη-
pάτησε τὴν γὰρ πεδιάδα, ἡν προσεποιεῖτο ὁ
Οὐνετίδιος μὴ βούλεσθαι αὐτόν ἐλθεῖν, μακρο-
tέραν τῆς ἐτέρας οὖσαν τραπεῖς παρέσχεν οἴ
καιρὸν τὰς δυνάμεις ἀθροίσαι. καὶ οὕτως ἐν

19 τῇ Συρίᾳ αὐτῷ τῇ Κυρηστικῇ γενομένῳ συμβα-
λὼν ἐνίκησεν. ἔπειδὴ γὰρ οὔτε τὸν ποταμὸν δια-

1 έζηκεῖτο Rk., έζηκεῖτο LM.
2 καὶ τοῦτο Bk., κακ τοῦτο LM. | 3 τ᾽ supplied by Pflugk.

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cure the jealousy the other might feel at his own victory and the decrees which followed it.

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

1 Cf. xl. 17, 3.
2 The district in Syria called Cyrrhestica.
βῆμαί σφας ἐκώλυσεν οὕτ' αὐ' διαβάσων εὔθὺς ἐπέθετο, μαλακίαν τέ τινα καὶ ἀρρωστίαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατέγνωσαν, κἂκ τούτον πρὸς τὸ ἐρυμα αὐτῶν καίπερ ἐν μετεώρῳ ὄν προσήλασαν ὡς καὶ 2 αὐτοθεί σφας αἰρήσοντες. ἐπεκδρομῆς τε αἱ-
φυδίου γενομένης κατά τε τοῦ πραγμός οὐ χαλε-
pῶς, ἀτε καὶ ἵππης οὔτες, ἀπεώσθησαν, κἂν-
tαῦθα ἀνδρείως μὲν ἀμυνόμενοι (κατάφρακτοι γὰρ
οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν ἡσαν) παραττόμενοι δὲ πρὸς τε
τὸ ἀνέλπιστον καὶ περὶ ἄλληλοις, ὑπὸ τε τῶν
ὀπλιτῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν σφενδοητῶν μάλιστα ἡτ-
tήθησαν· πόρρωθεν γὰρ σφοδραῖς ταῖς βολαῖς
3 ἐξικνοῦμενοι χαλεπώτατοι αὐτοῖς ἐγίγνοντο. κἂν
τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Πάκορος πεσὼν πλείστον
αὐτοὺς ἐβλάφει· ὡς γὰρ τάχιστα τὸν ἄρχοντά
σφῶν ἀπολωλότα ἱσδοντο, ὁλίγου μὲν περὶ τοῦ
σώματος αὐτοῦ προθύμως ἠγωνίσαντο, φθαρέν-
tων δὲ καὶ τούτων πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ ἐνέδοσαν.
καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν διὰ τῆς γεφύρας οἰκάδε δια-
φυγεῖν ἐθελήσαντες οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν, ἀλλὰ προ-
kαταληφθέντες ἀπόλοντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν
4 Ἀντίοχον ἐς τὴν Κομμαγηνήν κατέφυγον. Οὐκε-
tίδιοι δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ μετέωρα
πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου ἐκβασίν γεγονόμενα (τὸν
γὰρ Πάκορον ὤμοι τοῖς μάλιστα τῶν πώποτε
βασιλευσάντων καὶ ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἐπὶ προά-
tητι υπερηγάπων) ραδίως, τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ
5 κατὰ τὰς πόλεις περιπέμψας, κατεστήσατο αὐ-
tὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον, προφασὶ μὲν ὧτι τοὺς
ικέτας οἰ οὐκ ἐξέδωκε, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ διὰ τὰ χρή-
ματα ἄ πάμπολλα εἶχεν, ἐπεστράτευσεν.
crossing the river and had not attacked them at once after they had got across, they imputed sloth and weakness to the Romans and therefore marched against their camp, although it was on high ground, expecting to take it without resistance. But when a sally was suddenly made, the assailants, being cavalry, were driven back down the slope without difficulty; and although at the foot they defended themselves valiantly, the majority of them being in armour, yet they were confused by the unexpectedness of the onslaught and by stumbling over one another and were defeated by the heavy-armed men and especially by the slingers; for these struck them from a distance with their powerful missiles and so were exceedingly difficult for them to withstand. The fall of Pacorus in this struggle was a very great loss to them; for as soon as they perceived that their leader had perished, although a few men zealously fought for his body, yet when these also were slain, all the rest gave way. Some of them desired to escape homeward across the bridge and were unable to do so, being cut off and killed before they could reach it, and others fled for refuge to Antiochus in Commagene. Ventidius easily brought into subjection all the rest of Syria, which had been hesitating while awaiting the outcome of the war, by sending the prince’s head about through the different cities; for the Syrians felt unusual affection for Pacorus on account of his justice and mildness, an affection as great as they had felt for the best kings that had ever ruled them. And Ventidius himself made an expedition against Antiochus, on the plea that the latter had not delivered up to him the refugees, but really because of the vast wealth which he possessed.
21 Ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἦδη αὐτῷ ὡντι ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔχατ-φυς ἑπιστᾶς οὐ μόνον οὐχ ἔσθη ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφθο-νήσεν, ὅτι ἔδοξε τι καθ’ ἐαυτὸν ἲνδραγαθίσθαι.1 καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ἔπαυσε, καὶ ἐς οὐδὲν ἔτι οὕτως ὑστερον αὐτῷ ἐχρή-σατο, καίτοι καὶ ἱερομηνίας ἔτι ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ ἐπινίκια δι’ αὐτῶν λαβὼν. οὐ γε μὴν ἐν τῷ ἀστεὶ Ρωμαίοι ἐψηφίσατο μὲν τῷ Ἀντώνιῳ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ προούχον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου, ὅτι ἡ στρατηγία ἑκεῖνῳ ἦν, ἐψηφίσατο δὲ καὶ τῷ Οὐεντιδίῳ, ἀτε καὶ τῆς συμφόρου τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Κράσσου σφίσι γενομένην ἱκανότατα τοῖς Πάρ-θοις διὰ τοῦ Πακόρου, καὶ μάλισθ’ ὅτι ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκατέρω τοῦ ἐτοσ ἀμφότερα συν- 3 ἡνέχθη, νομίζοντες ἀνταποδεδωκέναι. καὶ συνέ-βη γε τῷ Οὐεντιδίῳ μόνῳ τε τὰ2 νεκτηρία ἐορ-τάσαι ὡςπερ καὶ μόνος ἑνίκησεν (ὁ γὰρ Ἀντώνιος προαπώλετο), καὶ δόξαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκ τοῦ παραλόγου ἀμα τῆς τύχης μείζω λαβεῖν ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τοῦ Πομπηίου τοῦ Στράβωνος ἐπινικίους πομπεύσας ποτὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων αἰχμαλῶτων αὐτὸς ἐπινίκια τῶν Πάρθων πρῶτος Ρωμαίων ἔγαγε.

22 Ταῦτα μὲν χρόνῳ ὑστερον ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ ὁ Ἀντώνιος προσέβαλε μὲν τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ, καὶ κατα-κλείσας αὐτὸν ἐσ Σαμόσατα ἐπολιόρκει· ὥς δ’ οὐδέν ἐπέραινεν, ἀλλ’ ὁ τε χρόνος ἄλλως ἀνα-λύτο καὶ τα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀλλοτρίως οἱ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Οὐεντιδίου ἀτιμίαν ἐχειν ὑπώπτευσε,

1 ἲνδραγαθίσθαι Bs., ἲνδραγαθίσθαι LM.
2 τα τα Bk., τά τε LM.
When he had got to this point, Antony suddenly came upon him, and so far from being pleased, was actually jealous of him because he had gained the reputation of having carried out a brave exploit independently. Accordingly, he not only removed him from his command but employed him on no other business either then or later, although he himself obtained the honour of thanksgivings for both achievements and a triumph for his assistant's work. The Romans in the capital voted these honours to Antony, on the one hand, because of his prominence and in accordance with the law, because he was the commander in charge; but they voted them to Ventidius also, since they felt that he had fully requited the Parthians, through the death of Pacorus, for the disaster which had been suffered by the Romans in the time of Crassus, especially since both events had taken place on the same day in both years. And it turned out, in fact, that Ventidius alone celebrated the triumph, even as the victory had been his alone (for Antony perished in the meantime), and he acquired a greater reputation from this fact as well as from the caprice of fortune; for he himself had once marched in procession with the other captives at the triumph of Pompeius Strabo, and now he was the first of the Romans to celebrate a triumph over the Parthians.

This, to be sure, took place at a later period; at the time under consideration Antony attacked Antiochus, shut him up in Samosata and proceeded to besiege him. But when he found he was accomplishing nothing and was spending his time in vain, and when he also suspected that the soldiers were alienated from him on account of the disgrace of Ventidius, he
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διεκηρυκεύσατο αὐτῷ κρύφα, καὶ πλαστὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν συνθῆκας, ὅπως ἐνυπερτός ἀπαναστή, ἐποιήσατο. ἀμέλει αὐτὸς μὲν οὕτε ὁμήρους, πλὴν δῦο καὶ τούτων οὐκ ἐπιφανῶν, οὕτε τὰ χρήματα ἃ ἥτησεν ἔλαβε, τῷ δ' Ἀντίόχῳ θάνατον Ἀλεξάνδρου τινὸς αὐτομολήσαντος παρ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐχαρίσατο. καὶ ὁ μὲν

3 ταύτα πράξας ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφωρισθή, Γάιος δὲ δὴ Σόσσιος τὴν ἄρχην τῆς τε Συρίας καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβὼν τοὺς τε Ἀραβίους πολιορκηθέντας τε μέχρι τότε καὶ λιμῷ καὶ νόσῳ ταλαιπωρηθέντας ἑχειρώσατο, καὶ τοὺς Ἀντίγονον τοὺς φρουροὺς τοὺς παρ' ἑαυτῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὔτας ἀποκτείναντα μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε, καὶ καταφυγόντα ἐς τὰ Ἰεροσόλυμα πολιορκία κατεστρέψατο. πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ δεινὰ καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐδρασαν (τὸ γὰρ τοι γένος αὐτῶν θυμωθὲν πικρότατον ἔστι), πολλῷ δὲ δὴ πλείω αὐτοῦ ἐπαθον. ἐάλωσαν μὲν γὰρ πρότεροι μὲν οἱ ύπὲρ τοῦ τεμένους τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμυνόμενοι, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου καὶ τότε ἥμερα

4 ὁμομασμένη. καὶ τοσοῦτον γε τῆς θησκείας αὐτοῖς περίην ὅστε τοὺς προτέρους τοὺς μετὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ χειρωθέντας παραιτήσασθαι τε τὸν Σόσσιον, ἐπειδὴ ἥμερα αὕτις ἦ τοῦ Κρόνου ἐνεστη, καὶ ἀνελθόντας ἐς αὐτὸ πάντα μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιῆσαι. ἐκείνους μὲν οὖν Ἡρώδη τινὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀρχεῖν ἐπέτρεψε, τὸν δ' ἢ

1 ἀφωρισθή Μ, ἀφωρισθή Λ.
secretly opened negotiations with the foe and made a pretended compact with him so that he might have a plausible reason for withdrawing. At any rate, Antony got neither hostages (except two and these of little importance) nor the money which he had demanded, but he granted Antiochus the death of a certain Alexander, who had earlier deserted from him to the Roman side. After doing this he set out for Italy, and Gaius Sosius received from him the governorship of Syria and Cilicia. This officer subdued the Aradii, who had been besieged up to this time and had been reduced to hard straits by famine and disease, and also conquered in battle Antigonus, who had put to death the Roman guards that were with him, and reduced him by siege when he took refuge in Jerusalem. The Jews, indeed, had done much injury to the Romans, for the race is very bitter when aroused to anger, but they suffered far more themselves. The first of them to be captured were those who were fighting for the precinct of their god, and then the rest on the day even then called the day of Saturn. And so excessive were they in their devotion to religion that the first set of prisoners, those who had been captured along with the temple, obtained leave from Sosius, when the day of Saturn came round again, and went up into the temple and there performed all the customary rites, together with the rest of the people. These people Antony entrusted to a certain Herod to govern; but Antigonus he

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

23 Ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τοῦ τε Κλαύδιου τοῦ τε Νορ-
βανοῦ τοῦ' οὐτως ἐγένετο, τῷ δ' ἐπιγγυομένῳ
ἐτεί οἳ μὲν Ῥωμαίοι οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ λόγου ἄξιοι
ἔπραξαν. 'Αντώνιος μὲν γὰρ ἐς τε τήν Ἰταλίαν
ἀφικνούμενος καὶ ἐκείσε αὐτὸς ἐπανιών πάντα τὸν

2 ἐνιαυτὸν κατέτριψε, Σύσσιος δὲ, ἄτε τὰ ἐκείνων
ἀλλ' οὗ τὰ ἐαυτοῦ ἐπαύξαν, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ τὸν

θόνον τὴν τε ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ φοβούμενος, διετέλεσε
dιασκόπων σοῦ ὡς προσκατορθώσας τι ἀπε-
χήσατοι οἳ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἱσυχίαν ἄγων χαρίσαιτο:
τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν Πάρθων ἱσχυρὸς αὐτὰ καθ' ἑαυτὰ

3 ἐκ τοιούτῳ τίνος ἐνεωτερίσθη. ὁ Ὁρώδης ὁ βα-
sιλεὺς αὐτῶν ἐπειδὴ τῇ τε ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τῷ πένθει
tοῦ τοῦ Πακόρου ἐκαμνε, Φραίτη τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ
tῶν λοιπῶν παίδων τὴν ἁρχὴν ζῶν ἐτ' ἐνεχείρισε,
kαὶ ὁ παραλαβὼν αὐτὴν ἀνοσιώτατος ἀνθρώπων

4 ἐγένετο· τοὺς τε γὰρ ἀδελφοὺς τους ἐκ τῆς τοῦ
'Αντίχοχον θυγατρὸς γεγεννημένους ἐδολοφόνησεν,
ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ μητρὸθεν
ἀμείνους αὐτοῦ ἦσαν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον δυσανα-
χετοῦντα ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐπαπέκτεινε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα

5 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τους γεναιοτάτους ἐφθείρε, καὶ

πολλαὶ έτερα καὶ δεινὰ ἐποίει, ὡστε συνοιχὼν τῶν
πρώτων ἐγκαταλείποντας αὐτὸν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλως
tους δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν 'Αντώνιον ἀποχωρήσαι, ἐν

οἷς καὶ ὁ Μοναίσης ἕν.

Τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ 'Αγρίππου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ

24 Γάλλου ὑπατευόντων ἐγένετο· ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ λοιπῷ

1 μοναίσης Μ, μοναίσης Λ.
bound to a cross and flogged,—a punishment no other king had suffered at the hands of the Romans,—and afterwards slew him.

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

This happened in the consulship of Agrippa and Gallus. During the remainder of the winter, when
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χειμῶν, τοῦ τε Γελλίου καὶ τοῦ Νέρωνα ἀρχόντων, Πούπλιος Κανίδιος Κράσσος ἐπὶ Ἦβηρας τοὺς ταύτη στρατεύσας μάχη τε τῶν βασιλεά αὐτῶν Φαρνάβαζον ἐνίκησε καὶ ἐς συμμαχίαν προσηγύγετο, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Ἀλβανίδα τὴν ὁμορον ἐμβαλὼν, καὶ ἐκείνους τὸν τε βασιλεά αὐτῶν Ζόβηρα κρατήσας, ὁμοίως αὐτοὺς ὁκείωσατο. τούτους τε ὀ_tiles ἐπαρθεῖς ὁ Ἀυτώνιος, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Μοναίσιῃ πολλὰ ἐπελπίσας (καὶ γὰρ ὑπέσχητο αὐτῷ τῆς τε στρατείας ἤγησας καὶ τὰ πλείον τῆς Παρθίας ἀκοινὶ προσποιήσειν) τὸν τε πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔς χείρας ἤγετο καὶ τῷ Μοναίσῃ ἄλλα τε καὶ τρεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλεις, μέχρις ἄν διαπολεμήσῃ, νέμεσθαι ἔδωκε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὴν τῶν Πάρθων

3 βασιλείαν ὑπέσχετο. πραττόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ταῦτα δείσας ὁ Φραύτης, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν Πάρθων καλετῶς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Μοναίσου φυγῇ φερόντων, ἔπεκηρυκεύσατό τε αὐτῷ οὐδὲν ὃ τι οὐκ ἐπαγγελλόμενος, καὶ ἐπείσεν αὐτὸν ἑπαναχωρῆσαι.

4 γνώσις ὀν ὃντο ὁ Ἀυτώνιος ὁργῇ μὲν, ὡσπερ εἰκός, ἐποιεῖτο, ὡς μὲν τοῦ ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Μοναίσην, καίπερ ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐπικρατεῖν ἐπὶ ὄντα- οὔτε γὰρ ἄυν ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν ἑπαφῆναι, ἐν γὲ τοιούτῳ ποιήσῃ, σφετερίσασθαι προσεδόκησε, καὶ

5 τινὰ ἀπάτην ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάζετο. ἐκείνῳ τε ὀν ἀφῆκεν ὅσ καὶ τὰ τῶν Πάρθων οἱ προσποιήσοντα, καὶ πρέσβεις μετ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Φραύτην ἐπεμψε. καὶ λόγῳ μὲν τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπράττεν ἐπὶ τῷ τά τε σημεῖα καὶ τοὺς αἰχ-

1 Κανίδιος Reim., κανίδιος LM.
2 καὶ supplied by Bk.
3 ἀν supplied by Dind.

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

25 Καὶ ἤλθε μέχρι τοῦ Εὐφράτου, νομίζων ἐρημοῦν αὐτὸν φρουρᾶς εἶναι· ἐπεὶ μέντοι πάντα τὰ ταύτη διὰ φυλακῆς ἀκριβοῦς ὄντα εὑρεν, ἐκείθεν μὲν ἀπετράπετο, ἔπει δὲ τῶν Μῆδων βασιλέα Ἀρταουάδην τῷ τῆς Ἀρμενίας τῆς μείζονος βασιλείᾳ, ὡμονύμῳ τέ οἱ καὶ ἑχθρῷ ὄντι, πεισθεὶς στρατεύσαι πρὸς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν εὐθὺς ὠσπέρ ἔχεν

2 ἐξόρρησε, καὶ μαθὼν ἐνταῦθα τῶν Μῆδων πολύ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀικείας ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Πάρθου συμμαχίᾳ ἀπηρκότα, τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ μέρος μετ' Ὀππίου Στατιανοῦ ὑπελήπτετο, ἐπακολουθεὶν σφας κελεύσας, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τε ἱππέας καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ κράτιστον λαβὼν ἥπειρθη ὡς καὶ αὐτὸβοεῖ πάντα τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων αἴρησών,

3 καὶ τοὺς Πρααστοὺς τῷ βασιλείῳ αὐτῶν προσπεσῶν χώματά τε ἔχου καὶ προσβολᾶς ἐποιεῖτο. πυθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα ὅ τε Πάρθος καὶ ὁ Μῆδος ἐκεῖνοι μὲν μάτην εὑρίσκεσαν (τά τε γὰρ τείχῃ ἱσχυρὰ ἴναι καὶ συγχολ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἡμύνοντο),

4 τῷ δὲ ὅ Στατιανῷ ἀπροσδοκήτῳ τε ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ καὶ κεκιμκότι προσπεσῶντες πάντας, πλὴν τοῦ Πολέμωνος τοῦ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ βασιλεύοντος καὶ τότε συστρατεύοντος αὐτῶν, ἐφόνευσαν· τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ μόνον καὶ ἐξώγρησαν καὶ ἀπέλυσαν χρήματα λαβόντες. ἦδυνηθήσαν δὲ ταῦτα πράξαι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν Ἀρμενίος οὐ παρεγένετο τῇ μάχῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ δυνη-

1 πολύ Xyl., πολύν LM.
captured in the disaster of Crassus and with the purpose of taking the king off his guard because of his hope of reaching a settlement; but, as a matter of fact, he was getting everything in readiness for war.

And he went as far as the Euphrates, thinking it was destitute of a garrison; when, however, he found that whole region carefully guarded, he turned aside from it, but undertook to make a campaign against Artavasdes, the king of the Medes, being persuaded thereto by the king of Greater Armenia, who had the same name and was an enemy of the other. Just as he was he at once advanced toward Armenia, and learning there that the Mede had gone far away from his own land to bear aid to his ally, the Parthian king, he left behind the beasts of burden and a portion of the army with Oppius Statianus, giving orders for them to follow, while he himself, taking the cavalry and the strongest of the infantry, hurried on, confident that he would capture all the enemies' strongholds without a blow. He assailed Praaspa, the royal residence, and proceeded to heap up mounds and to make assaults. When the Parthian and the Mede ascertained this, they left him to continue his idle toil,—for the walls were strong and were well-manned by defenders,—but assailed Statianus while off his guard and wearied from the march and slew his whole detachment, with the exception of Polemon, king of Pontus, who was then accompanying Statianus; him alone they took alive and released for a ransom. They were able to gain this success because the Armenian king, on the one hand, was not present at the battle, but, when he might have helped
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θεῖς ἄν, ὦς φασί τινες, ἐπικουρῆσαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους οὔτε τούτ' ἐποίησεν οὔτε πρὸς τὸν 'Αντώνιον ἀφίκετο, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀνεχώρησεν, ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἡπείχθη μὲν πρὸς τὴν πρώτην πεμφθείσαν 1 οἱ ὕπο τοῦ Σταπιανοῦ ἀγγελιὰν ὡς καὶ βοηθῆσων αὐτῷ, ὑστέρησε δὲ: ἔξω γὰρ τῶν νεκρῶν οὐδένα εὑρε. καὶ κατὰ μὲν τούτ' ἐφοβήθη, ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐνέτυχεν, ὑπετόπησε τε ἀπεληλυθέναι ποι αὐτοὺς ὕπο δέοις καὶ ἀνεθάρσησε.

2 κακ τούτου συμβαλῶν σφίσιν οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον τροπὴν μὲν αὐτῶν ἐποιήσατο· οἱ γὰρ σφενδοῦσαν πολλοί τε ὄντες καὶ μακροτέραι 2 τῶν τοξῶν ἵεντες πάντα καὶ τὸν καταφρακτὸν ἵσχυρῶς ἠλυμαίνοντο· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἂξιολογὸν τι πλῆθος ἐφθειρέν 3 οἱ γὰρ βαρβάροι διὰ ταχέων ἵππευον.

3 Τοῖς τε οὖν Πραϊστοις αὖθις προσέμιξε καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐπολιόρκησε, τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους μηδὲν μέγα λυπῶν (οὐ τε γὰρ ἐνδοὺ ὄντες ἵσχυρῶς αὐτὸν ἀπεκρούντο, καὶ οἱ ἔξωθεν οὐ ῥαδίως αὐτῶ συνέμισαν), τῶν δὲ δὴ σφετέρων πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐπιτηδεῖων καὶ ζητήσει καὶ ἐπαγωγῇ ἀποβάλλων, συχνοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς κολάζων. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον, ἔως ἐτὶ αὐτὸθεν ποθὲν τὴν τροφὴν ἠλάμβανον, ἐξήρκουν ἐς ἀμφότερα, ὥστε καὶ τὴν προσεδρείαν καὶ τὴν λήψιν αὐτῆς ἀσφαλῆ ποιεῖσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τε ἐγγὺς πάντα κατανάλωτο καὶ πόρρῳ ποι οἱ στρατιώται προχωρεῖν ἡναγκάζοντο,

4 συνέβαινεν αὐτοῖς, εἰ μὲν ὅλιγοι ποι 4 πεμφθείεν, μὴ μόνον μηδὲν φέρειν ἀλλὰ καὶ προσαπόλλυσθαι,

1 πεμφθείσαν Bk., πρεμωθείσαν LM.
2 μακροτέραι Bk., μακροτερῶν LM.
3 ἐφθείρεν Bk., ἐφθείρον LM.
4 ποι R. Steph., πηι LM.

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

So he proceeded again against Praaspa and besieged it, though he did no great injury to the enemy; for the men inside the walls repulsed him vigorously, and those outside would not readily join in battle with him. But he lost many of his own men in searching for and bringing in provisions, and many by his own discipline. At first, so long as they could get their food from somewhere in the neighbourhood, they were sufficient for both undertakings, being able not only to carry on the siege but also to secure their supplies in safety. When, however, all the supplies at hand had been used up, and the soldiers were obliged to go to some distance, it was their experience that if only a few men were sent anywhere, they would not only fail to bring any provisions, but would perish as well, whereas if many were sent,
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εἰ δὲ δὴ πλείους, ἐρημον τὸ τείχος τῶν πολιορκη-
σόντων καταλείπειν, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνδρὰς ἐν
tούτῳ πολλὰς δὲ καὶ μηχανάς, ἐπεξίοντος σφίσι
27 τῶν βαρβάρων, ἀποβάλλειν. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ὁ
'Ἀντώνιος καὶ κριθὴν πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τοῦ σῖτου
ἐδώκε καὶ ἐδεκάτευσε τινας, τὸ τε σύμπαν πολιορ-
2 κεῖν δοκῶν τὰ τῶν πολιορκουμένων ἐπασχεῖν οἳ
τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ τείχει τοὺς καιροὺς τῶν ἑπεκδρομῶν
ἀκριβῶς ἐτήρουν, καὶ οἱ ἕξω τοῖς τε κατὰ χώραν
μένουσιν αὐτῶν, ὅποτε δίχα γένοιτο, δεινῶς, καὶ
προσελάτοντες ἐξαπίνης καὶ ὑποστρέφοντες δι’
ὁλίγου, ἐνέκειντο, καὶ τοῖς σιταγωγοῦσιν ἐπὶ μὲν
τὰς κώμας ἀπιούσιν οὐκ ἦμόχλουν, σκεδασμο-
μένοις δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀνακομιδομένοις προσέπιπτον
3 ἀνέλπιστοι. προσκαθημένου δ’ οὖν καὶ δς αὐτοῦ
τῇ πόλει, δείσας ὁ Φραώτης μὴ καὶ κακὸν τι
ἀντὶν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ, ἦτοι καθ’ ἐαυτὸν τρόπον
τινὰ ἢ καὶ συμμαχίαν ποθὲν προσλαβῶν, ἐργά-
σηται, ἐπεισέν αὐτὸν, ὑποπέμψας τινάς, ἐπικηρυ-
κεύσασθαι οἱ ὡς καὶ ρήστα τῶν σπουδῶν τευξό-
μενον. κάκ τοῦτον τοῖς τε πεμφθείσιν ὅπ’ αὐτοῦ
ἐχρημάτισεν ἑπὶ τε χρυσοῦ δήφρου καθήμενος καὶ
τὴν νευρὰν τοῦ τόξου ψάλλων, καὶ καταδραμὼν
αὐτοῦς πολλὰ τέλος τῆς εἰρήνης, ἀν γε παρα-
χήμα ἀποστρατοπεδεύσωμαι, δῶσειν ὑπέσχετο.
4 ἀκούσας οὖν τοῦτο ὁ ’Ἀντώνιος, καὶ φοβηθεῖς τε
ἀμα τὴν μεγαλαυχίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πιστεύσας ὅτι,
ἀν ποι χαματή, σπείσεται, ἀπανέστη, μηδὲν τῶν
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they would be leaving the wall destitute of besiegers and meantime would lose many men and many engines at the hands of the barbarians, who would make a sortie against them. For this reason Antony gave all his men barley instead of wheat and destroyed every tenth man in some instances; and, in short, although he was supposed to be the besieger, he was enduring the hardships of the besieged. For the men within the walls kept a close watch for opportunities to make sallies; and those outside not only grievously beset the Romans who remained about the city, as often as they became separated, accomplishing this by making a sudden charge and wheeling about again in a short time, but also in the case of those who foraged for provisions, while they did not trouble them on their way out to the villages, yet they would fall upon them unexpectedly when scattered on their way back to camp. But since Antony even under these conditions maintained his place before the city, Phraates, fearing that in the long run he might do it some harm either by himself somehow or else by securing an alliance in some quarter, secretly sent some agents and persuaded him to open negotiations with him, intimating that he could have peace on very easy terms. After this, when men were sent to him by Antony, he held a conference with them seated upon a golden chair and twanging his bowstring; he first inveighed against them at length, but finally promised that he would grant peace, if they would straightway remove their camp. On hearing this Antony was both alarmed at the king's haughtiness and ready to believe that a truce could be secured if he himself should shift his position; hence he withdrew without destroying any
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ες την πολιορκίαν παρεσκευασμένων 1 ώς και εν φιλίᾳ φθείρας.

28 Ποιήσαντος δὲ αυτοῦ τούτο καὶ τὰς σπονδάς προσδεχομένου, οἳ τε Μήδιοι καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα κατέκαυσαν καὶ τὰ χώματα διεσκέδασαν, καὶ οἱ Πάρθοι λόγον μὲν οὐδένα ύπερ τῆς εἰρήνης αὐτῶν ἐπεμψαν, προσπεσόντες δὲ αἰφνίδιοι πολλά καὶ δεινὰ εἰργάσαντο. ώς οὖν ἐμαθεὶν ὅτι ἡπάτηται, πρεσβεύσασθαι μὲν οὐκέτ' 2 ἐτόλμησεν (οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ μετρίοις τισι καταλύσεθαι προσεδόκησε, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐς ἀθυμίαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν σπονδῶν διαμαρτίας ἐμβαλεῖν οὐκ ἡθέλησεν), ἐπειδῆ ἦν δὲ, ἐπειδήπερ ἀπαξ ἐξανειστήκει, ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐγνω. καὶ ἐτέραν τινὰ ὀδόν (ἂν γὰρ ἤλθον, ἀποκεκλείσθαι σφίσι παντελῶς ἐνόμιζον) ἱόντες 3 πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα ἔπαθον. ἐς τε γὰρ χωρίᾳ ἄγνωστα ἐσπίπτοντες ἐσφάλλοντο, καὶ προσέτε καὶ οἱ Βάρβαροι τὰ στενόπορα αὐτῶν προκαταλαμβάνοντες τὰ μὲν ἀπέσκαπτον τὰ δὲ ἀπεσταύρουν, τὴν τε ὑδρείαν πανταχὸν ἐδυσχέραινον καὶ τὰς νομαὶς ἐξέτριβον καὶ εἰγε ποι κατὰ τύχην δὲ ἐπιτηθειτέρων τινῶν τῶν τόπων χωρήσεων ἐμελλον, ἐκείνων μὲν σφας ώς καὶ προκατελημμένων ψευδαγγελίαις ἀπέτρεπον, ἐπέρας δ' οὖν προκελοχισμένας ἴναι ἔποιον, ὥστε πολλοὶ μὲν εν τῷ τοιούτῳ πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἐφθείροντο. καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ αὐτομολία τις ἐγένετο. καὶ πάντες μετέστησαν, εἰ μήπερ οἱ Βάρβαροι τοὺς τολμήσαντας αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἀλλῶν ὀφθαλ-

1 παρεσκευασμένων R. Steph., παρασκευασμένων LM.
2 οὐκέτ' M, οὐκ L.
3 ἐνόμιζον ἱόντες Dind., νομίζοντες LM.

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of his implements of siege, just as if he were in friendly territory.

When Antony had done this and was awaiting the truce, the Medes burned his engines and scattered his mounds, and the Parthians made no proposition to him respecting peace, but suddenly attacked him and inflicted very serious injuries upon him. Learning, therefore, that he had been deceived, he did not venture to send any more envoys, as he did not expect that the barbarians would make peace on any reasonable terms and moreover did not wish to cast the soldiers into dejection by failing to arrange a truce, but he resolved, since he had once set out, to hurry on into Armenia. His troops took another road, since they believed the one by which they had come had been completely closed to them, and on the way they met with many extraordinary adventures. Thus, they came into unknown regions where they lost their way, and furthermore the barbarians seized the passes in advance of their approach, blocking them with trenches or palisades, rendered the securing of water difficult everywhere, and destroyed the pasturage; and in case they ever by good luck were on the point of marching through more favourable regions, the enemy would turn them aside from such places by false announcements that they had been occupied beforehand, and caused them to take different roads along which ambuscades had been previously posted, so that many perished in this way and many of hunger. As a result there were some desertions, and they would all have gone over to the enemy, had not the barbarians shot down before the eyes of the others any who had ventured to
2 μοίς κατετόξευσαν. τούτου τε οὖν ἐπέσχον, καὶ
tι καὶ τοιόνδε παρὰ τῆς τύχης 1 εὐρυντο. ἐσπε-
σόντες ποτὲ ἐσ ἐνέδραν καὶ πυκνοίς τοξεύμασι
βαλλόμενοι τὴν τε χελώνην ἐξαπιναῖς συνα-
στήσαντες ἐποίησαν καὶ τὰ γονατά σφων τὰ
3 ἀριστερὰ πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἤρεισάν. νομίζαντες οὖν
αὐτοὺς οἱ βάρβαροι (οὐ γὰρ πω τοιοῦτον τι ἐωρά-
κεσαν) καταπεπτωκόντοι τε ὑπὸ τῶν τραυμάτων
cαὶ μιᾶς ἐπικοπῆς εἶναι, τὰ μὲν τόξα ἀπέρριψαν
καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἵπτων ἀπεπήδησαν, τοὺς δ’ ἀκινάκας
σπασάμενοι ἐγγύς σφισίν ὡς καὶ ἐπισφάζοντες
4 αὐτοὺς προσῆλθον. καὶ τούτῳ ἐξαναστάντες οἱ
Ῥωμαῖοι πᾶσάν τε ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως τῆν φά-
λαγγά ἀμα ἀνέπτυξαν, καὶ τοῖς πλησίοις ἀντι-
πρόσωποι ὡς ἐκαστοῦ προσπεσόντες παμπληθεῖς,
οία γυμνοὶ ὁπλισμένοι, ἀπροσδοκήτους παρε-
σκευασμένοι, τοξότας ὀπλίται, βαρβάρους Ῥω-
μαίοι, κατέκοψαν, ὡστε τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας
παραχρῆμα ἀποχωρησάν καὶ μηκέτι μηδὲν’ 2
αὐτοῖς ἑπακολουθήσασι.
30 Ἡ δὲ δὴ χελώνη αὐτῇ τοιάδε τίς ἐστὶ καὶ τόνδε
tὸν τρόπον γίγνεται. τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα καὶ οἱ
ψυλοὶ οἳ τε ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ στρατεύματος
tετάχαταν τῶν δ’ ὀπλιτῶν οἳ μὲν ταῖς προμη-
kέσιν ἀσπίσι ταῖς κοίλαις 3 ταῖς σωληνοειδεῖς
χρώμενοι περὶ τε τὰ ἐσχατα ὡστέρ ἐν πλυνθὼ
tινι τάσσονται, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐξω τα βλέ-
pοντες καὶ τὰ ὁπλα προβεβλημένοι, 4 περιέχοντιν
2 οἱ δ’ ἐτεροι οἳ τὰς πλατείας ἀσπίδας ἑχοντες ἐν τε

1 τῆς τύχης Pflugk, τῆι τύχηi LM.
2 μηδὲν’ Rk., μηδὲν LM.
3 κοίλαις Zon., κήλαις LM.
4 προβεβλημένοι Naber, περιβεβλημένοι LM Zon.

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BOOK XLIX

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

This testudo and the way in which it is formed are as follows. The baggage animals, the light-armed troops, and the cavalry are placed in the centre of the army. The heavy-armed troops who use the oblong, curved, and cylindrical shields are drawn up around the outside, making a rectangular figure; and, facing outward and holding their arms at the ready, they enclose the rest. The others, who have flat
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3. 多 μέσω συσπειρώνται καὶ ἐκεῖνας καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὑπεραίρουσιν, ὡστε μήτ' ἀλλο τι πλὴν ἀσπίδων διὰ πάσης ὁμοίως τῆς φάλαγγος ὅρασθαι, καὶ ἐν σκέπῃ τῶν βελῶν πάντας αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς πυκνότητος τῆς συντάξεως γίγνεσθαι. οὕτω γὰρ τοι δεινῶς ἱσχυρίζεται ὡστε καὶ βαδίζειν τινὰς ἐπάνωθεν αὐτής, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὑπονοῦ καὶ ὁχήματά, ὁσάκις ἄν ἐν κοίλῳ τινὶ καὶ στειφὸ χωρίῳ γένονται, ἐνελαύνεσθαι. τοιοῦτων μὲν δὴ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς τάξεως ταύτης ἐστὶ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν τῆς χειλώνης ἐπίκλησιν, πρὸς το ἱσχυρὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ εὐ-

4. σκέπαστον αὐτῆς, εἴληφε. χρῶνται δὲ αὐτῇ διχῇ ἡ γὰρ πρὸς φρούριον τι προσμισάγοντες προσπορεύονται, καὶ πολλάκις καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβιβάζουσι τινας, ἢ ὑπὸ τοξών ποτὲ περιστοιχισθέντες κυπτάζουσι πάντας ἁμα (καὶ γὰρ καὶ 1 οἱ ἵπποι ὁκλάζειν καὶ κατακλύσοντο διδάσκονται), κἀ τούτω δόκησιν σφιγνωσκεῖν καὶ κεκμηκότες παρασχόντες ἐξεγείρονται τε πειλασάντων αὐτῶν ἐξαιρήσεις, καὶ ἐς ἐκπλήξειν σφαῖς καθιστάσιν.

31 Ἡ μὲν οὖν χειλώνῃ αὐτῇ τοιουτότροπός ἐστιν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων οὐκέτι οὐδὲν δεινὸν ἔπαθεν, ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ψύχους ἱσχυρῶς ἐταλαιπώρησεν χειμών τε γὰρ ἡδὴ ἤν, καὶ ἡ Ἀρμενία ἡ ἐν τοῖς ὀρεσι, δὴ ωνυπερ καὶ μοῖνων ἀγαπητῶς ἐπορεύθη, κρυσταλλώδης ἀεί ποτέ ἐστι τά τε τραύματα, ἀ πολλά εἴχον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ 2 μάλιστα αὐτοῖς συνεπέθετο. οἴθενπερ συχνῶν μὲν ἀπολλυμένων συχνῶν δὲ καὶ απομάχων γεγο

1 καὶ Xiph., om. LM.
shields, form a compact body in the centre and raise their shields over the heads of all the others, so that nothing but shields can be seen in every part of the phalanx alike and all the men by the density of the formation are under shelter from missiles. Indeed, it is so marvellously strong that men can walk upon it, and whenever they come to a narrow ravine, even horses and vehicles can be driven over it. Such is the plan of this formation, and for this reason it has received the name testudo,\(^1\) with reference both to its strength and to the excellent shelter it affords. They use it in two ways: either they approach some fort to assault it, often even enabling men to scale the very walls, or sometimes, when they are surrounded by archers, they all crouch together—even the horses being taught to kneel or lie down—and thereby cause the foe to think that they are exhausted; then, when the enemy draws near, they suddenly rise and throw them into consternation.

The testudo, then, is the kind of device just described. As for Antony, he suffered no further harm from the enemy, but underwent severe hardships by reason of the cold; for it was now winter, and the mountainous districts of Armenia, through which the only route led,—and he was glad enough to take it,—are never free from ice. His soldiers’ wounds, which were many, there caused them the greatest distress. So many kept perishing and so many were rendered unfit for fighting that he would

\(^1\) The Latin word testudo, represented in Greek by the equivalent, means “tortoise.”
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μένων, οὐκ ἦνεγκε τὴν καθ' ἐκαστον αὐτῶν πῦστιν, ἀλλὰ ἀπηγόρευσε μηδὲν τοιοῦτο μηδὲν οἱ ἀγγέλ-λειν. καὶ τὸν τε Ἀρμένιον, καίτοι ἐν ὅρρῃ τε ὅτι ἐγκατέλειπε σφας ἔχων καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι ἐπιθυ-μῶν, καὶ ὑπῆλθε καὶ ἐθεράπευσεν, ἵνα τὰ τε

3 ἐπιτήδεια καὶ χρήματα παρ' αὐτῶν λάβῃ καὶ τέλος, ὥς οὔτ' ἀρκέσαι πρὸς πλείω πορείαν οἱ στρατιώται, καὶ ταύτ' ἐν χειμῶνι, ἔδυναντο, καὶ ἀμα καὶ μάτην ταλαιπωρήσειν ἐμελλον (ὕπο-στρέψαι γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐνενόει), πολλὰ μὲν ἐθώπευσεν αὐτῶν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ καθυπέσχετο αὐτῷ, ὡς σφίσι χειμάσαι κατὰ χώραν ἐπιτρέψῃ, λέγων ὅτι τῷ ἦρι ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους αὕθης ἐπιστρατεύσει. καὶ οἱ καὶ παρὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας χρήματα ἦλθεν, ὥστε τοῖς τε ὀπλίταις καθ' ἐκατὸν δραχμὰς τοῖς ἀλλοίς τὸ ἰκνούμενον δοθῆναι. ἐπειδὴ τε οὐκ ἐξήρκεσέ σφισα τὰ πεμφθέντα, προσεπέδωκε τοῖς λοιποῖς οἰκοθεν, τοῦ μὲν ἄνάλωμα ἐαυτοῦ τῆς δὲ δὴ τῆς χάριτος δοξῆν τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ποιούμενοι; πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἡράνισε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἡργυρολόγησε.

32 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα πράξας ἐς τὴν Αὐγουστον ἀπῆ-ρεν, οἱ δὲ δὴ οἶκοι Ἡρωμαῖοι ήγνώσαν μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν γεγονότων, οὐχ ὅτι τάληθές ἐκεῖνος ἐπέστειλε σφισι (πάντα γὰρ δὴ τὰ δυσχερὴ συνέκρυπτε, καὶ ἐστὶν ἄς γε αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ ἑναυτώτατον, ὅσ

2 καὶ οἱ ἐπιτραγῶν, ἐγραφεν), ἀλλ' ὅτι ἦ τε φήμη τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐσῆγγελλε, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ οὗτε τὰ ἄλλα οἱ συνόντες αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπολυπραγμόνων ἀκρίβως αὐ-

1 καθ' ἐκατὸν δραχμὰς Bs., καθ' ἐκαστον δραχμὰς LM.
2 οἰκοθε R. Steph., οἰκοθε LM.
3 καὶ M, om. L.
not allow reports of each individual case, but forbade any one to bring him any such news. And although he was angry with the Armenian king for leaving them in the lurch and eager to take vengeance on him, he nevertheless flattered and paid court to him for the purpose of obtaining provisions and money from him; and finally, since his soldiers had not the strength to hold out for a longer march, and it was mid-winter too, and at the same time it was likely that their hardships would go for nothing,—for it was his intention to return to Armenia before a great while,—he fawned upon the king assiduously and made him many attractive promises, to get him to allow the men to winter where they were, claiming that in the spring he would make another campaign against the Parthians. Money also came to him from Cleopatra, so that to each of the infantrymen four hundred sesterces were given and to the rest a proportionate allowance. But inasmuch as the amount sent was not enough for them, he paid the remainder from his own funds, taking the expense upon himself and giving Cleopatra the credit for the favour; for he solicited large contributions from his friends and also levied large amounts upon the allies.

After accomplishing this he departed for Egypt. The Romans at home were not ignorant of anything that had taken place, not because he told them the truth in his dispatches (for he concealed all his reverses and in fact described some of them as just the opposite, making it appear that he was meeting with success), but because rumour reported the truth and Caesar and those with him investigated it carefully.
τὰ καὶ διεθρύλουν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ διη-
λεγχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐβουθύτων καὶ ἐφρατάζον· τοῦ
γὰρ Καίσαρος πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον ἔτι καὶ τότε προσ-
πταίοντος οὕτε εὐπροετῆς οὕτε ἐπίκαιρος ὁ ἔλεγχος
3 αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι ἔδυνατο. ὁ δ' οὖν 'Ἀντώνιος
ταῦτα τε οὕτως ἐπραξε, καὶ δύναστείας 'Ἀμύντα
μὲν Γαλατίας, καίπερ γραμματεῖ τοῦ Δησιτέρου
γενομένω, ἔδωκε, καὶ Δυκανίας Παμφυλίας τέ
τινα αὐτῷ προσθείς, 'Ἀρχελάω δὲ Καππαδοκίας,
ἐκβαλὼν τὸν 'Αριαράθην. ὁ δ' Ἀρχέλαος οὗτος
πρὸς μὲν πατρὸς ἐκ τῶν Ἀρχελάων ἔκεινων τῶν
toῖς 'Ῥωμαίοις ἀντιπολεμησάντων ἤν, ἐκ δὲ μητρὸς
4 ἐταίρας Πλαφύρας ἐγεγέννητο. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ
μὲν τούτως ἦττον πως οἱ Ἀντώνιος (ἐν γὰρ τοῖς
ἀλλοτρίοις ἐμεγαλοφονεῖτο) κακῶς παρὰ τοῖς
πολίταις ἤκουν· ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ μεγά-
λως διεβλήθη, ὅτι τε παίδας ἐξ αὐτῆς, πρεσβυτέ-
ρους 2 μὲν Ἀλεξανδρον καὶ Κλεοπάτραν (καὶ δι-
δυμοι γὰρ ἐτέχθησαν) νεώτερον 3 δὲ Πτολεμαῖον
5 τὸν καὶ Φιλάδελφον ἐπικληθέντα, ἀνείλετο, καὶ
ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀραβίας τῆς τοῦ Μάλχου καὶ
tῆς τῶν Ἰτυραίων (τὸν γὰρ Δυσανίαν, ὅν αὐτὸς
βασιλέα σφῶν ἐπετοιήκει, ἀπέκτεινεν ὡς τὰ τοῦ
Πακόρου πράξαντα), πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς Φοινίκης
tῆς τῆς Παλαιστίνης, Κρήτης τε τινὰ καὶ Κυρήνην
tῆν τε Κύπρον αὐτοῖς ἐχαρίσατο.
33 Τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἐπραξε, τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει, ἐν ὦ
5 τε 4 Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Κομνηνικιός ὑπάτευσαν,

1 ἐταίρας R. Steph., ἐτέρας ΛΜ.
2 πρεσβυτέρους Bk., πρεσβυτάτους ΛΜ cod. Peir.
3 νεώτερου Bk., νεώτατον ΛΜ cod. Peir.
4 ἐν φ' δ' τε Bk., ὄτε ΛΜ.
and discussed it. They did not, however, yet expose the situation to the public, but instead offered sacrifices and held festivals; for since Caesar at that time was still getting the worst of it against Sextus, the exposure of the facts would not, if made, be either fitting or opportune. Antony, in addition to making the arrangements mentioned above, assigned principalities, giving Galatia to Amyntas, though he had been only the secretary of Deiotarus, and also adding to his domain Lycaonia with portions of Pamphylia, and bestowing upon Archelaus Cappadocia, after driving out Ariarathes. This Archelaus belonged on his father's side to those Archelauses who had contended against the Romans, but on his mother's side was the son of Glaphyra, an hetaera. However, Antony was not so severely criticised by the citizens for these matters,—I mean his arrogance in dealing with the property of others; but in the matter of Cleopatra he was greatly censured because he had acknowledged as his own some of her children—the elder ones being Alexandra and Cleopatra, twins at a birth, and the younger one Ptolemy, called also Philadelphus,—and because he had presented them with extensive portions of Arabia, in the districts both of Malchus and of the Ituraeans (for he executed Lysanias, whom he himself had made king over them, on the charge that he had favoured Pacorus), and also extensive portions of Phoenicia and Palestine, parts of Crete, and Cyrene and Cyprus as well.

These were his acts at that time; the following year, when Pompeius and Cornificius were consuls,
στρατεύσαι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρμένιον ἐπεχείρησεν, ἔπιδα τοῦ Μήδου οὐκ ἐλαχύστην ἔχων, ὅτι πρὸς τε τὸν Φραάτνην ἀγανακτήσας ἐπὶ τῷ μήτε τῶν λατρέων πολλὰ παρ’ αὐτοῦ μήτ’ ἄλλην τινὰ τιμήν λαβεῖν, καὶ τὸν Ἀρμένιον τιμωρήσασθαι τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπαγγείλας ἐθελήσας, τὸν Πολέμωνα αὐτῷ προσ-
2 ἐπεμψε καὶ φίλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν αὐτῶν. οὕτω γὰρ ποι ὑπερήσθη τῷ πράγματι ὡστε καὶ ἐκεῖνῳ σπείρασθαι καὶ τὸν Πολέμωνι μισθὸν τῆς κηρυκείας την μικροτέραν Ἀρμενίαν μετὰ ταῦτα δοῦναι. τὸν δ’ οὖν Ἀρμενίων πρότερον μὲν ἔστιν τὴν Ἀγιυττον ὡς καὶ φίλον, ὅπως 1 ἐνταῦθα αὐτὸν ἀπόνωσι περι-
λαβὼν κατεργάσθη σε, μετεπέμψας τὸ τούτ’ οὕς ὑπήκουσεν, ἔτερον τινὰ τρόπον
3 ἐξαπατήσαι ἐπεβούλευσε. φανερῶς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὤργιζετο αὐτῷ, μὴ καὶ πολεμωθεὶ, ὡς δ’ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πάρθου καὶ τότε στρατεύουσιν, ἵνα ἀπαρά-
σκευὸν αὐτὸν εὑρῇ, ἢρε μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀγιυττον, μαθὼν δὲ καθ’ ὁδὸν τὴν Ὀκταυδίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀφικνεῖσθαι, οὐκέτι περαιτέρω προεχω-
4 ρησεν 2 ἀλλὰ ἀνεκομίσθη, καῖτοι καὶ παραυτίκα οἰκάδε αὐτῇ ἐπανελθεῖν κελεύσας, καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ τὰ δῷ τὰ πεμφθέντα παρ’ αὐτής, τὰ τὰ ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς στρατιῶτας οὐς παρὰ τοῦ ἄδελφον ἐπ’
αὐτὸ τούτῳ ἑτήκει, λαβών.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον τῷ τε ἔρωτι καὶ τῇ
34 γοητείᾳ τῇ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἐδούλευε. Καίσαρ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ, ἐπειδὴ ὅτι τὸ Σέξτος ἀπωλὼλει 3 καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ καταστάσεως ἐδείτο, ἡλθε μὲν ἐς τὴ

1 ὅπως Bk., καὶ ὅς LM.
2 προεχώρησεν B. Steph., προεχώρησεν LM.
3 ἀπωλὼλει Dind., ἀπωλὼλει LM.
he undertook to conduct a campaign against the Armenian. For this he placed no small hope in the Mede, who in his anger against Phraates because he had not received from him many of the spoils or any other honour and in his eagerness to punish the Armenian for bringing in the Romans had sent Polemon to him requesting his friendship and alliance. Antony was apparently so exceedingly delighted over the affair that he both made terms with the Mede and later gave Polemon Lesser Armenia as a reward for his mission. First, then, he summoned the Armenian to Egypt as a friend, in order that he might seize him there without effort and make away with him; but when the king suspected this and did not respond to the summons, he plotted to deceive him in another fashion. He did not openly become angry with him, lest he should alienate him, but in order that he might find him unprepared, he set out from Egypt as if to make another campaign against the Parthians at this time. Learning on the way, however, that Octavia was coming from Rome, he went no farther, but returned, in spite of the fact that he had then and there ordered her to go home and had later accepted the gifts which she sent, including the soldiers which she had begged from her brother for this very purpose.

As for Antony, he became more than ever a slave to the passion and the witchery of Cleopatra. Caesar in the meantime, now that Sextus had perished and affairs in Africa required settlement, went to Sicily
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Σικελίαν ὃς καὶ ἐκείσε πλευσούμενος, ἐγχροώσας
dὲ ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος οὐκέτ' ἐπεραιώθη.

2 οἶ τε γὰρ Σάλασσοι καὶ οἱ Ταυρίσκοι Διβυροί τε
καὶ Ἰάπυδες οὖν δὲν μὲν οὖδὲ ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν μέτριον
ἐς τοὺς Ρωμαίους ἐπρασσοῦν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε συντέ-
λειαν τῶν φόρων ἔξελιπον καὶ ἐσβάλλοντες ἐστὶν
ὅτε ἐς τὰ ὀμοροῦντά σφισιν ἐκακούργουν τὸ τε ἐνθ
φανερῶς πρὸς τὴν ἀπουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπανέστησαν.

3 δὲν τοῦτ', ἀναστρέψας τὰ τε ἀλλὰ ἐπί αὐτοὺς
παρεσκευάσατο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τινὲς τῶν ἀφεθέντων
ἔτει ἑστασίασαν καὶ μηδὲν λαβόντων στρατεύ-
σασθαι αὐθισ ς ἡθέλησαν, ἐς ἐν σφας στρατόπεδον
κατεχόρισεν, ἵνα ἰδία καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ὀντες μήτε
προσδιαφθείρωσι τίνα, καὶ ἀρα νεωτερίσαι τι βού-
ληθώσιν, ἐκδηλοῦ παραχρῆμα γένονται. ὡς δ' οὖν
dὲν μᾶλλον ἐσωφρονίσθησαν, ολίγους ἐξ αὐτῶν
tοὺς πρεσβυτάτους ἐς Γαλατίαν κληρονυμίοντας
ἐπεμψε, νομίσας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκ τούτου καὶ
ἐπελπίσειν καὶ καταστήσειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὡς
ἐθρασύνοντο, δίκη τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐδωκε. παροξυ-
θέντων τε ἐπὶ τούτω τῶν λοιπῶν συνεκάλεσε τε
ἀυτοὺς ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι, καὶ περισχῶν τὸ
στρατῷ τὰ τε ὅπλα ἀφείλετο καὶ τῆς στρατείας

5 ἐπανέσθε. καὶ οὕτω τιν τὸ ἑαυτὸν ἀσθένειαν ἁμα
cαὶ τὸ τοῦ Καῖσαρος φρόνημα μαθόντες ἀληθῶς
tε μετεβύλοντο, καὶ πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἰκετεύσαντες
ἀνεστρατεύσαντο. ο γὰρ Καῖσαρ στρατιωτῶν τε
deόμενοι, καὶ φοβηθεῖς μὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀντόνιος αὐτοὺς

1 Ἰάπυδες Xyl., Ἰάπυδες LM (and so elsewhere).
2 ἐπρασσοῦν Xyl., ἐσέπρασσον LM.
3 ὅτε Bk., τε LM.
4 ἐπελπίσειν R. Steph., ἐλπίσειν LM.
5 μετεβάλοντο R. Steph., μετεβάλλοντο LM.

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as if intending to sail thither, but after delaying there for some time because of the bad weather, he gave up his plan of crossing; for the Salassi, Taurisci, Liburni, and Iapydes, who even before this had been behaving in no decent manner toward the Romans, not only having failed to contribute their assessments of tribute but also having more than once invaded and ravaged the neighbouring districts, openly revolted at this time, in view of his absence. Consequently he turned back and began various preparations against them. When some of the soldiers who had been discharged when they mutinied, and had received nothing, wished to serve again, he placed them apart in a single legion, in order that being separate and by themselves they might find it impossible to corrupt any one else, and that in case they should wish to begin any rebellion, they might be detected at once. But when they proved no better disciplined than before, he sent out a few of the oldest of them to become colonists in Gaul, thinking that thus he would inspire the rest with hopes and quiet them. And since even then they continued their insubordination, he handed some of them over for punishment; and when the rest were stirred to rage at this, he called them together as if for some other purpose, made the rest of the army surround them, took away their arms, and removed them from the service. In this way they learned both their own weakness and the strength of Caesar’s resolution, and so they really experienced a change of heart and after urgent supplications were allowed to enter the service anew. For Caesar, being in need of soldiers and fearing that Antony would appropriate them,
σφετερίσηται, συγγιγνώσκειν τέ σφισιν ἔφη καὶ χρησιμωτάτους πρὸς πάντα αὐτούς ἔσχε.

35 Τούτῳ μὲν ὦστερον ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐτέρους τις καταστρέψασθαι προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς 'Ιαπυδας ἐστράτευσε. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐντὸς τῶν ὅρῶν, οὗ πάνυ πόρρω τῆς θαλάσσης οἰκοῦντας, ἀπονώτερον προσηγάγετο, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τὲ τῶν ἄκρων καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα αὐτῶν οὐκ

2 ἀταλατιώρως ἐχειρώσατο. τὸ γὰρ Μέτουλον,1 τὴν μεγίστην σφῶν πόλιν, κρατυναμενοι πολλὰς μὲν προσβολὰς τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἀπεκρούσαντο, πολλὰ δὲ μηχανήματα κατέφλεξαν, αὐτῶν τε ἐκεῖνων ἀπὸ πῦργου τινὸς ἥξυλινον ἐπιβήναι τοῦ περιβόλου

3 πειρώμενον κατέστρωσαν. καὶ τέλος, ὡς οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἄπανίστατο ἄλλα καὶ δυνάμεις προσμετεπέμπτο, συμβিঙναι τε βούλεσθαι ἐπιλάσαντο, καὶ φρουροὺς ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ἐσδεξάμενοι 2 ἐκεῖνοις τε

4 τῆς νυκτὸς ἄπαντος ἐφθειραν καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐνεπρησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν οἰκεῖοι οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰς γυναίκας τὰ τε παιδιὰ προσαπέκτειναν, ὡστε μηδὲν ὄτιον ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῷ Καίσαρι περιγενέσθαι. οὗ γὰρ ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι, ἄλλα καὶ οἱ ξωγηρθέντες σφῶν ἐκούσωσιν οὐ πολλῷ ὦστερον ἐφθάρσαν.

36 'Επεὶ δ' οὖν οὕτω τε ἀπωλῶλεσαν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι κατεστράφατο μηδὲν ἄξιόλογον πράξαντες, ἐπὶ Παυνούνιος ἐπεστράτευσεν, ἐγκλήμα μὲν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπιφέρων (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὔδ' ἡδίκητο τῷ ὑπ' αὐτῶν), ἵνα δὲ ὅτι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἄσκητε ἀμα καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων τρέφη, πάν τὸ τῷ

1 Μέτουλον R. Steph., μέτριον LM.
2 ἐσδεξάμενοι R. Steph., ἐκδεξάμενοι LM.

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said that he pardoned them, and he found them most useful for all tasks.

But this happened later. At that time he himself led the campaign against the Iapydes, assigning the rest of the tribes to others to subdue. Those that were on the nearer side of the mountains, dwelling not very far from the sea, he reduced with comparatively little trouble, but he overcame those on the heights and on the farther side of them with no small hardship. For they fortified Metulum, the largest of their cities, and repulsed many assaults of the Romans, burned up many siege-engines, and laid low Caesar himself as he was trying to step from a wooden tower upon the wall. Finally, when he still did not desist, but kept sending for additional forces, they pretended they wished to make terms and so received a garrison into their citadel; then by night they destroyed all these men and set fire to their own houses, some killing themselves and some their wives and children besides, so that nothing whatever remained of this force to Caesar. For not only they but also such as were captured alive destroyed themselves voluntarily shortly afterward.

When these, then, had perished and the rest had been subdued without performing any exploit of note, Caesar made a campaign against the Pannonians. He had no complaint to bring against them, not having been wronged by them in any way, but he wanted both to give his soldiers practice and to support them at the expense of an alien people, for he regarded every demonstration against a weaker

1 The modern Möttling.
κρείττονι τοίς ὁπλοῖς ἀρέσκον δίκαιον ἕς τοὺς
2 ἀσθενεστέρους ποιούμενος. οἱ δὲ δὴ Παννόνιοι
νέμονται μὲν πρὸς τῇ Δελματίᾳ,1 παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν
'Ἰστρον, ἀπὸ Νωρικῷ μέχρι τῆς Μυσίας τῆς ἐν
τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, κακοβιώτατοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων οὖντες
(οὔτε γὰρ γῆς οὔτε ἀέρων εὖ ἡκουσίν' οὐκ ἔλαιον,
οὐκ οἶνον, πλὴν ἐλαχίστον καὶ τούτου κακίστου,
3 γεωργοῦσιν, ἀτε ἐν χειμῶνι πικροτάτῳ τὸ πλεῖστον
dιαιτόμενοι, ἀλλὰ τὰς τοῖς κριθάς καὶ τοὺς κέγ-
χρους καὶ ἐσθίουσιν ὅμοιος καὶ πίνουσιν) ἀνδρεό-
tατοί δ' οὖν διὰ πάντων ὁν ἱσμεν νομίζονται·
θυμικῶτατοι γὰρ καὶ φονικῶτατοι,2 οία μηδὲν
4 ᾧςιον τοῦ καλῶς ἥην ἔχοντες, εἰςί. ταύτα δὲ οὖν
ἀκούσας οὐδ' ἀναγνόν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργῳ
μαθὼν ὁστε καὶ ἄρξας αὐτῶν, οἶδα· μετὰ γὰρ τοῖς
τῇ ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ἡγεμονίαν τῇ τῇ Δελματίᾳ,1
ἡς ποτε καὶ ὁ πατήρ μου χρόνων τινά ἠρξε, καὶ τῇ
Παννόνια τῇ ἀνώ καλουμένη προσετάχθην, οἴθεν
ἀκριβῶς πάντα τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς εἰδὼς γράφω.
5 οὐνομάζονται δὲ οὔτως ὅτι τοὺς χιτῶνας τοὺς
χειριδωτοὺς ἐξ ἰματίων τινῶν ἐς πάννους ἐπι-
χωρίως τως καὶ κατατέμοντες καὶ προσαγο-
ρεύοντες συρράπτουσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰτ' οὖν διὰ
τούτο εἴτε καὶ δι' ἀλλο τοῦ οὔτως οὐνομάζονται·
6 τῶν δὲ δὴ Ἑλλήνων τινὲς τάληθες ἀγνοήσαντες
Παἰονίας σφας προσεῖπου, ἀρχαῖον μὲν ποὺ τοῦ
προσρήματος τούτου ὁντος, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔκει,
party as just, when it pleased the man who was their superior in arms. The Pannonians dwell near Dalmatia along the very bank of the Ister from Noricum to Moesia and lead the most miserable existence of all mankind. For they are not well off as regards either soil or climate; they cultivate no olives and produce no wine except to a very slight extent and a wretched quality at that, since the winter is very rigorous and occupies the greater part of their year, but drink as well as eat both barley and millet. For all that they are considered the bravest of all men of whom we have knowledge; for they are very high-spirited and bloodthirsty, as men who possess nothing that makes an honourable life worth while. This I know not from hearsay or reading only, but I have learned it from actual experience as once their governor, for after my command in Africa and in Dalmatia (the latter position my father also held for a time) I was appointed to what is known as Upper Pannonia, and hence it is with exact knowledge of all conditions among them that I write. Their name is derived from the fact that their sleeved tunics are made by stitching together pieces of old clothes which they cut up into strips in a way peculiar to themselves and call panni. This is their name, whether the reason be what I have stated or some other; but certain of the Greeks in ignorance of the truth have called them Paeones, an appellation which, though no doubt old, does not, however,

1 Literally “Mysia in Europe.” In Greek the same word answers for both Mysia and Moesia. Compare the practice of some Greeks, mentioned just below, of applying the old name Paeones to the Pannonians.

2 This is the Latin word pannus, and probably the whole explanation is a purely Roman one.
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αλλ' εν τε τῇ 'Ροδόπῃ καὶ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ τῇ νῦν μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης. ύφ' οὕπερ καὶ ἑγὼ ἐκείνους μὲν Πάλους τούτους δὲ Παννόνιους, ὡσπερ πνεο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐαυτοὺς καὶ Ἡρωμαῖοι σφας καλοῦσι, προσαγορεύσω.

37 Ἐπὶ οὖν τούτους ὁ Καίσαρ τότε στρατεύσας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὔτε τι ἐδήνου οὔτε τι ἡρπαξε, καίπερ καὶ τὰς κόμας αὐτῶν τὰς ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις ἐκλιπόντων ἦλπιζε γὰρ ἐθελοντὰς αὐτοὺς ὑπάξεσθαι. τὸ δὲ καὶ προχωροῦντα αὐτὸν πρὸς Σίσκιαν ἐλύπησαν, ὥργισθα καὶ τὴν τε χώραν σφῶν ἔκαιε 2 καὶ πάνθ' ὁσα ἐδύνατο λειάν ἐποιεῖτο. πλησιάσαντος δ' αὐτὸν τῇ πόλει οἱ ἐπιχώριοι παραντίκα μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν δυνατῶν ἀναπεισθέντες ὁμολογησάν τε αὐτῷ καὶ ὁμήρους ἔδοσαν, μετὰ δὲ τούτο τὰς τε πύλας ἀπέκλεισαν καὶ ἐς πολιορκίαν κατέστησαν. εἰχον μὲν γὰρ καὶ τείχη ἱσχυρά, τὸ δ' οἶλον ποταμοῖς δύο ναυσιτόροις ἔθαρσον. ὁ γὰρ Κόλοψ ὄνομαζόμενος παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν περίβολον παραρρέων ἐς τὸν Σάουν οἵγοι ἀπέχοντα αὐτὸν ἐμβάλλει καὶ νῦν πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ἐγκεκύκλωται, Τιβερίου τάφρῳ τινὶ μεγάλῃ ἐς τούτο αὐτὸν καταστήσαντος, δι' ἥς ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖον αὕθις ἐρείθρον ἐπανέρχεται. 4 τότε δὲ τῇ μὲν τοῦ Κόλοπος παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ τείχη παρεξίωντος, τῇ δὲ τοῦ Σάουν οἵγοι ἀπωθεὶ παραρρέοντος διάκενον τι κατελέειπτο, δ' καὶ 5 σταυρώμασι καὶ ταφρεύμασιν ὡχύρωτο. ὁ οὖν Καίσαρ πλοῖα παρὰ τῶν ταύτῃ συμμάχων ποιηθέντα λαβὼν, καὶ διὰ τε τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἐς τὸν Σάουν

1 ὑπάξεσθαι Pflagk, ἐπάξεσθαι LM.
2 ὡς δὲ R. Steph., δὲ LM.
3 Σισκίαν Leuncl. σεισκίαν LM.
BOOK XLIX

apply to that country, but rather to Rhodope, close to the present Macedonia, as far as the sea. Therefore I also shall call the people of the latter district Paeones, but the others Pannonians, just as both they themselves and the Romans do.

It was against this people, then, that Caesar at that time conducted a campaign. At first he did not devastate or plunder at all, although they abandoned their villages in the plain; for he hoped to make them his subjects of their own free will. But when they harassed him as he advanced to Siscia, he became angry, burned their country, and took all the booty he could. When he drew near the city, the natives for the moment listened to their leaders and made terms with him and gave hostages, but afterwards they shut their gates and underwent a siege. For while they possessed strong walls also, yet they placed their whole confidence in two navigable rivers. The one named the Colops flows past the very circuit of the wall and empties into the Savus not far distant; it has now encircled the entire city, for Tiberius gave it this shape by constructing a great canal through which it comes back to its original channel. But at that time between the Colops on the one hand, which flowed past the very walls, and the Savus on the other, which flowed at a little distance, a gap had been left which had been fortified with palisades and ditches. Caesar secured boats made by the allies in that vicinity, and after towing them through the Ister into the Savus, and

1 To-day Siszeg (or Sissele) in Croatia.
2 Called Colapis by Strabo and Pliny; to-day the Kulpa.
3 To-day the Save.
καὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἐς τὸν Κόλοσσα αὐτὰ ἄγαγών,1 προσέβαλε 2 σφισὶ τῷ πεζῷ ἂμα καὶ ταῖς ναῦσι, καὶ τινας καὶ ναυμαχίας ἑν αὐτῷ3 ἐποιήσατο.  
καὶ γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι μονόξυλα πλοῖα ἀντικατα-
σκευάσαντες διεκινδύνευσαν, καὶ ἐν τῇ ποταμῷ
ἀλλοὺς τε συχνοὺς καὶ τῶν Μηνᾶν τὸν τοῦ Σέξτου
ἐξελέυθερον ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἰσχυρῶς4
αὐτὸν ἡμύνοντο, μέχρις οὐ τῶν συμμάχων τινῶς
ἐνηδρεύσθαι5 τε καὶ ἐφθάρθαι ἐπώθοντο. τότε
γὰρ ἀθυμίσαντες ἐνέδοσαν. καὶ οὕτως ἀλώτων
ἐκείνων καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Παννονικὸν ὁμολογία προσ-
ηγάγετο.
38 Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκεῖ μὲν Φούφιον Γέμινον σὺν
dυνάμει των κατέλυσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν 'Ρώμην
ἀνεκομίσθη, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπινίκια ψηφισθέντα οἱ
ἀνεβάλετο,6 τῇ δ' Ἐκτασία τῇ τε Δισυᾶ καὶ
eἰκόνας καὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἀνέ κυρίον τινὸς
dιοικεῖν, τό τε ἄδεες καὶ τὸ ἀνύβριστον ἐκ τοῦ
2 ὡμοίου τοῖς δημάρχοις ἔχειν ἐδωκεν. ὡριμημένον
dὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς τὴν Βρετανίαν κατὰ τῶν τοῦ
πατρὸς ξῆλον στρατεύσας, καὶ ἤδη καὶ ἐς τὴν
Γαλατίαν μετὰ τῶν χειμῶν ἐν ψ. δ' τοῦ Ἀντώνιος
τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Δούκιος Λίβων ὑπάτευον προ-
κεχωρηκότος, τῶν τε νεαλώτων τινὲς καὶ Δελ-
μαται σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐπανέστησαν. καὶ Παννονίους
μὲν τὸ Γέμινος, καίτοι τῆς Σισκίας ἐκπεσὼν, ὡμοῖς
μάχαις ἀνεκτήσατο, τοὺς τε Σαλάσσους7 καὶ τοὺς
ἀλλοὺς τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν νεωτερίσαντας ὁ Μεσσά-
λας ὁ8 Ουαλέριος ἐχειρώσατο. ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τοὺς

1 ἄγαγών Bk., ἄναγών LM.  2 προσέβαλε M, προσέβαλλε L.
3 αὐτῷ Bs., αὐτῇ LM.  4 ἰσχυρός Reim., ἰσχυρός LM.
5 ἐνηδρεύσθαι R. Steph., ἐνηδρεύθαι LM.

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through that stream into the Colops, he assailed the enemy with his infantry and ships together, and had some naval battles on the river. For the barbarians prepared in turn some boats made of single logs, with which they risked a conflict; and thus on the river they killed Menas, the freedman of Sextus, besides many others, while on the land they vigorously repulsed the invader, until they ascertained that some of their allies had been ambushed and destroyed. Then they lost heart and yielded; and when they had been captured in this manner, the remainder of Pannonia was induced to capitulate.

After this he left Fufius Geminus there with a small force and himself returned to Rome. The triumph which had been voted to him he deferred, but granted to Octavia and Livia statues, the right of administering their own affairs without a guardian, and the same security and inviolability as the tribunes enjoyed. In emulation of his father he had set out to lead an expedition into Britain also, and had already advanced into Gaul after the winter in which Antony (for the second time) and Lucius Libo became consuls, when some of the newly-conquered people and Dalmatians along with them rose in revolt. Geminus, although expelled from Siscia, nevertheless recovered Pannonia by a few battles; and Valerius Messalla overthrew the Salassi and the others who had joined them in rebellion. Against the

6 ἀνεβάλετο R. Steph., ἀνεβάλλετο LM.
7 Σαλάσσους R. Steph., ιαλάσσους LM.
8 ὁ supplied by Pflugk.
Δελμάτας πρότερος μὲν ὁ 'Αγρίππας, ἔπειτα δὲ 4 καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπεστράτευσε. καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλείους
σφῶν αὐτοὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ παθόντες, ὡστε καὶ
tὸν Καίσαρα τρωθῆναι καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τισὶ
κριθῆν ἀντὶ τοῦ σίτου δοθῆναι, καὶ ἐτέρους τὴν
τάξιν ἐκλιπόντας δεκατευθῆναι, κατεστρέφαντo,
tοὺς δὲ δὴ λοιποῖς ὁ Ταύρος Στατίλιος ἐπολέ-
μησεν.

39 Ἀντωνιος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῆς μὲν ἄρχης αὐθημερον
ἐξέστη, Λούκιον Σεμπρώνιον Ἀτρατίνου ἀντικατα-
στήσας· οὖν εἰσὶν οἱ τοῦτον ἅλλο ὦκ ἐκείνου ἐν
2 τῇ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀπαραθήκῃ ὀνομάζουσιν πράττων
δ΄ ὅπως ὡς ὅτι ἀπονώτατο τὸν Ἀρμένιον τιμωρή-
σηται, τὴν τε θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ τῷ Ἀλεξάν-
δρῳ τῷ νεί ὁ συνοικίσων ἤτησε, Κύωτόν τινα
Δέλλιον παιδικά ποτε ἐαυτοῦ γενόμενον πέμψας,
3 καὶ πολλὰ τινα αὐτῷ δῶσειν ὑπέσχετο. καὶ τέλος
ἐς τῇ τὴν Νικόπολιν τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου αἰφνίδιον
ἀμα τῷ ἑρὶ ἡλθε, κανταύθα αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ συμβου-
λεύσοντα καὶ συμπράξοντα τίνα κατὰ τῶν Πάρθων
μετεπέμψατο. ἐπειδὴ τε οὐκ ἄφικε τῇ ἐπιβου-
λήν ὑποτευκίσας, τὸν τοῦ Δέλλιον αὐθις ἐς λόγοις
οἱ προσέπεμψε, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδὲν ἤττον σπουδῇ
4 πρὸς τὰ Ἀρτάξατα ἠλασε. καὶ οὔτως αὐτοῦ ὅψε
ποτε, τὰ μὲν πείθων διὰ τῶν ἐταίρων, τὰ δὲ καὶ
diὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καταπλήσσων, πάντα τε
ἀπλῶς ὡς πρὸς φίλου καὶ γράφων καὶ πράττων,
5 ἐπηγύγετο ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσελθεῖν. κανταύθα
συλλαβῶν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἅδετόν τε εἶχε, καὶ κατὰ
Dalmatians campaigns were made, first by Agrippa and later by Caesar also. The most of them they themselves subjugated after undergoing many terrible experiences; for example, Caesar was wounded, rations of barley had to be given out to some of the soldiers instead of wheat, and in the case of others who had deserted their posts every tenth man was put to death. With the remaining tribes Statilius Taurus carried on the war.

Antony meanwhile resigned his office on the very first day, putting Lucius Sempronius Atratinus in his place; and consequently some name Sempronius and not Antony in enumerating the consuls. In his endeavour to take vengeance on the Armenian king with the least trouble to himself, he asked for the hand of the king's daughter, in order, as he said, to marry her to his son Alexander; he sent on this errand one Quintus Dellius, who had once been a favourite of his, and promised to give the king many gifts. Finally, at the beginning of spring, he came suddenly into Nicopolis (the place founded by Pompey), and while there sent for the king, stating that he wished to have his aid in planning and executing some measures against the Parthians. And when the king, suspecting the plot, did not come, he sent Dellius to confer with him again, and meanwhile, for his own part, marched with undiminished haste towards Artaxata. In this way he succeeded in inducing him to come into his camp, after a long time, partly by using the king's associates to persuade him, and partly by using his own soldiers to terrorize him, and by writing and acting toward him in every way precisely as he would toward a friend. Thereupon he arrested him, and at first kept him
At this point a folio is lost in L, which resumes in chap. 42, 3.

χρυσοφύλακες R. Steph., χρυσοφύλακες M.

ἐθελοντὶ Leuncl., ἐθελοντῇ M.

ἐς Rk., ἐς τε M.

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without fetters and led him around to the various forts where the king's treasures were deposited, in the hope that he might secure them without a struggle; for he professed to have arrested him for no other purpose than to levy tribute upon the Armenians for the safeguarding of the king and to maintain his sovereignty. When, however, the keepers of the gold would pay no heed to the king, and the Armenian citizens who bore arms chose Artaxes, the eldest of his sons, king in his stead, Antony bound him in silver chains; for it was unseemly, apparently, that this man who had been king should be bound in fetters of iron. After this Antony occupied the whole of Armenia, taking some of the people peaceably and some by force; for Artaxes withdrew and went to the Parthian king, after fighting an engagement and suffering defeat. After accomplishing these things Antony betrothed to his son the daughter of the Median king with the intention of making him still more his friend; then he left his legions in Armenia and went once more to Egypt, taking the great mass of booty and the Armenian with his wife and children. Sending them with the captives ahead of him into Alexandria in a kind of triumphal procession, he himself drove into the city upon a chariot, and he not only presented to Cleopatra all the other spoils but brought her the Armenian and his family in golden bonds. She was seated in the midst of the populace upon a platform plated with silver and upon a gilded chair. The barbarians, however, addressed no supplications to her, nor made obeisance to her, though much coercion was brought to bear upon them and many hopes were held out to them to win their compliance, but they
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ἀναπειθόμενοι, ἀλλ’ ὄνομαστί ἐ προσαγορεύσαντες δόξαν μὲν φρονήματος ἔλαβον, κακοῦχες δὲ πολλῇ διὰ τούτῳ συνέσχυντο.

41 Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοὺς τε Ἀλεξανδρέας εἰστίασε, καὶ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν τοὺς τε παίδας αὐτῆς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεκαθίσατο, δημηγορήσας τε τινὰ ἐκείνην τε βασιλίδα βασιλέων καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαίον, ὃν Καίσαρίωνα ἑπωνόμαζον, βασιλέα βασιλέων 2 καλεῖσθαι ἐκέλευσε. καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν Λύγπτον τὴν τε Κύπρον, ἀλλὰν διανομὴν τινὰ ποιησάμενος, ἐδωκεν τοῦ τοῦ γὰρ προτέρον Καίσαρος τὴν μὲν γυναίκα τὸν δὲ υἱὸν ὄντως γεγονόναι ἔλεγε, καὶ ἐσ τὴν ἐκείνου δὴ χάριν ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐσκήπτετο, ὅπως τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν Ὀκταοιωνὸν ἐκ τούτου, ὅτι ποιητὸς ἀλλ’ οὐ γνήσιος αὐτοῦ παῖς 3 ἦν, διαβαλλόμενος. ἐκείνοις μὲν δὴ ταῦτ’ ἔνειμε, τοῖς δὲ δὴ αὐτοῦ παισὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας οἱ γεγονόσι, Πτολεμαίων μὲν τὴν τε Συρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ Εὐφράτου μέχρι τοῦ Ἐλλησπόντου πάντα, Κλεοπάτρα δὲ τὴν Διβύνην τὴν περὶ Κυρηνῆν, τῷ τε ἀδελφῷ αὐτῶν Ἀλεξανδρῷ τὴν τε Ἀρμενίαν καὶ τάλλα τὰ πέραν τοῦ Εὐφράτου μέχρις Ἰνδῶν δύσειν ὑπέσχετο καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα 4 ὡς ἔχων ἥδη ἔχαριζετο. καὶ ταῦτα οὖν ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ μονῷ εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥωμηνίαν, ἴνα καὶ παρ’ ἐκείνων τὸ κύρος λάβῃ, ἐπέστειλεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τι αὐτῶν ἀνεγυμνώθη ὁ τε γὰρ Δομίτιος καὶ ὁ Σόσσιος ὑπατεύουτες ἥδη τότε, καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα αὐτῷ προσκείμενοι, οὐκ ἠθέλησαν, καίπερ τοῦ Καίσαρος 5 ἐγκειμένου σφίσιν, ἐς πάντας αὐτὰ ἐκφήναι. νικησάντων δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἐκείνων, ἀντεπεκράτησεν ὁ
merely addressed her by name; this gave them a reputation for high spirit, but they were subjected to much ill-treatment on account of it.

After this Antony feasted the Alexandrians, and in the assembly made Cleopatra and her children sit by his side; also in the course of his address to the people he commanded that she should be called Queen of Kings, and Ptolemy, whom they named Caesarion, King of Kings. And he then made a new distribution of provinces, giving them Egypt and Cyprus in addition; for he declared that in very truth one was the wife and the other the son of the former Caesar, and he professed to be taking these measures for Caesar's sake, though his purpose was to cast reproach upon Caesar Octavianus because he was only an adopted and not a real son of his. Besides making this assignment to them, he promised to give to his own children by Cleopatra the following districts: to Ptolemy, Syria and all the region west of the Euphrates as far as the Hellespont; to Cleopatra, the Cyrenaica in Libya; and to their brother Alexander, Armenia and the rest of the countries east of the Euphrates as far as India; for he even bestowed the last-named regions as if they were already in his possession. Not only did he say this in Alexandria, but he sent a despatch to Rome as well, in order that it might secure ratification also from the people there. None of these despatches, however, was read in public; for Domitius and Sosius were consuls by this time, and being extremely devoted to him, refused to publish them to all the people, even though Caesar urged it upon them. But, although they prevailed in this matter, Caesar won a victory in his turn by prevent-

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Καίσαρ μηδὲν τῶν περὶ τοῦ Ἀρμενίου γραφέντων δημοσιευθῆναι τοῦτον τε γὰρ ἦλεει ἀτε καὶ λάθρα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ κεκοινολογημένος, καὶ ἐκείνῳ τῶν νικητηρίων ἐφθόνει. τοιαύτα δ' οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος πράττων ἐτόλμα τῇ βουλῇ γράφειν ὅτι τῆς τε ἀρχῆς παύσασθαι καὶ ἐπὶ ἐκείνη τῷ τε δήμῳ πάντα τὰ πράγματα ποιήσασθαι ἐθέλει, οὐχ οτι τι καὶ πράξεων αὐτῶν ἐμελλεν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ταῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐλπίσι τῶν Καίσαρα ἦτοι ἀναγκάσωσιν, ἀτε καὶ παρόντα, τῶν ὁπλῶν προαποστῆναι, ἧ καὶ ἀπειθήσαντα μισήσωσι.

42 Τότε μὲν δὴ ταύτα τε ἐγένετο, καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν τὴν τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ τῇ γενεθλίῳ τελομένην οἱ ὑπατοὶ ἐποίησαν ἐν τε ταῖς ἀνοχαῖς αἴρετοι ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος πολίαρχοι, παῖδες ἀνηθοί, εἰς ἰππέων ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ βουλευτῶν γεγονότες, ἦρξαν.

2 καὶ τὴν στοὰν τὴν Παύλου καλουμένην Αίμιλιος Δέπιδος Παύλος ἱδίος τέλεσιν ἔξωκοδομήσει καί τῇ ὑπατείᾳ καθιέρωσεν ὑπάτευσε γὰρ ἐν μέρει τοῦ ἐτους τοῦτου. ὃ τε Ἀγρίππας τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ Μάρκιον ἀνομασμένον, ἐκλύτων φθορὰ τῶν ὁχετῶν, καὶ ἀνεκτήσατο δαπάνη οἰκεία καὶ ἐπὶ πολλά.

3 τῆς πόλεως ἐπωχέτευσεν. οὕτωι μὲν οὖν, καίπερ εἰς ἵδιοις χρημάτων φιλοτιμοῦμενοι, καὶ ὑπεστέλλοντο καὶ ἐμετρίαζον ἀλλοι δὲ καὶ ἐλαχίστην τινὰ ἀρχὴν ἔχοντες καὶ ἐπινίκια διεπράττοντο σφισιν, οἱ μὲν διὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου οἱ δὲ διὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ψηφίζεσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει

1 te supplied by Bk.
2 έθέλει Bk., θέλει M.

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ing any of Antony's despatches regarding the Armenian king from being made known to the public; for he not only felt pity for the prince, inasmuch as he himself had been secretly in communication with him for the purpose of injuring Antony, but he also grudged Antony his triumph. Now while Antony was engaged as described he had the effrontery to write to the senate that he wished to give up his office and put the whole administration of the state into the hands of that body and of the people; it was not his intention, of course, to do either, but he desired them under the influence of the hopes he aroused either to compel Caesar to give up his arms first, as being there at hand, or to conceive hatred for him if he should refuse to heed their commands.

In addition to these events at that time, the consuls celebrated the festival held in honour of Venus Genetrix. During the Feriae mere boys who were sons of knights, instead of senators, served as prefects of the city on appointment by Caesar. Also Aemilius Lepidus Paulus constructed at his own expense the Basilica Pauli,¹ as it was called, and dedicated it in his consulship; for he was consul during a portion of that year. And Agrippa restored from his own purse the water-supply named the Aqua Marcia, which had been cut off by the destruction of the pipes, and carried it in pipes to many parts of the city. These men, now, though furthering their ambitions by spending their private funds, still acted with retiring modesty and with moderation; but others who were holding even a most insignificant office bargained to get triumphs voted in their own honour, some using the influence of Antony and some that of Caesar,

¹ The Basilica Aemilia, rebuilt at this time.
ταυτή χρυσίον πολύ παρὰ τῶν δήμων ἐς τοὺς στεφάνους ἐσέπραττον.

43 Τῷ δ' ὑστέρῳ ἔτει ἀγορανόμος ὁ Αγρίππας ἐκὼν ἐγένετο, καὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ οἰκοδομήματα τὰ κοινὰ πάσας δὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς, μηδὲν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου λαβὼν, ἐπεσκεύασε, τοὺς τε ύπονόμους ἐξεκάθηρε, καὶ

2 ἐς τὸν Τίβεριν δὶ αὐτῶν ὑπέπλευσε. κἂν τῷ ἰπποδρόμῳ σφαλλομένους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους περὶ τῶν τῶν διαύλων ἀριθμὸν ὅρων τοὺς τε δελφίνας καὶ τὰ φοειδῆ δημουργήματα κατεστήσατο, ὁποὺς δὶ αὐτῶν αἱ περίοδοι τῶν περιδρόμων ἀναδεικνύωνται. καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ ἀλας πάσι

3 διέδωκε, τά τε βαλανεία προῖκα δι' ἔτους καὶ τοὺς ἀνδράσι καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ λούσθαι1 παρέσχε· καὶ τοὺς κουρέας ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν, ἂς πολλὰς καὶ παντοδαπὰς ἔποιήσεν ὡστε καὶ τοὺς τῶν βουλευτῶν παίδας τὴν Τροίαν ἱππεῦσαι, ἐμισθώσατο,

4 ἦνα μηδείς μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀναλώσῃ. καὶ τέλος σύμβολά τε τινα ἐσ τὸ θέατρον κατὰ κορυφὴν ἔρριψε, τὸ μὲν ἀργύριον τὸ δὲ ἐσθήτα τὸ δὲ ἀλλο τὰ φέροντα, καὶ ἄλλα πάμπολλα ώνια ἐς τὸ μέσων

5 καταθεῖς διαρπάσαι σφίσων ἐπέτρεψεν. Ἀγρίππας μὲν δὴ ταυτά τα ἐποίει, καὶ τοὺς ἀστρολόγους τοὺς τε γόρτας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔξηλασεν ὑπὸ δὲ τὰς αὕτας ἱμέρας δόγμα ἐγένετο μηδένα τῶν ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν τελούντων ἐπὶ ληστεία κρίνεσθαι, καὶ οὔτως οἳ τε τότε ἐν τοιαύτη τινί αἰτίᾳ ὄντες

1 λούσθαι Dind., λούσθαι LM Xiph.
and on this pretext exacted large amounts of gold from foreign states to provide the crowns.

The next year Agrippa agreed to be made aedile, and without taking anything from the public treasury repaired all the public buildings and all the streets, cleaned out the sewers, and sailed through them underground into the Tiber. And seeing that in the circus men made mistakes about the number of laps completed, he set up the dolphins and egg-shaped objects, so that by their aid the number of times the course had been circled might be clearly shown. Furthermore he distributed olive-oil and salt to all, and furnished the baths free of charge throughout the year for the use of both men and women; and in connection with the many festivals of all kinds which he gave—on such a scale, in fact, that the children of senators also performed the equestrian game called "Troy"—he hired the barbers, so that no one should be at any expense for their services. Finally he rained upon the heads of the people in the theatre tickets that were good for money in one case, for clothes in another, and again for something else, and he also set out immense quantities of various wares for all comers and allowed the people to scramble for these things. Besides doing this Agrippa drove the astrologers and charlatans from the city. During these same days a decree was passed that no one belonging to the senatorial class should be tried for piracy, and so those who were under any such charge at the time were set free.

1 According to Livy (xlii. 27) these ova (marble eggs) were first set up in 174 B.C. It is probable that Agrippa added the dolphins, and perhaps increased the number of ova. After each lap (usually seven) of the race one ovum would be removed and the position of one dolphin changed.
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αφείδησαν, καὶ ἐξ τὸ ἐπείτα ἀδειά τισι κακουργεῖν.

6 εὐθὺς. ὁ δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ τὴν τε ὑπατείαν (ἡρῴς γὰρ μετὰ Λουκίου Τούλλου 1 δεύτερου) τῇ πρώτῃ ἑτέρας ἡμέρας κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Αὐτωνίου τρόπον ἀπείπε, καὶ ἐξ τὸ τῶν ἐυπαθριδῶν γένος ἐκ τοῦ πληθοὺς τινὰς ψηφισμαμένης τῆς Βουλῆς ἐσήγαγεν.

7 ἐπειδὴ τε Λουκίος τὴς 'Ασέλλιος 2 στρατηγῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν διὰ μακρὰν ἀρρωστίαν ἀφείναι θέλησε, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἀνταπέδειξε· καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐτέρου τῇ τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ ἀποθανόντος ἄλλον ἐς τὰς περιλυπεῖς ὥρας ἐφέλετο. 3 τοῦ τε Βόκχου τελευτάσιμος οὐδενὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἐθνὴ αὐτὴν ἐσέγαγεν.

8 ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ Δελμάτας παντελῶς ἐκεχείρωσε, τὰς τε στοάς ἀπὸ τῶν λαβύρων αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἀποθήκες τῶν βιβλίων τὰς Ὀκταούδιας ἐπὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ κληθείσας κατεσκεύασεν.

44 'Αυτώνιος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἦλασε μὲν μέχρι τοῦ Ἀράξου ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους στρατεύσων, ἡρκέσθη δὲ τῇ πρὸς τὸν Μήδουν ὁμολογία: συμμαχήσειν τῇ γὰρ ἄλληλοι, ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους.

2 ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Καῖσαρα, συνέθεντο, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ στρατιώτας τὲ τινὰς ἀντέδοσάν σφισιν, καὶ ὁ μὲν τῆς Ἀρμενίας τῆς νεοκτήτου τινὰ ἔλαβεν, ὁ δὲ τῆς θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ Ἰωτάπην ὡς καὶ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνοικήσουσαν, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τὰ στρατιωτικὰ τὰ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Στατιανοῦ μάχη ἀλόντα.

3 καὶ τούτῳ ὁ μὲν Ἀυτώνιος τῷ τε Πολέμων τῆν

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1 Λουκίου Τούλλου Βς., Λουκίου τοῦ Τούλλου Χυλ., λουκίου τοῦ ἄλου ΛΜ.
2 'Ασέλλιος Pighius, ἀσύλλιος ΛΜ.
3 ἐφέλετο Μ, ἀφείλετο Λ.
and some were given a free hand to practice their villainy in future. Caesar became consul for the second time, with Lucius Tullus as his colleague, but resigned on the very first day, as Antony had done, and with the sanction of the senate he introduced some persons from the populace into the rank of patricians. When a certain Lucius Asellius, who was praetor, wished on account of a long sickness to lay down his office, he appointed his son in his stead; and when a second praetor died on the last day of his term, Caesar chose another for the remaining hours. At the death of Bocchus he gave his kingdom to no one else, but enrolled it among the Roman provinces. And after the Dalmatians had been utterly subjugated, he erected from the spoils thus gained the porticos and the libraries called the Octavian, after his sister.

Antony meantime had marched as far as the Araxes, ostensibly to conduct a campaign against the Parthians, but was satisfied to arrange terms with the Median king. They made a covenant to serve each other as allies, the one against the Parthians and the other against Caesar, and to cement the compact they exchanged some soldiers, the Mede received a portion of the newly-acquired Armenia, and Antony received the king's daughter, Iotape, to be united in marriage with Alexander, and the military standards taken in the battle with Statianus. After this Antony bestowed upon Pole-
μικροτέραν Ἀρμενίαν, ὡσπερ εἴπον, χαρισάμενος, καὶ Δούκιον Φλάουιον ¹ ποιήσας τε ἁμα ᾑπατον καὶ παύσας (συνῆν γὰρ αὐτῷ), ἔς τε τὴν Ἰωνίαν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἔλλαδα ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος πολέμῳ ὄρμησεν. ὦ τε Μήδος τὰ μὲν πρῶτα συμμάχοι τοῖς Ῥωμαῖοις χρώμενος τοὺς τε Πάρθους καὶ τὸν Ἀρτάξην ἐπελθόντας οἱ ἐνίκησε, τοῦ δ' Ἀντωνίου τοὺς τε ἐαυτοῦ στρατιώτας μεταπέμψαντος καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνους κατασχόντος ἀνθητηθη ἡ τε καὶ ἐώλω, καὶ οὔτως ἢ Ἀρμενία μετὰ τῆς Μηδίας ἀπώλετο.

¹ Φλάουιον Ρανβινίου, χλανούιον LM.
² ἀνθητηθῇ Xyl., ἀντητηθῇ LM.
mon, as I have stated,¹ Lesser Armenia, made Lucius Flavius consul ¹ b.c. 33 and likewise removed him (for he was there with him), and set out for Ionia and Greece to wage war against Caesar. The Mede at first, by employing the Romans as allies, conquered the Par-thians and Artaxes who came against him; but as Antony summoned back his own soldiers, and moreover retained those of the king, the latter was in turn defeated and captured, and so Armenia was lost together with Media.

¹ See chap. 33, 2.
² The name appears thus in the Fasti Venusini (C.I.L. i.² p. 66). Some scholars have emended to Cluvius; cf. lii. 42, 4. The unusual procedure of Antony here related is mentioned nowhere else.
BOOK L

Τάδε ἐνεστίν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ τῶν Διώνος Ἡρωμαῖκῶν

α. Ὁ Caῖσαρ καὶ Ἁντώνιος πολεμεῖν ἁλλήλοις ἤρξατο.
β. Ὁ Caῖσαρ Ἁντώνιον περὶ Ἀκτίων ἐνίκησεν.

Χρόνον πλῆθος ἔτη δύο ἐν οἷς ἁρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμοῦμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο

Γν. Δομίτιος Λ. υ. 1 Γν. ἡγγ. 2 Ἀνάφαρβος ὑπ.
Γ. Σάσσιος Γ. υ. Τ. 3 ἡγγ.
Καῖσαρ τῷ γ’
Μ. Ουάλέριος Μ. υ. Μεσσάλας Κορούνιος ὑπ. 4

Ο δὲ δήμος ο τῶν Ἡρωμαίων τῆς μὲν δημοκρατίας ἀφῆρητο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς μοναρχίαν ἀκριβῆ ἀπεκέκριτο, ἀλλ’ ο τε Ἀντώνιος καὶ ο Caῖσαρ ἐξ ἵσον ἔτι τὰ πράγματα εἶχον, τὰ τε πλεῖω σφῶν διειληχότες, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῷ μὲν λόγῳ κοινὰ νομίζοντες, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ, ὡς που πλεονεκτῆσαι τι ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν ἐδύνατο, ἰδιοῦν

2 μενοι. μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο, ὡς ο τε Σέξτος ἄπωλει καὶ ο Ἀρμένιος ἐαλώκει τὰ τε προσπολεμήσαντα τῷ Caῖσαρι ἡσύχαζε καὶ ο Πάρθος οὐδέν παρεκίνη, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι φανερῶς ἐπὶ ἁλλήλους

1 Λ. υ. Melber, γ’ υ’ ΛΜ.
2 Γν. ἡγγ. (Γν. νετ.) Palmerius, γιν εγ’ γ’ ΛΜ.
3 Τ. Melber, γ’ ΛΜ.
The following is contained in the Fiftieth of Dio’s *Rome* :—

How Caesar and Antony began hostilities against each other (chaps. 1–14).
How Caesar conquered Antony at Actium (chaps. 15–35).

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>Consul 1</th>
<th>Consul 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Caesar (III), M. Valerius M. F. Messalla Corvinus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Roman people had been robbed of their democratic form of government, but had not become a monarchy in the strict sense of the term; Antony and Caesar still controlled affairs on an equal footing, having divided by lot most of the functions of government between them, and though nominally they considered all the rest as belonging to them in common, in reality they were trying to appropriate it to themselves, according as either of them was able to seize any advantage over the other. But afterwards, when Sextus had now perished, the Armenian king had been captured, the forces that had warred upon Caesar were quiet, and the Parthians were stirring up no trouble, these two turned openly against each other.

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4 Μ. Ὀναλέριος Μ. νι. Μεσσάλας Κορούνινος ὑπ. Dind. (following Xyl. and H. Steph.), μ ουαλέριος μ' νι' μεσσάλ νπ' λαοκορούνινος ΛΜ.

6 τε Βκ., γε ΛΜ.
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ἐτράποντο καὶ οὐ δήμος ἀκριβῶς ἐδουλώθη. αὐτία
dὲ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ σκηνήσεις αὐτῶς ἐγένοντο.

3 Ἀντώνιος μὲν Καῖσαρι ἐπεκάλει ὅτι τὸν τε
Λέπιδον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπεπαύκει καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν τε
δύναμιν τὴν τε ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν τοῦ Σέξτουν, κοινὴν
σφων ὀφείλουσαν εἶναι, ἐσφετέριστον καὶ τούτων
τε τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἀπήτευ, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν
οὐς ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας τὴς ἀμφότερος σφίς

4 προσηκούσης κατεὶλεκτο. Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐκείνῳ ὅτι
ἀλλα τε καὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν μὴ λαχῶν εἰχε, τὸν
τε Σέξτον ἀπεκτόνευ (αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐκών πεφείσθαι
αὐτοῦ ἔλεγε), καὶ τὸν Ἀρμενίον ἔξαπατήσας καὶ
συλλαβῶν καὶ δῆσας πολλὴν τῷ δῆμῳ κακοδοξίαν

5 προσετέριστον τά τε ἡμίσεα καὶ αὐτῶς τῶν
λαφύρων ἀπήτευ, καὶ παρὰ πάντα ἐπέφερεν
αὐτῷ τὴν τε Κλεοπάτραν καὶ τοὺς παιδιὰς οὕς ἐξ
αὐτῆς ἀνήρητον, τά τε δωρηθέντα σφίς, καὶ ἐν
toῖς μάλιστα ὅτι τὸν Καῖσαρίωνα ἐπωνύμαι

2 οὕτω καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ Καῖσαρος γένος ἦγε. ταυτά
τε οὕν ἄλληλοις ἀντενεκάλον καὶ τη καὶ ἀνταπ-
ελογύντο, τὰ μὲν ἱδία σφίς ἐπιστέλλοντες,
tά δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ λέγων μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ γράφων
dὲ ὁ Ἀντώνιος πρέβεις τε ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσῃ
ταύτη τυχέχως ἀνταπέστελλου, ὃπως ὅτι μάλιστα
τά τε ἐγκλήματα δικαιότατα ποιεῖσθαι δόξωσι

2 καὶ τὰ ἄλληλων ἀμα κατασκοπῶσι καὶ τούτω
καὶ χρήματα ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλο τῷ ἡθροὶξον, καὶ τὴν
λοιπὴν τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὴν ὡς καὶ ἐφ'

1 oðs Zon., τοῦς LM.
2 πάντα R. Steph., πάντας LM.
3 ἀνταπέστελλον St., ἀνταπέστελλον LM.

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and the people were actually reduced to slavery. The causes for the war and the pretexts they had for it were as follows. Antony charged Caesar with having removed Lepidus from his office, and with having taken possession of his territory and of the troops of both him and Sextus, which ought to have been their common property; and he demanded the half of these as well as the half of the soldiers that had been levied in the parts of Italy which belonged to both of them. Caesar’s charge against Antony was that he was holding Egypt and other countries without having drawn them by lot, had killed Sextus (whom he himself had willingly spared, he said), and by deceiving, arresting, and putting in chains the Armenian king had caused much ill repute to attach to the Roman people. He, too, demanded half of the spoils, and above all he reproached him with Cleopatra and the children of hers which Antony had acknowledged as his own, the gifts bestowed upon them, and particularly because he was calling the boy Caesarion¹ and was bringing him into the family of Caesar. These were the charges they made against each other and were in a way their justification of their conduct, and they communicated them to each other partly by private letters and partly by public speeches on the part of Caesar and public messages on the part of Antony. On this pretext also they were constantly sending envoys back and forth, wishing to appear as far as possible justified in the complaints they made and at the same time to reconnoitre each other’s position. Meanwhile they were collecting funds, ostensibly for a different purpose, and were making all other preparations for

¹ Cf. xlix. 41.
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έτέρους τινὰς ἐποίουντο, μέχρις οὗ ὁ τε Δομίτιος ὁ Γναῖος καὶ ὁ Σώσσιος ὁ Γάιος, ἀμφότεροι τῆς τοῦ 'Ἀντωνίου μερίδος οὖντες, ὑπάτευσαν. τότε γὰρ οὖν ἔτ' ἐπεκρύψαντο, ἀλλ' ἀντικρύς ἐπολεμώθησαν. ἐπράξθη δὲ ὢδε.

3 'Ὁ μὲν Δομίτιος οὖν ἔδει φανερῶς, ὡς γε καὶ συμφορῶν πολλῶν πεπειραμένοις, ἐνεόχμωσεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Σώσσιος, οἰα κακῶν ἀπειρὸς όν, πολλὰ μὲν τῶν 'Ἀντώνιων ἐν αὐτῇ εὐθὺς τῇ νομημαῖᾳ ἐπήνευσε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν Καίσαρα κατέδραμε. καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐπ' αὐτῷ τι ἑχθημάτισεν, εἰ μὴ.

4 Νόνιος Βάλβος δημαρχῶν ἐκόλυσεν, ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ ὑποτοπῆσας τὸ μέλλον ὑπ' αὗτοῦ γενήσεσθαι, καὶ μήτε περιψεῖν αὐτὸ μήτε αὐν ἐναντιωθεὶς προκατάρχειν τοῦ πολέμου δόξαι ἐθελήσας, τότε μὲν οὔτε ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσῆλθεν οὔθ' ὅλως ἐν τῇ πόλει διητῆθη, ἀλλὰ τινὰ αἰτίαν πλασάμενος ἐξεδήμησε, διὰ τε ταῦτα καὶ ὑπὸ κατὰ σχολὴν πρὸς τὰ ἀγγελθέντα οἱ βουλευσάμενοι.

5 τὸ δὲν ἐκ πλείονος λογισμοῦ πράξῃς ύστερον δὲ ἐπανελθὼν τὴν τε γεροντίαν ἰθροισε φρουράν τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐγχειρίδια κρύφα ἐχόντων περιβαλόμενοι, καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ὑπάτων ἔτι δίφρον ἀρχικοῦ ἱζήσας, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτόθεν ἐκ τῆς ἔδρας καὶ μέτρια ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ διελέχθη, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοῦ Σωσσίου τοῦ τε Ἀν.

6 τωνίου κατηγόρησεν. ἐπειδὴ τε οὔτε ἄλλοις τις οὔτ' αὐτῶν τῶν ὑπάτων οὐδέτερος φθέγξασθαί τι ἐτόλμησεν, ἐκελευσε σφας ἐν Ῥητῆ ἡμέρα αὕτης συνελθείν ως καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων τινῶν ἀδικοῦντα

1 περιβαλόμενος H. Steph., περιβαλλόμενος LM.
2 οὔτ' Rk., οὔδ' LM.

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war as if against other persons, until the time that b.c. 82
Gnaeus Domitius and Gaius Sosius, both belonging
to Antony's party, became consuls. Then they made
no further concealment, but became openly hostile.
It happened in the following way.

Domitius did not openly attempt any revolutionary
measures, since he had experienced many disasters.
Sosius, however, had had no experience with mis-
fortunes, and so on the very first day of the year he
said much in praise of Antony and inveighed much
against Caesar. Indeed, he would have introduced
measures immediately against the latter, had not
Nonius Balbus, a tribune, prevented it. Caesar, it
seems, had suspected what he was going to do and
wished neither to ignore it nor by offering opposition
to appear to be beginning the war; hence he did
not enter the senate at this time nor even live in
the city at all, but invented some excuse which kept
him out of town, not only for the reasons given, but
also in order that he might deliberate at his leisure
according to the reports brought to him and then
act, after mature reflection, as necessity dictated.
But afterwards he returned and convened the senate,
surrounding himself with a guard of soldiers and
friends who carried concealed daggers; and sitting
with the consuls upon his chair of state, he spoke
from there at length and with moderation in defence
of himself, and brought many accusations against
Sosius and Antony. And when neither of the consuls
themselves nor anyone else ventured to utter a word,
he bade the senators come together again on a speci-
fied day, giving them to understand that he would
prove by certain documents that Antony was in the
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τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐξελέγξων. οἱ οὖν ὑπατοὶ μὴ ἀντειπεῖν αὐτῷ θαρσοῦντες μὴτε σιωπᾶσαι ὑπομένοντες τῆς τε πόλεως λάθρα προεξεχώρησαν καὶ μετὰ τούτο πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπῆλθον, καὶ σφίσι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Βουλευτῶν οὐκ ὀλγοὶ συνεφέσποντο. μαθὼν δὲ τούτο ὁ Καίσαρ ἐκὼν τε αὐτοὺς ἐκπεπομφέναι ἔφασκεν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ὦς ἀδικῶν τι ἐγκαταλελείφθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν δοκῇ, καὶ ἐπιτρέπειν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἔθελουσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντώνιον μετὰ ἄδειας ἀπάραι.

3 Τοῦτο δ’ οὖν τοιοῦτον ὑπ’ ἐκεῖνον γενόμενον ἀνεσήκωσαν παρὰ τοῦ Ἀντώνιον αὐ φυγόντες καὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐλθόντες ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Τίτιος καὶ ὁ Πλάγκος, καίστερ αὖν πρῶτους τε ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τιμώμενοι καὶ τὰ ἀπόρρητα αὐτὸν πάντα εἰδότες. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ταῦτά τε οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπέπρακτο, καὶ προσέτε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ αὐτῶν ὁ Καίσαρ τῆν τε γερουσίαν συνήγαγε καὶ ἀνέγυρω καὶ ἐπέν ὅσα ἠθέλησε καὶ αὐτὰ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀκούσας βουλήν τε ἡμας ἐκ τῶν παρὸντων ἠθροίσε καὶ λειχθέντων ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα πολλῶν τόν τε πόλεμον ἀνέιλετο καὶ τὴν τῆς Ὀκταούσιας συνοίκησιν ἀπείπε, προσκρούσαντές τι αὐτῶ ἐκεῖνοι, ἢ καὶ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ τι ἀχθέσθεντες, ηὐτομόλησαν. καὶ σφάς ὁ Καίσαρ ἀσμενέστατα δεξάμενος τά τε άλλα τά τοῦ Ἀντώνιον παρ’ αὐτῶν πάντα, καὶ ἐπραττε καὶ ἐνενόει, καὶ τα ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένα τόν τε ἔχοντα αὐτὰς ἐμαθεῖ καὶ γὰρ σεσημασμένους.
wrong. The consuls, accordingly, as they did not dare to reply to him and could not endure to be silent, left the city secretly before the day appointed and later made their way to Antony, followed by not a few of the other senators. And when Caesar learned this he declared that he had sent them away voluntarily, hoping thus that it might not be thought that they had abandoned him because of some wrong-doing on his part, and added that he granted the rest who so wished permission to depart unmolested to Antony.

This action of theirs was counterbalanced by the arrival of others who fled from Antony in turn to Caesar, among them being Titius and Plancus, though they had been honoured by Antony among the foremost and knew all his secrets. For after the consuls had taken the step described and Caesar, moreover, in their absence had convened the senate and had read and said all that he wished, and after Antony, hearing of these things, had assembled a kind of senate from among those who were with him, and after considerable talk on both sides of the question had taken up the war and renounced his connection with Octavia as his wife, then it was that Titius and Plancus, because of some friction with him or because of anger against Cleopatra, deserted him. And Caesar was very glad to receive them and learned from them all about Antony's affairs, what he was doing, what he had in mind to do, what was written in his will, and the name of the man who had the will; for these two men had attached their seals to it. Thereupon Caesar became still more violently enraged and did not shrink from searching for the document, seizing
σαι αὐτὰς οὕτε λαβεῖν οὕτε ἔσ τῷ Βουλευτῆριον καὶ μετὰ τούτο καὶ ἐσ ἐκκλησίαν ἐσκομίσαι καὶ ἀναγνώσαι. τοιαύτα γὰρ ποὺ ἐν αὐταῖς ἀνεγέργατο ὡστε μηδ’ αἰτίαν τινὰ παρ’ αὐτῶν, καίτοι
5 παρανομώτατον πάραμα ποιήσας, σχείν τῷ τῷ γὰρ Καίσαρίων ὡς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὠντος γεγονότε ἐμεμαρτυρήκει, καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἀιγυπτίας οἱ πρεσβευόντων υπερόγκους δὴ τινὰς δῷρεὰς ἐδεδώκει, τὸ τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἐαυτοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρεια καὶ σὺν ἐκείνῃ ταφήναι ἐκεκελεύκει.

4 Δὲ ὅπι ταῦτα ἀγανακτῆσαντες ἐπίστευσαν ὅτι καὶ τάλλα τὰ θρυλοῦμενα ἀληθῆ εἰ, τοῦτ’ ἐστιν ὧτι, ἃν κρατήσῃ, τὴν τῇ πόλιν σφῶν τῇ Ἕλεπτάρτα χαρίεται καὶ τὸ κράτος ἐς τὴν Ἀιγυπτίου

2 μεταθῆσει. καὶ τοσαῦτα γε ἐπὶ τούτως ὅργῃ ἐχρήσατο ὡστε πάντας, οὐχ ὅπως τοὺς διαφόρους αὐτῶ ἢ καὶ ἐκ μέσου ἀμφοῖν ὄντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πάνυ φίλους, δεινῶς αὐτὸν αἰτίασαθαν τοῖς τῷ γὰρ ἀναγνωσθεῖσιν ἐκπλαγέντες, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος υποψίαν ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι, τὰ αὐτὰ

3 τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔλεγον. καὶ τὴν τῇ ὑπατεῖαν αὐτῶν, ἐς ἧν προεκεχειροτόνητο, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐξουσίαν πάσαν ἀφεῖλοντο πολέμου τῇ λόγῳ μὲν οὐκ ἀπεφηναν, φοβηθέντες τοὺς συνόντας αὐτῶ, ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐν ἐχθρῶν μοίρα, ἀν μὴ προλείπωσιν αὐτῶν, νομισθήναι ἐχρῆν, ἔργῳ δὲ παντὸς μᾶλλον

4 ἀπεδειξαν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ συνεξεταζόμενοι οἱ τῇ τῇ ἀδειαν καὶ ἐπαίνους, ἀν ἐγκαταλείπωσιν αὐτῶν, ἐψηφίσαντο, τῇ δὲ Κλεοπάτρᾳ τῷ πόλεμον ἀντίκρυς ἐπηγγειλαν, καὶ τὰς τῇ χλαμύδας ὡς

1 τῇ R. Steph., τῇ τῇ LM.
2 ἐπηγγειλαν H. Steph., ἐπηγγειλαν LM.

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it, and then carrying it into the senate and later into the assembly, and reading it. For the clauses contained in it were of such a nature that this most lawless procedure on Caesar's part brought upon him no reproach from the citizens; for Antony had borne witness to Caesarion that he was truly sprung from Caesar, had given some enormous presents to his children by the Egyptian queen, who were being reared by him, and had ordered that his body be buried in Alexandria by her side.

This caused the Romans in their indignation to believe that the other reports in circulation were also true, to the effect that if Antony should prevail, he would bestow their city upon Cleopatra and transfer the seat of power to Egypt. And they became so angry at this that all, not only Antony's enemies or those who were not siding with either man, but even his most intimate friends, censured him severely; for in their consternation at what was read and in their eagerness to counteract Caesar's suspicion of them, they spoke in the same way as the rest. They deprived him of the consulship, to which he had been previously elected, and of all his authority in general. They did not, to be sure, declare him an enemy in so many words, because they were afraid his adherents would also have to be regarded in the light of enemies, in case they should not abandon him; but by this action they showed their attitude more plainly than by any words. For they voted to the men arrayed on his side pardon and praise if they would abandon him, and declared war outright upon Cleopatra, put on their military cloaks as if he were close
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5 καὶ ἐν χερσὶν ὄντος αὐτοῦ μετημπίσχοντο, καὶ πρὸς τὸ Ἔννεϊον ἑλθόντες πάντα τὰ προπολέμεια κατὰ τὸ νομιζόμενον, διὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὡς καὶ φητιαλίου, ἐποίησαν· ἀπέρ ποὺ λόγῳ μὲν πρὸς τὴν Κλεοπάτραν, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον

5 ἐτεινεν· οὕτω γὰρ ποὺ αὐτὸν ἑδεδούλωτο ὡστε καὶ γυμνασιαρχήσαι τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρείσι πείσαι, βασιλίς τε αὐτὴ καὶ δέσποινα ὑπ' ἐκεῖνον καλείσθαι, στρατιώτας τε Ἡρωμαίους ἐν τῷ δόρυ-φορικῷ ἐχειν, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς πάντας σφᾶς

2 ταῖς ἀστίσιν ἐπιγράφειν. ἦς τε τὴν ἄγοραν μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐσεφοίτα, καὶ τὰς πανηγύρεις οἱ συνδετίθει, τὰς τε δίκας συνεξῆταζε, καὶ συνυππενε καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἣ καὶ ἐκείνη μὲν ἐν δίφρῳ τινὶ ἐφέρετο, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος αὐτοποδί αὐτὴ μετὰ τῶν εὐνούχων ἠκολούθει. καὶ τὸ τε στρατήγιον βασιλείου ἄνωμαζε, καὶ ἀκινάκην ἐστιν ὅτε παρε-

3 ζώνυμο, ἐσθήτει τε ἔξω τῶν πατρίων ἐχρήτο, καὶ ἐπὶ κλίνης ἐπιχρύσου δίφρου τε ὁμοίου καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ ἐωράτο. συνεγράφετο τε αὐτὴ καὶ συνε-πλάττετο, αὐτὸς μὲν Ὀσιρις καὶ Διόνυσος ἐκείνη δὲ Σελήνη τε καὶ Ἰσίς λέγοντες εἶναι. ἦς οὖπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐκφρῶν ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐκ μαγγανείας

4 τινὸς γεγονέναι ἐδοξεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ὅτι ἐκείνον ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τι παρ' αὐτῷ δυναμένους οὕτω καὶ ἐγοήτευσε καὶ κατέδησεν ὡςτ' αὐτήν καὶ τῶν Ἡρωμαίων ἀρξεῖν ἐξπίσαι, τὴν τε εὐχήν

1 διόνυσος M cod. Peir., ὁ διόνυσος L.
at hand, and went to the temple of Bellona, where they performed through Caesar as *fetialis* all the rites preliminary to war in the customary fashion. These proceedings were nominally directed against Cleopatra, but really against Antony. For she had enslaved him so absolutely that she persuaded him to act as gymnasiarch to the Alexandrians; and she was called "queen" and "mistress" by him, had Roman soldiers in her bodyguard, and all of these inscribed her name upon their shields. She used to frequent the market-place with him, joined him in the management of festivals and in the hearing of lawsuits, and rode with him even in the cities, or else was carried in a chair while Antony accompanied her on foot along with her eunuchs. He also termed his headquarters "the palace," sometimes wore an oriental dagger at his belt, dressed in a manner not in accordance with the customs of his native land, and let himself be seen even in public upon a gilded couch or a chair of that kind. He posed with her for portrait paintings and statues, he representing Osiris or Dionysus and she Selene or Isis. This more than all else made him seem to have been bewitched by her through some enchantment. For she so charmed and enthralled not only him but all the rest who had any influence with him that she conceived the hope of ruling even the Romans; and whenever she used an oath her strongest phrase in

1 A Greek official, who exercised complete supervision of the gymnasium, paying for training and incidentals, arranging the details of contests, etc. Plutarch (*Ant.* 33) states that in Athens also Antony on one occasion laid aside the insignia of a Roman general to assume the purple mantle, the white shoes, and the rods of this official.
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tην μεγίστην, ὅποτε τι ὁμνύοι, ποιεῖσθαι τὸ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ δικάσαι.

6 Τῇ μὲν οὖν Κλεοπάτρα διὰ ταῦτα τὸν πόλεμον ἐψηφίσαντο, τῷ δ' Ἀντωνίῳ οὕτως δῆθεν τοιούτων ἐπήγγειλαν, εὖ γε εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ ἄλλως πολεμωθήσοντο 1 (οὔ γάρ που προδοὺς ἐκείνην τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πράξειν ἐμελλε) καὶ βουλόμενοι καὶ αὐτὸ τούτο προσεγκαλέσαι οἱ, ὅτι τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Αἰγυπτίας πόλεμον ἐκῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος, μηδὲνς αὐτῷ δεινοὶ οἴκοθεν ἰδίᾳ συμβάντος, ἀνείλετο.

2 "Ἡ τε οὖν ἡλικία παρ' ἀμφοτέρων 2 σπουδὴν συνήγετο καὶ χρήματα ἀπανταχόθεν συνελέγετο, τά τε ἐμπολέμια πάντα κατὰ τάχος ἡθροίζετο. καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ πᾶσα παρασκευὴ πολὺ τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς μεγίστη. ἐθνή γὰρ τοσάδε ἐκατέρθο τούδε τὸν πόλεμον συνήρατο. Καίσαρι μὲν ἡ τε Ἰταλία (πάντας γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἀποικισθέντας, τὰ μὲν ἐκφοβήσας ἄτε ὀλίγους ὄντας, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐνεργετῆσας, προσετέθειτο· τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς τὴν Βοωνίαν ἐποικοῦντας αὐτὸς αὐθίς, ἵνα δὴ καὶ ύφ' ἐαυτοῦ ἀποκισθαι δοκῶσι, προσκατηστήσατο)—ἥ τε οὖν Ἰταλία καὶ ἡ Γαλατία τὸ τε Ἰβηρικὸν καὶ τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν, καὶ Δίβνες οἱ τε ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν ῥωμαίζοντες πλην τῶν περὶ τὴν Κυρήνην

1 πολεμωθῆσαιτο Reim., πολεμωθῆσαιto LM.
2 Here L ends; its copy V in a measure replaces it down to the end of Book LIV.

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swearing was by her purpose to dispense justice on the Capitol.\(^1\)

This was the reason they voted for war against Cleopatra, but they made no such declaration against Antony, forsooth, knowing full well that he would become an enemy in any event, since he certainly was not going to prove false to her and espouse Caesar's cause; and they wished to have this additional reproach to put upon him, that he had voluntarily taken up war on the side of the Egyptian woman against his native country, though no ill-treatment had been accorded him personally by the people at home.

Accordingly, the men of fighting age were being rapidly assembled on both sides, money was being collected from every quarter, and all the equipment of war was being speedily gathered together. The preparations as a whole far surpassed in size anything that had ever been before; for all these nations coöperated with one side or the other in the war: Caesar had, in the first place, Italy (he had even attached to his cause all those who had been placed in colonies by Antony, partly by frightening them, since they were few in number, and partly by conferring benefits upon them; for example, among his other acts, he personally gave a new charter to the colonists who had settled in Bononia, so that the impression might prevail that the colony had been sent out by him), and besides Italy he also had in alliance with him Gaul, Spain, Illyricum, the Africas (including not only those who long since had adopted the Latin tongue, with the exception of the people in Cy-

\(^1\) i.e. she would say: "As surely as I shall one day dispense justice on the Capitol, so surely," etc.
καὶ οἱ τοῦ Βογούνου τοῦ τε Βόκχου γεγονότες, Σαρδώ τε καὶ Σικελία καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι νῆσοι αἱ ταῖς 5 εἰρημέναις ἥπειροις προσεχεῖς συνεμάχησαι, τῷ δ ’Αντωνίῳ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῇ ἥπειρῳ τῶν Ῥω- 
μαίων ἀκούοντα καὶ τὰ 1 ἐν τῇ Θρᾴκῃ, ἣ τε Ἔλλας καὶ ἡ Μακεδονία, καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι οἱ τε Κυρη-
ναῖοι μετὰ τῶν περιχώρων, καὶ οἱ νησιώται οἱ προσοκούντες σφίσιν, οἱ τε βασιλῆς καὶ οἱ 
dυνάσται πάντες οὐς ἐπείδιν οἱ τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ τῇ 2 τότε ὑπ’ ἐκεῖνον 3 ὤσθε γειτνώντες, οἱ 6 μὲν αὐτοὶ οἱ δὲ δὶ ἑτέρων. καὶ τοσαῦτῃ γε προθυ-
μία ἀμφότεροι ὀμοίως ἐχρῆσαντο ὡστε καὶ ἐνόρ-
κους τὰς συμμαχίας σφῶν ἐκατέρω ποιήσασθαι.

7. Οὕτωι τε οὕν οὕτως ἐρρωντο, καὶ ὁ ’Ἀντωνίος 
τοῦτο μὲν ἀντώμοσε τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ στρατιώταις 
ἀκηρυκτὲ 4 πολεμήσειν, τοῦτο δὲ ὑπέσχετο τήν τε 
ἀρχὴν ἐντὸς δύο μηνῶν μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἀφήσειν καὶ 
tο πᾶν αὐτῆς κράτος τῇ τε γερουσίᾳ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ
2 ἀποδώσειν. μόλις τε δὴθέν τινες ἐπείσαν αὐτὸν 
ἐκτῷ μηνὶ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἢν δὴ κατὰ σχολὴν τὰ 
πράγματα καταστήσαται. καὶ οἱ μὲν, εἰ καὶ τὰ 
μάλιστα μὴ ἐμελλέν αὐτὸ πράξειν, ἀλλ’ ὡς παντὶ 
γε πάντως κρατήσων ἐπηγγέλλετο. τά τε γὰρ 
ἐαυτοῦ πολὺ τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἰσχυρότερα ἑώρα ὄντα, 
καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἁσθενώσειν δωροδοκίαις
3 ἡλπὶς 5 χρυσίων γὰρ ὡς ἑκασταχόσε, καὶ οὐχ 
ἡκιστα ἐς τε τὴν ἅλλην Ἰταλίαν καὶ ἐς τὴν 
Ῥώμην ἐσπέρμων διεκίνει τε ὡς ἑκαστα καὶ σφε-

1 τὰ Xiph., om. LM. 2 τῇ added by Rk.
3 ἐκεῖνον H. Steph., ἐκεῖνον VM.
4 ἀκηρυκτῆ V, ἀκηρυκτῆ M.
5 ἡλπὶς R. Steph., ἡλπὶς VM.
renaica, but also those who had belonged to Bogud and Bocchus), Sardinia, Sicily, and the rest of the islands adjacent to the aforementioned divisions of the mainland. On Antony's side were the regions subject to Rome in continental Asia, the regions of Thrace, Greece, and Macedonia, the Egyptians, the people of Cyrene and the surrounding country, the islanders dwelling near them, and practically all the kings and potentates whose territories bordered upon that part of the Roman empire then under his control—some taking the field themselves and others represented by lieutenants. And such was the zeal of both sides alike that the alliances which they made with the two leaders were cemented by oaths of allegiance.

Such was the strength of the contestants. As for Antony, he on his part swore to his own soldiers that he would admit no truce in the war he waged, and promised in addition that within two months after his victory he would relinquish his office and restore to the senate and the people all its authority; and it was with difficulty, forsooth, that certain persons prevailed upon him to postpone this act to the sixth month, so that he might be able to settle the public business at his leisure. And however far he was from intending to carry out this offer, he yet made the proposal as if he were certainly and without fail going to conquer. For he saw that his own forces were much the stronger by reason of their superior numbers, and hoped by means of bribes to weaken those of his opponents; indeed, he proceeded to send gold in every direction, and particularly to Italy in general and especially to Rome, and thus tried to shake the allegiance of each individual element and
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τερίζεσθαι ἑπειράτο. ὀθενπερ καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ τά τε ἄλλα δι' ἀκριβεστέρας φυλακῆς ἐποιήσατο καὶ χρήματα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔδωκε.

8 Τοιαύτης δ' οὖν τής τε ὁρμῆς καὶ τῆς παρα-

σκευῆς αὐτῶν σύσης πολλὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ποικίλα ἔθρυπλείτο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἐναργῇ προεδεικνυτο. πίθηκος τε γὰρ ἐς τὸ Δημήτριον ἐν ἱερουργίᾳ τινὶ ἐσελθὼν πάντα

2 τὰ ἕνδον συνέχεια, καὶ βύας πρῶτον μὲν ἐς τὸν τῆς Ὁμονοίας ναοῦ, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ὡς εἰπέν τοὺς ἀγιωτάτους ἑπέπτετο, καὶ τέλος, ἐπειδὴ πανταχόθεν ἀπηλαύνετο, ἐπὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Γενίου τοῦ δήμου ἱδρύθη καὶ οὐτε ἐάλω οὔτ' ἐξανέστη πλὴν ὁφὲ ποτε. ὦ τε ὁχὸς ὁ τοῦ Δίου ἐν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱπποδρομία συνετρίβη, καὶ λαμπάς ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλληνι-

κῆς βαλάκσης αἰωρηθείσα ἐς τὸν αἰθέρα ἀνέδραμε.

3 καὶ συχνὰ μὲν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐπόνυσεν, ὡστε καὶ τρόπαιον τι ἐν τῷ Ἀουεντιὼν ἔστός καὶ νύκης ἀγαλμα ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεάτρου σκηνῆς πεσείν, τὴν τε γέφυραν τὴν ξυλίνην πᾶσαν 1 καταρραγήναι· συχνὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἐφαρῆ, καὶ προσέτυ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Λιτής πλεῖστον τε ἐρρύῃ καὶ πόλεσι καὶ

4 χώραις ἐλυμήνατο. ταῦτ' οὖν οἱ Ῥωμαίοι τὰ μὲν ὀρῶντα τὰ δ' ἀκούοντες, ἀνεμμυγνόκουτο καὶ τὸ τοῦ δράκοντος, ὅτι ἄρα καὶ ἐκείνος ἐς τὰ τότε παρόντα σφίσιν ἐσημηνεν· ἐν γὰρ τῇ Τυρσηνίδι ὀλίγον πρὸ τούτων πρότερον δράκων δικέφαλος, μέγας ὡστε καὶ ἐς πέντε καὶ ὁγδοίκοντα πόδας ἐξικεῖσθαι, αἰφνίδιον ἀνεφάνη καὶ πολλὰ κακώσας

5 ἐκεραυνώθη. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς

1 πᾶσαν M, om. V.
to tempt them over to his side. For this reason Caesar on his part kept a more vigilant watch over everything else, and made donations of money to his soldiers.

Such was the enthusiasm of the two sides and such were their preparations; meanwhile many and divers rumours were noised abroad by men, and many clear portents were shown by the gods. For example, an ape entered the temple of Ceres during a service and upset everything in it; an owl flew first into the temple of Concord and then to practically all the other most holy temples, and finally, when it had been driven away from every other place, it settled upon the temple of the Genius Populi, and it was not only not caught, but did not depart until late in the day. The chariot of Jupiter was demolished in the Circus at Rome, and for many days a torch would rise over the sea toward Greece and dart up into the sky. Much damage was also caused by storm; thus, a trophy which stood upon the Aventine fell, a statue of Victory fell from the back wall of the theatre, and the wooden bridge was utterly demolished. And many objects were destroyed by fire also, and moreover there was a huge flow of lava from Aetna which damaged cities and fields. Now when the Romans saw and heard about these things, they recalled also the incident of the serpent, realising that it too had given them a sign which bore upon the present situation. A little before this, it seems, a two-headed serpent, so huge that its length came to eighty-five feet, had suddenly appeared in Etruria, and after doing much damage had been killed by lightning. Now all these signs had significance for the whole people; for it was the
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έφερεν Ἡρωαίοι τε γὰρ τὸ προμαχόμενον ἀμφότερων ὁμοίως ἦν, καὶ ἐμελλον ἔν τε τῷ τότε παρόντι πολλοὶ ἐκατέρωθεν φθαρῆσθαι, καὶ ἔπειτά τοῦ κρατήσαντος πάντες οἱ περιλειφθέντες γενήσθαι. τῷ δὲ δὴ Ἀντωνίῳ τὴν μὲν ἤτταν οἱ παῖδες οἳ ἐν τῇ Ὁρμῇ ὄντες προεμαχεύσαντο (δίχα γὰρ γενόμενοι μηδένος κελεύσαντος, καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀντωνιείους οἳ δὲ Καισαρείους ὁπῶς ἐπικαλέσαντες, συνεμείξαν ἄλληλοις ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας, καὶ ἤττησαν οἱ τὸ ἑκείνου ὄνομα φέρουτε), τούτῳ δὲ ὀλέθρων εἰκὼν τις αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ παρὰ τῷ Δίῳ ἀνακειμένη· λιθίνη γὰρ οὖσα αἶμα πολὺ ἄνηκε.

9 Ἑπεφώρων δὲ οὖν πάντων ὁμοίως ἔπι τούτως ὄντων ἐν μὲν τῷ ἔστει ἑκείνω πλέον οὐδὲν ἐγένετο. ὦ τε γὰρ Καῖσαρ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰ χρήματα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου παρόντα ἠσθενοῦ, καθιστάμενος οὐκ ἦδυνθη πρὸ τοῦ χείρος ἀπαντήσας: καὶ ἐκείνος ᾠρίσθη μὲν ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τὸν πόλεμον ἀδοκήτως σφίσει ποιησόμενος, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Κέρκυραν, καὶ πυθόμενος τὰς ναυς τὰς πρόπλους τὰς ἐς τὴν προσκοπὴν αὐτοῦ πεμφθείσας περὶ τὰ Κεραύνια ὅργα ναυλοχείων, ὑπετόπησεν αὐτὸν τὸν Καῖσαρα μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ ναυτικοῦ αὖθισαί, καὶ οὐκέτι περαιτέρω προεχωρησεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον (ἡδὴ γὰρ ἐκ μετοπώρου ἢν) ἀναπλεύσας αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν Πάτραις παρεχείμασεν, τοὺς δὲ δὴ στρατιώτας πανταχόσε 

1 ἐμελλον M, ἐμελλεν V. 2 ἐπειτα Xyl., ἐπὶ τὰ VM. 3 καισαρείους Xiph. Zon., καισαρείους VM. 4 ποιησόμενοι V, ποιησόμενος Μ. 5 πανταχόσε Zon., πανταχόθεν VM.
Romans on whom would fall the brunt of the fighting on both sides alike, and it was fated that many should perish in each army at this time and that afterward all the survivors should belong to the victor. In the case of Antony, an omen of his defeat was given beforehand by the children in Rome; for although nobody suggested it, they formed two parties, of which one called itself the Antonians and the other the Caesarians, and they fought with each other for two days, when those who bore Antony's name were defeated. And his death was portended by what happened to a statue of him that stood on the Alban Mount beside that of Jupiter; for in spite of its being of marble it sent forth streams of blood.

All alike were excited over these events, yet in that year nothing further took place. For Caesar, on his part, was busy settling matters in Italy, especially when he discovered the presence of money sent by Antony, and so could not go to the front before winter; and as for Antony, although he set out with the intention of carrying the war into Italy before they should suspect his movements, yet when he came to Corecyra and ascertained that the advance guard of ships sent to reconnoitre his position was lying off the Ceraunian mountains, he suspected that Caesar himself with all his fleet had arrived, and hence proceeded no farther. Instead, he sailed back to the Peloponnesus, the season being already late autumn, and passed the winter at Patrae, distributing his soldiers in every direction in order that they might keep guard over
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diēpempyev, ìna tά te χωρία φυλάττωσι καὶ τῶν
4 ἐπιτηδείων ῥάον εὐπορώσι. κἂν τοῦτῳ ἦλθον μὲν
καὶ ἐθελονταί παρ’ ἄμφοτέρων αὐτῶν πρὸς ἐκατέ-
ρους καὶ βουλευταί καὶ ἄλλοι τινές, εἶλοι δὲ καὶ
κατάσκοπος ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάισαρος Δοῦκιος Μέσσιος·
καὶ αὐτοὶ καίπερ τῶν ἐν τῇ Περουσίᾳ¹ πρότερον
ἀλόντων ὄντα ἀφήκε, πᾶσαν οἱ τὴν ἕαυτοῦ δύναμιν
5 προεπίδειξας. τῷ τε Ἀντώνιῳ ἐπέστειλεν ὅτως
ἡ ἀναχωρήσῃ ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ὑπὸν δρόμον
ἡμερήσιον καὶ ἐφ' ἄδεως προσπλέυσαι ἐπὶ τῷ
ἐντὸς πέντε ἠμέρων συμμίξαι σφας, ἡ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ
6 τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περαιωθῇ, οὐχ ὅτι τι3
γενήσεσθαι σφων ἐνόμιζεν (ὁ γούν⁴ Ἀντώνιος
πολλά τε αὐτοῦ κατεγέλασε, καὶ ἐἰπεν "καὶ τάς
ἂμιν δικάσει, ἂν τι παρά τὰ συγκείμενα πραξῆθη");" ἀλλ' ὅτι τοῖς τε ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώταις θάρσος καὶ
τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐκπληξῖν ἐμβαλεῖν ἐκ τούτον προσ-
edókησε.

10 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ ταύτα ἦσαν μὲν ὑπατοὶ ἐς τὸ ἐχό-
μενον ἔτος ὁ τε Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος προαπο-
δεδειγμένου τότε ὅτε ἐσ τά ὀκτὼ ἔτη τὰς ἀρχὰς
ἐσάπαξ προκατεστήσαντο, καὶ τὸ γε τελευταῖον
ἔκεινον ἡν' παραλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀντώνιου, ὥστερ
ἐἴπον, ὁ Μεσσάλας ⁵ Οὐαλέριος ὁ προγραφεὶς
2 ποτε ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑπῆτεις μετὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος. κἂν
τούτῳ ἀνθρωπίς τέ τις μανιώδης ἐς τὸ θεάτρον ἐν
πανηγύρει τινὶ ἐσπερῆσαι τόν στέφανον τοῦ τοῦ
προτέρου Καίσαρος ἀνείλετο καὶ περεῖθετο, καὶ
dιεσπάσθη ⁶ ὑπὸ τῶν περιεστηκότων· καὶ λύκος τε

¹ Περουσία Χυλ., γερουσια VM.
2 ἐφ' Πλυρκ., ἐφ' VM. ³ τι Μ, om. V.
4 γούν Bk., δ' οὖν VM. ⁵ δ supplied by Bk.
⁶ διεσπάσθη M, περιεσπάσθη V.

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the strategic points and secure more easily an abundance of provisions. Meanwhile men were going over voluntarily from each party to the other side, senators as well as others, and Caesar caught a spy, Lucius Messius; but he released him, in spite of his being one of the men who had previously been captured at Perusia, after having first showed him his entire force. And Caesar sent Antony a letter, bidding him either withdraw from the sea a day's journey on horseback and permit him to land in security, on condition that they should join battle within five days, or else cross over to Italy himself on the same understanding. He did not, of course, expect that anything would come of it, and indeed Antony made a great deal of fun of him, saying, "Who will be our arbitrator if the compact is transgressed in any way?" But he hoped to inspire his own soldiers with courage and his opponents with terror by making this demand.

As consuls for the next year after this Caesar and Antony had been appointed at the time when they settled the offices for eight years at once,¹ and this was the last year of the period; but as Antony had been deposed, as I have stated,² Valerius Messalla, who had once been proscribed by them,³ became consul with Caesar. About this time a madman rushed into the theatre at one of the festivals and seized the crown of the former Caesar and put it on, whereupon he was torn to pieces by the bystanders. A

¹ Cf. xlviii. 35. ² Cf. chap. 4. ³ Cf. xlvii. 11.
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ēs 1 τὸ Τυχαίον ἑπίπττων συνελήφθη καὶ κατε-
3 σφάγη, κύων τε κύια ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ παρ’ αὐτὴν
τὴν ἄμιλλαν τῶν ἱππῶν κατειργάσατο καὶ κατέ-
φαγε. καὶ πῦρ ἄλλα τε οὐκ ὁλίγα καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ
ἱπποδρόμου πολὺ τὸ τε Δημήτριον καὶ ἔτερον ναὸν
4 Ἐλπίδος ἐφθειρεν. ἔδοξαν μὲν γὰρ οἱ ἐξελεύθεροι
αὐτὸ πεποιηκέναιν: πᾶσι γὰρ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλία
αὐτῶν οὐσι καὶ πέντε μυριάδων οὐσίαν ἥ καὶ
πλεῖον κεκτημένοις τὸ ὄγδοον αὐτῆς συντελέσαι
ἐκελεύσθη, κὰκ τούτου καὶ ταραχαὶ καὶ φόνοι
καὶ ἐμπρήσεις ὑπ’ 2 αὐτῶν πολλαὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ
οὐ πρῶτον γε κατέστησαν πρῶτοι τοῖς ὑπὸ
5 καταδαμασθῆναι. ἀφ’ οὖπερ καὶ οἱ ἐξελεύθεροι οἱ
τί χωρίων ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κεκτημένοι φοβηθέντες
ἡσύχασαν. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τὸ τέταρτον τῆς
ἐπετησίας προσόδον δοῦναι προσετάχθη, μελλη-
σαντες τε ἐπὶ τούτω κινηθήσεσθαι οὐδὲν ἐμὶ νεοχ-
μῶσαι ἐτὸλμησαν, ἀλλ’ ἀμαχεῖ καὶ ἄκοντες αὐτὸ
6 συνεσährεντας. ἔδοξε μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦθ’ ὑπὸ τῶν
ἀπελευθέρων τὸ πῦρ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς γεγονέναι, οὐ
μέντοι ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ ἐσ τὰ πάνω τέρατα διὰ τὸ
τῶν καυνθέντων πλῆθος ἐσεγράφη.

11 Τοιούτων δὴ σημείων προφανέντων σφύσιν οὔτε
ἐφοβήθησαν οὔθ’ ἤττον τι ἐπολέμησαν, ἀλλὰ τῶν
μὲν χειμῶνα κατασκοπάς τε χρώμενοι καὶ παρα-
λυτοῦντες ἀλλήλους διετέλεσαν (ὅ γὰρ Καῖσαρ
ἐξανήχθη μὲν ἕκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καὶ ἐπλευσε
μέχρι τῆς Κερκύρας ὡς καὶ ἀπρόσδοκητος τοῖς
πρὸς τῷ Ἄκτιῳ ὀρμοῦσιν ἐπιθησόμενος, χειμῶνι
2 δὲ περιπεσῶν καὶ ποινηθεῖς ἀνεχώρησε), τοῦ δὲ δὴ

1 τε ἐς Bk., ἐς τε VM.
2 ὑπ’ St., ἀπ’ VM.

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wolf was caught as it was running into the temple of Fortune and killed, and in the Circus at the very time of the horse-race a dog killed and devoured another dog. Fire also consumed a considerable portion of the Circus itself, along with the temple of Ceres, another shrine dedicated to Spes, and a large number of other structures. The freedmen were thought to have caused this; for all of them who were in Italy and possessed property worth two hundred thousand sestertes or more had been ordered to contribute an eighth of it. This resulted in numerous riots, murders, and the burning of many buildings on their part, and they were not brought to order until they were subdued by armed force. In consequence of this the freemen who held any land in Italy grew frightened and kept quiet; for they also had been ordered to give a quarter of their annual income, and though they were on the point of rebelling against this extortion, they were not bold enough after what had just happened to make any disturbance, but reluctantly brought in their contributions without resort to arms. Therefore it was believed that the fire was due to a plot originated by the freedmen; yet this did not prevent it from being recorded among the out-and-out portents, because of the number of buildings burned.

Although such omens had appeared to them, the two leaders neither were dismayed nor relaxed their preparations for war, but spent the winter in spying upon and annoying each other. For Caesar had set sail from Brundisium and had proceeded as far as Corcyra, intending to attack while off their guard the enemy forces lying off Actium, but he encountered a storm and received damage which caused him to withdraw.
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κέρος ο μέν ’Αντώνιος ούδαμή ἐκινήθη (οί τε γὰρ τριπλῆται, ἀτε καὶ σύμμικτοι ἐκ παντοδαπῶν ἔθνων ὄντες καὶ πόρρω ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ χειμάζοντες, οὔτε τινὰ ἄσκησιν ἐπεποίητο καὶ νόσῳ αὐτομολάις 3 τε ἡλάττωντο· καὶ ο ’Αγρίππας τῆν τε Μεθώνην ἐκ προσβολῆς λαβὼν καὶ τὸν Βογούαν ἐν αὐτῇ κτείνας, τὰς τε κατάρσεις τῶν ὁλκᾶν ἑπιτηρῶν καὶ ἀποθάσεις ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ποιούμενοι, ἵσχυρὸς αὐτῶν ἐτάραττεν), ὁ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρ ἐπὶ τε τούτοις θαρσήσας καὶ βουληθεὶς ὅτι τάχιστα τῇ τού στρατεύματος ὄρμη λαμπρῶς ἕσκημένου χρήσασθαι, τὸν τε πόλεμον καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνου μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ 5 καὶ πρὸς τῇ Ῥώμῃ ποιήσασθαι, πάντας μὲν τοὺς στρατιώτας ὃν τι ὀφελοῦν ἦν, πάντας δὲ τοὺς τι δυναμένους καὶ τῶν βολευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον συνήγαγε, τοὺς μὲν ὅπως τι συμπράξωσιν αὐτῷ, τοὺς δ’ ὅπως μηδέν μονωθέντες νεοχμώσωσι, τὸ τε μέγιστον ὅπως ἐνδείξηται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅτι καὶ τὸ πλείστον καὶ τὸ κράτιστον 6 τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁμογνωμονοῦν ἔχοι. καντεύθην τακτόν τε τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀριθμὸν πᾶσιν ἐπαγαγέσθαι καὶ τῇ τροφῇ αὐτοῦς ἐαυτοῖς, πλὴν τῶν στρατιώτων, ἐπικομίσασθαι κελεύσας, ἀθρόω τῇ παρασκευῇ τοῦ Ἰόνιου διέβαλεν. ἤγε δὲ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον οὐδ’ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀντώνιος, ἄλλα πρὸς τὸ Ἀκτιον, ἐν φ’ τὸ πλεῖον αὐτῷ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ὄρμει, εἰ πώς σφας ἐθελοντας ἦ καὶ ἄκοντας προπαραστήσαιτο· 4

1 ἡλάττωντο Ζον., ἡλαττώντο VM.
2 μεθώνη Ζον., μοθώνη M.
3 ἐπαγαγέσθαι Rk., ἐπαγαγέσθαι VM.
4 προπαραστήσαιτο Bk., προπαραστήσαιτο VM.

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BOOK L

When spring came, Antony made no move at any point; for the crews that manned his triremes were made up of all sorts of races, and as they had been wintering at a distance from him, they had had no practice and their numbers had been diminished by disease and desertions. Moreover Agrippa had captured Methone by storm and killed Bogud there, and was now watching for the merchant vessels that came to land and was making descents from time to time on various parts of Greece, all of which disturbed Antony greatly. But Caesar was encouraged by this and wished to bring into play as soon as possible the enthusiasm of his army, which was splendidly trained, and to wage the war in Greece near his rival's bases rather than in Italy near Rome. Therefore he assembled all his troops that were of any value, and likewise all the men of influence, both senators and knights, at Brundisium, wishing to make the first cooperate with him and to keep the others from beginning a rebellion as they might if left by themselves, but chiefly with the purpose of showing to all the world that he had the largest and strongest element among the Romans in sympathy with himself. From Brundisium he sent orders to all these that they should take along with them a stated number of servants and also, except in the case of the soldiers, should carry with them their own supplies. Thereupon he crossed the Ionian Gulf with the entire array. He was leading them, not to the Peloponnesus or against Antony, but toward Actium, where the greater part of his rival's fleet was at anchor, to see if he could forestall Antony by gaining possession of it, willing or unwilling.

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Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν τε πεξὼν ὑπὸ τὰ ὅρη τὰ

2 Κεραύνια ἐκβιβάσας ἐκεῖσε ἐπεμψε, καὶ αὐτὸς
tαις ναυσὶ τὴν Κέρκυραν ἐκλειψθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν
ἐμφρουροῦντων λαβὼν ἐς τὸν λιμένα τὸν γλυκὸν
όμομασμένον κατέσχε (καλεῖται δὲ οὕτως ὅτι
πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐσβάλλοντος
γλυκαίνεται), καὶ ναῦσταθμὸν τε ἐν αὐτῷ ἐποιή-
σατο καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ὀρμώμενος ἐπὶ τὸ "Ἀκτιων
3 ἐπέπλει.1 ὡς δ' οὖδεὶς οἱ οὕτ' ἀντανήγετο οὐτ'
ἐς λόγους ἤμει, καὶ τοι δυνον αὐτοῦ θέτερον ἦ πρὸς
ὁμολογίαν σφᾶς ἢ πρὸς μάχην προκαλουμένου
(τὴν μὲν γὰρ τῇ πίστει τὴν δὲ τῷ δέει οὐκ ἐδέ-
χοντο), κατέλαβε τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ἐν ὧν νῦν ἦ

4 Νικόπολις ἔστι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ μετεφώρυ, θέν
ἐπὶ πάντα ὁμοίως τῆς τε ἔξω τῆς πρὸς Πάξους
θαλάσσης καὶ τῆς ἐἰσώ 2 τῆς Ἀμπρακικῆς τῆς τε
ἐν τῷ μέσῳ αὐτῶν, ἐν τῷ οἱ λιμενείς οἱ πρὸς τῇ
Νικόπολει εἰσίν, ἀποττόν ἐστιν, ἱδρύθη. καὶ
αὐτὸ τε ἐκρατύνατο καὶ τείχῃ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸν

5 λιμένα τὸν ἔξω τὸν Κόμαρον καθήκε, καὶ τοῦτον
καὶ ἐφόδρευε καὶ ἐφώρμει τῷ Ἀκτιω καὶ κατὰ
γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. ἤδη μὲν γὰρ ἦκουσα
ὅτι καὶ τριήρεις ἐκ τῆς ἔξω θαλάσσης ἐς τὸν
κόλπον διὰ τοῦ τειχίσματος ύπερήνεγκε, βύρσαις
νεόδαρτοις ἀντὶ ὀλκῶν ἑλαίω ἑπαληλυμέναις

6 χρησάμενος· ἔχω δ' οὖδεν ἔργον τῶν νεὼν τοὐτῶν
ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ γενόμενον ἐπείν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ
πιστεύσαι τῷ μυθολογήματι δύναμαι· οὖδε γὰρ
οὖδὲ σμικρὸν τὸ πράγμα ἢν, διὰ χωρίου οὖτως
ὁλίγου καὶ ἀνωμάλου τριήρεις ἐπὶ βυρσῶν δια-

1 ἐπέπλει Pflugk, ἀπέπλει VM.
2 ἐἰσώ BS., ἐσῷ M, ἔξω V.

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With this object in view Caesar disembarked the cavalry at the foot of the Ceraunian mountains and sent them to the point mentioned, while he himself with his ships seized Corcyra, which had been deserted by the garrisons there, and come to anchor in the Fresh Harbour, so named because it is made fresh by the river which empties into it. There he established a naval station, and with that as his base made excursions to Actium. But no one came out to meet him or would hold parley with him, though he challenged them to do one of two things—either come to terms or give battle. But the first alternative they would not accept because of their confidence, nor the second, because of their fear. He then occupied the site where Nicopolis now stands, and took up a position on high ground there from which there is a view over all the outer sea around the Paxos islands and over the inner, or Ambracian, gulf, as well as over the intervening waters, in which are the harbours of Nicopolis. This spot he fortified, and he constructed walls from it down to Comarus, the outer harbour, and consequently commanded Actium by land and sea, watching it from above with his army and blockading it with his fleet. I have even heard the report that he actually transported triremes from the outer sea to the gulf by way of the fortifications, using newly flayed hides smeared with olive oil instead of runways, yet I am unable to name any exploit of these ships inside the gulf and therefore cannot believe the tradition; for it certainly would have been no small task to draw triremes over so narrow and uneven a tract

1 Paxos and Antipaxos.
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7 γαγεῖν. τούτο μὲν οὖν οὕτω λέγεται γενέσθαι τὸ δ' Ἀκτίον Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἔστι, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ πορθμοῦ τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Ἀμπρακικοῦ κατ' ἀντιπέρας τῶν πρὸς τῇ Νικοπόλει λιμένων κεῖται. ὁ τε πορθμὸς ἵσος ἐπὶ πολὺ διὰ στενοῦ τείνει, καὶ ἔστι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντα καὶ ἐνορμίσασθαι καὶ ἐναυλοχήσασθαι.

8 ταῦτ' οὖν προκατασχόντες οἱ Ἀντώνιείοι ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος πύργους ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπωκοδόμησαν καὶ τὸ μέσον ναυσὶ διέλαβον, ὡστε σφίσι καὶ τῶν ἐκπλουσ καὶ τὰς ἀναχωρήσεις ἀσφαλεῖς εἶναι. αὐτοὶ τε ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ πορθμοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἐρόν, ἐν χωρίῳ ὀμαλῷ μὲν καὶ πλατεῖ, ἐμμαχέσασθαι δὲ ἡ ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἐπιτη- δειστέρῳ, ἐνυπλίζοντο. ἐξ οὕτε ὦχ ἥκιστα τῇ νόσῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ χειμώνι, καὶ ἐν τῷ θερεί πολὺ μᾶλλον, ἐπιέσθησαν.

13 Ὅ δ' οὖν Ἀντώνιος ἑπειδὴ τάχιστα τὴν τοῦ Καῖσαρος ἀφίξειν ἐπύθετο, οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ Ἀκτίον μετὰ τῶν συνόντων οἱ ἥπειροι. καὶ ἤλθε μὲν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς ἀγώνων εὐθὺς κατέστη, καίτοι ἐκεῖνου τοῦ τολμοῦ πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου σφῶν συνεχῶς προπαρα- τάσσοντος καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ πολλάκις σφίσιν ἐπιπλέοντος, τὰς τὸς ὀλκάδας αὐτῶν κατάγοντος, ὡς πρὶν πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν συνεθεῖν, μό-

3 νοις τοῖς τότε παροῦσιν οἱ συμμίξης ἐκ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦτον οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἐς ἀπαν ἀναρρήψαι, ἀλλὰ

1 ἵσος R. Steph., ἵσως VM.
2 Some adjective such as ἐπιτήδεια (R. Steph.), ἕριστα (Bk.), or πᾶν καλά (v. Herw.) has fallen out in the latter part of this sentence.
3 θάτερα τοῦ Rk., θατέρου VM. ἅπαν Bk., αὐτὸν VM.

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of land on hides. Nevertheless, this feat is said to have been accomplished in the manner described. Now Actium is a place sacred to Apollo and is situated in front of the mouth of the strait leading into the Ambracian Gulf opposite the harbours of Nicopolis. This strait extends for a long distance in a narrow course of uniform breadth, and both it and all the waters in front of it furnish an excellent place in which to anchor and lie in wait. The forces of Antony had occupied these positions in advance, had built towers on each side of the mouth, and had stationed ships in the intervening waters at intervals so that they could both sail out and return in safety. The men were encamped on the farther side of the narrows, beside the sanctuary, in a level and broad space, which, however, was more suitable as a place for fighting than for encamping; it was because of this fact more than any other that they suffered severely from disease, not only during the winter, but much more during the summer.

As soon as Antony learned of Caesar's arrival he did not delay, but hastened to Actium with his followers. And he arrived there not long afterwards, but did not at once risk an encounter, though Caesar constantly drew up his infantry in battle order in front of the enemy's camp, often sailed against them with his ships and carried off their transports, with the object of joining battle with only such as were then present, before Antony's entire command should assemble. For this very reason the latter was unwilling to stake his all on the cast, and he had
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πείραις καὶ ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐχρήσατο, μέχρις οὗ τὰ στρατεύματα συνελέξατο. τούτοις δὲ, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος μηκέθ', ὁμοίως ἐγκεκριμένον, τὸν τε πορθμὸν ἐπιτιθέν ἦκαὶ
4 οὐ πόρρω αὐτοῦ ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο, κὰκ τούτων καὶ ἰππικῶν περὶ τῶν κόλπων περιπέμψας ἀμφο-
tέρωθεν αὐτῷ προσήδρευεν. ὁ οὖν Καίσαρ αὐτὸς μὲν ἡσύχαξε δὲ καὶ οὐδὲν ἐτι κύνδυνον αὐθαίρετον ἀνηρεῖτο, ἐς δὴ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὴν τε Μακεδονίαν ἐπεμψε τινάς, ὅπως τὸν Ἄντώνιον πρὸς ἐκεῖνα
5 ἀπαγάγῃ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταύτ' ἐπραττόν, Αγρίππας δὲ τότε μὲν τὴν τε Δευκάδα καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ σκάφη αἰφνιδίως ἐπεσπλέυσας ἔλαβε, καὶ Πάτρας ἐλεῖ
Κύντον Νασίδιον1 ναυμαχία νικήσας, ὠστερὸν δὲ καὶ τὴν Κόρινθον παρεστήσατο. ὥς οὖν ταύτα τε συνέβη, καὶ ὁ Τίτιος ὁ Μάρκος ὃ τε Ταύρος ὁ Στατίλιος τὸ τε ἰππικὸν τοῦ Ἄντωνίου ἐξαίφνης ἐπεκδραμόντες ἐκράτησαν καὶ Φιλάδελφον βασι-
6 λεά Παφλαγονίας προσποιήσαντο, καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Δομίτιος ὁ Γναῖος ἀχθεσθεὶς τι τῇ Κλεο-
pάτρᾳ μετέστη,—καὶ χρήσιμος μὲν οὐδὲν τῷ Καίσαρι ἐγένετο (νοσήσας γὰρ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐτελεύτησεν), ἔδοξε δ' οὖν2 ὡς καὶ κατεγνωκός τῶν πραγμάτων παρ' οἷς ἦν ηὐτομοληκέναι (καὶ
7 γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι αὐτῶν συχνοὶ ἐμιμήσαντο),—οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ὁ Ἄντωνιος ἐθάρρει, ἀλλ' ὑπετόπει τε πάντας καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν ἐκ τούτου ἄλλους τε καὶ Ἰάμβλιχον Ἀραβίων τινῶν βασιλέα βασανίσας, Κύντον τε Ποστούμιον ἑυλευτὴν διασπάσασθαι τις ἐπιτρέψας. καὶ τέλος φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ὁ Δέλλιος ὁ Κύντος ὁ τε Ἀμύντας ὁ Γαλάτης

1 Nasídi: Reim., ἀσίδιον VM. 2 οὖν Leuncl., γοῦν VM.
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recourse for several days to feeling out his enemy and to skirmishes until he had gathered his legions. With these, especially since Caesar no longer kept assailing him as before, he crossed the narrows and encamped not far from him, after which he sent cavalry around the gulf and thus invested him on both sides. Caesar, accordingly, remained quiet himself, and no longer accepted any encounter which he could avoid, but sent some troops into Greece and Macedonia with the intention of drawing Antony off in that direction. While they were so engaged Agrippa made a sudden dash with his fleet and captured Leucas and the vessels which were there, took Patrae by conquering Quintus Nasidius in a sea-fight, and later reduced Corinth also. Accordingly, when all this had happened, and when Marcus Titius and Statilius Taurus made a sudden charge upon Antony’s cavalry and defeated it and won over Philadelphus, king of Paphlagonia, and meanwhile Gnaeus Domitius, having some grievance against Cleopatra, transferred his allegiance also,—to be sure, he proved of no service to Caesar, since he fell sick and died not long after, yet he created the impression that it was because of his disapproval of the situation on the side on which he was that he had deserted to the other, for many others followed his example,—Antony no longer felt the same confidence, but was suspicious of everybody. For this reason he tortured and put to death, among others, Iamblichus, king of a tribe of the Arabians, and handed over Quintus Postumius, a senator, to be torn asunder. Finally he became afraid that Quintus Dellius and Amyntas, the Galatian, who, as it chanced,
(ἔτυχον δὲ ἐπὶ μισθοφόρους ἐσ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ ἐς τῇ Θράκην πεπεμμένοι) τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀνθέλωνται, ἀφρίσει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ ἐπικούρησων σφίσιν, ἀν τι πολέμιον προσπέσῃ.

14 καὶ τούτῳ ναυμαχία τις ἐγένετο. ὁ γὰρ Σόσσιος Δουκίοιο Ταρρίου ναυσίν ὀλίγας ἐφορμοῦντός σφίσιν ἐλπίσας ἀξίων τι λόγου πράξειν, ἀν πρὶν τὸν Ἀγρίππαν, ὁ πάν τὸ ναυτικόν ἐπετέρπατο,

2 ἐπελθεῖν, συμβάλλη αὐτῷ, ἐξανήχθη τε ἐξαπιστῶς ὑπὸ τὴν ἑω, ὀμίχλην βαθείαν τηρήσας ἵνα μὴ τὸ πλῆθὸς σφῶν προίδων φύγη, καὶ παραχώμα τῇ πρῶτῃ προσβολῇ τρεψάμενος αὐτὸν ἐπεδίωξε μὲν, οὐχ ἐιλὲ δὲ τοῦ γὰρ Ἀγρίππου κατὰ τῆς ἀπαντήσαντός οἱ οὐ μόνον οὐδέν τῆς νίκης ἀπώνυτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσδιεφθάρη μετά τε τοῦ Ταρκούνιδιμότου καὶ μετ’ ἄλλων πολλῶν.

3 Ὁ οὖν Ἀντώνιος διὰ τὸ τοῦτο, καὶ ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπανελθὼν ἰππομαχία τινὶ πρὸς τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος προφυλακῆς ήττήθη, οὐκέτ’ ἐγὼν δίχα στρατοπεδεύεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἐκλιπὼν τῆς νυκτὸς τὸ πλησίον τῶν ἐναντίων τάφρευμα ἀνεχώρησεν ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ πορθμοῦ, εὔθα αὐτῷ τὸ πλέον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἡνίξετο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια αὐτῶν, ὅτε καὶ τῆς σιτοποιμίας εἰργόμενον, ἐπιλείπειν ἥρχετο, διαγνώμην ἐποιήσατο πότερον κατὰ χώραν μείναντες διακινδυνεύσωσιν ἡ μεταστάντες που χρόνῳ τῶν πόλεμον διενέγκωσιν.

1 δίχα στρατοπεδεύεσθαι Bk., διαστρατοπεδεύεσθαι VM.

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had been sent into Macedonia and Thrace to secure mercenaries, would espouse Caesar's cause, and he set out to overtake them, pretending that he wished to render them assistance in case any hostile force should attack them. And in the meantime a naval battle occurred. Lucius Tarius, it seems, was anchored with a few ships opposite Sosius, who hoped to achieve a notable success by attacking him before the arrival of Agrippa, to whom the whole fleet had been entrusted. Accordingly, Sosius waited for a thick mist, so that Tarius should not beforehand become aware of his numbers and flee, and suddenly sailed out just before dawn and immediately at the first assault routed his opponent and pursued him, but failed to capture him; for Agrippa by chance met Sosius on the way, so that he not only gained nothing from the victory, but perished, together with Tarcondimotus and many others.

Now, because of this reverse and because Antony himself on his return had been defeated in a cavalry battle by Caesar's advance guard, he decided not to let his men encamp thereafter in two different places, and so during the night he left the intrenchments which were near his opponents and retired to the other side of the narrows, where the larger part of his army was encamped. And when provisions also began to fail him because he was shut off from bringing in grain, he held a council to deliberate whether they should remain where they were and hazard an encounter or should move somewhere else.

1 L. Tarius Rufus.

2 If the text is correct, Dio here is guilty of a singular error, inasmuch as he later in two different places (li. 2, 4, and lvi. 38, 2) agrees with our other authorities in naming Sosius as one of those later pardoned by Octavian.
15 εἰπόντων δὲ ἄλλων ἄλλα ἐνίκησεν ἡ Κλεοπάτρα, τά τε ἐπικαιρότατα τῶν χωρίων φρουραίς παρα-
δοθῆναι καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐς τὴν Ἀγίππου μεθ' ἐαυτῶν ἀπάραι συμβουλεύσασα. ταύτην γὰρ
τὴν γυνώμην ἐσχένε, ἐπειδὴ ύπὸ σημεῖων ἐταράχθη.
2 χελιδόνες τε γὰρ περὶ τε τὴν σκηνήν αὐτῆς καὶ
ἐν τῇ νητῇ στρατηγίδι, ἐφ' ἃς ἐπέπλεξε, ἐνεότευ-
σαν, καὶ γάλα αἰμα τε ἐκ κηροῦ ἐρρύη· τὰς τε
ἐκόνας αὐτῶν, ὡς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει
τὸ τῶν θεῶν σχῆμα ἔχουσας ἑστηκαν, κεραυνοῖς
3 ἐς τὸ θέατρον κατήραξαν. ἐκ τε οὕν τούτων καὶ
ἐκ τῆς τοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ ἀθυμίας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
καὶ ἁρρωστίας ἡ Κλεοπάτρα αὐτῇ τε ἔδεισε καὶ
tὸν 'Αὐτώνιον ἐξεφόβησεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ κρύφα,
ἢ καὶ φανερῶς ὡς καὶ φεύγουτε, ἐκπλεύσας, μή
cαὶ ἐς δέος τοὺς συμμάχους ἐμβάλωσιν, ἡθέλη-
sαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν παρασκευαζόμενον.2
ἐς ἀμα, ἀν τι ἀνθιστηται, βιάσωνται τὸν ἐκ-
πλουν. κὰς τούτοι πρότον μὲν τὰ ἄριστα τῶν
σκαφῶν, ἐπειδὴ ἐλάττουσι οἱ ναυταί ἐκ τε τῆς
φθορᾶς καὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐτομολίας ἐγεγόνεσαν, ἐπι-
λεξόμενοι τὰ λοιπὰ κατέπρησαν, ἐπειτα δὲ νῦκτωρ
πάντα τὰ τιμωτάτα λαθραίως3 ἐς αὐτὰς ἐσε-
φόρησαν. ἐπειδὴ τὶ ζωτικὴ ἦν, συνεκάλεσεν ὁ
'Αὐτώνιος τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἐπε τοιάδε·

16 "Ὁσα μὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ προσήκον ἡν ἐκπορισθήμαι
πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, πάνθ' ἱκανῶς, ὃ ἄνδρες στρα-
tιῶται, προπαρεσκεύασται. καὶ γὰρ πλῆθος πολὺ
υμῶν ἐστί, πὰν ὃ τι περ ἄνθος καὶ παρὰ τῶν

1 κηροῦ R. Steph., κηροὺς VM.
2 παρασκευαζόμενοι Zon., παρασκευαζόμενοι VM.
3 λαθραίως Reim., λάθρας ως M, λάθρα ως V.
and protract the war. After various opinions had been expressed by different men, Cleopatra prevailed with her advice that they should entrust the best strategic positions to garrisons, and that the rest should depart with herself and Antony to Egypt. She had reached this opinion as the result of being disturbed by omens. For swallows had built their nests about her tent and on the flagship, on which she was sailing, and milk and blood together had dripped from beeswax; also the statues of herself and Antony in the guise of gods, which the Athenians had placed on their Acropolis, had been hurled down by thunderbolts into the theatre. In consequence of these portents and of the resulting dejection of the army, and of the sickness prevalent among them, Cleopatra herself became alarmed and filled Antony with fears. They did not wish, however, to sail out secretly, nor yet openly, as if they were in flight, lest they should inspire their allies also with fear, but rather as if they were making preparations for a naval battle, and incidentally in order that they might force their way through in case there should be any resistance. Therefore they first chose out the best of the vessels and burned the rest, since the sailors had become fewer by death and desertion; next they secretly put all their most valuable possessions on board by night. Then when the ships were ready, Antony called his soldiers together and spoke as follows:

"The preparations for the war which it was my duty to attend to have all been adequately made, soldiers, in advance. First, there is your immense throng, all the chosen flower of our dependents and

\(^1\) Cf. chap. 12 (end).
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υπηκόων καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐξειλεγμένων καὶ παντὸς εἶδουσ μάχης, ὥσα γε καὶ παρ' ἥμιν νομίζεται, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον χειροτέχνας ἐστὶ ὡστε καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐκαστοὶ φοβεροὶ τοῖς ἀντιπάλοις 2 εἶναι. ὥρατε 3 δὲ ποὺ καὶ αὐτὸι ὅσον μὲν καὶ οἶον ναυτικὸν ἔχομεν, ὅσους δὲ καὶ οἶους ὅπλας ἰππέας σφευδονήτας πελταστὰς τοξότας ἰπποτοξότας· ὅπ τὰ μὲν πλεῖό υἱὸν ὑπάρχει ἀρχὴν τοῖς ἑναυτίοις, ὥσα δὲ κέκτηνται, πολὺ ἐλάττωνα καὶ ἀσθενέστερα τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐστὶ. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὀλίγα καὶ ταῦτα έκ συντελείας βιαίου πεπορισμένα οὔτ' ἄν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐξαρκέσειν ἄν, καὶ τοὺς συνεσεμνοχότας αὐτὰ οἰκειοτέρους ἥμιν ἣ τοῖς λαβοῦσι πεποίηκεν εἶναι, ὡστε μήτ' ἄλλως εὐνοίκως σφας αὐτοῖς 4 ἔχειν καὶ προσετί καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ στασιάζειν ἥμιν δὲ ἐκ περιουσίας παρεσκευασμένα οὔτε λελύπηκέ τινα καὶ πάντας ἥμισ τραυλῆσει.

17 "Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τοσοῦτοι τε καὶ τοιούτοις οὔσιν ὁκνησα μὲν ἄλλως αὐτὸς περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ σεμνόν τι εἰπεῖν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ τοῦθ' ἐν τῶν πρὸς τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κράτος φερόντων ἑστὶ καὶ μέγιστον γε παρὰ πᾶσιν ἄνθρώποις εἶναι πεπίστευται, λέγω δὲ τὸ καὶ 4 στρατηγοῦ τίνος ἀρίστου τοὺς καλὸς πολεμήσοντας τυχεῖν, ἀναγκαίοτατον μοι τὸν περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ λόγον αὐτὴν 5 ἡ χρεία πεποίηκε, ἐν] ἐπὶ μᾶλλον εἰδήτε τοῦθ', ὥστι αὐτοὶ τε τοιοῦτοι ἐστε οἴοι καὶ ἂνευ ἀρχοντος ἀγαθοῦ νικῶν, καὶ ἐγὼ τοιοῦτος

1 ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον Bk., καὶ τοσοῦτοι VM.
2 ὥρατε R. Steph., ὥραται VM.
3 αὐτοῖς Oddey, αὐτοὺς VM.
4 τὸ καὶ Rk., καὶ τὸ VM. 5 αὐτὴ Bk., αὐτὴ VM.

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allies; and to such a degree are you masters of every form of combat that is in vogue among us that each of you, unsupported, is formidable to your adversaries. Again, you yourselves surely see how large and how fine a fleet we have, and how many fine hoplites, cavalry, slingers, peltasts, archers, and mounted archers. Most of these arms are not found at all on the other side, and those that they have are much fewer and far less powerful than ours. Moreover, their funds are scanty, and that, too, though they have been raised by forced contributions and cannot last long, and at the same time they have rendered the contributors better disposed toward us than toward the men who took their money; hence the population is in no way favourable to them, and is on the point of open revolt besides. Our resources, on the other hand, drawn as they have been from our accumulations, have caused no one person to feel aggrieved, and will aid us all collectively.

"In addition to these considerations, numerous and important as they are, I hesitate on general principles to add anything personal concerning myself by way of boasting; yet since this, too, is one of the factors which contribute to victory in war, and in the opinion of all men is of supreme importance,—I mean that men who are to wage war successfully must also have an excellent general,—necessity itself has rendered quite inevitable what I shall say about myself, in order that you may realize even better than you do this truth, that you yourselves are the kind of soldiers that could win even without a good leader, and
οἶς καὶ μετὰ κακῶν στρατιωτῶν κρατεῖν δύνασθαι.

3 τήν τε γὰρ ἴλικιαν τάυτην ἄγω ἐν ἦ καὶ μάλιστα ἄνθρωποι καὶ τῷ σώματι καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ ἀκμάζουσι, καὶ μήτε τῇ τῆς νεότητος προπετέλα μήτε τῇ τοῦ γήρως ἐκλύσει κακύνονται, ἀλλ' αὕτω τὸ μέσον ἐκατέρου ἔχοντες ἔρρωνται τὰ μάλιστα.

4 καὶ προσέτι τοιαύτη μὲν φύσει τοιαύτη δὲ καὶ παιδεία κέχρημαι ὡστε καὶ γνῶναι πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα καὶ εἰπεῖν ῥάστα δύνασθαι. τήν τε ἐμπειρίαν, ἦπερ που καὶ τοὺς ἀνώτητος καὶ τοὺς ἀπαιδεύτους λόγου τινὸς ἄξιον δοκεῖν εἶναι ποιεῖ, διὰ πάντων μὲν τῶν πολιτικῶν πάντων δὲ τῶν

5 στρατιωτικῶν προσελήφθα: ἐκ τε γὰρ μειρακίου δεύτερο ἀεὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐξήτασμαι, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἡρχθην πολλὰ δὲ Ἡρξα, ἄφ' ὅν τοῦτο μὲν ὅσα τε καὶ οία χρή προστάσειν, τούτῳ δ' ὅσα καὶ οία χρή πειθαρχοῦντα πράττειν, μεμάθηκα. ἐφοβηθήναν

6 θην, ἐθάρσασα· ἐξ ὅν τοῦ μὲν τὸ μῆρα ὀμοῦ τι δεδείνα, τοῦ δὲ τὸ μῆ προχείρως ἀποτολμᾶν εἴθησμαι. εὐτύχησα, ἐπταίσα: παρ' ὅν τὸ μῆτ' ἀπογεγνώσκει τι μὴθ' ὑπερφορεῖν ἔχω.

18 "Δέγω δὲ ταύτα ἐν εἰδὸς, μάρτυρας ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἀκούοντας αὐτῶν ποιούμενος, οὐχ ἵν' ἀλλὰς τι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ κομπάσαμαι (ἰκανὸν γὰρ μοι πρὸς εὐκλεῖαν τὸ συνείδος ὑμῶν ὑπάρχει) ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ ἐκ τούτων καταμάθητε ὅσον βέλτιον τῶν ἐναντίων

2 παρεσκευάσμεθα. ἐλαττούμενοι γὰρ ἡμῶν καὶ τῷ
that I am the kind of leader that could prevail even with poor soldiers. For I am at that age when men are at their very prime, both in body and in mind, and are hampered neither by the rashness of youth nor by the slackness of old age, but are at their strongest, because they occupy the mean between these two extremes. Moreover, I have the advantage of such natural gifts and of such a training that I can with the greatest ease make the right decision in every case and give it utterance. As regards experience, which, as you know, causes even the ignorant and the uneducated to appear to be of some value, I have been acquiring that through my whole political and my whole military career. For from boyhood down to the present moment I have continually trained myself in these matters; I have been ruled much and have ruled much, and thereby I have learned, on the one hand, all the tasks of whatever kind the leader must impose, and, on the other, all the duties of whatever kind the subordinate must obediently perform. I have known fear, I have known confidence; thereby I have schooled myself, through the one, not to be afraid of anything too readily, and, through the other, not to venture on any hazard too heedlessly. I have known good fortune, I have known failure; consequently I am able to avoid both despair and excess of pride.

"I speak to you who know that what I say is true, and make you who hear it my witnesses to its truth, not with the intention of uttering idle boasts about myself,—enough for me, so far as fame is concerned, is your consciousness of it,—but to the end that you may in this way bring home to yourselves how much better we are equipped than our opponents. For
πλήθει τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν ἀμα καὶ τῶν χρημά-
tων καὶ τῷ πολυείδει τῆς παρασκευῆς, ούδεὶ τῶν
πάντων τοσοῦτον ἐλλείπουσιν ὡςον ἡ τῇ τῇ ἡλικία
καὶ τῇ ἀπειρίᾳ τοῦ στρατηγοῦντος αὐτῶν. περὶ
οὗ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐδὲν δείομαι καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἀκριβῶς
3 εἰπεῖν, κεφαλαιώσας δὲ ἐρῶ τοῦτο ὅ καὶ ὑμεῖς
ἐπίστασθε, ὅτι τε ἄρρωστότατος τῷ σώματί ἐστι,
καὶ ὡς οὐδεμία πώποτε ἐπιφανῆ μάχην οὔτε ἐν
τῇ ἡπείρῳ οὔτε ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ αὐτὸς γενικηκεν.
ἀμέλει καὶ ἐν τοῖς Φιλίπποις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀγώνι
ἔγω μὲν ἐκράτησα ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἡττηθη. 1
4 "Τοσοῦτον μὲν ἄλληλων διαφέρομεν, τὰ δὲ δὴ
πολλὰ τῶν ἁμείνων παρεσκευασμένων καὶ αἰ νῦκα
γίγνονται. εἰ δ᾽ οὖν τινα καὶ ἐκείνοι ἵσχυν ἔχουσιν,
ἄλλ' ἐν τῇ ὁπλιτικῷ καὶ κατὰ τὴν γῆν εὐροίτη
ἀν αὐτὴν οὖσαν, ταῖς δὲ δὴ ναυσίν οὐδ' ἀντάραι
5 τὸ παράπαν ἡμῖν δυνήσονται. ὅρατε γὰρ ποι καὶ
αὐτοὶ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ πάχος τῶν ἠμετέρων
σκαφῶν, ὥστε εἰ καὶ τὸν ἁμιθὸν ἵσοπαλεῖς αὐταῖς
ἐκείναι ἡςαν, ἄλλ' ὑπὸ γε τούτων οὐδὲν ἄν οὔτε
ταῖς ἐμβολαίς οὔτε ταῖς προσβολαίς ἐκακούργη-
σαν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἡ παχύτης τῶν ἅρπων, τὸ δὲ
αὐτὸ τὸ ύψος τῶν νικῶν, καὶ εἰ μηδὲς ἀπ' αὐτῶν
6 ἡμῖνετο, πάντως ἄν ἐπέσχε. ποῦ δὴ καὶ τοξοτῶν
καὶ σφενδονητῶν τοσοῦτον ἐπιπλέοντων, καὶ προσ-
ἐτι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἀνωθεν αὐτῶν ἐφικνο-
μένων, δυνήσεται τίς σφισι προσμίξει; εἰ δὲ δὴ
καὶ πλησίασει τίς, πῶς μὲν οὐκ ἄν 3 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
τοῦ πλήθους τῶν κωπῶν βαπτισθεῖν, πῶς δ' οὐκ

1 ἑκείνος δὲ ἡττήθη M, αὐτὸς δὲ ἡττήθην V.
2 προσβολαί Rk., προσβολαί VM.
3 οὐκ ἄν Bk., ἄν οὐχ M, οὐχ V.

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while they are inferior to us not only in number of troops and in abundance of money, but also in diversity of equipment, yet in no one respect are they so lacking as in the youth and inexperience of their commander. About his deficiencies in general I do not need to speak precisely or in detail, but I will sum up the whole matter and say, what you also know, that he is a veritable weakling in body and has never by himself been victor in any important battle either on the land or on the sea. Indeed, at Philippi, in one and the same conflict, it was I that conquered and he that was defeated.

"So great is the difference between us two; but, as a rule, it is those who have the better equipment that secure the victories. Now if our opponents have any strength at all, you will find it to exist in their heavy-armed force and on land; as for their ships, they will not even be able to sail out against us at all. For you yourselves, of course, see the length and beam of our vessels, which are such that even if the enemy's were a match for them in number, yet because of these advantages on our side they could do no damage either by charging bows-on or by ramming our sides. For in the one case the thickness of our timbers, and in the other the very height of our ships, would certainly check them, even if there were no one on board to ward them off. Where, indeed, will anyone find a chance to assail ships which carry so many archers and slingers, who have the further advantage of striking their assailants from the towers aloft? But if anyone should manage to come up close, how could he fail to get sunk by the very number of our oars, or how could he fail to
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ἀν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν τε ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων βαλλόμενος καταποντώθει; μὴ γάρ, ὅτι περὶ Σικελίαν Ἀγρίππας ἑναυκράτησε, παρὰ τούτο καὶ ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦς ναυτικὴν ἔχειν ἧγεσθε; οὔτε γὰρ πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ, οὔτε πρὸς ὁμοίαν ἡμῖν ἀντιπαρασκευὴν ἀλλὰ πρὸς πολὺ διάφορον

2 ἡγωνίσαντο. εἰ τε τις τὴν εὐτυχίαν αὐτῶν ἐκείνην ἐν μεγάλῳ τιθεί, δίκαιος ἐστί καὶ τὴν ἦτταν τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἢν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ 1 Σέξτου ἑυκήθη, ἀντιλογίσασθαι καὶ οὕτως οὔχ ὅπως ἴσα πρὸς ἴσα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πλεῖο καὶ κρείττων πάντα τὰ ἥμετερα τῶν ἐκείνων ὑπαρχόντων εὐρήσει. τὸ δ’ ὅλον, πόστην μὲν ἡ Σικελία μερίδα τῆς ἀλλῆς ἀρχῆς, πόστην δὲ ἡ τοῦ Σέξτου δύναμις τῆς ἥμετέρας παρασκευῆς ἔχειν, ὡστε τινὰ εἰκότως ἀν τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκείνα ὅντα καὶ μήτε πλεῖο μητ’ ἀμείνῳ γεγονότα, καταδείκται μᾶλλον ἐξ ὧν ἦττυχεσεν ἡ θαρσήσαι ἐξ ὧν ἐπταϊσεν.

3 οἶχεν ποι καὶ ἐγὼ ταῦτα λογιζόμενος οὖκ ἥθελσα τὸ πεζὸ προαποκινδυνεύσασι, εἰ δὴ δοκοῦσι τρόπον τινὰ ἵσχυεν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑμῶν πταῖσματὸς τινὸς ἐν ἐκείνῳ γεγομένῳ ἀθυμίῃ, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ναυσίν, αἷς κράτιστοι τε ἐσμέν καὶ παμπληθές αὐτῶν περιέσσεν, ἣν τούτων κρατήσει. 4 σαλτν τού τεζοῦ σφων καταφρόνησωμεν. εὖ γὰρ δὴ τούτο ἵστε, ὅτι πᾶσα ἡ τοῦ πολέμου ῥοπὴ ἐντεύθεν ἐκ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἀμφιτέρους ἡμῖν ἤρτηται καὶ τούτω περιγενώμεθα, οὔτεν ἐτὶ ἐδινὸν οὐδ' 2

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1 τοῦ supplied by Bk.
2 οὐδ' Bk., οὐθ' VM.
be sent to the bottom when shot at by all the warriors on our decks and in our towers? Do not imagine, now, that they possess any particular seamanship just because Agrippa won a naval battle off Sicily; for they contended, not against Sextus, but against his slaves, not against a like equipment with ours, but against one far inferior. And if anyone is inclined to make much of their good fortune in that combat, he is bound to reckon on the other side the defeat which Caesar himself suffered at the hands of Sextus himself; in this way he will find, not merely that our chances are equal, but that all the considerations on our side are far more numerous and far better than on theirs. In a word, how large a part does Sicily form of the whole empire, and how large a fraction of our force did the troops of Sextus possess, that anyone should reasonably fear Caesar's armament, which is precisely the same as before and has grown neither larger nor better, merely because of his good luck, rather than take courage because of his defeat? It is precisely in view of these considerations, therefore, that I have not cared to risk a first engagement with the infantry, where they appear to have strength in a way, in order that no one of you should become disheartened as the result of a reverse in that arm; instead, I have chosen to begin with the ships, where we are strongest and have a vast superiority over our antagonists, in order that after a victory with these we may scorn their infantry also. For you know well that the turn of the scale in this war depends for both sides entirely upon just this—I mean our fleets; for if we come out victorious with this arm we shall thenceforth suffer no harm from any of their
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υπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πεισόμεθα, ἀλλ' ὦστερ ἐν νησιδίῳ τινὶ αὐτοῦς, ἀτε πάντως τῶν πέριξ ἡμετέρων ὄντων, ἀπειληφότες ἄκοντι, κἂν μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ, τῷ γε λιμῷ χειροσόμεθα.

20 "Καὶ μὴν ὅτι οὐχ🔍 υπὲρ μικρῶν οὔδ'🔍 υπὲρ φαύλων τινῶν ἄγωνιούμεθα, ἀλλ' ὦστε προσβιμηθέντες μὲν τῶν μεγίστων τυχεῖν ἀμελησαντες δὲ τὰ δεινῶτατα παθεῖν, οὐδὲ λόγον προσδείν

2 ἣγοῦμαι. τί γὰρ οὔκ ἂν ἡμᾶς, ἂν γε καὶ κρατήσωσιν, ἔργασαιτο, πάντας μὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν τοὺς μετὰ τοῦ Σέξτου τῶν ἐλλογίμων γενομένους ἀπεκτούντες, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν μετὰ τοῦ Λεπίδου

3 συναραμένοις σφίσιν ἀπολωλεκότες; καὶ τί λέγω τάντα, ὅποτε καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Λεπίδου, μήτε τι ἀδικήσαντα καὶ προσέτι καὶ συμμαχήσαντα αὐτοῖς, τῆς τε ἡγεμονίας ἀπάσης παραλεύκασι καὶ ὦστε τίνα ἀιχμάλωτον ἐν φρουρᾷ ἔχουσι, καὶ τοὺς τε ἑξελευθέρους πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰ χωρία κεκτημένους ἡγυρομολογήκασιν οὕτως ὡστε καὶ ἐσ ὁπλα τινᾶς αὐτῶν ἔλθειν ἀναγκᾶσαι, κῶκ τούτων

4 συχνοὺς φθείραι; ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὁποῖς φείσονται.έτι οἱ τῶν συμμάχων μὴ πεφεισμένοι; ἀφέξονται τῶν ημετέρων οἱ τὰ τῶν ὁικείων δεδασμολογηκότες; φιλανθρωπεύονται τί νικήσαντες οἱ καὶ πρὶν κρατῆσαι τί. σεπεικότες; καὶ ἱνα γε μὴ πάντα τὰ τῶν ἄλλων λέγων διατρίβω, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ

5 τὰ ἐς ἡμᾶς αὐτοῖς τετολμημένα καταλέξω, τίς μὲν οὐκ οίδεν ὅτι κοινωνός ἔγω καὶ συνάρχων τού

1 οὐχ Reim., οὐχ ὅτι VM. 2 οὐδ' Bk., οὐθ' VM. 3 φείσονται R. Steph., φείσονται VM. 4 κρατῆσαι τί Xyl., κρατῆσαι τί VM.
other forces either, but shall cut them off on an islet, as if it were, since all the regions round about are in our possession, and shall subdue them without trouble, if in no other way, at least by hunger.

"Now I think that there is no further need even of words to show you that we shall be struggling, not for small or insignificant ends, but in a contest such that, if we are zealous, we shall obtain the greatest rewards, and if careless, we shall suffer the most grievous misfortunes. Why, what would they not do to us, if they should prevail, when they have put to death practically all the followers of Sextus who were of any prominence, and have even destroyed many followers of Lepidus though they coöperated with Caesar's party? But why do I mention this, seeing that they have removed from his command altogether Lepidus himself, who was guilty of no wrong and furthermore had been their ally, and keep him under guard as if he were a prisoner of war, and when they have also exacted contributions of money from all the freedmen in Italy and from all the rest likewise who possess any land, going so far as to force some of them actually to resort to arms, and then for that act put large numbers to death? Is it possible that those who have not spared their allies will spare us? Will those who levied tribute upon the property of their own adherents keep their hands from ours? Will they show humanity as victors who, even before gaining supremacy, have committed every conceivable outrage? Not to spend time in speaking of the experience of other people, I will enumerate their acts of insolence toward ourselves. Who does not know that, although I was
Kaίσαρος ἀποδειχθεῖς, καὶ τὴν τε προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἱσον αὐτῷ λαβῶν καὶ τιμῶν καὶ ἄρχων τῶν ὀμοίων ὑπὸ τῶν, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἡδή χρόνον ἐν αὐταῖς ὤν, πάντων αὐτῶν ὅσον ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ ἐστίν, ἀπεστέρημαι, καὶ ἱδιώτης μὲν ἐξ ἡγεμόνος ἀτιμὸς δὲ ἐξ ὑπάτου γέγονα, οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου οὐδ᾽ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς (πῶς γὰρ, ὡστε καὶ ἐφυγον ἀντικρός ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ οἱ ὑπατοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι τινές, ἢν μηδὲν τοιοῦτο προσέσωνται;) ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ τε αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντων, οἴτινες οὐκ αἰσθάνονται μοναρχὸν αὐτὸν ἐφ᾽ ἐαυτοὺς πρώτους ἀσκοῦντες; ο ὡς τολμήσας τὰς διαθήκας μου ξώντος, δύναμιν τοσαύτην ἐξοντος, Ἀρμενίους νικῶντος, καὶ ξητῆσαι καὶ βιά τους λαβόντας αὐτὰς ἀφελέσθαι καὶ ἀνοίξαι καὶ δημοσία ἀναγνώμαι πῶς ἄν ἐν μῆν ἢ ἄλλον τινός φείσαιτο; καὶ ὅ γε τοιοῦτος ἐσ᾽ ἐμὲ τὸν φίλον τὸν ὀμοτράπεζον τὸν συγγενὴ γεγονὼς πῶς ἄν φιλάνθρωπὸν τι πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, πρὸς οὓς οὔδ᾽ αὐτῶν συμβολαίον ἐστίν, ποιῆσειν;

21 "Καὶ μὴν εἰ δεῖ τι τοὺς ἐψηφισμένους ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τεκμαίρεσθαι, ὑμῖν μὲν καὶ φανερῶς ἀπειλεῖ (πολεμίους γονὺν ἀντικρός τοὺς πλείονας ὑμῶν πεποίηται), ἐμοὶ δ᾽ οὔδ᾽ αὐτῷ τοιοῦτον ἐπήγγελκε, καίτοι καὶ πολεμῶν μοι καὶ πάντα οὐχ ὡς τα τοῦ κεκρατηκότος ἀλλὰ καὶ τα τοῦ πεθονεύκοτος μὲ ἱδὴ ποιῶν. ὡσθ᾽ ὡπότε ἐμὲ, ἄν μηδέπω καὶ νῦν πολέμου ἑχειν προσποιεῖται, τοιαῦτα δέδρακεν, ἥκιστα ἄν ύμων

1 πρώτους M, πρώτου V.
chosen a partner and colleague of Caesar, and was given the management of public affairs on equal terms with him, and received like honours and offices, in possession of which I have continued for so long a time, yet I have been deprived of them all, so far as lay in his power; I have become a private citizen instead of a commander, disfranchised instead of consul, and this not by the action of the people nor yet of the senate (for how could that be, when the consuls and some other senators went so far as to flee at once from the city in order to escape casting any such vote?), but by the act of this one man and of his adherents, who do not perceive that they are training a sovereign to rule over themselves first of all? Why, the man who dared while I was still alive and in possession of so great power and was conquering the Armenians, to hunt out my will, to take it forcibly from those who had received it, to open it and read it publicly—how, I say, should a man like that spare either you or anybody else? And how will he show any kindness to others to whom he is bound by no tie, when he has shown himself such a man toward me—his friend, his table-companion, his kinsman?

"Now in case we are to draw any inferences from his decrees, he threatens you openly,—at any rate he has made the majority of you enemies outright,—but against me personally no such declaration has been made, though he is at war with me and is already acting in every way like one who has not only conquered me but also murdered me. Hence, when he has treated me in such a way,—me, whom he pretends not even yet at this day to regard as an enemy,—he
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ἀπόσχοιτο, οἷς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι σαφῶς

3 ὁμολογεῖ. τῷ ποτ' οὖν αὐτῷ βούλεται τὸ τὰ μὲν ὁπλα πάσιν ὁμοίως ἡμῖν ἐπιφέρειν, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ ἑσπερίματι τοῖς μὲν πολεμεῖν τοῖς δὲ μὴ φάσκειν; οὐ μὰ Δὲ οὖν ἡμῖν διαφοροτήτα τινα ἐν ἡμῖν ἐργάσηται, οὐδ' ἦν τοῖς μὲν ἄλλως τοῖς δὲ ἄλλως, ἂν γε καὶ κρατήσῃ, χρήσηται, ἀλλ' ἐν ἡμῖν στασιάσας συγκρούσῃ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτ' ἀσθενεστέρους

4 τοιῆσθ. οὐ γάρ ἄγνοεί γε ὅτι ὁμοφρονοῦντων μὲν ἡμῶν καὶ καθ' ἐν πάντα πραττόντων οὐδαμῇ οὔδαμῳ κρεῖττων ἃν γένοιτο, διενεχθέντων δὲ, καὶ τῶν μὲν ταῦτα τῶν δὲ ἐκείνα ἐλομένων, τάχ` ἃν κρατήσεις· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τούτων ἡμῖν τοῦ τρόπου προσφέρεται.

22 "Ὡσπέρ οὖν καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ συνόντες μοι Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν τε κίνδυνον, καὶ περ ἀδειάν τινα τὸν ἑσπερίμενων ἐνεκα ἐχοντες, προσορμεθα καὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτοῦ συνίημεν, καὶ οὔτε προϊέμεθα ὡμᾶς οὔτ' αὐτὰ τὸ συμφέρον ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς προ-

2 σκοπούμεν, οὔτω ποι καὶ ὡμᾶς, οἷς οὔθ' αὐτὸς ἀρνεῖται μὴ οὐκ ἐχθροὺς καὶ ἐχθρίστους ἃν ἔγεισθαι, χρῆ πάντα ταῦτ' ἐνθυμηθέντας, καὶ κοινοὺς μὲν τοὺς κινδύνους κοινὰς δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ποιησάμενοι, καὶ συνάρασθαι τὰ πράγματα παντοῖως καὶ συσπούδασαι προθύμως, θέντας 2 παρ' ἀλλήλα καὶ ἀ πεισόμεθα, ὡσπέρ εἰπον, ἡττηθέν-

3 τες, καὶ οὐ τευχομεθα κρατήσατες. μέγα μὲν γάρ καὶ τὸ μηδὲν μὴθ' ύβριστικὸν μῆτε πλεονεκτικὸν ἐλαττωθέντας την ἡμᾶς παθεῖν, κεκοιστὸν δὲ τὸ νυκτήσατας πάνθ' ὡσα τις ἀν εὐξαῖτο πραξαί.

1 γε Rk., τε VM.
2 θέντας Bk., ἐνθυμηθέντας VM.

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surely will not keep his hands off you, with whom he clearly admits that he is at war. What in the world does he mean, then, by threatening us all alike with arms, but in the decree declaring that he is at war with some and not with others? It is not, by Jupiter, with the intention of making any distinction among us, or of treating one class in one way and another in another, if he prevails, but it is in order to set us at variance and bring us in collision, and thus render us weaker. For of course he is not unaware that while we are in accord, and acting as one in everything, he can never in any way get the upper hand, but that if we quarrel, and some choose one policy and the rest another, he may perhaps prevail; and it is for this reason that he acts as he does toward us.

"Just as I, therefore, and the Romans associated with me foresee the danger, in spite of our enjoying a kind of immunity so far as the decrees are concerned, and as we comprehend his plot, and yet neither abandon you nor look privately to our own advantage, in like manner you, too, whom even he himself does not deny that he regards as hostile, yes, most hostile, ought to bear in mind all these facts, and counting both our dangers and our hopes as common to us all, you should cooperate in every way in what we have to do and eagerly share in our zeal, balancing against each other what we shall suffer (as I have explained) if defeated, and what we shall gain if victorious. For while it is a great thing for us just to escape being the victims of insult and greed, if by any chance we are defeated, yet it is greatest of all to conquer and thus to be able to accomplish all
ΔΙΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ

αὖχριστον δὲ τοσοῦτος καὶ τοιοῦτος ὄντας, καὶ ὠπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ ναὸς καὶ ἱπποὺς ἔχοντας, τὰ χείρων ἀντὶ τῶν ἀμειβόνων ἔλεσθαι, καὶ παρόν καὶ ἐκεῖνος τὴν ἑλευθερίαν παρασχεῖν, συνδού- λεύσαι μᾶλλον αὐτοὶς ἐθελήσαι. τοσοῦτον γὰρ ποὺ διαφέρομεν ἄλληλοιν ὡς θ᾽ ὁ μὲν καὶ ὑμῶν μοναρχήσαι ἐπιθυμεῖ, ἐγώ δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἑλευθερώσαι βούλομαι, καθάπερ ποὺ καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις πεπίστωμαι. ὥς οὖν ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ὡμοίως ἀγωνιούμενοι, καὶ κοινά τὰ ἀγαθὰ πᾶσι κατακτησόμενοι, σπουδάσωμεν, ὡ ἀνδρεῖς στρατίωται, ἐν τῷ παραχρήμα κρατήσαι καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὐδαιμο- νίησαι."

23 Τοιαύτα τινα ὁ Ἀυτώνιος ἐπὶ πάντας μὲν τοὺς πρώτους τῶν συνόντων οἱ ἐς τὰς ναὸς ἐσεβίβασε, μὴ τι νεωτερίωσι καθ᾽ ἔαυτος γενόμενοι, ὥσπερ οὐ τῇ Δέλλειος καὶ ἄλλοι τινες αὐτομολήσαντες, παμπληθεῖς δὲ καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονίτας καὶ ὡς οὖν ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ὡμοίως ἀγωνιούμενοι, καὶ κοινὰ τὰ ἀγαθὰ πᾶσι κατακτησόμενοι, σπουδάσωμεν, ὡ ἀνδρεῖς στρατίωται, ἐν τῷ παραχρήμα κρατήσαι καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὐδαιμονίησαι."

2 καὶ ὁ πλῆθος ἀνεβιβάσατο· ἐπειδή γὰρ τῷ τε μεγέθεί τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος νεῶν καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἐπιβατῶν αὐτοῦ ὁ Σέξτος οὐχ ἦκιστα ἤττητο, τὰ τῇ σκάφη κατεσκέυασε πολὺ τῶν ἐναντίων ὑπερ- ἔχοντα (τριήρεις μὲν γὰρ ἥλιους, τετρήρεις δὲ καὶ δεκήρεις καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ διὰ μέσου πάντα ἔξε- ποίησε) καὶ ὑπ᾽ αὐτὰ πύργους τὴν ὑψηλοὺς ἐπικατ- εσκέυασε καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐπανεβίβασεν, ἥπτε καθάπερ ἀπὸ τειχῶν αὐτούς μάχεσθαι. Καίσαρ δὲ καθεώρα μὲν τὴν παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν καὶ εὐτρεπτίζετο, μαθῶν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν σφών παρὰ τῇ ἀλλων καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Δελλέου συνήγαγε καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ στράτευμα καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅδε:

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we have prayed for. On the other hand, it is most disgraceful for us, who are so many and so valiant, who have weapons, money, ships, and horses, to choose the worse instead of the better course, and when it is in our power to confer liberty upon the other side as well as upon ourselves, to prefer to share their slavery with them. Our aims, you must know, are so opposed that, whereas he desires to reign as a sovereign over you, I wish to free them as well as you, and this indeed I have confirmed by oath. Therefore, as men who are to struggle for both sides alike and to win blessings in which all will share, let us earnestly strive, soldiers, to prevail at the present moment and to gain happiness for all time."

After speaking to this effect Antony put all his most prominent associates on board the ships, to prevent them from beginning any mutiny if left by themselves, as Dellius and some other deserters had done; he also embarked great numbers of archers, slingers, and heavy-armed troops. For seeing that the size of Caesar's ships and the number of his marines were chiefly responsible for the defeat of Sextus, Antony had built his vessels much higher in the water than those of his opponents, constructing only a few triremes, but instead some ships with four and some with ten banks of oars, and all the remainder in between these two; upon these he had built lofty towers, and he had put aboard a large number of men, who could thus fight from walls, as it were. Caesar, for his part, was observing their equipment and making his preparations, and when he learned from Dellius and others their intention, he also assembled his army and spoke to this effect:
"'Ορόν, ὁ ἄνδρες στρατιώται, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἀκοῇ μεμάθηκα καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἐργῳ πεπείραμαι, τὰ πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν πολεμικῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώπους πραγμάτων, τοὺς τὰ τε δικαίοτερα καὶ τὰ εὐσεβέστερα καὶ φρονοῦσι καὶ πράττουσι κατορθούμενα, τούτῳ που καὶ αὐτὸς οὐχ ἦκιστα ἐννοῶ καὶ ὑμῖν παραινῷ προσκοπεῖν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ τὰ μᾶλλον καὶ πολλὴν καὶ μεγάλην ἵσχυν, ἀφ' ἂν τις καὶ τὰ ἡττον δίκαια προελομενος κρατήσειν ἐλπίσειν, ἔχομεν, ὅμως πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πολέμου ὑποθέσει ἢ ἐπὶ ταῦτῃ θαρσῶ. τὸ γὰρ τοῦ Ῥωμαίους τε ὅντας καὶ τῆς πλειστης καὶ ἀρίστης οἰκουμένης ἀρχοντας καταφρονεῖσθαι καὶ καταπατεῖσθαι πρὸς γυναῖκος Αὐγυπτίας ἀνάξιον μὲν τῶν πατέρων ἥμων τῶν τῶν Πύρρων τὸν Φίλιππον τὸν Περσέα τὸν Ἀμτί- χον καθελόντων, τῶν τοὺς Νομαντίνους τοὺς Καρχεδονίους ἀναστησάντων, τῶν τοὺς Κίμβρους τῶν ᾿Αμβρονας κατακοψάντων, ἀνάξιον δὲ καὶ ἥμων αὐτῶν τῶν τοὺς Γαλάτας κατεστραμμένων, τῶν τοὺς Παννονίους κεχειρωμένων, τῶν μέχρι τοῦ Ἰστρον προκεχωρηκότων, τῶν Ῥηνοῦ διαβεβηκότων, ἐς Βρεττανίαν πεπεραιωμένων. πῶς μὲν γὰρ ὅμηρον καὶ μέγα ἀν ἀλγήσειαν πάντες ἐκεῖνοι οἱ τὰ προειρήμενα κατειργασμένοι, εἰ αἰσθοιντὸ ἡμᾶς ὀλέθρῳ γυναικί ὑποπεπτωκότας; πῶς δ' οὖν ἂν ἡμέες μεγάλως ἀσχημονήσαμεν, εἰ πάντων ἀρετῆ πανταχοῦ περιόντες ἔπειτα τὰς τούτων ὑβρείς

1 εἰ τὰ Bk., δὺ τι VM.
2 κίμβρους M, κίμβρους τῶν V.
3 κατειργασμένοι R. Steph., κατειργασμένοι VM.
4 γυναικί M, om. V.
BOOK L

"Observing, soldiers, both from what I have learned by hearsay and from what I have proved by experience, that almost all and the greatest undertakings of warfare, or rather, I may say, the undertakings of men without exception, turn out in favour of those whose thoughts and acts are upon the higher level of justice and reverence for the gods, I have myself taken to heart this truth above all others, and I advise you also to have regard for it. For even if we possess ever so vast and mighty a force, such that even a man who chose the less just of two courses might expect to win with its aid, nevertheless I base my confidence far more upon the causes underlying the war than upon such a force. For that we who are Romans and lords of the greatest and best portion of the world should be despised and trodden under foot by an Egyptian woman is unworthy of our fathers, who overthrew Pyrrhus, Philip, Perseus, and Antiochus, who drove the Numantians and the Carthaginians from their homes, who cut down the Cimbri and the Ambrones; it is unworthy also of ourselves, who have subjugated the Gauls, subdued the Pannonians, advanced as far as the Ister, crossed the Rhine, and passed over the sea into Britain. Would not all those who have performed the exploits I have named grieve mightily if they should learn that we had succumbed to an accursed woman? Should we not be acting most disgracefully if, after surpassing all men everywhere in valour, we should then meekly bear the
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6 πράως φέρομεν, οὕτως, ὡ Ἦράκλεις, Ἀλέξανδρείς
tε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι οὖντες (τι γὰρ ἄν ἀλλο τις αὐτοῦς
χείρον ἢ ἀληθέστερον εἴπειν ἔχοι;) καὶ τὰ μὲν
ἐρπετὰ καὶ τὰλλα θηρία ὄσπερ τινὰς θεοὺς θερα-
πεύοντες, τὰ δὲ σώματα τὰ σφέτερα ἐς δόξαν
7 ἀθανασίας ταριχεύοντες, καὶ θρασύνασθαι μὲν
προπετέστατοι ἀνδρίσασθαι δὲ ἀσθενέστατοι οὖ-
tες, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον γυναικὶ ἀντ᾽ ἀνδρός δούλευ-
οντες, ἐτόλμησαν τῶν τε ἡμετέρων ἁγαθῶν ἀντι-
ποιήσασθαι καὶ δι᾽ ἡμῶν αὐτὰ κατακτήσασθαι,
ὡστε σφίσιν ἐκουσίους ἦμας τῆς ὑπαρχοῦσης ἡμῶν
25 ευδαιμονίας παραχωρήσαι; τίς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν
ὀδύρατο ὄροις στρατιώτας Ῥωμαίους δορυφόρουν-
tας τὴν βασιλίδα αὐτῶν; τίς δ᾽ οὐκ ἂν στενάξειειν
ἀκούων ἵππεας καὶ Βουλευτὰς Ῥωμαίων κολα-
2 κεύοντας αὐτὴν ὄσπερ εὐνούχους; τίς δ᾽ οὐκ ἂν
θρηνήσει εἰς ἄκουόν καὶ ὀρῶν αὐτῶν τὸν Ἀὐτώ-
νιον τὸν δὲ ὑπατον, τὸν πολλάκις αὐτοκράτορα,
tὸν τὴν προστασίαν μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιτρα-
pέντα, τὸν τοσαύτας μὲν πόλεις τοσαύτα δὲ στρα-
3 τόπεδα ἐγχειρισθέντα, μὲν πάντα μὲν τὰ πάτρια
tοῦ βίου ἢθη ἐκλελουπότα, πάντα δὲ τάλλοτρα
cαὶ βαρβαρικὰ ἐξηλωκότα, καὶ ἡμῶν μὲν ἢ τῶν
νόμων ἢ τῶν θεῶν τῶν προγονικῶν μηδὲν προτε-
μώντα, τὴν δ᾽ ἄνθρωπον ἐκείνην καθάπερ τινὰ
Ἰσιν ἢ Σελήνην προσκυνοῦντα, καὶ τούς τε πάιδας
4 αὐτῆς Ἡλίου καὶ Σελήνην ὅνομάζοντα, καὶ τὸ
tελευταῖον καὶ ἐαυτὸν Ὄσιριν καὶ Διόνυσον ἐπι-
κεκληκότα, κάκ τούτων, καθάπερ πάσης μὲν τῆς
γῆς πάσης δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης κυριεύοντα, καὶ νή-
σους ὅλας καὶ τῶν ἥπειρων τινὰ κεχαρισμένοι;
5 ἀπιστα μὲν εὐ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι καὶ θαυμαστὰ ταῦθ᾽ ὑμῖν,
BOOK L

insults of this throng, who, oh heavens! are Alexandrians and Egyptians (what worse or what truer name could one apply to them?), who worship reptiles and beasts as gods, who embalm their own bodies to give them the semblance of immortality, who are most reckless in effrontery but most feeble in courage, and who, worst of all, are slaves to a woman and not to a man, and yet have dared to lay claim to our possessions and to use us to help them acquire them, expecting that we will voluntarily give up to them the prosperity which we possess? Who would not lament at seeing Roman soldiers acting as bodyguards of their queen? Who would not groan at hearing that Roman knights and senators fawn upon her like eunuchs? Who would not weep when he both hears and sees Antony himself, the man twice consul, often imperator, to whom was committed in common with me the management of the public business, who was entrusted with so many cities, so many legions—when he sees that this man has now abandoned all his ancestors' habits of life, has emulated all alien and barbaric customs, that he pays no honour to us or to the laws or to his fathers' gods, but pays homage to that wench as if she were some Isis or Selene, calling her children Helios and Selene, and finally taking for himself the title of Osiris or Dionysus, and, after all this, making presents of whole islands and parts of the continents, as though he were master of the whole earth and the whole sea? All these things seem marvellous and incredible to you,
Καίτοι ἔγγειοι καὶ τὸ κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς ὦτω περὶ αὐτὸν ἐσπούδασα ὡστ’ αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἡγεμονίας μεταδόθηκαί καὶ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἀδελφῆν συνοικίσαται καὶ στρατεύματα χαρίσασθαι καὶ μετὰ τοῦ οὖτως ἑπιεικῶς, οὗτος φιλικῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐσχόν ὡστ’ μὴν ὦτι τὴν ἀδελφήν μου ὑβρισε, μὴν ὦτι τῶν γεννηθέντων οἱ ἐξ αὐτῆς τέκνων ὡμέλησε, μὴν ὦτι τὴν Ἀιγυπτίαν αὐτής προετίμησε, μὴν ὦτι τοῖς ἐκείνους παῖσι πάνθρ’ ὡς εἴπειν τὰ ὑμέτερα ἐδωρήσατο, μήτε δ’ ἄλλο.

μηδὲν ἐθελήσαι αὐτῷ πολεμήσαι. αἰτιον δὲ ὦτι πρῶτον μὲν ἐνόμιζον οὐ τῶν αὐτῶν δεῖν τρόπον πρὸς τε τὴν Κλεοπάτραν καὶ πρὸς τοῦ Ἀντώνιον προσφέρεσθαι: ἐκείνην μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀλλοφύλου πολεμίαν εὐθὺς οὐς ἐπραττεν εἶναι, τοῦτον δὲ, ἀτε καὶ πολιτικὴν, ἐνδέχεσθαι σωφρονισθῆναι. ἐπείτα δὲ ἡλπιζον ὦτι εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐθελούσιος, ἀλλ’ ἀκών γε ἐκ τῶν ἐπ’ ἐκείνη ψηφισθέντων μεταγινώσκεται. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα οὐδὲνα αὐτῷ πόλεμον ἐπιγγείλα: ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑπερῳδὼν αὐτὰ καὶ καταφρονήσας οὔτ’ ἀφίεντον αὐτῶν ἰμῶν ἀφεθῆναι οὔτ’ ἐλευσιντῶν ἐλεηθῆναι βούλεται, ἀλλ’ εἴτε ὃς ἀλλόγιστος εἰθ’ ὡς μαυσομένος

(καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ’ ἐγὼ ἀκηκώς πεπίστευκα, ὦτι

1 ἡμετέρας R. Steph., ἡμετέρας VM.
2 ὡστε μήθ’ ὦτι Χυλ., ὡσθ’ ὦτε μήτε VM.
soldiers, as I am well aware, but you ought therefore to be the more indignant. For if that is actually true which you do not believe even when you hear it, and if that man in his luxurious indulgence does commit acts at which anyone would grieve who learns of them, would it not be reasonable that you should go past all bounds in your rage?

"Yet I myself was so devoted to him at the beginning that I gave him a share in our command, married my sister to him, and granted him legions. After that I felt so kindly, so affectionately, towards him, that I was unwilling to wage war on him merely because he had insulted my sister, or because he neglected the children she had borne him, or because he preferred the Egyptian woman to her, or because he bestowed upon that woman's children practically all your possessions, or for any other cause. My reason was, first of all, that I did not think it proper to assume the same attitude toward Antony as toward Cleopatra; for I adjudged her, if only on account of her foreign birth, to be an enemy by reason of her very conduct, but I believed that he, as a citizen, might still be brought to reason. Later I entertained the hope that he might, if not voluntarily, at least reluctantly, change his course as a result of the decrees passed against her. Consequently I did not declare war upon him at all. He, however, has looked haughtily and disdainfully upon my efforts, and will neither be pardoned though we would fain pardon him, nor be pitied though we try to pity him. He is either heedless or mad—for, indeed, I have heard and believed that he has been
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υπ' ἐκείνης τῆς καταράτου μεμάγεντα) τῆς μὲν ἡμετέρας εὐεργεσίας καὶ τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν φιλανθρωπίας οὐδὲν προτιμᾷ, τῇ δὲ γνατικὰ δουλεύων τὸν τε πόλεμον καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους τοὺς ύπὲρ αὐτῆς αὐθαίρετος καὶ καθ’ ἡμῶν καὶ κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἀναιρεῖται, τὰ λοιπῶν ἀλλο πλῆν ἀμύνασθαι καὶ τούτον μετὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἦμῖν προσήκει.

27 “Μήτ’ οὖν Ῥωμαίον εἶναι τις αὐτοῦ νομιζέτω, ἀλλὰ τινα Αἰγύπτιον, μήτ’ 'Ἄντωνιον όνομαζέτω, ἀλλὰ τινα Σαραπίων· μη ὑπατον, μη αὐτοκράτορα γεγονέναι ποτὲ ἡγεῖσθω, ἀλλὰ γυμνασιάρχον.

2 ταῦτα γὰρ ἀντ’ ἐκείνων αὐτὸς ἐθελοντὴς ἀνθείλετο, καὶ πάντα τὰ πάτρια σεμνολογήματα ἀπορρῆσας εἰς τῶν ἀπὸ Κανώβου κυμβαλιστῶν γέγονε, μὴ μέντοι μηδὲ δείσῃ τις αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ ῥοτήν τῷ

3 πολέμῳ παρέξοντα. ἦν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ πρὶν ἄξιός τινος, ὡς ποι παφῶς ἠστε οἱ περὶ Μούτιναν αὐτοῦ κεκρατηκότες· εἰ δ’ οὖν ποτὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς σὺν ἡμῖν 1 στρατείας ἀρετήν τινα ἔσχεν, ἀλλ’ εὐ ἵσθ’ ὅτι νῦν πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ τῶν βίου μετα-

4 βολή διέφθαρκεν. ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐστι βασιλικῶς τέ τινα τρυφῶντα καὶ γυμνακείως θρυπτόμενον ἀνδρῶδες τι φρονήσαι καὶ πράξαι, διὰ τὸ πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην εἶναι, οίοις ἃν τις ἐπιτηδεύμασι συνή.

5 τοῦτοι αὐτῶν ἐξομοιοῦσθαι. τεκμήριον δὲ, ἐνα πόλεμον ἐν παντὶ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πεπολεμηκῶς καὶ μίαν στρατείαν πεποιημένον παμπόλλους μὲν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις πολίτας ἀπολόλεκεν, αἰσχύστα δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Πραᾶσκων ἀποκεχώρηκε, πλείστους

1 ἡμῖν V, ἦμῖν M.

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bewitched by that accursed woman—and therefore pays no heed to our generosity or kindness, but being a slave to that woman, he undertakes the war and its self-chosen dangers on her behalf against us and against his country. In view of all this, what is left to us but the duty of fighting him, together with Cleopatra, and repelling him?

"Therefore let no one count him a Roman, but rather an Egyptian, nor call him Antony, but rather Serapion; let no one think he was ever consul or imperator, but only gymnasiarch. For he has himself, of his own free will, chosen the latter names instead of the former, and casting aside all the august titles of his own land, has become one of the cymbal players from Canopus. Again, let no one fear him on the ground that he will turn the scale of the war. For even in the past he was of no account, as you who conquered him at Mutina know clearly enough. And even if he did at one time attain to some valour through campaigning with us, be well assured that he has now spoiled it utterly by his changed manner of life: For it is impossible for one who leads a life of royal luxury, and coddles himself like a woman, to have a manly thought or do a manly deed, since it is an inevitable law that a man assimilates himself to the practices of his daily life. A proof of this is that in the one war which he has waged in all this long time, and the one campaign that he has made, he caused the death of vast numbers of citizens in the battles, returned in utter disgrace from Praaspa, and lost
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6 δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ φυγῇ προσαποθέβηληκεν. ὡστ' εἰ μὲν γελοίως πως ὀρχείσθαι καὶ κορδακίζειν τινά ἡμῶν ἤχρην, πάντως ἄν ἔλαττον αὐτοῦ ἥνέγκατο (ταῦτα γὰρ μεμελέτηκεν), ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁπλών καὶ μάχης δὲ, τί τις ἄν αὐτοῦ φοβηθείη; τὴν ἄκμην τοῦ σώματος; ἀλλὰ παρῆβηκε καὶ ἐκτεθήλυνται. ἂν τὴν ῥώμην τῆς γυνώμης; ἀλλὰ γυναικίζει.

7 καὶ ἐκκεκιναίδισται, τὴν εὐσέβειαν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεούς ἡμῶν; ἀλλὰ πολεμεῖ καὶ ἑκείνους καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. τὴν πιστότητα τὴν πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους; καὶ τίς οὐκ οἴδεν ὅπως τὸν Ἀρμένιον ἐξαπατήσας ἔδησε; τὴν ἐπιείκειαν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους; καὶ τίς οὐχ ἐόρακε τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κακῶς ἀπολολότας; τὴν εὐδοξίαν τὴν παρὰ τοὺς στρατιώτας; καὶ τίς οὐχὶ καὶ ἑκεῖνων αὐτοῦ κατέγνωκε; σημείον δὲ ὅτι συχνοὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν πρὸς ἡμᾶς μεθίστανται. νομίζω δὲ ἐγὼ γε ὅτι καὶ πάντες οἱ πολῖται ἡμῶν τούτῳ πολύσωσιν, ὡσπερ ποτὲ καὶ πρῶτον, ὅτε ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου πρὸς τὴν Γαλατίαν ἦει. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ πλούτισεν ἀκινδύνως ἦπιπίζω, καὶ μάλα ἀσμενοὶ τινες αὐτῷ συνήσαν μάχεσθαι δὲ δὴ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ύπὲρ τῶν μηδὲν σφίσι προσηκόντων, ἀλλ' γε καὶ ἔξων αὐτοῦς ἀδεῶς σὺν ἡμῖν καὶ σώζεσθαι καὶ εὐδαιμονεῖν, οὐκ ἐθελήσουσιν.

9 ἂν ἂλλ' ἐρεί τις ὅτι καὶ συμμάχους περίως καὶ χρήματα πελλὰ ἐχεῖ. οὐκοῦν ὅπως μὲν τοὺς τήν Ἄσιαν τὴν ἥπειρον οἰκούντας νικάν εἰσαρμεν, οἴδε μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων ἑκείνος ὁ Ἄσιατικὸς, οἴδε δὲ

1 ἐκτεθήλυται Bk., ἐκτεθήλυται VM.
2 πιστότητα M, πιστοτάτην V.
3 τὴν Pflugk, τὴν δὲ VM.
4 ἡμῖν R. Steph., ὡμῖν VM.
5 Ἀσιατικὸς M, Ἀσιανὸς V.

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ever so many men besides in his flight. So, then, B.C. 31
if any one of us were called upon to execute a
ridiculous dance or to cut a lascivious fling, such a
person would surely have to yield the honours to him,
since these are the specialities he has practised, but
now that the occasion calls for arms and battle, what
is there about him that anyone should dread? His
physical fitness? But he has passed his prime and
become effeminate. His strength of mind? But
he plays the woman and has worn himself out with
unnatural lust. His piety toward our gods? But he
is at war with them as well as with his country.
His faithfulness to his allies? But who does not
know how he deceived and imprisoned the Arme-
nian? His kindness to his friends? But who has
not seen the men who have miserably perished at
his hands? His reputation with the soldiers? But
who even of them has not condemned him? A sign
of this is that numbers daily come over to our side.
For my part I think that all our citizens will do this,
as on a former occasion when he was on his way
from Brundisium to Gaul. So long, to be sure, as
they expected to get rich without danger, some
were very glad to cleave to him; but they will not
care to fight against us, their own countrymen, on
behalf of what does not belong to them at all,
especially when they may without risk gain both
their lives and their happiness by joining us.

"Some one may say, however, that he has many
allies and much wealth. But how have we been wont
to conquer the inhabitants of the continent of Asia?
The famous Scipio Asiaticus can bear witness, or
καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ὁ εὐτυχὴς, ὁ Δούκουλλος, ὁ Πομπήιος, ὁ Καίσαρ ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐμὸς, ὑμεῖς 1 αὐτοὶ ὁ τοὺς μετὰ τε τοῦ Βρούτου καὶ τοῦ Κασσίου

2 στρατευσαμένους κεκρατηκότες. τοῦτον δὲ δὴ ὄντως ἐχοντος, καὶ τὸν πλούτον σφων ὅσῳ πλείουν ἐτέρων νομίζετε ἐνιαί, τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον σπουδᾶσατε σφετερίσασθαι ὑπὲρ γὰρ τῶν μεγίστων ἄθλων μεγίστους καὶ τοὺς ἁγώνας ἄξιον

3 ἐστὶ ποιεῖσθαι. καίτοι μείζον οὐδὲν ἂν ἀλλο φήσαιμι ὃμιν προκείσθαι τοῦ τὸ ἀξίωμα τὸ τῶν προγόνων διασώσαι, τοῦ τὸ φρόνημα τὸ ὁικεῖον φυλάξαι, τοῦ τοὺς ἄφεστηκότας ἄφ’ ἡμῶν τιμωρήσασθαι, τοῦ τοὺς ὑβρίζοντας ὑμᾶς ἀμύνασθαι, τοῦ πάντων ἀνθρώπων νικήσαντας ἄρχειν, τοῦ μηδεμίαν γυναίκα περιορᾶν μηδενὶ ἄνδρι παρισομένην. ἥ πρὸς μὲν Ταυρισκοὺς καὶ Ἰάπυδας 3 καὶ Δελμάτας καὶ Πανοιόους προθυμότατα αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ νῦν παρόντες ὑπὲρ ὅλων τινῶν τειχῶν καὶ γῆς ἑρήμου πολλάκις ἐμαχέσασθε, καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς καίτοι πολεμικωτάτους ὀμολογουμένως ὀρναὶ ἐχειρᾶσασθε, καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ πρὸς Σέξτων ὑπὲρ Σικελίας μόνης καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦτον τὸν 'Αντώνιον ὑπὲρ Μουτίνης μόνης ὁμοίως ἡγούμενας ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν κρατήσασα: πρὸς δὲ δὴ γυναῖκα πάσι τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἐπιβουλεύουσαν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς τὸν τὰ ὑμέτερα τοῖς ἐκεῖνης παισὶ διαδεδωκότα, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς καλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐτάρους καὶ τραπεζεῖς, οὐς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι κοπρίας ἀποκαλοῦσιν, ἴττον τι

6 προθυμηθήσεσθε; διὰ τὶ; διὰ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν;

1 ὑμεῖς H. Steph., ἡμεῖς VM. 2 ἂν supplied by St. 3 Ἰάπυδας Xyl., Ἰάπυγας VM.
the fortunate Sulla, or Lucullus, or Pompey, or my
father Caesar, or you yourselves, who vanquished the
supporters of Brutus and Cassius. This being so,
in proportion as you think the wealth of Antony
and his allies is so much greater than that of others,
you ought to be all the more eager to make it your
own; for it is worth while, in order to win the
greatest prizes, to wage the greatest contests. And
yet I can tell you of no greater prize that is set
before you than to maintain the renown of your
forefathers, to preserve your own proud traditions,
to take vengeance on those who are in revolt
against us, to repel those who insult you, to conquer
and rule all mankind, to allow no woman to make
herself equal to a man. Against the Taurisci and
Iapydes and Dalmatians and Pannonians you your-
selves who are now present battled most zealously,
often to win a few walls and a barren land; and
you subdued all these people, though they are ad-
mittedly most warlike; yes, by Jupiter, against
Sextus also, to win Sicily only, and against this very
Antony, to win Mutina only, you carried on similar
struggles, and so zealously that you came out vic-
torious over both. And now will you show any less
zeal against a woman who has designs upon all your
possessions, and against her husband who has distrib-
uted to her children all your property, and against
their noble associates and table companions whom
they themselves stigmatize as 'privy' councillors? Why should you? Because of their number? But
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ἀλλ' οὔτεν πλήθος σωμάτων ἄρετῆς κρατεῖ. διὰ τὸ γένος; ἀλλ' ἀγθοφορεῖν μᾶλλον ἡ πολεμεῖν μεμελετήκασι. διὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν; ἀλλ' ἐρέττειν μᾶλλον ἡ ναυμαχεῖν ἱσασιν. ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ αἰσχύ-νομαι ὅτι πρὸς τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους ἀγωνίζεσθαι μέλλομεν, ὥν καί κρατήσαντες οὐκ εὐδοκιμήσομεν καὶ ἠττηθέντες ἀσχημονήσομεν.

29 "Μὴ γάρ ποι τὸ μέγεθος τῶν σκαφῶν αὐτῶν ἢ τὸ πάχος τὼν ἕυλων ἀντίπαλον ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἡμῶν1 εἶναι νομίζετε. ποία μὲν γὰρ ναῦς αὐτὴ καθ' ἐαυτὴν ἢ ἐτρωσὲ τινα ἢ ἀπέκτεινε; πῶς δ' οὐ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ τε ύψους καὶ τοῦ πάχους καὶ δυσκινητότεραι ἔσονται τοῖς ἑλαύνονσιν αὐτῶς

2 καὶ ἀνεπεθέστεραι τοῖς κυβερνώσι; τί δ' ἂν ὀφελοὺς τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτῶν μαχομένους γένοτο μήτε διεκπλεῖν μήτε περιπλεῖν, ἀπερ που ναυμαχίας ἔργα ἐστί, δυναμένους; οὗ γὰρ που πεζομαχεῖν ἡμῶν2 ἐν τῇ βαλάττῃ μέλλονσιν, οὐδ' αὐ ὡσπερ ἐν τείχεσι τις κατακεκλειμένοι3 πολιορκηθῆναι παρεσκευάδαται,4

3 ἐπεὶ τούτῳ γε καὶ πάνω πρὸς ἡμῶν5 ἂν εἴη, λέγω δὲ τὸ πρὸς ἑυλίνα παραφράγματα προσμεῖα. ἀν τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καθάπερ ἐμπετηγυναί αἰ νῆς αὐτῶν μένωσιν, ἐξέσται μὲν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐμβόλοις αὐτῶς6 ἀναρρηγυνάι, ἐξέσται δὲ καὶ μηχαναῖς πόρωθεν τιτρώσκειν, ἐξέσται δὲ καὶ πυρφόροις βέλεσι καταπιμπράναι. ἃν τε καὶ κινη-θῆναι τὴ τολμήσωσιν, οὔτ' ἂν διώκουσαί τινα καταλάβοιεν οὔτ' ἂν τραπείσαι ἐκφύγοιεν, ἀργῶ-

1 ἡμῶν Bk., ἡμῶν VM. 2 ἡμὴ H. Steph., ἡμὴ VM. 3 κατακεκλειμένοι Dind., κατακεκλειμένοι VM. 4 παρεσκευάδαται Μ, παρεσκευάδαται V. 5 πρὸς ἡμῶν Rk., προσθήκον VM. 6 τοῖς Μ, ταῖς V. 7 αὐτὰς R. Steph., αὐταίς VM.
BOOK L

no number of persons can conquer valour. Because of their race? But they have practised carrying burdens rather than warfare. Because of their experience? But they know better how to row than how to fight at sea. I, for my part, am really ashamed that we are going to contend with such creatures, by vanquishing whom we shall gain no glory, whereas if we are defeated we shall be disgraced.

"And surely you must not think that the size of their vessels or the thickness of the timbers of their ships is a match for our valour. What ship ever by itself either wounded or killed anybody? Will they not by their very height and staunchness be more difficult for their rowers to move and less obedient to their pilots? Of what use can they possibly be to the fighting men on board of them, when these men can employ neither frontal assault nor flank attack, manœuvres which you know are essential in naval contests? For surely they do not intend to employ infantry tactics against us on the sea, nor on the other hand are they prepared to shut themselves up as it were in wooden walls and undergo a siege, since that would be decidedly to our advantage—I mean assaulting wooden barriers. For if their ships remain in the same place, as if fastened there, it will be possible for us to rip them open with our beaks, it will be possible, too, to damage them with our engines from a distance, and also possible to burn them to the water's edge with incendiary missiles; and if they do venture to stir from their place, they will not overtake anyone by pursuing nor escape
30 "Καὶ τὶ δὲὶ πλεῖω λέγοντα περὶ αὐτῶν διατριβεῖν, ὅποτε πολλάκις ἢδη πειραθέντες σφῶν, καὶ περὶ Λευκάδα καὶ ἐνταῦθα πρώην, οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἠλπισθήμεν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πανταχοῦ κρείττους ἐγενόμεθα; ὡστε μὴ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ¹ λόγοις μᾶλλον ἡ τοῖς ὑμετέροις αὐτῶν ἑργοῖς ἐπιρρωσθέντες ἐπιθυμήσατε παντὶ ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος ἐπιθείναι. εὐ γὰρ ἵστε τοῦθ', ὅτι ἂν καὶ τίμερον αὐτοὺς νικήσωμεν, οὐδὲν ἔτι πρᾶγμα ἔξομεν. ἀλλὰς τε γὰρ φύσει πᾶν τὸ ἄνθρωπειον, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἀγώσι σφαλῆ, καὶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ ἅθυματερον γίγνεται· καὶ ἥμεις ἀναμφιλόγως ἐν τῇ γῇ ἀμέινοις αὐτῶν ἔσμεν, ὡστε κἂν ἀκεραίων σφῶν ὄντων κρατῆσαι. καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἵσασιν ὡστε (οὐ γὰρ ἀποκρύψομαι ὡμὰς ὅσα ἁκήκοα) ἄθυμειν τε ἐπὶ τοῖς ἢδη γεγονόσι καὶ ἀπογιγνώσκειν κατὰ χόραν μένοντας σωθήσεσθαι, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα διαδράναι τε τῇ ἐπιχειρεῖν, καὶ τὸν ἐκπλοῦν τοῦτον οὖχ ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀλλ' ὡς ἐσ ³ φυγήν ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ τὰ γε ἁριστὰ καὶ τιμῶτα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοὺς κτημάτων ἐς τὰς ναις ἐντεθεινται, ἦνα, ἄν δυνηθῶσι, μετ' αὐτῶν διαφύγωσιν. ὡς οὖν καὶ ὁμολογοῦντας αὐτοὺς ἄσθενεστέρους ἢμῶν εἶναι, καὶ τὰ ἀθλα τῆς νίκης ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ φέροντας, μὴ περιδώμεν ἀλλοσέ ποι πλεύσαντας, ² ἀλλὰ αὐτοῦ ταῦτῃ κρατήσαντες πάντα αὐτὰ ἀφελώμεθα."  

¹ εµοῖς M, αὐτοῖς V.  
² πλεύσαντας Pflugk, πλεύσοντας VM.
by fleeing, since they are so heavy that they are entirely too inert to inflict any damage, and so huge that they are exceptionally liable to suffer it.

"Indeed, what need is there to spend time in speaking further of them, when we have already often made trial of them, not only off Leucas but also here just the other day, and so far from proving inferior to them, we have everywhere shown ourselves superior? Hence you should be encouraged not so much by my words as by your own deeds, and should desire to put an end forthwith to the whole war. For be well assured that if we beat them today we shall have no further trouble. For in general it is a natural characteristic of human nature everywhere, that whenever a man fails in his first contests he becomes disheartened with respect to what is to come; and as for us, we are so indisputably superior to them on land that we could vanquish them even if they had never suffered any injury. And they are themselves so conscious of this truth—for I am not going to conceal from you what I have heard—that they are discouraged at what has already happened and despair of saving their lives if they stay where they are, and they are therefore endeavouring to make their escape to some place or other, and are making this sally, not with the desire to give battle, but in expectation of flight. In fact, they have placed in their ships the best and most valuable of the possessions they have with them, in order to escape with them if they can. Since, then, they admit that they are weaker than we, and since they carry the prizes of victory in their ships, let us not allow them to sail anywhere else, but let us conquer them here on the spot and take all these treasures away from them."
Toiavta de kai o Kaiser eípe. kai metà touto ebouleúsato mev paréxeinai autous, ópws feúgovoi σφισι kата νότου ἐπίθεται (αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ταχυναυτῶν διὰ βραχέος σφάς αἰρῆσειν ἦλπισε, καὶ ἐκείνων ἐκδήλων ὦτι ἐκδράναι πὴ ἐπιχειροῦσι γενομένων ἀμαχεῖ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐκ τούτου προσ-
2 ἀξεσθαί προσεδόκησεν), κωλυθεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου φοβηθέντος μὴ ύστερήσωσιν αὐτῶν ἱστίοις χρῆσεσθαι μελλόντων, καὶ τι καὶ θαρσή-
σας ὡς οὐ χαλεπῶς κρατήσων ὦτι ύστερος τε ἐν τούτῳ λάβρος καὶ ξάλη πολλῇ ἔς τε τὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ναυτικὸν μόνον ἐσέπεσε καὶ πᾶν αὐτὸ
3 συνετάραξε, τούτου 2 μὲν ἐπέσχε, παμπόλλους δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς πεζοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπιβιβάσας, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐταίρους ἐς ὑπηρετικὰ ἐμβαλὼν, ὅπως ἐν τάχει περιπλέοντες τοῖς τε ναυμαχοῦσι τὰ δέοντα παραινέσωσι καὶ ἑαυτῷ τὰ προσήκοντα
4 διαγγέλλωσι, τὸν ἐκπλοῦν σφῶν ἐπετήρει. καὶ αὐτῶν ἀναχθέντων τε ὑπὸ σάλπυγγος, καὶ πυκναῖς ταῖς ναυσίν ὀλίγον ἔξω τῶν στενῶν παραταξα-
μένων καὶ μηδαμὴ προιόντων, ὀρμήσε μὲν ὦς καὶ ἑστῶσι σφισὶ προσμίζων ἥ καὶ ἀναχωρῆσαι σφας ποιῆσων ἐπεὶ δ' ὑτ' ἀντεξώρμησαν ὅτ' ἀνε-
στρεψαν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ χώραν ἐμενον καὶ προσέτι
5 καὶ ἰσχυρῶς τῇ συντάξει ἐπεπύκνωστο, ἐν ἀπόρῳ τε ἐσχετο, καὶ τὰς κόπτας ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ τοῖς ναύταις καθεῖναι κελεύσας ἀνέσχε χρόνον τινᾷ, καὶ μετὰ

1 αὐτῶν R Steph., αὐτῶν VM.
2 τούτου Xyl., τούτο VM.
Such were Caesar’s words. After this he formed a plan to let them slip by, intending to fall upon them in the rear as they fled, for he hoped on his own part that by swift sailing he should speedily capture Antony and Cleopatra, and expected that then, when they had made it clear that they were attempting to run away, he could in consequence of their act win over the rest without fighting. He was restrained, however, by Agrippa, who feared that they would be too slow for the fugitives, who were going to use sails, and he was also confident himself that he would conquer without difficulty, because in the meantime a violent rainstorm, accompanied by a mighty wind, had struck Antony’s fleet, though not his own, and had thrown it utterly into confusion. Hence he abandoned this plan, and following the plan of Antony, put large numbers of infantry on board his ships also, and placed all his friends in auxiliary boats in order that they might quickly sail here and there, giving the necessary advice to the men in action and reporting to him what he ought to know; then he waited for the enemy to sail out. And when they set sail at the sound of the trumpet, and with their ships in dense array drew up their line a little outside the strait and advanced no further, Caesar set out as if to engage with them, if they stood their ground, or even to make them retire. But when they neither came out against him on their side nor turned to retire, but remained where they were, and not only that, but also vastly increased the density of their line by their close formation, Caesar checked his course, in doubt what to do. He then ordered his sailors to let their oars rest in the water, and waited
τούτο τὰ κέρατα ἐξαίφνησε ἀμφότερα ἀπὸ σημείου ἐπεξαγαγών ἐπέκαμψεν, ἐλπίσας μάλιστα μὲν περιστοιχεῖσθαι σφας, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὴν γονὴν τάξιν
6 αὐτῶν διαλύσειν. ο ὦν Ἀντώνιος φοβηθεὶς τὴν τε ἐπίκαμψιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν περίσχεσιν ἀντεπ-εξηγάγετο ὅσον ἐδύνατο, καὶ ἐς χείρας εἰ καὶ ἀκών ᾦλθε.
32 Καὶ οὕτω συμπεσόντες ἐναυμάχησαν, πολλὰ μὲν παρακελεύσματα 1 ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἐκάτεροι καὶ τῆς τέχνης καὶ τῆς προθυμίας ποιούμενοι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ κελεύματα παρὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου σφίσων
2 ἐπιβοώντων ἑσακούοντες. ἤγονίζοντο δὲ οὕχ ὀμοιοτρόπως, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν 2 τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀτε καὶ μικροτέρας καὶ ταχυτέρας τὰς ναῦς ἔχοντες, ῥοθίω τε ἐχρόντο καὶ ἐνέβαλλον πεφραγμένοι πάντη τοῦ μὴ τιτρώσκεθαι· καὶ εἰ μὲν κατέδυσαν τινα, εἰ
3 δὲ μὴ, ἀνεκρούντο πρὶν ἐς χείρας ἐλθεῖν, καὶ ἦτοι τοῖς αὐτοῖς αὐθίς ἐξαίφνης ἐνέβαλλον, ἡ τοῦς μὲν εἰὼν ἐπ᾽ ἀλλοὺς δὲ ἐτρέποντο, καὶ τι καὶ τούτους 3 όσ διὰ βραχέος ἐργασάμενοι πρὸς ἀλλους καὶ πάλιν μάλα ἀλλοὺς ἐχώρουν, ὅπως ὡς μάλιστα
4 ἀπροσδοκήτους τις προσφέρωνται. οὐα γὰρ φο-βούμενοι μὲν τὴν ἐκ πολλοῦ αὐτῶν ἅλκην φοβοῦ-μενοι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν χεραὶ μάχην, οὔτε ἐν τῷ πρόσπλω ὡστε ἐν τῇ συμμίξει ἐνεχρόνιοι, ἀλλ᾽ ὑποδραμόντες αἰφνίδιον 4 ὅστε τὴν τοξείαν σφῶν φθῆναι, καὶ τρόποτες τίνα ἢ καὶ συνταράξαντες μόνον ὡστε τὴν κάθεξιν ἐκφυγεῖν, ἀνεχώρουν ἐξω
5 βέλους. οἱ δ᾽ ἐτεροί τοὺς τε προσπλέοντὰς σφισι

1 παρακελεύσματα Ηιν., παρακελεύσματα ΒΜ.
2 μὲν Μ, μὲν ύπὸ Β. 3 τούτους Β Xιφ., τούτου Μ.
4 αἰφνίδιον Στ., ἀναίφνιδιον ΒΜ.
for a time; after this he suddenly, at a given signal, led forward both his wings and bent his line in the form of a crescent, hoping if possible to surround the enemy, or otherwise to break their formation in any case. Antony, accordingly, fearing this flanking and encircling movement, advanced to meet it as best he could, and thus reluctantly joined battle with Caesar.

So they engaged and began the conflict, each side indulging in a great deal of exhortation to its own men in order to call forth the skill and zeal of the fighters, and also hearing many orders shouted out to them from the men on shore. The struggle was not of a similar nature on the two sides, but Caesar's followers, having smaller and swifter ships, would dash forward and ram the enemy, being armoured on all sides to avoid receiving damage. If they sank a vessel, well and good; if not, they would back water before coming to grips, and would either ram the same vessels suddenly again, or would let those go and turn their attention to others; and having done some damage to these also, so far as they could in a brief time, they would proceed against others and then against still others, in order that their assault upon any vessel might be so far as possible unexpected. For since they dreaded the long-range missiles of the enemy no less than their fighting at close quarters, they wasted no time either in the approach or in the encounter, but running up suddenly so as to reach their object before the enemy's archers could get in their work, they would inflict injuries or else cause just enough disturbance to escape being held, and then would retire out of range. The enemy, on the other hand, tried to hit the approaching ships with
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πολλοῖς καὶ πυκνοῖς καὶ λίθοις καὶ τοξεύμασιν ἔβαλλον, καὶ ἐς τοὺς προσμιγνύντας χείρας σιδηρᾶς ἐπερρίπτουν. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐπιτύχοιεν αὐτῶν, κρείττους ἐγένετο, εἰ δὲ ἀμάρτοιεν, τρωθέντων ἂν σφισί τῶν σκαφῶν ἐβαπτίζοντο, ἥ καὶ περὶ τὸ μὴν παθεῖν τούτῳ ἀποδιατρίβοντες εὐπεπιθετῶτεροι ἀλλοις τισιν ἐγένετο: δύο τε γὰρ ἥ καὶ τρεῖς ἀμα τῇ αὐτῇ νηπίοις προσπίπτουσιν αἱ μὲν ἔδρων ὡσα ἐδύναντο, αἱ δὲ ἔπασχον. ἐπονοοῦν δὲ καὶ ἐκαμνοῦν τοῖς μὲν οἳ τε κυβερνῆταί καὶ οἱ ἐρέται μάλιστα, τοῖς δὲ οἱ ἐπιβάται: καὶ ἐφόκεσαν οἱ μὲν ἑπεύθυν τοτὲ μὲν ἐπελαύνουσι τοτὲ δὲ ἐξαναχωροῦσι διὰ τὸ τοὺς τε ἐπίπλους καὶ τὰς ἀνακρούσεις ἐπὶ αὑτοῖς εἶναι, οἱ δὲ ὀπλίταις τοὺς τε πλησιάζοντάς σφισὶ φυλασσομένοις καὶ κατέχειν αὐτούς ὃτι μάλιστα πειραμένοις. κἂν τούτου ἐπτελευκτοῦν τε ἀλλήλων, οἱ μὲν ἐς τε τοὺς ταρσοὺς τῶν νεῶν ύποπίπτοντες καὶ τὰς κώπας ἑπιπάντοτε, οἱ δὲ ἀνωθεν αὐτοὺς καὶ πέτρας καὶ μηχανήμασι βαπτίζοντες· καὶ ἡλαττοῦντο αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐ τοὺς προσίνοντας σφίσιν οὔδεν κακοργεῖν ἐδύναντο, οἱ δὲ ὡς οἱ καὶ κατέδυσαν τινὰς ἐμβαλόντες, οὐκέτι ἐξ ἱσοῦ σφίσιν εν τῇ συνεργείᾳ ἠγωνίζοντο.

33 Ἀγχωμάλοις οὖν ἐπὶ πολὺ τὴς ναυμαχίας οὐσις καὶ μηδετέρων ὑπερέχειν πὴ δυναμένων τέλος τοιόνδε τι ἐγένετο. ἡ Κλεοπάτρα κατόπιν τῶν μαχομένων ἀποσαλεύουσα οὐκ ἤνεγκε τὴν πολλὴν 2 καὶ ἀκριτον τοῦ ἄδηλου μέλλησιν, ἀλλ' ἀποκναι-

1 προσμιγνύντας Dind., προσμιγνύντας VM Xiph.
2 τὸ μὴ M Xiph., μὲν τὸ V.
3 ἀλλοις M Xiph., ἀλλήλωις V.
4 τοὺς Bk., τοὺς μὲν VM.
5 μὴ καὶ Reim., καὶ μὴ VM. 6 ναυμαχίας M, μαχαίας V.

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dense showers of stones and arrows, and to cast iron grapnelns upon their assailants. And in case they could reach them they got the better of it, but if they missed, their own boats would be pierced and would sink, or else in their endeavour to avoid this calamity they would waste time and lay themselves more open to attack by other ships; for two or three ships would fall at one time upon the same ship, some doing all the damage they could while the others took the brunt of the injuries. On the one side the pilots and the rowers endured the most hardship and fatigue, and on the other side the marines; and the one side resembled cavalry, now making a charge and now retreating, since it was in their power to attack and back off at will, and the others were like heavy-armed troops guarding against the approach of foes and trying their best to hold them. Consequently each gained advantages over the other; the one party would run in upon the lines of oars projecting from the ships and shatter the blades, and the other party, fighting from the higher level, would sink them with stones and engines. On the other hand, there were also disadvantages on each side: the one party could do no damage to the enemy when it approached, and the other party, if in any case it failed to sink a vessel which it rammed, was hemmed in and no longer fought an equal contest.

The battle was indecisive for a long time and neither antagonist could get the upper hand anywhere, but the end came in the following way. Cleopatra, riding at anchor behind the combatants, could not endure the long and anxious waiting until a decision could be reached, but true to her nature
σθείσα, ἀπὸ τὸ τοῦ γυναικείου καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀιγυ-
πτίου, τῇ τε ἐπὶ πολὺ μετεώρῳ ἀγωνίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀεὶ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα περίδεεί προσδοκία αὐτή τε ἐς φυγήν ἔξαπιναιός ὄρμησε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ὑπηκόοις
3 σημεῖον ἦρε. καὶ οὗτο τὰ τε ἱστία αὐτῶν εὐθὺς ἀραμένων καὶ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφέντων, ἄνεμον τινὸς κατὰ τύχην φοροῦ συμβάντος, νομίζας ὁ Ἀντώνιος οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας αὐτούς ἐκ παραγγέλσεως ἀλλ' ὑπὸ δέος ὡς καὶ νευκημένους
4 φεύγειν ἐφέσπετο σφισθ. γενομένου δὲ τοῦτοι καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ στρατιῶται καὶ ἠθύμησαν καὶ ἐταραχθησαν, καὶ προσαποδράναι καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπου τινα ἠθέλῆσαντες οἱ μὲν τὰ ἱστία ἦρον, οἱ δὲ τοὺς τε πύργους καὶ τὰ ἐπιπλα ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν
5 ἐρρίπτουν, ὅπως κοινῆσαντες διαφύγωσι. καὶ αὐ-
toῖς περὶ ταῦτα ἔχουσιν οἱ ἐναντίοι προσπεσοῦντες (τοὺς γὰρ φεύγοντας, ἀτε καὶ ἄνευ ἱστίων ὄντες καὶ πρὸς τὴν ναυμαχίαν μόνην παρεσκευασμένοι, οὐκ ἔπεδίωξαν) πολλοὶ ἐκάστη νη καὶ ἐκαθέν
καὶ ἐν χρῷ ἐμαχέσαντο, ὡστε καὶ ποικιλώτατον καὶ ἤξυτατον ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως τῶν ἀγώνα
6 γενέσθαι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰ τέ κατώ τῶν νεῶν πάντα πέριξ ἐκακοῦργουν καὶ τὰς κόπτας συνέθραυσαν καὶ τὰ πηδάλια ἀπῆραττον, καὶ ἐπαναβαίνουσε ἐπὶ τα καταστρώματα τοὺς μὲν κατέστων ἀντιλαμ-
βανόμενοι τοὺς δὲ ἐώθουν, τοῖς δὲ ἐμάχοντο ἀτε
7 καὶ ἱσοπληθείς αὐτοῖς ἤδη ὄντες οἱ δὲ τοῖς τε κοντοῖς σφᾶς διεσθοῦντο καὶ ταῖς ἄξιναις ἐκο-
1 προσαποδράναι Rk., πως ἀποδράναι VM.
2 ἦρον Polak, ἦγειρον VM.
3 πολλοὶ Bk., πολλοὶ τε VM.
4 ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι R. Steph., ἀντικαταβανόμενοι VM.
5 διεσθοῦντο Bk., διώκοντο VM.

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as a woman and an Egyptian, she was tortured by the agony of the long suspense and by the constant and fearful expectation of either possible outcome, and so she suddenly turned to flight herself and raised the signal for the others, her own subjects. And thus, when they straightway raised their sails and sped out to sea, since a favouring wind had by chance arisen, Antony thought they were fleeing, not at the bidding of Cleopatra, but through fear because they felt themselves vanquished, and so he followed them. When this took place the rest of the soldiers became both discouraged and confused, and wishing to make their own escape also in some way or another, they proceeded, some to raise their sails and others to throw the towers and the furnishings into the sea, in order to lighten the vessels and make good their escape. While they were occupied in this way their adversaries fell upon them; they had not pursued the fugitives, because they themselves were without sails and were prepared only for a naval battle, and there were many to fight against each ship, both from afar and alongside. Therefore on both sides alike the conflict took on the greatest variety and was waged with the utmost bitterness. For Caesar's men damaged the lower parts of the ships all around, crushed the oars, snapped off the rudders, and climbing on the decks, seized hold of some of the foe and pulled them down, pushed off others, and fought with yet others, since they were now equal to them in numbers; and Antony's men pushed their assailants back
πτον, πέτρους τε καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ὤγκους ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο παρεσκευασμένους ἐπικατέβαλλον, καὶ τοὺς τε ἀναβαίνοντας ἀπεκρούοντο καὶ τοὺς ἑσ χείρας

8 ἠδύσι συνεφέροντο. εἶκασεν ἂν τις ἱδὼν τὰ γιγνόμενα, ὡς μικρὰ μεγάλους ὅμοιώσαι, τείχεσί τιςν ἦ καὶ νήσοις πολλαῖς καὶ πυκναῖς ἐκ θαλάσσης πολιορκουμέναις. οὕτως οἱ μὲν ἐπιβήναι τε τῶν σκαφῶν ὡσπερ ἥπειρον ἕρματος τινος ἑπειρώντο, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐς τοῦτο φέροντα σπουδὴ προσήγουν οἱ δὲ ἀπεωθοῦντο αὐτοῦς, ὁ τι ποτὲ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ φιλεῖ δράσθαι μηχανώμενοι.

34 Ἀντιπάλως οὖν αὐτῶν μαχομένων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπορήσας ἦ τι πράξῃ, πυρ ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μετεπέμψα. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἠθέλησαν αὐτῶ, ὡς τὰ χρήματα περιποιήσηται, χρήσασθαι τότε ἐς ἱδὼν ὅτι ἀδύνατον οἱ εἰς ἄλλως πως κρατῆσαι, ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνο ὡς καὶ μόνον σφίσιν

2 ἐπικουρήσουν κατέφυγε. κανταῦθα ἄλλοι οὗ εἴδος μάχης συνηνέχθη. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλαχὴ ἁμα προσπλέοντες τις βέλη τε πυρφόρα ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἑξετάζουν καὶ λαμπάδας ἐκ χειρὸς ἐπηκόντυξαν καὶ τίνας καὶ χυμίδας ἀνθράκων καὶ πίτης πλήρεις πόρρωθεν μηχαναῖς ἐπηρίπττουν.

3 οἱ δὲ ταῦτα τὲ ὁς ἐκκαστὰ διεκπίπτοντο τῶν τε ἔτοιμων ἠπτατο καὶ φλόγα αὐτίκα πολλὴν, ἄτε ἐν νη, ἤγειρε, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῷ ποτίμῳ ὕδατι δ' ἑπεφέροντο ἑχρώντο, καὶ τίνα κατέσβεσαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκείνῳ

4 καταναλώθη, ἤμτουν τὸ θαλάσσιον. καὶ εἰ μὲν πολλῷ τε καὶ ἄθροῶ αὐτϊ ἑχρώντο, ἐπείχιόν πως

1 ἥπειρον Bk., ἐπ' ἥπειρον VM.
2 ἄλλο M, ἄν ἄλλο V.
with boathooks, cut them down with axes, hurled down upon them stones and heavy missiles made ready for just this purpose, drove back those who tried to climb up, and fought with those who came within reach. An eye-witness of what took place might have compared it, likening small things to great, to walled towns or else islands, many in number and close together, being besieged from the sea. Thus the one party strove to scale the boats as they would the dry land or a fortress, and eagerly brought to bear all the implements that have to do with such an operation, and the others tried to repel them, devising every means that is commonly used in such a case.

As the fight continued equal, Caesar, at a loss what he should do, sent for fire from the camp. Previously he had wished to avoid using it, in order to gain possession of the money; but now that he saw it was impossible for him to win in any other way, he had recourse to this, as the only thing that would assist him. And now another kind of battle was entered upon. The assailants would approach their victims from many directions at once, shoot blazing missiles at them, hurl with their hands torches fastened to javelins and with the aid of engines would throw from a distance pots full of charcoal and pitch. The defenders tried to ward these missiles off one by one, and when some of them got past them and caught the timbers and at once started a great fire, as must be the case in a ship, they used first the drinking water which they carried on board and extinguished some of the conflagrations, and when that was gone they dipped up the sea-water. And if they used great quantities of it at once, they would somehow
τὴ βία τὸ πῦρ ἀδύνατοι δὲ δὴ πανταχὺ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ὄντες (οὔτε γὰρ πολλὰ ἤ καὶ μεγάλα τὰ ἀντλητηρία εἰχον, καὶ ἡμιδεὰ¹ αὐτὰ ἀτε ταραττό-
μενοι ἀνέφερον) οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ὠφελοῦντο τι ἀλλὰ καὶ προσπαρώξυνον αὐτό· ἡ γὰρ ἄλμη ἡ θαλαττία ἀν κατ’ ὀλίγον ἐπιχένται φλογί, ἱσχυρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκκαίει. ὡς οὖν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἦττος ἐγίγνοντο,
τὰ τε ἱμάτια αὐτῶν ² τὰ παχέα καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐπέβαλλον καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἐκολούθη τε ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τὸ πῦρ καὶ ἐδοξέξ τη λωφάν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἅλλως τε καὶ τοῦ ἀνέμου σφοδρὸς ἐπιστέρξαμος ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐξέλαμψεν, ἀτε καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἀνεῖνόμενον. καὶ μέχρι μὲν μέρος τι νεώς ἐκαίετο, προσίσταντο τὲ τινὲς αὐτῷ καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσεπήδων, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπέκοπτον τὰ δὲ διεφόρουν καὶ αὐτὰ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐρρίπτουν, εἰ πως καὶ ἐκείνους τι λυμηναίτω. καὶ ἔτερον πρὸς τὸ ἀεί υγίες αὐτῆς μεθιστάμενοι ταῖς τε χερῶι ταῖς σιδηραῖς καὶ τοῖς δόρασι τοῖς μακροῖς τότε δὴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἔχρωντο, ὅπως τινὰ ἀντίπαλον ναῦν προσαρτή-
σαντὲς σφισὶ μάλιστα μὲν μετεκβῶσιν ἐς αὐτὴν,
35 εἰ δὲ μῆ, καὶ ἐκείνην συγκαταφλέξωσιν. ὡς δὲ οὔτε τινὲς ἐπέλαξον σφισιν, αὐτὸ τὸ ὑπὸ φυλασσό-
μενοι, καὶ τὸ πῦρ τοὺς τε τοῖχους πέριξ ἐπενέμετο καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος κατῆι, ἑνταῦθα τὰ δεινότατα
2 αὐτῶν ἐπεγένετο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ καπνοῦ, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ναῦται, πρὶν καὶ πλησιάσας σφίσι τὴν φλόγα ἐφθαρόντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ μέσῃ ὀδηπέρ ἐν καμίνους ὠπτώντο. ἅλλοι ὑπὸ τῶν
3 ὀπλῶν πυρουμένων κατετήκοντο. ἅλλοι πρὶν τὶ
¹ ἡμιδεὰ Bk., ἡμίσεα VM. ² αὐτῶν Bayfius, αὐτῶν VM.
stop the fire by main force; but they were unable to do this everywhere, for the buckets they had were not numerous nor of large size, and in their confusion they brought them up half full, so that, far from helping the situation at all, they only increased the flames, since salt water poured on a fire in small quantities makes it burn vigorously. So when they found themselves getting the worst of it in this respect also, they heaped on the blaze their thick mantles and the corpses, and for a time these checked the fire and it seemed to abate; but later, especially when the wind raged furiously, the flames flared up more than ever, fed by this very fuel. So long as only a part of a ship was on fire, men would stand by that part and leap into it, hewing away or scattering the timbers; and these detached timbers were hurled by some into the sea and by others against their opponents, in the hope that they, too, might possibly be injured by these missiles. Others would go to the still sound portion of the ship and now more than ever would make use of their grappling-irons and their long spears with the purpose of binding some hostile ship to theirs and crossing over to it, if possible, or, if not, of setting it on fire likewise. But when none of the enemy came near enough, since they were guarding against this very thing, and when the fire spread to the encircling walls and descended into the hold, the most terrible of fates came upon them. Some, and particularly the sailors, perished by the smoke before the flame so much as approached them, while others were roasted in the midst of it as though in ovens. Others were consumed in their armour when it became heated. There were still others, who, before they
τοιούτο παθεῖν, ἢ καὶ ἡμίκαντοι, οἱ μὲν ἀπορριπτόντες τὰ ὅπλα ἐτιτρώσκοντο ὑπὸ τῶν πόρρωθεν βαλλόντων, οἱ δὲ ἐσ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκπηδώντες ἀπεπνύοντο ἢ καὶ παιόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναυτῶν ἐβαπτίζοντο ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ θηρίων ἐσπαράττοντο. 4 μόνοι τε ἀνεκτῶς, ὡς ἐν τοιούτοις παθήμασιν, ἀπῆλλαξαν ὁςοι, πρὶν τινι αὐτῶν συνενεχθῆναι, οἱ μὲν ἀλλήλους οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπέκτειναν· οὔτε γὰρ κολαστήριον τι ὑπέμειναν, καὶ νεκροὶ ὠσπερ ἐν πυρᾷ ταῖς ναυσὶ συγκατακαύθησαν. 5 Ὁρῶντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Καισάρειοι πρότερον μὲν, ὡς ἐτι ἀμύνεσθαί τινες αὐτῶν ἐδύναντο, οὐ προσεμισθέντοι σφισιν ἐπεὶ δὲ τά τε σκάφη τὸ πῦρ συνήρει, καὶ οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ οὐδὲ ἐστάτοι ἐτι βοηθῆσαι, μὴ ὅτι πολέμιον τινα λυπῆσαι τι ἐδύναντο, σπουδὴ τε προσέπλεον αὐτοῖς, εἴ πως τὰ χρήματα περιπουώσαντο, καὶ κατασβενύναι τὸ πῦρ, 6 ὁ αὐτοὶ παρεσκεύασαν, ἐπειρώντο. κακὸ τοῦτο συνηρεῖ καὶ ἐκείνων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς φλογὸς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρπαγῶν ἡ ἀπώλοντο.  

1 ἀρπαγῶν Dind., ἀρπάγων VM.
should suffer such a death, or when they were half-burned, threw off their armour and were wounded by the shots which came from a distance, or again leaped into the sea and were drowned, or were struck by their opponents and sank, or were mangled by sea-monsters. Those alone found a death that was tolerable, considering the sufferings which prevailed, who were killed by their fellows in return for the same service, or else killed themselves, before any such fate could befall them; for they not only had no tortures to endure, but when dead had the burning ships for their funeral pyres.

When Caesar's forces saw the situation, they at first refrained from approaching the enemy, since some of them were still able to defend themselves; but when the fire began to destroy the ships, and the men, far from being able to do any harm to an enemy, could not even help themselves any longer, they eagerly sailed up to them in the hope that they might possibly gain possession of the money, and they endeavoured to extinguish the fire which they themselves had caused. Consequently many of these men also fell victims to the flames and to their own rapacity.
We have a lot of work to do. It's important to remember that the
project is now in progress. We need to keep
tracking our progress and make sure that we are
meeting our deadlines. It's also important to
communicate effectively with our team members.

Let's make sure that everyone is on the same
page and that we are all working towards the
same goals. We can achieve great things if we
remain focused and committed to our
tasks.

Any questions or concerns? Let's discuss them
and find solutions together.
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