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
VI

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

BOOK LI

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ πρῶτῳ τῶν Δίωνος 'Ρωμαίων

α. 'Ως Καίσαρ νικήσας περὶ Ἄκτιον τὰ παρόντα διέθετο.
β. Περὶ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας καὶ δὲν ἔκραζεν μετὰ τὴν ἡμέραν.
γ. 'Ως Ἀντώνιος ἤττηθεῖς ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ ἕως τὸν ἄρχετειν.
δ. 'Ως Καίσαρ Ἀγυπτικόν ἑξειρώσατο.
ε. 'Ως Καίσαρ ἐσ Ἁρμην ἐπλεξε καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἠγαγενεν.
ζ. 'Ως τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ Ἰουλιον καθιερώθη.
η. 'Ως Μυσία ἑάλω.

Χρόνου πλήθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Καίσαρος τὸ γ' καὶ Μ. Οὐαλερίου
Κορούλιου Μεσσάλου ὑπατελασ καὶ ἄλλα ἔπε γ' ἐν ὅς ἅρχοντες οἱ
ἀριθμοῦμεν οἴδη ἐγένοντο

Καίσαρ τὸ δ'
Μ. Δικαίνιος Μ. ν. Κράσσος 1 ὕπ.
Καίσαρ τὸ ε'
Σέξτος ὁ Ἀπολείος 2 Σέξτος ν. ὕπ. 8

Τοιαύτη τις ἡ ναυμαχία αὐτῶν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τοῦ
Σεπτεμβρίου ἐγένετο. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως ἔγραμ(ο)ν
(οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶθα αὐτὸ ποιεῖν) ἀλλ' ὅτι τότε
πρώτον ὁ Καίσαρ τὸ κράτος παῖν μόνον ἔσχεν,
2 ὡστε καὶ τὴν ἀπαρίθμησιν τῶν τῆς μοναρχίας

1 Κράσσος supplied by H. Steph.
2 Ἀπολείος CARY, Ἀπολλής M, Ἀπολλίος V.
The following is contained in the Fifty-first of Dio’s Rome:—
How Caesar after his victory at Actium settled matters of immediate concern (chaps. 1-4).
Concerning Antony and Cleopatra and their movements after their defeat (chaps. 5-8).
How Antony, defeated in Egypt, killed himself (chaps. 9-10).
How Caesar subdued Egypt (chaps. 15-18).
How Caesar came to Rome and celebrated his triumph (chap. 21).
How the Curia Iulia was dedicated (chap. 22).
How Moesia was conquered (chaps. 23-27).

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

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

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

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\[\text{supplied by Bs.}\]
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αὐτοῦ ἐτῶν ἀπ’ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἀκριβοῦσθαι. καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῇ τῷ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἁκτίῳ τριήρῃ τε καὶ τετρήρῃ, τά τε ἄλλα τά ἐξῆς μέχρι δεκηροὺς, ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων νεῶν ἀνέθηκε, καὶ ναὸν μεῖζω φικοδόμησεν, ἀγώνα τέ τινα καὶ γυμνικῶν καὶ μουσικῆς ἱπποδρομίας τε πεντετερικῶν ἱερῶν (οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς τὴν σίτησιν ἔχοντας ὀνομάξουσι) κατέδειξεν, "Ἀκτία αὐτὸν προσαγορεύσας.

3 πόλιν τέ τινα ἐν τῷ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τόπῳ, τοὺς μὲν συναγείρας τοὺς δ’ ἀναστήσας τῶν πλησιοχώρων, συνάγοντες, Νικόπολιν ὠνομα αὐτῇ δοὺς. τὸ τε χωρίον ἐν φ’ ἐσκήνυσε, λίθοις τε τετραπέδαις ἐκρηπίδωσε καὶ τοῖς ἁλοῦσιν ἐμβόλοις ἐκόσμησεν, ἔδος τι ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὑπαίθριον ἱδρυσάμενος.

4 Ταύτα μὲν ύστερον ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ μέρος μὲν τι τῶν νεῶν ἐς δίωξιν τοῦ τῷ Ἁντωνίου καὶ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἔστειλε· καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπεδίωξαν μὲν αὐτοὺς, ἔπει δ’ ο/liκὴ ἐν καταλήψει ἐφαίνοντο, ἀνεχόρησαν· ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς τὸ τάφρευμα αὐτῶν, μηδενὸς ἐναντιομένου δι’ ὀλιγότητα, ἐλαβε, καὶ μετὰ ταύτα καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν στρατὸν ἐς Μακεδονιὰν ἀπιόντα καταλαβὼν ἀμαξεί παρεστήσατο.

5 ἦδη δὲ καὶ διέφυγον ἄλλοι τε καὶ τῶν πρώτων οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς τὸν Ἁντωνίουν, οἱ δ’ ἐτεροί οἱ συμμαχήσαντες αὐτῷ οἰκαδε. οὐ μέντοι ἦν καὶ ἀντεπολέμησαν οὕτω ἔτι τῷ Καίσαρι,

1 μὲν Βκ., ἐν ΒΜ.
2 ἐν καταλήψει R. Steph., ἐγκαταλήψει ΒΜ.
the years of his reign are properly reckoned from that day.\footnote{Dio is very careful to date each emperor's reign precisely. Cf. Preface to vol. i. p. xiii.} In honour of the day he dedicated to Apollo of Actium from the total number of the captured vessels a trireme, a quadrireme, and the other ships in order up to one of ten banks of oars; and he built a larger temple. He also instituted a quadrennial musical and gymnastic contest, including horse-racing,—a "sacred" festival, as they call those in connexion with which there is a distribution of food,—and entitled it Actia. Furthermore, he founded a city on the site of his camp by gathering together some of the neighbouring peoples and dispossessing others, and he named it Nicopolis.\footnote{i.e. "City of Victory." The same name had been given by Pompey to a town founded after his defeat of Mithridates. See xxxvi. 50.} On the spot where he had had his tent, he laid a foundation of square stones, adorned it with the captured beaks, and erected on it, open to the sky, a shrine of Apollo.

But these things were done later. At the time he sent a part of the fleet in pursuit of Antony and Cleopatra; these ships, accordingly, followed after the fugitives, but when it became clear that they were not going to overtake them, they returned. With his remaining vessels he captured the enemy's entrenchments, meeting with no opposition because of their small numbers, and then overtook and without a battle won over the rest of the army, which was retreating into Macedonia. There were various important contingents that had already escaped; of these the Romans fled to Antony and the allies to their homes. The latter, however, no longer fought
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άλλα καθ' ἃνυχίαν καὶ ἐκείνοι καὶ οἱ δῆμοι πάντες, ὅσοι καὶ πρῶτον ἔρρωμαίζον, οἱ μὲν
2 εὐθὺς οἱ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοὺθ' ὄμολογησαν. καὶ ὁς
τὰς μὲν πόλεις χρημάτων τε ἐσπράξει καὶ τῆς
λοιπῆς ἐς τοὺς πολίτας σφῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις
ἐξοὺσίας παραιρέσει μετῆλθε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ δυνάστας
tοὺς τε βασιλέας τὰ μὲν χωρία, ὅσα παρὰ τοῦ
'Αντωνίου εἰλήφεσαν, πάντας πλὴν τοῦ τε 'Αμύνθ.
2 τοῦ καὶ τοῦ 'Αρχελάος ἀφείλετο, Φιλοπάτορα
dὲ τὸν Ταρκοντικοῦ καὶ Λυκομήδην ἐν μέρει
tοῦ Καππαδοκικοῦ Πόντου βασιλεύοντα τὸν τε
'Αλέξανδρον τὸν τοῦ Ἰαμβλίχου ἀδελφὸν καὶ
tῶν δυναστείων ἐπαυσε' καὶ τούτον, ὅτι μισθὸν
αὐτὴν τῆς ἐκείνου κατηγορίας εἰλήφει, καὶ ἐς τὰ
3 ἐπινίκια παραγαγὼν ἀπέκτεινε. τὴν δὲ τοῦ Λυκο-
μήδους Μηδείῳ των ἐδωκεν, ὅτι τοὺς τε Μυσιῶν
tοὺς 1 ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἀπὸ τοῦ 'Αντωνίου πρὸ τῆς
ναυμαχίας ἀπέστησε, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐν τῇ
μερίδι αὐτοῦ ὀνόμων ἐπολέμησε. Κυδωνιάτας 2 τοῦ
καὶ Λαμπαίους ἐλευθέρους ἀφῆκεν, ὅτι τινὰ αὐτὸς
συνήραντο καὶ τοῖς γε Λαμπαίους καὶ τὴν πόλιν
4 ἀνεστώσαν συγκατόκυσε, τῶν τε Βουλευτῶν
καὶ τῶν ἑπτάν τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν κορυφαίων
tῶν συμπραξῶν τι τῶν 'Αντωνίω πολλοῖς μὲν
χρήμασιν εἴημίωσε, πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐφόνευσε, καὶ
tινῶν καὶ ἐφείσατο. καὶ ἐν μὲν τούτως ὃ τοῦ
Σάσσιος ἐπιφανῆς ἐγένετο (πολλάκις τε γὰρ
ἀντιπολεμήσας αὐτῷ καὶ τότε φυγῶν καὶ κατα-
κρυφθεῖς, χρόνῳ τε ὑστερον ἐυρεθεῖς, ὃμως ἐσώθη)
5 καὶ Μάρκος τοῦ Σκαύρος· ἀδελφὸς τε γὰρ τοῦ
Σέξτου ὀμομυθρίου ὃν καὶ θανατωθῆναι κελευσθεὶς

1 τοὺς supplied by St. 2 Κυδωνιάτας Βκ., κυδωνιάτας VM.
against Caesar, but both they and all the peoples which had long been subject to Rome remained quiet and made terms, some at once and others later. Caesar now punished the cities by levying money and taking away the remnant of authority over their citizens that their assemblies still possessed. He deprived all the princes and kings except Amyntas and Archelaus of the lands which they had received from Antony, and he also deposed from their thrones Philopator, the son of Tarcondimotus, Lycomedes, the king of a part of Cappadocian Pontus, and Alexander, the brother of Iamblichus. The last-named, because he had secured his realm as a reward for accusing Caesar, he led in his triumphal procession and afterwards put to death. He gave the kingdom of Lycomedes to one Medeius, because the latter had detached the Mysians in Asia\(^1\) from Antony before the naval battle and with them had waged war upon those who were on Antony's side. He gave the people of Cydonia and Lampe\(^2\) their liberty, because they had rendered him some assistance; and in the case of the Lampaeans he helped them to found anew their city, which had been destroyed. As for the senators and knights and the other leaders who had aided Antony in any way, he imposed fines upon many of them, slew many others, and some he actually spared. In this last class Sosius was a conspicuous example; for though he had often fought against Caesar and was now hiding in exile and was not found until later, nevertheless he was saved. Likewise one Marcus Scaurus, a half-brother of Sextus on his mother's side, had been condemned to death,

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\(^1\) Cf. note on xlix. 36.

\(^2\) Usually called Lappa.
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eîta dià tîn μητέρα tîn Μουκίαν ἀφείθη. τῶν δὲ κολασθέντων 'Ακύλιοι τε Φλώροι καὶ Κουρίων οὖν μάλιστ’ ἔσχον, οὗτος μὲν ὅτι τοῦ Κουρίωνος ἐκεῖνου τοῦ ποτὲ τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ πολλά
6 συναραμένου νῖός ἦν, οἳ δὲ δὴ Φλώροι ὅτι τὸν ἔτερον τὸν λαχώντα κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ σφαγήναι ἀμφότεροι διεφθάρησαν. ἦσαν μὲν γὰρ πατήρ τε καὶ παῖς· ὥς δ’ οὕτως πρὶν λαχεῖν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν τῷ σφαγεὶ ἐκὸν παρέδωκε, περιήγησέ τε ἐκεῖνος καὶ αὐτοχειρίᾳ αὐτῶ ἐπαπέθανεν.

3 Οὕτως μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἀπῆλλαξαν, ὁ δ’ ὁμιλος τῶν Ἀντωνιείων στρατιωτῶν ἐς τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατόπεδα κατετάχθη, καὶ ἔπειτα τοὺς μὲν πολίτας τοὺς ἐξώ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀπ’ ἀμφότεροι, μηδὲν μηδὲν δοῦς, ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπέτεμψε,
2 τοὺς δὲ δὴ λοιποὺς διέσπειρεν ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ φοβεροί οἳ μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἐγένοντο, ἔδεισε μὴ καὶ αὐθίς θορυβῆσωσί, καὶ διὰ τούτ’ ἔσπευσε, πρὶν καὶ ὅτι οὖν ὑποκινηθῆναι, τοὺς μὲν παντελῶς ἐκ τῶν ὄπλων ἀπελάνας, τῶν δὲ τὸ
3 πλῆθος διασπάσατι. τοὺς τε ἐξελευθέρους δι’ ὑποψίας ἔτι καὶ τότε ἔχον τὴν τετάρτην αὐτοῖς ἐσφορὰν ἀφῆκεν, ἢν ἐκ τῶν προσταχθέντων σφίσῃ χρημάτων ἐπώφειλον. καὶ οὕτως μὲν οὖχ ὅτι ἐστέρημνό τινων ἐμμησικάκουν ἔτι, ἅλλ’ ὡς καὶ
4 λαβόντες ὅσα μὴ συνεσθήσεικαν ἔχαιρον οἳ τε ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ ἔτι1 καὶ τότε ὄντες, τὸ μὲν τι πρὸς τῶν στρατιαρχῶν κατεχόμενοι, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον

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

These men, then, fared in the manner described. The mass of Antony's soldiers was incorporated in Caesar's legions, and he later sent back to Italy the citizens of both forces who were over the military age, without giving them anything, and scattered the rest. For they had caused him to fear them in Sicily after his victory there, and he was afraid they might create a disturbance again; hence he made haste, before they gave the least sign of an uprising, to discharge some entirely from the service and to scatter the majority of the others. As he was still at this time suspicious of the freedmen, he remitted to them the fourth payment which they still owed of the money levied upon them.¹ So they no longer bore him any grudge because of what had been taken from them, but rejoiced as if they had actually received the amount they had been relieved from contributing. The men still left in the rank and file also made no trouble, partly because they were held in check by their commanders, but chiefly because of their hopes

¹ i.e. one-quarter of the tax of 12½ per cent. levied upon them a little earlier. See 1. 10. 4.
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tῇ τοῦ Ἀιγυπτίου πλούτου ἐλπίδι, οὐδὲν ἐνεόχ-μωσαν· οἱ δὲ δὴ συννικήσαντες αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς στρατείας ἀφεθέντες ἠσχαλλοῦ ἀτε μηδὲν γέρας εὐρόμενοι, καὶ στασιάζειν οὐκ ἔσερ μακρὰν ἡμᾶντο.

5 καίτοι ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑποτοπῆσας τε αὐτούς, καὶ φοβηθεῖς μὴ τοῦ Μαικήνου, ὥς καὶ τότε ἦ τε Ῥώμη καὶ ἡ λουτπὴ Ἰταλία προσετέκτω, καταφρονή-σωσιν ὅτι ἰππεὺς ἦν, τὸν Ἁγρίππαν ὡς καὶ κατ’ ἄλλο τι ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἑπεμψέ. καὶ τοσαῦτην γ’ ἐπὶ πάντα καὶ ἗κεῖνω καὶ τῷ Μαικήνα ἐξουσίαν ἐδώκεν ὡστε σφάξι καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ἃς τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγκαθε, προσαναγιγνώσκειν, κάκ τοῦτον καὶ μεταγράφειν ὡς ἐβούλοντο.

6 καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ δακτύλιον ἐλάβον παρ’ αὐτοῦ, ἵν’ ἐπισφραγίζεσθαι αὐτὸς ἐχωσί. διπλῆς γὰρ δὴ σφραγίδα, ἡ μάλιστα τότε ἔχρητο, ἐπεποίητο, σφίγγα ἐν ἐκατέρα ὀμοίαν ἐκτυπώσας. ὑστερον γὰρ τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ἐγγυλύφασ ἑκείνῃ τὰ πάντα ἐσημαίνετο. καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοκράτορες, πλὴν Γάλβου, ἐχρήσαντο· οὕτως γὰρ προγονικῷ τινι σφραγίσματι, κύνα ἐκ πρόφας νεώς προκύπτοντα ἐχοντι, ἐνόμισαν. ἐπέστελλε δὲ καὶ ἑκείνως καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸς πάνυ φίλοις, ὁπότε τι δέοιτο δι’ ἀπορρήτων σφίζο δηλώσαι, τὸ δεύτερον ἀεὶ στοιχεῖον τοῦ τῷ ῥήματι προσή-κοντος ἀντ’ ἑκείνου ἀντεγράφων.

7 καὶ ὁ μὲν, ὡς οὐδενὸς ἐτὶ δεινοῦ παρὰ τῶν ἐστρατευμένων ἐσομένου, τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διάκησε καὶ τῶν τῶν θεῶν μυστηρίων μετέλαβεν, ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν κομμηθεῖς καὶ ἑκεῖνα προσκαθί-

1 καῖτοι Μ, καῖτοι καὶ Β.
2 ἐχοντι Χιφ., ἐχοντα ΒΜ.

10
of gaining the wealth of Egypt. The men, however, who had helped Caesar to gain his victory and had been dismissed from the service were irritated at having obtained no reward, and not much later they began to mutiny. But Caesar was suspicious of them and, since he feared that Maecenas, to whom on this occasion also Rome and the rest of Italy had been entrusted, would be despised by them as much as he was only a knight, he sent Agrippa to Italy, ostensibly on some other mission. He also gave to Agrippa and to Maecenas so great authority in all matters that they might even read beforehand the letters which he wrote to the senate and to others and then change whatever they wished in them. To this end they also received from him a ring, so that they might be able to seal the letters again. For he had caused to be made in duplicate the seal which he used most at that time, the design being a sphinx, the same on each copy; since it was not till later that he had his own likeness engraved upon his seal and sealed everything with that. It was this latter that the emperors who succeeded him employed, except Galba, who adopted a seal which his ancestors had used, its device being a dog looking out of a ship's prow. It was the custom of Caesar in writing to these two ministers and to his other intimate friends, whenever there was need of giving them secret information, to substitute in each case for the appropriate letter in a word the letter next in order after it.

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

1 Demeter and Korê.
2 στατο, τά τε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἀμα ἑκαραδόκειν οὐ γάρ πω σαφές τι ὅπη διεποτεύγει ἐπέπνυστο, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ώς καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὀρμήσων, ἀν τι ἄκριβώςη. θουρβησάντων ὃ αὐτῶν ἐν τούτῳ φανερῶς ἀτε καὶ πολὺ ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀπαρτῶντος αὐτού, ἐφοβήθη μή τι κακῶν προστάτου τωδὲ
3 λαβόμενοι δράσωσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' Ἀντώνιον μὲν ἄλλοις ἀναζητήσατε προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἥπειχθε μεσοῦντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐν ὁ τὸ τέταρτον μετὰ ¹ Μάρκου Κράσσου ἤρχεν οὕτως γάρ, καὶ περ τά τε τοῦ Σέξτου καὶ τά τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πράξας, τότε μηδὲ στρατηγήσας συνυπάπτευσεν αὐτῷ. ἐξελθὼν δὲ ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον οὐκέτι
4 περαιτέρω προὐχόρησεν. ἐπεὶ γάρ ἦ τε γερονία πυθομένη τὸν πρόσπλουν αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἐκείσε, πλὴν τῶν τε δημάρχων καὶ στρατηγῶν δύο κατὰ δόγμα καταμεινάντων, ἀπήντησε, καὶ ἦ ἰππάς τοῦ τε δήμου τὸ πλεῖον καὶ ἐτεροί, οἱ μὲν κατὰ πρεσβείας οἱ δὲ ἐθελονταί, πολλοὶ συνήλθον, 5 οὐκέτι οὐδὲν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς πρὸς τε τὴν ἀφίξειν αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν πλεῖόνων σπουδὴν ἐνεοχμώθη, καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι, οἱ μὲν φόβῳ, οἱ δὲ ἐλπίσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ μετάπεμπτοι, πρὸς ἒκοντο καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Καίσαρ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις χρήματα ἐδώκε, τοῖς δὲ διὰ παντὸς αὐτῷ συστρατεύσασι 6 καὶ γῆν προσκατένειμε. ³ τοὺς γὰρ δήμους τοὺς

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

7 δ' ὑπέσχετο. συχνὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τῆς νίκης ἐκτῆσατο, πολλῷ δὲ ἐτὶ πλεῖον ἀνήλισκε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ προέγραψεν ὑπὸ τῷ πρατηρίῳ τά τε ἐαυτοῦ κτήματα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐταίρων, ὡν ἂν τε πρίασθαι τι αὐτῶν ἂν τε καὶ ἀντιλαβεῖν τις

8 ἐθελήσῃ, τούτῳ ποιῆσῃ, καὶ ἐπράθη μὲν οὐδὲν, οὐδ' ἀντεδόθη οὐδὲν τίς γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἐτόλμησεν ὀποτερονοῦν αὐτῶν πράξαι; τῆς δὲ ἐπαγγελίας ἁναβολὴν ἕκ τούτου εὐπρεπῆ λαβῶν ὑστερον αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων λαφύρων ἀπῆλλαξε.

5 Ταῦτα τε οὖν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐπείγοντα διοικήσας, τοὺς τε τινὰ ἄδειαν λαβοῦσι καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ διανιάσθαι (οὐ γὰρ ἐξήν) δοὺς, καὶ τὸν δήμον τὸν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὑπολειφθέντα παρέμενος ὅτι μὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἠλθεν, ἐς τῇ τὴν Ἑλλάδα αὐθίς τριακοστῇ μετὰ τὴν ἀφίξεως ἡμέρα ἀπίρη, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ τοῦ τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὰς ναῦς ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ὑπερευνακῶν οὖν ταχέως ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀνεκομίσθη ὡστε καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον τὴν τε Κλεοπάτραν ἐκάτερον ἁμα, καὶ ὅτι ἀφωρ-

3 μῆθῃ καὶ ὅτι ἐπανῆλθε, μαθεῖν. ὡς γὰρ τότε ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἐφυγον, μέχρι μὲν τῆς Πελοπον-

1 ἐπαγγελίας Xyl., ἀπαγγελίας VM.

14
communities in Italy which had sided with Antony he was able to grant to his soldiers their cities and their farms. To most of those who were dispossessed he made compensation by permitting them to settle in Dyrrachium, Philippi, and elsewhere, while to the remainder he either granted money for their land or else promised to do so; for though he had acquired great sums by his victory, yet he was spending still more by far. For this reason he advertised at auction both his own possessions and those of his companions, in order that any one who desired to purchase any of them, or to take any of them in exchange for something else, might do so. And although nothing was purchased, and nothing taken in exchange, either—for who, pray, would ever have dared follow either course?—yet he secured by this means a plausible excuse for delay in carrying out his promise, and later he discharged the debt out of the spoils of Egypt.

After settling this and the other business that pressed, giving to those who had received a grant of amnesty the right also to live in Italy, not before permitted them, and forgiving the populace which had remained behind in Rome for not having gone to meet him, he set out once more for Greece on the thirtieth day after his arrival. Then, because it was winter, he carried his ships across the isthmus of the Peloponnesus¹ and got back to Asia so quickly that Antony and Cleopatra learned at one and the same time both of his departure and of his return. They, it appears, when they had made their escape from the naval battle at Actium, had gone as far as the

¹ In order to avoid the dangerous passage around Cape Malea.
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υῆσον ὁμοῦ ἀφίκοντο, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τῶν συνόντων τινάς, ὅσους ὑπόπτευον, ἀποπέμψαντες (πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀκόντων αὐτῶν ἀπεχώρησαν) Κλεοπάτρα μὲν ἐς τὴν Αἰγύπτου, μὴ τι τῆς συμφορᾶς σφῶν προπυθόμενοι νεωτέρωσιν, ἦπειρχθη, καὶ ὅπως γε καὶ τὸν πρόσπλουν ἀσφαλῆ ποιήσηται, τὰς τε πρώρας ὡς καὶ κεκρατηκώς κατέστεψε καὶ ὅδας τινάς ἐπινικίους ὑπ' αὐλητῶν ὤδεν ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐγένετο, πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν πρώτων, ἀτε καὶ ἀεὶ οἱ ἀχθομένων καὶ τότε ἐπὶ τῇ συμφορᾶ 5 αὐτῆς ἐπηρμένων, ἐφόνευσε, πολὺν δὲ καὶ πλοῦτον ἐκ τε τῶν ἑκείνων κτημάτων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ὅσιών καὶ θείων, μηδενὸς μηδὲ τῶν πάνω ἀβάτων ἱερῶν φειδομένη, ἥδροιζε, δυνάμεις τε ἐξηρτύετο καὶ συμμαχίας περιεσκόπη, τὸν τε Ἀρµένων ἀποκτείνασα τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ τῷ Μῆδῳ, ὡς καὶ ἐπικουρῆσοντι σφίσι διὰ τοῦτο, ἐπεμψεν. 'Ἀυτώνοις δὲ ἐπλευσε μὲν ἐς τὴν Λιβύην πρὸς τε Πινάριον Σκάρπου καὶ πρὸς τὸ στράτευμα τὸ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς Αἰγύπτου φυλακῇ ἐνταῦθα προσυνειλεγμένων ἐπεὶ δ' οὔτε προσδέξεσθαι αὐτῶν ἐφ' χαὶ καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοὺς προπεμφθέντας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔσφαξε, τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν ὄν ἤρχεν ἀγανακτήσαντας τινὰς ἐπὶ τούτω διέθειρεν, οὔτω δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν μηδὲν περάνας ἐκομίσθη. 6 Καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡς ἐπὶ ταχεῖ πολέμῳ παρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ τοὺς νείες, Κλεοπάτρα μὲν Καὶσαρίωνα 'Ἀντόνιος δὲ 'Ἀντιλλον, ὃν ἐκ τῆς Φουλονίας γεννηθέντα οἱ εἰχεν, ἐς ἐφήβους ἐσε- 1 οἱ M, om. V. 2 ἐφ' supplied by Leuncl.
BOOK LI

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

Now among the other preparations they made for speedy warfare, they enrolled among the youths of military age, Cleopatra her son Caesarion and Antony his son Antyllus, who had been born to him by Fulvia and was then with him. Their purpose was
γραφαν, ἵν' οἱ τε Αἰγύπτιοι ὡς καὶ ἀνδρός τινος ἦδη βασιλεύοντος σφῶν προθυμηθῶσι, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι προστάταις ἐκείνους, ἀν γέ τι δεινὸν σφισι
2 συμβῆ, ἔχοντες καρτερήσωσι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν μειρακίοις καὶ τούτο αἴτιον τοῦ ὀλέθρου ἐγένετο· οὐδετέρου γὰρ αὐτῶν ὁ Καίσαρ, ὡς καὶ ἀνδρῶν ὀντών καὶ πρόσχημα τι προστασίας ἐχόντων, ἐφεύσατο· ἐκεῖνοι δ' οὖν παρεσκευάζοντο μὲν ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ πολεμήσοντες, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὦμόχωρα τοὺς τε βασιλέας τοὺς φιλίους σφίσι προσπαρεκάλοντο, ἣτοιμάζοντο δ' οὐδὲν ἦττον ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, ἂν τι κατεπείξη, πλευσούμενοι καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν πλῆθει τῶν χρημάτων ἀποστήσοντες, ἥ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν
3 μεταστησόμενοι. καὶ ὅπως γε ἐπὶ πλείοντο βουλευόμενοι ταύτα διαλάθοσιν, ἥ καὶ ἐξαπατήσωσί πη τὸν Καίσαρα ἥ καὶ δολοφονήσωσίν, ἐστειλάν τινας ἐκείνω μὲν λόγους ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης τοῖς δὲ δὴ συνοδεῖν αὐτῷ χρήματα φέροντας.  
4 κάν τούτῳ καὶ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα σκῆπτρον τε τι ἐρυθρῶν καὶ στέφανον χρυσῶν τόν τε δίφρον τοῦ βασιλικόν, κρύφα τοῦ 'Αντωνίου, ὡς καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν οἱ δ' αὐτῶν ἐτέμψεν, ἵν' ἀν καὶ
5 εἰς Κέρυργι, ἅλλ' αὐτὴν γε ἐλεήσῃ. ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν δώρα ἐλαβέν οἰωνὸν ποιοῦμενος, ἀπεκρίνατο δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἄντωνιὸν οὐδὲν, τῇ δὲ Κλεοπάτρᾳ φανερῶς μὲν ἄλλα τε ἄπειλητικά καὶ ὅτι, ἀν τῶν τε ὀπλῶν καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀποστῇ, βουλεύσεται

1 τι Μ, om. V.
2 αὐτῶν Μ, αὐτῶν V.
to arouse the enthusiasm of the Egyptians, who would feel that they had at last a man for their king, and to cause the rest to continue the struggle with these boys as their leaders, in case anything untoward should happen to the parents. Now as for the lads, this proved one of the causes of their undoing; for Caesar spared neither of them, claiming that they were men and were clothed with a sort of leadership. But to return to Antony and Cleopatra, they were indeed making their preparations with a view to waging war in Egypt both on sea and on land, and to this end they were calling to their aid the neighbouring tribes and the kings who were friendly to them; but they were also making ready, none the less, to sail to Spain if need should arise, and to stir up a revolt there by their vast resources of money and by other means, or even to change the base of their operations to the Red Sea. And in order that while engaged in these plans they might escape observation for the longest possible time or even deceive Caesar in some way or actually slay him by treachery, they despatched emissaries who carried peace proposals to him and bribes of money to his followers. Meanwhile Cleopatra, on her part, unknown to Antony, sent to him a golden sceptre and a golden crown together with the royal throne, signifying that through them she offered him the kingdom as well; for she hoped that even if he did hate Antony, he would yet take pity on her at least. Caesar accepted her gifts as a good omen, but made no answer to Antony; to Cleopatra, however, although he publicly sent threatening messages, including the announcement that, if she would give up her armed forces and renounce her sovereignty,
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peri autís òsa chrì práxai, lábrα de òti, èavn tôn ‘Antóvnoù apoktēìnì kai tìn àdeian autì kai tìn ārchìn àkéraioun dúsei.

7 'En φ de tauta égyngneto, tás te vaïs tás èn tìw 'Araβiκó kolpò pròs tôn ès tìn èrnðrav thálasesan plouì naupthēqeísa αi 'Araβioi, peisðéntes úpðo Kýntou Dídion tou tìs Ïuβías ārchontos, katéprhèsan, kai tás èpikourías kai αi ðìmìoi kai αi dúnavastai pántes àphtynhstano. kai μoi ðauvmàsai èpérhetai òti alloi mèn svχnoi, kàirper pollá par' autòn eilhftes, èngkatèlítovn σφas, αi de èpì tàis òploμachías èn tòs àtmòtata trefòmenoi pròðvmìa te ès autòs πλεìstì

3 èxhrhsanto kai àndreiotata Ïgounhstanto. òntoi γàr èn Kyżíkò pròs toui èptwikíous āγòvνas, òús èpì tìw Kàisari áxeiì hìltìξìou, àskouμènou, tòte èpetìdì tàxìsta tòw γegonótow Ïstònto, óhrmìsan

4 ès tìn Aìγupton ws kai bòthhòntes autòis, kai pollà mèn tòn 'Amýntan èn tì Galatìa pollà de kai toui tòu Tàρkoùdìmòtou paìðas èn tì Kìlikìa, φílous mèn sfìsiwn ès tà màlìstà γeνòμènous, tòte de pròs tà parònta metàstántas, pollà de kai tòn Dídion kòlúnontà σφas tìs diòdòn èðrasan.

5 ou mèntoi kai diapèseìn ès tìn Aìγupton Ïdvnì-thêsan, ìl' èpetìdì pàntachòðen periesstoikí-s tôsàn, lýgon mèn ou'dì òws ou'dèna, kàritoi tou Dídion svχrò sfìsiwn ñpìsìgamìlònu, pòsèdè-

1 ès M, pròs V.
he would consider what ought to be done in her case, he secretly sent word that, if she would kill Antony, he would grant her pardon and leave her realm inviolate.

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

¹ The “Red Sea” of the ancients is the Persian Gulf of to-day, their “Arabian Gulf” the modern Red Sea.
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

εις τὸν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ἀμείνων μεταπέμψαντες ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀλανίᾳ τοῖς ἀρχαῖοι θεοῦ ἱερατεύοντες,

6 ἐπειτ' ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνοι μὴν ἂν γελάνε τινὰ αὐτῶς ἐπεμψεν, οὔτω δὴ νομίζοντες αὐτὸν ἀπολωλέναι καὶ ἀκοντες ὁμολόγησαν ἐπὶ τῷ μηδέποτε μονομαχῆσαι, καὶ τὴν γε Δάφνην παρὰ τοῦ Διδίου, τὸ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων προάστειον, ἐνοικεῖν μέχρι ἄν τῷ Καῖσαρι ταῦτα δηλωθῇ ἔλαβον.

7 Καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μεσσάλου ὑστερον ἀπατηθέντες ἐπέμψαν ἀλλὸς ἄλλοσ ὡς καὶ ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα καταλεχθησόμενοι, καὶ ἐκ τρόπου δὴ τῶν ἐπιτηδείου ἐφθάρησαν Ἀντώνιος δὲ καὶ Κλεοπάτρα ἀκούσαντες τῶν πρέσβεων τὰ παρὰ τὸν Καίσαρος σφίσιν ἐπισταλέντα, ἐπεμψαν αὖθις, ἢ μὲν χρῆματα αὐτῷ πολλὰ δώσειν ὑπερχυμένη, ὥς ὁ δὲ τῆς τε φιλίας καὶ τῆς συγγενείας αὐτῶν ἀναμμηνησκών, καὶ προσέτε καὶ περὶ τῆς συνουσίας τῆς πρὸς τὴν Ἀίγυπτιαν ἀπολογούμενος, ὥσα τε συνηράσθησάν ποτε καὶ ὅσα

2 συννενενεῦσαντο ἄλληλοις ἐξαριθμοῦμενος. καὶ τέλος Ποῦπλιον Τουρούλλιον βουλευτήν τε ὠντα καὶ σφαγέα τοῦ Καίσαρος γεγονότα τότε τε φιλικῶς οἱ συνόντα ἐξεδωκεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἔαυτόν, ἂν γε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἢ Κλεοπάτρα σωθῆ, κατα-

3 χρῆσασθαι ἐπηγγείλατο. Καίσαρ δὲ τῶν μὲν Τουρούλλιον ἀπέκτεινε (καὶ ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἐν Κῷ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ὠλίς ἐξαιτίας ναυτικῶν κεκοφώς, δίκην τινὰ καὶ τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι ἐκεὶ ἐδικαιώθη, δούναι ἐδοξῆ), τῷ δ’ Ἀντωνίῳ οὐδὲν οὔδ’ ὄντε τότε

4 ἀπεκρίνατο. τρίτην τε οὖν πρεσβείαν ἔστειλε,
them many promises. Instead, they sent for Antony, feeling that they would fight better even in Syria if he were with them; and then, when he neither came himself nor sent them any message, they at last decided that he had perished and reluctantly made terms, on condition that they were never to fight as gladiators. And they received from Didius Daphne, the suburb of Antioch, to dwell in until the matter should be brought to Caesar's attention.

These men were later deceived by Messalla and sent to various places under the pretext that they were to be enlisted in the legions, and were then put out of the way in some convenient manner. Antony and Cleopatra, for their part, upon hearing from the envoys the demands which Caesar made of them, sent to him again. Cleopatra promised to give him large amounts of money, and Antony reminded him of their friendship and kinship, made a defence also of his connexion with the Egyptian woman, and recounted all the amorous adventures and youthful pranks which they had shared together. Finally, he surrendered to him Publius Turullius, who was a senator and one of the assassins of Caesar and was then living with Antony as a friend; and he offered to take his own life, if in that way Cleopatra might be saved. Caesar put Turullius to death (it chanced that this man had cut wood for the fleet from the grove of Aesculapius in Cos, and since he was executed in Cos, he was thought to be making amends to the god as well as to Caesar), but this time also he gave no answer to Antony. So Antony despatched a
καὶ τὸν νῦν τὸν Ἀντυλλοῦ μετὰ χρυσίου πολλοῦ αὐτὸ ἐπέμψεν· ὃ δὲ τὰ μὲν χρήματα ἔλαβεν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ διὰ κενῆς ἀνταπεστείλε, μηδεμίαν ἀπόκρισιν δοὺς. τῇ μέντοι Κλεοπάτρα πολλά, ὥσπερ τὸ πρῶτον, οὕτω καὶ τὸ δεύτερον τὸ τε
5 τρίτον καὶ ἐπηπείλησε καὶ ὑπέσχετο. φοβηθείς δ' οὖν καὶ ὁ μή πῶς ἀπογυνώτες συγγνώμης παρ' αὐτὸν τεύξεσθαι διακαρτησίας, καὶ ἦτοι καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς περιγένωνται, ἢ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τὴν τε Γαλατίαν ἀπάρωσιν, ἢ καὶ τὰ χρήματα,
6 ἄ παμπληθῇ ἦκονεν εἶναι, φθείρωσιν (ἢ γὰρ Κλεοπάτρα πάντα τε αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ μνημεῖον, ὃ ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ κατεσκεύαξεν, ἥθεοίκει, καὶ πάντα, ἀν γέ τινος καὶ ἐλαχίστον διαμάρτη, κατακαύσεων μεθ' ἑαυτῆς ἥπειλε), Θύρσον ἐξελεύθερον ἑαυτοῦ ἐπέμψεν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα αὐτῇ
7 ἔροῦτα, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἐρῶν αὐτῆς τυνχάνει, ἐπὶ πῶς ἐκ γε τούτου, οἷα ἄξιοῦσα πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώ-
πων ἑρᾶσθαι, τὸν τε Ἀντώνιον ἀναχρῆσαιτο καὶ ἑαυτὴν τὰ τε χρήματα ἀκέραια τηρῆσειε. καὶ ἐσχεν οὕτως.
9 Πρὶν δὲ δὴ 1 ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι, μαθῶν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὅτι Κορνηλίος Γάλλος τὸ τε τοῦ Σκάρτου στράτευμα παρείληφε καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τὸ Παραιτόνιον ἐξαίφνης παρελθὼν κατέσχηκεν, ἐς μὲν τὴν Συρίαν, κατὰ τὰ περεύθη, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἐχώρησεν ὡς μάλιστα μὲν ἀκοινοὶ τοὺς στρατιῶτας προσθησόμενος (ἣναν γὰρ ἐννοιῶν τινα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς συστρατείας ἐχοντες), εἰ δὲ μή, βία γε χειρωσόμενος ἀτε καὶ

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

But before this happened, Antony learned that Cornelius Gallus had taken over Scarpus' army and had suddenly marched with these troops upon Paraetonium and occupied it. Hence, although he wished to set out for Syria in response to the summons of the gladiators, he did not go thither, but proceeded against Gallus, in the hope of winning over the troops without a struggle, if possible, inasmuch as they had been with him on campaigns and were fairly well disposed toward him, but otherwise of subduing them by force, since he was leading
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dúnaðn pupli πολλήν καὶ ναυτικὴν καὶ πεζὴν ἐπαγό-

3 μενος. οὐ μέντοι οὔδε 

διαλεξθῆναι τι αὐτοῖς

ηδυνήθη, καίπερ πρὸς τε τὸ τείχος προσελθὼν

καὶ γεγονόν βοῆσας· ὥ γὰρ Γάλλος τοὺς σαλ-

πικτάς 

συνήχειν κελεύσας οὔδὲν οὐδεὶν ἐσακοῦσαι

ἐπέτρεψε. καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπεκδρομῆ αἰφνιδίῳ

ἐπταίσε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἔσφαλη.

4 ἀλύσεις γὰρ τινας υφύδρους νύκτωρ διὰ τοῦ στό-

ματος τοῦ λιμένος ὁ Γάλλος διατείνας οὐδείμαν

αὐτοῦ φανερῶν φυλακὴν ἐποίησατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ

πάνω ἀδεῶς εἰσὶ μετά καταφορημένος ἐσ-

πλέοντας σφας περιείδειν ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἔδον

ἐγένοτο, τὰς τε ἀλύσεις μηχαναῖς ἀνέσπασε, καὶ

πανταχόθεν ἀμα τὰς ναῦς αὐτῶν ἕκ τε τῆς γῆς

καὶ ἕκ τῶν οἰκίων τῆς τε θαλάσσης περὶσχῶν

5 τὰς μὲν κατέτρησε τὰς δὲ κατεπόντωσε. κάν

τοῦτῳ καὶ τὸ Πηλούσιον ὁ Καῖσαρ, λόγῳ μὲν

κατὰ τὸ ἱσχυρὸν ἔργῳ δὲ προδοθέν ὑπὸ τῆς

Κλεοπάτρας, ἔλαβεν. ἐκείνη γὰρ ὡς οὕτε τις

ἐβοήθησε σφίσι καὶ τὸν Καῖσαρα ἀνανταγώνι-

στον οὖντα ἦσθετο, τὸ τε μέγιστον ἀκούσασα τοὺς

diὰ τοῦ Θῦρου πεμφόντας οἱ λόγους, ἐπίστευσεν

ὅπως ἐράσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ὃτι καὶ ἐβούλετο,

ἐπείτα δὲ ὃτι καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ τὸν τε

6 Ἀντώνιον ὁμοίως ἐδεδούλωτο. κάκ τοῦτον οὐχ

ὅπως τὴν τε ἀδειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀἰγυπτίων βα-

σιλείαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κράτος ἔξειν

προσεδόκησε, τὸ τε Πηλούσιον εὐθὺς αὐτῷ προή-

κατο, καὶ μετὰ τούτο προσελαύνοντι πρὸς τὴν

πόλιν ἐκώλυσε τοὺς Ἀλεξανδρεάς λάθρᾳ ἐπέξελ-

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

10 'Ο δ' οὖν Ἀντώνιος ἐκ τοῦ Παραίτονίου πρὸς τὴν περὶ τοῦ Πελούσιου πῦστιν ἐπανελθὼν προ- απήνυσε πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ αὐτὸν κεκμηκότα ἐκ τῆς πορείας ὑπολαβὼν τοὺς ἐπιπεῦσιν ἐνίκησεν. ἀναθαρσίας τε ἐκ τε τοῦτον καὶ ὁτι βιβλία ἐσ το στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ τοξεῦ- μασιν ἐσέπεμψε πεντακοσίας σφίσι καὶ χιλίας δραχμαῖς ὑπισχυόμενος, συνέβαλε καὶ τῷ πεζῷ

3 καὶ ἤττῆθη· ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ αὐτὸς τὰ βιβλία ἔθελον τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀνέγυω, τὸν τ' Ἀντώ- νιον διαβάλλων καὶ ἐκείνους ἐσ τῇ τῆς προ- δοσίας αἰσχύνην καὶ ἐς τήν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ προθυ- μίαν ἀντικαθιστάς, ὡστε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὺς τῇ τῇ τῆς πείρας ἀγανακτήσει καὶ τῇ τοῦ μὴ ἐθελο-

4 κακεῖν δοξαί ἐνδείξει σπουδᾶσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔπει- δῆ παρὰ δοξαν ἡλαττώθη, πρὸς τε τῳ ναυτικόν ἀπέκλην, καὶ παρεσκευάζει γὰς καὶ ναυμαχῆςων ἡ πάντως γη ἐς τήν Ἰβηρίαν πλευσοῦμενον· ἰδοὺςα δὲ τοῦθ' ἡ Κλεοπάτρα τάς τε ναῦς αὐτομολῆσαι

5 ἐποίησε, καὶ αὐτῇ ἔς τῃ ἡρῶν ἐξαίφνης ἐσεπήθησε, λόγῳ μὲν ὡς τοῦ Καίσαρα φοβομενή καὶ προ- διαφθείραι τρόπον τινὰ ἓαυτῆν βουλομένην, ἐργῳ δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἀντώνιον ἐκείσε ἐσελθεῖν προκαλομένην· ὑπετόπει μὲν γὰρ προδιδότα, οὐ μὲντοι καὶ ἐπίστευεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον

6 ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐκείνην ἡ ἓαυτοῦ ἡ λεει. ὁπερ που ἡ Κλεοπάτρα ἀκριβῶς εἰδὼλ ἠπισεν ὁτι, ἀν πυ- θηται αὐτήν τετελευτηκών, οὐκ ἐπιβιώσεται ἀλλὰ παραχρῆμα ἀποθανεῖται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐσ

1 ἓαυτὸν Μ, ἓαυτὴν Β. 2 ἠπισεν Μ, ἠπισεν Β.
BOOK LI

since, to judge by the outcry she made, she exhorted them vigorously to do so.

At the news concerning Pelusium Antony returned from Paraetonium and went to meet Caesar in front of Alexandria, and attacking him with his cavalry, while the other was wearied from his march, he won the day. Encouraged by this success, and because he had shot arrows into Caesar's camp carrying leaflets which promised the men six thousand sesterces, he joined battle also with his infantry and was defeated. For Caesar of his own accord personally read the leaflets to his soldiers, at the same time re-viling Antony and trying to turn them to a feeling of shame for the suggested treachery and of enthusiasm for himself; the result was that they were fired by zeal through this very incident, both by reason of their indignation at the attempt made upon their loyalty and by way of demonstrating that they were not subject to the suspicion of being base traitors. After his unexpected setback, Antony took refuge in his fleet, and was preparing to give battle on the sea or at any rate to sail to Spain. But Cleopatra, upon perceiving this, caused the ships to desert, and she herself rushed suddenly into the mausoleum, pretending that she feared Caesar and desired by some means or other to forestall him by taking her own life, but really as an invitation to Antony to enter there also. He had a suspicion, to be sure, that he was being betrayed, yet in his infatuation he could not believe it, but actually pitied her more, one might say, than himself. Cleopatra, doubtless, was fully aware of this and hoped that if he should be informed that she was dead, he would not wish to survive her, but would die at once. Accordingly
ΔΙΟΣ' ΡΩΜΑΝΗ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ

τε τὸ μνημεῖον σὺν τε εὐνούχῳ τινὶ καὶ σὺν θερα-
παίνας δύο ἐσέδραμε, καὶ ἐκείθεν ἀγγελιάν αὐτῷ
7 ὡς καὶ ἀπολογισμὰ ἐπεμψε. καὶ ὃς ἀκούσας τοῦτο
οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπαποθανεῖν αὐτῇ ἐπεθύμησεν.
καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν παρόντων τινὸς ἔδειξῃ ἵνα
αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνῃ ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος σπασάμενος τὸ
ξίφος ἐνενεπέτα ἐντού ἐνενεπέτα περιφράζατο, ξηλώσας
tε αὐτὸν ἠθέλησε καὶ ἐνενεπέτα ἔτρωσεν, καὶ ἐπέσε ἐν τῇ
στόμα καὶ δόξην τοῖς παρούσιν ὡς καὶ τεθηκὼς
8 παρέσχε. θρούβου τε ἐν τούτῳ γενομένου ἡσθετό
tε ἡ Κλεοπάτρα καὶ ὑπερκύψεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μνη-
μείου αἱ μὲν γὰρ θύραι αὐτοῦ συγκελεσθεῖσαι
ἀπαξ οὐκέτι ἀνοιχθῆναι ἐκ μηχανήματι τινὸς
ἐδύναμον, τὰ δ' ἄνω πρὸς τῇ ὀροφῇ οὐδέπω παν-
9 τελῶς ἐξείργαστο. ἐντεύθεν οὖν ὑπερκύψαν
cαι τὴν ὑδότες τινὲς ἀνεβόησαν ἀστε καὶ τῶν Ἀυ-
tώνιοι ἐσακύσαν καὶ ὃς μαθὼν ὅτι περίεστιν,
ἐξανέστη μὲν ὡς καὶ ἰῆσαι δυνάμενος, προχυθέν-
tος δ' αὐτῷ πολλοὺ ἀἵματος ἄπεγνω τῇ σωτη-
ρίαν, καὶ ἱκέτευσε τοὺς παρόντας ὅπως πρὸς τοῦ
tὸ μνήμα αὐτὸν κομίσοσι καὶ διὰ τῶν σχοινίων
tῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀνολκήν τῶν λίθων κρεμαμένων ἀνε-
μήσωσι.
Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐνταῦθα οὖτὼ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῆς Κλεο-
11 πάτρας κόπτοις ἐναπέθανεν, ἐκείνη δὲ ἐθάρησε
μὲν πως τῶν Καίσαρα, καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτῷ τὸ γεγονὸς
ἔδηλωσεν, οὐ μὴν καὶ πάνω ἐπίκυρε μηδὲν κακὸν
πείσεσθαι. κατείχεν οὖν ἐαυτὴν ἐνδοὺ, ἦν' εἰ καὶ
diὰ μηδὲν ἀλλο σωθεῖν, τὸ γε φόβῳ τῶν χρημά-
των καὶ τὴν ἄδειαν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκπρῆται.
2 οὖτω ποιοὶ καὶ τότε ἐν τηλικαύτῃ συμφορὰ ὁσοι
τῆς δυναστείας ἐμέμνητο, καὶ μᾶλλον γε ἐν τῇ
she hastened into the tomb with a eunuch and two maidservants, and from there sent a message to him from which he should infer that she was dead. And he, when he heard it, did not delay, but was seized by a desire to follow her in death. He first asked one of the bystanders to slay him; but when the man drew his sword and slew himself, Antony wished to imitate his courage and so gave himself a wound and fell upon his face, causing the bystanders to believe that he was dead. At this an outcry was raised, and Cleopatra, hearing it, peered out over the top of the tomb. By a certain contrivance its doors, once closed, could not be opened again, but the upper part of it next to the roof was not yet fully completed. Now when some of them saw her peering out at this point, they raised a shout so that even Antony heard. So he, learning that she survived, stood up, as if he had still the power to live; but, as he had lost much blood, he despaired of his life and besought the bystanders to carry him to the monument and to hoist him up by the ropes that were hanging there to lift the stone blocks.

So Antony died there in Cleopatra’s bosom; and she now felt a certain confidence in Caesar, and immediately informed him of what had taken place; still, she was not altogether convinced that she would suffer no harm. She accordingly kept herself within the building, in order that, even if there should be no other motive for her preservation, she might at least purchase pardon and her kingdom through his fear for the money. So thoroughly mindful was she even then, in the midst of her dire misfortune, of her royal rank, and chose rather to
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ονόματι καὶ ἐν τῷ σχῆματι αὐτῆς ἀποθανεῖν ἡ ἰδιωτεύσασα ξῆν ἱρεῖτο. ἀμέλει εἰχε μὲν καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν, εἰχε δὲ καὶ ἀσπίδας ἀλλὰ τε ἔρπετα ἐφ' ἑαυτῇ, προπειραθείσα αὐτῶν ἐν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτινα τρόπον ἐκαστὸν σφῶν ἀποκτίνων. Καὶ τῶν θησαυρῶν ἐγκρατής γενέσθαι καὶ ἐκείνην ξωσάν τε συλλαβεῖν καὶ ὡς τὰ νικητήρια ἀναγαγεῖν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸς πίστιν τινα αὐτῇ δους ἀπατεῶν δόξαι γεγονέναι ἥθελησεν, ὡς καὶ αἰχμαλώτω καὶ ἀκουσία τρόπον τινα χειροθείηση χρήσται, καὶ διὰ τούτην ἐπεμψε πρὸς αὐτήν Γαίον τε Προκούλειον ἕπτεά καὶ Ἐπαφρόδιτον ἐξελεύθερον, ἐντελλόμενος σφισιν ὡς καὶ εἴπειν καὶ πρᾶξαι ἐχρήν. καὶ οὕτως ἐκείνοι συμμίχαντες τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ καὶ μέτρια τινα διαλεχθέντες, ἐπειτ' ἐξαίρετης συνύρτασαν
die with the name and dignity of a sovereign than to live in a private station. At all events, she kept at hand fire to consume her wealth, and asps and other reptiles to destroy herself, and she had the latter tried on human beings, to see in what way they killed in each case. Now Caesar was anxious not only to get possession of her treasures but also to seize her alive and to carry her back for his triumph, yet he was unwilling to appear to have tricked her himself after having given her a kind of pledge, since he wished to treat her as a captive and to a certain extent subdued against her will. He therefore sent to her Gaius Proculeius, a knight, and Epaphroditus, a freedman, giving them directions as to what they were to say and do. Following out this plan, they obtained an audience with Cleopatra, and after discussing with her some moderate proposals they suddenly seized her before any agreement was reached. After this they put out of her way everything by means of which she could cause her own death and allowed her to spend some days where she was, occupied in embalming Antony's body; then they took her to the palace, but did not remove any of her accustomed retinue or attendants, in order that she should entertain more hope than ever of accomplishing all she desired, and so should do no harm to herself. At any rate, when she expressed a desire to appear before Caesar and to have an interview with him, she gained her request; and to deceive her still more, he promised that he would come to her himself.

She accordingly prepared a splendid apartment and a costly couch, and moreover arrayed herself with affected negligence,—indeed, her mourning
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σχήματι δεινῶς ἐνέπρεπεν) ἐκαθέζετο ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, πολλὰς μὲν εἰκόνας τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ παντοδαπὰς παραθεμένη, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τὰς παρ' ἐκεῖνον οἱ πεμφθείσας ἐς τὸν κόλπον

2 λαβοῦσα. καὶ μετὰ τὸῦτο ἔσελθόντος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀνεπίδησε τε ἐρρυθμισμένη, καὶ ἔφη “χαῖρε ὦ δέσποτα: σοὶ μὲν γὰρ τὸῦτο θέος ἔδωκεν, ἐμὲ δὲ ἀφείλετο. ἀλλ' ὅρας μὲν ποι καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν πατέρα σου τοιοῦτον οἶς πολλάκις πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐσῆλθεν, ἀκούεις δὲ ὅτι τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐτίμησε μὲ καὶ δὴ καὶ βασιλίδα τῶν Ἁγνυπτῶν

3 ἔποιήσεν. ἵνα δ' οὖν τι καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖνον περὶ ἑμὸν πῦθη, λάβε καὶ ἀνάγνωθι τὰ γράμματα ἃ μοι αὐτοχειρία ἐπέστειλε." Ταύτα τε ἀμα ἔλεγε, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἑρωτικά αὐτοῦ ῥήματα ἀνεγίγνωσκε. καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἔκλαε καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς κατεβίλει, τοτὲ δὲ πρὸς τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ προσέπτιττε καὶ ἐκεῖνας προσεκύνει.

4 τά τε βλέφαρα ēς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπενέκλα; καὶ ἐμμελῶς ἀνολοφύρετο, θρυπτικὸν τέ τι προσε-φθέγγετο, ἀλλοτε μὲν λέγουσα “ποῦ μοι, Καίσαρ, ταύτα σου τὰ γράμματα;” ἀλλοτε δὲ ὅτι “ἀλλ' ἐν τοῦτῳ καὶ σὺ μοι ζῆς,” εἰτα αὐθίς “εἰθε σου προσεθνήκειν,” καὶ μάλα αὐθίς “ἀλλά καὶ τοῦτον ἔχουσα σὲ ἐχώ.”

5 Τοιαύτη τινὶ ποικιλία καὶ τῶν ῥημάτων καὶ τῶν σχημάτων ἐχρήτῳ, μελίχρα ἀττὰ καὶ ἐποσβλέ-πουσα αὐτῷ καὶ λαλοῦσα. ὅ οὖν Καίσαρ συνει μὲν αὐτῆς καὶ παθαινομένης καὶ πληκτιξομένης,

1 ἐρρυθμισμένη is the reading of VM; some editors have preferred ἢρρυθριασμένη, the reading found in Xiphilinus' Epitome. 2 καὶ M, om. V.

34
garb wonderfully became her,—and seated herself upon the couch; beside her she placed many images of his father, of all kinds, and in her bosom she put all the letters that his father had sent her. When, after this, Caesar entered, she leaped gracefully to her feet and cried: "Hail, master—for Heaven has granted you the mastery and taken it from me. But surely you can see with your own eyes how your father looked when he visited me on many occasions, and you have heard people tell how he honoured me in various ways and made me queen of the Egyptians. That you may, however, learn something about me from him himself, take and read the letters which he wrote me with his own hand."

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

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

1 Or "blushing," if the variant reading offered by Xiphilinus be accepted.

2 That is, the power she had exercised over Caesar, in consequence of which he had become her willing subject, was of no avail in the case of Augustus.
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ού μέντοι καὶ προσεποιεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐσ τὴν γῆν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἑρείσας τὸῦτο μόνον εἶπεν, "θάρσει, ὦ γύναι, καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε ἀγαθῶν' οὐδὲν γὰρ κακὸν πείσῃ." περιαλγήσασα οὖν ἐκείνη ὅτι μήτε προσεῖδεν αὐτὴν μήτε τῇ ἡ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἢ καὶ ἐρωτικόν τι ἐφθέγξατο, πρὸς τε τὰ γόνατα αὐτοῦ προσέπεσε καὶ ἀνακλαύσασα "ζῆν μὲν" ἔφη, "Καίσαρ, οὔτε ἐθέλω οὔτε δύναμαι ταύτῃ δὲ σὲ τὴν χάριν ἐς τὴν τῶν πατρὸς μνήμην αὐτῶ, ἣν ἐπειδὴ μὲ 'Ἀντωνίῳ μετ' ἐκείνου ὁ δαίμων παρέδωκε, μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποθάνω. εἴθε μὲν γὰρ ἀπωλὼλεν εὐθὺς τότε μετὰ τὸν Καίσαρα· ἐπεὶ δὲ μοι καὶ τοῦτο παθεῖν ἐπέπρωτο, πέμψαν με πρὸς 'Ἀντωνίον, μηδὲ μοι τῆς σοῦ αὐτῶ ταφῆς φθονήσῃς, ἣν ὡσπερ δὲ ἐκείνον ἀποθνῄσκω, οὔτω καὶ ἐν "Αἰδον αὐτῷ συνοικήσω."  

13 Καὶ ἢ μὲν τοιαῦτα ὡς καὶ ἐλεηθησομένη ἐλεγε, Καίσαρ δὲ πρὸς μὲν ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο, φοβηθείς δὲ μὴ ἐαυτὴν διαχρήσηται, 1 θαρσεῖν τε αὐτὴν αὖθις παρεκκελεύσατο, καὶ οὔτε τὴν θεραπείαν αὐτῆς ἀφεῖλετο καὶ ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ αὐτῆς ἐποιεῖτο, ὅπως οἱ τὰ ἐπίνεια ἐπιλαμπρύνη. τοῦτό τε οὖν ὑποτὴσασα, καὶ μυρίων θανάτων χαλεπώτερον αὐτῷ νομίσασα εἶναι, ὄντως τε ἀποθανεῖν ἐπεθύμησα, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅτες τροπον τινὰ ἀπόληται, ἐδείτο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ ἐμηχανάτο. ἐπει δ' οὖν ἐπέραινε, μεταγιγνώσκειν τε ἐπιλάσατο ὡς καὶ ἐλπίδα πολλήν μὲν καὶ ἐκείνον πολλὴν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Διονύσαν ἔχουσα, καὶ ἐκουσία τε πλευσεῖσθαι ἔλεγε, καὶ κόσμους τινὰς ἀποθέτοις ἐς δώρα ἦτοιμάζετο, εἰ πως πί·

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

Such words she uttered, expecting to move him to pity, but Caesar made no answer to them; fearing, however, that she might destroy herself, he exhorted her again to be of good cheer, and not only did not remove any of her attendants but also took special care of her, that she might add brilliance to his triumph. This purpose she suspected, and regarding that fate as worse than a thousand deaths, she conceived a genuine desire to die, and not only addressed many entreaties to Caesar that she might perish in some manner or other, but also devised many plans herself. But when she could accomplish nothing, she feigned a change of heart, pretending to set great hopes in him and also in Livia. She said she would sail of her own free will, and she made ready some treasured articles of adornment to use as gifts,
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στιν ἐκ τοῦτων μὴ τεθνήξειν ¹ Λαβούσα ἦττόν τε
tηρθείη καὶ ἕαυτὴν ἑξεργάσατο. ὦ καὶ ἐγένετο.
ἐπείδὴ γὰρ οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ο Ἐπαφρόδιτος, ὃπερ ἑπετέτραπτο, πιστεύσαντες ταῦθ’ ὡς ἀληθῶς φρο-
νεῖν, τῆς ἀκριβοῦς φυλακῆς ἥμελησαν, παρεσκευ-
άξετο ὅπως ὡς ἄλυπτοτα ἀποθάνῃ. καὶ γραμ-
ματείον τι, δι’ οὐ ἐδείξῃ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἵνα αὐτὴν
μετὰ τοῦ ’Αντωνίου ταφῆναι κελεύῃ, αὐτῷ τῷ

Ἐπαφροδίτῳ σεσήμασμένον, ὅπως προφάσει τῆς
ἀποκομιδῆς αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ ἄλλο τι ἔχοντος ἐκπο-
δῶν οἱ γέννηται, δοῦσα ἔργου εὔχετο. τὴν τε γὰρ
ἔσθητα τὴν περικαλλεστάτην ἐνδύσα, καὶ ἕαυτὴν
εὐπρεπεστάτα ἐυθετήσασα, τὸ τε σχῆμα τὸ βασι-
λικὸν πάν ἀναλαβοῦσα, ἀπέθανε.

Καὶ τὸ μὲν σαφὲς οὖδεὶς οἴδειν ὃ τρόπῳ δι-
eφθάρη· κεντῆματα γὰρ λεπτὰ περὶ τὸν βραχίονα
αὐτῆς μόνα εὐρέθη· λέγουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ὅτι ἄστιδα
ἐν ὑδρίᾳ ³ ἢ καὶ ἐν ἄνθεσι τισιν ἐσκομισθείσαιν οἱ

2 προσέθετο, οἱ δὲ ὅτι βελώνην, ἢ τὰς τρίχας ἄν-
eίρειν, ἢ ὧν τινι, δύναμιν τοιαύτην ἔχοντι ὡστε ἄλλως
μὲν μηδὲν τὸ σῶμα βλάπτειν, ἃν δ’ ἀἱματος καὶ
βραχυτάτου ἄφηται, καὶ τάχιστα καὶ ἄλυπτοτα
αὐτὸ φθείρειν, χρίσασα τέως μὲν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ
κεφαλῇ ἐφόρει ὥσπερ εἰώθει, τότε δὲ προκατανύ-
ξασα τι τὸν βραχίονα ἐς τὸ άίμα ἐνεβαλεν.

3 οὕτω μὲν, ἢ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα, μετὰ τῶν δύο θερα-
painων ἀπώλετο· ὦ γὰρ εὐνόχος ἀμα τῷ συλ-
ληφθῆναι αὐτὴν τοῖς τε ἐρπετοῖς ἐαυτοῦ ἐθελοντῆς

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

No one knows clearly in what way she perished, for the only marks on her body were slight pricks on the arm. Some say that she applied to herself an asp which had been brought in to her in a water-jar, or perhaps hidden in some flowers. Others declare that she had smeared a pin, with which she was wont to fasten her hair, with some poison possessed of such a property that in ordinary circumstances it would not injure the body at all, but if it came in contact with even a drop of blood would destroy the body very quickly and painlessly; and that previous to this time she had worn it in her hair as usual, but now had made a slight scratch on her arm and had dipped the pin in the blood. In this or in some very similar way she perished, and her two handmaidens with her. As for the eunuch, he had of his own accord delivered himself up to the serpents at the very time
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παρέδωκε, καὶ δηχθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐς σορὸν προ-
παρεσκευασμένην οἱ ἐσεπεπηδήκει. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ
Καϊσαρ τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτῆς ἐξεπλάγη, καὶ τὸ τε
σῶμα αὐτῆς εἶδε, καὶ φάρμακα αὐτῷ καὶ Ψύλ-
λοις, εἴ πως ἀνασφήλειε, προσήνεγκεν. οἱ δὲ δὴ
Ψύλλοι οὖν ἄνδρες μὲν εἰσὶ (γυνὴ γὰρ οὐ γί-
γνεται Ψύλλα), δύνανται δὲ πάντα τε ἰὸν παντὸς
ἐρπετοῦ παραχρῆμα, πρὶν θυσικεῖν τινὰ, ἐκμυζᾶν,
καὶ αὐτοὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ μηδενὸς αὐτῶν δηχθέντας
βλάπτεσθαι. φύονται δὲ ἐξ ἀλλήλων, καὶ δοκι-
μάζουσι τὰ γεννηθέντα ἥτοι μετ' ὀφεὼν που εὐθὺς
ἐμβληθέντα, ἢ καὶ τῶν σπαργάνων αὐτῶν ἐπι-
βληθέντων τισιν· οὔτε γὰρ τῷ παιδίῳ τι λυμαί-
νονται, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐσθῆτος αὐτοῦ ναρκῶσι.

τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτον ἔστων, ὁ δὲ δὴ Καϊσαρ μηδένα
τρόπον ἀναβιώσασθαι τὴν Κλεοπάτραν δυνηθεὶς
ἐκεῖνην μὲν καὶ ἑθαύμασε καὶ ἥλεσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ
ἰσχυρῶς ἐλυπήθη ὡς καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ
dόξης ἐστερημένος.

Ἀντώνιος μὲν δὴ καὶ Κλεοπάτρα, πόλλων μὲν
τοῖς Ἁγνυπτίοις πόλλων δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις
κακῶν αὐτοὶ γενόμενοι, οὔτω τε ἐπολέμησαν καὶ
οὔτως ἐστελευτήσαν, ἐν τε τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ ἐταρ-
χεύσαν, καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ θήκῃ ἐτάφθησαν. ἔσχων
dὲ τὴν τε φύσιν τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὴν τύχην τοῦ

βίου τοιάδε. ὁ μὲν συνείναι τε τὸ δεόν οὔδενος
ησὺς ἔγενετο καὶ πολλὰ ἀφρόνως ἔπραξεν,
ἀνδρεία τε ἐν τισὶ διέπρεψε καὶ ὑπὸ δειλίας συχνὰ
ἐσφάλη, τῇ τε μεγαλοψυχίᾳ καὶ τῇ δουλοπρεπείᾳ
of Cleopatra's arrest, and after being bitten by them had leaped into a coffin already prepared for him. When Caesar heard of Cleopatra's death, he was astounded, and not only viewed her body but also made use of drugs and Psylli¹ in the hope that she might revive. These Psylli are males, for there is no woman born in their tribe, and they have the power to suck out any poison of any reptile, if use is made of them immediately, before the victim dies; and they are not harmed themselves when bitten by any such creature. They are propagated from one another and they test their offspring either by having them thrown among serpents as soon as they are born or else by having their swaddling-clothes thrown upon serpents; for the reptiles in the one case do no harm to the child, and in the other case are benumbed by its clothing. So much for this matter. But Caesar, when he could not in any way resuscitate Cleopatra, felt both admiration and pity for her, and was excessively grieved on his own account, as if he had been deprived of all the glory of his victory.

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

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εξ ἵσου ἐχρήτο, καὶ τά τε ἀλλότρια ἤρπαξε καὶ τά σικεία προίετο, ἥλεει τε ἀλόγως συχνοὺς καὶ
3 ἐκόλαζεν ἄδικως πλείονας· κάκ τούτων ἱσχυρό-
tατός τε εξ ἀσθενεστάτου καὶ πλουσιώτατος εξ ἀπορωτάτου γενόμενος οὐδετέρον αὐτῶν ἀπώνητο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κράτος τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μόνος ἔξεν
4 ἐπίσιας αὐτῶς ἑαυτῶν ἀπέκτεινε. Κλεοπάτρα δὲ ἀπληστὸς μὲν Ἀφροδίτης ἀπληστὸς δὲ χρημάτων γενομένη, καὶ πολλὴ μὲν φιλοτιμία φιλοδόξῳ πολλὴ δὲ καὶ περιφρονήσει θρασεία χρησιμένη, τὴν τε βασιλείαν τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὑπ’ ἔρωτος ἐκτῆσατο, καὶ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων λήψεσθαι δ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπίσιασα ταύτης τε ἐσφάλη καὶ ἐκείνην προσαπώλεσε, δυὸ τε ἀνδρῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν καθ’ ἑαυτὴν μεγίστων κατεκράτησε, καὶ διὰ τὸν τρίτον ἑαυτὴν κατεχρήσατο.

5 Οὕτωι μὲν δὴ τοιούτωι τε ἐγένοντο καὶ σύνως ἀπήλλαξαν τῶν δὲ δὴ παῖδων αὐτῶν Ἀντυλλος μὲν, καίτοι τὴν τε τοῦ Καίσαρος θυγατέρα ἡγγυμένος καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἱρφον, ὅ ἦ Κλεοπάτρα ἐπεποιήκει, καταφυγὼν, εὐθὺς ἐσφάγη, Καίσαρίων δὲ ἐς Αἰθιοπίαν φεύγων κατε-
6 λήψθη τε ἐν τῇ ὤδῇ καὶ διεθάρη. ἦ τε Κλεο-
pάτρα Ιουβα τῷ τοῦ Ιουβοῦ παιδὶ συνόκησεν τοῦτῳ γὰρ ὁ Καίσαρ τραφέντι τε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ συμπεδαπευμένω οἱ ταύτην τε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν πατρὸς ἐδώκε, καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τῶν Πτολεμαίων ἐχαρίσατο.
7 ταῖς τε αδελφιδάις, ἄς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἡ Ὀκτα-
ocυια ἀνήρητο τε καὶ ἐπετρόφει, χρήματα ἀπὸ

1 ἀπώνητο Naber, ἀπάνατο VM cod. Peir.
2 ἡγγυμένος Dind., ἐγγυμένος M, ἐγγυμένος V.
BOOK LI

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

Such were these two and such was their end. Of their children, Antyllus was slain immediately, though he was betrothed to the daughter of Caesar and had taken refuge in his father's shrine, which Cleopatra had built; and Caesarion while fleeing to Ethiopia was overtaken on the road and murdered. Cleopatra was married to Juba, the son of Juba; for to this man who had been brought up in Italy and had been with him on campaigns, Caesar gave both the maid and the kingdom of his fathers, and as a favour to them spared the lives of Alexander and Ptolemy. To his nieces, the daughters whom Octavia had had by Antony and had reared, he assigned money from their father's estate. He
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tων πατρώων ἀπένειμε. καὶ τῷ Ἰουλίῳ τῷ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τῆς τε Φουλώνιας υἱεὶ τούς ἐξελευθέρους αὐτοῦ πάνθ᾽ ὡσα τελευτῶντας σφας καταλιπεῖν αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἔδει παραχρῆμα δούναι ἐκέλευσε. τῶν τε ἀλλων τῶν τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μέχρι τότε πραξάντων τοὺς μὲν ἐκόλασε τοὺς δὲ ἄφηκεν, ἢ δὲ ἐαυτὸν ἢ διὰ τοὺς φίλους. ἐπειδὴ τε συχνοὶ παρ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ δυναστῶν καὶ βασιλέων παίδες οἱ μὲν ἐφ᾽ ὁμηρεία οἱ δὲ καὶ ἑφ᾽ ὑβρεί τρεφόμενοι εὐρέθησαν, τοὺς μὲν οἴκαδε αὐτῶν ἀπέστειλε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλληλοις συνφύκεισεν, ἔτέρους σε κατέσχεν. ὃν ἐγὼ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐάσω, δύο δὲ δὴ μονὸν ὅνομαστὶ μηνισθῆσομαι τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἰωτάπην τῷ Μήδῳ καταφυγόντι μετὰ τὴν ἦτταν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκῶν ἀπέδωκε, τῷ δ᾽ Ἀρτάξῃ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ χαίτερ αἰτήσαντι οὐκ ἐπεμψεν, ὅτι τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπεκτόνει.

3 Περὶ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους τοιαῦτα ἐγγυνετο, τῶν δὲ Αἰγυπτίων τῶν τε Ἀλεξανδρέων πάντων ἐφείσατο ὡστε μὴ διολέσαι τινά, τὸ μὲν ἄλληθες ὅτι οὐκ ἐξίσθης τοσοῦτος τε αὐτοὺς ὄντας καὶ χρησιμωτάτους τοὺς Ῥωμαίοις ἐς πολλὰ ἄν γενο-μένους ἀνήκεστον τι δρᾶσαι προφασιν δὲ ὀμοι προβάλλετο τὸν τε θεὸν τὸν Σάραπιν καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν οἰκιστὴν αὐτῶν, καὶ τρίτον Ἀρειον τὸν πολίτην, ὁ που φιλοσοφοῦντι τε καὶ συνόντι οἱ ἐχρήτω. καὶ τὸν γε λόγον δὴ οὗ συνέγνω σφίσιν, ἐλληνιστὶ, ὅπως συνώσιν αὐτοῦ, 4 εἰπε. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου σῶμα εἶδε, καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ προσήψατο, ὡστε τῷ τῆς ῥινός, ὡς φασί, θραυσθῆναι: τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν 5 εἴπε.
also ordered Antony's freedmen to give at once to Iullus, the son of Antony and Fulvia, everything which by law they would have been required to bequeath him at their death. As for the rest who had been connected with Antony's cause up to this time, he punished some and pardoned others, either from personal motives or to oblige his friends. And since there were found at the court many children of princes and kings who were being kept there, some as hostages and others out of a spirit of arrogance, he sent some back to their homes, joined others in marriage with one another, and retained still others. I shall omit most of these cases and mention only two. Of his own accord he restored Iotape to the Median king, who had found an asylum with him after his defeat; but he refused the request of Artaxes that his brothers be sent to him, because this prince had put to death the Romans left behind in Armenia.

This was the disposition he made of such captives; and in the case of the Egyptians and Alexandrians, he spared them all, so that none perished. The truth was that he did not see fit to inflict any irreparable injury upon a people so numerous, who might prove very useful to the Romans in many ways; nevertheless, he offered as a pretext for his kindness their god Serapis, their founder Alexander, and, in the third place, their fellow-citizen Areius, of whose learning and companionship he availed himself. The speech in which he proclaimed to them his pardon he delivered in Greek, so that they might understand him. After this he viewed the body of Alexander and actually touched it, whereupon, it is said, a piece of the nose was broken off. But he declined
Πτολεμαίων, καίτοι τῶν 'Αλεξανδρέων σπουδὴ Βουληθέντων αὐτῶ δείξαι, οὐκ ἐθεάσατο, εἰπὼν ὅτι "Βασιλεὰ ἄλλοι οὐ νεκροὶς ἰδεῖν ἐπεθύμησα." κἀκε τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης αἰτίας οὐδὲ τῷ Ἀπιδὶ ἐνυχεῖν ἥθελησε, λέγων θεοὺς ἄλλῳ ὦν κη βοῦς προσκυνεῖν εἰθίσθαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τήν τε Αἴγυπτον ὑποτελὴ ἐποίησε καὶ τῷ Γάλλῳ τῷ Κορυνηλίῳ ἐπέτρεψε· πρὸς τε γὰρ τὸ πολὺνανδρον καὶ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῆς χώρας, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ῥάδιον τὸ τε κούφον τῶν τρόπων αὐτῶν, τὴν τε σιτοπομπίαν καὶ τὰ χρήματα, οὐδεὶς Βουλευτή ὦν ὁπως ἐγχειρίσαι αὐτὴν ἐτόλμησεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐνεπιδημείν αὐτὴ ἐξουσίαν ἐδωκεν, ἂν μὴ τινὶ αὐτὸς ὄνομαστὶ συγχωρήσῃ. οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι βουλεύειν ἐν τῇ 'Ρώμῃ ἐφήκεν. ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ὡς ἐκάστοις, τοὺς δὲ 'Αλεξανδρεύσων ἀνευ βουλευτῶν πολιτεύεσθαι ἐκέλευσε· τοσαύτην ποι

3 νεοτεροποιίαν αὐτῶν κατέγρω. καὶ σφων οὗτῳ τότε ταχθέντων τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ νῦν ἰσχυρὸς φυλάσσεται, Βουλεύουσι δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ 'Αλεξανδρείᾳ, ἐπὶ Σεούρην αὐτοκράτορος ἀρξάμενοι, καὶ ἐν τῇ 'Ρώμῃ, ἐπ᾽ 'Αντωνίνου τοῦ νεός αὐτοῦ πρῶτου ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν ἐσγραφέντες.

4 Αἰγυπτος μὲν οὗτος ἐδουλώθη· πάντες γὰρ οἱ ἀντισχόντες αὐτῶν χρόνον τινὰ ἐχειρώθησαν, ὡς που καὶ τὸ δαίμονιν σφῶν ἐναργέστατα προέδειξεν. ὅσο γὰρ οὐχ ὁπως ὑδατί, ἐνθα μηδὲ ἐφέκασε ποτε, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰματι· ταύτα τε ἀμα ἐκ τῶν νεφῶν ἐξέπηπτε καὶ ὁπλὰ παρε-

5 φαίνετο. κτυπήματα τὲ τινὰ ἐτέρωθι καὶ τυμπάνων καὶ κυμβάλων καὶ βοήματα καὶ αὐλῶν

46
to view the remains of the Ptolemies, though the
Alexandrians were extremely eager to show them,
remarking, "I wished to see a king, not corpses."
For this same reason he would not enter the presence
of Apis, either, declaring that he was accustomed
to worship gods, not cattle. Afterwards he made
Egypt tributary and gave it in charge of Cornelius
Gallus. For in view of the populousness of both the
cities and country, the facile, fickle character of the
inhabitants, and the extent of the grain-supply and
of the wealth, so far from daring to entrust the land
to any senator, he would not even grant a senator
permission to live in it, except as he personally made
the concession to him by name. On the other hand
he did not allow the Egyptians to be senators in
Rome; but whereas he made various dispositions as
regards the several cities, he commanded the
Alexandrians to conduct their government without
senators; with such capacity for revolution, I suppose,
did he credit them. And of the system then imposed
upon them most details are rigorously preserved at
the present time, but they have their senators both
in Alexandria, beginning first under the emperor
Severus, and also in Rome, these having first been
enrolled in the senate in the reign of Severus' son
Antoninus.
Thus was Egypt enslaved. All the inhabitants
who resisted for a time were finally subdued, as,
indeed, Heaven very clearly indicated to them
beforehand. For it rained not only water where no
drop had ever fallen previously, but also blood; and
there were flashes of armour from the clouds as this
bloody rain fell from them. Elsewhere there was
the clashing of drums and cymbals and the notes of
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καὶ σαλπίγγων ἐγίνετο, καὶ τις δράκων ὑπερμεγέθης ἐξαίφνης σφίσιν ὀφθεὶς ἀμὴχανὸν ὅσον ἠξεσύρισε. κἀν τοῦτο καὶ ἀστέρες κομῆται ἐωρῶντο, καὶ νεκρῶν εἴδωλα ἐφαντάζετο, τά τε ἀγάλματα ἐσκυθρώπασε, καὶ ὄ Ἀτις ὀλοφυρτικῶν τι ἐμυκήσατο καὶ κατεδάκρυσε.

6 Ταῦτα μὲν οὔτως ἐγένετο, χρήματα δὲ πολλὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ εὐρέθη (πάντα γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν καὶ τά ἐκ τῶν ἀγιωτάτων ἱερῶν ἀναθήματα ἦ Κλεοπάτρα ἀνελομένη συνεπλήθυσε τά λάφυρα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀνεν τινὸς οἰκείου αὐτῶν μιᾶσματος), πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρ’ ἐκάστου τῶν αἰτιαθέντων

7 τι ἡθροίσθη. καὶ χωρίς οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες, ὡς μηδὲν ὢδον ἑγκλῆμα λαβεῖν ἔδυναντο, τά δύο μέρη τῶν οὐσίων ἠτίθησαν. καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν πάντες μὲν οἱ στρατιῶται τά ἐποφειλομενά σφισιν ἐκομίσαντο, οἱ δὲ δὴ καὶ τότε τῷ Καίσαρι συγγενόμενου πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας δραχμᾶς, ὡστε

8 μὴ διαρτᾶσαι τὴν πόλιν, προσεπελάβον. τοῖς τε προδανείσασι τι πάντα ἀπηλλάγη, καὶ τοῖς συμμετασχοῦσι τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἵππων πάμπολλα ἔδόθη, το τε σὺμπαν ἢ τε ἄρχῃ ἢ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπλούτισθη καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ αὐτῶν ἐκοσμήθη.

18 'Ο δ’ οὖν Καίσαρ ὡς τά τε προειρημένα ἐπτραξε, καὶ πόλιν καὶ ἕκει ἐν τῷ τῆς μάχης χωρίῳ συνώκισε, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τόν ἀγώνα αὐτῇ ὁμοίως τῇ προτέρᾳ δοῦσ, τάς τε διώρυχας τάς μὲν ἐξεκάθηρε τάς δὲ ἐκ καινῆς διώρυξε, καὶ τάλα τὰ προσηκόντα προσδιώκησεν, ἐς τε τήν Ἀσίαν

1 μιᾶσματος Μ, βιᾶσματος V. 2 τι Μ, om. V. 3 ἠτίθησαν R. Steph., ἠτίθησαν VM.
flutes and trumpets, and a serpent of huge size suddenly appeared to them and uttered an incredibly loud hiss. Meanwhile comets were seen and dead men's ghosts appeared, the statues frowned, and Apis bellowed a note of lamentation and burst into tears.

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

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

1 See chap. 1, 3.
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to éthnos dia tis Suryas ÷ilde, kataudha pararechimase, tae te toyn uphekow ós ekastata kai tâ

tow Párðoun âma kathistámenos. stasiasasántwv gâr autwv kai tinos Tiriðâtou1 toj Frwaðâtj
épavastántos, próteron mén, kal eow éti tâ tou
'Antwvho kai metá tîn nautmakhian anðheistikei,
oûx ósou ou prosochetó toj2 autwv sümumakhian
aiðhassántwv, all' ouód' âpêkrínavtallo oudeyn ñ
ôti boleúsetai, próbasin mén ñs kai peri tîn
Aigupptou ñxholian ñxwn, ñrgph de' in' èktrukw-

3 òeievn en toutwv makhmewn prosv allâlous. tôte
de' èpeidei Ï te 'Antwvhn èteléiwte, kai èkeionw
ô mev Tiriðâtâs õpthètis ës tîn Suryan katefugyev,
ô de Frwaðâtis krathssas prêsbeis èpempe, toutous
tev filikwos ékhrhmâtise, kai toj Tiriðâtâs bop-
ôhnsein mén oux èptexheto diastasai de' en tî
Surya èpt swarmen, vi ou tî tîna toj Frwaðou en
èpervgesias3 mérei par' autouv labwv ës te tîn
'rómpn anýgagane kai en õmepreia èpoinstato.

19 'En de toutwv kal èti próteron simka mèn kal
ëpi tî tîs nautmakhias nîkî ou en oikw òomaii
èp leftovers. tae te gâr níkhtíria autw, õs kai
tîs Kleopátas, kai ñúsída troopoforou en te
tô Brevestis kai èteran en tî 'òomaia ágorâ
2 èdôkanv tîn te krrthdâ toj 'Oonleûo ërphou
tois tîn aìxmalowtídovn vêwn émboloi kósmê-
ôhanai, kai pannhunwv ou peventhîda àngesthai,
en te tois gendhlinos autov kai en tî tîs àng-
gellias tîs nîkîs õméra èpervgesian èinai, kai ës
tîn pòlin èstiouni autw tîs te iereías tâs

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

During this time and still earlier the Romans at home had passed many resolutions in honour of Caesar's naval victory. Thus they granted him a triumph, as over Cleopatra, an arch adorned with trophies at Brundisium and another in the Roman Forum. Moreover, they decreed that the foundation of the shrine of Julius should be adorned with the beaks of the captured ships and that a festival should be held every four years in honour of Octavius; that there should also be a thanksgiving on his birthday and on the anniversary of the announcement of his victory; also that when he should enter the city the
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ἀειπαρθένους καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τὸν τε δήμων μετά τε τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἀπαντᾷ τήσαυ ἐγνωσαν. τὰς γὰρ εὐχὰς τὰς τε εἰκόνας καὶ τὴν προεδρίαν καὶ τάλλα τὰ τοιουτότροπα περιττὸν ἐστὶν ἥδη λέγειν. τὴν μὲν οὖν πρῶτην ἐκεῖνην τε' ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἀντώνιου κοσμήματα τὰ μὲν καθείλον τὰ δ' ἀπῆλθαν, τὴν τε ἀμέραν ἐν ἧ ἐγεγέννητο μιαρὰν ἐνόμισαν, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Μάρκου πρόσρημα ἀπείπου 4 μηδενὶ τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτοῦ εἶναι. ὡς μέντοι καὶ θενεώτα αὐτὸν ἐπίθυοντο (ἡγγέλθη δὲ τούτῳ Κικέρωνος τοῦ Κικέρωνος παιδὸς ἐν μέρει τοῦ ἐτους ὑπατεύοντος), τούτῳ τε τινὲς ὡς 2 οὐκ ἀθεῖλ δὴ συμβαν ἐλάμβανον, ἑπειδήπερ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ 5 Ἀντωνίου ὅτι μάλιστ' ἐτεθύκει, καὶ προσεψηφίσαντο τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ στεφάνους καὶ ἱερομηνίας πολλάς, καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἔτερα ἐπινίκια ὡς καὶ τῶν Ἀγνυπτῶν ἀγαγεῶν ἔδοσαν· τὸν γὰρ Ἀντώνιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ῥωμαίους τοὺς σὺν ἐκεῖνῳ νικηθέντας οὕτε πρότερον οὕτε τότε, ὡς καὶ ἄρταξεων 6 σφάς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δέον, ἀνόμασαν. τὴν τε ἀμέραν ἐν ἦν ἦ Ἄλεξάνδρεια ἐάλω, ἀγαθὴν τε εἶναι καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐπείτα ἐτη ἁρχὴν τῆς ἀπαριθμήσεως αὐτῶν νομίζεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τὴν τε ἐξουσίαν τὴν τῶν δημάρχων διὰ βίον ἔχειν, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιβοσμένους αὐτὸν καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ παραλοίπου καὶ ἔξω μέχρις ὁγδοῦ ἡμισταδίου ἀμύνειν, δ' μηδενὶ 1 τε Μ, om. V. 2 ὡς supplied by Bk.
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Vestal Virgins and the senate and the people with their wives and children should go out to meet him. But it would be quite superfluous to go on and mention the prayers, the images, the privilege of the front seat, and all the other honours of the sort. At the beginning, then, they not only voted him these honours but also either took down or effaced the memorials of Antony, declared the day on which he had been born accursed, and forbade the use of the surname Marcus by any of his kin. When, however, they learned of Antony's death, the news of which came while Cicero, the son of Cicero, was consul for a part of the year, some held that it had come to pass not without divine direction, since the consul's father had owed his death chiefly to Antony; and they voted to Caesar crowns and thanksgivings in great number and granted him the privilege of celebrating another triumph, this time over the Egyptians. For neither on the previous occasion nor at this time did they mention by name Antony and the other Romans who had been vanquished with him and thus imply that it was proper to celebrate their defeat. The day on which Alexandria had been captured they declared a lucky day, and directed that in future years it should be taken by the inhabitants of that city as the starting-point in their reckoning of time. They also decreed that Caesar should hold the tribunician power for life, that he should aid those who called upon him for help both within the pomerium and outside for a distance of one mile,¹—

¹ Literally, "as far as the eighth half-stade," which means seven and a half stades, that is, one mile, according to Dio's usage. See note on xxxviii. 18.

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7 τῶν δημαρχοῦντων ἔξην, ἐκκλητοῦν τε δικαίειν, καὶ ψηφόν τινα αὐτοῦ ἐν πάσι τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἀσπέρ Ἀθηνᾶς φέρεσθαι, τοὺς τε ίερεάς καὶ τὰς ίερείας ἐν ταῖς ὑπέρ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς βουλῆς εὑχαίς καὶ ὑπέρ ἐκείνου ὄμοιως εὐχεσθαι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς συσσίτιοις οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς κοινοῖς ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις πάντας αὐτῷ σπένδειν ἐκέλευσαν.

20 Τότε μὲν ὁ ταύτ' ἐγνώρισθη, ὑπατεύοντος δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ πέμπτον μετὰ Σέξτου Ἀπουλείου τα τε πραξάθεντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου νομημαία ὀρκοὶ ἐβεβαιώσαντο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν Πάρθων γράμματα ἦλθεν, ἐς τε τοὺς ὄμοιους αὐτὸν ἐξ ἰσού τοῖς θεοῖς ἐγγράφησθαι, καὶ φυλὴν Ἰουλίαν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπονομάζονσαν, τῷ τε στεφάνῳ αὐτοῦ τῷ ἐπειδῆ διὰ πασῶν τῶν πανηγύρεων ἥρχονται, καὶ τοὺς συνυκήσαντας οἱ Βουλευται ἐν περιπορφύροις ἴματιοι τὴν πομπὴν αὐτῷ συμπέμψαι, τὴν ημέραν ἐν ἕτεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσέλθη θυσίαις τε πανδημεὶς ἀγαλθήναι καὶ ἱερὰν ἀεὶ ἄγεσθαι, ἱερεὰς τε αὐτῶν καὶ υπὲρ τὸν ἄριθμον ὅσοις ἄν ἄει ἐθελήσῃ, προαιρεῖσθαι προσκατεστήσαντο ὑπὲρ του ἐξ ἐκείνου παραδοθέν ἐς ὧριστον ἐπηνυξῆθη, ὡστε μηδὲν ἔτι χρῆμα με περὶ τοῦ πλῆθους αὐτῶν ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι τό οὖν Καίσαρ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πλὴν βραχεὼν ἐδέξατο τὸ δὲ δὴ σύμπαντας αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει οὕτως ἀπαντῆσαι

1 ἐσγράφεσθαι Μ, ἐγγράφεσθαι Ν.

1 The tribunes' authority, as a matter of fact, extended to the first mile-stone outside the city; see Livy iii. 20, 7. Dio is apparently labouring under a misapprehension. 54
a privilege possessed by none of the tribunes,—also
that he should judge appealed cases, and that in all
the courts his vote was to be cast as Athena's vote. The priests and priestesses also in their prayers in
behalf of the people and the senate were to pray for
him likewise, and at all banquets, not only public
but private as well, everybody was to pour a libation
to him.

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

2 That is, in case of a tie vote, Caesar's vote, like Athena's
in the Areopagus at Athens, was to decide in favour of ac-
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παρητήσατο ἀντικρος μὴ γενέσθαι. πλεῖστον δὲ ὁμοὶ ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ψηφισθέντα οἱ υπερήφην ὅτι τὰς τι πῦλας τὰς τοῦ Ἰανοῦ ὡς καὶ πάντων σφίσι τῶν πολέμων παντελῶς πεπαυμένων ἐκλεισαν, καὶ τὸ οὐώσιμα τὸ τῆς 'Τιμείας ἐποίησαν' 5 καὶ γὰρ τότε δι' ἄπερ εἶπον διελέευπτο. ἦσαν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ὅπλοις ἑτὶ καὶ Τρήσοντες ἐπαγαγόμενοι καὶ Κάνταβροι 2 καὶ Οὐάκκαιοι καὶ 'Αστυρες καὶ οὕτωι μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ταύρου τοῦ Στατιλίου, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ὑπὸ Νωνίου Γάλλου κατεστράφησαν ἄλλα τε ὡς καθ' ἕκαστος ταραχόδη συχνὰ ἐγύγνετο· ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν μέγα ἀπ' αὐτῶν συννεχθη, οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι τότε πολεμεῖσθαι ἐνόμιζον οὔτε ἐγὼ ἐπιφανές τι 3 περὶ αὐτῶν γράψαι ἔχω.

6 Καίσαρ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐχρημάτιζε, καὶ τεμένη τῇ τε Ἦρόμη καὶ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, ἤρωα αὐτῶν Ἰουλίου ὀνομάσας, ἐν τῇ Ἐφεσῷ καὶ ἐν Νικαίᾳ γενέσθαι ἐφηκέναν αὐταί γὰρ τότε αἱ πόλεις ἐν τῇ Ἥρασι καὶ ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ 7 προετείμηστο. καὶ τούτωι μὲν τοῖς Ἦρωμαίοις τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐποικούσι τιμᾶν προσέταξε· τοῖς δὲ δὴ ξένοις, Ἐλληνάς σφας ἐπικαλέσας, ἐαυτῷ τιμα, τοῖς μὲν Ἀσιανοῖς ἐν Περγάμῳ τοῖς δὲ Βιθυνοῖς ἐν Νικομηδείᾳ, τεμενύσαι ἐπέτρεψε. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖθεν ἀρξάμενον καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων αὐτοκρατόρων οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς Ἐλληνικοῖς ἐθνεσίν, ἄλλα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὡσα τῶν Ἦρωμαίοις ἄκουει, 8 ἐγένετο. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀστεὶ αὐτῷ τῇ τε ἄλλῃ

1 Τρήσοντες Βα., τρησόμενοι VM.
2 Κάνταβροι R. Steph., κανταβροί VM.
3 τι Μ., om. V.

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

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

\(^{1}\) Cf. xxxvii. 24. \(^{2}\) *i.e.* Divus Iulius.
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'Италия ούκ ἔστιν ὅστις τῶν καὶ ἐφ' ὁποσονοῦν λόγου τινὸς ἀξίων ἐτόλμησε τούτο ποιῆσαι: μεταλάξασι μέντοι κάνταυθα τοῖς ὀρθῶς αὐταρχήσασιν ἄλλα τε ἵσόθεοι τιμαὶ διδοῦνται καὶ δὴ καὶ ἡρὰ ποιεῖται.

9 Ταύτα μὲν ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι ἐγένετο, καὶ ἔλαβον καὶ οἱ Περγαμηνοὶ τὸν ἀγώνα τὸν ἱερὸν ὄνομασαν σμένου εἰπὶ τῇ τοῦ ναοῦ αὐτοῦ τιμῇ ποιεῖν. τοῦ δὲ δὴ θέρους ἦς τῇ 'Ελλάδα καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπερεαίωθη, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἦς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθόντος οὐ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἔθνου, ὡσπερ εἰρήται, καὶ ὁ ὑπατος Ουαλέριος Ποτίτος· ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ καὶ τούτῳ πᾶν τὸ ἔτος, ὡσπερ καὶ τὰ δύο τὰ πρότερα, ὑπάτευσε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Σέξτον ὁ

2 Ποτίτος διεδέξατο. οὗτος οὖν δημοσία καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπέρ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Βουλῆς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀφίζει ἐβουθύτησεν· ὁ μὴ πρότερον ἐπὶ μηδενὸς ἄλλου ἐγεγόνει, μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ τοὺς το ὑποστρατήγους καὶ ἐπήνευσε καὶ ἐτίμησεν ὡσπερ εἰδίστο, καὶ τὸν τε Αγρίππαν ἄλλους τέ τισι καὶ σημεῖον κυανοειδεὶ ναυκρατητικῷ προσεπεσέμνυε, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐδωκέ τινα· τῷ τῇ δήμῳ καθ' ἐκατον̆ δραχμάς, προτέροις μὲν τοῖς ἐς ἄνδρας τελοῦσιν, ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ διὰ τὸν Μάρκελλον τὸν

3 ἀδελφίδοιν, διένεμε. καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς τούτους, καὶ ὅτι παρὰ τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλία τὸ χρυσίον τὸ τοῖς στεφάνοις προσήκον ὦν ἐδέξατο,

1 ἐγένετο V, ἐγένοντο M. 2 ἐκατον M, ἑαυτὸν V.

1 Cf. chap. 1, 2. 2 Cf. chap. 20, 3.
3 In earlier times it had been customary, when a general

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generally no emperor, however worthy of renown he has been, has dared to do this; still, even there various divine honours are bestowed after their death upon such emperors as have ruled uprightly, and, in fact, shrines are built to them.

All this took place in the winter; and the Pergamenians also received authority to hold the "sacred" games, as they called them, in honour of Caesar's temple.\(^1\) In the course of the summer Caesar crossed over to Greece and to Italy; and when he entered the city, not only all the citizens offered sacrifice, as has been mentioned,\(^2\) but even the consul Valerius Potitus. Caesar, to be sure, was consul all that year as for the two preceding years, but Potitus was the successor of Sextus. It was he who publicly and in person offered sacrifices in behalf of the senate and of the people upon Caesar's arrival, a thing that had never before been done in the case of any other person. After this Caesar bestowed eulogies and honours upon his lieutenants, as was customary, and to Agrippa he further granted, among other distinctions, a dark blue flag in honour of his naval victory, and he gave gifts to the soldiers; to the people he distributed four hundred sesterces apiece, first to the men who were adults, and afterwards to the children because of his nephew Marcellus. In view of all this, and because he would not accept from the cities of Italy the gold required for the crowns\(^3\) they had voted him, and because, won a triumph, for the cities of his province to send gold crowns, which were carried before him in the triumphal procession. By Cicero's time it was a common practice to send, instead of the crowns themselves, their value in money \(\textit{aureum coronarium}\); and this was now regarded as a form of tribute.
καὶ ὁτι ¹ καὶ πάντα ἵνα τε αὐτὸς ὥφειλέ τισιν ἀπέδωκε, καὶ ἡ αὐτὸι ἐπώφειλον οὐκ ἔσε- πραξεν, ὡσπερ εἰρηται, τῶν τε δυσχερῶν πάντων οἱ 'Ῥωμαιοὶ ἐπελάθοντο, καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτοῦ ἤδεως ὡς καὶ ἀλλοφύλοις ἀπάντων τῶν ἤτη-
θέντων ὁντων εἴδον. τοσούτον γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν χρημάτων διὰ πάσης ὁμοίως τῆς πόλεως ἐχω-
ρησεν ὡστε τὰ μὲν κτήματα ἐπιτιμηθῆναι, τὰ δὲ 
δανείσματα ἀγαπητῶς ἔτι ὑδραχμὶ πρότερον ὄντα 
τότε ἐπὶ τῷ τριτημορίῳ αὐτῆς γενέσθαι. ἔσφορτασ 
δὲ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρα τὰ τε τῶν Παννονίων κα 
τὰ τῶν Δελματῶν, τῆς τε Ἰαπυδίας ² καὶ τῶν 
προσχώρων σφίσι, ³ Κελτῶν τε καὶ Γαλατῶν τινῶν.

6 Γάιος γὰρ Καρρίνας τοὺς τε Μωρίνους καὶ ἄλλους 
tiνας συνεπαναστάντας αὐτοῖς ἐχειρώσατο, καὶ 
toὺς Σουῆβους τούν ⁴ 'Ῥήνον ἐπὶ πολέμω δια-
βάντας ἀπεώσατο· καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἤγαγε μὲν καὶ 
ἐκεῖνος τὰ νικητήρια, καίτοι τοῦ τε πατρὸς αὐτοῦ 
ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλουθον ἀνατωθέντος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρξαι 
pοτὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὁμοίων οί κοιλυθεῖς, 
ἤγαγε δὲ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἀναφορὰ τῆς 
νίκης τῇ αὐτοκράτορι αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆ προσήκουσα 
7 ἢν. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ταῦτα διεωρτά-
σθη, ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἡ πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ ναυ-
κρατία, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡ τῆς Αἰγύπτου κατα-
στροφῆ. ἐπιφανεῖς μὲν δὲ καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι ποιμαϊ 
διὰ τὰ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς λάφυρα ἐγένοντο (τοσαῦτα γὰρ 
ἡδροίσθη ὡστε πάσαις ἐπι τρεφέσαι), πολυτελεστάτη 
8 ὁ οὖν καὶ ἄξιοπρεπεστάτη αὐτὴ ἡ Αἰγυπτία. τὰ 
te γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα ἐπὶ κλίνης ἐν τῷ

¹ ὁτι Rk., ἕτι VM. ² Ἰαπυδίας Xyl., Ιαπυδιᾶς VM.
³ σφίσι M, om. V. ⁴ τὸν Bk., τὸν τε VM.

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

1 Cf. chap. 17, 8.
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tοῦ θανάτου μιμήματι παρεκομίσθη, ὡστε τρόπον
tινὰ καὶ ἐκείνην μετὰ τε τῶν ἄλλων αἰχμαλώτων
καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ καὶ Ἡλίου, τῆς τε
Κλεοπάτρας τῆς καὶ Σελήνης, τῶν τέκνων, ὡς
9 πομπείον ὀφθήναι. μετὰ δὲ δὴ τούτῳ ὁ Καίσαρ
ἐφ᾽ ἀπασίν αὐτοῖς ἐσελάσας τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ
τὸ νομίζομενον ἐπραξε, τὸν δὲ δὴ συνύπατον τοὺς
τε λοιποὺς ἄρχοντας περιεῖδε παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὼς
ἐπισπομένους οἱ μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν βουλευτῶν τῶν
συννεκηκότων εἰώθεσαν γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἤγείσθαι οἱ
dὲ ἐφέπεσθαι.1

22 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα διετέλεσε, τὸ τε Ἀθήναιον τὸ
Χαλκιδικὸν ὄνομασμένον καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ
Ἰουλίειον, τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τιμή
gενόμενον, καθιέρωσεν. ἐνέστησε δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ
ἀγαλμα τὸ τῆς Νίκης τὸ καὶ νῦν ὄν, δηλῶν, ὡς
2 ἔσοικεν, ὅτι παρ᾽ αὐτῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκτῆσατο· ἦν
dὲ δὴ τῶν Ταραντίνων, καὶ ἐκείθεν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην
κομισθέν ἐν τὲ τὸ συνεδρίῳ ἱδρύθη καὶ Αἰγυ-
πτίοις λαφύροις ἐκοσμήθη. καὶ τούτῳ καὶ τῷ τοῦ
3 Ἰουλίου ἡρῴ δοσιωθέντο τότε ὑπῆρξε· συχνὰ γὰρ
καὶ ἐς ἐκεῖνο ἀνετέθη, καὶ ἐτέρα τῷ τε Δἰ τῷ
Καπιτωλίῳ καὶ τῇ Ἡρᾷ τῇ τε Ἀθηνᾶ ἱερόθη, πάντων τῶν πρότερον ἐνταῦθα ἀνακεῖσθαι δοκοῦν-
tῶν ἦ καὶ ἐτὶ κειμένων ἐκ δόγματος τότε καθαι-
ρεθέντων ὡς καὶ μεμιασμένων.2 καὶ οὕτως ἡ
Κλεοπάτρα καίπερ καὶ ἡττηθείσα καὶ ἀλούσα

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

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

\(^{1}\) The custom was for the magistrates to issue from the city to meet the victorious general, and then to turn and march ahead of him. Octavius, by putting them behind him, symbolized his position as chief citizen of the state.
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εδοξάσθη, ὅτι τά τε κοσμήματα αὐτῆς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἡμῶν ἀνάκειται καὶ αὐτῆ ἐν τῷ Ἀφροδίσιῳ χρυσῆ ὄραται.

4 'Εν δ' οὖν τῇ τοῦ ἡρώου ὁσιώσει ἀγώνες τε παντοδαποί ἐγένοντο, καὶ τὴν Τροίαν εὐπατρίδαι παῖδες ὑπευόνα, ἀνδρὲς τε ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων σφῖσιν ἐπὶ τε κελήτων καὶ ἐπὶ συνωρίδων ἐπὶ τεθρίπτων ἀντηγωνίσαντο, Κύντος τε τῶν Οὐσίδων

5 Βουλευτής ἐμονομάχησε. καὶ θηρία καὶ βοτὰ ἀλλὰ τε παμπληθῆ καὶ ρινὸκερως ὑπτος τε ποτάμοι, πρῶτον τότε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὀφθέντα, ἐσφάγη. καὶ ὃ μὲν ὑπτος ὁποῖος ἐστι, πολλοῖς τε εἰρηται καὶ πολὺ πλεῖοσιν ἑώραται: ὃ δὲ δὴ ρινὸκερως τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ ἐλέφαντι γη προσέωκε, κέρας δὲ τι καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ρίνα προσέχει, καὶ διὰ τούτο οὔτω κέκληται. ταυτά τε ὅτι ἐσήχθη, καὶ ἀθρόοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους Δακοὶ τε καὶ Σουήβοι ἐμαχέσαντο. εἰσὶ δὲ οὕτωι μὲν Κελτοί, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ δὴ Σκύθαι τρόπον τινά καὶ οἱ μὲν πέραν τοῦ Ῥήμου ὡς γε τάκριβεσ εἴπειν (πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ ἀλλοι τῶν τῶν Σουήβων ὁνόματος ἀντίποιούνται), οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα τοῦ Ἰστροῦ νέμονται,

6 ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τάδε αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς τῇ Τριβαλλικῇ οἰκοῦντες ἐς τε τὸν τῆς Μυσίας νομὸν τελοῦσι καὶ Μυσοί, πλὴν παρὰ τοῖς πάνω ἐπι- χωρίοις, ὁνομάζονται, οἱ δὲ ἐπέκεινα Δακοὶ κέ- κληνται, εἰτε δὴ Γέται τινὲς εἴετε καὶ Θράκες τοῦ Δακικοῦ γένους τοῦ τὴν Ροδόπην ποτὲ ἐνοικη- σαντος ὄντες. οὕτωι οὖν οἱ Δακοὶ ἐπρεσβεύσαντο μὲν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου τούτου πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα,

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

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

9 ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ θεωρία ἀπασα ἐπὶ πολλὰς, ὡσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, ἡμέρας, οὐδὲ διέλιπε τού Καίσαρος ἀρρωστήσαντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπόντος αὐτοῦ δι' ἐτέρων ἐποιήθη. καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς οἱ βουλευταὶ μίαν τινὰ ὡς ἐκαστοῦ ἡμέραν ἐν τοῖς τῶν οἰκίῶν σφων προθύρως εἰστιάθησαν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν ἐσ τούτῳ προαχθέντες οὗ γὰρ παραδέδοται.

23 Τότε μὲν δ' ἡ ταυτ' οὔτως ἐπράξθη, τοῦ δὲ δ' Καίσαρος τὸ τέταρτον ἐτὶ ὑπατεύοντος ὁ Ταῦρος ὁ Στατίλιος θεάτρον τι ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ κυνηγετικῶν λίθων καὶ ἐξεποίησε τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ τέλεσι καὶ καθίερωσεν ὀπλομαχία, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο στρατηγὸν ἔνα παρὰ τοῦ δήμου κατ' ἐτος αἱρεῖσθαι ἐλάμβανε.

2 Κατὰ δὲ δ' τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους χρόνους ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, ὁ Κράσσος ὁ Μάρκος ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐς τὴν 'Ελλάδα πεμφθεῖς τοῖς τε Δακοῖς καὶ τοῖς 3 Βαστάρναις ἐπολέμησε. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἐκείνων, οὔτινες τὰ εἰσὶ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐπο-

3 λεμώθησαν, εἰρηταί Βαστάρναι δὲ Σκύθαι τε ἀκριβῶς νευομίδαται, καὶ τότε τοῦν Ἰστρον διαβάντες τὴν τε Μυσίαν τὴν κατ' ἀντιπέρας σφῶν καὶ μετὰ τούτου καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς ὀμόρους αὐτῇ ὄντας τοὺς τε Δαρδάνους ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ ἐκεῖνων οἰκούντας ἐχειρώσαντο. τέως μὲν οὖν ταῦτ' ἐποίουν, οὐδὲν σφισὶ πράγμα πρὸς τοὺς Ρωμαίους

1 διέλιπε Bk., διέλιπε VM. 2 καίτοι M, καίτοι καὶ V. 3 τοῖς supplied by Bk.
when they obtained none of their requests, they went over to Antony. They proved of no great assistance to him, however, owing to strife among themselves, and some who were afterwards captured were now matched against the Suebi. The whole spectacle lasted many days, as one would expect, and there was no interruption, even though Caesar fell ill, but it was carried on in his absence under the direction of others. On one of the days of this celebration the senators gave banquets in the vestibules of their several homes; but what the occasion was for their doing this, I do not know, since it is not recorded.

These were the events of those days. And while Caesar was still in his fourth consulship, Statilius Taurus both constructed at his own expense and dedicated with a gladiatorial combat a hunting-theatre of stone\(^1\) in the Campus Martius. Because of this he was permitted by the people to choose one of the praetors each year.

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

\(^1\) This was the first stone amphitheatre in Rome.
4 ἢν ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν τε Ἀλμον ὑπερέβησαν καὶ τὴν Ὁράκην τὴν Δευθελητῶν ἐνπονδοῦν αὐτοῖς οὗσαν κατέδραμον, ἐνταῦθα ὁ Κράσσος τὸ μὲν τι τῷ Σιτᾶ τῷ τῶν Δευθελητῶν βασιλεύς τυφλῷ ὄντι ἀμύνων, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλείστον περὶ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ φοβηθεὶς ἀντετήλθε σφισί, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς προσόδου μόνης καταπλήξας ἐξέωσεν ἀμαχεῖ ἐκ τῆς χώρας. κάκ τούτου οἴκαδε ἀναχωροῦντας ἐπιδίωκων τὴν τε Σεγετικὴν καλουμένην προσποιήσατο καὶ ἐς τὴν Μυσίδα ἐνέβαλε, καὶ τὴν τε χώραν σφῶν ἐκάκωσε καὶ πρὸς τείχος τι καρτερὸν προσελάσας τοὺς μὲν προδρόμους ἐπταίσε (μόνους γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ Μυσοὶ οἰηθέντες εἶναι ἐπέξοδον ἐποιήσαντο), προσβοηθήσας δὲ σφισὶ παντὶ τῷ λοιπῷ στρατεύματι καὶ ἀνέκοψεν αὐτοὺς καὶ 24 προσδερεύσας ἔξειλε. πράσσοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταύτα οἱ Βαστάρναι τῆς τε φυγῆς ἐπέσχον καὶ πρὸς τῷ Κέδρῳ ποταμῷ κατέμειναν, περιορώμενοι τὰ γενησόμενα. ἐπειδὴ τε νικήσας τοὺς Μυσοὺς καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνους ὄρμησε, πρέσβεις ἐπέμψαν ἀπαγορεύσοντες αὐτῷ μὴ διώκειν σφᾶς, ὡς οὐδὲν τοὺς 2 Ἕρωμαῖοι ἡδικηκότες. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Κράσσος κατασχὼν ὡς καὶ τῇ ύστεραιᾳ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν δώσων, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐφιλοφρονήσατο καὶ κατεμέθυσεν ὃςτε πάντα τὰ βουλεύματα αὐτῶν ἐκμαθεῖν ἀπλῆστος τε γὰρ ἐμφορείτα πᾶν τὸ Σκυθικὸν φίλον οἶνον, καὶ ὑπερκορίς αὐτοῦ ταχὺ 3 γίγνεται. Κράσσος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐς ἔλθην τινὰ προχωρήσας, καὶ προσκόπους πρὸ αὐτῆς καταστῆσας, ἀνέπαυσε τε τὸ στράτευμα,

1 V omits from here to πεζοῦς in chap. 26, 1, without indicating a lacuna.

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

1 The spelling is uncertain; the forms Cebrus, Cibrus, and Ciabrus are also found. Now the Tzibritza.
καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῶν Βασταρνῶν μόνους τε ἑκείνους εἶναι νομισάντων καὶ ἑπιδραμόντων σφίσιν, ἐς τε τὰ λάσια ἀναχωροῦσιν ἑπακολούθησάντων, πολλοὺς μὲν ἑνταῦθα πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ 4 φυγόντας ἐφθειρεν ὑπὸ τε γὰρ τῶν ἀμαξῶν κατόπιν αὐτοῖς οὐσῶν ἐνεποδίσθησαν, καὶ προσέτε καὶ τόσο παῖδας τάς τε γυναίκας σῶσαί ἑθελήσαντες ἐπταίσαν. καὶ τῶν γε βασιλέα αὐτῶν Δέλδωνα αὐτός ὁ Κράσσος ἀπέκτεινε· καὶ τὰ σκύλα αὐτοῦ τῷ Φερετρίῳ Διί ὡς καὶ ὑπίμα- ἄνεβηκεν, εἰπέρ αὐτοκράτωρ στρατηγός ἔγεγόνει. 5 ἐκεῖνά τε οὖν οὕτως ἔπραχθη, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς ἄλοσος τι καταφυγόντες περιεπρήθησαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τεῖχος τι ἑσπηδήσαντες ἐξηρέθησαν. ἄλλοι ἐς τὸν Ἰστρόν ἐμπεσόντες, ἄλλοι κατὰ τὴν χώραν 6 σκεδασθέντες ἐφθάρησαν. περιλειψθέντων δ' οὖν καὶ ὅς τινων, καὶ χωρίον ἴσχυρὸν καταλαβόντων, ἡμέρας μὲν τινάς μάτην σφίσιν ὁ Κράσσος προσ- ἴδρευσεν, ἐπείτα Ὁδόλου οἱ Γετῶν τινῶν 7 βασιλέως ἐπικουρήσαντος ἐξεῖλεν αὐτοὺς. καὶ ο 8 τε Ὁδόλης πρὸς τὸν Κάισαρα ἔλθων φίλος τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ σύμμαχος αὐτοῦ ἐνομισθῇ, καὶ οἱ αἰχμαλώτωι τοῖς στρατιώταις διεδόθησαν. 25 Πράξας δὲ ταύτα ὁ Κράσσος ἐπὶ τοὺς Μυσοὺς ἐτράπετο, καὶ τὰ μὲν πείθων τινάς τὰ δὲ ἐκφοβῶν τὰ δὲ καὶ βιαζόμενος, πάντας μὲν πλὴν πάνω ὀλίγων, ἐπιπόνως δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐπικυνδὸν ψατρε- 2 ψατο. καὶ τὸτε μὲν (χειμῶν γὰρ ἢν) ἐς τὴν φιλίαν ἀνεχώρησε, πολλὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψύχουσ

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there. Then, when the Bastarnae, in the belief that
the scouts were all alone, rushed to attack them and
pursued them as they retreated into the thick of the
forest, he destroyed many of them on the spot and
many others in the rout which followed. For not
only were they hindered by their waggons, which
were in their rear, but their desire to save their
wives and children was also instrumental in their
defeat. Crassus himself slew their king Deldo and
would have dedicated his armour as spolia opima to
Jupiter Feretrius had he been general in supreme
command. Such was the nature of this engage-
ment. As for the remainder of the Bastarnae, some
perished by taking refuge in a grove, which was
then set on fire on all sides, and others by rushing
into a fort, in which they were annihilated; still
others were destroyed by leaping into the Ister,
or as they were scattered here and there through
the country. But some survived even so and
seized a strong position, where Crassus besieged
them in vain for several days. Then with the aid
of Roles, king of a tribe of the Getae, he destroyed
them. Now Roles, when he visited Caesar, was
treated as his friend and ally because of this ser-
vice; and the captives were distributed among the
soldiers.

After accomplishing this task Crassus turned his
attention to the Moesians; and partly by persuasion
in some cases, partly by terrifying them, partly also
by applying force, he subdued all except a very few,
though only after great hardships and dangers. And
for the time being, since it was winter, he retired
into friendly territory, after suffering greatly from
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πολλῷ δὲ ἐτὶ πλείω ὑπὸ τῶν Θρακῶν, δι’ ὅν ὡς φίλων ἐπανήει, παθῶν· θευτερ γνώμην ἐσχεν ἀρκεσθήναι τοῖς κατειργασμένοις. καὶ γὰρ καὶ θυσίαι καὶ νικητήρια οὐχ ὅτι τῷ Καίσαρι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνῳ ἐφηφίσθη· οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα, ὡς γέ τινὲς φασιν, ἔλαβεν, 3 ἀλλ’ ὁ Καίσαρ μόνος αὕτῳ προσέθετο. ἔπει δὲ οἱ Βαστάρναι ταῖς τε συμφοραῖς ἀχθόμενοι, καὶ μηκέτ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστρατεύσειν σφίσι πυθόμενοι, πρὸς τε τοὺς Δευθελήτας καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σιτᾶν αὕθις ὡς καὶ αἰτιώτατον αὐτοῖς τῶν κακῶν γεγονότα ἑτράποντο, οὕτω καὶ ἁκῶν ἐξανέστη, καὶ σπουδῇ χωρήσας ἀνέλπιστός τε αὐτοῖς ἐπέπεσε, καὶ κρατήσας σπουδὰς ὅποιας ἠθέλησεν 4 ἐδώκεν. ὡς δ’ ἀπαξ τῶν ὀπλῶν αὕθις ἰψατο, ἐπεθύμησεν ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς Θρακᾶς τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀνακομιδῇ τῇ ἐκ τῆς Μυσίας λυπήσαντας αὐτῶν· καὶ γὰρ τότε χωρία τε ἐντείχες ὄμοι καὶ πολεμοποιεῖσθαι ἠγγέλλοντο. καὶ σφὼν Μαίδους μὲν καὶ Σερδους μάχαι τε κατακρατῶν, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας τῶν ἀλισκομένων ἀποτέμνων, οὐκ ἀπόνως μὲν, ἐχειρώσατο δ’ οὖν· τὰ δ’ ἀλλὰ πλὴν τῆς τῶν 5 Ὁδρυσῶν γῆς κατέδραμε· τοῦτον γὰρ, ὅτι τὸ τε Διούσσω πρὸσκείναι καὶ τότε ἀνευ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἀπήντησάν οἱ, ἐφείσατο· καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐν ἦ καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀγάλλουσιν ἐχαρίσατο, Βησσοὺς τοὺς κατέχοντας αὐτὴν ἀφελομένοις.

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

While he was thus engaged, Roles, who had become embroiled with Dapyx, himself also king of
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πέμψατο. καὶ δὲ ἐπικουρήσας οἱ τὴν τε ἦππον τῶν ἐναντίων ἐς τοὺς πεζοὺς ἑσῆραξε, καὶ συμφοβήσας ἐκ τοῦτον καὶ ἐκείνους μάχην μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἔτ’ ἐποιήσατο, φόνον δὲ δὴ φευγόντων ἐκατέρων πολὺν εἰργάσατο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν Δάπνυγα πρὸς φρούριόν τι καταφυγόντα ἀπολαβὼν ἐπολιώρκει: καὶ τῇ προσεδρείᾳ ἐλληνιστὶ τεύχους ἀσπασάμενος ἐς τε λόγους οἱ ἤλθε καὶ προδοσίαν συνέθετο. ἀλισκόμενοι οὐν οὕτως οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπ’ ἀλλήλους ὀρμήσαν, καὶ ὁ τοῦ Δάπνυξ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί. τὸν μέντοι ἄδελφον αὐτοῦ ᾠχησάς ὁ Κράσσος οὕχ ὅτι τι 1 κακὸν ἐδρασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄφηκε.

3 Ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὸ σπηλαιον τὴν Κείρων καλομεῖνην ἐστρατεύσατο· τοῦτο γὰρ μέγιστον τε ἁμα καὶ ἐχυρώτατον οὕτως ὑπὸ ὡς καὶ τοὺς Τιτᾶνας ἐς αὐτὸ μετὰ τὴν ἠτταν τὴν ἔπο τῶν θεῶν δὴ σφίστι γενομένην συγκαταφυγεῖν μυθεύεσθαι, κατάλαβόντες οἱ ἐπεχώριοι πλῆθει πολλῷ τά τε ἄλλα τὰ τιμιώτατα καὶ τὰς ἀγέλας ἐς αὐτὸ πάσας ἐσεκομίσατο. ὁ οὖν Κράσσος τὰ τε στόμια αὐτοῦ πάντα σκολιὰ καὶ δυσδιερεύνητα ὄντα ἀναξητῆσας ἀπωκοδόμησε, κάκο τοῦτον κακεῖνους λυμῳ κατεστρέψατο. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα αὐτῷ προεχώρησεν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων Γετῶν, καίπερ μηδεν τῷ Δάπνυγι προσηκόντων, ἀπέσχετο, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ Γένουκλα τὸ εὐερκέστατον τῆς Ζυράξου ἀρχῆς τεῖχος ἤλθεν, ὅτι τὰ σημεῖα, ἡ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Γαίου οἱ Βαστάρμαι πρὸς τῇ τῶν Ἱστριανῶν 2 πόλει ἀφήρητο, ἐνταῦθα ἤκουεν ὄντα· καὶ αὐτὸ

1 τι Μ, om. V. 2 Ἱστριανῶν Leuncl., Ἱστράνων VM.

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

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

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1 Cf. xxxviii. 10.
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πεζη τε ἀμα καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἰστρον (πρὸς γὰρ τῷ ὑδατὶ ἐπετόλιστο) προσβαλὼν οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ μὲν χρόνῳ, σὺν πολλῷ δὲ δὴ πόνῳ, καίτοι τοῦ Ζυγάξου 6 μὴ παρόντος, ἐδέν. ἔκεινος γὰρ ὡς τάχιστα τῆς ὀρμῆς αὐτοῦ ἡσθετο, πρὸς τοὺς Σκύθας ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπῆρε, καὶ οὐκ ἔφθη ἀνακομισθεῖς.

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν Γέταις ἔπραξε, τῶν δὲ δὴ Μυσῶν τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν κεχειρωμένων ἐπαναστάντας δι' 27 ἔτερον ἀνεκτήσατο, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀρτακίους ἄλλους τε τινὰς οὖθ' ἀλῶντας ποτὲ οὔτ' αὐτοί προσχωρῆσαί οἱ ἐθέλοντας, καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς μέγιστον ἔπὶ τούτῳ φρονοῦντας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὀργῆν τῇ ἁμα καὶ νεωτερισμὸν ἐμποιοῦντας, αὐτοῖς τ' ἐπεστρά- τευσε, καὶ σφας τὰ μὲν βία, δράσαντας οὐκ ὀλίγα, τὰ δὲ καὶ φόβῳ τῶν ἀλισκομένων προσ- ηγάγετο.

2 Ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ἄλλα ὃς ποιν παραδέδοται, καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ὀνόματα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πάλαι Μυσοὶ τε καὶ Γέται πᾶσαν τὴν μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Λίμου καὶ τοῦ Ἰστρον οὔσαν ἐνέμοντο, προϊόντως δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἐς ἄλλα 3 τινὲς αὐτῶν ὀνόματα μετέβαλον, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐς τὸ τῆς Μυσίας ὄνομα πάντ' ὡσα ὁ Σάονος ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον ἐμβάλλων, ὑπὲρ τε τῆς Δελματίας καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Μακεδονίας τῆς τε Ἐράκης, ἀπὸ τῆς Πάννονίας ἀφορίζει, συγκεχώρηκεν. καὶ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἄλλα τε ἐθνη πολλὰ καὶ οἱ Τριβάλλοι ποτὲ προσαγορευθέντες, οί τε Δαρδάνωι καὶ νῦν οὕτω καλοῦμενοι.
land and from the Ister (the city is built upon the river), and in a short time, though with much toil, despite the absence of Zyraxes, he took the place. The king, it seems, as soon as he heard of the Romans' approach, had set off with money to the Scythians to seek an alliance, and had not returned in time.

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

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

Τάδε ἐνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν,
a. Ὁ Καίσαρ ἔβουλεύσατο τὴν μοναρχίαν ἀφεῖναι.  
β. Ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ καλεῖσθαι ἢρξατο.  

Χρόνου πλῆθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Καίσαρος τῷ ε' καὶ ¹ Σέξτου  
Ἀπουλείου ὑπατελας.²

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ δημο-
κρατίᾳ ταῖς τε δυναστείαις, πέντε τε καὶ εἰκοσι
καὶ ἐπτακοσίοις ἔτεσι, καὶ ἔπραξαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι
καὶ ἔπαθον· ἐκ δὲ τούτου μοναρχεῖσθαι ἀυθίς
ἀκριβῶς ἢρξαντο, καίτοι τοῦ Καίσαρος βουλευ-
σαμένου τά τε ὁπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ τὰ πρά-
γματα τῇ τε γερουσίᾳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἐπιτρέψαι.  

2 εποιήσατο δὲ τὴν διάγνωσιν μετά τοῦ Ἀγρίπ-
ποῦ καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Μαικήνου (τούτως γὰρ πάντα
τὰ ἀπόρρητα ἀνεκοίνου), καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀγρίππας
πρότερος εἶπε τοιάδε:  

2 "Μὴ θαυμάσῃς, ὦ Καίσαρ, εἰ μέλλω σε ἀπο-
τρέπειν ἀπὸ τῆς μοναρχίας, καίτερ πολλὰ καὶ
ἀγαθὰ ἀπολαύσας ἄν ἀπ' αὐτῆς σοῦ γε αὐτὴν
ἐχοντος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ σοὶ ὀφέλιμος γενήσε-
σθαι ἔμελλε, καὶ πάνυ ἄν αὐτὴν ἐσποῦδασα.  

2 ἐπειδή δ' οὐδὲν ὦμοιον τοῖς τε αὐταρχοῦσι καὶ

¹ καὶ supplied by R. Steph.  
² ἀπουλείου ὑπατελας M, om. V.
BOOK LII

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

How Caesar planned to lay aside his sovereignty (chaps. 1-40).
How he began to be called emperor (chap. 42).
Duration of time, the remainder of the consulship of Caesar (V) and Sextus Apuleius. (B.C. 29.)

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

"Be not surprised, Caesar, if I shall try to turn your thoughts away from monarchy, even though I should derive many advantages from it, at least if it was you who held the position. For if it were to be profitable to you also, I should advocate it most earnestly; but since the privileges of a monarchy
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tois filoiv sfoiv paréxetasai, all' oí mèn kai anepiϕθόνωs kai akìndúnwos pávth' ósas eðéLouși karpòũntai, tois dé kai phónoi kai kíndunoi sùmbaíνousin, ou tò ēmāntou 'ídion, ósper oúde eũ tòis állois, allà tà sòn tà te koiwòn pròidēsθai édikaíōsa.

3 "Σκεψώμεθα δε καθ' ἡσυχίαι πάντα τὰ προσόντα αὐτῇ, καὶ ὅτη ποτ' ἄν ὁ λογισμὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγάγη τραπώμεθα: οὐ γάρ ποὺ καὶ ἐξ ἀπαντος τρόπου φήσει τις δεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐλέσθαι
4 αὐτῆς, καὶ μὴ λυσιτελοῦσα η', εἶ δὲ μή, δόξο-μεν ἂτοι τῆς τε εὐπραγίας ἤττῆσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν κατωρθωμένων ἐκπεφρονηκέναι, ἢ καὶ πάλαι αὐτῆς ἐφιέμενοι τὸν τε πατέρα καὶ τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν εὐσεβείαν ἐσκῆθαι καὶ τὸν δήμων τὴν τε γερον-σίαν προβέβλησθαι, οὐχ ἣνα αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐπι-βουλευσάντων σφίσιν ἄπαλλάξωμεν, ἀλλ' ἣνα
5 ἔαυτοῖς δουλωσώμεθα. ἐκάτερον δὲ υπαίτιον. τῖς μὲν γάρ οὐκ ἂν ἄγανακτῆσειν ἄλλα μὲν ὀρῶν ἡμᾶς εἰρηκότας, ἄλλα δὲ αἰσθανόμενοι πεφρονη-κότας; πῶς δ' οὐκ ἂν μᾶλλον τῶν μισηθευν ἡμᾶς ἢ εἰ κατ' ἄρχας εὐθὺς τὴν τε ἐπιθυμίαν ἀπε-γυμνώσαμεν καὶ ἔπι τὴν μοναρχίαν ἀντικρυς
6 ὀρμῆσαμεν; τὸ μὲν γὰρ βλαίον τι τολμᾶν προσ-ήκειν πως τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσει, καὶ πλεονεκτικόν εἶναι δοκῆ, πεπίστευται: πᾶς γὰρ ὁ προ-φέρων ἐν τινὶ πλέον ἄξιοι τοῦ καταδεστέρου ἔχειν, καὶ κατορθώσας τε τί εἰς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς

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

"Let us consider, now, at our leisure all the characteristics of this system of government and then shape our course in whichever direction our reasoning may lead us. For surely no one will assert that we are obliged to choose monarchy in any and all circumstances, even if it be not profitable. If we choose it, people will think that we have fallen victims to our own good fortune and have been bereft of our senses by our successes, or else that we have been aiming at sovereignty all the while, making of our appeals to your father and of our devotion to his memory a mere pretext and using the people and the senate as a cloak, with the purpose, not of freeing these latter from those who plotted against them, but of making them slaves to ourselves. And either explanation involves censure for us. For who could help being indignant when he finds that we have said one thing and then discovers that we have meant another? Would he not hate us much more now than if we had at the outset laid bare our desires and set out directly for the monarchy? To be sure, men have come to believe that it somehow is an attribute of human nature, however selfish that may seem, to resort to deeds of violence; for every one who excels in any respect thinks it right that he should have more than his inferior, and if he meets with any success, he ascribes his success to the force
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ισχύν ἀναφέρεται, καὶ διαμαρτών τινος τῇ τοῦ 7 δαιμονίου φορᾷ προστίθεται. ὁ δὲ ἔξ ἐπιβουλής καὶ κακουργίας τοιούτῳ τοι ποιῶν πρῶτον μὲν δολερὸς καὶ σκολιὸς καὶ κακοήθης καὶ κακό- τροπος εἶναι νομίζεται, ἀπερ εὐ ὁδὸν ὅτι περὶ σοῦ οὐδένα ἂν ὑπομείνειας εἴπειν ἢ φρονῆσαι, οὐδ' εἰ πάσης ἐκ τούτου τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀρξειας· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ κατορθώσας ἁδικον τὴν πλεονεξίαν πεποίησθαι καὶ σφαλεῖσι δικαίαν τὴν κακοπραγίαν 3 εἰληφέναι δοκεῖ. τούτου δὲ δὴ οὗτως ἔχοντος, οὐδὲν ἂν ἦττον ἐπικαλέσει τις ἡμῖν καὶ εἰ μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ἀπὸ πρώτης ἐνθυμηθέντες ἔπειτα τὸν ἐπιθυμησάμενον αὐτοῦ· τὸ γὰρ τοῦ τῶν τε παρόν- των νικᾶσθαι καὶ μῆτε ἑαυτοῦς κατέχειν τοῖς τε παρὰ τής τύχης δοθεῖσι μὴ καλῶς χρῆσθαι πολὺ 2 χείρον ἐστὶ τοῦ ἐκ κακοπραγίας ἁδικεῖν τινα· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν τῶν συμφορῶν πολλάκις ἀναγκάζονται πρὸς τὴν τοῦ συμφέροντος σφισι χρείαν καὶ ἁκοντες πλημμελεῖν, οἱ δ' ἐθελοῦνταὶ ἀκράτορες ἑαυτῶν καὶ παρὰ τὸ λυσιτελοῦν γί- γνονται. τοὺς δὲ δὴ μήθ' ἀπλότητά τινα ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἔχοντας μῆτε τὰ δοθέντα σφίσιν ἀγαθὰ μετριάσαι δυναμένους πῶς ἂν τις προσδοκήσειν ἦτοι τῶν ἀλλῶν καλῶς ἡγομονεύσειν ἢ ταῖς 3 συμφοραῖς ὀρθῶς χρῆσθαι; ὥς οὖν μηδὲτερον αὐτῶν πεποιθότες, μηδ' ἀλόγως τι πράξαι ἐπι- θυμοῦντες, ἀλλ' ὅ τι ποτ' ἄν βουλευσάμενοι ἡμῖν ἀριστον φανῇ τοῦθ' αἵρησόμενοι, τὴν διάγνωσιν 82
of his own intelligence, whereas if he fails, he lays the blame for his failure upon the influence of the divine will. But, on the other hand, the man who, in following such a course, resorts to plotting and villainy, is, in the first place, held to be crafty and crooked, malicious, and depraved,—an opinion which I know you would not allow anyone to express or to entertain about you, even if you might rule the whole world by such practices; and, in the second place, if he succeeds, men think that the advantage he has gained is unjust, or if he fails, that his discomfort is merited. This being the case, men would reproach us quite as much if we should now, after the event, begin to covet that advantage, even though we harboured no such intention at the outset. For surely it is much worse for men to let circumstances get the better of them and not only to fail to hold themselves in check but to abuse the gifts of Fortune, than to wrong others in consequence of failure. For men who have failed are often compelled by their very misfortunes to commit wrongs even against their will in order to meet the demands of their own interests, whereas the others voluntarily abandon their self-control even when it is unprofitable to do so. And when men have no straightforwardness in their souls, and are incapable of moderation in dealing with the blessings bestowed upon them, how could one expect them either to rule well over others or to conduct themselves properly in adversity? In the conviction, therefore, that we are guilty of neither of these shortcomings, and that we have no desire to act irrationally, but that we shall choose whatever course shall appear to us after deliberation to be best, let us proceed to make our decision
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αὐτοῦ ποιησώμεθα. Λέξῳ δὲ μετὰ παραγεγέρσιας οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἄλλως ἂν τι εἰπέων δυναῖμην, οὔτε σοὶ σύνοιδα τὰ ψευδῆ μετὰ κολακείας ἢδέως ἀκούοντι.

4 Ἡ μὲν τούτων ἱσονομία τὸ τε πρόσρημα εὔωνυμον καὶ τὸ ἐργον δικαίωταν ἐχεῖ. τὴν τε γὰρ φύσιν τὴν αὐτήν τινας εἰληχώτας καὶ ὀμοφύλους ἀλλήλως ὄντας, ἐν τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἦθεσιν τεθραμμένους καὶ εν τοῖς ὀμοίωσι νόμοις πεπαι-2 δεμένους, καὶ κοινῇ καὶ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τὴν τῶν ψυχῶν χρῆσιν τῇ πατρίδι παρέχοντας, πῶς μὲν οὗ δίκαιου καὶ τῶλα πάντα κοινοῦσθαι, πῶς δ' οὐκ ἄριστον ἐν μηδενὶ πλῆν ἀπ' ἀρετῆς 3 προτιμᾶσθαι; ή τε γὰρ ἱσογονία ἱσομοιρίας ὀρι-γνάται, καὶ τυχοῦσα μὲν αὐτής χαίρει, διαμαρτουόσα δὲ ἀχθεταί. καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον πᾶν, ἂτε ἐκ τε θεῶν γεγονὸς καὶ ἐς θεοὺς ἀφήξον, ἀνω βλέπει, καὶ οὔτε ἐθέλει ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ διὰ παντὸς
4 ἀρχεσθαι, οὐθ' ὑπομένει τῶν μὲν πόνων καὶ τῶν κινδύνων τῶν τε δαπανημάτων μετέχου, τῆς δὲ κοινωνίας τῶν κεραττόνων στερόμενον, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἀναγκασθῆ τι τοιοῦτον ὑποστήρι, μισεῖ τὸ βε-βιασμένον, κἂν καιροῦ λάβηται, τιμωρεῖται τὸ 5 μεμισμένον. ἀρχειν τε γὰρ πάντες ἀξίουσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀρχεσθαι ἐν τῷ μέρει ὑπομένουσι καὶ πλεονεκτεῖσθαι οὐκ ἔθελονσι, καὶ διὰ τούτο οὐδ' αὐτοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν ἀναγκάζονται. ταῖς τε τιμαῖς ταῖς παρὰ τῶν ὀμοτίμων χαίρουσι, καὶ
6 τᾶς τιμωρίας ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐπαίνουσι. κἂν οὔτω πολιτεύωνται, κοινά 1 μὲν τὰ ἄγαθὰ κοινά

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

"Equality before the law has an auspicious name and is most just in its workings. For in the case of men who are endowed with the same nature, are of the same race with one another, have been brought up under the same institutions, have been trained in laws that are alike, and yield in an equal degree the service of their bodies and of their minds to their country, is it not just that they should have an equal share in all other things also, and is it not best that they should secure no distinctions except as the result of excellence? For equality of birth demands equality of privilege, and if it attains this object, it is glad, but if it fails, it is displeased. And the human race everywhere, sprung as it is from the gods and destined to return to the gods, gazes upward and is not content to be ruled forever by the same person, nor will it endure to share in the toils, the dangers, and the expenditures and yet be deprived of partnership in the better things. Or, if it is forced to submit to anything of the sort, it hates the power which has applied coercion, and if it obtains an opportunity, takes vengeance upon what it hates. All men, of course, claim the right to rule, and for this reason submit to being ruled in turn; they are unwilling to have others overreach them, and therefore are not obliged, on their part, to overreach others. They are pleased with the honours bestowed upon them by their equals, and approve of the penalties inflicted upon them by the laws. Now if they live under this kind of polity and regard the blessings and also the
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de καὶ τὰ ἑναντία νομίζοντες εἶναι, οὒτε τι κακὸν
ουδὲν τῶν πολιτῶν γίγνεσθαι βούλονται, καὶ
πάντα τὰ κρείττω πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς συνεύχονται.
7 καὶ ἂν τε τις αὐτὸς ἀρετὴν τινα ἔχῃ, καὶ προ-
φαίνει αὐτὴν προχείρως καὶ ἀσκεὶ προθύμως καὶ
ἐπιδείκνυσιν ἁσμενέστατα, ἂν τε καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ
ἴδῃ, καὶ προάγει ἐτοίμως καὶ συναύξει σπουδαίως
8 καὶ τιμᾶ λαμπρότατα. καὶ μέντοι κἂν κακύνηται
τις, πάς αὐτὸν μισεῖ, κἂν δυστυχῇ, πάς ἔλεει,
κοινὴ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν ζημίαν καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην
tὴν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν εἶναι νομίζων.
5 “Αὕτη μὲν ἡ τῶν δήμων κατάστασις, ἐν δὲ δὴ
ταῖς τυραννίσαι πάντα τάναντία συμβαίνει. καὶ
tὰ μὲν πολλὰ τὶ δεῖ μηκύνεω λέγοντα; τὸ δὲ δὴ
κεφάλαιον, χρηστὸν μὲν οὐδεὶς οὔδεν οὔτ’ εἰδέναι
οὔτ’ ἔχειν δοκεῖν βούλεται (πολέμιον γὰρ αὐτῷ
πᾶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸ κρατοῦν ὡς πλήθει γίγνεται),
2 τὸν δὲ ἐκείνου τις τρόπον κανόνα τοῦ βίου
ποιησάμενος, ὃ τι ποτ’ ἂν ἐλπίσῃ δὴ αὐτοῦ
πλεονεκτήσας ἀκινδύνως κερδαείν, μετέρχεται.
καὶ διὰ τούθ’ οἱ πλείοις σφῶν τὸ τε καθ’ ἑαυτοῦ
μόνον σπεύδουσι καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους μι-
σοῦσι, τάς τε εὐπραγίας αὐτῶν οίκειας ζημίας
καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς ἵδια κέρδη ποιοῦμενοι.
3 “Τοιούτων δὲ δὴ τούτων ὄντων οὐχ ὅρῳ τὶ ποτ’
ἀν εἰκότως ἐπάρει ἐν μοναρχῆσαι ἐπιθυμήσαι.
πρὸς γὰρ τὰ τοῖς δήμοις χαλεπῶν εἰναι τὸ πολί-
teuma, πολὺ δυσχερέστερον αὐτῷ σοι γένοιτο ἄν.

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

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

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

"Such being the state of the case, I do not see what motive could reasonably induce you to desire to become sole ruler. For that system, besides being difficult to apply to democracies, would be vastly more difficult still for you yourself to put into effect."
4 αυτῆς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ταράττεται; καὶ χαλεπῶν μὲν ἔστι τὸ τῶν ὁμιλοῦν ἡμῶν, τοσοῦτοι ἐτεσίν ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ βεβιωκότα, καταλύσαι, χαλεπῶν δὲ καὶ τὸ τοὺς συμμάχους τοὺς τε ὑπηκόους, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ δημοκρατουμένους τοὺς δὲ ὑφ’ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἡλευθερωμένους, ἐς δουλείαν αὐθις καταστήσαι, τοσοῦτων πέριξ πολεμίων ἡμῶν προσκειμένων.

6 "Καὶ ἵνα γε ἀπὸ πρῶτον τοῦ βραχυτάτου ἀρξωμαι, χρήματά σοι πολλά καὶ πανταχόθεν ἀναγκαίων ἔσται πορίζειν ἅδυνατον γὰρ τὰς νῦν οὕσας προσόδους πρὸς τε τῶν ἐπάνω καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν τροφὴν ἔξαρκεσαι. τοῦτο δὲ ἔστι μὲν καὶ ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις οὐ γὰρ οἶον τε 2 πολιτείαν τινὰ ἀνευ δαπάνης συστήναι. ἀλλ’ ἐν μὲν ἐκείναις μάλιστα μὲν ἐκόντες πολλοὶ πολλὰ ἐπιδιδόσων, ἐν φιλοτιμίαις μέρει τὸ πράγμα ποιούμενοι καὶ τιμᾶς ἀντ’ αὐτῶν ἄξιας ἀντιλαμβάνοντες. ἂν δὲ ποῦ καὶ ἀναγκαίαι παρὰ πάντων ἐσφορᾶς γένονται, ἑαυτοὺς τε 1 πείθοντες 3 καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν συντελοῦντες ἀνέχονται. ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς δυναστείαις τὸ τε ἄρχον πάντες μόνον ὡς καὶ ὑπερπλουτοῦν ἄξιοι δαπανᾶσθαι, τὰς μὲν προσόδους αὐτῶν ἐτοίμως ἐξερευνώμενοι, τὰ δ’ ἀναλώματα οὐκέθ’ ὁμοίως ἐκλογιζόμενοι καὶ οὕτ’ ἰδία ἦδεως ἢ καὶ ἐκόντες ἐπιδιδόσι τι, οὕτε τὰς

1 τε R. Steph., γε VL'.
BOOK LII

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

"To begin first with the least important consideration, it will be necessary that you procure a large supply of money from all sides; for it is impossible that our present revenues should suffice for the support of the troops, not to speak of the other expenses. Now this need of funds, to be sure, exists in democracies also, since it is not possible for any government to continue without expense. But in democracies many citizens make large contributions, preferably of their own free will, in addition to what is required of them, making it a matter of patriotic emulation and securing appropriate honours in return for their liberality; or, if perchance compulsory levies are also made upon the whole body of citizens, they submit to it both because it is done with their own consent and because the contributions they make are in their own interests. In monarchical governments, on the other hand, the citizens all think that the ruling power alone, to which they credit boundless wealth, should bear the expense; for they are very ready to search out the ruler's sources of income, but do not reckon his expenses so carefully; and so they make no contributions from their private means gladly or of their own free will, nor are the public levies they make
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4 κοινὰς συντελείας αὐθαίρετους ποιοῦνται. ἐκείνο
μὲν γὰρ οὕτ' ἂν ἐθελήσει τις (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὀμολογήσειν ἂν ῥαδίως πλούτειν) οὔτε συμφέρει
τῷ κρατοῦντι γίγνεσθαι: αὐτίκα γὰρ ἂν δόξαν
παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὡς καὶ φιλόπολις ἔχων
ὀνεικωθεί καὶ νεατερίσειε. τὸ δ' ἔτερον πάνυ
τοὺς πολλοὺς βαρύνει, καὶ μάλιστ' ὅτι τὴν μὲν
ξημίαν αὐτοὶ ὑπομένουσι, τὸ δὲ δὴ κέρδος ἔτεροι

5 λαμβάνουσιν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις καὶ
στρατεύονται ὡς πλήθει οἱ τὰ χρήματα συνεσ-
φέρontes, ὥστε τρόπον τινὰ αὕθια αὐτὰ ἀπο-
λαμβάνουσιν: ἐν δὲ ταῖς μοναρχίαις ἄλλοι μὲν ὡς
τὸ πολὺ καὶ γεωργοῦσι καὶ δημουργοῦσι καὶ
ναυτίλλονται καὶ πολιτεύονται, παρ' ἄντερ καὶ
αἱ λήψεις μάλιστα γίγνονται, ἄλλοι δὲ τὰ ὄπλα
ἔχουσι καὶ τὸν μισθὸν φέρουσιν.

7 "Ἐν μὲν δὴ τούτῳ τοιοῦτον ὃν πράγματά σοι
παρέξει, ἔτερον δὲ ἐκείνο. πάντως μὲν τινα δεῖ
δίκην τὸν ἁπ' κακουργοῦτα διδόναι: οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ
νουθεσίας οὔτε ἐκ παραδειγμάτων οἱ πολλοὶ
σωφρονίζονται, ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκη πᾶσα αὐτῶν καὶ
ἀτιμία καὶ φυγή καὶ θανάτῳ ξημιοῦθαι, οἷα ἐν
tε ἀρχῇ τηλικαύτῃ καὶ ἐν πλήθει ἀνθρώπων
τοσοῦτον, ἀλλωσ γε καὶ ἐν μεταβολῇ πολιτείαις,

2 φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν. τούτοις δ' ἂν μὲν ἐτέρους
δικαστὰς καθίζης, ἀπολύουστο τε ἂν διασπευδό-
μενοι, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσος ἂν ἐχθραίνειν νομισθῆς-
καὶ γὰρ προσποίησιν τινα ἐξουσίας οἱ δικάζοντες
λαμβάνουσιν, ὅταν τι παρὰ τὸ δοκοῦν τῷ

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

“This single circumstance, then, which is as I have described it, will cause you trouble. But here is another. It is by all means essential that whoever from time to time commits a crime should pay some penalty. For the majority of men are not brought to reason by admonition or by example, but it is absolutely necessary to punish them by disfranchisement, by exile, or by death; and such punishments are often administered in an empire as large as this is and in a population as great as ours, especially during a change of government. Now if you appointed other men to judge these wrongdoers, they would vie with each other in acquitting the accused, and particularly all whom you might be thought to hate; for judges, you know, gain an appearance of authority when they act in any way contrary to the wish of the ruler. And if an
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διὰ σὲ δόξουσιν ἐκ κατασκευάσματος κατεψηφίσθαι. ἂν δ' αὐτὸς δικάζῃς, πολλοὺς ἀναγκασθῆσθαι καὶ τῶν ὁμοτιμών κολάζειν (τούτῳ δὲ οὐκ εὔτυχες), καὶ πάντως τινὰς αὐτῶν ὅργῃ μᾶλλον ἢ δικαιώσει δόξεις ἐνθύνειν τοὺς γὰρ βιάζεσθαι δυναμένους οὐδεὶς δικάζοντας δικαιοπραγεῖν πιστεύει, ἀλλ' οἴονται πάντες αὐτοὺς σχῆμα καὶ σκιαγραφίαν πολυτείας αἰσχύνῃ πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας προπετανύντας, ὁνόματι ἐννόμῳ δικαστηρίου τῆν ἐαυτῶν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀποτιμοπλάναι. ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς μοναρχίαις ταῦθ' οὕτω γίγνεται: ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις, ἂν τ' ἴδια τις ἅδικεϊν αἰτίαν λάβῃ, ἰδίαν δίκην παρὰ δικασταίς ἵσοις φεύγει, ἀν τε δημοσία, καὶ ἐκεῖνος δικασταὶ καθίζουσιν ἡκ τῶν ὁμοίων οὐς ἄν 4 ὁ κλῆρος ἀποδείξῃ, ὡστε βάου τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα ἀπ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φέρειν, μὴν ἵσχυ δικαστοῦ μὴτε χάριτι ἀναγκαστῇ νομίζοντάς τι πεποιθέναι.

8 "Ετι τοίνυν πολλοὶ χωρὶς τῶν τι ἅδικοῦντων, οἱ μὲν γένεις, οἱ δὲ πλούτῳ, οἱ δὲ ἐτέρῳ τινὶ ἐπαρρόμενοι, ἅλλως μὲν οὐ κακῷ ἄνδρες, τῇ δὲ δὴ προαιρέσει τῇ τῆς μοναρχίας ἐναντίοι φύονται καὶ αὐτοὺς οὕτ' αὐξεσθαι τις ἐκν ἀσφαλῶς δύναται ἄν, οὕτ' αὐτ' κολοῦντι ἐπιχειρῶν δικαίως

1 δόξεις L', δόξης V. 2 ἐννόμῳ Naber, ἐννῦμον VL'. 3 καθίζουσιν Rk., καθίζουσιν VL'. 4 οὐς ἄν Xyl., οὖς τὰ VL'. 5 ἀναγκαστῇ L', ἀναγκασθῇ V.
BOOK LII

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

"Then again, apart from those who are guilty of wrongdoing, there are many men who pride themselves, some on their birth, others on their wealth, and still others on something else, who, though in general not bad men, are yet by nature opposed to the principle of monarchy. If a ruler allows these men to become strong, he cannot live in safety, and if, on the other hand, he undertakes to impose a
2 toûto poieîn. tî pot' ouû toûtoûs chrîsh; pôs aûtous metaxevirîsh; an mên gar tâ te genhê sôfôv kathelh kai toûs ploutous elattôshs tâ te frounîmatâ tapienvôshs, oudeîmâv an euvoiav parâ tów arxomênôn lábois: pôs gar, ei mîste genê

3 an de eásis taûtâ ouk ekasta aûxên, ouk an rádîw aûta diâthoiv. kai gar ei aûtôs mînos proû te to 1 tâ politikâ kai prós to tâ pole-

4 êteros an hîn lôgous: vûn de pâsâ se anângkh

5 politeia kataleûthnai: ou gar estin ouû andeu frounîmatos âxiólogov anôdra fûnav, ouû aû frounîma megá labeîn ek douluprepous épî-

6 spôxov miôshnai. an de dh tîtouîs mên mîdein

7 ân an ev tois megîstois ptaîseias. tî mên gar an

1 to supplied by Bs. 2 ârôxonta Leunel., ârôxontas VL'. 3 âgenhês V, âgenhês L'.
BOOK LII

check on them, he cannot do so justly. What, then, will you do with them? How will you deal with them? If you root out their families, diminish their wealth, and humble their pride, you will not have the good-will of your subjects. How could you have it, if no one is permitted to be born to noble rank, or to grow rich honestly, or to become strong or brave or intelligent? Yet if you allow these various classes to grow strong, you will not be able to deal with them easily. True, if you alone were equal to carrying on the business of the state and the business of warfare successfully and in a manner to meet the demands of each situation, and needed no assistant for any of these matters, it would be a different matter. As the case stands, however, since you would be governing this vast world, it would be quite essential for you to have many helpers; and of course they ought all to be both brave and high-spirited. Now if you hand over the legions and the offices to men of such parts, there will be danger that both you and your government will be overthrown. For it is not possible either for a man of any real worth to be naturally lacking in spirit, or on the other hand for a man sprung from a servile sphere of life to acquire a proud spirit; nor, again, if he proves himself a man of spirit, can he fail to desire liberty and to hate all mastery. If, on the other hand, you entrust nothing to these men, but put affairs in charge of common men of indifferent origin, you will very soon incur the resentment of the first class, who will think themselves distrusted, and you will very soon fail in the greatest enterprises. For what good thing could an ignorant or low-born person accomplish? Who of our enemies would not hold him in con-
τίς δ' ἂν πειθαρχήσειεν ὁι τῶν συμμάχων; τίς δ' οὖκ ἂν καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπαξιώσειεν ὑπὸ τοιοῦτον τινὸς ἀρχεσθαί; καὶ μὴν ὅσα ἐκ τούτου κακὰ γίγνεσθαι πέφυκε, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα
8 οὖν δὲ ομοίας σοι σαφῶς εἰδοτί διηγείσθαι, ἐκεῖνο δὲ δὴ μόνον ἀναγκαίος ἐρῶ, ὅτι ἂν μὲν μηδὲν δέον ὁ τοιοῦτος πράττῃ, πολὺ πλείω ἂν σε τῶν πολεμίων βλάψειεν, ἂν δὲ τί τῶν προσηκόντων ποιῇ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν σοι φοβερὸς ἐκφρονήσας ὑπ' ἀπαίδευσίας γένοιτο.

9 "Ὁυ μέντοι καὶ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις τοιοῦτό τι πρόσεστιν, ἄλλ' ὅσῳ ἂν πλείους καὶ πλούτως καὶ ἀνδρίζωνταί, τόσῳ μᾶλλον αὐτοί τε φιλοτιμοῦνται καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐξοῦσι, καὶ σφίσι καὶ ἐκεῖνη κέχρηται καὶ χαϊρει, πλὴν ἂν τις τυραννίδος ἐπιθυμήσῃ τούτον γὰρ ἵσχυρὸς κολάξουσι.
2 καὶ ὃτι ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει καὶ πολλῷ κρείττους αἱ δημοκρατίαι τῶν μοναρχῶν εἰσι, δηλοὶ μὲν καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν· τέως μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἐπολυτεύοντο, οὐδὲν μέγα κατεπράξαν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκεῖνως ᾧ ἦν
3 ῥέσατο, ὅνομαστότατοι ἐγένοντο· δηλοὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνδρότων, ὥν οἱ μὲν ἐν τυραννίᾳ καὶ νὸν ἔτι διαγόμενοι ἢ άεὶ τε δουλεύουσι καὶ ἢεὶ τοῖς ἀρχουσιν ἐπιβουλεύουσιν, οἱ δὲ δὴ προστατείαις ἐπετησίοις ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείῳ τινὰ χρόνον χρώμενοι καὶ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι διατελοῦσιν
4 ὄντες. ἄλλα τί δεῖ ἡμᾶς ἀλλοτρίως παραδείγμασιν οἰκεῖα ἔχουσας χρήσθαι; ἡμεῖς γὰρ αὐτοὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἄλλως τὸ πρῶτον πολιτευόμενοι,
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tempt? Who of our allies would obey him? Who even of the soldiers themselves would not disdain to be ruled by such a man? And yet I need not explain to you all the evils that naturally result from such a condition, for you know them thoroughly; but this one thing I shall say, as I am constrained to do—that if a minister of this kind failed in every duty, he would injure you far more than the enemy, while if he met with any success in the conduct of his office, his lack of education would cause him to lose his head and he as well would prove formidable to you.

"Such a situation, however, does not arise in democracies, but the more men there are who are wealthy and brave, so much the more do they vie with each other and upbuild the state, and the state, on its part, rejoices in them, unless one of them conceives a desire for tyrannical power; for the citizens severely punish such an one. That this is so, now, and that democracies are far superior to monachies, is shown by the experience of Greece. For as long as the people had the monarchical form of government, they accomplished nothing of importance; but when they began to live under the democratic system they became most renowned. It is shown also by the experience of the other races of mankind. For those which still live under tyrannies are always in slavery and are always plotting against their rulers, whereas those which have governors chosen for a year or a longer period continue to be both free and independent. But why should we resort to examples furnished by other peoples when we have examples here at home? We Romans ourselves at first had a different form of government, then later, after we
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ἐπειτα ἐπειδή πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἔπάσχομεν, τῆς τε ἐλευθερίας ἐπεθυμήσαμεν καὶ λαβόντες αὐτὴν
5 πρὸς τοσοῦτον ὅγκον προῆλθομεν, οὐκ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἢ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἁγαθοῖς ἱσχύ-
σαντες, ἐξ ὧν ἡ τε 1 γερονσία προεβοῦλεν καὶ ὁ
dήμος ἐπεκύρου τὸ τε στρατευόμενον προεθυμεῖτο
καὶ τὸ στρατηγοῦν ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο. ὃν οὖδέν ἀν ἐν
τυραννίδι πραχθεῖ. 2 ἀμέλει τοσοῦτον αὐτῆς διὰ
tαύτα μίσος οἱ πάλαι Ἱωμαῖοι ἔσχον ὡστε καὶ
ἐπάρατον τὸ πολίτευμα ποιῆσασθαι.

10 "Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, εἰ δεῖ τι καὶ περὶ τῶν
ἰδία σοι αὐτῷ συμφερόντων εἰπεῖν, πῶς μὲν ἂν
ὑπομείνειας τοσαῦτα καὶ μεθ' ἠμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ
dιοικῶν, πῶς δ' ἂν μὴ ὑγιαῖνων ἐξαρκέσαιασ;
tίνος δ' ἂν τῶν ἁγαθῶν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀπο-
λαύσειας, πῶς δ' ἄν στερόμενος αὐτῶν εὐδαιμο-
νήσειας; τίνι δ' ἄν ἀκριβῶς ἡσθείνης, πότε δ' οὐκ
2 ἂν ἰσχυρῶς λυπηθείης; πᾶσα γὰρ ἀνάγκη τῶν
τηλικαύτην ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα καὶ φροντίζειν πολλὰ
καὶ δεδιέναι πολλά, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἡδίστων ἐλά-
χιστα ἀπολαύειν, τὰ δὲ δυσχερέστατα ἀεὶ καὶ
πανταχοῦ καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ ὅραν καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ
πάσχειν. ὃθεν, οἶμαι, καὶ Ἑλληνες καὶ βάρ-
βαροί τινες οὐδὲ διδομένας σφίσι βασιλείας ἐδε-
ξαντο.

3 "Ταύτ' ὁνὶ προϊδόμενος 3 προβούλευσαί πρὶν
ἐν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι αἰσχρὸν γάρ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ
ἀδύνατόν ἐστι παρακύψαντά τινα ἀπαξ ἐς αὐτὰ

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

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

"Therefore I would have you foresee all these disadvantages and take counsel before you become involved in them. For it is disgraceful, or rather it is quite impossible, for a man to withdraw when
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ἀναδύναι. μηδὲ σε ἐξαπατήσῃ μήτε τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐξουσίας μήθ' ἢ περιουσία τῶν κτημάτων, μή τὸ στύφος τῶν σωματοφυλάκων, μή ὁ 1 ὄχλος 4 τῶν θεραπεύοντων. οἳ τε γὰρ πολὺ δυνάμενοι πολλὰ πράγματα ἔχουσι, καὶ οἱ συχνὰ κεκτημένοι συχνὰ ἀναλίσκειν ἀναγκάζονται, τὰ τε πλήθη τῶν δορυφόρων διὰ τὰ πλήθη τῶν ἐπιβουλεύοντων ἀθροίζεται, καὶ οἱ κολακεύοντες ἐπιτρίψειαν ἄν τινα μᾶλλον ἢ σῶσειαν.2 ὡσθ' ἑνεκα μὲν τούτων οὐδ' ἂν εἴς εὐν φρονῶν αὐταρχῆσαι ἐπιθυμήσειεν· εἰ δ' ὃτι καὶ πλουτίζειν καὶ σώξειν τινὰς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ δρᾶν οἱ τοιούτω ὑδανται, καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ ὑβρίζειν σφίσι καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν ὃν ἂν ἔθελήσωσιν ἐξεστίν, ἄξιαν τις διὰ ταῦτα σπουδῆς τὴν τυραννίδα εἶναι νομίζει, τοῦ παντὸς ἀμαρτάνει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀσελγαίνειν καὶ κακὸν τι ποιεῖν οὐθ’ ὡς αἰσχρὰ οὐθ’ ὡς σφαλερὰ καὶ μεμισθημένα καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ἔστι, δεόμαι σοι λέγειν· οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως τοιούτοις εἴ, οὔτ' ἂν διὰ ταῦτα μοναρχήσαται ἐλοι. προήρημαί τε ἐγὼ νῦν οὐ πάνθ' ὃσα ἂν τις κακῶς τὸ πράγμα μεταχειρίζόμενος ἐξεργάσατο εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὃσα καὶ οἱ πάνω ἀριστα αὐτῷ χρώμενοι καὶ 3 ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν ἀναγκάζονται. τὸ δ' ἐτερον, τὸ τινὰ ἀφθόνος ευεργετεῖν ἔχειν, ἀξιοσπούδαστον μὲν, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν ἰδιώτῃ γιγνόμενον καὶ καλὸν καὶ σεμνὸν καὶ εὐκλέες καὶ ἀσφαλές ἔστιν, ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς μοναρχίαις πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ ἄντ-

1 ὁ supplied by Bk.
2 ἐπιτρίψειαν ... σώσειαν Dind., ἐπιτρίψαιεν ... σώσαειν VL'.
BOOK LII

once he has entered upon the position. And do not be deceived, either, by the greatness of its authority or the abundance of its possessions, or by its array of bodyguards, or by its throng of courtiers. For men who have much power have many troubles; those who have large possessions are obliged to spend largely; the multitude of bodyguards is gathered merely because of the multitude of conspirators; and as for the flatterers, they would be more likely to destroy you than to save you. Consequently, in view of these considerations, no sensible man would desire to become supreme ruler. But if the thought that men in such a station are able to enrich others, to save their lives, and to confer many other benefits upon them—yes, by heaven, and even to insult them and to do harm to whomsoever they please—leads anyone to think that tyranny is worth striving for, he is utterly mistaken. I need not, indeed, tell you that the life of wantonness and evil-doing is disgraceful or that it is fraught with peril and is hated of both gods and men; for in any event you are not inclined to such things, and you would not be led by these considerations to choose to be sole ruler. And, besides, I have chosen to speak now, not of all the mischief one might work who managed the task badly, but only of what even those who make the very best use of the position are obliged both to do and to suffer. But as to the other consideration,—that thus one is in a position to bestow favours in profusion,—this is indeed a privilege worth striving for; yet however noble, august, glorious, and safe it is when enjoyed by a private citizen, in a king's position it does not, in the first place, counterbalance the other considerations.
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αξιον των ἄλλων τῶν ἀτοπωτέρων, ὡστε τινὰ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐλέσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ μέλλοντα τὴν μὲν ἐκ τούτου ἀπόλαυσιν ἐτέροις
12 δώσειν τὴν δὲ ἐξ ἐκείνων ἀνδίαν αὐτὸν ἔξειν, ἐπειτα δ' οὐδέ ἀπλούν, ὡς τις οἴεται. οὔτε γὰρ ἀν πᾶσι τοῖς δεομένοις τινὸς ἐπαρκέσει τις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξισύντες τι παρ' αὐτοῦ λαμβάνειν πάντες ὡς εἰπεῖν εἰσὶν ἀνθρώποι, κἂν μηδεμία
2 εὐθὺς εὐεργεσία αὐτοῖς ὀφείληται πᾶς γὰρ τις φύσει καὶ αὐτὸς ἔαντφ ἀρέσκει, κἀγαθὸν τι ἐπαυρέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ δοῦναι δυναμένου βουλεταί. ἃ δὲ ἐνδέχεται αὐτοῖς δίδοσθαι (τιμάς τε καὶ ἀρχὰς λέγω, καὶ ἐστιν ὅτε καὶ χρήματα) πάντων ἀν εὐαρίθμητα ὡς πρὸς τοσοῦτο πλῆθος εὐρεθεί. τοῦτον τε οὕτως ἔχοντος ἔχθος ἂν αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν διαμαρτανόντων ὧν χρήζονσι μᾶλλον ἡ φελία παρὰ τῶν τυγχανόντων ὑπάρ.
3 ἔξειν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ, ὡς καὶ ὀφειλόμενον τι λαμβανόντες, οὔτ' ἄλλως μεγάλην οἴονται δειν τῷ διδόντι αὐτὸν χάριν ἔχειν ἀτε μηδὲν παρὰ δόξαι εὐρισκόμενοι, καὶ προσέτε καὶ ὁκνούσι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἀναξίους ἐν τούτῳ σφάζ τοῦ
4 καλῶς πάσχειν ἀποφήνωσιν οἱ δὲ ὧν ἐλπὶζουσιν ἀτυχοῦντες λυποῦνται κατ' ἀμφότερα, τοῦτο μὲν ὡς οἰκείον τινὸς στερισκόμενοι (πάντες γὰρ ἔχειν ἣδη νομίζουσι ὧν ἂν ἐπιθυμήσωσι), τοῦτο δὲ ὡς καὶ αὐτὸι ἐπαυτῶν ἀδικίαν τινὰ

1 διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκεῖνα Bk., δι' ἐκεῖνα καὶ τοῦτο VL'.
2 αὐτὸ L', αὐτὸ V.
3 ἀποφήνωσιν St., ἀποφανοῦσιν VL'.
4 αὐτοὶ L', ἐαυτὸl V.

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of a less agreeable nature, so that a man should be induced for the sake of gaining this advantage to accept those disadvantages also, especially when the sovereign is bound to bestow upon others the benefit to be derived from this advantage and to have for himself alone the unpleasantness that results from the disadvantages. In the second place, this advantage is not without complications, as people think; for a ruler cannot possibly satisfy all who ask for favours. Those, namely, who think they ought to receive some gift from the sovereign are practically all mankind, even though no favour is due to them at the moment; for every one naturally thinks well of himself and wishes to enjoy some benefit at the hands of him who is able to bestow it. But the benefits which can be given them,—I mean titles and offices and sometimes money,—will be found very easy to count when compared with the vast number of the applicants. This being so, greater hostility will inevitably be felt toward the monarch by those who fail to get what they want, than friendliness by those who obtain their desires. For the latter take what they receive as due them and think there is no particular reason for being grateful to the giver, since they are getting no more than they expected; besides, they actually shrink from showing gratitude for fear they may thereby give evidence of their being unworthy of the kindness done them. The others, when they are disappointed in their hopes, are aggrieved for two reasons: in the first place, they feel that they are being robbed of what belongs to them, for invariably men think they already possess whatever they set their hearts upon; and, in the second place, they feel that, if they are
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καταγγυγώσκοντες, ἀν ῥάδιῶς ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ τυχεῖν
5 ὅν ἀν προσδοκήσωσι φέρωσι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ ὀρθῶς
didon τὰ τοιαῦτα τὸ τε κατ' ἀξίαν ἐκάστου δῆλον
ὀτι πρὸ πάντων προσκοπεῖ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τιμᾶ τοὺς
δὲ παρορᾷ, ὡστε καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης τοὺς μὲν
φρόνημα τοῖς δ' ἀγανάκτησιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ συνει-
dότος σφῶν προσγίγνεσθαι. ὡς ἂν γε τις τούτων
εὐλαβούμενος ἀνωμάλως αὐτὰ διανέμειν ἐθελήσῃ,
6 τὸ σύμπαν ἀμαρτήσεται οἳ τε γὰρ πονηρῷ παρὰ
τὸ προσήκον τιμώμενοι χείρους ἀν, ἦτοι καὶ
ἐπαινείσθαι ως ἁγαθοὶ ἡ πάντως γε θεραπεύσθαι
ὡς φοβερῶς δοκοῦντες, γίγνοντο, καὶ οἱ χρηστοὶ
μηδὲν πλείον αὐτῶν εὑρίσκομενοι, ἀλλ' ἔξ ἵσον
σφίσιν ἁγόμενοι, μᾶλλον ἂν ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους
ἰσομορίας λυποῖντο ἡ τῷ 1 καὶ αὐτῷ τῖνος ἀξιοῦ-
7 σθαί χαίροιε, 2 καί τούτου τῆς τε ἐπιτήδευσιν
tῶν κρειττῶν ἔφει ἂν καὶ τὴν ζήλωσιν τῶν
χειρόνων μετέρχοντο, καὶ οὕτω καὶ 3 ἔξ αὐτῶν
tῶν τιμῶν οὐθ', οἱ διδόντες αὐτὰς ἁγαθῶν τι
καρποῦντο καὶ οἱ λαμβάνοντες κακίους γίγνον-
το. ὡστε σοι τούτῳ, ὃ μάλιστα ἂν τις ἐν
ταῖς μοναρχίαις ἀρέσειε, δυσμεταχειριστότατον
συμβῆναι.

13 "Ταύτα τε οὖν καὶ τάλλα ἀ μικρῷ πρόσθεν

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

"Reflecting upon these considerations and the
ΔΙΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΝΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ Ν

εἰπον ἐνθυμηθεὶς φρόνησον ἦς ἐξεστί σοι, καὶ ἀπόδος τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ ἐθνη καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ χρήματα. ἂν μὲν γὰρ ἦδη τε καὶ ἐκὼν αὐτὸ ποιήσης, ἐνδοξότατος τε ἁμα ἀνθρώπων ἐσθ καὶ ἀσφαλεστάτος· ἂν δὲ ἀναμείνης βίαν τινά σοι προσαχθῆναι, τάχ’ ἄν τι
dεινὸν μετὰ κακοδοξίας πάθοις. τεκμῆριον δὲ,
Μάριος μὲν καὶ Σύλλας καὶ Μέτελλος, καὶ Πομπήιος τὸ πρῶτον, ἐν κράτει τῶν πραγμάτων γενόμενοι οὔτ’ ἠθέλησαν δυναστεύσαι οὔτ’ ἔπαθον παρὰ τούτο δεινὸν οὐδέν. Κύνας δὲ δὴ καὶ Στράβων, ὃ τε Μάριος ὁ ἔτερος καὶ ὁ Σερτώριος, ὃ τε Πομπήιος αὐτὸς μετὰ ταῦτα, τῆς δυναστείας ἐπι-
θυμήσαντες κακῶς ἀπώλοντο. δυσχερές γὰρ ἐστὶ τὴν πόλιν ταῦτην, τοσούτοις τε ἐτεσι δεδη-
mοκρατημένη καὶ τοσούτων ἀνθρώπων ἄρχουσαν,
δουλεύσαι τιν ἠθέλησαν. καὶ ἀκούεις μὲν ὅτι
tὸν Κάμιλλον ὑπερώρισαν, ἐπειδή λευκοίς ἰπποῖς
4 ἐς τὰ ἐπινίκια ἐχρήσατο, ἀκούεις δὲ ὅτι τὸν Σκι-
pίωνα κατέλυσαν, ἐπειδὴ τινα πλεονεξίαν αὐτοῦ
cατέγνωσαν, μέμνησαι δὲ ὅτως τῷ πατρί σου
προσηνέχθησαν, ὅτι τινὰ ὑποψίαν ἐς αὐτὸν μοναρ-
χίας ἔσχον. καὶ τοῦτων μὲν ἀμείνους ἀνδρεῖς
οὐδένες ἄλλους γεγόνασιν.
5 "Οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀπλῶς οὔτω συμβουλεύω σοι
τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφεῖναι, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ συμφέροντα
τῷ δῆμοσίῳ προπράξαι καὶ δόγμασι καὶ νόμοις ἀ
προσήκει κατακλείσαι, καθάπερ ποὺ καὶ ὁ Σύλ-
lας ἐποίησε· καὶ γὰρ εἰ τινα αὐτῶν μετὰ ταῦτα
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others which I mentioned a little while ago, be prudent while you may and duly place in the hands of the people the army, the provinces, the offices, and the public funds. If you do it at once and voluntarily, you will be the most famous of men and the most secure; but if you wait for some compulsion to be brought to bear upon you, you will very likely suffer some disaster and gain infamy besides. Consider the testimony of history: Marius and Sulla and Metellus, and Pompey at first, when they got control of affairs, not only refused to assume sovereign power but also escaped disaster thereby; whereas Cinna and Strabo, the younger Marius and Sertorius, and Pompey himself at a later time, conceived a desire for sovereign power and perished miserably. For it is a difficult matter to induce this city, which has enjoyed a democratic government for so many years and holds empire over so many people, to consent to become a slave to any one. You have heard how the people banished Camillus just because he used white horses for his triumph; you have heard how they deposed Scipio from power, first condemning him for some act of arrogance; and you remember how they proceeded against your father just because they conceived a suspicion that he desired to be sole ruler. Yet there have never been any better men than these.

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

1 Cf. xlv. 28, 1.
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ἀνετράπτη, ἀλλὰ τὰ γε πλεῖω καὶ μεῖξῳ διαμένει.

6 καὶ μὴ εἰπῆς ὦτι καὶ ὦτι στασιάσουσί τινες, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐγὼ αὖθις εἴπω ὦτι πολλῷ μᾶλλον οὐκ ἂν ἀνάσχωντο μοναρχοῦμενοι. ὡς εἴγε πάνθ’ ὁσα ἐνδέχεται τισι συνενεχθήναι προσκοποίμεθα, ἀλογώτατα ἂν τὰς διχοστασίας τὰς ἐκ τῆς δημοκρατίας συμβαίνοντας φοβηθείμεν ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς τυραννίδας τὰς ἐκ τῆς μοναρχίας

7 ἐκφυομένας. περὶ ὥν τῆς δεινότητος οὐδὲ ἐπε- χείρησά τι εἰπέιν οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἡ ἐκαταραμένων ἀλλίως εὐκατηγόρητον οὔτω πράγμα ἡθέλησα, ἀλλὰ δείξας σοι τοῦθ’ ὥστε τοῖς σύστημαν ἄνδρας ἡμᾶς μηδὲ τοὺς χρηστοὺς ἄνδρας ἡμᾶς 

14 “(… οὕτε πείσαί τι ῥαδίως ὑπὸ παρρησίας τοὺς οὐχ ὀμοίους δύνανται) καὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν ἄτε μὴ ὀμογνωμονοῦντων σφῶν κατορθοῦσιν. ὡστε εἰ τι κύδη τῆς πατρίδος, υπὲρ ἡς τοσοῦτος πολέμους πεπολέμηκας, υπὲρ ἡς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἣδεως ἂν ἐπιδοιχὴσ, μεταρρύθμισον αὐτὴν καὶ κατακόσμησον

2 πρὸς τὸ σωφρονέστερον. τὸ γὰρ ἐξείνα τισι

1 ὅ R. Steph., δεὶ VL.
2 L’ indicates a lacuna at this point, V does not. In their common archetype L one folio was lost, containing some sixty lines. Zonaras’ epitome at this point is as follows: ὅ δὲ Μαϊκῆς τούναντιν συνεβούλευεν, ἀπαν εἰπὼν ἥδη τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐπὶ πολύ διοικῆσαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι δυὸν θάτερον, ἢ μεῖναι ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἢ ἀπολέσθαι ταῦτα προέμενον, κ.τ.λ.

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yet the majority of them and the more important still remain. And do not say that even then some men will indulge in factional quarrels, and thus require me, on my part, to say once more that the Romans would be much more apt to refuse to submit to the rule of a monarch. For if we should undertake to provide against all possible contingencies, it would be utterly absurd for us to be more afraid of the dissensions which are but incidental to democracy than of the tyrannies which are the natural outgrowth of monarchy. Regarding the terrible nature of such tyrannies I have not so much as attempted to say anything; for it has not been my wish idly to inveigh against a thing that so readily admits of condemnation, but rather to show you that monarchy is so constituted by nature that not even the men of high character. . .”

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

1 The conclusion of Agrippa’s speech is missing in our MSS., as is also the earlier portion of that of Maecenas together with the introduction to it. Zonaras’ brief résumé (down through chap. 17) is as follows: “But Maecenas advised the contrary course, declaring that he (Caesar) had already for a long time been directing the monarchy, and that he must inevitably do one of two things—either remain in the same position or abandon his present course and perish.”
πάνθ᾽ ἀπλῶς ὅσα ἑν ἑν ὑπόλογητα καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν, ἀν μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν φρονοῦντων ἐξετάζης, εὐδαιμονίας ἀπασίν αὕτην γίγνεται, ἀν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνοήτων, συμφορᾶς· καὶ διὰ τούτο ὁ μὲν τοῖς τοιούτοις τὴν ἐξουσίαν διδοὺς παιδὶ δὴ τινὶ καὶ μανιγμένῳ ξίφος ὁρέγει, ὃ δ᾽ ἐκείνοις τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ αὐτοὺς τούτους καὶ μὴ βουλομένους σῶζει.

3 διόπερ καὶ σὲ ἄξιον μὴ πρὸς τὰς εὐπρεπείας τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀποβλέψαντα ἀπαντήθημαι, ἄλλα τὰ γεγομένα ἐξ αὐτῶν προσκοπήσαντα τὴν τε θρασύτητα τοῦ ὀμίλου παύσαι καὶ τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν κοινῶν ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἀρίστοις προσβείναι, ἵνα βουλεύσωσί 2 μὲν οἱ φρουμιώτατοι, ἀρχωσὶ δὲ οἱ στρατηγικῶτατοι, στρατεύονται δὲ καὶ μισθοφορῶσι σικεὶ τε ἵσχυρότατοι καὶ οἱ πενεταίοι. οὔτω γὰρ τὰ τε ἐπιβάλλοντά σφισιν ἐκαστοί προβούμως ποιοῦντες, καὶ τὰς ὦφελίας ἀλληλοῖς ἐτοίμως ἀντιδιδόντες, οὕτε τῶν ἐλαττωμάτων, ἐν οἷς καταδέουσι τισων, ἐπαισθήσονται, καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν τὴν ἁληθῆ τὴν τε ἐλευθερίαν

4 τὴν ἀσφαλῆ κτήσονται· ἐκείνη μὲν γὰρ ἡ τοῦ ὀχλοῦ ἐλευθερία τοῦ τε βελτίστου δουλεία πικροτάτη γίγνεται καὶ κοινὸν ἁμφοῖν ὀλέθρον φέρει, αὑτὴ δὲ τὸ τε σῶφρον πανταχὸν προτιμῶσα καὶ τὸ ἴσον ἀπασὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄξιαν ἀπονέμουσα πάντας ὀμοίως εὐδαιμονας τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτῇ ποιεῖ.

1 ἀπλῶς ὅσα Pflugk, ὅσα ἀπλῶς VL'.
βουλεύσι R. Steph., βουλεύουσι VL'.

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the privilege of doing and saying precisely what one pleases becomes, in the case of sensible persons, if you examine the matter, a cause of the highest happiness to them all, yet in the case of the foolish it becomes a cause of disaster. For this reason he who offers this privilege to the foolish is virtually putting a sword in the hands of a child or a madman; but he who offers it to the prudent is not only preserving all their other privileges but is also saving these men themselves even in spite of themselves. Therefore I ask you not to fix your gaze upon the specious terms applied to these things and thus be deceived, but to weigh carefully the results which come from the things themselves and then put an end to the insolence of the populace and place the management of public affairs in the hands of yourself and the other best citizens, to the end that the business of deliberation may be performed by the most prudent and that of ruling by those best fitted for command, while the work of serving in the army for pay is left to those who are strongest physically and most needy. In this way each class of citizens will zealously discharge the duties which devolve upon them and will readily render to one another such services as are due, and will thus be unaware of their inferiority when one class is at a disadvantage as compared with another, and all will gain the true democracy and the freedom which does not fail. For the boasted freedom of the mob proves in experience to be the bitterest servitude of the best element to the other and brings upon both a common destruction; whereas this freedom of which I speak everywhere prefers for honour the men of prudence, awarding at the same time equality to all according to their deserts, and thus gives happiness impartially to all who enjoy this liberty.
15 "Μὴ γὰρ τοι οἰηθῆς ὅτι τυραννῆσαι σοι, τὸν
tε δῆμον καὶ τὴν βουλὴν δουλωσαμένῳ, παραμένω.
tούτο μὲν γὰρ οὔτ' ἄν ἐγὼ ποτε εἰπεῖν οὔτ' ἄν σὺ
πρᾶξαι τολμῆσαι· ἐκεῖνα δὲ δὴ καὶ καλὰ καὶ
χρήσιμα καὶ σοι καὶ τῇ πόλει γένοιτο ἂν, τὸ
tε πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα αὐτῶν σε μετὰ τῶν
ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν νομοθετεῖν, μηδενὸς τῶν πολλῶν
μὴ τ' ἀντιλέγοντος αὐτοῖς μὴτ' 1 ἐναντιομένου,
2 καὶ τὸ τοὺς πολέμους πρὸς τὰ ὑμέτερα βουλή-
ματα διοικεῖσθαι, πάντων αὐτίκα τῶν ἄλλων τὸ
κελευόμενον ποιοῦντων, τὸ τὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων
αἱρέσεις ἐφ' ὑμῖν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ τὰς τιμᾶς τὰς τε
τιμωρίας ύμᾶς ὀρίζειν, ἵνα καὶ νόμος εὐθὺς ἢ πάν
ὁ τί ἄν βουλευσαμένῳ σοι μετὰ τῶν ὁμοτίμων
3 ἀρέσῃ, καὶ οἱ πολέμοι κρύφα καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν
πολεμῶνται, οἳ τε τὶ ἐγχειριζόμενοι ἀπ' ἀρετῆς
ἀλλὰ μὴ κλήρῳ καὶ στουδαρχίᾳ ἀποδείκνυόνται,
kαὶ οἱ μὲν ἀγαθοὶ ἄνευ φθονοῦ τιμῶνται, οἳ δὲ
4 κακοὶ ἄνευ συντάσσεως κολάζονται. οὕτω γὰρ
ἀν μάλιστα τὰ τε πραττόμενα ὀρθῶς διοικθεῖσι,
mήτε ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀναφερόμενα μήτε ἐν τῷ
φανερῷ βουλευόμενα μήτε τοῖς 2 παρακελευστοῖς
ἐπιτρεπόμενα μήτε ἐκ φιλοτιμίας κινδυνεύομενα,
kαὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἦμῖν ἄγαθῶν ἢδεως ἀπο-
λαύσαιμεν, μήτε πολέμους ἐπικινδύνους μήτε

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

1 Probably a reference to the tribunes.
5 στάσεις ἀνοσίους· ποιούμενοι. ταῦτα γὰρ πάσα μὲν δημοκρατία ἔχει· οἱ γὰρ δυνατώτεροι, τῶν τε πρωτείων ὁρεγομένοι καὶ τοὺς ἁσθενεστέρους μισθούμενοι, πάντα ἄνω καὶ κάτω φύρουσιν· πλείστα δὲ δὴ παρ' ἡμῖν γέγονε, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν
6 ὁπως ἄλλως παύσεται. τεκμήριον δὲ, πάμπολυς ἔξ ὦν χρόνος καὶ πολεμοῦμεν καὶ στασιάζομεν. αἶτιον δὲ τὸ τε πλῆθος τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκεῖνοι τε γὰρ παντο-

dαποὶ καὶ τὰ γένη καὶ τὰς φύσεις οὔτε καὶ ποικίλας καὶ τὰς ὀργάς καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἔχουσι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τοσοῦτον προῆκται ὡστε καὶ πάνω δυσχερῶς ἄν διοικηθῆναι.

16 "Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα ἀληθῆ λέγω, μαρτυρεῖ τὰ γεγονότα. τέως μὲν γὰρ οὔτε πολλοὶ ἦμεν οὔτε μεγάλοι τινὶ τῶν πλησιοχώρων διεφερομεν, καλὸς τε ἐπολιτευόμεθα καὶ πᾶσαν ὁλίγου τὴν Ἰταλίαν
2 κατεστρεφόμεθα· αἵ' οὐ δὲ ἐξω αὐτῆς ἐξήχθημεν, καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ καὶ τῶν ἥπειρων καὶ τῶν νῆσων ἐπεραιώθημεν, καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν θάλασσαν πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν γῆν καὶ τοῦ ὄνωματος καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἡμῶν ἐνεπλήσαμεν, οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ μετεσχήκαμεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἶκοι καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους κατὰ συντάσεις ἐστασιάσαμεν, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα τὸ νόσημα τοῦτο
3 προηγάγομεν. καὶ διὰ ταῦθ' ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν, ὁσπέρ ὀλκάς μεγάλῃ καὶ πλήρης ὁχλον παντοδαποῦ χωρίς κυβερνήτου, πολλὰς ἡδὴ γενεὰς ἐν κλύδων πολλῶν φερομένη σαλεύει τε καὶ ἄττει δεύρο κάκεισε, καθάπερ ἀνερμάτιστος οὐσά. μῆτ' οὖν
4 χειμαζομένην ἐτ' αὐτῆς περίδης, ὀρᾶς γὰρ ὡς

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

"Witness to the truth of my words is borne by our past. For while we were but few in number and differed in no important respect from our neighbours, we got along well with our government and subjugated almost all Italy; but ever since we were led outside the peninsula and crossed over to many continents and many islands, filling the whole sea and the whole earth with our name and power, nothing good has been our lot. At first it was only at home and within our walls that we broke up into factions and quarrelled, but afterwards we even carried this plague out into the legions. Therefore our city, like a great merchantman manned with a crew of every race and lacking a pilot, has now for many generations been rolling and plunging as it has drifted this way and that in a heavy sea, a ship as it were without ballast. Do not, then, allow her to be longer exposed to the tempest; for you see that she
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"Οτι μὲν οὖν ὅρθως σοι παραίνω, μοναρχεῖσθαι τὸν δῆμον ἀξίων, πάλαι σε ἡγοῦμαι πεπείσθαι τούτου δὲ δὴ οὕτως ἔχοντο καὶ ἐτοίμως καὶ προθύμως τὴν προστασίαν αὐτοῦ ἀνάδεξαι, μᾶλλον δὲ μὴ προῇ. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαβεῖν τι βουλευόμεθα, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀπολέσαι καὶ προσέτι καὶ κινδυνεύσαι. τὸς γὰρ σου φείσεται, ἂν τε ἐς τὸν δήμον τὰ πράγματ' ἀνώσης, ἂν τε καὶ ἐτέρῳ τινὶ ἐπιτρέψῃς, παμπόλλων μὲν οὖν τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ λευτημένων, πάντων δ' ὡς εἰπεῖν τῆς μοναρχίας ἀντιποιησομένων, δὲν οὐδεὶς οὐτὲ μὴ ἀμύνασθαι σε ἐφ' οἷς πεποίηκας οὖτ' ἀντι-παλον ὑπολιπέσθαι ἐθελήσει. τεκμηρίων δὲ ὅτι καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐκκείς τῆς δυναστείας καὶ κατε-φρονήθη καὶ ἐπεβουλεύθη, κακοῦ τούτου μηκέτ' αὐτὴν ἀναλαβεῖν δυνηθεὶς ἐφθάρη, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὁ πατὴρ ὁ σὸς τὸ αὐτὸ τούτο ποιήσας προσ-απώλετο. πάντως δ' ἂν καὶ ὁ Μάριος καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ὀμοῖα αὐτοῖς ἐπεπόθθεσαν, εἰ μὴ προετε-

1 πράγματ' ἀνώσης ἂν τε Bk., πράγματα ὡς ἦσαν τε VL'.
2 ποιήσας V, ποιήσαι ἠθελήσας Λ'.

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is waterlogged. And do not let her be pounded to pieces upon a reef; for her timbers are rotten and she will not be able to hold out much longer. But since the gods have taken pity on her and have set you over her as her arbiter and overseer, prove not false to her, to the end that, even as now she has revived a little by your aid, so she may survive in safety for the ages to come.

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

1 Cf. Thucydides vii. 25, a passage which Dio seems to be imitating.
4 θυνήκεσαν. καίτοι τὸν Σύλλαν φασὶ τινὲς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὄβρηθέντα φθίναι καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀναχρησθαί· συχνὰ γοῦν τῶν νομοθετήθεντων ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ ζώντος ἦτε αὐτοῦ λύεσθαι ἥρξατο. ὡστε καὶ σὺ πολλοὺς μὲν Λεπίδους πολλοὺς δὲ Σερτωρίους Βρούτους Κασσίους γενήσεσθαι σοι προσδόκα.

18 "Ταύτα τε οὖν ἱδὼν καὶ τάλλα πάντα λογισάμενος, μὴ προῆ καὶ σεαυτὸν καὶ τὴν πατρίδα, ἵνα μὴ δοξῆς τισιν θελοῦσιος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐφείσθαι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ, ἂν καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς ὑποπτεύσῃ, οὔτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπου τὸ ἐπιθυμήμα ἦστι, καὶ καλὸς ὁ κίνδυνος αὐτοῦ· ἐπείτα δὲ τὶς οὐκ οἶδε τὴν ἀνάγκην ὕφ' ἂς ἐς τὰ 2 πράγματα ταύτα προχθῆς; ὡστε εἰπέρ 2 τι αἰτίαμα αὐτῆς ἦστι, τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς σου σφαγευσί δικαιότατα ἂν τις αὐτὸ ἐγκαλέσειεν· εἰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι μὴ ἄδικοι μὴ οἰκτρῶς οὔτως αὐτοῦ ἀπεκτόνεσαν, οὔτ' ἀν τὰ ὀπλα ἀντήρω, οὔτ' ἀν τὰ στρατεύματα συνελέξω, οὔτ' ἀν 3 'Ἀντωνίω καὶ Λεπίδῳ συνέδοχον, οὔτ' ἀν αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνους ἦμυνον.

3 καὶ ὅτι μὲν ὁρθῶς καὶ δικαίως πάντα ταύτ' ἐποίησας, οὐδεὶς ἄγνοει· εἰ δ' οὖν τι καὶ πεπλημμέληται, ἀλλ' οὔτ' 4 καὶ μεταθέσθαι ἦτε ἀσφαλῶς δυνάμεθα. ὡστε καὶ ἥμων αὐτῶν ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς πόλεως πεισθῶμεν τῇ τύχῃ τῇ τὴν μοναρχίαν σοι 4 διδούσῃ. καὶ χάριν γε μεγάλην αὐτῇ ἐχώμεν, ὅτι μὴ μόνον τῶν κακῶν τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἀπέλυσεν 5

1 ἵνα Λ', ἵνα δ' Β.
2 ὡστε εἰπέρ R. Steph., ἔσπερ ΒΛ'.
3 ἵνα supplied by St.
4 οὗτ Dind., οὗ τοι ΒΛ'.
5 ἀπέλυσεν Βκ., ἀνέπλησεν ΒΛ'.
first. And yet some say that Sulla, fearing this very fate, forestalled it by making away with himself;\textsuperscript{1} at any rate, much of his legislation began to be undone while he was yet alive. Therefore you also must expect that there will be many a man who will prove a Lepidus to you and many a man who will prove a Sertorius, a Brutus, or a Cassius.

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

\textsuperscript{1} This tradition is found here only.
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"Καὶ μὴ μοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς φοβηθῆσαι.

5 ὅσοι τε γὰρ πλεῖστοί ὑπάρχει, τόσοι πλεῖοι καὶ τὰ σώζοντα ἔχει, καὶ μακρὸ τὸ φυλάξαι τι τοῦ κτήσασθαι ρᾴδιν ἐστὶ: πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ τάλλοτρια προσποιήσασθαι καὶ πόνων καὶ κινδύνων δεῖ, πρὸς δὲ τὸ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα σῶσαι βραχεῖα φροντὶς ἀρκεῖ. μὴ μέντοι μιθὲ δείσῃς ὅτι οὐχὶ καὶ ἀσφαλέστατα ἐν αὐτῇ βιώσῃ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώπων ἁγαθῶν ἀπολαύσεις, ἂν γε ἐθελήσῃς αὐτῶν ὡς παρακλήσω σοι διοικήσαι. καὶ μὴ νομίσῃς ἀπαρτᾶν ἀπὸ τῆς παρούσης ὑποθέσεως τὸν λόγον, ἂν ἔπι πλεῖόν σοι περὶ αὐτῆς δια-

6 λεχθῶ· οὐ γὰρ ποὺ καὶ ὑπ’ ἀδολεσχίας τινὸς ἄλλος τοῦτο ποιῆσω, ἄλλ’ ἦν ἀκριβῶς κατα-

7 μάθης ὅτι καὶ δυνατὸν καὶ ῥᾴδιον τῷ γε ἔμφρου τὸ καὶ καλῶς καὶ ἀκινδύνως ἄρξαι ἐστὶ.

19 "Φημὶ τόινυν χρῆμα σε κατὰ πρώτας εὑθὺς τοῦ

8 βουλευτικῶν πᾶν καὶ φυλοκρινῆσαι καὶ διαλέξαι, ἑπεδῆ τινὲς οὐκ ἐπιτήδειοι διὰ τὰς στάσεις βε-

9 βουλεύσαι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄρετὴν τινα αὐτῶν ἔχοντας κατασχέιν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀπαλεῖψαι. μὴ μέντοι καὶ διὰ πενίαν τινὰ ἁγαθὸν γε ἄνδρα ὄντα ἀπαλλάξῃς, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρῆματα αὐτῶ τὰ ἀναγκαία δός. ἀντὶ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς τε γενναῖοτάτους καὶ τοὺς ἄριστους τοὺς τε πλού-

1 πλεῖσιν V, πλεῖον L'. 2 ἀπαρτᾶν L', ἀπαντᾶν V. 3 φυλοκρινῆσαι V, φιλοκρινῆσαι L'.

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your hands the organisation of the state, to the end that you, by bestowing due care upon it, may prove to all mankind that those troubles were stirred up and that mischief wrought by other men, whereas you are an upright man.

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

"I maintain, therefore, that you ought first and foremost to choose and select with discrimination the entire senatorial body, inasmuch as some who have not been fit have, on account of our dissensions, become senators. Such of them as possess any excellence you ought to retain, but the rest you should erase from the roll. Do not, however, get rid of any good man because of his poverty, but even give him the money he requires. In the place of those who have been dropped introduce the noblest,
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σωτάτους ἀντεσάγαγε, μὴ μόνον ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων τῶν τε ὑπηκόων
3 ἐπιλεξάμενος· οὕτω γὰρ σύ τε πολλοῖς συνεργοῖς χρήσῃ, καὶ τοὺς κορυφαίους ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν ἔθνων ἐν ἄσφαλεὶ ποιήσῃ, καὶ οὐτε ἐκεῖνα νεο-χμώσει τι μηδένα ἐλλόγιμον προστάτην ἔχοντα, καὶ οἱ πρωτεύοντες παρ' αὐτοῖς φιλήσουσί σε ἀτε καὶ κοινοῖ σοι τῆς ἀρχῆς γεγονότες.
4 "Τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων ποίησον. τοὺς γὰρ τὰ δευτερεία ἑκασταχόθη καὶ γένει καὶ ἄρετὴ καὶ πλούτῳ φερομένους ἐς τὴν ἱππάδα κατάλεξον, τοσούτους ἑκατέρους ἀντεγγράψας ὅσοι ποτ' ἄν ἀρέσωσί σε, μηδὲν περὶ τοῦ πλῆθους αὐτῶν ἀκριβολογούμενος· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἄν πλείους εὐδόκιμοι ἄνδρες συνώσί σοι, τοσοῦτῳ βάσων αὐτὸς
5 τε ἐν δέσωτι πάντα διοικήσεις, καὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους πείσεις ὅτι οὔτε ὡς δούλους σφίσιν οὐθ' ὡς χείροσι πη ἡμῶν οὔσι χρῆ, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν ἴγε-μονίαν αὐτοῖς 1 κοινοῖ, ὅπως ὡς οἰκείαι τρητῆν
6 σπουδάζωσι. καὶ τοσούτων γε δέω τούθ' ὡς οὐκ ὅρθῶς εἰρημένον ἀναθέσθαι, ὡστε καὶ τῆς πο-λιτείας πᾶσι σφίσι μεταδοθῆναι φημὶ δεῖν, ἵνα καὶ ταύτης ἱσομοιοῦντες πιστοὶ σύμμαχοι ἡμῖν ὅσιν, ὡσπερ τινὰ μίαν τὴν ἴμετέραν πόλιν οἰκοῦντες, καὶ ταύτην μὲν ὄντως πόλιν τὰ δὲ δὴ σφέτερα ἄγρους καὶ κόμας νομίζοντες εἶναι.

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

"Take these same measures in the case of the knights also, by enrolling in the equestrian order such men as hold second place in their several districts as regards birth, excellence and wealth. Register as many new members in both classes as you please, without being over particular on the score of their number. For the more men of repute you have as your associates, the easier you will find it, for your own part, to administer everything in time of need and, so far as your subjects are concerned, the more easily will you persuade them that you are not treating them as slaves or as in any way inferior to us, but that you are sharing with them, not only all the other advantages which we ourselves enjoy, but also the chief magistracy as well, and thus make them as devoted to that office as if it were their own. And so far am I from retracting this last statement as rashly made, that I declare that the citizens ought every one actually to be given a share in the government, in order that, being on an equality with us in this respect also, they may be our faithful allies, living as it were in a single city, namely our own, and considering that this is in very truth a city, whereas their own homes are but the countryside and villages.
"Αλλά περὶ μὲν τοῦτον αὐθις ἀκριβέστερον σκεψόμεθα ἣ χρῆ πρᾶξαι, ἵνα μή καὶ πάντα ἄθροι αὐτοῖς χαρισώμεθα· καταλέγεσθαι δὲ χρῆ ἐς μὲν τὴν ἑπτάδα ὀκτωκαίδεκέτεις, ἐν γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ μάλιστα ἢ τε τῶν σωμάτων αὐτῶν εὐεξία καὶ ἢ τῶν ψυχῶν ἐπιτηδειότης διαφαίνεται, ἐς δὲ τὸ συνέδριον πεντεκαιεικοσιέτεις· πῶς γὰρ οὐκ αἰσχρῶν καὶ σφαλερῶν ἐστὶ τὰ μὲν οἰκεῖα μηδὲν πρὸ ταύτης τῆς ἡλικίας ἐπιτρέπεσθαι, τὰ δὲ δημόσια καὶ νεωτέροις τισῶν ἐγχειρίζεσθαι; 

2 ταμεύσαστε γειαν δημαρχῆσαν στρατηγείτωσαν, τριακοντοῦται γενόμενοι. ταῦτας τε γὰρ τὰς ἄρχας καὶ τὰς τῶν ὑπάτων μόνας οἶκοι, τῆς τε τῶν πατρίων μνήμης ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ μὴ παντελῶς τὴν πολιτείαν μεταλλάττειν δοκεῖν, ἀποδεικνύναι σὲ φημὶ χρήμα.

3 αὐτὸς μέντοι σὺ πάντας αὐτοὺς αἴρον, καὶ μήτε ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει ἢ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἐτί τινὰ αὐτῶν ποιήσῃ, στασιάσουσι γὰρ, μήτε ἐπὶ τῷ συνεδρίῳ, διαστοιχίζονται γάρ. μὴ μέντοι καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις σφῶν τὰς ἄρχαις τηρήσῃ, ἵνα μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ αὕθις γενήται, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν τιμὴν φύλαξον, τῆς δ’ ἱσχύος παράλυσον τοσοῦτον ὅσον μήτε τοῦ ἄξιωματός τι αὐτῶν ἀφαιρήσει καὶ τοῖς νεωτέροις τι ἐθελήσουσι μὴ ἐπιτρέψει. ἐσται δὲ τοῦτο, ἂν

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

1 i.e. to the concilium plebis or to the comitia.
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tά τε ἄλλα καὶ ἑνδήμους αὐτοὺς ἀποφήμης, καὶ μήτε ἐν τῷ τῆς ἄρχης καίρῳ ὅπλα τινὶ αὐτῶν ἐγχειρίσης μήτε εὐθύς, ἄλλα χρόνου διελθόντος, ὥσον ἂν αὐτάρκη ἐκάστῳ σφῶν νομίσῃς εἶναι. οὕτω γὰρ οὐτε τινὲς νεοχμώσουσι, στρατοπέδων κύριοι ἐν τῷ τῶν ὁνομάτων φρονήματι γενόμενοι, καὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἰδιωτεύσαντες πεπανθήσονται.

5 καὶ οὕτως μὲν τὰς τε πανηγύρεις, οὐ γε καὶ προσήκοντες σφίσιν, ἐπιτελείτωσαν, καὶ τὰς δίκας πάντες ὡς ἐκαστοί, πλὴν τῶν φοικίων, ἐν τῷ τῆς ἑνδήμου ἄρχης χρόνῳ δικαζότωσαν συναγέσθω μὲν γὰρ δικαστηρία καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων βουλευτῶν τῶν τε ἰππέων, τὸ δ' ὄλον ἐς ἑκείνους ἀνακείσθω.

21 "Πολίαρχος δὲ δὴ τις ἐκ τε τῶν προηκόντων καὶ ἐκ τῶν πάντα τὰ καθήκοντα προτεπολιτευμένων ἀποδεικνύσθω, οὐχ ἦνα ἀποδημησάντων ποιοι

2 τῶν ὑπότων ἄρχης, ἀλλ' ἦνα τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀεὶ τῆς πόλεως προστατή, καὶ τὰς δίκας τὰς τε παρὰ πάντων ὅν ἐπιον ἄρχοντων ἐφεσίμους τε καὶ ἀναπομπίμοις καὶ τὰς τοῦ θανάτου τοῖς τε ἐν τῷ πόλει, πλὴν ὃν ἄν ἐπιποι, καὶ τοῖς ἐξω αὐτῆς μέχρι πενθήκοντα καὶ ἐπτακοσίων ἁ σταδίων οἰκουσί κρίνῃ.

3 "Επερος τέ τις ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ αὐτὸς αἰ- ρείσθω ὡστε τά τε γένη καὶ τάς οὖσίας τοὺς τε

1 ἐπτακοσίων Casaub., ἐξακοσίων VM.

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

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

"Let still another magistrate be chosen, this man also from the class described, whose duties shall be to pass upon and supervise all matters pertaining to
τρόπους καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἰππέων, ἀν-
δρῶν τε ὁμοίως καὶ παίδων γυναικῶν τε τῶν προσ-
4 ἣκουσῶν αὐτοῖς, ἔξετάζειν τε καὶ ἐπισκοπεῖν, καὶ
tὰ μὲν αὐτὸν ἔπανορθοῦν ὅσα μήτε τινὸς τιμωρίας
ἀξία ἐστὶ καὶ παρορόμενα πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων
κακῶν αἰτία γέγυνεται, τὰ δὲ δὴ μείζω σοι ἐπικοι-
νοῦσθαι. βουλευτὴ γὰρ τινι, καὶ τῷ γε ἀρίστῳ
μετὰ τὸν πολίαρχον, μᾶλλον ἢ τινὶ τῶν ἰππέων
5 προστετάχθαι τοῦτο δεῖ. καὶ τὸ γε ὁνομα ἀπὸ
tῆς σῆς τιμαρχίας (πάντως γὰρ σε προεστάναι
τῶν τιμήσεων προσήκει) εἰκότως ἄν λάβοι, ὡστε
ὑποτιμητὴς καλεῖσθαι. ἀρχέτωσαν δὲ δὴ οἱ δύο
οὕτων 1 διὰ βίον, ἂν γε μὴ κακυνθῇ τις αὐτῶν
τρόπον τινὰ ἢ καὶ νοσόδης ἢ καὶ ὑπεργήρως
6 γένηται. ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τῆς χρονίου ἀρχής οὐδὲν
ἄν δεινὸν, ἀτε ὁ μὲν παντελῶς ἀσσόλος ὁν, ὁ δ’
ὁλίγοις τε στρατιώτας ἐξών καὶ ἐν τοῖς σοῖς
7 ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸ πλεῖστον ἀρχῶν, ἐργάσαντο: ἐκ δὲ
δὴ τοῦ ἐτείου 2 καὶ ὁκνήσειαν 3 ἄν προσκρούσαι
tινι καὶ φοβηθεῖν ἔρρωμένως τι πρᾶξαι, τίνι τε
ἐαυτῶν ἱδιωτείαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλων 4 τινῶν ὑπα-
στειάν προορώμενοι, καὶ μισθὸν γε τίνα φερέ-
tωσαν καὶ τῆς ἁσχολίας ἑνεκα καὶ τῆς ἄξιωσεως.
8 "Περὶ μὲν δὴ τούτων ταῦτην σοι τὴν γυνώμην

1 οὕτω M, om. V.
2 ἐτείου Sauppe, ἐτέρου VM.
3 ὁκνήσειαν Dind., ὁκνήσαειν VM.
4 ἄλλων Leuncl., ἄλλην VM.

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

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

¹ Cf. Suetonius, Aug. 37. In practice there were six of them—three to nominate senators and three to hold a review of the knights.
δίδωμι, οἴ δὲ δὴ στρατηγήσαντες ἀρχέτωσάν τινα ἄρχην ἐν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις (πρὶν γὰρ στρατηγῆσαι σφας οὐχ ἥγούμαι δεῖν τοῦτο γίγνεσθαι· ἐκεῖνο δὲ ὑποστρατηγεῖτοσαν οἴς ἄν εἶπο, καὶ ἀπαξ καὶ δεύτερον), εἴθ' οὕτως ὑπατενέτωσαν, ἂν γε καὶ ὀρθῶς διάρξωσι, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς μείζους ἡγεμονίας λαμβανέτωσαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ συμβουλευόμενον διατάζω. τὴν τε Ἰταλίαν πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπὲρ πεντῆκοντα καὶ ἐπτακοσίους ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως σταδίους οὐσαν, καὶ τὰλλα πάντα τὰ τε ἐν ταῖς νῆσοις καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἡμῖν, κατάνεμον ἐκασταχόθι κατὰ τε γένη καὶ ἔθνη, τὰς τε πόλεις ἀπάσας, ὁσα γε καὶ αὐταρκές ἔστων ύφ' ἐνδο ἀνδρός αὐτοτελοῦς ἄρχε-2 σθαι κάνταῦθα στρατιώτας ἐγκατάστησον, καὶ ἀρχοντας καθ' ἐκάστους ἑνα μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὑπα-τευκότων ἐπὶ πᾶσι πέμπτε, δύο δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων,3 τὸν μὲν ἀρτι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξίνοντα, καὶ αὐτῷ τά τε ἴδιωτικά πράγματα καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παρασκευὴ προσκείσθω, τὸν δὲ ἐκ τῶν τούτο πεποιηκότων, δὴ τά τε κοινά τῶν πόλεως διοικήσει καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἄρξει, 3 πλὴν ὀσα ἄτιμιαι ἡ θανάτου ἔχεται. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐς μόνον τὸν ὑπατευκότα ἀρχοντα ἀνηκέτω, πλὴν περὶ τε τῶν ἐκατοντάρχων τῶν ἐν τοῖς καταλόγοις ὄντων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἴδιωτῶν τῶν παρ' ἐκάστως πρώτων τούτως γὰρ δὴ ἐκατέρους μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ

1 taῖs R. Steph., τοῖς VM. 2 τε supplied by Oddey. 3 ἐπὶ πᾶσι—ἐστρατηγηκότων M, om. V.
to these officials. As for those who have served as praetors, let them hold some office among the subject nations (before they have been praetors I do not think they should have this privilege, but they ought first to serve for one or two terms as lieutenants to the ex-praetors just mentioned); then they should next hold office as consuls, provided that they have proved satisfactory officials to the end of their terms, and after that they should receive the more important governorships. I advise you, namely, to arrange these positions as follows. Take Italy as a whole (I mean the part of it which is more than one hundred miles from the city), and all the rest of the territory which owns our sway, the islands and the continents, and divide it into districts, in each case according to races and nations, and take also all the cities that are strong and independent enough to be ruled by one governor with full powers. Then station soldiers in them and send out as governor to each district or independent city one of the ex-consuls, who shall have general charge, and two of the ex-praetors. One of the latter, fresh from the city, should be put in charge of all matters pertaining to persons in private life and of the commissary; the other, a man who has had special training for this work, will administer the public business of the cities and will have command of the soldiers, except in cases that involve disfranchisement or death. Such cases, of course, should be referred to the ex-consul who is governor, and to him alone, except where the persons involved are centurions recruited from the levies or private persons of prominence in their respective communities; as for both these classes, do not allow anybody but yourself to punish them,
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κολάζειν ἐπιτρέψης, ὑνα μη οὕτω τινὰ αὐτῶν
4 φοβόνται ὅστε ποτὲ καὶ κατὰ σοῦ τι πρᾶξαι. ὃ
δ' εἶπον, ὅτι τὸν ἔτερον τῶν ἐστρατηγικῶτων ἐπὶ
toις στρατιωταῖς ἐπιτετάχθαι δεῖ, τοιούτων ἐστίν.
ἀν μὲν ὁλίγοι τινὲς ἐν ξεινικοῖς τείχεσι ἥ καὶ ἐν
ἐνὶ πολιτικῷ στρατεύονται, καλῶς ἔχει τούτῳ γίγνεσθαι:
ἀν δὲ δύο πολιτικά στρατεύματα ἐν
tαυτῷ ἔθνει χειμάζῃ (πλεῖω γὰρ τούτων οὐκ ἂν
συμβουλεύσαι μοι τῷ αὐτῷ ἀρχοντὶ ἐπιτρέψαι),
5 δεῖ τοὺς τὸς δύο τούς ἐστρατηγικότας καὶ
ἐκεῖνων, ἰδία ἐκατέρου, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τε
πολιτικῶν καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν ὁμοίως προϊστασθαι.
ὁ δ' ὁυν ὑπατευκῶς ταυτά τε ... ¹ καὶ προσέτι καὶ
tὰς δίκας τάς τε ἐκκλήτους καὶ τὰς ἀναπομπίμους
tὰς ἀπὸ ² τῶν στρατηγῶν αὐτῶ ³ φοιτώσας κρινέ-
tω. καὶ μὴ θαυμάσης εἰ καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τοιαῦτα
μέρη νεῖμαι σοι παραινώ· πολλὴ τε γὰρ καὶ
πολυνόπτρωπος οὕσα ἀδύνατός ἐστιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν
τῷ ἀστεὶ ἀρχόντων καλῶς διοικεῖσθαι. δεὶ γὰρ
τοῖς τε δήμοις τὸν ἀρχοντά ἀεὶ παρεῖναι καὶ τοῖς
ἀρχουσι τὰ δυνατὰ προστάσσεσθαι.

6 λαμβανέτωσαν δὲ μισθόν πάντες οὕτωι οἱ τὰς
ἐξὸ τῇς πόλεως ἀρχὰς ἐπιτρεπόμενοι, πλεῖω μὲν
οἱ μείζονες, ἐλάττω δὲ οἱ καταδεστεροί, μέσον δὲ
οἱ μέσοι· οὕτω γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων οἴον τὲ ἐστὶν
αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ ἀποξην, οὕτ' ἀορίστῳ καὶ
ἀσταθμήτῳ ἀναλώματι ὄσπερ νῦν χρησθαι. καὶ
ἀρχέτωσαν μῆτε ἐλαττὸν ἐτῶν τριῶν, εἰ μὴ τις
ἀδικησεῖ τι, μῆτε πλεῖον πέντε, τὸ μὲν ὅτι αἰ

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

"Let all these men to whom the commands outside the city are assigned receive salaries, the more important officers more, the less important less, and those between an intermediate amount. For they cannot live in a foreign land upon their own resources, nor should they indulge, as they do now, in unlimited and indefinite expenditure. They should hold office not less than three years, unless they are guilty of misconduct, nor more than five. The reason is that
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ἐνιαύσιοι καὶ ὀλυγοχρόνιοι ἀρχαὶ διδάσασαι τινας τὰ ἀναγκαία ἀποπέμπουσι πρὸν τι αὐτῶν ἀποδειχθῆναι, τὸ δὲ ὅτι αἱ μακρότεραι καὶ πολυχρονιώτεραι ἐπαύρουσι πως πολλοὺς καὶ ἐς νεωτεροτοίαν 3 ἐξάγουσι. διότερ οὐδὲ ἐπαλλήλας τὰς μείζους ἡγεμονίας οἴμαι τισὶ προσήκειν ἡδοσθαί. οὔτε γὰρ διαφέρει τι ἂν τε ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔθνει ἂν τε καὶ ἐν πλείοσιν ἐφεξῆς ἐπὶ μακρότερον τοῦ δέοντος ἂρχωσι· καὶ ἀμείνους γίγνονται, ἐπειδὰν διαλιπωσὶ 2 τέ τινα χρόνων καὶ οἰκάδε ἐπανέλθωσι καὶ ἰδιωτεύσωςι.

"Τούς μὲν δὴ οὖν βουλευτὰς ταυτά τε καὶ οὕτω 24 διέπειν φημὶ χρῆναι, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἱππέων δύο τοὺς ἀριστοὺς τῆς περί σὲ φρουρᾶς ἄρχειν· τὸ τε γὰρ ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ αὐτὴν ἐπιτρέπεσθαι σφαλερὸν καὶ τὸ 2 πλείοσι ταραχώδες ἐστι. δύο τε οὖν ἐστωσαν οἱ ἐπαρχοὶ οὕτοι, ἵν' ἂν καὶ ὁ ἐτερος αὐτῶν ἐπαισθηται τι τῶ σώματι, μήτι ⁴ γε καὶ ἐνδεής τοῦ φυλάξοντός σε εἰς· καὶ καθιστάσθωσαν ἐκ τῶν πολλάκις τε ἐστρατευμένων καὶ πολλά καὶ ἀλλὰ 3 διωκήκωτοι. ἄρχετοσαν δὲ δὴ ⁵ τῶν τε δορυφόρων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν στρατιωτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πάντων ὥστε καὶ θανατοῦν τοὺς ἄδικοῦντας αὐτῶν πλὴν τῶν τε ἐκατοντάρχων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ ἄρχοισι προστετά- 4 γμένων. τούτους μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἑκεῖνοι δικαιού-

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

"As regards the senators, therefore, I declare that they ought to discharge the duties named and in the way described. Of the knights the two best should command the bodyguard which protects you, for it is hazardous to entrust it to one man, and sure to lead to confusion to entrust it to more than two. Therefore let the number of these prefects be two, in order that, if one of them feel indisposed, you may still not lack a person to guard you. And men should be appointed to this office who have served in many military campaigns and have, besides, held many administrative positions. And they should have command both of the Pretorians and of all the other soldiers in Italy, with power even to put to death any of them who do wrong, with the exception of the centurions and of those in general who have been assigned to the staffs of magistrates of senatorial rank. For these soldiers should be tried by the
κεινού τών ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ στρατιωτῶν οἱ ἐπαρχοὶ ἐκεῖνοι προστατεύωσαν, ὑπάρχουσι ἔχοντες, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῶν Καισαρείων 1 τῶν τε ἐν τῇ θεραπείᾳ σου οὖντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν λόγου τινὸς ἀξίων. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ προσήκοντα καὶ αὐτάρκη αὐτοῖς διάγειν ἔσται, 2 ἵνα μὴ καὶ πλείω πράγματα ὃν καλῶς φέρειν δυνήσονται ἐπιταχθέντες ἁσχολοῦ πρὸς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἥ καὶ ἄδυνατοι πάντων αὐτῶν προϊστάσθαι γένωνται. 6 καὶ οὕτωι μὲν διὰ βίου, ὡσπερ ποι καὶ ὁ πολιορχὸς ὁ θ' ὑποτιμητὴς, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐχέτωσαν νυκτοφύλαξ δὲ ἔτερος, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ σίτου τῆς τε ἀγορᾶς τῆς λοιπῆς ἐτερος ἕκ τε τῶν ἱππέων τῶν πρῶτων μετ' ἐκείνους καὶ ἐς τακτὸν χρόνον ἀποδεικνύσθωσαν, καθάπερ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ προχειρεζόμενοι. τὰς τε διοικῆσεις τῶν χρημάτων, τῶν τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς λέγω, καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη τῇ τε ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τὰς 2 ἔξω πάσας οἱ ἱππῆς 3 διαχειριζότωσαν, καὶ μισθῶν οὕτωι τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τέλους διοικοῦντες τι, οἱ μὲν πλείονα οἱ δὲ ἐλάττονα, 4 πρὸς τε τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πράξεως φερέτωσαν, τούτοι μὲν ἄτι 5 οὐχ οἷον τέ

1 Καισαρείων H. Steph., καισαρίων VM.
2 διάγειν ἔσται Ba., διαγινεσθαι VM.
3 ἱππῆς M (ἱππῆς), ἱππησί V.
4 ἐλάττονα R. Steph., τὸν ἐλάττονα VM.
5 ἄτι M, om. V.

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

\(^{1}\) Praefectus vigilum. \(^{2}\) Praefectus annonae.
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ἐστιν αὐτούς, ἀτε καὶ πενεστέρους τῶν βουλευτῶν ὅντας, ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων, οὕδε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τι πράττοντας, ἀναλίσκειν, ἐκείνο δὲ ὅτι μήτε δυνα
tὸν μήτε συμφέρον ἐστὶ σοι τοὺς αὐτοὺς τῶν τε 

dυνάμεων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων κυρίους γίγνεσθαι.

4 πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ καλῶς ἔχει διὰ πλειόνων πάντα τὰ τῇ 2 ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα διάγεσθαι, ὅπως καὶ

ἀφελώταται ἀμα συχνοὶ καὶ ἔμπειροι τῶν πρα-

gμάτων γίγνωσται. οὕτω γὰρ οἳ τε ἀρχόμενοι

μᾶλλον εὐνοήσουσί σοι, πολυειδῆ ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν

κοινῶν ἁγαθῶν καρπούμενοι, καὶ σὺ ἀφθονώτατα

τοῖς ἄρτοις πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαία χρήση.

5 ἀπόχρη δὲ ἐν μὲν τῇ πόλει καθ' ἐκαστὸν χρη-

матίσεως εἴδος, ἔξω δὲ καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἔθνος, εἰς
tις ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων, ὑπομείνας ὅσοις ἂν ἡ χρεία

ἀπαιτῆ 3 ἐκ τε τῶν ἱππέων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐξελευ-

θέρων σοι ἔχων. δεὶ γὰρ καὶ τοιούτους τινὰς

συζευγνύναι σφίσιν, ἴνα ἡ τε θεραπεία σοι ἄθλον
tι ἀρετῆς ἔχῃ, καὶ σὺ μὴ ἀπορήσῃ παρ' ὧν καὶ

ἀκόντων τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἂν γε τι πλημμεληθῇ,

μαθεῖν δυνήσῃ.

6 "Οστις δ' ἄν τῶν ἱππέων διὰ πολλῶν διεξελ-

θῶν ἐλλόγιμος ὡστε καὶ βουλεύσαι γένηται, μηδὲν

αὐτοῦ ἡ ἡλικία ἐμποδιζέτω πρὸς τὸ μὴ οὐ καὶ ἐς
tὸ συνέδριον καταλεχθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἐσγραφέσθωσαι

καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνων, κἂν λελοχαγγκότες τινὲς ἐν τοῖς

πολιτικοῖς στρατοπέδοις ὥσι, πλὴν τῶν ἐν τῷ

7 τεταγμένῳ ἐστρατευμένων. τούτων μὲν γὰρ τῶν

1 τε Μ, om. Β. 2 τὰ τῇ Μ, τὰ ἐν τῇ Β.

3 ἀπαιτῆ Β, ἀπαιτεῖ Μ.

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BOOK LII

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

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

26 "Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν βουλευτῶν τῶν τε ἰππεῶν
tαυτά σοι συμβουλεύειν ἔχω, καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ
ἐκείνα, οὐδὲν τε ἐπὶ παῖδες εἰσιν, ἐς τὰ διδα-
σκαλεῖα συμφοιτῶσι, καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἐς μειράκια
ἐκβάλωσιν, ἐπὶ τε τοὺς ἰππούς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα
tρέπωνται, διδακτάλους ἐκατέρων δημοσιεύοντας

2 ἐμμίσθους ἔχοντες. οὔτω γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐκ παῖδων
πάνθ᾽ ὡσα χρὴ ἀνδρας αὐτοὺς γενομένους ἐπι-
tελεῖν καὶ μαθόντες καὶ μελετήσαντες ἐπιτη-
dειότεροί σοι πρὸς πάν ἔργον γενήσονται. τὸν
γὰρ ἄρχοντα τὸν ἄριστον, οὐ τέ τι ὀφελὸς ἔστι,
δεὶ2 μὴ μόνον αὐτὸν πάνθ᾽ ἃ προσήκει ποιεῖν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν, ὅπως ὡς ὅτι βέλτιστοι

3 γίγνονται, προνοεῖν̃ τούτῳ δ’ ὑπάρξειν ἃν σοι
οὕκ ἄν ἐάσας³ αὐτοὺς ὡσα βούλονται πράττειν,
ἔπειτ᾽ ἐπιτιμᾶς τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἄν πρὶν
tι πλημμελεῖσθαι, προδιδάσκης πάνθ᾽ ὡσα ἁσκή-
sαντες χρησιμώτεροι καὶ ἐαυτοίς καὶ σοι γενή-
sονται, καὶ μηδενὶ γε τὸ παράπαν πρόφασιν

4 παρέχῃς,⁴ μήτε διὰ πλοῦτον μήτε δι’ εὐγένειαι
μήτε δι’ ἀλλο τὶ ἅρτης ἐχόμενον, ῥαθυμίαν ὃ
μαλακήν ἢ καὶ ἐπιτίθεσθαι τινα κίβδηλον προσ-
pουεῖσθαι. πολλοὶ γὰρ φοβούμενοι μὴ καὶ διὰ

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1 καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ ἐκείνα M, om. V.
2 δεὶ flr., dein VM.
3 οὐκ ἄν ἐάσας Rk., οὐκ ἄν ἐάσης VM flor. (cod. B), εἰ οὐκ ἄν
ἐάσης flor. (cod. A).
4 παρέχης R. Steph., παρέχοις VM.
and a reproach that men of this sort, who have carried faggots and charcoal, should be found on the roll of the senate; but in the case of knights who began their service with the rank of centurion, there is nothing to prevent the most notable of them from belonging to the senate.

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

1 The Greek term indicates approximately the age of fourteen.
toiovtos ti kai phovnqthwsi kai kivndunqswsi, poulall kai anqxia eautovn poioudin ws kai asfa-
5 leostetou an' avtovn bioqomemoi kai to toutou ekeinoi men eleoynata ws kai avto touto adikov-
mevoi, to mhe dokein ezeinvai qfisivn orbous qv, to'
6 arxonti avtovn kai xemia ama anathv anordov
steromenvo kai kakodozia ths aiutiasewos sumvaivei.
mht' oon peri'dhs pote touto praxhven, mht' av
deisjs qti trapeveis te tis kai paiqdeuntheis ws enw

6 legw1 neqteron ti tolmheie. p'avn qar tovnanqin
tous te amathex kai tous aseleqheis upotopqin dei.2
oi men qar toiovtou pantata aplwos kai ta aiqchiota
cai ta deinvota, prwton men es qfhas avtovn
'epieita de kai es tous allous, radoxv poiqen pro-
agontai, oie de dh kalovs trapevntes te kai paiqdeu-
'qentevs ou't' allon tina adikein praqiroyntau, kai
pantovn ekista ton ths te trophi kai ths pai-
7 deias avtovn epimelelqhtenta. av d' oyn tis kai
kakos kai qharistos gevntai, me'den avtov toiov-
ton epitrpevis ex ouq deinvn ti drasai dqnisevta:
kvn ge kai ws neoxmwsis th, kai elq-qhthto kai
kolqsthtw. mh qar dh phseithq qti se aiutiasetai
tis ep'ti touto, av ge pvnth' osa eihrqa prqttqhs.
8 sv men qar ovdhen amartisq thon adikhqanta
qmworqsmenos, oqspet ovdh 6 iatros qvqas tina
kai temov ekeiwn de dh pantvse dikaiowson,
some such advantage, they may incur jealousy or danger, do many things that are unworthy of themselves, expecting by such behaviour to live in greater security. As a consequence, not only do they, on their part, become objects of pity as being victims of injustice in precisely this respect, that men believe that they are deprived of the opportunity of leading upright lives, but their ruler also, on his part, suffers not only a loss, in that he is robbed of men who might have been good, but also ill-repute, because he is blamed for the others' condition. Therefore never permit this thing to happen, and have no fear, on the other hand, that anyone who has been reared and educated as I propose will ever venture upon a rebellion. On the contrary, it is the ignorant and licentious that you should suspect; for it is such persons who are easily influenced to do absolutely any and every thing, even the most disgraceful and outrageous, first toward themselves and then toward others, whereas those who have been well reared and educated do not deliberately do wrong to any one else and least of all to the one who has cared for their rearing and education. If, however, one of these does show himself wicked and ungrateful, you have merely to refuse to entrust him with any position of such a kind as will enable him to do any mischief; and if even so he rebels, let him be convicted and punished. You need not, I assure you, be afraid that anyone will blame you for this, provided that you carry out all my injunctions. For in taking vengeance on the wrongdoer you will be guilty of no sin, any more than the physician is who resorts to cautery and surgery; but all men will assuredly say that the offender has got his deserts,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

"Περί μὲν οὖν τοὺς βουλευτὰς τοὺς τε ἵππεας ἢπατα γεγένοντο τοὺς δὲ δὴ στρατιώτας ἄθανατους, ἵππος τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων τῶν τε συμμάχων, τῇ μὲν πλείους τῇ δὲ ἐλάττους, καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἔθνος, ὅπως ἢ χρεία τῶν πραγμάτων ἤπατη, τρέφεσθαι προσήκει, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ τε ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἁσκησιν τῶν πολεμικῶν διὰ παντὸς ποιεῖσθαι δεῖ, χειμάδια τε ἐν τοῖς ἐπίκαιροις χωρίως κατεσκευασμένοις καὶ χρόνον τακτὸν στρατευμένους, ὡστε τι αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸ τοῦ γῆρως τῆς ἥλικίας περείναι. οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν καιρῶν βοηθείας τίσιν ἐτὶ χρήσθαι δυνάμεθα, αὐτοὶ τε τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐσχατῶν ἀπηρτημένοι καὶ πολεμίους ἐκασταχόθι προσοικοῦτας ἔχοντες· ἂν τε ἐπιτρέψωμεν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἥλικία ὅσι καὶ τὰ ὅπλα κεκτήσθαι καὶ τὰ ἐμπολέμια ἀσκεῖν, στάσεις καὶ πόλεμοι ἄπτ' αὐτῶν ἐμφύλιοι ἀεὶ γενήσονται. καὶ μέντοι καὶ κωλύσαντές σφας ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἑπεῖτα συμμαχίας τινὸς παρ' αὐτῶν δειθώμεν, κινδυνεύσωμεν ἀπείροις τε καὶ ἀγυμνάστοις στρατιώταις ἀεὶ χρώμενοι. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα γρόμην ποιοῦμαι τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους πάντας ἄνευ τ &' ὅπλων καὶ ἄνευ τειχῶν ζῆν, τοὺς δὲ ἱερωμενεστάτους καὶ βίον μάλιστα δεομένους καταλέγεσθαι τε καὶ ἀσκεῖν. 

5 αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ ἀμείνων πολεμήσουσι τούτῳ μόνῳ

1 κινδυνεύσωμεν R. Steph., κινδυνεύσωμεν VM.

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

"Let this be your procedure, then, in the case of the senators and the knights. A standing army also should be supported, drawn from the citizens, the subject nations, and the allies, its size in the several provinces being greater or less according as the necessities of the case demand; and these troops ought always to be under arms and to engage in the practice of warfare continually. They should have winter-quarters constructed for them at the most advantageous points, and should serve for a stated period, so that a portion of life may still be left for them between their retirement from service and old age. The reason for such a standing army is this: far removed as we are from the frontiers of the empire, with enemies living near our borders on every side, we are no longer able at critical times to depend upon expeditionary forces; and if, on the other hand, we permit all the men of military age to have arms and to practise warfare, they will always be the source of seditious and civil wars. If, however, we prevent them from all making arms their profession and afterwards need their aid in war, we shall be exposed to danger, since we shall never have anything but inexperienced and untrained soldiers to depend upon. For these reasons I give it as my opinion that, while in general the men of military age should have nothing to do with arms and walled camps during their lives, the hardiest of them and those most in need of a livelihood should be enlisted as soldiers and given a military training. For they will fight better if they devote their time to this one
"Πόθεν οὖν χρήματα καὶ εἰς τούτους καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἀναγκαῖως ἀναλωθησόμενα ἔσται; ἐγὼ καὶ τούτῳ διδάξω, σμικρὸν ἐκεῖνο ὑπειπῶν, ὅτι κἂν δημοκρατηθῶμεν, πάντως ποὺς χρημάτων δεησόμεθα. οὐ γὰρ οἶον τε οὔτ' ἀνευ, στρατιωτῶν ἡμᾶς σώζεσθαι οὔτ' ἀμισθὶ  
τινας 3 στρατεύ-  
2 εσθαὶ. μὴ οὖν ὡς καὶ τῇ μοναρχίᾳ μόνῃ τῆς ἀναγκαίας τῶν χρημάτων ἄθροίσεως προσήκουσίς υποπλωμέθα, μηδὲ δι' αὐτὴν καὶ ἀπ' ἐκεῖνης ἀποτρεπώμεθα, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ πᾶντος ἀναγκαίον ἡμῶν, ὅπως ποτ' ἄν πολιτευόμεθα, καὶ ἀργω-  
3 ρίζεσθαι τινα, οὔτω 4 Βουλευόμεθα. φημὶ τοίνυν χρήματα σὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἀπάντων τὰ κτήματα τὰ ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ὁντα (πολλὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὅρῳ διὰ τοὺς πολέμους γεγονότα) πωλήσατε, πλῆν ὀλίγων τῶν καὶ πάνω χρησίμων σοι καὶ ἀναγκαίων, καὶ τὸ ἀργυρίου τοῦτο πάν ἐπὶ μετρίοις τισί τόκοις 4 ἐκδανείσαί. οὔτω γὰρ ἢ τε γῆ ἐνεργος ἔσται, δεσπόταις αὐτοῦργοις δοθεῖσα, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἀφορ-μὴν λαβόντες εὑπορώτεροι γενήσονται, τὸ τε  
1 δεησόμεθα Dind., δεηθησόμεθα VM.  
2 ἀμισθὶ St., ἀμισθεὶ VM.  
3 τινας Μ, τινα V.  
4 οὔτω Μ, οὔτως V.
business, and the rest will find it easier to carry on their farming, seafaring, and the other pursuits appropriate to peace, if they are not compelled to take part in military expeditions but have others to act as their defenders. Thus the most active and vigorous element of the population, which is generally obliged to gain its livelihood by brigandage, will support itself without molesting others, while all the rest will live without incurring dangers.

"From what source, then, is the money to be provided for these soldiers and for the other expenses that will of necessity be incurred? I shall explain this point also, prefacing it with a brief reminder that even if we have a democracy we shall in any case, of course, need money. For we cannot survive without soldiers, and men will not serve as soldiers without pay. Therefore let us not be oppressed by the idea that the necessity of raising money belongs only to a monarchy, and let us not be led by that consideration to turn our backs upon this form of government, but let us assume in our deliberations that, under whatever form of government we shall live, we shall certainly be constrained to secure funds. My proposal, therefore, is that you shall first of all sell the property that belongs to the state,—and I observe that this has become vast on account of the wars,—reserving only a little that is distinctly useful or necessary to you; and that you lend out all the money thus realized at a moderate rate of interest. In this way not only will the land be put under cultivation, being sold to owners who will cultivate it themselves, but also the latter will acquire a capital and become more prosperous, while the treasury will gain a permanent revenue that will
δημόσιον διαρκή καὶ ἀδάνατον πρόσοδον ἔξει. εἶτα συλλογίσασθαι ταύτα τε καὶ τάλλα ὡσα ἐκ τε μεταλλείας καὶ εἰ δὴ ποθεν ἀλλοθεν βεβαιῶς
5 δύναται προσεῖναι, καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ ἀντιλογίσασθαι μὴ μόνον τὰ στρατιωτικά ἀλλὰ καὶ τάλλα πάντα δι’ ὅν καλῶς πόλις οἰκεῖται, καὶ προσεῖ
6 καὶ ὡσα ἐς τε τὰς αἰφνιδίους στρατείας καὶ ἐς τὰ λοιπά ὡσα εἰσθεν ἐπὶ καιροῦ συμβαίνειν, ἀναγ-
7 ἀπολαύσοντας), καὶ σφων ἐκλογέας τοὺς ἐπι-
8 τροπεύσοντας ἑκασταχθεῖν ποιῆσαι, ὡστε αὐτοὺς
9 λέγω δὲ τὸ 3 κατ’ ὁλίγον σφας ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν
10 εἰς τοῖς τέλοις καθισταμένων ἀχθεσθήσονται; ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑκεῖνοι οἴδα ὅτι, ἄν μὴ τε προσεπηρεῖσθωντα
29 “Καὶ οὔκ ἀγνοῶ μὲν ὅτι τινὲς τῶν τε φόρων καὶ
tοῦ τελῶν καθισταμένων ἀχθεσθήσονται; ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑκεῖνοι οἴδα ὅτι, ἄν μὴ τε προσεπηρεῖσθων
tοῦ ἐργῶ πεισθῶσιν ὅτι πάντα ταύτα καὶ

1 ἐπικαρπίαν Ἔ. ἐπὶ καρπίαν Β.
2 ἀπολαύσοντας Ρ. Στεφ., ἀπολαύσοντας ΒΜ.
3 τὸ Ρ. Στεφ., τοῦ ΒΜ.
BOOK LII

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

"I am not unaware that some will object if this system of assessments and taxes is established. But I know this, too,—that if they are subjected to no further abuses and are indeed convinced that all these contributions of theirs will make for their own
2 ἀδεδῶς καρποῦσθαι συνεσεῖσον, καὶ προσέτι 1 τὰ πλεῖω αὐτῶν οὐχ ἔτεροι τινες ἅλλ᾽ αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι, οἱ μὲν ἀρχοντες οἱ δὲ ἐπιτροπεύοντες οἱ δὲ στρατευόμενοι, λήψονται, καὶ πάνυ πολλὴν χάριν εἰσονται σοι, βραχέα ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὡν ἄν μηδὲν ἐπηρεαζόμενοι καρπῶνται διδόντες, ἅλλως τε κἂν ὁρῶσι σε σωφρόνως τε διαιτῶμενον καὶ μηδέν μάτην παραναλίσκοντα. τίς γὰρ οὔκ ἄν ἰδὼν σε πρὸς μὲν τὰ οἰκεία φειδωλότατον πρὸς δὲ τὰ κοινὰ ἀφειδέστατον ὄντα, ἐθελοῦτι συντελεσειὲ τι, καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἐνυπορίαν ἑαυτοῦ τὸ σὲ πλούτειν εἶναι νομίζων;

30 "Χρήματα μὲν δὴ καὶ πάνυ πολλὰ ἐκ τούτων ὑπάρξειεν ἄνν τὰ δὲ δὴ λοιπὰ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον διοικεῖν σοι παραινώ. τὸ μὲν ἄστυ τοῦτο καὶ κατακόσμει πάση πολυτελεία καὶ ἐπιλάμπρυνε παντὶ εἶδει πανηγύρεων προσήκει οἱ γὰρ ἡμᾶς πολλῶν ἀρχοντας ὑπ᾽ ἐν πᾶσι πάντων ὑπερέχειν, καὶ φέρει πως καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους αἰδῶ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ-πληξιν. τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἅλλων ὡδὲ διέσπε. πρῶτον μὲν οἱ δὴμοι μήτε κύριοι τίνος ἔστωσαν μήτε ἐς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ παράπαν φαιτάτωσαν οὕτε γὰρ ἀγαθὸν 2 οὐδὲν φρονήσειαν ἀν καὶ συχνὰ ἀν ἀεὶ 3 ταράξειαν. οὖθεν οὐδὲ τὸν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν δὴμον οὕτε 4 ἐς δικαστήριον οὕτε ἐς ἀρχαιρεσίας, οὕτε ἐς ἅλλου τινὰ τοιοῦτον σύλλογον ἐν ὧ τι καὶ χρηματι-
security and for their fearless enjoyment of the rest of their property, and that, again, the larger part of their contributions will be received by none but themselves, as governors, procurators, or soldiers, they will be exceedingly grateful to you, since they will be giving but a slight portion of the abundance from which they derive the benefit without having to submit to abuses. Especially will this be true if they see that you live temperately and spend nothing foolishly. For who, if he saw that you were quite frugal in your expenditures for yourself and quite lavish in those for the commonwealth, would not willingly contribute, believing that your wealth meant his own security and prosperity?

"So far as funds are concerned, therefore, a great abundance would be supplied from these sources. And I advise you to conduct as follows the administration of such matters as have not yet been mentioned. Adorn this capital with utter disregard of expense and make it magnificent with festivals of every kind. For it is fitting that we who rule over many people should surpass all men in all things, and brilliance of this sort, also, tends in a way to inspire our allies with respect for us and our enemies with terror. The affairs of the other cities you should order in this fashion: In the first place, the populace should have no authority in any matter, and should not be allowed to convene in any assembly at all; for nothing good would come out of their deliberations and they would always be stirring up a good deal of turmoil. Hence it is my opinion that our populace here in Rome, for that matter, should not come together either as a court or to hold the elections, or indeed in any meeting whose object is
3 σθήναι δει, συνιέναι φημὶ χρήναι. ἔπειτα δὲ μὴ τ' οἰκοδομημάτων πλήθεσιν ἢ καὶ μεγέθεσιν ὑπὲρ τάναγκαια χρήσθωσαν, μὴ τ' ἀγώνων πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἀναλώμασι δαπανάσθωσαν, ἵνα μὴ τε σπουδαῖοι ματαίαι ἐκτρύχωνται μὴ τε φιλοτιμίαις
4 ἀλόγοις πολεμῶνται. ἐχέτωσαν μὲν γὰρ καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ θεωρίας τινὰς, χωρίς τῆς ἰπποδρομίας τῆς παρ' ἦμῶν ποιουμένης, μὴ μέντοι ὁστε καὶ τὸ δημόσιον ἢ καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους οἴκους λυμαίνεσθαι, ξένου τε τινὰ ἀναγκάζεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁσιαν ἀναλίσκειν, καὶ σίτησιν ἄθανατον πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς τοῖς ἀγώνι τινα νικήσασι δίδοσθαι.
5 τοὺς τε γὰρ εὐπόρους ἀλογόν ἐστιν ἐξω τῷ τῶν πατρίδων ἀναγκαστοῦς δαπανῶν, καὶ τοῖς ἀγωνισταῖς ἀπόχρη τὰ ἄθλα τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις τιθέμενα, χωρίς ἢ εἴ τις αὐτῶν Ὀλυμπία ἢ
6 Πύθια ἢ τινα ἑνταῦθα ἀγώνα ἀνέλοιτο· τοὺς γὰρ τοιούτους μόνους στείεσθαι δεῖ, ἵνα μήτε αἰ πόλεις μάτην ἐπιτρίβωμαι μὴτε ἐξω τις τῶν ἀξιονικῶν ἀσκῆ, δυνάμενος ἀλλο τὶ χρησιμότερον καὶ ἐαυτῷ καὶ τῷ κοινῷ μετιέναι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων
7 ταῦτα γυγώσκω, τάς ἰπποδρομίας τάς ἄνευ τῶν γυμνικῶν ἀγώνων ἐπιτελουμένας οὐχ ἠγούμαι δείν ἄλλη των πόλει πολείν ἐπιτρέπειν, ὅπως μὴτε χρήματα παμπληθῆ εἰκὴ παραπολλύται μὴθ'

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

¹ He has reference to the Circensian games in Rome.
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οἱ ἀνθρώποι κακῶς ἐκμαίνονται, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ἢν οἱ στρατευόμενοι τοὺς ἀρίστους ὑποίοις ἀφθονοὶ νως χρήσθαι ἔχωσι. τούτο μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτ' ἀπαγορεύω παντάπασι μηδαμόθι ἀλλοθι πλὴν ἐνταῦθα γίγνεσθαι, τὰ δὲ δὴ λοιπὰ ἐμετρίασα, ἢν εὐδαπάνους τὰς ἀπολαύσεις καὶ τῶν θεωρημάτων καὶ τῶν ἀκουσμάτων ὡς ἐκαστοί ποιούμενοι καὶ σωφρονέστεροι καὶ ἀστασιαστότερον διάγωσι.

9 "Μήτε δὲ νομίσματα ἢ καὶ σταθμὰ ἢ μέτρα ἰδία τις αὐτῶν ἐχέτω, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἥμετέροις καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντες χρήσθωσαν μήτε προσβείαν τινὰ πρὸς σὲ, πλὴν εἰ πράγμα τι διαγγώσεως ἐχόμενον εἰη, πεπέτωσαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τε ἀρχοντὶ σφῶν δηλούτωσαν ὁσα βούλονται, καὶ δὴ ἐκείνου¹ σοὶ² τὰς ἄξιόσεις, ὁσα ἄν δοκιμάσῃ, προσφερέτωσαν.

10 οὕτω γὰρ οὕτ' ἀναλώσουσι τι οὕτ' αἰσχρῶς διαπέραξονται, ἀλλ' ἀκεραίους τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀνευ δαπάνης ἢ καὶ πραγματείας τινὸς λήψονται.

31 "Καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὰλλα ὅδ' ἂν μοι δοκεῖς³ ἀριστα διατάξαι, ἀν πρῶτον μὲν τὰς προσβείας τὰς τε παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἐνσπόνδων καὶ βασιλέων καὶ δήμων ἀφικνουμένας ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσάγης (τὰ τὲ γὰρ ἀλλὰ καὶ σεμών καὶ ἀξιόλογον ἐστὶ τὸ τε τὴν βουλήν πάντων κυρίαν δοκεῖν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ πολλοὺς τοὺς

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

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

"Moreover (to pass to other matters), it seems to
me that you would be adopting the best arrangement
if you should, in the first place, introduce before the
senate the embassies which come from the enemy
and from those under treaty with us, whether kings
or democracies; for, among other considerations, it
is both awe-inspiring and calculated to arouse com-
ment for the impression to prevail that the senate
has full authority in all matters and for all men to be
fully aware that those envoys who are unfair in their
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άντιπάλους τοῖς ἀγνωμονοῦσιν αὐτῶν φαίνεσθαι),
2 ἑπειτα δὲ ἄν πάντα τὰ νομοθετοῦμενα δι' αὐτῶν ποιῆ, καὶ μηδὲν τοῦ παράπαν ἄλλο ἐπὶ πάντας ὁμοίως φέρῃ πλὴν τῶν ἐκείνης δογμάτων· οὕτω γὰρ τὸ τε ἀξίωμα τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς μᾶλλον ἂν βεβαιοῖτο, καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα τὰκ τῶν νόμων καὶ ἀναμφίλογα καὶ διάδηλα πᾶσιν ἃμα γίγνοιτο. ¹
3 τρίτον, ἂν τοὺς τε βουλευτὰς τους ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τὰς τε γυναικὰς αὐτῶν, ἂν ποτὲ τινὰ αἰτίαν βαρυτέραν, ὡστε τὸν ἄλοντα σφῶν ἀτιμίαν ἢ φυγῆν ἢ καὶ θάνατον ὠφλεῖν, λάβωσιν, ὑπὸ τε τὸ βουλευτήριον ὑπάγης μηδὲν
4 προκαταγνούσι, καὶ ἐκεῖνῳ πάσαν τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν διαψήφισιν ἀκέραιον ἐπιτρέπετης, ἵνα οἳ τε ἀδικοῦν τέσ τι ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ὀμοτίμοις ἐλεγχόμενοι κολάζωνται χωρὶς τοῦ σοῦ φθόνου, καὶ οἳ ἄλλοι ταῦθ' ὀρῶντες βελτίως γίγνονται φόβῳ τοῦ μή καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκδημοσιευθῆναι.
5 "Καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι περὶ ἐκεῖνων τῶν ἀδικημάτων, περὶ δὲ ὅτι οἳ τε νόμοι κεῖνται καὶ αἱ κρίσεις αἱ κατ' αὐτοὺς γίγνονται, λέγω· τὸ γὰρ ὅτι τις ἐλοιδόρησε σε ἡ καὶ ἐτερὸν τι ἀνεπτυτῆδειν εἶπε, μὴ ἄκουσης ποτὲ κατηγοροῦντος τινος μήτε ἕπεξέλθης. αἰσχρὸν μὲν γὰρ τὸ πιστεύειν ὅτι τις μήτε τι ἀδικοῦντά σε καὶ ἑνεργετοῦντα πάντας

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

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

¹ As distinguished from those of the senatorial order who have not yet gained admission to the senate.
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προεπηλάκισε, καὶ μόνοι τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν οἵ κακῶς ἄρχοντες· ἕκ γὰρ τού συνεδότος καὶ τὸ πιστὸν 7 τῶν λεγομένων εἰρήσθαι τεκμαίρονται· δεινὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ χαλεπαίνειν ἐπὶ τοὺς τοιοῦτοις, ἂ εἰ μὲν ἀληθῆ εἴη, κρείττον ἐστὶ μὴ ποιεῖν, εἰ δὲ θευδὴ, μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι, ὡς πολλοὶ γε ἦδη διὰ τοῦτον πολὺ πλείω καὶ χαλεπώτερα λογοποιεῖσθαι καθ' 8 έαυτῶν ἑποίησαν. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν λόγω τοῖς προπηλακίζειν αἰτιαξομένων ταὐτ' ἐγὼ φρονῶ· κρείττω τέ γὰρ καὶ ὑψηλότερον πάσης ὑβρεως εἶναι σε χρῆ, καὶ μηδὲ εἰς ἐννοιῶν ποτε μὴ τ' αὐτὸν ἀφικνεῖσθαι μήτε τοὺς ἄλλους προάγειν ὃτι δύναται τις ἀσελγᾶνα τι ἐς σέ, ὡς περὶ τῶν θεῶν, οὕτως 1 καὶ περὶ σοῦ φρονῶσιν ὃτι σεπτοσ 9 εἰ. ἂν δὲ δὴ τις ἐπιβουλευεῖν σοι αἰτίαν λάβῃ (γένοιτο γὰρ ἃν τι καὶ τοιοῦτον), αὐτὸς μὲν μηδὲ περὶ ἐκεῖνος τι μήτε δικάςης μήτε προδιαγραφῆς (ἀτοπον γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ κατήγορον καὶ δικα- στὴν γίγνεσθαι), ὑπὸ 2 δὲ δὴ τὴν βουλὴν αὐτὸν ἀγαγῶν ἀπολογήσασθαι τε ποίησον, κἂν ἑλεγχῇ, κόλασον μετρίασας ὡς οἶδον τέ ἐστι τὸ τιμῶρημα, 10 ἣν καὶ πιστευθῇ τὸ ἀδίκημα. χαλεπώτατα γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ πείθονται ὅτι τις ἀστόλος ὅν ἐπιβουλ- λεύει τῷ ὁπλισμένῳ καὶ μόνως ἃν οὕτως αὐτῶν τύχοις, εἰ μήτε πρὸς ὀργήν μήτ' ἀνηκέστως, ἐφ' ὅσον γε καὶ ἐνδέχεται, τὴν τιμωρίαν αὐτοῦ ποιοῦ. λέγω δὲ ταύτα Ἰχώρις ἢ εἰ τις στράτευμά τι ἔχωι 1 οὕτω M, om. V. 2 ὑπὸ Bs., ἐπὶ VM.
wrong and are but conferring benefits upon all, and it is only those who are ruling badly who believe such things; for they draw evidence from their own conscience of the credibility of the alleged slanders. And it is, furthermore, a dangerous thing even to show anger at such imputations (for if they are true, it were better not to be angry, and if they are false, it were better to pretend not to be angry), since many a man in times past has, by adopting this course, caused to be circulated against himself scandals far more numerous and more difficult to bear. This, then, is my advice concerning those who are accused of calumniating you; for you should be superior to any insult and too exalted to be reached by it, and you should never allow yourself even to imagine, or lead others to imagine, that it is possible for any one to treat you with contumely, since you desire that men shall think of you, as they do of the gods, that your sanctity is inviolable. If, however, any one is accused of plotting against you (and such a thing might also happen), refrain, in his case also, from either giving judgment yourself or prejudging the charge (for it is absurd that the same man should be both accuser and judge), but bring him before the senate and let him plead his defence there, and, if he is convicted, punish him, moderating the sentence as far as possible, in order that belief in his guilt may be fostered. For most men are very reluctant to believe that an unarmed man is plotting against one who is armed; and the only way you can win them to the belief is by showing, so far as possible, neither resentment nor the desire to exact the utmost when you inflict the penalty. But I make an exception to this rule in
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ἀντικρυς ἐπανασταίη; οὐδὲ γὰρ δικάζεσθαι τὸν 
τοιοῦτον που προσήκεν, ἀλλ' ἐν πολεμίοιν μοίρα 
κολάζεσθαι.

32 "Ταῦτα τε οὖν οὕτω, καὶ τᾶλα τὰ πλείστα 
καὶ μέγιστα τῶν τῷ δημοσίῳ προσηκόντων, τῷ 
γερουσίᾳ ἀνατίθει. τά τε γὰρ κοινὰ κοινῶς διοι-
κεῖσθαι δεῖ, καὶ ἐστὶ ποιν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐμ-
φυτον καὶ τὸ χαίρειν ἐφ' οἷς ἄν παρὰ τοῦ κρείτ-
τονος ὡς καὶ ἰσότιμοι αὐτῷ ὄντες ἄξιωθώσι, καὶ 
τὸ πάντα τὰ μετὰ σφῶν τινὶ γνωσθέντα καὶ 
ἐπαινεῖν ὡς οἰκεία καὶ ἀγαπᾶν ὡς αὐθαίρετα.

2 ἐς μὲν οὖν τὸ βουλευτήριον τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐσφέρε-
σθαι φημί χρήναι, καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων 
πάντας ὡμοίως τοὺς παρόντας γνώμην διδόναι, 
ὅταν δὲ δὴ κατηγορῆται τις αὐτῶν, μὴ πάντας, 
πλην ἄν τις ἢ µηδέπω βουλεύῃ ἢ καὶ ἐν τοῖς 
3 τεταμενυκοσίων ἔτο ἄν κρίνηται. ἀτοποῦ γὰρ τὸν 
µηδέπω δεδηµαρχήκοτα ἢ ἡγορανοµήκοτα ψήφων 
kατὰ τινος τῶν τοιοῦτων φέρειν, ἢ νὴ ∆ία τούτων 
tινὰ κατὰ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων, ἢ καὶ ἐκείνων 
kατὰ τῶν ὑπατευκότων. ἀλλ' οὕτωι μὲν ἐπὶ 
πάντας τὴν τοῦ τι ἀποφήνασθαι ἐξουσίαν ἐχέτω-
sαν, οὶ δ' ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τε τοὺς ὡμοίους καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς 
ὑποδειστέρους.

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

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

"But do you judge by yourself alone the cases which come to you on appeal or reference from the higher
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άρχόντων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων, τοῦ τε πολιάρχου καὶ τοῦ ύποτιμητοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐπάρχων τοῦ τῶν σῖτων ἐπισκοποῦντος καὶ τοῦ νυκτοφυλακοῦντος, ἀφικυήταις μήτε γὰρ αὐτόδικος μήτε αὐτοτελῆς οὔτω τις τὸ παράπαν. ἦστοι ὡστε μὴ

2 οὐκ ἐφέσιμοι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δίκην γίγνεσθαι. ταῦτά τε όν χρίνε, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰππεῶν τῶν τε ἐκατοντάρχων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τῶν πρώτων, ὅταν περὶ θανατώσεως ἢ καὶ άτιμίας τινὸς ἀγανίζονται. σοὶ γὰρ δὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα μόνῳ προσκείσθω, καὶ μηδεὶς ἄλλος περὶ αὐτῶν αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν, δὴ ἀπερ εἴποιν, δικαζέτω.

3 μετὰ γὰρ δὴ σοῦ ἄεὶ μὲν οἱ ἐντυμώτατοι καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἰππεῶν, ἣδη δὲ καὶ ἐτεροί τινες ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγικότων ἄλλοι ἄλλοτε διαγγελλόμενοι, ἵνα σὺ τοὺς τρόπους αὐτῶν ἀκριβέστερον ἐν τούτῳ προκαταλημναν ὅρθως σφίσσων ἔχης χρῆσθαι, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι προσφυγιγνώμονες τοῖς τε ἦθεσι καὶ τοῖς βουλεύμασι σου οὕτως ἐς τὰς τῶν ἑβδόμων

4 ἡγεμονίας ἐξίσωσι. τὰς μέντοι γνώμας αὐτῶν μὴ φανερῶς, ὅσα γε καὶ ἐπισκέψεως ἀκριβεστέρας δέονται, διαπυνθάνουν, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς προῆκουσί σφῶν ἐφεσιμενοι κατοκινῆσαι παρρησιάζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐς γραμματεία γραφομένας, οἷς αὐτὸς μόνος ἐντυχῶν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδεὶς ἄλλος ἐκδήλους αὐτὰς γίγνεσθαι, εὐθέως αὐτὰς ἀπαλείφεσθαι κέλευς οὕτω γὰρ ἄν ἐπάλαντα τὴν ἐκάστου γνώμην διακρί-

1 κρίνε R. Steph., κρίναι VM.
2 δὴ R. Steph., δεῖ VM.
3 προσφυγιγνώμονει Χυλ., προσφυγιγνώμονει VM.
4 μὴ M, om. V.
5 προῆκουσί Rk., προσήκουσι VM.

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

1 Praefectus annonae and praefectus vigilum.
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βῶσειας, εἰ ἀνέλεγκτον αὐτὴν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις πιστεύσειαν ἐσεσθαι.

5 “Καὶ μέντοι καὶ πρὸς τὰς δίκας τὰς τε ἐπιστολὰς καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τῶν πόλεων τὰς τε τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἀξιώσεις, καὶ ὁσα ἄλλα τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς διοικήσει προσήκει, συνεργούσ τε τινας καὶ ὑπηρέτας ἐκ τῶν ἰππεῶν ἔχει τραύν τε γὰρ οὐτως ὡς ἐκαστα διαχωρίσει, καὶ σὺ οὔτ' αὐτογνω-

6 μονὸν σφαλήσῃ οὔτ' αὐτουργῶν ἐκκαμὴ. τὴν τε παρρησίαν παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ καὶ ὅτιον συμ-βουλεύσαι σοι μετὰ ἄδειας νέμει· ἂν τε γὰρ ἀρεσθῆς τοῖς λεχθείσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, πολλὰ ὁφελήσῃ,1 ἂν τε καὶ μὴ πεισθῆς, οὐδὲν βλαβήσῃ.

7 καὶ τοὺς μὲν τυχόντας τῆς γνώμης καὶ ἐπαίνει καὶ τίμα (τοῖς γὰρ ἐκεῖνων ἐξευρήμασιν αὐτὸς εὐδοκιμήσεις), τοὺς δ' ἀμαρτόντας μητ' ἀτιμάσης ποτὲ μητ' αἰτιάσῃ· τὴν γὰρ διάνοιαν αὐτῶν δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἄλλ' οὖ τὴν οὐκ ἐπιτυχίαν μέμφεσθαι.

8 τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τούτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν φύλαττε, καὶ μήτε ἐπὶ δυστυχία ἀκουσίω χαλεπήνησ' τινὶ μήτε ἐπὶ εὐτυχία φθονῆσι, ἱνα καὶ προδύμως καὶ ἰδέως πάντες ὑπὲρ σοῦ κινδυνεύσως, πιστεύστης ὅτι οὔτε πταίσαντες τι κολασθήσονται

9 οὔτε κατορθώσαντες ἐπιβουλευθήσονται. πολλοὶ γοῦν τὸν παρὰ τῶν τὸ κράτος ἐχόντων φθόνον

1 ὁφελήσῃ R. Steph., ὁφελήσει VM, ὁφεληθήσῃ flor.
precise opinion would be to give him the certainty that his vote cannot be detected among the rest.

"Moreover, for your judicial work and your correspondence, to help you attend to the decrees of the states and the petitions of private individuals, and for all other business which belongs to the administration of the empire, you must have men chosen from the knights to be your helpers and assistants. For all the details of administration will move along more easily in this way, and you will neither err through relying upon your own judgment nor become exhausted through relying upon your own efforts. Grant to every one who wishes to offer you advice, on any matter whatever, the right to speak freely and without fear of the consequences; for if you are pleased with what he says you will be greatly benefited, and if you are not convinced it will do you no harm. Those who win your favourable opinion for their suggestions you should both commend and honour, since you yourself will gain credit through their discoveries; but do not treat with disrespect or criticise those who fail of your approval, since it is their intentions that you should consider, and their lack of success should not call forth your censure. Guard against this same mistake in matters of warfare, also; give way neither to anger against a man for an unintentional misfortune nor to jealousy for a piece of good fortune, that all may zealously and gladly incur danger for your sake, confident that if they meet with any reverse they will not be punished for it and that if they gain success they will not have snares laid for them. There have been many, at any rate, who through fear of jealousy on the
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φοβούμενοι σφαλήναι τῷ μᾶλλον ἢ καταπράξαι προειλοντο, κἂκ τούτον τὸ μὲν ἀσφαλὲς αὐτοὶ ἔσχον, τὸ δὲ δὴ1 ζημίωμα ἐκεῖνοις προσετρίψαντο. ὡστε αὐτῶς τὸ πλεῖον ἀπ’ ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως καὶ τῶν χειρόνων καὶ τῶν ἀμεινών ἀπολαύσων, μηδέποτε ἔθελήσης λόγῳ μὲν ἄλλοις ἔργῳ δὲ σαυτῷ φθονήσαι.

34 ‘‘Πάνθ’ ὅσα τούς ἀρχομένους καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ πράττειν βούλει, καὶ λέγε καὶ ποίει. οὔτω γὰρ ἄν μᾶλλον παideύσειας αὐτοὺς ἢ ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίαις2 δειματάσειας: τὸ μὲν γὰρ ζῆλον τὸ δὲ φόβον ἔχει, καὶ ράδον τις μιμεῖται τὰ κρείττω, ὥρον ἔργῳ γιγνόμενα, ἢ φυλάττεται τὰ χείρω, ἀκούν τόν γὰρ κεκωλυμένα. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀκριβῶς πάντα πράττε, μηδεμίαν συγγνώμην σεαυτῷ3 νέμων, ὡστε καὶ εὐ εἰδῶς ὅτι παραχρήμα πάντες καὶ ὅσα ἄν εἴπης καὶ ὅσα ἄν ποιήσῃς μαθήσονται. καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν ἐνι τις τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης θεάτρῳ ζήσῃ, καὶ οὕχ οἶνον τέ σοι ἔσται όὐδὲ βραχύτατον ἀμαρτόντι διαλαθεῖν οὔτε γὰρ κατὰ μόνας ποτὲ ἄλλα καὶ μετὰ συγχών ἁεῖ τι πράξεις, καὶ πολυπραγμονοῦσι πως τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων γιγνόμενα καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἥδιστα, ὡστ’ ἄν ἀπαξ καταμάθωσι σε ἄλλα μὲν αὐτοῖς προαγορεύοντα ἄλλα δὲ αὐτὸν ποιοῦντα, οὐ τὰς ἀπειλὰς σου φοβηθήσονται4 ἄλλα τὰ ἔργα μιμήσονται.

3 λαθεῖν οὔτε γὰρ κατὰ μόνας ποτὲ ἄλλα καὶ μετὰ συγχών ἁεῖ τι πράξεις, καὶ πολυπραγμονοῦσι πως τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων γιγνόμενα καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἥδιστα, ὡστ’ ἄν ἀπαξ καταμάθωσι σε ἄλλα μὲν αὐτοῖς προαγορεύοντα ἄλλα δὲ αὐτὸν ποιοῦντα, οὐ τὰς ἀπειλὰς σου φοβηθήσονται 4 ἄλλα τὰ ἔργα μιμήσονται.

4 ‘‘Τὸν δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων βίον ἐπισκόπει μὲν, μὴ μέντοι καὶ χαλέπως ἐξέταζε, ἄλλ’ ὅσα μὲν ἄν ύφ'

1 δὴ M, om. V flor. 2 tii'mo'rias flor., om. VM. 3 seavtroph flor. B, éautroph VM flor. A. 4 φοβηθήσονται VM, φοβηθήσονται flor. 166
part of those in power have chosen to accept defeat rather than achieve success, and as a result have gained safety for themselves while inflicting the loss upon their rulers. Therefore, since you yourself stand to reap the major part of the fruits of both outcomes, the failures as well as the successes, you should never consent to become jealous, nominally of others, but really of yourself.

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

"You should, of course, supervise the lives of your subjects, but do not scrutinise them with too much rigour. Sit in judgment upon all offences reported
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τῶν ἔσάγηται, κρῖνε,1 ὅσα δ' ἂν ὑπὸ μηδενὸς αἰτιάζηται, μηδὲ προσποιοῦ εἰδέναι, ἐξω
5 τὰ ὅτι τὸ δημόσιον πλημμελουμένων. ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπιστροφῆς, κἂν μηδεὶς ἐγκαλῇ, τυγχάνειν ὁφείλει τα δὲ ἄλλα τὰ ἱδιωτικὰ ὑσθι μὲν, ὡμὴ καὶ 2 σφαλῆς ποτὲ ἀνεπιτηδείω τινὶ ὑπηρέτῃ πρὸς τι χρησάμενος,
6 μὴ μέντοι καὶ ἐξέλεγχε. πολλὰ γὰρ ἡ φύσις καὶ παρὰ τῶν νόμων πολλοὺς ἄμαρτάνειν ἐξάγει, οἷς ἄν μὲν ἀκριβῶς τις ἐπεξή, η τινὰ ἢ οὐδένα ἄν αὐτῶν ἀτιμώρητον καταλίποι, ἄν δ' ἄνθρωπίως τὸ ἐπεικὲς τῷ νεομοιμένῳ παραμιγνύῃ, τάχ' ἂν
7 καὶ σωφρονίσεις αὐτούς. ὁ μὲν γὰρ νόμος, καίτοι ἰσχυρὰ τὰ κολάσματα ἀναγκαῖος ποιούμενος, οὗ δύναται τῆς φύσεως αἱ κρατεῖν τῶν δ' ἄνθρωπῶν τινὲς λανθάνειν μὲν δόξαντες ἢ καὶ μετρίως πῶς νοσθετηθέντες ἀμένους γίγνονται, οἱ μὲν αἰσχυνόμενοι ἐλεγκθῆναι οἱ δὲ αἰδούμενοι
8 πάλιν σφαλήναι, φανερωθέντες δὲ καὶ ἀπερυθριάσαντες ἢ καὶ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου κολασθέντες τὰ τε νεομισμένα πάντα συγχέουσι καὶ καταπατοῦσι, καὶ μόναις ταῖς τῆς φύσεως ὑρμαῖς δουλεύουσι. κακὸς τούτου οὐτε τὸ πάντας αὐτὸς κολάζειν ῥάδιον, οὕτε τὸ περιοραν φανερῶς τινὰς ἀσελγαῖνοντας εὐπρεπὲς γίγνεται.
9 "Τὰ μὲν δὴ οὐν ἁμαρτήματα τῶν ἄνθρωπῶν τούτων σοι τὸν τρόπον, πλὴν τῶν πάνω ἀνηκέστων,

1 κρῖνε R. Steph., κρῖναι VM.
2 μὴ καὶ M, καὶ μὴ V.
BOOK LII

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

"Now this is the way I advise you to deal with men's shortcomings, with the exception of those
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metrochairoiesethai parain, tα δ' orðow υπ' αυτων
γιγνομενα και υπερ την αξιαν των έργων τιμαν
ουτω γαρ αν μαλιστα ποιησεια αυτως των τε
χειρονων απεχεσθαι, τη φιλανθρωπια, και των
10 βελτιωνων εφιεσθαι, τη μεγαλουργια. μη γαρ τοι
καταδεικης μηθοτ επιλειψει σε ποτε η χρηματα
η ταλλα οις τους αγαθον τι ποιουντας αμειψη
(πολυ γαρ μαλλον έγωγε ελαττους αυτων τους ει
τι παθειν αξιους ομας γενησεσθαι, τοσαυτης σου
και γης και θαλαττης άρχοντος), μηθοτ 5τι τινε
11 ευεργετηθεντες αχαριστως τι πραξουσιν ουδεν
γαρ ουτω και δουλοι και οικειουταί τινα, και
αλλοτριος καιν έχθρος ουν την, ως το μητ' αδικει-
σθαι και προσετι και ευ πασχειν.
35 "Προς μεν ουν τους αλλους ουτω σοι προσφε-
ρεσθαι γημονη διδωμι σαυτω δε δη μητε εξαλλον
τι μηθυ υπερηφανον μητε παρα των αλλων μητε
παρα της βουλης η εργω η και λογω δοθεν περι-
2 ιδης τοις μεν γαρ αλλοις κοσμον η παρα σοι
τιμη φερει, σοι δ' αυτω μειζου μεν των υπαρχον-
tων ουδεν αν δοθειν, υποψια δ' αν κιβδηλιας
πολλη προσγευνοται και γαρ τοι των μεν αλλων
ουδεις εκων τοιουτο τι τω κρατουντε ψηφιζεσθαι
δοκει παντα δε δη τις αυτα αυτως παρ' εαυτων
λαμβανον ων ωςου ουκ επαινον ίσχει, αλλα και
3 γέλωτα προσοφλισκαιει. την τε ουν αλλην
λαμπρωτητα σαυτω1 δια των αγαθον εργων
παρασκευαζε, και εικονας σου χρυσας μεν η και
αργυρας μηδεποτε επιτρεψης γενεσθαι (ου γαρ
μονον δαπανηραι αλλα και ευεπιβούλευτοι και

1 σαυτω R. Steph., αυτω VM.

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

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

διιγοχρόνιοι εἰσιν), ἄλλας δὲ ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχαῖς καὶ ἀκηράτους καὶ ἀθανάτους
4 ἦ δὰν ἐνεργεσίων δημιουργεῖ. μὴ μέντοι μηδὲ ναόν
ποτε περιήγης σαντῷ γενόμενου. μάτην γὰρ
παμπληθὴ χρήματα ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀναλίσκεται,
δὲ κρεῖττον ἔστω ἐς τὰ ἀναγκαία δαπανᾶσθαι
(πλοῦτος γὰρ ἀκριβῆς οὐχ οὕτως ἐκ τοῦ πολλὰ
λαμβάνειν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ μὴ πολλὰ ἀναλίσκειν ἄθροι-
ζεται), καὶ ἐς εὐκλειαν οὐδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν προσγί-
5 γεται. ἀρετὴ μὲν γὰρ ἰσοθέους πολλοὺς ποιεῖ,
χειροτενητὸς δ' οὕτως πῶποτε θεὸς ἐγένετο, ὡστε
σοὶ μὲν ἄγαθῳ τε οὐτὶ καὶ καλῶς ἄρχοντι πᾶσα
μὲν γῆ τεμένισμα ἔσται, πᾶσαι δὲ πόλεις ναοὶ,1
πάντες δὲ ἀνθρωποὶ ἀγάλματα (ἐν γὰρ ταῖς γυνώ-
6 μαις αὐτῶν ἂεὶ μετ' εὐδοξίας ἐνιδρυθήσῃ), τοὺς δ' ἅ
ἄλλος πως τὰ κράτη διεσπορτᾶς οὐ μόνον οὐ
σεμνύνει τὰ τοιαῦτα, κἂν ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν
ἐξαιρεθῇ, ἄλλα καὶ προσδιαβάλλει, τρόπαια τέ
τινα τῆς κακίας αὐτῶν καὶ μηνιεία τῆς ἀδικίας
γιγνόμενα. ὡσφ' ἐν ἐπὶ πλείων ἀνταρκέσῃ,
τοσούτω μᾶλλον καὶ ἡ κακοδοξία αὐτῶν διαμένει.
36 ὡστ' εἶτερ ἀθάνατος οὗτος ἐπιθυμεῖς γενέσθαι,
ταῦτα τε οὕτω πράττε, καὶ προσέτι τοῦ μὲν θεῖον
πάντη πάντως αὐτὸς τε σέβου κατὰ τὰ πάτρια
καὶ τοὺς ἅλλους τιμᾶν ἀνάγκαζε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ ἐξιν-
2 ἔκοτάς τι περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ μίσει καὶ κόλαζε, μὴ
μόνον τῶν θεῶν ἑνεκα, ὡν ὡς Καταφρονήσας οὐδ'
destruction and last only a brief time; but rather by your benefactions fashion other images in the hearts of your people, images which will never tarnish or perish. Neither should you ever permit the raising of a temple to you; for the expenditure of vast sums of money on such objects is sheer waste. This money would better be used for necessary objects; for wealth which is really wealth is gathered, not so much by getting largely, as by saving largely. Then, again, from temples comes no enhancement of one's glory. For it is virtue that raises many men to the level of gods, and no man ever became a god by popular vote. Hence, if you are upright as a man and honourable as a ruler, the whole earth will be your hallowed precinct, all cities your temples, and all men your statues, since within their thoughts you will ever be enshrined and glorified. As for those, on the contrary, who administer their realms in any other way, such honours not only do not lend holiness to them, even though shrines are set apart for them in all their cities, but even bring a greater reproach upon them, becoming, as it were, trophies of their baseness and memorials of their injustice; for the longer these temples last, the longer abides the memory of their infamy. Therefore, if you desire to become in very truth immortal, act as I advise; and, furthermore, do you not only yourself worship the Divine Power everywhere and in every way in accordance with the traditions of our fathers, but compel all others to honour it. Those who attempt to distort our religion with strange rites you should abhor and punish, not merely for the sake of the gods (since if a man despises these he will not pay
ΔΙΟ'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἀλλού ἂν τινὸς προτιμήσειν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ καίνα 
tina διαμόνια οἱ τοιούτοι ἀντεσφέροντες πολλοὺς 
ἀναπείθουσιν ἀλλοτριομομεῖν, κὰκ τούτον καὶ 
συνωμοσίαι καὶ συστάσεις ἐταίρεια τε γίγνονται, 
ἅπερ ἦκιστα μοναρχία συμφέρει. μὴν οὖν ἄθεω
3 τινὶ μὴτε γόητι συγχωρήσῃς εἶναι. μαντικῇ μὲν 
γὰρ ἀναγκαία ἐστὶ, καὶ πάντως τινὰς καὶ ἱερόττας 
καὶ οἰωνιστὰς ἀπόδειξον, οἷς οἱ βουλὸμενοὶ τι 
κοινώσασθαι συνέσονται· τοὺς δὲ δὴ μαγευτὰς 
pάνυ οὐκ εἴναι προσήκει. πολλοὺς γὰρ πολλάκις 
oi τοιοῦτοι, τὰ μὲν τινὰ ἄληθῆ τὰ δὲ δὴ πλεῖο
4 ψευδὴ λέγοντες, νεοχμοῦν ἐπαίρουσι. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ 
toúto kai toûn φιλοσοφεῖν προσποιουμένων οὐκ 
ὁλίγοι δρῶσι· διὸ καὶ ἐκεῖνοις φυλάσσεσθαι σοι 
παραινῶ. μὴ γὰρ ὅτι καὶ Ἄρειον καὶ Ἀθηνο-
δώρου καλῶν καὶ ἅγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν τεπείρασαι, 
pίστευε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας τοὺς φιλοσοφεῖν 
λέγοντας ὁμοίους αὐτοῖς εἶναι· μυρία γὰρ κακὰ 
καὶ δήμους καὶ ἱδιότας τὸ πρόσχημά τινες τοῦτο 
προβαλλόμενοι δρῶσι.

37 "Τῇ μὲν οὖν γνώμη καὶ τῷ μηδενὸς πλείονος 
tῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐπιθυμεῖν εἰρηνικῶτατον εἶναι σε 
χρή, ταῖς δὲ παρασκευαῖς πολεμικῶτατον, ὡς 
μᾶλιστα μὲν μὴτε ἐθελήσῃ μὴτε ἐπιχειρήσῃ τις 
ἀδικήσαι σε, εἶ δὲ μῆ, ῥάδιω καὶ παραχρῆμα
2 κολασθῇ. καὶ ἐπειδῆ γε ἀναγκαίον ἐστὶ καὶ διὰ 
tαῦτα καὶ διὰ τὰλλα καὶ ὠτακουστεῖν τινὰς καὶ 
dιοπτεύειν πάντα τὰ τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ σου προσήκοντα, 
ίνα μηδὲν τῶν φυλακῆς τινὸς καὶ ἐπανορθώσεως

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honour to any other being), but because such men, by bringing in new divinities in place of the old, persuade many to adopt foreign practices, from which spring up conspiracies, factions, and cabals, which are far from profitable to a monarchy. Do not, therefore, permit anybody to be an atheist or a sorcerer. Soothsaying, to be sure, is a necessary art, and you should by all means appoint some men to be diviners and augurs, to whom those will resort who wish to consult them on any matter; but there ought to be no workers in magic at all. For such men, by speaking the truth sometimes, but generally falsehood, often encourage a great many to attempt revolutions. The same thing is done also by many who pretend to be philosophers; hence I advise you to be on your guard against them, too. Do not, because you have had experience of good and honourable men like Areius and Athenodorus,¹ believe that all the rest who claim to be philosophers are like them; for infinite harm, both to communities and to individuals, is worked by certain men who but use this profession as a screen.

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

¹ For Areius see li. 16, 4; for Athenodorus, lvi. 43, 2.
δεομένων ἀγνοής, μέμνησο ὅτι οὐ χρὴ πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς τοὺς λεγομένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν πιστεύειν, ἀλλ' 3 ἀκριβῶς αὐτὰ διασκοπεῖν. συχνῷ γὰρ, οἱ μὲν μισοῦντες τινας, οἱ δ' ἐπιθυμοῦντες ὅν ἔχουσιν, ἄλλοι χαριζόμενοί τισιν, ἄλλοι χρήματα αἰτήσαντές τινας καὶ μὴ λαβόντες, ἐπηρεάζουσιν αὐτοὺς ὡς νεωτερίζονται ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἀνεπιτή- δειον κατὰ τοῦ αὐταρχοῦντος ἢ φρονοῦντας ἢ 4 λέγοντας. οὐκοιν εὐθὺς οὐδὲ ῥαδίως προσέχειν αὐτοῖς δεί, ἄλλα καὶ πάντα διελέγχειν βραδύνας μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ πιστεύσαί τινα οὐδὲν μέγα ἀδικηθήσῃ, σπεύσας δὲ τάχ' ἀν τι καὶ ἐξαμάρτοις, ὃ μὴ δυνηθήσῃ ἀνακέσασθαι. 5 "Τιμᾶν μὲν οὖν σε τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συνόντων σοι καὶ δεί καὶ ἀναγκαίον ἐστι· καὶ γὰρ κόσμον καὶ ἀσφαλείαν σοι μεγάλην τούτο οἴσει. μὴ μέντοι καὶ ὑπέροχον τι ἱσχυέτωσαν, ἄλλα ἀκριβῶς πάντες σωφρονεῖτωσαν, ὡστε σε μηδὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν 6 διαβληθῆναι· πάντα γὰρ ὅσα ἃν ἢ καλῶς ἢ κακῶς πράξωσι, σοὶ προστεθήσεται, καὶ τοιοῦτος αὐτὸς ὑφ' ἀπάντων νομισθήσῃ ὅποια ἄν ἐκεῖνοις ποιεῖν ἐπιτρέπησ.  "Τοὺς μὲν δὴ οὖν δυνατοὺς μὴ πλεονεκτεῖν τινα μηδὲ αὐ συκοφαντεῖσθαι ἐα· μηδὲ ἐστο τινὶ αὐτῶν 176
any situation that requires measures of precaution or correction, you should have such agents, but remember that you should not believe absolutely everything they say, but should carefully investigate their reports. For there are many who, from various motives,—either because they hate others or covet their possessions, or because they want to do a favour to some one else, or because they have demanded money from some one and have not obtained it,—bring false charges against the persons concerned, pretending that they are engaged in sedition or are planning or saying something prejudicial to the ruler. Therefore one ought not to give heed to them forthwith or readily, but rather should prove everything they say. For if you are too slow in placing your trust in one of these men, you will suffer no great harm, but if you are too hasty you may possibly make a mistake which you cannot repair.

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

"As regards the men of power and influence, then, you should not permit them to overreach others, nor yet, on the other hand, to be blackmailed by others; neither let the mere fact that a man
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αὐτὸ 1 τοῦτο ἐγκλῆμα, ὅτι δύναται, κἂν μηδὲν
7 ἀμαρτάνῃ. τοῖς δὲ δὴ πολλοῖς ἀμμυνε μὲν ἱσχυ-
ρῶς ἀδικουμένοις, μὴ πρόσεχε δὲ ῥαδίως αὐτιω-
μένοις, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ τὰ ἐγκαθ' ἐαυτὰ ἐξέτασε,
μήτε ἐς τὸ προέχουν πᾶν ὑποπτεύων μήτε τῷ
8 καταδεστέρῳ παντὶ πιστεύων. καὶ τοὺς μὲν
ἐργαζομένους χρῆσιμόν τέ τι τεχνωμένους τίμα,
τοὺς δ' ἀργοῦντας ἢ καὶ φλαύρων τι πραγματευ-
μένονς μίσει, ὅνα τῶν μὲν διὰ τὰς ὡφελίας ὅριγνώ-
μενοι, τῶν δὲ διὰ τὰς ξημίας ἀπεχόμενοι, πρὸς τε
tὰ οἰκεία ἀμένους καὶ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ συμφορῷ-
tεροί σοι γίγνονται.

9 "Καλὸν μὲν οὖν ἔστι καὶ τὸ τὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν
ἀμφισβητήματα ὡς ἑλάχιστα ποιοῦντα τὰς δια-
λύσεις αὐτῶν ὡς τάχιστα καθιστάναι, κάλλιστον
dὲ τὸ τὰς τῶν δήμων ὁρμᾶς κολούειν, κἂν ἔπευχο-
μενοὶ τινα τῇ τῇ ἄρχῇ καὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τῇ τῇ τόχῃ
σου ἐκβιαζοῦσαι τινας ἢ πράξαι τῇ ἕ ἀναλώσαι
10 παρὰ δύναμιν ἐπιχειρῶσι, μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν, τὰς τῇ
ἐχθρὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς φιλοτιμίας τὰς πρὸς ἄλλη-
λους παντάπασιν ἐκκόπτειν, καὶ μήτε ἐπωνυμίας
tινὰς κενὰς μήτ' ἄλλο τι ἢ οὖ διενεχθῆσονται
tισιν ἐφιέναι σφίσι ποιεῖσθαι. ῥαδίως δὲ σοι
πάντες καὶ ἐς ταῦτα καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα καὶ ἰδία καὶ
κοινὴ πειθαρχήσουσιν, ἀν μηδὲν παρὰ ταῦτα

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

"It is well to make the number of disputes on the part of private citizens as few as possible and to render as expeditious as possible their settlement; but it is most important to restrain the rash enterprises of communities, and if they are attempting to coerce others or to go beyond their capacity or means in any undertaking or expenditure, to forbid it, even though in their petitions they invoke blessings upon the empire and pray for your welfare and good fortune. It is important also to eradicate their mutual enmities and rivalries, and not to permit them to assume empty titles or to do anything else that will bring them into strife with others. And all will readily yield obedience to you, both individuals and communities, in this and in every other matter, provided that you make no exceptions
μηδέποτε συγχωρήσης τινί.  η γὰρ ἀνωμαλία καὶ
tὰ καλὸς πεπηγότα διαλύει. καὶ διὰ τούτ' οὐδ'
αἴτειν τι ἄρχην, ὦ γε μὴ δῶσεις, ἐπιτρέπειν σφίσιν
ὁφείλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἵσχυρὸς
νυλάττειν σφᾶς ἀναγκάζειν, τὸ μηδὲν ἀξιοῦν τῶν
κεκολυμένων.

38 "Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ ἑκείνων λέγω, καθ' ἀπάντων
de σοι συμβουλεύω μὴτ' ἀποχρήσασθαι ποτε τῇ
ἔξοσιᾷ, μὴτ' οἰνηθίναι μειώσιν τινα αὐτῆς εἶναι ἄν
μὴ πάντα ἀπαξαπλῶς ὁσα δύνασαι καὶ ποιήσῃς·
ἀλλ' ὅσω μᾶλλον πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν βουληθής καὶ
dυνῆσθι πρᾶξαι, τόσω μᾶλλον προθυμοῦ πάνθ'
2 ὁσα προσήκει βουλέσθαι. καὶ ἢεὶ γε αὐτὸς παρὰ
σαυτῷ ἔξεταζε, εἴτε ὄρθως τι ποιεῖς εἴτε καὶ
μή, τί τε πράπτοντά σε φιλήσουι τινες καὶ
tί μή, ἵνα τὰ μὲν ποιῆς αὐτῶν τὰ ἃ ἐκκλίνης.
μὴ γὰρ δὴ ἡγησθῇ 2 δεόντως τι παρὰ τοῦτο πράτ-
τευν δόξειν, ἂν μηδενὸς αὐτιωμένου σε ἀκούσῃς·
μηδ' ἀναμείνῃς οὕτω τινὰ ἐκφρονησάι ποτε ὡστε
3 σοι φανερῶς τι ἐξωνειδίσαι. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ οὐ-
deerις ἂν ποιήσεις, οὐδ' εἰ σφόδρα ἄδικηθει· πὰν
γὰρ τοῦνατιν καὶ ἐπαίνειν πολλοὶ ἐν γε τῷ
φανερῷ τοὺς ἄδικοντάς σφᾶς ἀναγκάζονται,
ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι μὴ δοκεῖν ὀργίζεσθαι. τὸν δ'
ἀρχοντα χρὴ μὴ ἐξ' δὲν λέγουσι τινες τεκμαίρε-
σθαι τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξ' δὲν φρονεῖν
αὐτοὺς εἰκός ἐστί.

39 "Ταῦτα σε καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα βούλομαι πράττειν:

1 τιν R. Steph., τι VM.  2 δὴ ἡγησθ Μ, δηγῆση V.

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

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

"These are the things I would have you do—these and others of like nature; for there are many which
πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ παραλείπομε διὰ τὸ μὴ οἰόν τε εἶναι πάντα αὐτὰ καθάπαξ συλλαβόντα εἰπεῖν. ἐν δὲ οὖν ἐν κεφαλαίῳ καὶ κατὰ τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ 2 κατὰ τῶν λοιπῶν φράσω. ἀν γὰρ ὣσα ἄν ἐτερόν τινα ἀρξαντά σου ποιεῖν ἑθελήσῃς, ταῦτα αὐτὸς αὐτεπάγγελτος πρᾶσσης, οὔτε τι ἀμαρτήσῃ καὶ πάντα κατορθώσεις, κἀκε τούτον καὶ ἢδιστα καὶ 3 ἀκινδυνὸτάτα βιώσῃ. πῶς μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὡς πατέρα, πῶς δὲ οὐχ ὡς σωτῆρα καὶ προσόψυναι σε ἀπαντες καὶ φιλήσουσιν, ὅταν σε ὅρῳ κόσμου εὑβίοτον εὐπόλεμον εἰρηναίον ὑντα, ὅταν μὴ' ύβρίζης τι μήτε πλεονεκτήσ, ὅταν ἐκ τοῦ 4 όμοίου σφίσι προσφέρῃ, καὶ μὴ αὐτὸς μὲν πλούτής τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀργυρολογής, μη' αὐτὸς μὲν τρυφᾶς τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ταλαιπωρής, μη' αὐτός μὲν ἀκολασταίνης τοὺς δ' ἄλλους νουθετής, ἀλλ' ἐς πάντα δὴ πάντως ὁμοιοτροπώτατα αὐτοῖς χξή; ὥστ' αὐτὸς παρὰ σαυτῷ μέγα φυλακτήριον ἐν τῷ μηδένα ποτὲ ἀδικήσαι ἔχων θάρσει, καὶ πίστευε μοι λέγοντι ὅτι οὔτε μυσθήσῃ ποτὲ οὔτε 5 ἐπιβουλευθησῃ. τούτοι δὲ δὴ οὕτως ἔχοντος πᾶσα σε ἀνάγκη καὶ ἦδεως βιώναι· τί μὲν γὰρ ἦδιον, τί δὲ εὐδαιμονεστέρον ἐστι τοῦ πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν μετ' ἀρετῆς ἀπολαύοντα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὰ διδόναι δύνασθαι;

40 "Ταῦτα τε οὖν καὶ τάλλα πάνθ' ὀσα εἰρήκα ἐννοῆσας πείσθητι μοι, καὶ μὴ πρόῃ τὴν τύχην, ἢτις σε ἐκ πάντων ἐπελέξατο καὶ προεστήσατο. ὡς

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BOOK LII

I must pass over, since it is impossible to include them all in a single discussion. There is, however, one statement which will serve as a summary with respect both to what has been said and to what has been left unsaid: if you of your own accord do all that you would wish another to do if he became your ruler, you will err in nothing and succeed in everything, and in consequence you will find your life most happy and utterly free from danger. For how can men help regarding you with affection as father and saviour, when they see that you are orderly and upright in your life, successful in war though inclined to peace; when you refrain from insolence and greed; when you meet them on a footing of equality, do not grow rich yourself while levying tribute on them, do not live in luxury yourself while imposing hardships upon them, are not licentious yourself while reproving licentiousness in them,—when, instead of all this, your life is in every way and manner precisely like theirs? Therefore, since you have in your own hands a mighty means of protection,—that you never do wrong to another,—be of good courage and believe me when I tell you that you will never become the object of hatred or of conspiracy. And since this is so, it follows of necessity that you will also lead a happy life; for what condition is happier, what more blissful, than, possessing virtue, to enjoy all the blessings which men can know and to be able to bestow them upon others?

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

1 A reference to the title of "Augustus." The Greek verb σεβιζεσιν, here rendered by this long phrase for the sake
prefer the monarchy in fact but fear the title of 'king' as being accursed, you have but to decline this title and still be sole ruler under the appellation of 'Caesar.' And if you require still other epithets, your people will give you that of 'imperator' as they gave it to your father; and they will pay reverence to your august position by still another term of address, so that you will enjoy fully the reality of the kingship without the odium which attaches to the name of 'king.'”

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

These and all the rest that I have recorded earlier in this narrative were the acts of Caesar in the year in which he was consul for the fifth time; and he of the word-play, is from the same root as Σεβαστός, the usual term for Augustus (cf. liii. 16, 8). Dio, however, regularly transliterates the Roman title, when he uses it; but he generally refers to Augustus as Caesar.
τορος ἐπίκλησιν ἐπέθετο. λέγω δὲ οὐ τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς νύκαις κατὰ τὸ ἄρχαιον διδομένην τισίν
(ἐκείνην γὰρ πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον πολλάκις
de καὶ ὑστερον ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἔλαβεν,
4 ὡστε καὶ ἀπάξ καὶ εἰκοσάκις ὁνόμα αὐτοκρα-
τορος σχείν) ἄλλα τὴν ἔτεραν τὴν τὸ κράτος
dιασημαίνουσαν, ὡσπερ τῷ τε πατρὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ
Καίσαρι καὶ τοῖς παισι τοῖς τε ἐκγόνοις ἑψήφιστο.
42 Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τιμητεύσας σὺν τῷ Ἄγριππα
ἀλλα τε τινα διώρθωσε καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐξήτασε.
πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἵππης πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πεζοὶ παρά
tὴν ἄξιαν ἐκ τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων ἐβούλευον,
ὡστε καὶ ἐς χιλίους τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς γερούσιας
2 αὐξηθῆναι. τούτους οὖν ἐκκρίναν βουληθεῖσαν αὐτὸς
μὲν οὐδένα αὐτῶν ἀπήλευσε, προτρεψάμενος δὲ
σφας ἐκ τοῦ συνειδότος τοῦ τε γένους καὶ τοῦ
βίου δικαιστὰς έαυτοῖς γενέσθαι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
πεντήκοντα που ἐπεισεν ἑθελοντὰς ἐκστήραν τοῦ
συνεδρίου, ἕπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλους ἐκατόν καὶ τεσ-
3 σαράκοντα μιμήσασθαι σφας ἠγάγασε. καὶ
αὐτῶν ἔτιμωσε μὲν οὐδένα, τὰ δ' ὀνόματα τῶν
ἐνετέρων ἐξέδηκε: τοῖς γὰρ προτέροις, ὅτι μὴ
ἐχρόνισαν ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐπειθάρχησαν οἱ, ἀφ' ἑκ
ὁ νειδισμα, ὡστ' αὐτοὺς μὴ ἐκδημοσιευθῆναι.
οὕτω οὖν οὖν ἐκούσιοι δῆθεν ἰδιώτευσαν,
Κύντον δὲ δὴ Ἐπαύλιον καὶ πάνυ ἄκοντα τῆς

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

After this he became censor with Agrippa as his colleague, and in addition to other reforms which he instituted, he purged the senate. For as a result of the civil wars a large number of knights and even of foot-soldiers were in the senate without justification in merit, so that the membership of that body had been swollen to a thousand. Now though it was his wish to remove these men, he did not erase any of their names himself, but urged them rather, on the strength of their own knowledge of their families and their lives, to become their own judges; he thus first persuaded some fifty of them to withdraw from the senate voluntarily, and then compelled one hundred and forty others to imitate their example. He disfranchised none of them, but posted the names of the second group only; for he spared the members of the first group the reproach of the publication of their names, because they had not delayed but had straightway obeyed him. So all these men returned to private life of their own free will, so far as appearances were concerned; but Quintus Statilius was deposed, decidedly against his will, from the
4 δημαρχίας, εσ ἂν ἀπεδέδεικτο, εἰρήνει. ἐτέρους τε τινας Βουλευεῖν ἐποίησε, καὶ ἔσ γε τοὺς ὑπατευκότας δύο ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν Βουλευόντων, Κλαύανιον τε τινα καὶ Φούρνιον Γαίους, ἐγκατέλεξεν, ὅτι προσαποδεδευμένοι οὐκ ἡδυνήθησαν, ἀλλων τινῶν τας ἀρχὰς αὐτῶν προκαταλαβόντων, ὑπατεύσαι.
5 το τε τῶν εὐπατριδῶν γένος συνεπλήθυσε, τῆς Βουλῆς οἱ δὴθεν ἐπιτρεψάσης τούτο ποιήσαι, ἐπειδὴ το τε πλεῖστον σφών ἀπωλόλει 1 (οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ὡς τὸ γενναῖον ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις ἀναλίσκεται) καὶ ἔσ τὴν ποιήσαι τῶν πατρίων ἀναγκαῖοι ἀεὶ εἶναι νομίζονται. ταύτα τε οὖν ἔπραξε, καὶ προσαπεῖπε πᾶσι τοῖς Βουλεύονσι μὴ ἐκδημεῖν ἐξω τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἀν μὴ αὐτὸς τινι κελεύσῃ ἢ καὶ ἐπιτρέψῃ. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ δεὐρο ἀεὶ φυλάσσεται πλὴν γὰρ ὅτι ἔσ τε τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ ἔσ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν περὶ Νάρβωνα, οὐδαμόσε ἀλλοσε Βουλευτῇ ἀποδηγ- 7 μῆσαι ἐξεστίν. ἐκεῖσε γὰρ διὰ τε τὸ σύνεγγυς καὶ διὰ τὸ ἄσπλον τὸ τε εἰρήναι τῶν ἀνθρώπων δέδοται τοῖς γέ τι κεκτημένοις αὐτόθι καὶ ἀνευ παρατήσεως, ὅσακε ἄν ἐθελήσωσιν, ἀπιέναι.
8 ἐπειδὴ τε πολλοὺς ἐτί καὶ τῶν Βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ταυτικῶν ἀνθρώπων διαικειμένους ἔωρα, καὶ ἐφοβήθη μὴ νεοχώρωσι τι, πάντα ἐφή ἡ γράμματα τὰ ἐν τοῖς κιβωτίοις αὐτοῦ εὑρεθέντα ἀπακεκαυκέναι. καὶ ὡς ἄληθῶς γε διεφθάρκει τινάν: τὰ γὰρ ὑπὸ πλείων καὶ πᾶν ἐτήρει, ὅστε μηδέ ὀκνήσαί υἱερον αὐτοῖς χρήσασθαι.

1 ἀπωλολεῖ Dind., ἀπωλολεῖ VM.

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

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

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

Τάδε ἐνεστὶν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαῖκῶν
a. Ὁς ὁ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ναὸς ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ καθιερώθη.
b. Ὁς Καίσαρ ἐδημηγόρησεν ἐν τῇ γερουσίᾳ ὡς τῆς μοναρχίας ἀφιστάμενος καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἔθνη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνείματο.
c. Περὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν ἐς τὰ ἔθνη πεπομένων.
d. Ὁς Καίσαρ Ἀβγουστος ἐπεκληθή.
e. Περὶ τῶν ὄνομάτων δὲ οἱ αὐτοκράτορες λαμβάνουσιν.
f. Ὁς τὰ σέπτα καθιερώθη.
g. Ὁς Καίσαρ Ἀστυρίς καὶ Καντάβροις ἐπολέμησεν.
h. Ὁς Γαλατία ὑπὸ Ῥωμαιῶν ἀρχεσθαι ἠρξατο.
i. Ὁς ἦ στοὰ ἢ τοῦ Ποσείδώνος καὶ τὸ Βαλανείον τοῦ Ἀγρίππου καθιερώθη.
j. Ὁς τὸ Πάνθειον καθιερώθη.
k. Ὁς Ἀβγουστος ἀρχιθή τῆς ἀνάγκης τοῦ τοῖς νόμοις πελεσθαι.
l. Ὁς ἔπ. Ἀραβιάν τὴν εὐθαλάμων στρατεία ἐγένετο.
m. Χρόνου πληθὺς ἔτη ἔξ, ἐν οἷς ἀρχοντες οἱ ἁριθμοῦμενοι οἴδε ἐγένοντο

Καίσαρ τὸ 5'
Μ. Οὐρψάνιος Λ. ν. Ἀγρίππας τὸ β' ὕπ.
Καίσαρ τὸ 5'
Μ. Οὐρψάνιος Λ. ν. Ἀγρίππας τὸ γ' ὕπ.
Καίσαρ Ἀβγουστος τὸ η'
Τ. Στατῖλιος Τ. ν. 2 Ταῦρος τὸ β' ὕπ.
Ἀβγουστος τὸ θ'
Μ. Ἰούνιος Μ. ν. Σιλανός ὕπ.
Ἀβγουστος τὸ ι'3
Γ. Ναρβάνδος Γ. ν. Γ. Ἕγγ. Φλάκκος ὕπ.4
Ἀβγουστος τὸ ια'
Γν. Καλποιρίνιος5 Γν. ν. Γν. Ἕγγ. Πίσσων6 ὕπ.4

Τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἔτει ἐκτὸν ὁ Καίσαρ ἠρξε, καὶ ταῦ ἡ ἀλλα ἱκατὰ τὸ νομιζó-

1 τὸ β' Xyl., τὸ γ' VM. 2 T. ν. supplied by Bs. 3 M. Ἰούνιος Σιλανὸς Ἀβγουστος τὸ ι' supplied by Xyl., M. ν. added by Bs. 4 ὕπ. supplied by Bs. 192
BOOK LIII

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

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

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

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

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

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

How the Saepta were dedicated (chap. 23).

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

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

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

How the Pantheon was dedicated (chap. 27).

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

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

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

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

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

μενον ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντων ἀρχαίων ἔποιησε, καὶ τοὺς λαθέλους τῶν ῥάβδων τῷ Ἀγρίππα συνάρχοντι οἱ κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον παρέδωκεν, αὐτὸς τε ταῖς ἐτέραις ἐχρήσατο, καὶ διαργάς τὸν ὅρκον κατὰ 2 τὰ πάτρια ἐπήγαγε. καὶ εἰ μὲν καὶ αὕτως ταῦτ' ἐποίησεν, οὐκ οἶδα τὸν γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν ἐς ὑπερβολὴν ἐτίμα· ἀμέλει τὴν τε ἀδελφιδὴν 1 αὐτῷ συνφύσει, καὶ σκηνῆν, ὅποτε συστρατεύοντο, ὡμοίαν τῇ ἐαυτοῦ παρέιχε, τὸ τε σύνθημα παρ'.

3 ἀμφοτέρων σφῶν ἐδίδοτο. ἐν δὲ οὖν τὸ τότε παρόντι τὰ τὰ ἀλλὰ ὡσπερ εἴθιστο ἐπραξε, καὶ τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἔξετέλεσε, καὶ εἰν αὐταῖς πρὸκριτος τῆς γερουσίας ἐπεκλήθη, ὡσπερ ἐν τῇ ἀκριβεῖ δημοκρατία ἑνενόμιστο. τὸ τε Ἀπολλώνιον ἢ τὸ 3 ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ καὶ τὸ τεμένισμα τὸ περὶ αὐτό, τὰς τε ἀποθήκας τῶν βιβλίων,

4 ἐξεποίησε καὶ καθιέρωσε. καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῇ πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ γενομένῃ ψηφισθεῖσαν ἔγγαγε μετὰ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν ἀποδρομίαν διὰ τὸ τῶν παίδων

5 καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν εὐγενῶν ἔποιησε. καὶ αὐτὴ μὲν διὰ πέντε ἀεὶ ἑτῶν μέχρι τοῦ 4 ἐγίγνετο, τάς τέσσαριν ιερωσύναις ἐκ περιτροπῆς μέλουσα, 5 λέγω δὲ τοὺς τε ποντίφικας καὶ τοὺς οἰωνιστὰς τοὺς τε ἐπτὰ καὶ τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα ἀνδρὰς καλομένους· τότε δὲ καὶ γυμνικὸς ἄγον

1 ἀδελφιδὴν M (ἀδελφιδὴν), ἀδελφὴν V Xiph. Zon.
2 Ἀπολλώνιον St., ἀπολλώνιον VM. 3 τὸ Bk., τὸ τε VM.
4 μέχρι του v. Herw., μέχρις δὲ VM.
5 μέλουσα R. Steph., μέλλουσα VM.
BOOK LIII

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

1 Augustus seems to have used twenty-four lictors until 29 B.C., and thereafter twelve, first as consul (until 23), then as proconsul (until 19), and later on all occasions. Cf. liv. 10, 5.
2 The customary oath taken by the consuls at the close of their term of office to the effect that they had done nothing contrary to the laws and had acted for the highest interests of the state. Cf. xxxvii. 38, 2, and xxxviii. 12, 3.
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σταδίου τινός ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ ξυλίνου κατα-
σκευασθέντος ἐποιήθη, ὀπλομαχία τε ἐκ τῶν αἰ-
χμαλώτων ἐγένετο. καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἔπλεον ήμέρας ἐπι-
ράξθη, οὐδὲ διέλυτε καὶ τοῦ νοσήσαντος τοῦ Καί-
σαρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ τὸ ἐκέινου μέρος ἀνεπλήρου.

2 'Ο δ' οὖν Καίσαρ ἐς ταῖς θεωρίαις ἐκ τῶν
ἰδίων δῆθεν ἀνήλισκε, καὶ ἐπειδή χρημάτων τῷ
dημοσίῳ ἔδησεν, ἐδανείσατο τινα καὶ ἔδωκεν
αὐτῷ, πρὸς τῇ διοίκησιν σφών δύο κατ' ἴτος
ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγικῶν αἱρεῖται ἐκέλευσε. καὶ
τῷ πλῆθει πετραπλάσιον τῶν σίτων ἔνειμε, Βου-
2 λευταῖς τῇ τίσι χρήματα ἐχαρίσατο. οὕτω γὰρ
δὴ πολλοὶ σφών πένητες ἐγενόσαν ὡστε μηδὲν
ἀγορανομήσαι τινα διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἀναλω-
mάτων ἐθελήσαι, ἀλλὰ τὰ τὰ ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ δικα-
στήρια τὰ τῇ ἀγορανομίᾳ προσήκοντα τοῖς στρα-
tήγοις, καθάπερ εἰθιστο, τὰ μὲν μείζω τῷ ἀστυνόμῳ τὰ δὲ ἐτέρα τῷ ἔξωκφ προσταγθήσει.

3 πρὸς δὲ δὴ τούτοις τῶν ἀστυνόμου αὐτός ἀπε-
δείξετο. καὶ αὕτης πολλάκις ἐποίησε. καὶ τὰς
ἐγγυὰς τὰς (πρὸς τῷ δημοσίῳ πρὸ τῆς πρὸς τῷ
'Ακτίῳ μάχης γενομένας, πλὴν τῶν περὶ τὰ οἰκο-
dομήματα, ἀπῆλλαξε, τὰ τε παλαιὰ συμβολαία
4 τῶν τῶν κοινῶ τι ὀφειλόντων ἐκαυσε. καὶ τὰ μὲν
ιερὰ τὰ Ἀιγύπτια οὐκ ἐσεδέξατο εἰσῶ τοῦ πωμη-
rίου, τῶν δὲ δὴ ναῶν πρόνοιαι ἐποίησατο. τοὺς
μὲν γὰρ ὑπ' ἰδιωτῶν τινῶν γεγενημένους τοῖς τε
παίσιν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἐγκώνοις, εὔχε τινὲς περιήσαν,
ἐπισκευάσαι ἐκέλευσε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς αὐτὸς ἀνε-

1 καὶ Μ, om. V.

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was held, a wooden stadium having been constructed in the Campus Martius, and there was a gladiatorial combat between captives. These events continued for several days and were not interrupted even when Caesar fell ill; but Agrippa went on with them even so, discharging Caesar's duties as well as his own.

Now Caesar allowed it to be understood that he was spending his private means upon these festivals, and when money was needed for the public treasury, he borrowed some and supplied the want; and for the management of the funds he ordered two annual magistrates to be chosen from among the ex-praetors. To the populace he distributed a quadruple allowance of grain and to some of the senators he made presents of money. For so many of them had become impoverished that none was willing to hold even the office of aedile because of the magnitude of the expenditures involved; indeed, the functions which belonged to that office, and particularly the judicial functions, were assigned to the praetors, as had been the custom, the more important to the praetor urbanus and the rest to the praetor peregrinus. In addition to all this, Caesar himself appointed the praetor urbanus, as, indeed, he often did subsequently. He cancelled all obligations which had been given to the public treasury previous to the battle of Actium, except those secured by buildings, and he burned the old notes of those who were indebted to the state. As for religious matters, he did not allow the Egyptian rites to be celebrated inside the pomerium, but made provision for the temples; those which had been built by private individuals he ordered their sons and descendants, if any survived, to repair, and the rest
5 κτῆσατο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῆς οἰκοδομή-
σεως σφων ἐσφετερίσατο, ἀλλὰ ἀπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς
toῖς κατασκευάσασιν αὐτούς, ἐπειδή τε πολλὰ
πάνυ (κατά τε τὰς στάσεις καὶ τοῖς πολέμοις,
ἀλλως τε καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ 'Αντώνιοῦ τοῦ τε Δεπίδου
συναρχία, καὶ ἀνόμως καὶ ἀδίκως ἐτετάχει, πάντα
αὐτὰ δὲ ἐνὸς προγράμματος κατέλυσεν, ὅρων τὴν
6 ἐκτην αὐτοῦ ὑπατείαν προθείς. 1 εὐδοκιμῶν τε
οὐν ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ἐπαινούμενος ἐπεθύμησε καὶ
ἐτέραν τινὰ μεγαλοψυχίαν διαδείξασθαι, ὅπως
καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου μάλλον τιμηθείη, καὶ παρ'
ἔκόντων δὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν μοναρχίαν βε-
βαίωσασθαι τοῦ 2 μὴ δοκεῖν ἀκούτας αὐτοῖς βε-
7 βίασθαι. κακὸν τούτον τοὺς μάλιστα ἐπιτηδείους
οἱ τῶν βουλευτῶν παρασκευάσας ἔστων ἐβδομον ὑπατεύων, καὶ ἀνέγυρ
τοιάδε.

3 "Ἀπίστα μὲν εὗ ὅδ' ὅτι δόξω τισὶν ύμῶν, 3
ὅ πατέρες, προσηθήσατε· ἂ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐκαστὸς τῶν
ἀκούοντων οὐκ ἄν ἐθελῆσει ποιῆσαι, ταῦτ' οὐδὲ
ἐτέρου λέγοντος πιστεύειν βούλεται, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι πᾶς
παντὶ τῷ υπερέχοντι φθονῶν ἐτοιμότερον
2 ἀπιστεῖ τοις ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν λεγομένοις. καὶ προσέτι
καὶ γιγανώσκω τοῦΘ', ὅτι οἱ τὰ μὴ πιστὰ δοκοῦντα
eἶναι λέγοντες οὐχ ὅσον οὐ πείθουσί τινας, ἀλλὰ
cαὶ κόσμαλοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν
τι τοιούτον ἐπηγγελλόμην ὃ μὴ παραχρῆμα ποιή-
σειν ἐμελλὼν, σφόδρα ἂν ἀπόκυνσα αὐτὸ ἐκφηναί, μὴ καὶ αἰτίαν τινὰ μοχθηρὰν ἀντὶ χάριτος λάβω.

1 προθείς Rk., προσθείς VM.
2 τοῦ R. Steph., τὸ VM.
3 ύμῶν M, ὑμῶν V.
he restored himself. He did not, however, appropriate to himself the credit for their erection, but allowed it to go as before to the original builders. And inasmuch as he had put into effect very many illegal and unjust regulations during the factional strife and the wars, especially in the period of his joint rule with Antony and Lepidus, he abolished them all by a single decree, setting the end of his sixth consulship as the time for their expiration. When, now, he obtained approbation and praise for this act, he desired to exhibit another instance of magnanimity, that by such a policy he might be honoured all the more and might have his sovereignty voluntarily confirmed by the people, so as to avoid the appearance of having forced them against their will. Therefore, having first primed his most intimate friends among the senators, he entered the senate in his seventh consulship and read the following address:

"I am sure that I shall seem to some of you, Conscript Fathers, to have made an incredible choice. For what each one of my hearers would not wish to do himself, he does not like to believe, either, when another claims to have done it, especially as everyone is jealous of anybody who is superior to him and so is more prone to disbelieve any utterance that is above his own standard. Besides, I know this, that those who say what appears to be incredible not only fail to persuade others but also appear to be impostors. And indeed, if it were a question of my promising something that I was not intending to put into effect immediately, I should have been exceedingly loath to proclaim it, for fear of gaining, instead of gratitude, some grievous im-
3 νῦν δ' ὁπότε εὐθὺς καὶ τῷ μερόν ἐπακολουθήσει τῷ ἑργεῖν αὐτῷ, πάνυ θαρσοῦντως ἔχω μὴ μόνον μηδεμίαν αἰσχύνην ψευδολογίας ὁφλήσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους εὐδοξία νικήσειν. ὡς τί μὲν γὰρ πάρεστι μοι διὰ παντὸς ὕμων ἀρχεῖν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὀράτες· τὸ τε γὰρ στασιάζαν πᾶν ἦτοι δικαιώθην πέπανται ἦ καὶ ἠλεηθέν σεσωφρόνισται, καὶ τὸ συναράμενον μοι τῇ τε ἀμοιβῇ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ὥσκειται καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν πρα-

2 γμάτων ψυχῆς, ὡστε μήτε ἐπιθυμήσας τινα νεωτέρων ἑργον, κἂν ἄρα τι καὶ τοιοῦτο γένηται, τὸ γοῦν βοηθῆσον ἢμῖν ἔτοιμον ἐτι καὶ μᾶλλον εἶναι. τὰ τε στρατιωτικὰ ἀκμάζει μοι καὶ εὐνοία καὶ ρώμη, καὶ χρήματα ἐστὶ καὶ σύμμαχοι, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ὁ δῆμος διά-

κεισθεῖσθε πρὸς με ὡστε καὶ πάνω ἄν προστατεῖσθαι 2

3 ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐθελήσαι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ύμᾶς ἐξηγήσομαι, οὐδὲ ἐρεῖ τις ὥς ἐγὼ τῆς αὐταρχίας ἑνεκα πάντα τὰ προκατειργασμένα ἐπραξα· ἀλλὰ ἀφίμμι τὴν ἄρχην ἀπασαν καὶ ἀποδίδωμι ύμῖν πάντα ἀπλῶς, τὰ ὅπλα τοὺς νόμους τὰ ἔθνη, οὐχ ὅπως ἐκεῖνα ὅσα μοι ύμεῖς

4 ἐπετρέψατε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα αὐτὸς μετὰ ταύθ' ύμῖν προσεκτησάμην, ἵνα καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἑργῶν καταμάθητε τούθ', ὡς ὅνδ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς δυνα-

στείας τινὸς ἐπεθύμησα, ἀλλ' ὅντως τῷ τε πατρὶ δεινὸς σφαγέντα τιμωρήσαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ μεγάλων καὶ ἐπαλλήλων κακῶν ἐξελέσθαι ἥθε-

5 λησα. ὁφελον μὲν γὰρ μηδὲ ἐπιστήναι ποτε οὕτω τοῖς πράγμασι· τούτ' ἔστιν, ὁφελον μὴ

1 ἠλεηθέν σεσωφρόνισται Μ, ἠλεηθέντες σωφρόνισται V.

2 ἀντιστατεῖσθαι Μ, ἀντιστατεῖσθε V.
BOOK LIII

putation. But as it is, when the performance will follow the promise this very day, I feel quite confident, not only that I shall incur no reproach of falsehood, but that I shall surpass all mankind in good repute. You see for yourselves, of course, that it is in my power to rule over you for life; for every factious element has either been put down through the application of justice or brought to its senses by receiving mercy, while those who were on my side have been made devoted by my reciprocating their friendly services and bound fast by having a share in the government. Therefore none of them desires a revolution, and if anything of the sort should take place, at least the party which will stand by me is even more ready than it was before. My military is in the finest condition as regards both loyalty and strength; there is money and there are allies; and, most important of all, you and the people are so disposed toward me that you would distinctly wish to have me at your head. However, I shall lead you no longer, and no one will be able to say that it was to win absolute power that I did whatever has hitherto been done. Nay, I give up my office completely, and restore to you absolutely everything,—the army, the laws, and the provinces,—not only those which you committed to me, but also those which I myself later acquired for you. Thus my very deeds also will prove to you that even at the outset I desired no position of power, but in very truth wished to avenge my father, cruelly murdered, and to extricate the city from great evils that came on unceasingly. Indeed, I would that I had not gone so far as to assume charge of affairs as I did; that is, I would that the city had not
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dedeí̂s̃thaí̂ mou prōs toiōutó ti tēn pólin, ἀλλὰ εἰρήνη kai ὀμονοία, καθάπερ ποτὲ καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ
2 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς βεβιωκέναι. ἔπει δὲ εἰμαρμένη τις, ὡς ἐοικεν, ἐς τούτῳ προῆγαγεν ὑμᾶς ὡστε καὶ ἐμοῦ, καὶπερ νέου ἐτὶ τότε ὄντος, καὶ χρείαν σχεῖν καὶ πείραν λαβεῖν, μέχρι μὲν οὔ1 τὰ πράγματα τῆς παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐπικουρίας ἔχρηξ, πάντα τε προθύμως καὶ ύπερ τήν ἡλικίαν ἐποίησα καὶ πάντα εὐτυχῶς καὶ ύπερ τήν ὅναμιν κατέπραξα.
3 καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ τὸν πάντων ἀπέτρεψε με κινδυνεύουσιν ὑμῖν ἐπικουρήσαι, οὐ πόνος, οὐ φόβος, οὐκ ἔχθρῶν ἀπειλαί, οὐ φίλων δεήσεις, οὐ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συνεστηκότων, οὐχ ἡ ἀπόνοια τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων, ἀλλ' ἐπέδωκα ἀφειδῶς ὑμῖν ἔμαυτόν εἰς πάντα τὰ περιστηκότα, καὶ ἔπραξα
4 καὶ ἔπαθον ἀπερ ἴστε. ἐξ ὅν αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδεὶ κεκέρδαγκα πλην τοῦ τῆς πατρίδα περιπετοησθαί, ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ σώζεσθε καὶ σωφρονεῖτε. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καλῶς ποιοῦσα ἡ τύχη καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄδολον καὶ τὴν ὀμόνοιαν ἀστασίαστον δὴ ἐμοῦ ὑμῖν ἀποδέδωκεν, ἀπολάβετε καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν, κομίσασθε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὑπήκοα, καὶ πολιτεύσθε ὀσπερ εἰώθειτε.
6 "Καὶ μῆτε θαυμάσητε εἰ ταῦθ' οὐτω φρονὼ, τὴν τε ἄλλην ἐπιείκειαν μοῦ καὶ πραότητα καὶ ἀπραγμοσύνην ὀρῶντες, καὶ προσεκληγίζομενοι ὅτι οὐδὲν πώποτε οὐθ' ὑπέροχοιν οὐθ' ὑπὲρ τοὺς τολλοὺς, καὶπερ πολλὰ πολλάκις ἑφισσαμένων
2 ὑμῶν, ἔδεξάμην μῆτ' αὖ μωρίαν μον καταγινώτε,

1 οὐ Βκ., που ΒΜ. 2 μήτε Βκ., μήτοι ΒΜ.
required me for any such task, but that we of this
generation also might have lived from the beginning
in peace and harmony, as our fathers lived of yore.
But since some destiny, as it appears, brought you
to a position where you had need even of me, young
as I still was at the time, and put me to the test, I
did everything with a zeal even beyond my years
and accomplished everything with a good fortune
even beyond my powers, so long as the situation de-
manded my help. And nothing in the world could
deter me from aiding you when you were in danger,
—neither toil, nor fear, nor threats of foes, nor
prayers of friends, nor the multitude of the conspira-
tors, nor the desperation of our adversaries; nay, I
gave myself to you unstintingly for any and all the
exigencies which have arisen, and what I did and
suffered, you know. From all this I have derived
no gain for myself except that I have kept my
country from perishing; but as for you, you are
enjoying both safety and tranquillity. Since, then,
Fortune, by using me, has graciously restored to you
peace without treachery and harmony without
faction, receive back also your liberty and the re-
public; take over the army and the subject pro-
vinces, and govern yourselves as has been your
wont.

"You should not be surprised at this purpose of
mine, when you see my reasonableness in other
respects, my mildness, and my love of quiet, and
when you reflect, moreover, that I have never ac-
cepted any extraordinary privilege nor anything
beyond what the many might gain, though you have
often voted many of them to me. Do not, on the
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ὅτι ἐξόν μοι καὶ ὑμῶν ἀρχεῖν καὶ τηλικαύτην ἡγεμονίαν τοσαύτης οἰκουμένης ἔχειν οὐ βούλομαι. ἐγὼ γὰρ, ἃν τε τὸ δίκαιον τις ἐξετάζῃ, δικαιώτατον εἶναι νομίζω τὸ τὰ ὑμέτερα ὑμᾶς διέπειν, ἂν τε καὶ τὸ συμφέρον, συμφορώτατον ἡγοῦμαι καὶ ἐμοὶ τὸ μῆτε πράγματα ἔχειν μῆτε φθονεῖσθαι μῆτε ἐπιβουλευεσθαι καὶ ὑμῖν τὸ μετ’ ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωφρόνως καὶ φιλικῶς πολιτεύ-3 ἐσθαίν· ἂν τε καὶ τὸ εὐκλεές, ὑπερ ἑνεκα πολλοὶ καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ κινδύνευειν πολλάκις αἰροῦνται, πῶς μὲν οὐκ εὐδοξότατον μοι ἔσται τηλικαύτης ἀρχής ἀφέσθαι, πῶς δ’ οὐκ εὐκλεόστατον ἐκ τοσοῦτον ἡγεμονίας ὅγκου ἐθελοντι ἰδιωτεύσαι; ὡστ’ εἰ τις ὑμῶν ἀπιστεῖ ταῦτ’ ὄντως τινὰ ἄλλον καὶ φρονήσαι ἐπ’ ἀληθείας καὶ εἰπεῖν δύνασθαι, 4 ἐμοίγε πιστευσάτω. πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ μεγάλα καταλέξαι ἔχων ὅσα καὶ ὑπ’ ἐμοὶ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου εὑρηγέτησε, ἐφ’ οἷς εἰκότως ἂν ἡμᾶς ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ φιλοίητε καὶ τιμώτη, οὐδὲν ἂν ἄλλο τούτου μᾶλλον εἴποιμι, οὐδ’ ἂν ἐπ’ ἄλλο τινὶ μᾶλλον σεμνυναίμην, ὅτι τὴν μοναρχίαν μῆτε ἐκεῖνος καὶ τοῦ διδόντων ὑμῶν λαβεῖν ἠθέλησε καὶ ἐγὼ ἔχων ἀφίημι.

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

"What achievement, indeed, could one compare with these acts of ours? The conquest of Gaul, the enslavement of Pannonia, the subjugation of Moesia, the overthrow of Egypt? Or Pharnaces, or Juba, or Phraates, or the campaign against the Britons, or
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tὴν τοῦ Ἡρῆνος διάβασιν; καίτοι τοσαῦτα καὶ
tοιαῦτα ταῦτα ἐστίν ὡσα καὶ οἷα οὐδὲ σύμπαντες
οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐν παντὶ τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ
2 πεπονήκασιν. ἀλλ' ὁμως οὔτε τούτων τι τῷ
παρόντι ἔργῳ παραβαλεῖν ἐστίν ἄξιον, οὐθ' ὅτι
τοὺς ἐμφυλίους πολέμους καὶ μεγάστους καὶ ποι-
κιλωτάτους διὰ πάντων γενομένους καὶ διεπολε-
μήσαμεν καλῶς καὶ διεθέμεθα φίλανθρωπώς, τοῦ
μὲν ἀντιστάντος ὡς καὶ πολεμίου παντὸς ἱκρατή-
santες, τὸ δ' ὑπείδαν ὡς καὶ φίλιοι πᾶν περισσο-
santες, ὡστ' εἴπερ ποτὲ καὶ αὖθις πεπρωμένον
eἰη τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν 2 νοσήσαι, τοῦτον αὐτὴν τὸν
τρόπον εὐξασθαί τινα στασιάσαι τὸ γὰρ τοῦ
tosouton τε ἵσχυσιν ἡμᾶς καὶ οὔτω καὶ τῇ
ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ τύχῃ ἀκμᾶσαντος ὡστε καὶ ἐκόντων
καὶ ἀκόντων ὡμῶν αὐταρχὴσαι δυνηθῆναι, μήτε
ἐκφρονησαι μήτε τῆς μοναρχίας ἐπιθυμήσαι,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκείνοι διδομένην αὐτὴν ἀπώσασθαι
καὶ ἐμὲ δεδομένην ἀποδιδόναι, υπὲρ ἀνθρωπὸν
4 ἐστιν. λέγω δὲ ταύτα οὐκ ἄλλως ἐπικομπῶν
(οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν εἴποιν αὐτὰ ἁρχήν, εἰ καὶ οἰείν
πλεονεκτήσειν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἡμελλον), ἀλλ' ἣν
εἴδητε ὅτι πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἐσ τὸ κοινὸν
εὐεργετημάτων καὶ ἐς τὰ οἰκεία σεμνολογημάτων
ἡμῶν ὄντων, ἐπὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα ἀγαλλόμεθα ὅτι,
ὅν ἐτεροί καὶ βιαζόμενοι τινας ἐπιθυμοῦσι, ταῦτ'
the crossing of the Rhine? Yet these are greater and more important deeds than even all our forefathers together performed in all previous time. Nevertheless, no one of these exploits deserves a place beside my present act, to say nothing of our civil wars, of all which have ever occurred the greatest and most varied in its changing fortunes, which we fought to an honourable conclusion and brought to a humane settlement, overpowering as enemies all who resisted, but sparing as friends all who yielded; therein setting an example, so that if it should be fated that our city should ever again be afflicted, one might pray that it should conduct its quarrel in the same way. Indeed, I will go further: that we, when we possessed a strength so great, and when we so clearly stood at the summit of prowess and good fortune, that we could exercise over you, with or without your consent, our arbitrary rule, did not lose our senses or conceive the desire for sole supremacy, but that he thrust that supremacy aside when it was offered him and that I return it after it has been given me,—that, I say, transcends the deeds of a man! I say this, not by way of idle boasting,—indeed, I should not have said it at all, if I were going to derive any advantage whatever from it,—but in order that you may see that, although we can point to many benefits conferred upon the state at large and to many services rendered to individuals of which we might boast, yet we take the greatest pride in this, that what others so desire that they are even willing to do violence to gain it, this we do not accept even under compulsion. Who could be found more magnanimous than I,—not to mention again my deceased father,—who more nearly divine? For
στρατιώτας τοσούτως καὶ τουότους, καὶ πολίτας καὶ συμμάχους, φιλούντας με ἔχων, καὶ πάσης μὲν τῆς ἐντὸς τῶν Ἦρακλείων στηλῶν θαλάσσης πλὴν ὄλγων κρατῶν, ἐν πάσαις δὲ ταῖς ἡπείροις 2 καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἐθνη κεκτημένοις, καὶ μὴ ἄλλοφύλου τινὸς ἐτὶ προσπολεμοῦντός μοι μὴτ ὧδείους σταιάζουσις, ἀλλὰ πάντων ὑμῶν καὶ εἰρημούντων καὶ ὁμονοοῦντων καὶ εὐθενοῦντων 1 καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἐθελούντηθιν πεθαρχοῦντων, ἐπειδὴ ἑκούσιος αὐτεπάγγγελτος καὶ ἁρχής τῆλικαύτης ἀφίσταμαι καὶ ὦσιάς τοσαύτης ἀπαλλάττωμαι. 3 ὡστε εἶπερ ὁ Ὄρατιος ὁ Μοῦκιος ὁ Κοῦρτιος ὁ Ῥήγοουλος οἱ Δέκιοι καὶ κινδυνεύσαι καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέγα τι καὶ καλὸν πεποιηκέναι δόξαι ἡθέλησαν, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μᾶλλον ἑπιθυμήσαιμι τούτο πρᾶξαι εἴς οὐ κάκεινος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀμα πάντας ἀνθρώπους εὐκλεία ξῶν 4 ὑπερβαλῶ; μὴ γάρ τοι νομίζῃ τις ὑμῶν 2 τοὺς μὲν πάλαι Ῥωμαιῶν καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐδοξίας ἐφείσθαι, νῦν δὲ ἐξίτηλον ἐν τῇ πόλει πᾶν τὸ ἀνδρῶδες γεγονέναι. μὴ μέντοι μηδ' ὑποπτεύσῃ ὁτι προέσθαι τε ὑμᾶς καὶ πονηροὶς τισιν ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτρέψαι, ἢ καὶ ὁχλοκρατίᾳ τινί, εἴς ἡς οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τὰ δεινότατα ἀεὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις γίγνεται, ἐκδοῦναι βούλομαι. 5 ὑμῖν γὰρ, ὑμῖν τοῖς ἀρίστοις καὶ φρονιμωτάτοις πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ἀνατίθημι. ἐκείνο μὲν γὰρ οὔ- δέποτ' ἂν ἐποίησα, οὔδ' εἰ μυριάκις ἀποθανείν ἢ καὶ μοναρχήσαι με ἐδει. τούτο δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ 6 ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ποιῶ. αὐτὸς τε

1 εὐθενοῦντων Dind., εὐθηνοῦντων Rk., εὐσθενοῦντων VM.
2 ὑμῶν M, ἡμῶν V.
BOOK LIII

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

7 καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἰδιωτεύσαι μᾶλλον εὐκλεῶς ἢ μοναρχήσαι ἐπικινδύνως αἱροῦμαι. καὶ τὰ κοινὰ κοινῶς οὐ πολὺ βέλτιον ἢτε καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀμα διαγόμενα καὶ μὴ ἐς ἕνα τινὰ ἀνηρτημένα διοικῆτο.

9 "Δ' οὖν ταῦτα καὶ ἱκετεύω καὶ δέομαι πάντων ὑμῶν ὅμοιος καὶ συνεπαίνεσαι καὶ συμπροβηθήναι μοι, λογισμένους πάνθ' ὅσα καὶ πεπολέμηκα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ πεπολίτευμαι, καὶ τούτῳ πασάν μοι τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν χάριν ἀποδόντας, ἐν τῷ συγχωρήσαι μοι ἐν ἑσυχίᾳ ἤδη ποτὲ καταβιώναι, ἢν καὶ ἐκεῖνο εἰδήτε ὅτι οὗ μόνον ἄρχειν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἐπίσταμαι, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἄλλοις ἐπέταξα, καὶ αὐτός ἀντεπταχθῆναι δύναμαι.

2 μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ζήσειν καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ μηδενὸς μήτε ἔργῳ μήτε λόγῳ κακὸν πείσεσθαι προσδοκῶ τοσοῦτον που τῇ εὐνοίᾳ ὑμῶν, ἐξ 3 ὅν αὐτὸς ἐμαυτῷ σύνοιδα, πιστεύω. ἀν δέ τι καὶ πάθω, οἷα πολλοῖς συμβαίνει (οὐδὲ γὰρ οἶδο τέ ἐστι πάσι τινα, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τοσούτοις πολέμοις, τοῖς μὲν θυνείοις τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐμφυλίοις, γενόμενοι καὶ τηλικαῦτα πράγματα ἐπιτραπέντε, ἀρέσαι), καὶ πάνυ ἐτοίμως καὶ πρὸ τοῦ εἰμαρ-

1 βέλτιον ἢτε Rk., βελτίωνα τε VM.

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

"For these reasons, then, I ask and implore you one and all both to approve my course and to coöperate heartily with me, reflecting upon all that I have done for you alike in war and in public life, and rendering me complete recompense for it all by this one favour,—by allowing me at last to be at peace as I live out my life. Thus you will come to know that I understand not only how to rule but also how to submit to rule, and that all the commands which I have laid upon others I can endure to have laid upon me. I ask this because I expect to live in security, if that be possible, and to suffer no harm from anybody by either deed or word,—such is the confidence, based upon my own conscience, which I have in your good-will; but if some disaster should befall me, such as falls to the lot of many (for it is not possible for a man to please everybody, especially when he has been involved in wars of such magnitude, both foreign and civil, and has had affairs of such importance entrusted to him), with entire willingness I make my choice to die even before my appointed
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μένου μοι χρόνου τελευτήσαι μᾶλλον ἰδιωτεύσας, ἢ καὶ ἀδάνατος μοναρχήσας γενέσθαι, αἴρούμαι.

4 ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ εὐκλειαν καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐσεὶ ὅτι οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐφόνευσά τινα ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῆν ἀρχὴν κατασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσαπέθανον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ μοναρχήσαι· ὅ δέ ἡ τολμήσας ἀποκτείναι μὲ πάντως ποι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου καὶ ύφ'

5 ύμῶν κολασθήσεται. ἂπερ ποι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρός μοι γέγονεν· ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἵσόθεος ἀπεδείχθη καὶ τιμῶν ἁίδιῶν ἐτυχεν, οἱ δ’ ἀποσφάξαντες αὐτὸν κακῶς ἀπόλλοντο. ἀθάνατοι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄν δυνηθεὶμεν γενέσθαι, ἐκ δὲ ὅ τοῦ καλῶς ξίσαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καλῶς τελευ-

6 τῆσαι καὶ τοῦτο τρόπον τινὰ κτώμεθα. ἀφ’ οὔπερ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸ μὲν ἡδὴ ἔχων τὸ δὲ ἔξειν ἐπίτυ-ξων, ἀποδίδωμι ύμῖν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰς τε προσόδους καὶ τοὺς νόμους, τοσοῦτον μόνον ὑπειπών, ἵνα μῆτε τὸ μέγεθος ἢ καὶ τὸ δυσμετα-χείριστον τῶν πραγμάτων φοβηθέντες ἀθυμήσητε, μὴ’ αὐτοῖς καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ ῥαδίως διοικεῖσθαι δυναμένων ἀμελήσητε.

10 “Καίτοι καὶ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν τῶν μειζόνων οὐκ ἂν ὀκνῆσαιμι ύμῖν ἐν κεφαλαίοις ὅσα χρῆ πράττειν ὑποθέσθαι. τίνα δὲ ταυτά ἐστὶ; πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς κειμένους νόμους ἱσχυρῶς φυλάττετε, καὶ μηδένα αὐτῶν μεταβάλλητε· τὰ γὰρ ἐν ταυτῷ μένοντα, κἂν χείρῳ ἢ, συμφορῶτερα τῶν ἁεὶ καινοτομομέμνων, κἂν βελτίω εἶναι δοκῆ, ἐστίν.

2 ἔπειτα δὲ, ὅσα προστάττουσιν ύμῖν οὕτω ποιεῖν
time as a private citizen, in preference to living forever as the occupant of a throne. Indeed, this very choice will bring me renown,—that I not only did not deprive another of life in order to win that office, but went so far as even to give up my life in order to avoid being king; and the man who dares to slay me will certainly be punished, I am sure, both by Heaven and by you, as happened, methinks, in the case of my father. For he was declared to be the equal of the gods and obtained eternal honours, whereas those who slew him perished, miserable men, by a miserable death. As for immortality, we could not possibly achieve it; but by living nobly and by dying nobly we do in a sense gain even this boon. Therefore, I, who already possess the first requisite and hope to possess the second, return to you the armies and the provinces, the revenues and the laws, adding only a few words of suggestion, to the end that you may not be afraid of the magnitude of the business of administration, or of the difficulty of handling it and so become discouraged, and that you may not, on the other hand, regard it with contempt, with the idea that it can easily be managed, and thus neglect it.

"And yet, after all, I feel no hesitancy about suggesting to you in a summary way what ought to be done in each of the leading departments of administration. And what are these suggestions? In the first place, guard vigilantly the established laws and change none of them; for what remains fixed, even though it be inferior, is more advantageous than what is always subject to innovations, even though it seem to be superior. Next, pay strict heed to do whatever these laws enjoin upon
καὶ ὅσων ἀπαγορεύουσιν ἀπέχεσθαι, μὴ τῷ λόγῳ μόνον ἄλλα καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, μηδὲ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ἰδία ἀκριβῶς παρατηρεῖσθε,1
3 ὅπως μὴ τιμωρίας ἄλλα τιμῶν τυγχάνετε. τὰς τε ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς εἰρημικὰς καὶ τὰς πολεμικὰς τοῖς ἀεὶ ἀρίστοις τε καὶ ἐμφρονεστάτοις ἔπι- τρέπετε, μήτε φθονοῦντές τισι,2 μηθ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοῦν δείνα ἢ τοῦν δείνα πλεονεκτησαί τι, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως καὶ σώξεσθαι καὶ εὐπραγεῖν
4 φιλοτιμοῦμενοι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν τοιούτους τιμᾶτε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλως πως πολιτευμένους κολαξεῖτε. καὶ 
tὰ μὲν ἱδία κοινὰ τῇ πόλει παρέχετε, τῶν δὲ δημοσίων ὡς ἀλλοτρίων ἀπέχεσθε. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπάρχονθ' ύμῖν ἀκριβῶς φυλάττετε, τῶν δὲ μὴ
5 προσηκόντων μηδαμῶς ἐφίεσθε. καὶ τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους καὶ τοὺς ὑπηκόους μηθ' υβρίζετε μήτε ἐκχρηματίζεσθε, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους μήτ' ἀδικεῖτε μήτε φοβεῖσθε. τὰ μὲν ὅπλα ἐν ταῖς
χερσὶν ἂεὶ ἔχετε, μὴ μέντοι μήτε κατ' ἄλληλον
6 μήτε κατὰ τῶν εἰρημοντῶν αὐτοῖς χρήσθε.3 τοὺς 
tε στρατιώτας τρέφετε μὲν ἄρκοντως, ὅστε μη-
dενὸς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων δι' ἀπορίαν ἐπιθυμήσαι, 
συνέχετε δὲ καὶ σωφρονίζετε, ὅστε μηδὲν κακὸν
dιὰ θρασύτητα δράσαι.
7 "Ἀλλὰ τί δεὶ μακρολογεῖν, πάνθ' ἀ προσήκει 
ποιεῖν ύμᾶς ἐπέξιοντα; καὶ γὰρ τὰ λοιπὰ βαδίως ἄν ἐκ τούτων ώς χρὴ πράττεσθαι συνίδοιτε.4 ἐν ὅπιν ἐτὶ τούτο εἰπὼν παύσομαι, ὅτι ἂν μὲν οὕτω 
πολιτεύσησθε, αὐτοὶ τε εὐδαιμονήσετε καὶ ἐμοὶ

1 παρατηρεῖσθε R. Steph., παρατηρεῖσθαι VM.
2 τισι M, τυι V. 3 χρήσθε M, χρήσθαι V.
4 συνίδοιτε Pflugk, συνελδοίτε VM.

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

"But why make a long speech by going through everything in detail which it behooves you to do? For you may easily understand from these hints how all other matters should be handled. I will close with this one further remark, that if you will conduct the government in this manner, you will both enjoy
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χαριείσθε, ὡστὶς ὑμᾶς στασιάζοντας κακῶς λαβῶν
8 τοιούτους ἀπέδειξα, ἧν δ' ἀδυνατήσητε καὶ ὀτιοῦν
αὐτῶν πράξαι, ἐμὲ μὲν μετανοήσαι ποιήσετε, τὴν
dὲ δὴ πόλιν ἐς τε πολέμους πολλοὺς καὶ ἐς κινδύ-νους μεγάλους αὖθις ἐμβαλείτε.

11 ὁτιαύτα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀναλέγοντος ποικίλον
tι πάθος τοὺς βουλευτὰς κατελάμβανεν. ὦλοιοι
μὲν γὰρ τὴν τε διάνοιαν αὐτὸν ὑδεσαν καὶ τούτου
καὶ συνεσποῦδαξον αὐτῷ· τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ μὲν
ὑπόπτευον τὰ λεγόμενα οἱ δὲ ἐπίστευον σφισί,
cαὶ διὰ ταύτα καὶ ἑθαύμαξον ὁμοίως ἀμφότεροι,

2 οἱ μὲν τὴν περιτέχνησιν αὐτοῦ οἱ δὲ τὴν γρώμην,
καὶ ἕχοντο οἱ μὲν τῇ πραγματείᾳ αὐτοῦ οἱ δὲ τῇ
μετανοίᾳ. τὸ τε γὰρ δημοκρατικὸν ἢδη τινὲς ὡς
cαὶ στασιώδες ἐμίσουν, καὶ τῇ μεταστάσει τῆς
πολιτείας ἥρεσκοντο, τῷ τε Καίσαρι ἐχαίρον.
cαὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῆς μὲν παθήμασι διαφόροις τοῖς

3 δὲ ἐπινοήμασιν ὁμοίως ἔχρωντο. οὔτε γὰρ πι-
στεύσαντες ἀληθῶς αὐτὰ λέγεσθαι χαίρειν ἐδύ-
ναντο, οὐθ' οἱ βουλομένοι 1 τοῦτο διὰ τὸ δέος, οὐθ'
cαὶ ἔτεροι διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας' οὔτ' ἀπιστήσαντες
diabalein te auton kai elengei etolmow, oi men

4 ὅτι ἐφοβοῦντο, οἱ δ' ὦτι οὐκ ἐβούλοντο. ὢθεντερ
καὶ πιστεύειν αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ μὲν ἡγαγκάζοντο
οἱ δὲ ἐπλάττοντο. καὶ ἑπανείν αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν οὐκ
ἐθάρσουν οἱ δ' οὐκ ῥηθελον, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ
μεταξὺ ἀναγγυνώσκοντος αὐτοῦ διεβόων πολλὰ
dὲ καὶ μετὰ τούτο, μοναρχεῖσθαί τε δεόμενοι καὶ

1 βουλομένοι R. Steph., βουλευόμενοι VM.

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BOOK LIII

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

While Caesar was reading this address, varied feelings took possession of the senators. A few of them knew his real intention and consequently kept applauding him enthusiastically; of the rest, some were suspicious of his words, while others believed them, and therefore both classes marvelled equally, the one at his cunning and the other at his decision, and both were displeased, the former at his scheming and the latter at his change of mind. For already there were some who abhorred the democratic constitution as a breeder of strife, were pleased at the change in government, and took delight in Caesar. Consequently, though they were variously affected by his announcement, their views were the same. For, on the one hand, those who believed he had spoken the truth could not show their pleasure,—those who wished to do so being restrained by their fear and the others by their hopes,—and those, on the other hand, who did not believe it did not dare accuse him and expose his insincerity, some because they were afraid and others because they did not care to do so. Hence all the doubters either were compelled to believe him or else pretended that they did. As for praising him, some had not the courage and others were unwilling; on the contrary, both while he was reading and afterwards, they kept shouting out, begging for a monarchical government and urging
πάντα τὰ ἐς τοῦτο φέροντα ἐπιλέγοντες, μέχρις
5 οὐ κατηγοριάσαν δὴθεν αὐτὸν αὐταρχῆσαι. καὶ
παραντικα γε τοῖς δορυφορήσουσιν αὐτὸν διπλά-
σιον τὸν μισθὸν τοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατιώταις
dιδομένου ψηφισθῆναι διεπράξατο,1 ὅπως ἀκριβῆ
tὴν φρουρὰν ἔχῃ. οὖτως ὡς ἀληθῶς καταθέσθαι
tὴν μοναρχίαν ἐπεθύμησε.
12 Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἡγεμονίαν τούτω τῷ ἐκ τρόπῳ καὶ
παρὰ τῆς γερουσίας τοῦ τε δήμου ἐβεβαιώσατο,
βουλήθεις δὲ δὴ καὶ ὡς δημοτικός τις εἶναι δοξαί,
tὴν μὲν φρουτίδα τὴν τε προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν
πᾶσαν ὡς καὶ ἐπιμελείας τινὸς δεομένων ὑπεδέ-
ξατο, οὔτε δὲ πάντων αὐτὸς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἄρξειν,3
2 οὐθεν ὁσον ἂν ἄρξῃ, διὰ παντὸς τούτῳ ποιήσειν
ἔφη, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἀσθενέστερα ὡς καὶ εἰρηναία
καὶ ἀπόλειμα ἀπέδωκε τῇ βουλῇ,4 τὰ δ' ἰσχυρότερα
ὡς καὶ σφαλέρα καὶ ἐπικάνδυνα καὶ ἦτοι πολε-
μίους τινὰς προσούκους ἔχοντα ἢ καὶ αὐτὰ καθ'
3 ἑαυτὰ μέγα τι νεωτερίσαι δυνάμενα κατέσχε, λόγῳ
μὲν ὅπως ἡ μὲν γερουσία ἄδεος τὰ κάλλιστα τῆς
ἀρχῆς καρπότο, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τε πόνους καὶ τοὺς
κινδύνους ἔχῃ, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐνα ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει
ταύτῃ ἐκεύνοι μὲν καὶ ἄστποι καὶ ἄμαχοι ὄσιν,
αὐτὸς δὲ δὴ μόνος καὶ ὀπλα ἔχῃ καὶ στρατιώτατος
4 τρέφῃ, καὶ ἐνομίσθη διὰ ταύτα ἡ μὲν Ὁρκικὴ
cαὶ ἡ Νουμιδία ἢ τε Ἄσια καὶ ἡ Ἑλλας μετὰ
tῆς Ἑπείρου, καὶ τὸ Δελματικὸν τὸ τε Μακε-
δονικὸν καὶ Σικελία, Κρήτη τε μετὰ Διβύς τῆς

1 διεπράξατο Bk., διεπράξαντο VM Xiph.
2 τῇ Xiph., τε VM.
3 ἄρξειν Bk., ἀρχειν VM Xiph.
4 τῇ βουλῇ Xiph. Zon., om. VM.
BOOK LIII

every argument in its favour, until they forced him, b.c. 27
as it was made to appear, to assume autocratic power.
His very first act was to secure a decree granting to
the men who should compose his bodyguard double
the pay that was given to the rest of the soldiers, so
that he might be strictly guarded. When this was
done, he was eager to establish the monarchy in
very truth.

In this way he had his supremacy ratified by the
senate and by the people as well. But as he wished
even so to be thought democratic, while he accepted
all the care and oversight of the public business, on
the ground that it required some attention on his
part, yet he declared he would not personally govern
all the provinces, and that in the case of such pro-
vinces as he should govern he would not do so
indefinitely; and he did, in fact, restore to the
senate the weaker provinces, on the ground that
they were peaceful and free from war, while he
retained the more powerful, alleging that they were
insecure and precarious and either had enemies on
their borders or were able on their own account to
begin a serious revolt. His professed motive in this
was that the senate might fearlessly enjoy the finest
portion of the empire, while he himself had the
hardships and the dangers; but his real purpose was
that by this arrangement the senators should be
unarmed and unprepared for battle, while he alone
had arms and maintained soldiers. Africa, Numidia,
Asia, Greece with Epirus, the Dalmatian and Mace-
donian districts, Crete and the Cyrenaic portion of
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perὶ Κυρήνην καὶ Βιθυνία μετὰ τοῦ προσκειμένου
οἱ Πόντου, Σαρδώ τε καὶ Βατικὰ τοῦ τε δήμου
καὶ τῆς γερουσίας εἶναι, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρος ἢ τε
λοιπὴ Ἱβηρία, ἢ τε περὶ Ταρράκωνα καὶ ἡ Ἀυστ-
τανία, καὶ Γαλάται πάντες, οἳ τε Ναρβωνήσιοι
καὶ οἱ Λουγδουνῆσιοι Ἀκυτανοὶ τε καὶ Βελγικοὶ,¹

6 αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ ἑπτοκοὶ σφων' Κελτῶν γὰρ τινες,
οὗ δὴ Γερμανοὺς καλοῦμεν, πᾶσαν τὴν πρὸς τῷ
Ῥήνῳ Βελγικὴν² κατασχόντες Γερμανίαν ὁνο-
μάζεσθαι ἐποίησαν, τὴν μὲν ἀνώ τὴν μετὰ τὰς
τοῦ ποταμοῦ πηγὰς, τῇ δὲ κάτω τὴν μέχρι τοῦ
7 ὀκεανοῦ τοῦ Βρεττανικοῦ οὖσαν. ταῦτα τε οὖν
καὶ ἡ Συρία ἡ κοιλὴ καλουμένη ἡ τε Φοινίκη καὶ
Κελικία καὶ Κύπρος καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐν τῇ τοῦ
Καίσαρος μερίδι τότε ³ ἐγένετο· ὁστερον γὰρ τὴν
μὲν Κύπρον καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν περὶ Νάρβωνα
τῷ δήμῳ ἀπέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν Δελματίαν

8 ἀντέλαβε, καὶ τούτῳ μὲν καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων ἐθνῶν
μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπράξθη, ὡς ποὺ καὶ ἡ διέξοδος τοῦ
λόγου δηλώσει· ταῦτα δὲ οὕτω κατέλεξα, ὅτι νῦν
χωρὶς ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν ἤγεμονεύεται, ἐπεὶ τὸ γε
ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ σύνδυο καὶ σύντρια τὰ

9 ἔθνη ἀμα ἥρχετο· τῶν δὲ δὴ λοιπῶν οὐκ ἐμπν-
μόνευσα, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ὑστερον αὐτῶν προσεκτήθη,⁴
ta δε, eι καὶ τότε ἦδη ἐκεχείρωτο, ἀλλ' οὕτω καὶ
καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐρωμαίων ἥρχετο, ἀλλ' ἡ αὐτόνομα
ἀφεῖτο ἡ καὶ βασιλείαις τισίν ἐπετέραστο· καὶ

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

1 See note on xxxviii. 34.
2 Dio’s name for Germany proper is Κελτική; when he uses the name Περιμανία, as here, he refers to the provinces of that name, Germania Superior and Germania Inferior, both lying west of the Rhine.
3 Cf. chap. 26 and liv. 9.
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αὐτῶν ὅσα μετὰ τούτ' ἐσ τὴν τῶν Ἔρωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἀφίκητο, τῷ ἀεὶ κρατοῦντι προσετέθη.

13 Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἔθνη οὕτω διηρέθη, Βουλήθης δὲ δὴ καὶ ὅσοι Καῖσαρ πόρρω σφᾶς ἀπαγαγείν τοῦ τι μοναρχικοῦ φρονεῖν δοκεῖν, ἐς δέκα ἐτή τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν δοθέντων οἱ ὑπέστη τοσοῦτο τῇ γὰρ χρόνῳ καταστήσειν αὐτὰ ὑπέσχετο, καὶ προσεναγιεύ-σατο ἐπὶ όν ὅτι, ἀν καὶ θάττον ἄμερωθῇ, θάττον

2 αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἀποδώσει. (κὰκ τοῦτον πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς τούς Βουλευτάς ἐκατέρω τῶν ἔθνων, πλὴν Αἰγυπτίων, ἀρχεῖν κατέδειξεν (ἐκείνοις γὰρ δὴ μόνοις τὸν ὠνομασμένων ἱππέα, δὲ ἀπερ εἰπον, προσέβαλε): ἐπείτα δὲ τοὺς μὲν καὶ ἐπετησίους καὶ κληρωτοὺς εἶναι, πλὴν εἰ τῷ πολυπαιδίας ὃ

3 γάμου προνομία προσεῆ, καὶ ἐκ τε τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς γεροουσίας συλλόγον πέμπεσθαι μήτε ξίφος παρα-ξωνυμένους μήτε στρατιωτικῆ ἐσθῆτι χρωμένους, καὶ ἀνθυπάτους καλείσθαι μή ὅτι τοὺς δύο τοὺς ὑπατευκότας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐκ τῶν

4 ἐστρατηγηκότων ἢ δοκοῦντων γε ἐστρατηγηκέναι μόνον ὅντας, ραβδούχους τέ σφᾶς ἐκατέρους ὀσοισπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄστει νενύμισται χρῆσθαι, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπίσημα καὶ παραχρήμα ἅμα

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1 In li. 17, 1.
2 The details of the earlier legislation of Augustus (cf. liv. 16, 1; lv. 2, 6) in the interest of more marriages and larger families are not clear; but as finally embodied in the Lex Julia et Papia Poppaea (cf. Ivi. 10), the special privileges of a father of three legitimate children (the ius trium liberorum)
of them which came into the Roman empire after b.c. 27 this period were added to the provinces of the one who was emperor at the time.

Such, then, was the apportionment of the provinces. And wishing, even then, to lead the Romans a long way from the idea that he was at all monarchical in his purposes, Caesar undertook for only ten years the government of the provinces assigned him; for he promised to reduce them to order within this period, and boastfully added that, if they should be pacified sooner, he would the sooner restore them, too, to the senate. Thereupon he first appointed the senators themselves to govern both classes of provinces, except Egypt. This province alone he assigned to a knight, the one we have already named, for the reasons mentioned there. Next he ordained that the governors of senatorial provinces should be annual magistrates, chosen by lot, except when a senator enjoyed a special privilege because of the large number of his children or because of his marriage. These governors were to be sent out by vote of the senate in public meeting; they were to carry no sword at their belt nor to wear military uniform; the name of proconsul was to belong not only to the two ex-consuls but also to the others who had merely served as praetors or who held at least the rank of ex-praetors; both classes were to employ as many lictors as were usual in the capital; and they were included the right to receive inheritances left to bachelors (who could not inherit), preference in standing for the various offices, including the right to be a candidate before the regular age or without the usual interval between offices, precedence before equals and colleagues, and exemption from certain civic obligations.
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τὸ ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου γενέσθαι προστίθεσθαι καὶ διὰ πάντος μέχρις ἃν ἀνακομισθῶσιν ἔχειν ἐκείνη λευσε. τοὺς δὲ ἑτέρους ὑπὸ τὸ ἐαυτὸν αἱρεῖσθαι καὶ πρεσβευτὰς αὐτοῦ ἀντιστρατήγους τε ὀνομάζεσθαι, κἂν ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ὡς, διέταξε, τῶν γὰρ δὴ δύο τούτων ὀνομάτων ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀνθησάντων, τὸ μὲν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τοῖς αἵρετοῖς ὡς καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντων ἀρχαίου προσήκον ἔδωκεν, ἀντιστράτηγους σφᾶς προσειπῶν, τὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν ὑπάτων τοῖς ἑτέροις ὡς καὶ εἰρημικωτέροις, ἀνθυπάτους αὐτοὺς ἑπικαλέσας. αὐτὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰ ὀνόματα, τὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὑπάτου, ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐπήρησε, τοὺς δὲ ἔξω πάντας ὡς καὶ ἀντὶ ἐκείνων ἀρχαίοις προσηγορεύσε. τῇ τε οὕν ἐπικλήσει τῇ τῶν ἀντιστράτηγου τοὺς αἵρετους χρῆσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ χρόνον, ἕφ’ ὅσον ἄν ἐαυτὸ δόξη, ἀρχαῖον ἐποίησε, τὴν τε στρατιωτικὴν σκέψιν φοροῦντας καὶ ἔφοι, οἷς γε καὶ στρατιώτας δικαίωσαι ἔξεστιν, ἔχοντας. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὕτω ἀνθυπάτῳ οὐτὲ ἀντιστράτηγῳ οὐτε ἐπιτρόπῳ ξυφῆρωσαν δέδοται, ὁ μὴ καὶ στρατιώτην τινὰ ἀποκτεῖναι ἐξείναι νονόμισται οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἰππεῦσιν, οἷς τοῦθ'.

8 ὑπάρχει, καὶ ἐκείνω συγκεκριμένη. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχει, ῥαβδοῦχος δὲ δὴ πέντε πάντες ὁμοίως οἱ ἀντιστράτηγοι χρωνίαται, καὶ ὀσοὶ ἔν οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων εἰσί, καὶ ὀνομάζονται ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ

1 τῷ πολέμῳ Μ, τοῦ πολέμου Β.

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

All the editions previous to that of Boissevain gave “six lictors,” an error corrected by Mommsen (Römisches Staatsrecht, i , p. 369, note 4).

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ἀριθμοῦ τούτου. τὰ τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ κοσμήματα, ὅταν τε ἐς τὴν προστεταγμένην σφίσι χώραν ἐσέλθωσιν, ἐκάτεροι ὁμοίως ἀναλαμβάνονσι, καὶ ἐπειδὰν διάρξωσιν, εὐθὺς κατατίθενται.

14 Οὔτω μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτως ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἀρχόντες ἀμφοτέρως πέμπτευθαί ἐνομίσθησαν. καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν αὐτοκράτωρ ὅποι τέ τινα καὶ ὑπότε ἤθελεν ἔστελλε, καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ στρατηγοῦντες καὶ ὑπατεύοντες ἡγεμονίας ἔθνων ἔσχον, δ καὶ 1 νῦν

2 ἔστιν ὅτε ἤγγεται τῇ δὲ ἡ βουλὴ ἰδίᾳ μὲν τοῖς τε ὑπατευκόσι τὴν τε Ἀφρικὴν καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τοῖς ἐστρατηγηκόσι τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ἀπένεμε, κοινῇ δὲ ἡ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ἀπηγόρευσε μηδένα πρὸ πέντε ἔτων μετὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀρξαί

3 κληροῦσθαι. καὶ χρόνῳ μὲν τινὶ πάντες οἱ τοιούτοι, εἰ καὶ πλείους τῶν ἔθνων ἦσαν, ἐλάγχανον αὐτά· ὑστερον δὲ, ἐπειδή τινες αὐτῶν οὐ καλῶς ἦρχον, τῷ αὐτοκράτορι καὶ ἐκείνῳ προσετέθησαν, καὶ οὕτω καὶ τούτως αὐτὸς τρόπον

4 τινὰ τὰς ἡγεμονίας δίδωσιν. ἵσαρίθμους τε γὰρ τοῖς ἐθνεσι, καὶ οὓς ἄν ἐθέλησι, κληροῦσθαι κελεύει, αἱρετοὺς τέ τινες καὶ ἐκεῖσε ἐπεμψαν, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐνιαυτοῦ χρόνον ἔστιν οἷς ἀρξαὶ ἐπέτρεψαν καὶ τινες καὶ ἐπιπεύσων (ἀντὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν) ἔθνη τινὰ προσέταξαν.

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

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

\(^1\) This was merely a renewal of the decree of 52 B.C. which had remained in force. Cf. xl. 46, 2, and lii. 20, 4.
5 Ταύτα μὲν οὕτω τότε (περὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς τοὺς γε καὶ θανατοῦν τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἐξουσίαν ἐχοντας ἐνομίσθη. πέμπτονται γὰρ καὶ οἳς οὐκ ἔμεστι τοῦτο, ἐσ μὲν τὰ τοῦ δῆμου τῆς τε βουλῆς λεγόμενα ἑθνη οὐ τε ταμεύοντες, οὔς ἄν ὁ κλῆρος ἀποδείξῃ, καὶ οἱ παρεδρέωντες τοῖς τὸ κύρος τῆς
6 ἀρχῆς ἐχουσίν. οὕτω γὰρ ἄν ὅρθως αὐτούς, οὐ πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν πράξει, ὡσπερ εἰποὺ, καλέσαμι, ἔτει οὗ γε 1 ἄλλοι πρεσβευτὰς καὶ τούτων ἐκληρίζοντες ὀνομάζουσι. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ταύτης ἀρκοῦντως ἐν τοῖς
7 ἄνω λόγοις εἰρηται, τοὺς δὲ δὴ παρέδρους αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἐκαστος αἴρεται, ἐνα μὲν οἱ ἑστρατηγικότες ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων σφίσιν ἡ καὶ τῶν ὑποδεστέρων, τρεῖς δὲ οἱ ὑπατευκότες καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὁμοτίμων, οὔς ἄν καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ δοκιμάσῃ. ἐκαίνοτομηθῇ μὲν γὰρ τι καὶ κατὰ τούτους, ἀλλ' ἐπειδῆ ταχὺ ἐπαύσατο, ἀρκέσει τότε αὐτὸ λεχθῆναι.

15 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ τοῦ δήμου ἑθνη ταῦθ' οὕτω γίγνεται. πέμπτονται δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἔτερα, τὰ τοῦ τε αὐτοκράτορος ὁμομαξόμενα καὶ πολιτικά στρατόπεδα πλείω ἐνὸς ἐχοντα, οἱ ὑπάρξοντες σφων, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου τὸ μὲν πλείστον ἐκ τῶν ἑστρατηγικῶν ἡδὴ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν τεταμευκότων ἡ καὶ ἀλλην τινὰ ἀρχὴν τῶν διὰ μέσου ἀρξάντων αἴρούμενοι.

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

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

1 Legati. Cf. Ix. 27, 6.
2 πρεσβευταί. This, the literal translation of legati, was in fact the ordinary Greek term.
3 See chap. 13, 5.
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2 Τὼν μὲν δὴ οὖν βουλεύοντων ταύτα ἔκεται, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἱππέων τούς τε χιλιάρχους, καὶ τοὺς βουλεύσοντας ¹ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς, ὡς περὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς ἀνώ μοι τοῦ λόγου προείρηται, αὐτὸς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τοὺς μὲν ἐς τὰ πολιτικὰ τείχη μόνα τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ξενικὰ ἀποστέλλει, ὡσπερ τότε

3 πρὸς τοῦ ² Καίσαρος ἐνομίσθη καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους (οὖτω γὰρ τοὺς τάς τε κοινὰς προσόδους ἐκλέγοντας καὶ τὰ προστηταγμένα σφίσιν ἀναλίσκοντας ὁνομάζομεν) ἐς πάντα ὁμοίως τὰ ἔθνη, τά τε ἐαυτοῦ δὴ καὶ τά τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων τούς δὲ καὶ (ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων πέμπει, πλὴν καθ’ ὅσον τοὺς φόρους οἱ ἀνθύπατοι παρ’

4 ὃν ἀρχοῦσιν ἐσπράσσονσιν. ἐντολάς τε τινας καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις καὶ τοῖς ἀνθυπάτοις τοῖς τε ἀντιστρατηγοῖς δίδωσιν, ὅπως ἐπὶ ῥήτοις ἔξισσαι. καὶ γὰρ τούτο καὶ τὸ ³ μεσθοφοράν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι

5 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δίδοσθαι τότε ἐνομίσθη. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πάλαι ἐργολαβοῦντες τινες παρὰ τοῦ δημοσίου πάντα σφίσι τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν φέροντα παρείχων ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος πρῶτον αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι τακτὸν τι λαμβάνειν ἥρξαντο. καὶ τοῦτο ⁴ μὲν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ίσου πᾶσι σφισιν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ποὺ καὶ ἡ χρεία ἀπῆτει, ἐτάξθη καὶ (τοῖς γε ἐπιτρόποις) καὶ αὐτῷ τὸ τοῦ ⁵ ἀξιώματος ὅνωμα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν διδομένων αὐτοῖς χρημάτων προσ-

¹ βουλεύσοντας Dind., βουλεύσαντας VM.
² τοῦ Bs., αὐτοῦ τοῦ VM. ³ τὸ Bk., τὴν VM.
⁴ τοῦτο R. Steph., τοῦ VM. ⁵ τὸ τοῦ Bk., τοῦτο VM.
BOOK LIII

These positions, then, appertain to the senators. Passing now to the knights, the emperor himself selects knights to be sent out as military tribunes (both those who are prospective senators and the others; concerning their difference in rank I have already spoken 1), despatching some of them to take command of the garrisons of purely citizen-legions, and others of the foreign legions as well. In this matter he follows the custom then instituted by Caesar. The procurators (for this is the name we give to the men who collect the public revenues and make disbursements according to the instructions given them) he sends out to all the provinces alike, to those of the people as well as to his own, and to this office knights are sometimes appointed and sometimes even freedmen; but the proconsuls may exact the tribute from the people they govern. The emperor gives instructions to the procurators, the proconsuls, and the propraetors, in order that they may be under definite orders when they go out to their provinces. For both this practice and the giving of salaries to them and to the other officials was established at this time. In former times, of course, certain persons had made a business of furnishing the officials with all they needed for the conduct of their office, drawing upon the treasury for the money; but under Caesar these officials now for the first time began to receive a fixed salary. This was not assigned to them all on the same basis, but approximately as their needs required; and the procurators, indeed, get the very title of their rank from the amount of the salaries assigned to them. 2

1 In lii. 25, 6 f.
2 i.e. centenarii, ducenarii, and trecentarii, receiving one hundred, two hundred, and three hundred thousand sesterces respectively.
 Dio's Roman History

6 γίγνεται. ἐκεῖνα δὲ ἐπὶ πάσιν ὅμοιως ἐνομοθετήθη, μήτε καταλόγους σφᾶς ποιεῖσθαι, μήτε ἀργύριον ἐξῶ τοῦ τεταγμένου ἐσπράσσειν, εἰ μὴ ἦτοι ἡ Βουλὴ ψηφίσαιτο ἡ ὁ1 αὐτοκράτωρ κελεύσειν ὅταν τε τῷ ὁ διάδοχος ἔλθῃ, ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτικά αὐτοῦ ἐξορμᾶσθαι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄνακομιδῇ μὴ ἐγχρονίζειν, ἀλλ' ἐντὸς τρίδων μηνῶν ἐπανεῖναι.

16. Ταύτα μὲν οὕτω τότε ὡς γε εἰπεῖν διετάχθην: τῷ γάρ ἔργῳ καὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ παντὸς αὐτὸς ὁ Καίσαρ, ἀτε καὶ τῶν χρημάτων κυριεύων (λόγῳ μὲν γάρ τα δημόσια ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου ἀπεκέκριτο, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ ταύτα πρὸς τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἀνηλίσκετο) καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κρατῶν, αὐταρ-

2 χήσειν ἐμελλε. τῆς γοῦν δεκατίας ἐξελθούσης ἀλλὰ ἔτη πέντε, εἶτα πέντε, καὶ μετὰ τούτο δέκα καὶ ἐτέρα αὐθις δέκα καὶ ἄλλα δέκα,2 πεμπτάκις3 αὐτῶ ἐψηφίσθη, ὡστε τῇ τῶν δικηριδῶν4 δια-

3 δοχῇ διὰ βίου αὐτοῦ μοναρχίσαι. καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταύτα αὐτοκράτορες, καίτοι μηκέτ' ἐς τακτὸν χρόνον ἀλλ' ἐς πάντα καθάπαξ τῶν βίων ἀποδεικνύμενοι, ὀμοὶς (διὰ τῶν δέκα ἀεὶ ἐτῶν ἐωρτασαν ὡς καὶ τὴν ἰγκεμονίαν αὐθις τότε ἀνα-

4 νεουμένου καὶ τούτο καὶ νῦν γίγνεται.

Ο δ' οὖν Καίσαρ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ πρότερον,5 ὡτε τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐξωμοσίας τῆς μοναρχίας καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν διανομῆς διελέξθη,6 ἔλαβε: καὶ γὰρ τὸ τε τὰς δάφνας πρὸ τῶν βασιλείων

1 ὁ supplied by R. Steph.
2 καὶ ἄλλα δέκα supplied by Mommsen.
3 πεμπτάκις Zon., πεμπτάκις Α VM.
4 δικηριδῶν Xiph., δικηριδῶν Zon., δικηριδῶν VM.
5 πρότερον Rk., πρότερα VM. 6 διελέξθη M, διελέγχθη V.
BOOK LIII

The following regulations were laid down for them all alike: they were not to raise levies of soldiers or to exact money beyond the amount appointed, unless the senate should so vote or the emperor so order; and when their successors arrived, they were to leave the province at once, and not to delay on the return journey, but to get back within three months.

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

Now Caesar had received many privileges and honours even previously, when the question of declining the sovereignty and that of apportioning the provinces were under discussion. For the right to place the laurel trees in front of the royal residence
αὐτοῦ προτίθεσθαι, καὶ τὸ τὸν στέφανον τὸν δρύμου ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἁρτᾶσθαι, τότε οἱ ὡς καὶ ἀεὶ τοὺς τε πολεμίους νικῶντι καὶ τοὺς πολίτας
5 σώζοντι ἐγγυσίθη. (καλεῖται δὲ τὰ βασίλεια παλάτιον, οὐχ ὦτι καὶ ἐδοξὲ ποτε οὕτως αὐτὰ ὀνομάζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὦτι ἐν τε τῷ Παλατίῳ ὁ Καίσαρ ὥσει καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸ στρατηγίων εἴσε, καὶ τινα καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ῥωμύλου προενδείκνυσιν φήμην ἡ ὀικία αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ παντὸς ὄρους.)
6 ἐλαβεν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀλλοθ' που ὁ αὐτο-κράτωρ καταλύν, τὴν τοῦ παλατίου ἐπίκλησιν ἡ καταγωγή αὐτοῦ ἱσχει). ἔπει δὲ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ αὐτὰ ἐπετέλεσεν, οὕτω δῇ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀὔγουστου ὄνομα καὶ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου
7 ἐπέθετο. βουληθέντων γὰρ σφων ἰδίως πως αὐτοῦ προσείπεσαι, καὶ τῶν μὲν τὸ τῶν δὲ τὸ καὶ ἐσηγομένων καὶ αἱρουμένων, ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπεθύμηκεν μὲν ἱσχυρὸς Ῥωμύλος ὀνομασθήναι, αἰσθάνομενος δὲ ὅτι ὑποτεύνεται ἐκ τούτου τῆς βασιλείας
8 ἐπιθυμεῖν, οὐκέτ' αὐτοῦ ἀντεποίησατο, ἀλλ' Ἀὔγουστος ὡς καὶ πλεῖον τι ἡ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ὄν ἑπεκλήθη· πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἐντιμότατα καὶ τὰ ἐρωτάτα ἀνθιστα προσαγορεῖται. ἐξ οὕτων καὶ σεβαστὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐλλημμοῦ ὑπερτερεῖν πως, ὡς περι τινὰ σεπτὸν, ἀπὸ τοῦ σεβάζεσθαι, προσείπον.
17 ὡτω μὲν δὴ τὸ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὸ τῆς γερου-σίας κράτος πᾶν ἐς τὸν Ἀὔγουστον μετέστη, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκριβὴς μοναρχία κατέστη· μοναρχία γάρ, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἀμα τὸ κύρος ποτε ἐσχον, ἀληθεύσατα ἀν νομίζοιτο.

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

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

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

2 Cf. liii. 40.
 Dio's Roman History

2 τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄνωμα αὐτὸ τὸ μοναρχικὸν οὐτώ δὴ τι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐμίσησαν ὡστε μήτε δικτάτορας μήτε βασιλέας μήτ’ ἄλλο τι τοιούτοτροπον τοὺς αὐτο-
κράτοράς σφων ὄνομάζειν τοῦ δὲ δὴ τῆς πολιτείας
tέλους ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀνακειμένου οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐ
3 βασιλεύονται. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαί αἱ (ἐκ τῶν
νόμων ὡς πλήθει γενόμεναι καὶ νῦν πλήν τῆς τῶν
tιμητῶν καθίστανται, διὰγεται δὲ καὶ διοικεῖται
πάντα ἀπλῶς ὅπως ἀν ὁ ἄει κρατῶν ἐθελήσῃ.
καὶ ἵνα γε μὴ ἐκ δυναστείας ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν νόμων
τοῦτ ἔχειν δοκῶσι, πάνθ’ ὃσα ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ
μέγα (παρ’ ἐκουσὶ σφισιν) ἵσχυσιν, αὐτοῖς τοῖς
ὄνόμασι χωρίς τοῦ τῆς δικτατορίας προσεποιή-
4 σαντο. ὕπατοι τε γὰρ πλειστάκις γίγνονται, καὶ
αὐθυπατοὶ ἂει, ὃσάκις ἂν ἐξω τοῦ πωμηρίου ὅσιν,
ἀνομάζονται τῆς τε τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πρόσρησιν
diὰ παντὸς οὐ μόνον οἱ νικήσαντες τινας ἄλλα
καὶ οἱ ἅλλοι πάντες, πρὸς δὴ λωσιν τῆς αὐτοτε-
λούς σφων ἔξουσιάς, ἀντὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ
5 τε δικτάτορος ἐπικλήσεως ἔχουσιν. αὐτὰς μὲν
γὰρ ἐκείνας οὐ τίθενται, ἐπειδὴ ἄπαξ ἐκ τῆς
πολιτείας ἐξέπεσον, τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐργον αὐτῶν τῇ τοῦ
αὐτοκράτορος προσηγορία βεβαιοῦται. καὶ ἐκ
μὲν τούτων τῶν ὄνομάτων καταλόγους τε ποιεῖ-
σθαι καὶ χρήματα ἀθροίζειν πολέμους τε ἀναι-
6 ἑίρημην σπεύδεσθαι, (τοῦ τε ἕξενικοῦ
καὶ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ) ἂεὶ καὶ πανταχός ὁμοίως
ἀρχεῖν, ὡστε καὶ ἑντὸς τοῦ πωμηρίου καὶ τοὺς
ἰππεὰς καὶ τοὺς Βουλαντάς θανατοῦν δύνασθαι,
BOOK LIII

same time.\(^1\) The name of monarchy, to be sure, the Romans so detested that they called their emperors neither dictators nor kings nor anything of the sort; yet since the final authority for the government devolves upon them, they must needs be kings. The offices established by the laws, it is true, are maintained even now, except that of censor; but the entire direction and administration is absolutely in accordance with the wishes of the one in power at the time. And yet, in order to preserve the appearance of having this power by virtue of the laws and not because of their own domination, the emperors have taken to themselves all the functions, including the titles, of the offices which under the republic and by the free gift of the people were powerful, with the single exception of the dictatorship. Thus, they very often became consuls, and they are always styled proconsuls whenever they are outside the pomerium. The name of “imperator” is held by them all for life, not only by those who have won victories in battle, but also by those who have not, in token of their independent authority, and this has displaced the titles “king” and “dictator.” These last titles they have never assumed since the time they first fell out of use in the conduct of the government, but the functions of those offices are secured to them under the appellation of “imperator.” By virtue of the titles named they secure the right to make levies, to collect funds, declare war, make peace, rule foreigners and citizens alike everywhere and always,—even to the extent of being able to put to death both knights and senators inside the pomerium,—and all the other

\(^1\) See note on § 8 inf.
 Dio’s Roman History

τά τε ἄλλα ὡσα τοῖς τε ύπάτοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς αὐταρχήσασί ποτε ποιεῖν ἔξην, λαμβάνουσιν.

7 (ἐκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ τιμητεύειν τοὺς τε βίους καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἡμῶν ἐξετάζουσιν, καὶ ἄπογραφὰς ποιοῦνται καὶ τοὺς μὲν καταλέγουσι καὶ ἐς τὴν ἱππάδα καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτικὸν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπα-]

8 λείψουσιν, ὅπως ἂν αὐτοῖς δόξῃ. (ἐκ τε τοῦ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἱερωσύναις ἱερῶσθαι καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰς πλείους σφῶν διδόναι, ἀρχιερεῶν τε τινα αὐτῶν, καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἀμα ἄρχωσιν, εἶναι, πάντων αὐτοῖ καὶ τῶν ὅσιων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ¹

9 κυριεύουσιν. ἡ τε ἐξονσία ἡ δημαρχικῇ καλούμενη, ἣν ὁ πάνυ ποτε ἀνθήσαντες ἔσχον, διδωσί σφις τά τε ἐπιγγυόμενα ὑφ ἐτέρου τινὸς, ἂν μὴ συνεπαινώσι, παύειν, καὶ μὴ ὑβρίζεσθαι, καὶ ἀρα τι καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον μὴ ὅτι ἔργον ἄλλα καὶ λόγῳ ἀδικεῖσθαι δόξῳ, καὶ ἀκριτον τὸν ποιή-]

10 σαντα αὐτὸ ὡς καὶ ἐναγη ἀπολλύουσι. δημαρχεῖν μὲν γάρ, ἀτε καὶ ἐς τοὺς εὐπατρίδας πάντως τελοῦντες, οὐχ ὅσιον νομίζουσιν εἶναι τὴν δὲ δὴ δύναμιν τὴν τῶν δημάρχων πάσαν, ὁσπερ τὰ μάλιστα ἐγένετο, προστίθενται, καὶ διʼ αὐτῆς καὶ ἡ ἐξαρίθμησις τῶν ἐτῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ καὶ ἐτος αὐτήν μετα τῶν ἀεὶ δημαρχοῦντων

¹ ἱερῶν R. Steph., ἱερῶν V Xiph., ἱερων M.

¹ Up to the time when Dio wrote these words it was true that when two or more jointly held the imperial power (as Marcus Aurelius with L. Verus, and Septimius Severus with
BOOK LIII

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

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

2 Cf. vol. i. p. 127 ff., xlix. 15, 5–6.
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11 λαμβανόντων, προβαίνει. ταύτα μὲν ἐκ τῆς δημοκρατίας, ὃς ποι καὶ ἐκαστα ἐνομίσθη, οὔτω τε καὶ διὰ τούτων τῶν ὀνομάτων εἰλήφασιν, ὅπως 
18 μηδὲν ἀνεν δόσεως τινος ἔχειν δοκῶσιν ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐτερόν τι, δὴ μηδενι τῶν πάλαι Ῥωμαίων ἐσ 
πάντα ἀντικρυς ἔδοθη, προσεκτήσαντο, ὥν' οὕπερ καὶ μόνου καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἂν καὶ τάλλα αὐτοῖς πράτ 
tειν ἔξην. λέλυνται γὰρ δὴ τῶν νόμων, ὡς αὐτὰ 
tὰ Λατίνα ῥήματα λέγει: τοῦτ' ἐστιν ἀλεύθεροι 
(ὑπὸ πάσης ἀναγκαίας νομίσεως) εἰσὶ καὶ οὔτωι 
2 τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐξέχονται. καὶ οὕτως (ἐκ 
tούτων τῶν δημοκρατικῶν ὀνομάτων) πᾶσαν τήν 
tῆς πολιτείας ἱσχύν περιβέβληται ὥστε καὶ τὰ 
tῶν βασιλέων, πλην τοῦ φορτικοῦ τῆς προση 
γορίας αὐτῶν, ἔχειν. ἢ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ Καῖσαρος ἢ 
tε τοῦ Ἀὐγοῦστον πρόσρησις δύναμιν μὲν οὐδε 
μίαν αὐτοῖς οἰκείαν προστίθησι, δὴλοὶ δὲ ἀλλᾶς 
tὸ μὲν τὴν τοῦ γένους σφῶν διαδοχὴν, τὸ δὲ τὴν 
3 τοῦ ἀξιώματος λαμπρότητα. καὶ ἢ γε τοῦ 
pατρὸς ἔπωνυμία τάχα μὲν καὶ ἐξονσίαν τινὰ 
αὐτοῖς, ἢν ποτε οἱ πατέρες ἐπὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἔσχοι, 
κατὰ πάντων ἠμῶν δίδωσιν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ 
tοῦτο ἄρχὴν ἐγένετο ἀλλ' ἐς τε τιμὴν καὶ ἐς 
παράϊνεσιν, ἵν' αὐτοὶ τε τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὡς καὶ 

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

their accession, by way of designating them officially as successors to the imperial power), or (beginning with Trajan) from December 10th, the date of the regular tribunitian elections.

2 Princeps legis solutus est. Ulpian (Digest, i. 3, 31); cf. Mommsen, Staatsrecht, ii. 728 ff.
4 Τοσαύτατε καὶ τοιαύται αἱ προσηνορίᾳ οἴσιν αἰς οἱ τὸ κράτος ἔχοντες κατὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἡδὴ πάτριον νομίζουσι, καὶ νῦν μὲν πᾶσαι ἁμα αὐτοῖς ὡς τὸ πολὺ, πλὴν τῆς τῶν τιμητῶν, δίδονται, τοῖς δὲ δὴ πάλαι κατὰ χρόνους ὡς ἔκασται ἐγηφίζοντο. τὴν γὰρ δὴ τιμητείαν ἐλαβον μὲν τινὲς καὶ τῶν αὐτοκράτωρος κατὰ τὸ ἀρχάιον, ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ Δομιτιάνος

5 ἦ θὰ διὰ βίον οὐ μέντοι καὶ νῦν ἔτι τούτο γίγνεται· τὸ γὰρ ἔργων αὐτῆς ἔχοντες οὔτε αἱροῦνται ἐπ' αὐτήν, οὔτε τῇ προσκλήσει αὐτῆς πλὴν εἰν ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς χρῶται.

19 Ἡ μὲν οὖν πολιτεία οὕτω τότε (πρὸς τέ τοῦ βέλτιον καὶ πρὸς τὸ σωτηριωδέστερον μετεκοσμήθη, καὶ γὰρ που καὶ παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον ἦν δημοκρατουμένους αὐτοὺς σωθῆναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὁμοίως τοῖς πρόσθεν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα πρα-χέντα λεχθῆναι δύναται. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ ἐς τὸν δήμον πάντα, καὶ εἰ πόρρω πον συμβαίη, ἐσεφέρετο, καὶ διὰ τούτο πάντες τε αὐτὰ ἐμαύθησαν καὶ πολλοὶ συνέγρα-φοι, κὰκ τούτοι καὶ ἡ ἀληθεία αὐτῶν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ φόβῳ τινὰ καὶ χάριτι φιλία τε καὶ ἕχθρα τισιν ἐρρήθη, παρὰ γοῦν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τὰ αὐτὰ γράψας τοὺς τε ὑπομνήμασι.

2 χρόνου ἐκείνου τὰ μὲν πλείω κρύφα καὶ δι’ ἀπορρήτων γίγνεσθαι ἢρξιτο, εἰ δὲ τοῦ τινα καὶ

1 Δομιτιάνος R. Steph., δομιτιάνος VM.
2 τῇ προσκλήσει Ba., τὴν πρόσκλησιν VM.
children, and to their subjects, that they should revere them as they would their fathers.

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

In this way the government was changed at that time for the better and in the interest of greater security; for it was no doubt quite impossible for the people to be saved under a republic. Nevertheless, the events occurring after this time can not be recorded in the same manner as those of previous times. Formerly, as we know, all matters were reported to the senate and to the people, even if they happened at a distance; hence all learned of them and many recorded them, and consequently the truth regarding them, no matter to what extent fear or favour, friendship or enmity, coloured the reports of certain writers, was always to a certain extent to be found in the works of the other writers who wrote of the same events and in the public records. But after this time most things that happened began to be kept secret and concealed, and
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δημοσιευθεὶς, ἀλλὰ ἀνεξέλεγκτά γε ¹ ὄντα ἀπι-στεῖται. καὶ γὰρ λέγεσθαι καὶ πράττεσθαι πάντα πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἅπει κρατοῦντων τῶν τε παραδυνα-πτεύεται. καὶ κατὰ τούτο πολλὰ μὲν οὐ γιγομένα θρύλειται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πάντα συμβαίνοντα ἁγιοεῖται, πάντα δὲ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀλλὸς πὼς ἢ ὁδε γράττεσται διαθροεῖται. καὶ μενεῖ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς μέγεθος τὸ τε τῶν πραγμάτων πλήθος δυσχερεστάτην τὴν ἀκριβείαν αὐτῶν παρέχεται. ἐν τε γὰρ τῇ Ῥώμῃ συννα καὶ παρὰ τῷ ὑπηκόων αὐτῆς πολλά, πρὸς το τὸ πολέμιον ἅπα καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ὡς εἰπεῖν γίγνεται τι, ³ περὶ ὧν τὸ μὲν σαφῆς οὐδεὶς ραδίως ἐξω τῶν πραττόντων αὐτά γιγαντίως, πλεῖστοι δὲ ὁσοι οὐδ' ἀκούοντι τῆν ἀρχήν ὅτι γέγονεν. ὀθεν-περ καὶ ἐγὼ πάντα τὰ ἐξῆς, ὡσα γε ⁴ καὶ ἀναγ-καίον ἐστιν εἰπεῖν, ὡς ποιει καὶ δεδήμωται φράσιν, εἰτ' ὄντως οὕτως εἴτε καὶ ἐτέρως πὼς ἔχει. προσ-έσται μέντοι τι αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς δοξασίας, ἐς ὦσον ἐνδέχεται, ἐν ὀις ἄλλο τι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ θρυ-λούμενον ἡδυνήθην ἐκ πολλῶν ὧν ἀνέγυν ἢ καὶ ἰκουσά ἢ καὶ εἴδον τεκμήρισθαι. ²ο Ἀὐγουστος μὲν δὴ ὁ Καίσαρ, ὡσπερ εἶπον, ἐπωνομάσθη, καὶ αὐτῷ σημεῖον οὐ σμικρὸν εὐθὺς τότε τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπεγένετο· ὁ γὰρ Τίβερις πελαγι-σας πάσαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις Ῥώμην κατέλαβεν ὡστε πλεῖσθαι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ μάντεις ὅτι τε

¹ οὐκοί τοῦ Β. Στέφ., τοῦ Β. Μ. Χιφ. ² τὴν Χιφ., ομ. Β. Μ. ³ το Β. Μ., τοῦ Χιφ. ⁴ οὐκοί τοῦ Β. Στέφ., τοῦ Β. Μ. ²ο 244
even though some things are perchance made public, they are distrusted just because they can not be verified; for it is suspected that everything is said and done with reference to the wishes of the men in power at the time and of their associates. As a result, much that never occurs is noised abroad, and much that happens beyond a doubt is unknown, and in the case of nearly every event a version gains currency that is different from the way it really happened. Furthermore, the very magnitude of the empire and the multitude of things that occur render accuracy in regard to them most difficult. In Rome, for example, much is going on, and much in the subject territory, while, as regards our enemies, there is something happening all the time, in fact, every day, and concerning these things no one except the participants can easily have correct information, and most people do not even hear of them at all. Hence in my own narrative of later events, so far as they need to be mentioned, everything that I shall say will be in accordance with the reports that have been given out, whether it be really the truth or otherwise. In addition to these reports, however, my own opinion will be given, as far as possible, whenever I have been able, from the abundant evidence which I have gathered from my reading, from hearsay, and from what I have seen, to form a judgment that differs from the common report.

Caesar, as I have said, received the name of Augustus, and a sign of no little moment to him occurred that very night; for the Tiber overflowed and covered all of Rome that was on low ground, so that it was navigable for boats. From this sign the
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ἐπὶ μέγα αὐξήσοι καὶ ὅτι πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ὑπο-
2 χειρίαν ἔξοι προέγρασαν. (χαριτομένων δ' αὐτῷ
καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἄλλων ἄλλα;) Σέξτος τις Πακού-
ουιος,2 ὡς δ' ἐτεροι λέγουσιν 'Απούδιος, πάντας
ἐξεύκησεν' (ἐν γάρ τῷ συνεδρίῳ) ἑαυτόν τέ οἱ
τῶν τῶν Ἰβήρων τρόπον καθωσίωσε καὶ τοῖς
3 ἄλλοις συνεβούλευε τούτο ποιήσαι. ἐπειδὴ τε
ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐμποδών οἱ ἐγένετο, (πρὸς τε τὸ
πλήθος τὸ προσετός ἐξεύκησεν (ἐδημάρχει
γάρ) καὶ ἐκεῖνος τε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς
λοιποὺς, κατὰ τε τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ κατὰ τοὺς στενω-
ποὺς περινοστήσας, καθιερώσας σφας τῷ Αὐ-
4 γούστῳ κατηνάγκασεν ἀφ' οὔπερ καὶ νῦν προσ-
προτερέμενοι3 τὸν κρατοῦντα λέγειν εἰώθαμεν ὅτι
" σοι καθωσιώμεθα."

Καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ θύσαι ἐπὶ τούτῳ παντας ἐποίει,
ἐν τε τῷ ὑμῖλῳ ποτὲ κληρονόμον ἕφη τὸν Αὐ-
γουστον (ἐξ ἰσου τῷ νίει καταλεύφειν, οὔχ ὅτι
τι εἶχεν, ἄλλ' ὅτι καὶ προσλαβεῖν ἠθέλησεν, δ' καὶ
21 ἐγένετο: Αὐγουστος δὲ τά τε ἄλλα τά τῇ ἀρχῇ
προσήκοιτα προθυμότερον, ὡς καὶ ἔθελον τῇ
παρὰ πάντων αὐτὴν εἰληφώς, ἔπραττε, καὶ ἐνο-
μοθέτει πολλά; οὔδεν δὲ δέσμαι καθ' ἐκαστον
ἀκριβῶς ἐπεξείναι, χωρίς ἢ ὡσα τῇ συγγραφῇ
2 πρόσφορά ἑστι. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ (ἐν τοῖς
ἐπείτα πραχθείσι) ποιήσω, ἵνα μὴ καὶ δι' ὄχλου

1 ἄλλα Μ, ἄλλαι Β, 2 Πακούνιος Βκ., πακούβιος ΒΜ.
3 προστρεπόμενοι Βκ., προτρεπόμενοι ΒΜ.

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

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

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

\(^2\) According to Valerius Maximus (ii. 6, 11), the Celtiberians thought it wrong to survive a battle when the leader for whose preservation they had vowed their life (spiritum devoverant) had perished. Cf. Caesar, B.C. iii. 22.
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γένομαι πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπεσφέρων ἄ μηδ' 3 αὐτοὶ οἱ πάνυ αὐτὰ μελετῶντες ἀκριβοῦσιν, οὗ μέντοι καὶ πάντα ἰδιογνωμονών ἐνομοθέτει, ἀλλ' ἐστὶ μὲν ἂ καὶ ἐς τὸ δημόσιον προεξετιθεῖ, ὅπως, ἀν τι μῆ ἄρεσθι τινά, προμαθῶν ἐπανορθώσῃ: προετρέπτετο τε γὰρ πάνθ' ὄντινοιν συμβουλέειν οἱ, εὐ τίς τί ἀμεινων αὐτῶν ἐπινοήσειεν, καὶ παρ-

ρησίαν σφίσι πολλῆν ἔνεμε, καὶ τινα καὶ μετέ-

γραφέ. (τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον) τοὺς τε ὑπάτους ἂ τὸν ὑπατον, ὅποτε καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπατεύοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄρχοντων ἔνα παρ' ἐκάστων, ἐκ τοῦ λοιποῦ τῶν βουλευτῶν πλῆθους πεντεκαίδεκα τοὺς κλήρον 1 λαχόντας, συμβούλους (ἐς ἐξάμηνον) παρελάβανεν, ὅστε δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι κοινούσθαι (τρόπον τινὰ τὰ νομοθετοῦμενα

νομίζεσθαι. ἐσέφερε μὲν γὰρ τινα καὶ ἐς πᾶσαιν τὴν γερουσίαν, βέλτιον μέντοι νομίζων εἶναι τὸ μετ' ὀλίγων καθ' ἴσυχιαν τά τε πλείω καὶ τὰ μείζω προσκοπεῖσθαι, τούτο τὸ ἐποίηε καὶ ἐστιν

6 ὅτε καὶ ἐδίκαζε μετ' αὐτῶν. ἔκρινε μὲν γὰρ καὶ καθ' ἐαυτὴν ἡ βουλή πάσα ὡς καὶ πρότερον, καὶ τισι καὶ πρεσβείαις καὶ κηρυκείαις καὶ δήμων καὶ βασιλέων ἐχρημάτιζεν, ὦ τε δήμος ὑς τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας καὶ τὸ πλήθος αὕτη συνελέγετο· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπράττετο τί ὃ μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνων ἤρεσκε. 2

7 τοὺς γοὺς ἄρξοντας τοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐκλεγόμενος προεβάλλετο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ τε

1 κλήρῳ Xiph., κλήρους VM.
2 ἤρεσκε Xiph. Zon., ἤρεσεν VM.
by introducing all that kind of detail that even the men who devote themselves to such studies do not know to a nicety. He did not, however, enact all these laws on his sole responsibility, but some of them he brought before the public assembly in advance, in order that, if any features caused displeasure, he might learn it in time and correct them; for he encouraged everybody whatsoever to give him advice, in case any one thought of any possible improvement in them, and he accorded them complete liberty of speech, and actually changed some provisions of the proposed laws. Most important of all, he took as advisers for periods of six months the consuls (or the other consul, when he himself also held the office), one of each of the other kinds of officials, and fifteen men chosen by lot from the remainder of the senatorial body, with the result that all legislation proposed by the emperors is usually communicated after a fashion through this body to all the other senators; for although he brought certain matters before the whole senate, yet he generally followed this plan, considering it better to take under preliminary advisement most matters and the most important ones in consultation with a few; and sometimes he even sat with these men in the trial of cases. The senate as a body, it is true, continued to sit in judgment as before, and in certain cases transacted business with embassies and heralds, from both peoples and kings; and the people and the plebs, moreover, continued to meet for the elections; but nothing was done that did not please Caesar. It was he, at any rate, who selected and placed in nomination some of the men who were to hold office, and though in the case of others he adhered
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22 Τὸ μὲν οὖν σύμπαν οὖτω τὴν ἀρχὴν διώκησε, λέξω δὲ καὶ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ὁσα ἀναγκαῖον ἦστι μετὰ τῶν ὑπάτων, ἐφ’ ὑν ἐγένετο, μυημονεύ- σθαι. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τὸ προερημένον ἐτει πᾶς ὁδοὺς τὰς (ἐξω τοῦ τεῖχους) δυσπορεύτους ὕπ’ ἀμελείας ὁρῶν οὕσας τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἄλλοις τισὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐπισκευάσας τοῖς οἴκειοι τέλεσε προσέ- ταξε, τῆς δὲ δὴ Φλαμινίας3 αὐτὸς, ἐπειδήπερ ἐκστρατεύσειν (δ’ αὐτῆς) ἤμελλεν, ἐπεμελήθη.

2 καὶ ἡ μὲν εὐθὺς τότε ἐγένετο, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ εἰκόνες αὐτῷ ἐφ’ ἀνθίδων ἐν τῇ τοῦ Τι- βέριδος γεφύρα καὶ ἐν Ἀριμνῷ ἐποιήθησαν αἱ δ’ ἄλλαι ύστερον, εἰτ’ οὖν πρὸς τοῦ δήμου, ἐπειδὴ μηδεῖς τῶν βουλευτῶν ἥδεως ἀνήλισκεν, εἰτ’ καὶ πρὸς τοῦ Αὐγούστου τις ἐπείν ἔθελει,

3 ἐπεσκευάσθησαν. οὐ γὰρ δύναμαι διακρίναι τοὺς θησαυροὺς αὐτῶν, οὐδ’ εἰ τὰ μάλιστα ὁ Αὐ- γούστος καὶ ἀνδριάντας τινὰς ἑαυτοῦ ἀργυρίους, πρὸς τε τῶν φίλων καὶ (πρὸς δήμων τινῶν) γιγανότας, ἐς νόμισμα κατέκοψε τοῦ δὴ καὶ οἰκοθεν

4 πάνθ’ ὁσα γε καὶ ἔλεγε δαπανᾶν δοκεῖν· καὶ διὰ τούτο οὐτ’ εἰ ποτὲ ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων τὶ κρημάτων ὁ ἄει κρατῶν ἔλαβεν, οὕτ’ εἰ ποτὲ αὐτὸς ἔδωκε,4 γνώμην ἔχω συγγράψαι. πολλάκις τε γὰρ ἐκα- τερον αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, καὶ τί ἄν τὸς ἐς δανείσματα ἡ καὶ δωρεὰς τὰ τοιαῦτα καταλέγοι,5 ὅποτε καὶ

1 ἀποδεικνύωνται R. Steph., ἀποδεικνύονται VM Xiph. Zon.
2 ἐφ’ ST., ὑφ’ VM.
3 Φλαμινίας R. Steph., φλαμηνίας VM.
4 έδωκε R. Steph., ἐδαρε VM.
5 καταλέγωι Reim., καὶ λέγοι VM.

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to the ancient custom and left them under the control of the people and the plebs, yet he took care that none should be appointed who were unfit or as the result of partisan cliques or bribery.

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

5 Tote mev de tauta o 1 Agyounstos epraže, kai eẓwriṃe se mev ois kai es tηn Brettanwv stratetwsan, es de de taw Galateias elθwv entatha enđetymihe ev keinoi te γαρ ἐπικηρυκεύσεσθαί 2 oiv eōkoiv, kai ta touton akatástata eti, aite twn emfυλων polemow enwvs eti tη alwsei sfwv enigēnomewn, ἵναι kai autwv kai apografaa ἐποιήσατο kai tov bion tηn te politeian dieko-smyse. kantueven es te tηn 'Iβηριαν αφίκετο, kai katesthaste kai ekeinyh.

23 Metà de de touto autow te to ondous svn tō Taurov tō Στατιλίω υπάτευσε, kai o 'Αρηππας

2 taw Szepeta onomasmēna kathērōseun odhon mev gar 3 oudeμían ἐπισκευάσεων ὑπέσχετο, tauta de en taw Apeio pedio stoaic perixe ὑπο touv Lepidou, πρὸς τὰς φυληκας ἄρχαιρεσίας συνακοδομημένων kai pλαξί λιθίνως kai ζωγραφήμασιν ἐπεκό-smheven, 'Ιουλia auta apò touv Agyounstou prous-

3 agourovow, kai o mev onhy oπως ϕθόνων tina ετ' autow phlioskanenv, alla kai patv kai pros autow ekeinov kai pros twn απαντων

4 etumato (aution de oti ta philanθropōtata kai ta evklestata te te synxromwvta kai συμβου-leuvn oi kai syn trapattow ovd eti bραχv tηs doxeis autwv antepoieito, táis te par autov timaic outhe es pleonexiavan outhe es apolauvsin idian ekrhito, alla es te to autov ekeinow kai es to

1 o supplied by R. Steph.
2 ἐπικηρυκεύσεσθαι Cobet, ἐπικηρυκεύσασθαι VM.
3 γαρ M, om. V.
are constantly resorting to both the one and the other indiscriminately?

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

After this he became consul for the eighth time, together with Statilius Taurus, and Agrippa dedicated the structure called the Saepta; for instead of undertaking to repair a road, Agrippa had adorned with marble tablets and paintings this edifice in the Campus Martius, which had been constructed by Lepidus with porticos all around it for the meetings of the comitia tributa, and he named it the Saepta Iulia in honour of Augustus. And Agrippa not only incurred no jealousy on this account, but was greatly honoured both by Augustus himself and by all the rest of the people. The reason was that he consulted and cooperated with Augustus in the most humane, the most celebrated, and the most beneficial projects, and yet did not claim in the slightest degree a share in the glory of them, but used the honours which the emperor bestowed, not for personal gain or enjoyment, but for the benefit of the donor himself and

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5 τῷ δημοσίῳ συμφέρον), ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος Κορνήλιος καὶ ἐξύβρισεν ὑπὸ τῆς τιμῆς. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ μάταια ἔς τὸν Ἀὐγουστοῦ ἀπελήρει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπαίτια παρέπραττε καὶ γὰρ καὶ εἰκόνας ἐαυτοῦ ἐν ὅλῃ ὡς εἰπεῖν τῇ Ἀὐγούστῳ ἔστησε, καὶ τὰ ἔργα ὡς ἐπετοιήκει ἐς τὰς πυρα ArrayBuffer

6 μίδας ἐσέγραψε. κατηγορήθη τε οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Οὐαλερίου Ἄργου, ἔταρπο τε οἱ καὶ συμβιωτοῦ ὄντος, καὶ ἠτιμόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀὐγουστοῦ, ὡστε καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν αὐτοῦ κωλυθήσατε διαιτάσθαι. (γενομένου δὲ τοῦτον) καὶ ἀλλοι αὐτῷ συχνοὶ ἐπέθεντο καὶ γραφᾶς κατ' αὐτοῦ πολλαὶ ὥστε καὶ ἐπάνω αὐτοῖς ἀλώναι τε αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις καὶ φυγεῖν τῆς σοφίας στερηθέντα, καὶ ταῦτην τε τῷ Ἀὐγουστῳ δοθήσαι καὶ ἐαυτοὺς βουθυτῆσαι ἐψηφίσατο. καὶ ὁ μὲν περιαλήγησας ἐπὶ τούτων ἐαυτὸν προκατεχρῆσατο, ὥστε τὸ τῶν πολλῶν κίβδηλον καὶ ἐκ τούτου διηλέγχθη ότι ἐκεῖνων τε, ὁν τέως ἐκολάκευνο, οὕτω τότε διεθηκαν ὡστε καὶ αὐτοχειρὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἀναγκάσαι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Λάργον ἀπέκλιναν, ἐπειδὴ περὶ αὐξείν ἰχθυτο, μελλοντές που καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο τὰ αὐτὰ, ἀν γε τι τοιοῦτοι οἱ ὥστε καὶ ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἀναπνεύσαι τὸν παρόντος αὐτοῦ ἀσφάλεια

7 ἅπινεγκαν, καὶ ἡ γεροντία ἀπασα ἀλώναι τε αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις καὶ φυγεῖν τῆς σοφίας στερηθέντα, καὶ ταύτην τε τῷ Ἀὐγουστῳ δοθήναι καὶ ἐαυτοὺς βουθυτῆσαι ἐψηφίσατο. καὶ ὁ μὲν περιαλήγησας ἐπὶ τούτων ἐαυτὸν προκατεχρῆσατο, τοῦ δὲ τῶν πολλῶν κίβδηλον καὶ ἐκ τούτου διηλέγχθη ότι ἐκεῖνων τε, ὁν τέως ἐκολάκευνο, οὕτω τότε διεθηκαν ὡστε καὶ αὐτοχειρὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἀναγκάσαι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Λάργον ἀπέκλιναν, ἐπειδὴ περὶ αὐξείν ἰχθυτο, μελλοντές που καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο τὰ αὐτὰ, ἀν γε τι τοιοῦτοι οἱ μὲν τοιοῦτοι Προκουλέιος οὕτω πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐσχέν ὡστ' ἀπαντήσας ποτὲ αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ ἔρωτα καὶ τὸ στόμα τὸ ἐαυτοῦ τῇ χειρὶ ἐπισχεῖν, ἐνδεικνύμενος τοῖς συνούσιν ὅτι μηδ' ἀναπνεύσαι τὸν παρόντος αὐτοῦ ἀσφάλεια

1 τῷ cod. Peir., om. VM.
2 ἐσέγραψε Xiph., ἐσέγραψε VM cod. Peir.
3 ἅπινεγκαν Pilugk, ἅπινεγκαν VM cod. Peir.
4 Προκουλέιος BS., προκουλίους VM Xiph., Προκουλήσ Λευνελ.
of the public. On the other hand, Cornelius Gallus was encouraged to insolence by the honour shown him. Thus, he indulged in a great deal of disrespectful gossip about Augustus and was guilty of many reprehensible actions besides; for he not only set up images of himself practically everywhere in Egypt, but also inscribed upon the pyramids a list of his achievements. For this act he was accused by Valerius Largus, his comrade and intimate, and was disfranchised by Augustus, so that he was prevented from living in the emperor's provinces. After this had happened, many others attacked him and brought numerous indictments against him. The senate unanimously voted that he should be convicted in the courts, exiled, and deprived of his estate, that this estate should be given to Augustus, and that the senate itself should offer sacrifices. Overwhelmed by grief at this, Gallus committed suicide before the decrees took effect; and the insincerity of the majority of people was again proved by his case, in that they now treated the man whom formerly they had been wont to flatter in such a way that they forced him to die by his own hand, and then went over to Largus because he was beginning to grow powerful—though they were certain to vote the same measures against him also, if a similar situation should arise in his case. Proculeius, however, conceived such contempt for Largus that once, on meeting him, he clapped his hand over his nose and mouth, thereby hinting to the bystanders that it was not safe even to breathe in the
3 εἴη. ἄλλος τε τις προσήλθε τε αὐτῷ, καὶ περ ἄγνωσ ὁusters, μετὰ μαρτύρων, καὶ ἐπήρετο εἰ γνωρίζοι ἐαυτοῦ, ἐπειδὴ τε ἐξηρυθάστο, ἐς γραμματεῖον τὴν ἀρνησιν αὐτοῦ ἐσέγραψεν, ὡσπερ οὐκ ἔξων τῶ κακῶ καὶ ὃν οὐκ ἦδει πρότερον συκοφαντήσαι.

4 οὕτω δ᾽ οὖν οἱ πολλοὶ τὰ ἔργα τινῶν, κἀν ποιηρὰ ἦ, μᾶλλον ζηλούσιν ἡ τα παθήματα φυλάσσουνται, ὡστε καὶ τὸ Μάρκος Ἐγνάτιος Ἀρτύφος ἀγορανομήσας, καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καλῶς πράξας καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις ταῖς (ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ἑμπροσθειότερα ἐπικούριαν μετὰ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ δούλων) καὶ μεθ᾽ ἐτέρων τινῶν μισθωτῶν ποιησάμενος, καὶ διὰ τούτο τά τε ἀναλώματα τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ προσήλκοντα παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαβὼν καὶ στρατηγὸς παρανόμως ἀποδειχθεῖς, ἐπήρθη τε ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ τὸν Ἀὐγουστον ὑπερεφρονήσεν, ὡστε καὶ προγράψαι ὅτι ἄθραυστον καὶ ὀλόκληρον τῷ διαδόχῳ τὴν πόλιν παρεδωκέν. (ἐπ᾽ οὖν τούτῳ οἱ τε ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι μάλιστα ὁ Ἀὐγουστος ὄργην ἔσχε, καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐκδιδάξειν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐμελλε τὸ μη ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς φρονεῖν, τοῖς δ᾽ ἀγορανόμοις παραχρήμα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τε ὅτους μηδὲν ἐμπίπτομεν, κἀν ἄρα τι τοιοῦτο συμβῆ, κατασβηνύναι τὸ πῦρ προσέταξε.

25 Κἂν τῷ αὐτῶ ἔτει τούτῳ ὁ τε Πολέμων ὁ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ βασιλεύων ἐσ τε τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους τοῦ δήμου ἀνεγράφη, καὶ προεδρία τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἁρχῇ αὐτοῦ ἐς πάντα τὰ θέατρα ἐδόθη: τὸν τε Ἀὐγουστον ἐς τὴν

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

In this same year Polemon, the king of Pontus, was enrolled among the friends and allies of the Roman people; and the privilege was granted the senators of occupying the front seats in all the theatres of his realm. Augustus was planning an
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Brepttavian, ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἠθέλησαν ὁμολογῆσαι, στρατευσεῖόντα κατέσχον οἱ τε Σάλασσοι ἐπαναστάντες αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ Κάνταβροι οἱ τε "Ἀστυρεσ πολεμωθέντες. οἴκουσι δὲ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν (ὑπὸ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς, ὡσπερ εἰρητά μοι, οὕτω δὲ ἐκάτεροι τοῦ τε Πυρηναίου τοῦ 1) πρὸς τὴν Ἱβηρία τὸ καρτέρω-3 τατον καὶ τὴν πεδιάδα τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὖσαν. (ὅ-ον ταῦτα ὁ Ἀɣνουστος (ἡδὴ δὲ ἐνατον μετὰ Μάρκου Σιλανοῦ ὑπάτευν) ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς Σαλάσσους Τερέντιον Οὐάρρωνα ἔπεμψε. καὶ δες πολλαχῇ ἀμα, ὅπως μὴ συστραφέντες δυσχειρω-5 τότεροι γένωνται, ἐμβαλὼν ράστα τε αὐτούς, ἀτε καὶ κατ' ὀλίγοις προσπίπτοντάς σφισίν, ἐνίκησε, καὶ συμβῆναι καταναγκάσας ἀργυρίόν τε τι ῥητών, ὡς καὶ μηδὲν δεινόν ἀλλο δράσων, ἦτησε, κακὸ τούτου 2) πανταχῇ πρὸς τὴν ἐσπραξίν δῆθεν αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας διαπέμψας συνέλαβε τε τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ ἀπέδωτο, ἐφ᾽ ὃ μηδεῖς σφων 5 ἐντὸς εἰκοσιν ἐτῶν ἐλευθερωθεὶς. καὶ αὐτῶν ἡ ἀρίστη τῆς γῆς τῶν τε δορυφόρων τισιν ἐδόθη, καὶ πόλιν τὴν Ἀɣνουσταν πραστωριανῶν ὑνομασμένην ἐσχέν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἀɣνουστος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀστυρας καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Καντάβρους ἀμα ἐπολεμησε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μήτε προσεχώρουν οἱ ἀτε 3 ἐπὶ 6 τοὺς ἐρυμνοὶς ἐπαιρόμενοι, μήτε ἐς χεῖρας διὰ τε τὸ τῷ πλήθει ἐλαττούσθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀκοντιστὰς τὸ πλείστον εἶναι ἤσαν, 4 καὶ προσέτι καὶ πρά-

1 τοῦ Reim., τοῦ τε VM.
2 τούτου R. Steph., τούτου τοῦ M, τούτου τε V.
3 οἱ ἀτε Dind., ἀτε Bk., οἱ τε VM. 4 ἤσαν Dind., ἤσαν VM.

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

1 Probably in a lost portion of the work, perhaps Book xxii. Cf. Frag. 74 and Book xlix. 34. 2 The modern Aosta.
γιματά αὐτῷ πολλά, εἰ που κινηθείη, τά τε ὑπερ- 
δέξια αἰ ἐποκαταλαμβάνοντες καὶ ἐν τοῖς κοίλοις 
τοῖς τε υλώδεσιν ἐνεδρεύοντες παρεῖχον, ἐν ἀπόρω 
7 παντάπασιν ἐγένετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τε τοῦ 
καμάτου καὶ ἐκ τῶν φροντίδων νοσήσας ἐς Ταρρά- 
kώνα ἀνεχώρησε καὶ ἐκεῖ ἦρρωσεν. Γάιος δὲ 
'Αντίστιος προσεπολέμησε τε αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῦτῳ καὶ 
συχνὰ κατειργάσατο, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἁμείνων τοῦ 
8 Αὐγούστου στρατηγὸς ἦν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι καταφρονή- 
sαντες αὐτοῦ οἱ βάρβαροι ὀμόσε τε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις 
ἐχώρησαν καὶ ἐνικήθησαν.1 καὶ ὅτως ἐκείνος τέ 
tινα ἔλαβε, καὶ Τίτος μετὰ ταῦτα Καρίσιος τὴν 
tε Δανκίαν τὸ μέγιστον τῶν Ἀστύρων πόλισμα 
ἐκλειφθὲν εἶλε καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ παρεστήσατο. 
26 Παυσαμένου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου ὁ Αὐγού- 
στος τοὺς μὲν ἀφηλικεστέρους τῶν στρατιωτῶν 
ἀφῆκε, καὶ πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἐν Λυσιτανίᾳ τὴν Αὐγοῦ- 
σταν Ἡμέριταν καλουμένην κτίσαι ἐδώκε, τοῖς δὲ 
tὴν στρατεύσιμον ἡλικιαν ἔτ’ ἔχουσι θέας τιμᾶς 
διὰ τε τοῦ Μαρκέλλου καὶ διὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ὡς 
καὶ ἀγορανομοῦντων ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς στρατοπέδοις 2 
2 ἐποίησε. καὶ τῷ μὲν 'Ἰοὺβα τῆς τε Γατουλίας 
tινὰ ἀντὶ τῆς πατρώας ἀρχῆς, ἐπείτερ ἐς τὸν τῶν 
Ῥωμαίων κόσμον οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν ἐσεγεγράφατο, 
3 καὶ τὰ τοῦ Βόκχο τοῦ τε Βογγού ἐδώκε: τοῦ δ’ 
'Αμύντου τελευτήσαντος οὐ τοῖς πασίν αὐτῷ τὴν 
ἀρχὴν ἐπέτρεψε, ἀλλ’ ἐς τὴν υπήκουν ἐσήγαγε, 
καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἡ Γαλατία μετὰ τῆς Λυκασιάς 
Ῥωμαίου ἄρχοντα ἔσχε, τὰ τε χωρία τὰ ἐκ τῆς 
Παμφυλίας πρότερον τῷ Ἀμύντα προσνεμή-

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

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

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1 Possibly this praenomen is an error for Publius.
2 The modern Merida.
4 θέντα τῷ ἰδίῳ νομῷ ἀπεδόθη. ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν αὐτοῦ τούτων χρόνων Μάρκος Ουνίκιος Κελτῶν τινας μετελθὼν, ὅτι Ῥωμαίοις ἀνδρας ἐσ τήν χώραν σφών κατὰ τήν ἐπιμεῖξιαν ἑσελθόντας συλλαβοῦντες ἐφθειραν, τὸ ὄνομα καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ τοῦ 5 αὐτοκράτορος τῷ Ἀγγούστῳ ἔδωκε. καὶ ἔση-φίσθη μέν του καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τότε γενομένους· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἤθελησαν αὐτὰ πέμψαι, ἀγῆς τε ἐν ταῖς Ἀλπεσι τροπαίοφόροι2 οἱ ὕκοδομήθην, καὶ ἐξουσία ἔδόθη τοῦ τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρα καὶ τῷ3 στεφάνῳ καὶ τῇ ἐσθήτῃ τῇ νικητηρίᾳ αἱ χρήσθαι.

Ἀγγούστος μὲν ταῦτα τε ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐπραξε, καὶ τοῦ τοῦ Ἱανοῦ τεμένισμα ἀνοιχθεν δι' 27 αὐτοὺς ἐκλείσεν,4 Ἀγρῖππας δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὸ ἅστυ τοῖς ἰδίοις τέλεσιν ἑπεκόσμησε. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὴν στοάν τῆν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ὑνωμασμένην καὶ ἐξωκοδόμησεν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυκρατίαις καὶ τῇ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν γραφῇ ἑπελάμπρυνε, τοῦτο δὲ τὸ πυριτή-ριον τὸ Δακωνικὸν κατεσκέυασε. Δακωνικὸν γὰρ τὸ γυμνάσιον, ἐπειδήτερ οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι γυμνου-σθαί τε ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ καὶ λίπα ἁσκεῖν μάλιστα 2 ἐδόκοιν, ἐπεκάλεσε. τὸ τε Πάνθειον ὑνωμασμένον ἐξετέλεσε· προσαγορεύεται δὲ οὖτω τάχα μὲν ὅτι πολλῶν θεῶν εἰκόνας ἐν τοῖς ἀγάλμασι, τῷ τε τοῦ Ἀρεως καὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ἔλαβεν, ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ νομίζω, ὅτι θολοειδὲς ὁν τῷ οὐρανῷ προσέοικεν.

3 ἡβουλήθη μὲν οὖν 5 ὁ Ἀγρῖππας καὶ τῶν Ἀγγού-

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

After these achievements in the wars Augustus closed the precinct of Janus, which had been opened because of these wars. Meanwhile Agrippa beautified the city at his own expense. First, in honour of the naval victories he completed the building called the Basilica of Neptune and lent it added brilliance by the painting representing the Argonauts. Next he constructed the Laconian sudatorium. He gave the name “Laconian” to the gymnasium because the Lacedaemonians had a greater reputation at that time than anybody else for stripping and exercising after anointing themselves with oil. Also he completed the building called the Pantheon. It has this name, perhaps because it received among the images which decorated it the statues of many gods, including Mars and Venus; but my own opinion of the name is that, because of its vaulted roof, it resembles the heavens.¹ Agrippa, for his part, wished to place a statue of Augustus there also and to

¹ The present Pantheon, as is now recognized, dates from the reign of Hadrian. The vast rotunda is surmounted by a dome, in the centre of which there is a circular opening nearly thirty feet in diameter for the admission of light.
στον ἐνταῦθα ἱδρύσατι, τὴν τε τοῦ ἔργου ἐπίκλησιν αὐτῷ δοῦναι· μὴ δεξαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ μηδέτερον ἐκεὶ μὲν τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος,1 ἐν δὲ τῷ προναῷ τοῦ τε Αὐγοῦστου καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνδριάντας ἔστησε. καὶ ἐγύρυτο γὰρ τάῦτα οὐκ (ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῷ Ἀγρίππα πρὸς τὸν Αὐγοῦστον φιλοτιμίας) ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον λιπαροῦς εὐνοίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον ἐνδελεχοῦς σπουδῆς, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ὁ Αὐγοῦστος ἑτίασατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον ἐπὶ-μυστε ὑπὸ τῆς τῇ θυγατρὸς τῆς Ἰουλίας καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου μὴ δυνηθείς ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε2 ποιήσαι δι’ ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἀπὸν ἐωρτασε· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἥ οἰκία ἤ ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ὥρει, ἡ προτέρον μὲν τοῦ Ἀὐτονίου γενομένη ύστερον δὲ τῷ τε Ἀγρίππα καὶ τῷ Μεσσᾶλα δοθεῖσα, κατεφλέχθη, τῷ μὲν Μεσσᾶλα ἀργύριον ἐχαρίσατο, τὸν δὲ Ἀγρίππαν σύνοικον ἐποίησατο. οὕτως τε οὖν ἐκ τούτων οὐκ ἄπεικότως ἐγαυροῦτο, καὶ τις Γάιος Θοράνιος αἰτίαν ἀγαθὴν ἔσχειν, ότι δημαρχῶν τὸν πατέρα, καίπερ ἐξελεύθερον τινος ὀντα, ἐς τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐσῆγαγε καὶ ἐν τῷ δημαρχικῷ βάθρῳ παρεκαθίσατο. Πούπλιος τοῦ Σερούλιος ὄνομα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλαβεν, ότι στρατηγῶν ἄρκτους τε τριακοσίας καὶ Διβυκά ἑτερα θηρία ἱσα ἐν πανηγύριε τινὶ ἀπέκτεινεν.

28 Ἐκ δὲ τούτων δέκατον ὁ Αὐγοῦστος μετὰ Γαίου Νωρβανοῦ ἤρξε, καὶ ἐν τῇ νομηνίᾳ ὀρκους ἢ βουλῆ βεβαιούσα τὰς πράξεις αὐτού

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

Augustus now became consul for the tenth time, with Gaius Norbanus as colleague, and on the first day of the year the senate confirmed his acts by
ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλησιάζειν τε ἦδη τῇ πόλει ἤγγελθε (ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς ἀρρωστίας ἐχρόνισε) καὶ τῷ δήμῳ καθ’ ἐκατόν δραχμὰς δῶσειν ὑπέσχετο, τὸ τε γράμμα τὸ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀπηγόρευσε μὴ πρότερον ἐκτεθῆναι πρὶν ἀν καὶ ἐκεῖνη συνδόξη, πάσης αὐτὸν τῆς τῶν νόμων ἀνάγκης ἀπῆλλαξαν, ἦν, ὡσπερ εὑρηταὶ μοι, καὶ αὐτοτελῆς ὄντως καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἐαυτὸ καὶ τῶν νόμων πάντα τε ὅσα βούλειτο ποιοὶ καὶ πάνθ’ ὅσα ἄβουλοι 1

3 μὴ πράττῃ. ταῦτα μὲν ἀποδημώνυτι ἐτ’ αὐτῷ ἑψηφίσθη, ἀφικομένοι δὲ ἐς τὴν Ρώμην ἄλλα τινὰ ἐπὶ τε τῇ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνακομιδῆ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο. τῷ τε Μαρκέλλῳ βουλεύειν τε ἐν τοῖς ἐστρατηγικοῖς καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν δέκα θάττων ἔτεσιν ἡπερ ἐνενόμιστο αἰτήσαι, καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ πέντε πρὸ ἐκάστης ἀρχής ἔτεσι τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ἑδόθη: καὶ παραχρήμα γε οὕτως μὲν ταμίας ἐκείνοις δὲ ἀγορανόμοι ἀπεδείχθησαι. τῶν τε ταμευσόντων ἐν τοῖς ἐθνεσιν ἐπιλειπόντων ἐκληρωθησαν ἐς αὐτὰ πάντες οἱ μέχρι δέκα ἀνω ἑτῶν ἄνει τοῦ ἔργου τούτου τεταμεικότες.

4 'Εν μὲν οὖν τῇ πόλει ταῦτα τότε ἀξία μνήμης ἐγένετο· οἳ δὲ δὴ Κάνταβροι οἳ τε Ἀστυρεῖς, ὡς τἄχιστα ὁ Ἀὐγουστος ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, Λούκιον Ἀἰμίλιον ἀρχοντα αὐτῆς καταλιπών, ἀπηλλάγη, ἐπανέστησαν, καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς τὸν Λιμίλιον, πρὶν καὶ ὅτιον ἐκφθαί αἱ, σίτον τε καὶ ἀλλα τινὰ χαρίσασθαι τῷ στρατεύματι βούλεσθαι

1 ἄβουλοι Dind., ἄ βουλοι VM.
BOOK LIII

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

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

\(^1\) See chap. 18.
 Диос Римской истории

2 ἐφασαν, κάκ τοῦτον στρατιώτας συχνὸς ὡς καὶ κομοῦντας αὐτὰ λαβὼντες ἐς τε χώρια αὐτοὺς ἐπιτῆδεια σφιαν ἐσήγαγον καὶ κατεφόνευσαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἰσθήσαν τῆς τε γὰρ χώρας αὐτῶν δημαθείσης καὶ τειχῶν τινῶν καυτέντων, τὸ τε μέγιστον τῶν χειρῶν τοῖς ἀεὶ ἀλυσκομένοις ἀποκοπτομένων, ταχεώς ἐχειρώθησαν.

3 Ἐν δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἀλλ' τις στρατεία καὶ γῆ ἀρχὴν τε ἅμα καὶ τέλος ἐσχεν. ἐπὶ γὰρ Ἀραβίαν τὴν εὐδαίμονα καλουμένην, ἡς Σαβὼς ἐβασίλευσεν, Ἀβίλιος Γάλλος, ὁ τῆς Ἀγάπτου.

4 ἀρχῶν ἐπεστράτευσε. καὶ ἔστιν ὃνισ ὑδεῖς αὐτῷ τὴν πρώτην ἐπήθεν, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἀπόνως προεχώρει ἢ τε γὰρ ἐρημία 2 καὶ ὃ ἡλιος τὰ τε ὕδατα φύσιν τινὰ ἀτοποὺ ἐχοῦτα πάνυ αὐτοὺς ἔταλαίπωρησεν, ὡστε τὸ πλεῖον τοῦ στρατοῦ.

5 φθαρῆται. τὸ δὲ δὴ νόσημα οὐδεὶς τῶν συνήθων ὁμοίων ἐγίγνετο, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐνσκῆψαν ἐξηραίνειν αὐτὴν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς αὐτικὰ ἀπώλυε, τῶν δὲ δὴ περιγυμνομένων ἐς τὰ σκέλη κατηκεῖ, πάν τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ σώματος ὑπερβάν, καὶ ἐκεῖνα 3 ἐλυμαίνετο, ἵππα τε αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ἢν χωρίς ἢ εἰ τις ἔλαιον οἰνὸς μεμυγμένον καὶ ἔπει.

6 καὶ ἡλείψατο. ὅπερ ποὺ πάνυ ὁλόγοις σφόν ὑπῆρξε ποῖσαν; ὅπερ γὰρ ἡ χώρα οὐδέτερον αὐτῶν φέρει οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι ἄφθονα αὐτὰ προπαρεσκευάδατο. 4 καὶ τὸ πόνῳ τοῦτῳ καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι.

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2 ἐρημία R. Steph., ἡρεμία VM.
3 ἐκεῖνα Rk., ἐκεῖνα τε VM.
4 προπαρεσκευάδατο Bk., προπαρεσκευάσαντο VM, (ἐκεῖνοι) προπαρεσκευάστο Zon.

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

While this was going on, another and a new campaign had at once its beginning and its end. It was conducted by Aelius Gallus, the governor of Egypt, against the country called Arabia Felix, of which Sabos was king. At first Aelius encountered no one, yet he did not proceed without difficulty; for the desert, the sun, and the water (which had some peculiar nature) all caused his men great distress, so that the larger part of the army perished. The malady proved to be unlike any of the common complaints, but attacked the head and caused it to become parched, killing forthwith most of those who were attacked, but in the case of those who survived this stage it descended to the legs, skipping all the intervening parts of the body, and caused dire injury to them. There was no remedy for it except a mixture of olive-oil and wine, both taken as a drink and used as an ointment; and this remedy naturally lay within reach of only a few of them, since the country produces neither of these articles and the men had not prepared an abundant supply of them beforehand. In the midst of this trouble the barbarians also fell
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7 σφίσι προσεπέθεντο, τέως μὲν γὰρ ἰττοὺς, ὁπότε γε καὶ 1 προσμίζειαν αὐτοῖς, ἐγκόνοντο, καὶ τινα καὶ χωρία ἀπέβαλλον· τότε δὲ συμμάχῳ τῇ νόσῳ αὐτῶν χρησάμενοι τά τε σφέτερα ἐκομίσαντο καὶ ἐκείνων τοὺς περιλειφθέντας ἐξῆλασαν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. πρῶτοι μὲν δὴ Ὁρμαίων οὕτω, νομίζω δ' ὅτι καὶ μόνοι, τοσοῦτον (ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τῆς Ἀραβίας ταύτης ἐπήλθον· μέχρι γὰρ τῶν Ἀθλουλών καλομένων, χωρίου τινός ἐπιφανοῦς, ἔχωρησαν).

30 'Ο δ' Ἀγγούστος ἐνδέκατον μετὰ Καλπουρνίου Πίσσωνος ἀρξας ἤρρωστησεν αὐθις, ὡστε μηθεμίαν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας σχεῖν· πάντα γοῦν ὡς καὶ τελευτῆσον διέθετο, καὶ τάς τε ἄρχας τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς πρῶτους καὶ τῶν Βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἰππέων ἄθροίσας διάδοχον μὲν οὐδένα ἀπέδειξε, καὶ τοῖς τοῖς μάρκελλοι πάντων προκριθήσεσθαι ἐς τοῦτο προσδοκόωτον, διαλεχθεὶς δὲ τινα αὐτοῖς περὶ τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων τῷ μὲν Πίσσωνι τάς τε δυνάμεις καὶ τάς προσόδους τὰς κοινὰς ἐς βιβλίου ἐσγράφας ἐδώκε, τῷ δ' Ἀγρίππα τὸν καὶ τοῦ Μάρκελλον πάντων προκριθήσεσθαι ἐς τοῦτο προσδοκόωτον, διαλεχθεὶς δὲ τινα αὐτοῖς περὶ τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων τῷ μὲν Πίσσωνι τάς τε δυνάμεις καὶ τάς προσόδους τὰς κοινὰς ἐς βιβλίου ἐσγράφας ἐδώκε, τῷ δ' Ἀγρίππα τὸν δακτύλιον ἐνεχείρισε. καὶ αὐτὸν μηδὲν ἐτὶ 3 μηδὲ τῶν πάντων ἀναγκαίων ποιεῖν δυνάμενον Ἀντώνιος τις Μοῦσας καὶ ψυχρολουσίας καὶ ψυχροποσίας ἀνέσωσε· καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ χρήματα παρά τε τοῦ Ἀγγούστου καὶ παρὰ τῆς Βουλῆς πολλὰ καὶ τὸ χρυσὸς δακτυλίοις (ἀπελεύθερος γὰρ ήν) χρῆσθαι τίν τε ἀτέλειαν καὶ έαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς ὀμοτέχνοις, οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς τότε οὖσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐπειτα ἐσομένοις, ἐλαβέν. 4 ἀλλ' ἐδεί γὰρ αὐτὸν τά τε τῆς τύχης καὶ τά τῆς

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

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

\(^1\) The place has not been identified; Strabo (xvi. 4, 24) calls it Athrula.
Τεπτρωμένης ἡργα προσποιούμενον παρά τόδε ἀλώναι, ο μὲν Αὐγοῦστος οὕτως ἐσώθη, ο δὲ δὴ Μάρκελλος νοσήσας οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνου ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Μοῦσα τρόπον

5 θεραπευόμενος ἀπέθανε. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Αὐγοῦστος δημοσία τε ἐθαψεν, ἐπαινέσας ύστερε εἰδιστο, καὶ ἐς τὸ μνημεῖον ὁ φιλοδομεῖτο κατέθετο, ὥς τε μνήμη τοῦ θεάτρου τοῦ προκαταβληθέντος μὲν

6 ὑπὸ τοῦ Καῖσαρος, Μάρκελλον δὲ ἀνομασμένον ἐτίμησεν, καὶ οἱ καὶ εἰκόνα χρυσῆν καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν δίφρον το ἀρχικόν ἐς τε τὸ θεάτρον ἐν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πανηγύρει ἐσφέρεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὸ μέσον τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν τελοῦντων αὐτὰ τίθεσθαι ἐκέλευσε.

31 Ταῦτα μὲν ύστερον ἔπραξε, τότε δὲ σωθεὶς τὰς διαθήκας ἐσήμενε μὲν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ ἀναλέγασθαι ἡθέλησεν, ἐνδεικνύμενος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅτι οὐδένα τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον καταλελυπῶς ἦν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀνέγνως οὐδεὶς γὰρ

2 ἐπέτρεψεν. ἐθαύμαζον μέντοι καὶ πάνυ πάντες αὐτοῦ ὅτι τὸν Μάρκελλον καὶ ὡς γαμβρὸν καὶ ὡς ἀδελφίδον ἀγαπὸν, καὶ ἄλλας τε αὐτῷ τιμὰς δίδοντι καὶ τὴν ἐορτὴν ἦν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορανομίας

3 ἐπέτελει συνδιαθεῖς λαμπρῶς, ὡστε τὴν τε ἀγορὰν ἐν παντὶ τῷ θέρει 2 παραπτετάσματι κατὰ κορυφὴν διαλαβεῖν καὶ ὄρχηστῃν τινα ἰππέα γναῖκα τε ἐπιφανή ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν ἐσαγαγεὶν, ὀμοι τὴν μοναρχίαν οὔκ ἐπίστευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ

4 τῶν Ἀγρῖππαν αὐτοῦ προετίμησεν. οὕτως, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐδέπω τῇ τοῦ μειρακίου γνώμην ἐθάρσει,

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

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

1 Suetonius (Aug. 29, 4) names this theatre among various other buildings which Augustus "nomine alieno . . . fecit."
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ἀλλ' ἦτοι τὸν δήμον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν κομίσασθαι ἢ καὶ τὸν 'Αγρίππαν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρ' ἐκείνου λαβεῖν ἡθέλησεν· εὗ τε γὰρ ἥπιστατο προσφιλή σφισιν ἐσ τὰ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ὄντα, καὶ οὐκ ἐβούλετο παρ' ἑαυτοῦ δὴ δοκεῖν αὐτὴν ἐπιτρέπε-32 σθαι. ῥαίσας δ' οὖν, καὶ μαθὼν τὸν Μάρκελλον οὖν ἐπιτηδείως τῷ 'Αγρίππα διὰ τούτ' ἔχοντα, ἐς τὴν Συρίαν εὐθὺς τὸν 'Αγρίππαν, μὴ καὶ διατριβὴ τις καὶ ἀψιμαχία αὐτοὺς ἐν ταύτῳ οὖσι συμβῆ, ἔστειλε. καὶ δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς ἐξώρμησεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἀφίκετο, ἀλλ' ἐτὶ καὶ μάλλον μετριάζων ἐκεῖσε μὲν τοὺς ὑποστρατήγους ἐπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν Δέσβῳ διέτρησε.

2 Ταῦτα τε οὕτως ὁ Ἀὔγουστος ἐποίησε, καὶ στρατηγοὺς δέκα, ὡς οὐδὲν ἐτι πλείονον δεόμενος, ἀπέδειξε· καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖο ἐτὴ ἐγένετο. ἐμελλὼν δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὰ αὐτὰ ἄπερ καὶ πρόσθεν ποιήσειν, δύο δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει ὅσα

3 ἐτῇ γενήσεσθαι. διατάξας δὲ ταῦτα ὡς ἐκαστα, ἀπεῖπε τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐσ τὸ 'Αλβανὸν ἐλθὼν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς, ἐξ οὕτως τὰ πράγματα κατέστη, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ πλείους δι' ἐτοὺς ἦρξαν, ἐπισχέσθι τοῦτο οὕθις, ὅπως ὅτι πλείστοι ὑπατεύσθην, ἡθέλησε, καὶ ἔξω τοῦ ἀστεως αὐτὸ

1 τὸ supplied by Bs.

1 D. Magie (“The Mission of Agrippa to the Orient in 23 B.C.,” in Classical Philology, iii., 1908, 145 ff.) points out the difficulties in the popular version of Agrippa's journey to Lesbos, and suggests that he was in reality sent out by
ment, and that he either wished the people to regain their liberty or for Agrippa to receive the leadership from them. For he well understood that Agrippa was exceedingly beloved by them and he preferred not to seem to be committing the supreme power to him on his own responsibility. When he recovered, therefore, and learned that Marcellus because of this was not friendly toward Agrippa, he immediately sent the latter to Syria, so that no occasion for scoffing or for skirmishing might arise between them by their being together. And Agrippa straightway set out from the city, but did not reach Syria; instead, acting with even more than his usual moderation, he sent his lieutenants thither, and tarried himself in Lesbos.

Besides doing all these things in the manner related, Augustus appointed ten praetors, feeling that he no longer required a larger number; and this happened for several years. Most of them were to perform the same duties as formerly, but two were to be in charge of the financial administration each year. Having arranged these matters in detail, he went to the Alban Mount and resigned the consulship. For ever since conditions had become settled, both he himself and most of his colleagues had held the office for the whole year, and he now wished to end this practice, in order that as many as possible might become consuls; and he resigned outside the

Augustus on a diplomatic mission calling for secrecy—nothing less, in fact, than for the purpose of inducing Phraates to return the captured Roman standards and receive in return his son. Cf. chap. 33, 2 inf.

2 Cf. liv. 11, 6.
3 Under Julius Caesar the number had been as high as sixteen; see xliii. 49, 1, and 51, 4.
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4 ἔποιησεν, ἵνα μὴ κωλυθῇ. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἔπαινον ἔσχε, καὶ ὅτι Λούκιον ἀνθ’ ἐαυτοῦ Σήστιον ἀνθείλετο, οὐεὶ τῷ Βρούτῳ συσπουδάσαντα καὶ ἐν πάσι τοῖς πολέμοις συστρατεύσαντα, καὶ ἔτι καὶ τότε καὶ μνημονεύοντα αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνας ἔχοντα καὶ ἔπαινος ποιοῦμενον τό τε γὰρ φιλικόν καὶ τὸ πιστὸν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐμίσησεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔτίμησεν.

5 καὶ διὰ ταῦθ’ ἡ γερουσία δήμαρχόν τε αὐτοῦ διὰ βίου εἶναι ἐψηφίσατο, καὶ χρηματίζειν αὐτῷ περὶ ἐνός τινος ὅπου ἄν ἐθελήσῃ καθ’ ἐκάστην Βουλήν, κἂν μὴ ὑπατεύῃ, ἓδωκε, τὴν τε ἀρχὴν τὴν ἀνθίπατον ἔσαεί καθάπαξ ἔχειν ὡστε μήτε ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ τῇ εἴσῳ τοῦ πωμηρίου κατατίθεσαι αὐτὴν μήτ’ αὐθίς ἀνανεοῦσαι, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπηκόῳ τὸ πλεῖον τῶν ἐκασταχόθη ἀρχόν τῶν ἐσχύνειν ἐπέτρεψεν. ἄφ’ οὐ δὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνος καὶ οἱ μετ’ αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορες εἰν νόμῳ δὴ τῳ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τῇ δημαρχικῇ ἐχρήσαντο: τὸ γὰρ τοῦ ὅνουμα αὐτὸ τὸ τῶν δημάρχων οὐθ’ ὁ Λύγουστος οὔτ’ ἄλλος οὔδεις αὐτοκράτωρ ἔσχε.

33 Καὶ μοι δοκεῖ ταῦθ’ οὖτω τότε οὐκ ἐκ κολακείας ἀλλ’ ἐπ’ ἀληθείας τιμηθεὶς λαβεῖν. τα τε γὰρ ἄλλα ὡς ἐλευθέροις σφίσι προσεβερτο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὅ μεν Τιριδάτης 1 αὐτὸς, παρὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Φραύτου πρέσβεις, ἐφ’ οἷς ἀντενεκάλουν ἄλλη- λοις ἀφίκοντο, ἐς τὴν βουλήν αὐτοὺς ἔσηγαγε, 2 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ’ ἐπιτραπεῖς παρ’ αὐτῆς τὴν διά-

1 Τιριδάτης Dind., τειριδάτης VM (and similarly just below).

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city, to prevent being hindered from his purpose. b.c. 23
For this act he received praise, as also because he chose in his stead Lucius Sestius, who had always been an enthusiastic follower of Brutus, had fought with him in all his wars, and even at this time kept alive his memory, had images of him, and delivered eulogies upon him. Augustus; it would appear, so far from disliking the man's devotion and loyalty, actually honoured these qualities in him. And because of this the senate voted that Augustus should be tribune for life and gave him the privilege of bringing before the senate at each meeting any one matter at whatever time he liked, even if he were not consul at the time; they also permitted him to hold once for all and for life the office of pro-consul, so that he had neither to lay it down upon entering the pomerium nor to have it renewed again, and they gave him in the subject territory authority superior to that of the governor in each instance. As a result both he and the emperors after him gained a certain legal right to use the tribunician power as well as their other powers; for the title of tribune itself was taken neither by Augustus nor by any other emperor.1
And it seems to me that he then acquired these privileges as related, not by way of flattery, but because he was truly honoured; for in most ways he comported himself toward the Romans as if they were free citizens. Thus, when Tiridates in person and envoys from Phraates came to settle their mutual recriminations, he brought them before the senate; and afterwards, when the decision of the question had been referred to him by that body, he did not

1 Cf. chap. 17, 10.
γνωσιν τὸν μὲν Τιριδάτην τῷ Φραίτην οὐκ ἔξεδωκεν, τὸν δὲ κατὰ τὸν πρὸτεροῦν παρ᾽ ἑκείνου λαβὼν εἰχεν, ἀπέπεμψεν ἐπὶ τῷ τούς τε αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τὰ στρατιωτικὰ τὰ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κράσσου καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἁυτοῦ συμφορᾶ ἅλοντα κομίσασθαι.

3 Κἀν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἔτει ἀγορανόμουν τῇ τινᾳ τῶν καταδεστέραν ἀποθανόντα Γάιος Καλπούρνιος, καὶ τοὺς προηγορανομηκὼς ἐν τοῖς ἀμείνοις, διεδέχετο, ὅτερ ἐπὶ οὐδένος ἄλλου μμημονεύεται γενόμενον· καὶ ταῖς ἁνοχαῖς δύο καθ᾽ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπολιάρχησαν, καὶ εἰς γέ τις αὐτῶν οὐδὲς μειράκια1 πώ τελῶν ὅμως ἤρξεν.

4 Αἰτίαν μὲν ὃν ἡ Διονύσιος τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Μαρκέλλου ἔσχεν, ὅτι τῶν νεῶν αὐτῆς προσετέτημητο· ἐς ἀμφίβολον δὲ οὖν ἡ ὑποψία αὐτῇ καὶ ὑπ᾽ ἑκείνου τοῦ ἑτούς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑπείτα, οὕτω νοσῳδῶν γενόμενων2 ὡστε πάνυ πολλοὺς ἐν αὐτὶ τοῖς ἀπολέσθαι, κατέστη, καὶ φιλεῖ γὰρ πῶς ἀεὶ τὶ πρὸ τῶν τοιούτων προσημαίνεσθαι, τότε μὲν λύκος τε ἐν τῷ ἀστείον συνελήφθη, καὶ πῦρ χειμῶν τε πολλοῖς οἰκοδομήμασιν ἐλυμημένω, ὧν τῷ Τίβεριοι αὐξηθεὶς τὴν τῆς γέφυραν τῶν ἔξωλης κατέσυρε καὶ τῆς πόλις πλωτὴν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐποίησεν.

1 μειράκια v. Herw., μειράκιϊν VM.
2 νοσῳδῶν γενομένων Bk., νοσόδους γενομένου VM.
BOOK LIII

surrender Tiridates to Phraates, but sent back to the latter his son whom he had once received from him and was keeping,\(^1\) on condition that the captives and the military standards taken in the disasters of Crassus and of Antony should be returned.

During this same year one of the minor aediles died and Gaius Calpurnius succeeded him, in spite of having served previously as one of the major aediles.\(^2\) This is not recorded as having occurred in the case of any other man. During the Feriae there were two prefects of the city for each day; and one of them held the office in spite of the fact that he had not yet the standing even of a youth.

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

\(^1\) Cf. li. 18, 3.

\(^2\) By "minor" and "major" aediles Dio means the plebeian and curule aediles respectively.
Τάδε ἐνεστὶν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ἦρωμαῖκῶν

α. Ἅν γε ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν δδὼν ἐκ τῶν ἑστρατηγηκότων κατέστησαν.

β. Ἅν γε ἐπιμελητὴς τοῦ σιτηρεσίου ἐκ τῶν ἑστρατηγηκότων κατέστησαν.

γ. Ἅν Νάρικον ἔδωκεν.

δ. Ἅν Ἡραία ἔδωκεν.

ε. Ἅν τὸ Ἀλπεῖς ἀι παραβαλάσσει Ἦρωμαῖν ἄκουεν ἥρξαντο.

ζ. Ἅν τὸ τὸ Βάλβου θέατρον καθιερώθη.

η. Ἅν τὸ τὸ Μαρκέλλου θέατρον καθιερώθη.

θ. Ἅν Ἀγριππᾶς ἀπέθανε καὶ τὴν Χερρόνησον Ἀγίουστος ἐκτήσατο.

ι. Ἅν τὰ Ἀγίουστάλια κατέστη.

Χρόνου πλήθος ἦτη τρία καὶ δέκα, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἄριστοι ἐνίοτε ἐγένοντο

Μ. Κλαύδιος Μ. ὁ Μάρκελλος Ἀἰσιρίνος

Α. Ἀρροῦντιος Α. ὁ.

Μ. Δόλλιος Μ. ὁ.

Κ. Ἀμίλλιος Μ. ὁ.

Μ. Ἀπολλείος Σείγου ὁ.

Π. Σίλιος Νέρονας

Γ. Σέντιος Γ. ὁ. Σατούρνιος

Κ. Δουκρήτιος Κ. ὁ. Ὀὐσπίλλαν

Γν. Κορνήλιος Λ. ὁ. Δεντοῦλος

Π. Κορνήλιος Π. ὁ. Δεντοῦλος Μαρκέλλον

Γ. Φούρνιος Γ. ὁ.

Γ. Ἰούνιος Μ. ὁ. Σιλανός

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1 ἑστρατηγηκότων Μ, ἑστρατηγηκότων Β.
2 Νάρικον Bs., Νάρικον VM.
3 τὸ supplied by Bs.
4 Κλαύδιος H. Steph., κα' VM.
5 Αἰσιρίνοι Xyl., ιαίσερίνοι Μ, διασείνοι V.
6 M. Δόλλιος supplied by Xyl.
7 M. ὁ supplied by Bs.
8 K. supplied by Xyl.
BOOK LIV

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

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

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

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

9 Αἰμίλιος M. uī. supplied by Bs.
10 Ἀπούλιος Bs., ἄπούλιος VM.
11 Σίλιος Xyl., σειλ VM. 12 K. Reim., ι VM.
13 οὐσιοπιάλων Dind., οὐσιοπιάλων M, οὐσιοπιάλων V.
14 uī. M, ιτ V.
15 Γ. 'Ιούνιος Xyl., π ούνιος VM.
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Λ. Δομίτιος Γν. vi.1 Γν. ἔγγυ. Ἀννόβαρβος 2 ὑπ. 3
Π. Κορνήλιος Π. vi. Π. ἔγγυ. Σκιπίων
Μ. Δίους 4 Λ. vi. Δρούσος Λίβων
Λ. Καλπούρνιος Λ. vi. Πίσσων Φρούγι 5 ὑπ. 3
Μ. Λικίνιος M. vi. Κράσσος 6 ὑπ.
Γν. Κορνήλιος Γν. vi. Λεκτούλως
Τιβ. Κλαύδιος 7 Τιβ. ο. Νέρων
Π. Κυντίλιος 8 Σέξτου ο. Οὐάρος ὑπ.
Μ. Οβαλέριος 9 M.10 ο. Μεσσαλας Βίρβατος 11 ὑπ.
Π. Σουλτίκιος Π. ο. Κυρίνιος
Πάυλος Φάβιος 12 Κ. ο. Μάξιμος ὑπ.
Κ. Αϊλιος 13 Κ. ο. Τουβέρων
Τούλλος 14 'Αντώνιος 15 M. ο. ὑπ. 16
Αφρικάνδος Κ. Φάβιος K. ο.

Τῶν δ' ἐπιγιγνομένων 17 ἔτει, ἐν δ' Μάρκος τε Μάρκελλος καὶ Δαύκιος Ἀρροῦντιος ὑπάτευσαν, ἢ τε πόλις (πελαγίσαντος αὐθίς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπέλευσθη, καὶ κεραυνοῖς ἄλλα τε πολλα ἐβελθή καὶ οἱ ἀνδριάντες οἱ ἐν τῷ Πανθείῳ, ῥότε καὶ τὸ δόρυ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ἀγνοῦστον χειρὸς ἐκπεσείν. πονοῦμενοι οὖν ὑπὸ τε τῆς νόσου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ 2 λιμοῦ (ἐν τε γὰρ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πάση ὁ λοιμὸς ἐγένετο καὶ τὴν χώραν οὔδεις εἰργάσατο· δοκῶ δ' ὁτί καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔξω χωρίοις τῷ αὐτῷ τοῦτο συνηνεχθη) νομίσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαίοι οὐκ ἄλλως σφίσι ταῦτα συμβεβηκέναι, ἀλλ' ὁτι μὴ καὶ τότε ὑπά-3 τεύονται τὸν Ἀγνοῦστον ἔσχον, δικτάτορα αὐτῶν ἠθέλησαν προχειρίσασθαι, καὶ τὴν τε βουλὴν

1 Γν. ο. R. Steph., λυ γν. VM.
2 Ἀννόβαρβος R. Steph., ἀννόβαρβος Μ, ἀννόβαρβος V.
3 ὑπ. supplied by Bs.
4 Δίους Leopard, λ λύνιος M, λ ούνιος V.
5 Φρούγι (Φρυγι) R. Steph., φρύγιος VM.
6 ὑ. Κράσσος supplied by Xyl.
7 Τιβ. Κλαύδιος H. Steph., τ β κλ V, ΤΙΒ. κλ. M.
8 Κυντίλιος Xyl., κ ν VM.

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The following year, in which Marcus Marcellus and Lucius Arruntius were consuls, the city was again submerged by the overflowing of the river, and many objects were struck by thunderbolts, especially the statues in the Pantheon, so that the spear even fell from the hand of Augustus. The pestilence raged throughout all Italy so that no one tilled the land, and I suppose that the same was the case in foreign parts. The Romans, therefore, reduced to dire straits by the disease and by the consequent famine, believed that these woes had come upon them for no other reason than that they did not have Augustus for consul at this time also. They accordingly wished to elect him dictator, and...
κατακλείσαντες ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐπηνάγκασαν τοῦτο ἅψισασθαι, ἀπειλοῦντες σφας καταπρήσεις, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς ῥάβδους τὰς τέσσαρας καὶ εἰκοσὶ λαβόντες προσήλθον αὐτῷ,1 δικτάτορά τε ἀμα δεόμενοι λεχθῆναι καὶ ἐπιμελητὴν τοῦ σίτου, καθάτερ ποτὲ τὸν Πομπήιον, γενέσθαι.

καὶ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἀναγκαῖος ἔδεξατο, καὶ ἐκέλευσε δύο ἄνδρας τῶν πρὸ πέντε ποι ἀεὶ ἐτῶν ἐστραπτηγικότων πρὸς τὴν τοῦ σίτου διανομὴν κατ’ ἑτος αἱρέσθαι, τὴν δὲ δικτάτοριαν οὐ προσήκατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα προσκατηφήτατο, ἐπειδὴ μηδένα τρόπον ἄλλως σφας ἐπισχεῖν, μήτε δια-

5 λεγόμενος μήτε δεόμενος, ἕδυψηθῇ τὴν τε γὰρ ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ ύπὲρ τοὺς δικτάτορας ἔχων, ὤρθῷς τὸ τε ἐπίφθονον καὶ τὸ μισητὸν

2 τῆς ἐπικλήσεως αὐτῶν2 ἐφυλάξατο. τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τιμητὴν αὐτὸν διὰ βίου χειροτονήσαι βουλομένων ἐποίησεν· οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ἄρχὴν ὑπεστή, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐτέρους τιμητάς, Παῦλον τε Αἰμίλιον Λέπιδον καὶ Δούκιον Μουνατίον Πλάγκον, τοῦτον μὲν, ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Πλάγκον ἐκείνου τοῦ ἐπικηρυχθέντος ὑντα, τὸν δὲ δὴ Λέπιδον αὐτὸν

2 τότε θανατωθέντα, ἀπέδειξεν. ἔσχατοι δὴ3 οὗτοι τὴν τιμητείαν ἰδίωτα ἀμα ἔσχον, ὥσπερ ποι καὶ παραχρῆμα αὐτοῖς ἐδηλώθη· τὸ γὰρ βῆμα ἀφ’ οὗ τι πράξειν τῶν προσηκόντων σφίσιν

1 αὐτῷ Zon., αὐτῶν VM. 2 αὐτῶν M, αὐτῶν V. 3 δὴ V, om. M.

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

1 The fasces; the dictator was regularly attended by twenty-four lictors. Cf. liii. 1, n. 1.
2 Curator annonae.
3 Cf. xxxix. 9.
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ημελλον, συνέτεσεν ἀναβάντων αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς ημέρᾳ καὶ συνετρίβη, καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ οὔδενες ἄλλοι τιμηταί ὀμοίοι αὐτοῖς ἀμα 3 ἐγένοντο. καὶ τότε δὲ ὁ Δύναυστος, καίπερ ἐκείνων αἱρεθέντων, πολλὰ τῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀνη-κόντων ἐπραξε. τῶν τε συσσιτίων τὰ μὲν παν- τελῶς κατέλυσε, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸ σωφρονέστερον συνέστειλε. καὶ τοῖς μὲν στρατηγοῖς τὰς πανηγύρεις πάσας προσέταξεν, ἐκ τε τοῦ δημοσίου 4 δίδοσθαί τι αὐτοῖς κελεύσας, καὶ προσαπείπτῶν μήτε ἐς ἐκείνας οἰκοθέν τινα πλεῖον τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀναλύσκειν μήθ' ὀπλομαχίαν μήτ' ἄλλως εἰ μὴ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσατο, μήτ' αὐ πλεονάκις ἢ δίς ἐν ἑκάστῳ ἄντιμον ἐστε, μήτε πλεῖόνων εἰκοσι καὶ ἐκατῶν ἀνδρῶν ποιεῖν τοῖς δ', ἀγορανόμοις τοῖς κοιρου- λίοις τὴν τῶν ἐμπιμπραμένων κατάσβεσιν ἐνεχείρισεν, ἐξαισθάνουσα σφίσι βοηθοὺς δούλους δοὺς. 5 ἐπειδὴ τε καὶ ἐπιπής καὶ γυναῖκες ἐπιφανεῖς ἐν τῇ ὀρχήστρᾳ καὶ τότε γε ἐπεδείξαντο, ἀπηγόρευσεν οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς παίσι τῶν βουλευτῶν, ὅπερ ποιω καὶ πρὶν ἐκεκώλυτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐγγύοις, τοῖς γε (ἐν τῇ ἐπιπάδι) δῆλον ὅτι ἐξεταζομένοις, μηδὲν ἐτι τοιοῦτο δρᾶν.

3 Καὶ ἐν μὲν τούτοις τὸ τε τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος καὶ σχῆμα καὶ ὄνομα ἐπεδεί- κυτο,5 ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐμετρίαξεν, ὡστε καὶ 2 φίλοις τισιν εὐθυνομένοις παραγιγνεσθαί. Μάρ- κον τέ τινος Πρίμου αἰτιῶν ἔχοντος ὅτι τῆς Μακεδονίας ἁρχῶν Ὀδρύσαις ἐπολέμησε, καὶ

1 ἐμπιμπραμένων Dind., ἐμπιμπραμένων VM.
2 ἐπειδὴ τε V, ἐπειδὴ περ M. 3 ἐπιπής M, ἐπιπείς V.
4 γε Rk., τε VM. 5 ἐπεδείκυτο V, ἀπεδείκυτο M.

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BOOK LIV

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

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

¹ Cf. liii. 31.
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λέγοντος τοτὲ μὲν τῇ τοῦ Ἀὐγοῦστου τοτὲ δὲ τῇ Μαρκέλλου γνώµη τούτῳ πεποιηκέναι, ἡς τοῦ ἐπικαστήριον αὐτεπάγγελτος ἦλθε, καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ εἰ προστάξειν οἱ πολε—

3 μῆςαι, ἔξαρνος ἐγένετο. τοῦ τε συναγορεύοντος τῷ Πρίμῳ Δικινίου 1 Μουρήνου ἄλλα τε ἐς αὐτὸν ὦκ ἐπιτήδεια ἀπορρίψαντος, καὶ πυθομένου "τί δή ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖς, καὶ τίς σε ἐκάλεσεν, τοσοῦτον μόνον ἀπεκάλυψαν ὅτι "τὸ δημόσιον." ἐπὶ οὖν τούτους ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν εὖ φρονοῦντων ἐπηρεάτο, ὥστε καὶ τὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀθροίζειν ὀσίκις ἄν ἐθελήσῃ λαβεῖν, τῶν δ' ἀλλῶν τινὲς κατεφρό—

4 νησαν αὐτοῦ. ἀμέλει καὶ τοῦ Πρίμου οὖν ὀλίγου ἀπεψηφίσαντο, καὶ ἐπιβουλήν ἐτεροὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶσον συνεστήσαν. Ψάννιος 2 μὲν γὰρ Καιτίων ἀρχηγὸς αὐτῆς ἐγένετο, συνεπελάβοντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι· καὶ σφίσι καὶ ο Μουρήνας συνομομοκέναι, εἰτ' οὖν ἀληθῶς εἶτε καὶ ἐκ διαβολῆς, ἐλέχθη, 3 ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἀκράτω καὶ κατακορεὶ τῇ παρρησίᾳ πρὸς πάντας

5 ὁμοίως ἔχρητο. καὶ οὖ γὰρ ὑπέμειναν τὸ δικαστήριον, ἐρήμην μὲν ὡς καὶ φευξόμενοι ἠλωσαν, ἀπεσφάγησαν δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῷ ύστερον, οὔτε ἐπήρ—

κεσαν τῷ Μουρήνα οὔτε ὁ Προκούλιος 4 ἀδελφός ὄν οὔτε ὁ Μακάριας τῇ ἀδελφῇ αὐτοῦ συνοικῶν, καὶ ἤρε ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀὐγοῦστον τιμώ—

6 μένοι. ὡς δ' οὖν καὶ τούτους τῶν δικαζόντων τινὲς ἀπέλυσαν, ἐνομοθέτησε μήτε κρύφα τὰς ψήφους· ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις δίκαιοι, φέρεσθαι, καὶ πάσας αὐταῖς τῶν εὐθυνόμενον ἀλίσκεσθαι. καὶ ὅτι γε ταῦτ' οὐχ ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ συμβε—

1 Δικινίου Μ., Δικινίου Μ. 2 Ψάννιος Λεονελ., φάνειος VM. 3 Εἰκέθη Μ., Εἰκέθη Β. 4 Προκούλιος Βσ., προκούλιος VM.
one moment that he had done it with the approval of Augustus, and at another with that of Marcellus, Augustus came of his own accord to the court-room; and upon being asked by the praetor whether he had instructed the man to make war, he denied it. And when the advocate of Primus, Licinius Murena, in the course of some rather disrespectful remarks that he made to him, enquired: "What are you doing here, and who summoned you?" Augustus merely replied: "The public weal." For this he received praise from the people of good sense and was even given the right to convene the senate as often as he pleased; but some of the others despised him. At all events, not a few voted for the acquittal of Primus, and others formed a plot against Augustus. Fannius Caepio was the instigator of it, but others also joined with him. Even Murena was reported to be in the conspiracy, whether truly or by way of calumny, since he was immoderate and unrestrained in his outspokenness toward all alike. These men did not stand trial, and so were convicted by default, on the supposition that they intended to flee; and a little latter they were slain. Murena found neither Proculeius, his brother, nor Maecenas, his sister's husband, of any avail to save him, though these men were most highly honoured by Augustus. And inasmuch as some of the jurymen voted to acquit even these conspirators, the emperor made a law that in trials at which the defendant was not present the vote should not be taken secretly and the defendant should be convicted only by a unanimous vote. Now that he took these measures, not in anger, but as really conducive to
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7 ronata τῶν δημοσίων διέταξεν, ἵσχυρὸς διέδειξε· τοῦ γοῦν πατρὸς τοῦ Καισάρας τὸν μὲν ἔτερον τῶν δούλων τῶν συμφιγγόντων τῷ νικεῖ ἐλευθερώσαντος, ὃτι ἀμύναι οἱ θυνήσκοντι ἥθελησε, τὸν δὲ ἔτερον τὸν προδότα αὐτὸν διὰ τῇ ἁγορᾶς μέσης μετὰ γραμμάτων τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς θανατώσεως αὐτοῦ δηλούντων διαγαγόντος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνα-

8 σταυρώσαντος, οὐκ ἡγανάκτησε. κἂν ἐξηκέσατο πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν οὐκ ἄρεσκομένων τοῖς πραχθεῖσι μέμψιν, εἰ μὴ καὶ θυσίας ὡς ² καὶ ἐπὶ νίκη τινὶ καὶ ψυφισθέισας περιείδε καὶ γενομένας.

4 Τότε δ’ οὖν καὶ τὴν Κύπρον καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν Ναρβωνησίαν ἀπέδωκε τῷ δήμῳ ὡς μηδὲν τῶν ὅπλων αὐτοῦ δεομένας καὶ οὕτως ἄνθυπατοι

2 καὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἐθνη πέμπεσθαι ἡξαντο. καὶ τὸν τοῦ Δίως τοῦ Βροντώντος ἐπικαλουμένου ναῦν καθιέρωσε· (περὶ οὗ) δύο ταῦτα παραδέδοται, ὧτι τότε τε ἐν τῇ ἱερουργίᾳ Βρονταὶ ἑγένοντο, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα άναρ τῷ Ἀγιοῦστῳ τοῖονδε ἐπέστη. τῶν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων, τὸ μὲν τι πρὸς τὸ ἔξον καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ εἴδους, τὸ δὲ καὶ ὅτι

3 ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγιοῦστου ἰδρυτο, μέγιστον δὲ ὃτι πρῶτοι οἱ ἀνίοντες ἐστὶ τοῦ Καπιτώλιων ἐνετύχανον, προσερχομένων τα αὐτῷ ³ καὶ σεβόντων, ἔδοξε τὸν Δία τοῦ (ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ ναῷ) ὄντα ὀργὴν ὡς καὶ τὰ δεύτερα αὐτοῦ φερόμενον ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐκεῖνο τε ἐπείδη ἐλεγεν ὃτι προφύλακα

4 τὸν Βροντῶντα ἐχοῦ, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, κάδωνα αὐτῷ περιήγησε, βεβαιών τὴν ὀνείρωσιν. ⁴

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

It was at this time that he restored to the people both Cyprus and Gallia Narbonensis as districts no longer needing the presence of his armies; and thus proconsuls began to be sent to those provinces also. He also dedicated the temple of Jupiter Tonans. Concerning this temple two stories have been handed down, first, that at that time claps of thunder occurred when the ritual was being performed, and, second, that at a later time Augustus had a dream as follows. The people, he thought, approached Jupiter who is called Tonans and did reverence to him, partly because of the novelty of his name and of the form of his statue, and partly because the statue had been set up by Augustus, but chiefly because it was the first they encountered as they ascended the Capitol; and thereupon the Jupiter in the great temple was angry because he was now reduced to second place as compared with the other. At this, Augustus related, he said to Jupiter Capitolinus, "You have Tonans as your sentinel"; and when it was day, he attached a bell to the statue as confirmation of the
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οἱ γὰρ τὰς συνοικίας νῦκτωρ φυλάσσοντες κωδωνοφοροῦσιν, ὡσποσ χημαίτειν σφίσιν ὅποταν δει
θῶσιν 1 δύνανται.

5 Ὁ Ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους χρόνους καὶ οἱ Κάνταβροι οἱ τῇ Ἀστυρίς ἐπολέμησαν αὖθις 2 οὕτω μὲν διὰ τε τρυφὴν καὶ δὶ ώμοτητα τοῦ Καρίσιου, οἱ δὲ δὴ Κάνταβροι, ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνοι τε νεωτερίζοντας ἤσθοντο καὶ τού ἄρχοντός σφων Γαίου Φουρρίου κατεφρόνησαν, ὅτι τε νεωστὶ ἄφικτο καὶ ὅτι ἀπειρον αὐτὸν τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῖς πραγμάτων εἶναι ἐδοξαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τοιοῦτος σφισιν ἑφαίνη, ἀλλὰ ἤττηθέντες ἀμφότεροι υπ' αὐτοῦ (καὶ γὰρ τῷ Καρίσιῳ προσήμμενῷ) ἐδουλώθησαν. καὶ τῶν μὲν Καντάβρων οὐ πολλοὶ εἶλωσαν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀνέλπιστον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἔσχον, οὐδὲ ξῆν ἡθέλησαν, ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν τὰ ἑρμύματα προεμπροθησαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπέσφαξαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκείνοις ἐθελονταὶ συγκατεκαύθησαν, ἀλλοι δημοσίᾳ φαρμάκων ἐνεπλήσθησαν, ὥστε τὸ τε πλεῖστον καὶ τὸ ἀγριότατον αὐτῶν φθαρῆναι. οἱ δὲ Ἀστυρίς ὡς τάχιστα χωρίον τε τι πολυπολυστήσας ἀπηλάθησαν καὶ μάχη μετὰ τούτ ἐνικήθησαν, οὐκέτ' ἀντῆραν ἀλλ' εὔθως ἐχειρώθησαν.

3 Ὅτι δὲ τόν αὐτὸν τούτον χρόνον οἱ Αἴθιοπες οἱ υπὲρ Αἰγύπτου οἰκοῦντες προεχώρησαν μὲν μέχρι τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ἐλεφαντίνης ὄνομασμένης, πάντα τὰ ἐν ποσὶ πορθοῦντες, ἡγουμένης σφίσιν Κανδάκης πυθόμενοι δὲ ἐνταῦθα ποι Γαίον Πετρώνιον τὸν τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἄρχοντα προσίεναι,

1 δειθώσι Dind., δυνηθώσι VM.
2 αὖθις Xyl., αὐτοῖς VM.

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

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

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

1 Pliny (Nat. Hist. vi. 181) calls him Publius.
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προαπήλθον μὲν ὡς καὶ διαφευξόμενοι, καταληφθέντες δὲ ἐν τῇ ὡδῇ ἤττηθησαν, κἂν τούτοι καὶ
5 ἐσ τὴν οἰκείαν αὐτῶν ἐπέσπασαντο. καὶ καλῶς καὶ ἐκεῖ ἄγωνισάμενοι πόλεις ἄλλας τε ἐν τῇ Ἕνατην 2 τὸ βασιλείου αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν. 3 καὶ ἐκείνη μὲν κατεσκάφη, ἐν ἔτέρῳ δὲ τινὶ χωρίῳ φρουρὰ κατελείφθη. 4 ο γὰρ Πετρώνος μήτε περαιτέρῳ διὰ τε τὴν ἁμμοὺ καὶ διὰ τὸ καῦμα προελθεῖν μήτε κατὰ χώραν μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ μείναι καλῶς δυνηθείς ἀνεχώρησε, τὸ
6 πλείον αὐτῶν ἐπαγόμενος. καὶ τοῦτο τῶν Αἰθιόπων τοὺς φρουροῖς ἐπιθεμένων αὐθίς τε ἔπ' αὐτῶν ἐστράτευσε, καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους ἐρρύσατο, καὶ τὴν Καυδάκην συμβήναι οἱ ἡμάγκασεν.

6 Ἔν φ' δὲ ταῦτα ἐγγυητο, ὁ Αὐγοῦστος ἐς Σικελίαν ἦλθεν, ὅπως καὶ ἐκείνη καὶ τάλλα τὰ μέχρι τῆς Συρίας καταστήσηται. καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἐτ' ὅντος ὁ δήμος τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν ὑπάτων χειροτονῶν ἐστασίασεν, ὡστε καὶ ἐκ τούτων διαδειξῆθην ὅτι ἄδυνατον ἡ δημοκρατοῦ-
2 μένους σφάς σωθῆναι. μικροῦ γοῦν τινος (ἐν τῇ ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις καὶ (ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς αὐταῖς) κυριεύοντες ἐθορύβησαν. ἔτηρεῖτο (μεν) γὰρ ἡ ἐτέρα χώρα τὸ Αὐγοῦστο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Μᾶρκος Δόλλιος (κατ' ἀρχαῖς τοῦ ἐτούς μόνος ἢξεν· ἐκεῖ-
νος δὲ 5 μὴ δεξιαμένον αὐτὴν. Κῦντος τοῦ Δέπιδος καὶ Λούκιος Σίλουανὸς ἐσπουδαρχίσασαν, καὶ οὖτω γε πάντα συνετάραξαν ὡστε καὶ τὸν Αὐγοῦ-
3 στον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμφρόνων ἀνακληθῆναι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ

1 τε supplied by Rk. 2 Ἕνατην Dind., τανάτην VM Xiph. 3 βασιλείων αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν Xiph., βασιλείων ἀπέλαβεν VM. 4 κατελείφθη Xiph., κατελήφθη VM. 5 δὲ Μ, δὲ δὴ V.
BOOK LIV

he arrived, hoping to make good their escape. But b.c. 22
being overtaken on the road, they were defeated and
thus drew him after them into their own country. There, too, he fought successfully with them, and
took Napata, their capital, among other cities. This
place was razed to the ground, and a garrison left at
another point; for Petronius, finding himself unable
either to advance farther, on account of the sand and
the heat, or advantageously to remain where he was
with his entire army, withdrew, taking the greater
part of it with him. Thereupon the Ethiopians at-
tacked the garrisons, but he again proceeded against
them, rescued his own men, and compelled Candace
to make terms with him.

While this was going on, Augustus went to Sicily in
order to settle affairs in that island and elsewhere as
far as Syria. While he was still there, the Roman popu-
lace fell to quarrelling over the election of the consuls.
This incident showed clearly that it was impossible for
a democratic government to be maintained among
them; at any rate, although they had but little
authority either in the matter of the elections or of the
offices themselves, they fell to rioting. One of the
consulships, it seems, was being kept for Augustus,
and accordingly at the beginning of the year Marcus
Lollius alone entered upon office; but when the em-
peror would not accept the position, Quintus Lepidus
and Lucius Silvanus became rival candidates and threw
everything into such turmoil that Augustus was sum-
moned home by those who retained their senses. He

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οὔχ ὑπέστρεψε μέν, ἐλθόντας δὲ αὐτοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέτεμψεν ἐπιτιμήσας σφίσι καὶ κελεύσας ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἀπόντων τὴν ψήφον δοθήναι, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἥσυχασαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ αὐθίς διηνέχθησαν, ὡστε τὸν Δέπιδον ὅψε ποτε αἱρεθήναι. ἀγανακτήσας οὖν ἔπι τούτῳ ὁ Αὐγουστος, καὶ μήτε μόνη τῇ Ῥώμῃ σχολάζειν δυνάμενος μήτε αὐν ἀναρχον αὐτὴν καταλιπεῖν τολμῶν, ἐξῆτει τινὰ αὐτῇ ἐπιστήσασι, καὶ ἔκρινε μὲν τὸν Ἁγρίππαν ἐπιτηθεῖότατον ἐς τούτο εἶναι, βουληθεῖς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀξίωμα αὐτῷ μείζον περιθεῖναι, ἵνα καὶ ἐκ τούτου βάσον αὐτῶν ἁρχῆ, μετεπέμψατο αὐτὸν, καὶ καταναγκάσας τὴν γυναῖκα, καίτερ ἀδελφίδην αὐτοῦ οὖσαν, ἀπαλλάξαντα τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ συνοικήσαι, ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην παραχρῆμα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς πόλεως διαχειρίσει ἐπεμψε, διὰ τὰ τάλλα καὶ ὅτι ὁ Μαικήνας συμβουλευομένων οἱ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὅτι "τὴν ἑκοῦτον αὐτὸν πεποίηκας ὡστ' ἡ γαμβρόν σου 6 γενέσθαι ἐς φωνεθήναι." καὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ οἰδοῦντα ἐτὶ εὗρὼν κατεστήσατο, τὰ τε ίερὰ τὰ Ἀιγύπτια ἐπεσίοντα αὐθίς ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἀνέστειλεν, ἀπειπὸν μηδένα μηδὲ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ αὐτὸ ἐντὸς ὑγιδόου ἡμισταδίου ποιεῖν· ταραχὴς δὲ τῖνος περὶ τὴν 1 τοῦ πολιάρχου τοῦ διὰ τὰς ἀνοχὰς αἰρούμενον χειροτονίαν συμβάσεως οὐκ ἐπεκράτησεν αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ ἄνευ τῆς ἁρχῆς ταύτης τοῦ ἐναυτοῦ ἐκείνου διεγένετο.

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

1 Cf. note on li. 19, 6.
2 The prefect of the city was appointed to have charge of the city during the absence of the two consuls in attendance upon the celebration at the Alban Mount.
7 Καὶ ὁ μὲν τὰν' ἐπραττεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀὐγουστος τὰ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ διοικήσας, καὶ τᾶς Συρακούσας ἐτέρας τε τινὰς πόλεις ἀποίκους Ῥωμαίων ἀποδέιξας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπεραιώθη.  
2 καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν τοὺς τε Κυθήριους καὶ τῇ συσσιτίᾳ ἐτύμησεν, ὅτι ἡ Λιούνα, ὅπε (ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας) σύν τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ σὺν τῷ νείπε ἐφυγεν, ἐκεῖ διέτριψεν. 'Αθηναίων δὲ τὴν τε Ἀγίναν καὶ τὴν 'Ερέτριαν (ἐκκατοντοῦ γὰρ αὐτὰς), ὡς τινὲς φασίν, ἀφείλετο, ὅτι τὸν Ἀυτώνιον ἔσπούδασαν, καὶ προσέτει καὶ ἀπηγόρευσεν σφισὶ μηδένα πολίτην  
3 ἀργυρίου ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ αὐτὸῖς ἐς ταῦτα ἔδοξε τὸ τῷ τῆς 'Αθηνᾶς ἀγάλματι συμβαν ἀποσκῆψαι ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἀκροπόλει πρὸς ἀνατολῶν ἰδρυμένων πρὸς τε τὰς δυσμᾶς μετεστράφη καὶ αἵμα ἀπέπτυσεν. ὁ δ' οὖν 4 Ἀὐγουστος τὸ τε Ἑλληνικών δήγγαγε καὶ ἐς Σάμου ἐπλέυσεν, ἐνταῦθα τε ἐχεῖμασε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῷ ηρί ἐν οἱ Μάρκος τε Ἀπουλείος 5 καὶ Πούπλιος Σίλιος ὑπάτευσαν κομισθεῖς πάντα τὰ τε ἐκεῖ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Βιδυνίᾳ  
4 διετάξεν, οὖν ὅτι τοῦ δήμου καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰ προτέρα ἐδόκει εἶναι ἐν ὀλγωρίᾳ αὐτὰ ποιησάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων πάντων σφῶν ὡς καὶ ἐαυτοῦ ὄντων ἐπιμεληθεῖς· τὰ τε γὰρ ἀλλὰ ὁσαπερ καὶ προσήκου ἣν ἐπηνόρθωσε, καὶ χρήματα τοῖς μὲν ἐπέδωκε τοῖς δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν φόρον  
5 ἐςενεγκείν προσέταξε. τοὺς τε Κυζικηνοὺς, ὅτι Ῥωμαίους τινὰς ἐν στάσει μαστυγώσαντες ἀπεκτείναν, ἐδουλώσατο. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς Τυρίους  

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

1 Cf. xlviii. 15.
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toús te Σιδωνίους διὰ τὰς στάσεις ἔποιήσεν, εῦ τῇ¹ Συρία γενόμενος.²

8 Καὶ τούτῳ ὁ Φραάτης φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐπιστρατεύσῃ οἱ, ὅτι μηδὲν ἄλλον συγκεκριμένον ἔπεισοψκει τι, τὰ τε σημεῖα αὐτῷ³ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, πλὴν ὅλων οὐ ὑπ' αἰσχύνης σφᾶς ἔφθειραν ἢ καὶ κατὰ χώραν λαθόντες ἐμείναν,

2 ἀπέπεμψε, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνοις ὡς καὶ πολέμῳ τινὶ τὸν Πάρθον νεικήκας ἔλαβε· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐφρόνει μέγα, λέγων ὅτι τὰ πρῶτον ποτε ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπολογέμνα ἀκούντι ἐκεκόμιστο. ἀμέλει καὶ θυσίας ἐπ' αὐτοῦς καὶ νεών Ἀρεώς Τεμωροῦ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Δίου τοῦ Φερετρίου ζήλωμα, πρὸς τὴν τῶν σημείων ἀνάθεσιν καὶ ψηφισθήναι ἔκελεύσει καὶ ἐποίησε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπὶ κέλητος ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσήλασε καὶ ἀψίδι τροπαιοφόρῳ ἔτυμήθη.

3 ταῦτα μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ὡστερον ἐπράξθη τότε δὲ αὐτός τε προστάσις τῶν περί τὴν Ῥώμην ὁδὸν αἱρεθεὶς καὶ τὸ χρυσὸν μίλιον κεκλημένον ἐστησε, καὶ ὀδοποιοὺς αὐταῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγικῶν, ῥαβδούχοις δύο χρυμένους, προσέταξε.

4 καὶ ἡ Ὁυλία τοῦ Γαίου ὀνομασθέντα ἐτέκε, βουθυνία τε τῆς τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ ἄδιος ἐδόθη καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ ψηφίσματος, ὡσπερ ποῦ καὶ

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

¹ That is, he celebrated an ovatio. ² Curator viarum.
³ The milliarium aureum stood at the north end of the Forum near the Temple of Saturn, marking the point where
in the case of the people of Tyre and Sidon on account of their factious quarrelling.

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

9 'Εν μὲν οὖν τῇ πόλει ταύτ' ἐπράττετο, ὁ δὲ
Αὐγούστος τὸ μεν ὑπήκοου κατὰ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων
ἐθη διώκει, τὸ δὲ ἐνσπονδοῦ τῷ πατρῷ σφίσι
τρόπῳ εἶπ 1 ἄρχεσθαι· οὐδ' ἥξισεν οὔτε ἐκεῖνος 2
τι προσθέσθαι οὔτε ἔτερον τι προσκήπτησασθαι,
ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς ἀρκεῖσθαι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἐδι-
καίον, καὶ τούτῳ καὶ τῇ Βουλῇ ἐπέστειλεν. ὡστε
πολέμου μὲν οὐδὲν τότε γ' ἐφήματο, δυναστείας
dὲ δὴ 'Ιαμβλίχῳ τε τῷ 'Ιαμβλίχῳ τὴν (τῶν
'Ἀραβίων τὴν πατρώαν καὶ Ταρκονδιμώτῳ τῷ
Ταρκονδιμότος τὴν τῆς Κιλικίας, ἢν ὁ πατὴρ αὐ-
tοῦ ἔσχε, πλὴν παραθαλασσιδίων τινῶν ἐδωκεν·
ἐκείνα γὰρ τῷ Ἀρχελάω μετὰ τῆς σμικροτέρας
Ἀρμενίας ἐχαρίσατο, ὅτι ὁ Μήδος ὁ πρὶν αὐτῆς
3 βασιλεύων ἐτεθνύκει. τῷ τε Ἡρώδῃ Ζηνοδώρου
tινος τεταρχίαν, καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ τινὶ τὴν Κομ-
μαγνηνί, ἐπειδὴ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ὁ βασιλέας
αὐτῆς ἀπεκτόνει, καίτοι παιδίσκῳ ἐπὶ ὑπὲ-
τρέψε. τῶν τε Ἀρμενίων τῶν ἔτερων τοῦ τε
Ἁρτάξου 3 κατηγορησάντων καὶ τὸν Τιγράνην
tὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὑντα μεταπεμψα-
μένων, ἐστειλε 4 τὸν Τιβέριον, ὅπως τὸν μὲν
ἐκβάλῃ τῆς βασιλείας, τὸν δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ἀποκατα-
5 στήσῃ. καὶ ἐπράξθη μὲν οὖν τῇ παρασκευής
αὐτοῦ ἄξιον· οἱ γὰρ Ἀρμενίοι τὸν Ἁρτάξην
προατέκτειναν· ὁ δὲ οὖν Τιβέριος, ἀλλως τε καὶ

1 εἰς Leuncl., ἀεὶ M.
2 ἐκεῖνος Bk., ἐκεῖνων M.
3 Ἁρτάξου St., ἄρτάζου M (and similarly just below).
4 ἔστειλε Bk., μετέστειλε M.
of a decree; on their own initiative, however, the aediles gave games in the Circus and a slaughter of wild beasts on Augustus' birthday.

This is what was going on in the city. Augustus administered the subject territory according to the customs of the Romans, but permitted the allied nations to be governed in their own traditional manner; and he did not regard it as desirable either to make any additions to the former or to extend the latter by any new acquisitions, but thought it best to be satisfied with precisely what they already possessed, and he communicated this opinion to the senate. Therefore he undertook no war, at any rate for the time being, but actually gave away certain principalities—to Iamblichus, the son of Iamblichus, his ancestral dominion over the Arabians, and to Tarcondimotus, the son of Tarcondimotus, the kingdom of Cilicia, which his father had held, except for a few places on the coast. These latter together with Lesser Armenia he granted to Archelaus, because the Mede, who previously had ruled them, was dead. To Herod he entrusted the tetrarchy of a certain Zenodorus, and to one Mithridates, though still a mere boy, he gave Commagene, inasmuch as its king had put the boy's father to death. And since the other Armenians had preferred charges against Artaxes and had summoned his brother Tigranes, who was in Rome, the emperor sent Tiberius to drive Artaxes out of the kingdom and to reinstate Tigranes. And although nothing was accomplished by Tiberius commensurate with his preparations, since before his arrival the Armenians slew Artaxes, yet he assumed a lofty bearing, especially after sacrifices had been
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ἐπειδὴ θυσίαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐγνωσθησαν, ἐσεμνύ-
6 νετο ὡς καὶ κατ’ ἀρετήν τι ποιήσας. καὶ ἦδη γε
καὶ περὶ τῆς μοναρχίας ἐνενοεῖ, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τοὺς
Φιλίππους αὐτοῦ¹ προσελαύνοντος θόρυβος τε
τις ἐκ τοῦ τῆς μάχης χωρίου ὡς καὶ ἐκ στρατο-
πέδου ἥκουσθη, καὶ πῦρ ἐκ τῶν βωμῶν τῶν ὑπὸ
tοῦ Ἀντωνίου έν τῷ ταφρεύματι ἰδρυθέντων αὐτό-
7 ματον ἀνέλαμψε. Τιβέριος μὲν δὴ ἐκ τούτων
ἐγαυρύτω, ὁ δὲ Ἀὐγουστος ἐς τε τὴν Σάμου
ἐπανῆλθε κανταύθα αὕθης ἐχείμασε, καὶ ἐκεῖνοις
tε ἐλευθερίαν μισθὸν τῆς διατριβῆς ἀντέδωκε,
8 καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ὅλιγα προσδιόκησε. πάμπολλα
γὰρ δὴ πρεσβεῖαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίκοντο, καὶ οἱ
Ἰνδοὶ προκηρυκευόμενοι πρότερον φιλίαιν τὸτε
ἐσπείσαντο, δώρα πέμψαντες ἄλλα τε καὶ τύρεις,
πρῶτον τὸτε τοῖς Ῥωμαῖοις, νομίζω δ’ οτι καὶ
tοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὀφθεῖσας. καὶ τι καὶ μειράκιων
οἱ άνευ ὦμων, οίους τοὺς Ἕρμᾶς ὀρόμεν, ἐδωκαν.
9 καὶ μέντοι τοιοῦτον ὅτι ἐκεῖνο ἐς πάντα τοῖς
ἀτε καὶ χερσὶν ἐχρῆτο, τόξον τε αὐτοῖς ἐπέτεινε
καὶ βέλη ὕφει καὶ ἐσάλπιζεν, οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅπως.
10 γράφω γὰρ τὰ λεγόμενα. εἰς δ’ οὖν τῶν Ἰνδῶν
Ζάρμαρος, εἶτε δὴ τοῦ τῶν σοφιστῶν γένους ὄν,
καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας, εἶτε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ
γῆρως κατὰ τὸν πάτριον νόμον, εἶτε καὶ ἐς ἐπὶ-
δείξιν τοῦ τε Ἀὐγουστοῦ καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναιῶν (καὶ
γὰρ ἐκεῖσε ἡλθεύ) ἀποθανεῖν ἐθελήσας ἐμνήθη τε
τὰ τῶν θεών, τῶν μυστηρίων καὶ περ οὐκ ἐν τῷ

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

¹ Demeter and Kore.
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καθήκοντι καιρῷ, ὡς φασί, διὰ τὸν Ἀὔγουστον καὶ αὐτὸν¹ μεμνημένον γενομένων,² καὶ πυρὶ ἑαυτὸν ζώντα ἐξέδωκεν.

10 Ἄπαντε μὲν ὅτα ἐν τῷ ἐτεί ἐκεῖνῳ³ Γάιος Σέντιος· ἔπει δὲ καὶ τὸν συνάρξοντα αὐτῷ προσ-ἀποδειχθῆναι ἔδει (ὁ γὰρ Ἀὔγουστος οὐδὲ τότε τηρηθεσαν οἱ τὴν ἄρχην ἐδέξατο), στάσις τε αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ συνηνέχθη καὶ σφαγαί συνεβησαν, ὡστε τοὺς Βούλευτας προσφυρὰν τῷ Σεντίῳ⁴ ψηφίσασθαι. ἔπειδὴ τε ὅ ἡ ἢ ἐδηλησεν αὐτῇ χρή-ςασθαι, πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν Ἀὔγουστον, μετὰ δύο Ῥαβδοῦχων ἐκαστον, ἐπεμψαν. μαθὼν οὖν ταύτ' ἐκεῖνος, καὶ συνιδών ὅτι οὔδὲν πέρας τοῦ κακοῦ γενήσοτο, οὐκετέ αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως ὠσπερ καὶ πρὶν προσηνέχθη, ἀλλ' ἐκ τε τῶν πρεσβευτῶν αὐτῶν Κύκλων Λουκρήτιον, καίπερ ἐν τοῖς ἑπικηρυ-χθεῖσιν ἀναγραφέντα, ὑπατον ἀπέδειξε, καὶ αὐτὸς

3 ἐσ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἡπείχθη. καὶ αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τε τούτοις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ πραχθέσαι πολλὰ καὶ παντοῦ ἐψηφίσθη. ὅν οὔδὲν προσή-κατο, πλὴν Τύχη τε Ἐπαναγώγῳ (οὕτω γὰρ πῶς αὐτὴν ἐκάλεσαν) βοώμον ἵδρυθηναι καὶ τὴν ἢμέραν ἑών ἀφίξειτο ἐν τε ταῖς ιερομυνιαῖς ἀριθμεύθησαν καὶ Ἀὔγουστάλια ὑπομάζεσθαι. ἔπει δὲ καὶ ὅς αἱ τε ἀρχαὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι προσαντίσαι οἱ προ-παρεσκεύασαι, νῦκτορ ἐσ τὴν πόλιν ἑσεκο-μίσθη, καὶ τῇ ὑπεραίᾳ τῷ τε Τιβερίῳ τῶν ἑστρατηγημότων τιμᾶς ἔδωκε, καὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ πέντε ἐτεσί θάσσον παρὰ τὰ νομίζομενά τὰς

1 αὐτὸν supplied by Rk. ² γενομένων Rk., γενομένων M. ³ ἐκεῖνῳ Reim., ἐν δὶ M. ⁴ Σεντίῳ R. Steph., γενετίῳ M. ⁵ τε supplied by Bs. ⁶ μὴ Dind., μήτε M.
out of season on account, they say, of Augustus, who b.c. 20 also was an initiate, and he then threw himself alive into the fire.

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

6 ψηφίσαμενοι δὲ ταύτα διορθοῦν τε πάντα αὐτοῦ καὶ νομοθετεῖν ὅσα βούλευτο ηξίουν, καὶ τοὺς τε νόμους τοὺς γραφησόμενους ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ Ἀγούστους ἐκεῖθεν ἕδη προσηγόρευον, καὶ ἐμμενεῖν σφισιν ὁμόσαι ἤθελον. ὅ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ως καὶ ἀναγκαία ἐδέξατο, τοὺς δ’ ὅρκους ἀφῆκεν.

7 αὐτοῖς· καὶ γὰρ εὖ ἦδει ὅτι, εἰ μεν ἀπὸ γνώμης τι ψηφίσαμεντο, τηρήσουσιν αὐτὸ καὶ μὴ ὁμόσωσιν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ, καὶ μυρίας πίστεις ἐπαγάγωσι, προτιμήσουσιν.

11 Ἀγούστος μὲν δὴ ταύτ’ ἐποίει, καὶ τις τῶν ἀγοραομένων ἠθελοντῆς ὑπὸ πενίας ἀπείπε τὴν ἀρχήν. Ἀγριώτπας δὲ ὡς τότε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔκ τῆς Σικελίας πεμφθεῖς διώκησε τὰ κατεπείγοντα, πολεμοῦντος τοῦ Ἰβηρίαν μετέστη· οἱ γὰρ Κάνταβροι οἱ Ἰωρηθέντες τε ἐν τῷ πο-

1 ἑτη supplied by Xyl. (cf. Zon: εἰς πενταετιαν).
2 αἰὲ Bk., αἰὲ M. 3 αὐτὸν Rk., αὐτὰ M.
4 ἐμμενεῖν Dind., ἐμμένειν M.
5 ὁμόσαι Xyl., ὁμοσε M. 6 ὡς Bk., ὡς ἄτε M.
7 τηρήσουσιν Reim., τηροῦσιν M.
8 ὁμόσωσιν Rk., ὁμολογήσωσιν M.
9 προτιμήσουσιν Rk., προξενίσωσιν M.

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And inasmuch as there was no similarity between the conduct of the people during his absence, when they quarrelled, and while he was present, when they were afraid, he accepted an election, on their invitation, to the position of supervisor of morals for five years, and took the authority of censor for the same period and that of consul for life, and in consequence had the right to use the twelve rods always and everywhere and to sit in the curule chair between the two men who were at the time consuls. After voting these measures they begged him to set everything to rights and to enact whatever laws he liked; and the laws which should be proposed by him they called "leges Augustae" from that very moment, and desired to take an oath that they would abide by them. He accepted all the other measures, believing them to be necessary, but did not require the oaths from them; for he well knew that, if any measure they decreed should represent their judgment, they would observe it even without taking an oath, but if it should not, they would pay no heed to it, even if they should offer ten thousand guarantees.

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

1 Praefectus moribus. 2 See chap 6, 5.
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λέμω καὶ πραθέντες τοὺς τε δεσπότας σφῶν ώς ἔκαστοι ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπαυ- ελθόντες πολλοὺς συναπέστησαν, καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν χωρία καταλαβόντες καὶ ἐνεχισάμενοι τοῖς τῶν

3 Ῥωμαίων φρουροῖς ἐπεβούλευσον. ἐπ’ οὖν τούτοις ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἐπιστρατεύσας ἐσχε μὲν τι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἔργον πρεσβύτεροι γὰρ ὦν ὦλγοι αὐτῶν ὄντες καὶ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῶν πολέμων τετρυχωμένοι, τοὺς τε Καντάβρους ὡς καὶ δυσπο-

4 λεμίτουσ δεδιότες, ὦν ἐπέθεσαν αὐτῷ. ἀλλ’ ἐκείνους μὲν, τὰ μὲν νουθετῆσας τὰ δὲ παραμυθη-

σάμενοι τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπελπίσας,1 διὰ ταχέων πειθ-

αρχῆσαι ἐποίησε, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τοὺς Καντάβρους

τολλὰ προσέπτασεν καὶ γὰρ ἐμπειρίᾳ πραγμά-

των, ἀτε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις δεδουλευκότες, καὶ ἀπο-

γνώσει τοῦ μὴ ἄν ἄτι σωθῆναι ἀλόντες ἐχρῶντο.

5 τέλος δὲ ποτε συχνοὺς μὲν ἀποβαλῶν τῶν στρα-

τιωτῶν, συχνοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀτιμώσας ὅτι ἤττῶντο (τὰ

tε γὰρ ἀλλα καὶ στράτοπεδον ὁλον Ἀὐγούστον ἐπωνομασμένον ἐκώλυσεν οὔτως ἔτι καλεῖσθαι),

τοὺς τε ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ πολεμίους πάντας ὀλίγου

dιεφθέισε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τὰ τε ὅτιλα ἀφείλετο

6 καὶ ἐς τὰ πεδία ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμνῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ

μὴν οὔτε ἐπέστειλε τὶ τῇ βουλῇ περὶ αὐτῶν, οὔτε
tὰ ἐπινίκια καὶ τοίς ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ἀὐγούστου προσ-

τάξεως ψηφισθέντα προσήκατο, ἀλλ’ ἐν τε τοῦ-

τούς ἐμπορίαξεν ὡσπερ εἰσθεῖ, καὶ γνώμην ποτὲ

ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑπάτου ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἄδελφου αὐτοῦ ἐρωτη-

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

1 Nothing of this sort is recorded elsewhere. The passage may be corrupt; it has been proposed to read προ for ῥήπ, “ahead of the consul’s brother,” i.e. out of his turn.
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7 θείς οὖν ἐδωκε. τὸ τε ὑδωρ τὸ Παρθένιον καλούμενον τοῖς ἱδίοις τέλεσιν ἐσαγαγὼν Αὔγουστον προσηγόρευσε. καὶ οὖτω γε ἐκεῖνος ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔχαρεν ὡστε σπάνεως 1 ποτὲ οἴνου γενομένης, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων δεινὰ διαβοῶντων, ἰκανωτάτα ἐφη τὸν Ἀγρίππαν προνεονηκέναι ὡστε μὴ δίψῃ ποτὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπολέσθαι.

12 Τοιούτος μὲν δὴ οὖτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἦν· τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων τινὲς οὖν ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτῷ πράσσοντες, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ληστὰς συλλαβάνοντες οἱ δὲ πόλεις στασιάζοντες, καὶ ἐπωρέγοντο τῶν νικητήριων καὶ ἐπεμπτὸν αὐτά. ὁ γὰρ Αὔγουστος καὶ ταῦτα ἀφθόνως τισὶ τὴν γε πρώτην ἔχαριζε, καὶ δημοσίαις ταφαῖς πλείστους ὁσοὺς ἔτιμα. τοιγαροῦν ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἐλαμπρύνοντο, ὁ δὲ Ἀγρίππας ἐσ τὴν αὐταρχίαν τρόπον τινὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προῆκεν. ὁ γὰρ Αὔγουστος, ὡς τὰ τε κοινὰ θεραπείας ἀκριβοὺς ἐδείτο, καὶ ἔδειξε μη, οἷα ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις φιλεὶ συμβαίνειν, ἐπιβολευθῇ (βραχὺ γὰρ τι καὶ σμικρὸν τὸν θώρακα, ὅν ὑπὸ τῇ στολῇ) πολλάκις καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ συνέδριον ἐσιων ἐίχεν, ἐπικουρήσειν οἱ ἐνώμιζε, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς πέντε τῆς προστασίας ἔτη, ἐπειδῆτερ οἱ δεκέτης χρόνος ἐξῆκων ἦν, προσέθετο (ταῦτα γὰρ Πονπλίου τε καὶ Γναίου Λεντούλων 2 ὕπατενόντων ἐγένετο), ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἀγρίππα ἄλλα τε ἐξίσου πη ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν δημαρχίαν 5 ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐδωκε. τοσαῦτα γὰρ σφισίν 3 ἔτη τὸτε ἐπαρκέσειν ἐφή· ύστερον γὰρ οὐ πολλά.

1 σπάνεως Bk., σπάνιος M.
2 Λεντούλων Bk., λεντούλου M.
3 σφισίν R. Steph., σφισί M.
his own expense he brought into the city the water-supply known as the Aqua Virgo, and named it the Augusta. The emperor took such great delight in this that once, when there was a great scarcity of wine and people were loudly complaining, he declared that Agrippa had in a most competent manner seen to it that they should never perish of thirst.

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

13 Πράξας δὲ ταῦτα τὸ βουλευτικὸν ἔξητας: πολλοὶ τε γὰρ καὶ ὃς ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ εἶναι (πλῆθει δὲ οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς ἐνεώρα), καὶ (διὰ μέσους) οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς κακία τινὶ ἐπιρρήτους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς 2 κολακεῖα ἐκφανεῖς ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μήτε τις ἐκών ὅσπερ πρότερον ἀπηλλάττετο, μήτ' αὐ τοῦ ἑν αἰτία τινὶ γενέσθαι ἐβούλετο, αὐτὸς τε τριάκοντα άνδρας τοὺς ἀρίστους, ὅπερ ποὺ3 καὶ ὄρκῳ ἐπιστῶσατο, ἐξελέξατο, καὶ ἐκείνους ἐκέλευε προορόμασας τὸν αὐτὸν ὄρκον κατὰ πέντε, πλὴν τῶν συγγενῶν, ἐς πινάκια γράψαντας ἔλεσθαι. 3 καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ τὰς πεμπύδας ἐκλήρωσεν, ὦσθ' ἐνα καθ' ἐκάστην τὸν λαχόντα αὐτὸν τε βουλεύσαι καὶ ἐτέρους πέντε ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐγγράψαι. ἐδει ποὺ καὶ τοὺς τριάκοντα ἐν τε τοῖς αἱρουμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν4 ἐτέρων καὶ ἐν τοῖς κληρουμένοις γενέσθαι. ἐπειδὴ τέ τινες αὐτῶν ἀπεδήμουν, ἀλλοι αὐτ' ἐκείνων λαχόντες τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα σφίσιν ἐπραξαν. 4 τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ταῦτ' οὕτως ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας ἐγένετο: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκακουργήθη τινά, οὕτε ἐπὶ τοὺς τάμαις τὰ γραμματεῖα ἐτ' ἐποιήσατο οὕτε ἐτι τὸ κλήρῳ τὰς πεμπύδας ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλ' αὐτός τε τὰ λοιπὰ ἀνελέξατο καὶ αὐτὸς τοὺς ἐνδέοντας προσέλετο, ὡστε ἐς ἐξακοσίους τοὺς 14 πάντας ἀποδειχθῆναι. ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν γὰρ τρια-

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1 ἄλλα πέντε Rk., πέντε ἄλλα Reim., τολλά M.
2 ἐνεώρα Rk., ἐώρα M. 3 ποὺ Pflugk, πω M.
4 ὑπὸ τῶν Capps, υφ' M.
BOOK LIV

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

When he had done this, he purged the senatorial body. For the members seemed to him to be too numerous even now, and he saw nothing good in a large throng; moreover, he hated not only those who were notorious for some baseness, but also those who were conspicuous for their flattery. And when, as on the previous occasion,¹ no one would resign of his own free will, and Augustus, in his turn, did not wish to incur blame alone, he himself selected the thirty best men (a point which he afterwards confirmed by oath) and bade them, after first taking the same oath, choose five at a time, relatives not to be included, by writing the names on tablets. After this he made the groups of five cast lots, with the arrangement that the one man in each group who drew the lot should be a senator himself and should write down five other names according to the same plan. The original thirty, of course, were to be included among those who were available for selection by the second thirty and for the drawing of lots. And since some who were chosen were out of town, others were drawn in their place and discharged the duties that belonged to them. At first all this went on for several days in the way described; but when various abuses crept in, Augustus no longer entrusted the lists to the quaestors and no longer submitted the groups of five to the lot, but he himself thenceforth made the selection and himself chose the senators who were still required in order to make the number of men appointed six hundred in all. It had, indeed, been his

¹ Cf. lii. 42.
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κοσίους αὐτοὺς (κατὰ τὸ ἄρχαίον) ποιῆσαι, καὶ πάνω ἀγαπητὸν νομίζων εἶναι τοσοῦτος ἁξίους τοῦ συνεδρίου σφῶν εὐρεθήναι, δυσχερανάντων δὲ πάντων ὁμοίως (τῷ γὰρ πολὺ πλείους τῶν ἐμεμ- νοῦντων ἐν αὐτῷ τοὺς διαγραφησομένους ἔσεσθαι, φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς μὴ ἰδιωτεύσωσιν ἢ προσδοκᾶν ὦτι καὶ βουλεύσουσιν συνεβαίνε) τοὺς

2 ἐξακοσίους κατελέξατο, καὶ οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἔστη, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο, ἔπειδὴ τινες οὐκ ἐπιτήδειοι καὶ τότε ἐγγεγραμμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ Δικηνίος τέ τις 'Ῥήγουλος, ἀγανακτήσας ὅτι τοῦ τε νέος, καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν, ὅπερ κρείσσων εἶναι ἥξιον, διει- λεγμένων ἀπαλήλπτο, τὴν τε ἐσθήτα ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ

3 βουλευτηρίῳ κατερρήξατο, καὶ τὸ σῶμα γυμνώσας τὰς τε στρατείας κατηρμιθησάτο καὶ τὰς οὐλὰς προστέθειοι τεφυς, καὶ Ὀρτικυλέυος 2 Παῖτος 3 ἐν μὲν τοῖς βουλεύσοσιν ὅπερ τὸ δὲ δὴ πατρὶ ἐκ- πετωκότι παραχωρήσαι τῆς βουλείας ἁξίων ἱκέτευεν, ἔξετασμὸν αὐθίς σφῶν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ

4 τινὰς ἀπαλλάξας ἄλλους ἀντικατέλεξεν. ἔπειδὴ τε πολλοὶ καὶ ὅς διεγεράφατο, καὶ τινὲς αὐτῶν δι’ αἰτίας, οtplib ὅτι τοῦ τοιοῦτο φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν, ὡς καὶ ἀδίκως ἀπεληλαμένοι εἶχον, τότε τε 5 αὐτοῖς καὶ συνθεάσασθαι καὶ συνεστιάσασθαι τοῖς βουλεύσοις, τῇ αὐτῇ σκευῇ χρωμένοις, συνε- χώρησε, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτοῖν ἐπέ-

5 τρεψα. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν πλείους ἐπανήλθον

1 òn supplied by R. Steph.
2 Ὀρτικυλέυος Cary, Ὀρτικυλήιος M.
3 Παῖτος Bk., πέτος M.
4 αὐτῶν δι’ αἰτίας Bk., αὐτῶν aitias M.
5 τε Bk., γε M.

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

15 (Τούτων οὖν οὕτω γενομένων συχνοὶ μὲν εὐθὺς συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκεῖνῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀγριππᾷ ἐπιβουλεύσαι, εἶτ' οὖν ἀληθῶς εἶτε καὶ

ψευδῶς, αἰτίαν ἔσχον. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀκριβῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῖς ἐξῳ αὐτῶν οὕσιν εἰδέναι. τολλὰ γὰρ ὅν ἀν ὁ κρατῶν πρὸς τιμωρίαν, ἡς καὶ ἐπιβεβουλευμένος, ἢτοι δ' ἐαυτοῦ ἥ καὶ διὰ τῆς γερουσίας πράξῃ, ὑποτεύεται κατ' ἐπήρειαν, κὰν ὅτι μά-

3 λιστα δικαίωτα συμβῆ, γεγονέναι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐγὼ γνώμην ἔχω περὶ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτων πρός τιμωρίαν, ἡς καὶ ἐπιβεβουλευμένα, πλὴν τῶν πάνω φανερῶν, μήτε πολυπραγμονών μήθ' ύπολέγων, μήτ' εἰ δικαίως μήτ' εἰ ἀδίκως τῇ γέγονε, μήτ' εἰ

4 ψευδῶς μήτε εἰ ἀληθῶς εἰρήται. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν μοι καὶ κατὰ τῶν μὲν ταῦτα γραφησομένων εἰρήσθω: ἐν δὲ δὴ τὸ τότε παρόντι ὁ Ἀὐγουστος ἄλλοις μὲν τις ἐδικαίωσε, τῶν δὲ δὴ Δέπιδον ἐμίσει μὲν διὰ τῆς τολλα καὶ ὅτι ὁ ὕδως αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπεφώρατο ἐπιβουλεύσων αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκεκόλαστο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι ἡθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τρόπῳ

5 τινὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλω1 προσπλάκιζεν. (ἐς τε γὰρ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀκούντα αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ἅγρῶν κατιέναι ἐκέλευε, καὶ ἐς τὰς συνόδους ἀεὶ ἔσηξεν, ὅπως ὦτι πλείστην καὶ χλευασίαν καὶ ὕβριν πρὸς τε τὴν

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

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

\(^1\) At Circeii.
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τῆς ἰσχύος καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀξιώσεως μεταβολὴν ὀφλισκάνης καὶ οὕτε ἐς ἄλλο τι ὡς καὶ ἀξίων οἱ λόγου ἐχρῆτο, τότε δὲ καὶ τὴν ψήφου ὅστατω τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἐπήγγε. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους ἐν τῇ καθηκούσῃ τάξει ἐπεψήφιζε, τῶν δὲ ὑπατευκότων πρώτον τὲ τινα καὶ δεύτερον τρίτον τε ἔτερον καὶ τέταρτον, τοὺς τε λοιποὺς ὁμοίως, ὡς ποὺ καὶ ἐβούλετο· καὶ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ ὑπατοὶ ἐποίησαν. οὖτω μὲν δὴ τὸν Λέπιδου μετεχειρίζετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε Ἀντίστιος Λαβέων ἐς τοὺς Βουλεύσοντας, ὁτε ἡ διαγνώμη ἐκεῖνη ἐγύρνετο, ἐσεγράψατο, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιωρκηκέναι τε αὐτὸν ἐφη καὶ τιμωρήσεσθαι ἤπείλησεν, ἐπειτα δὲ εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ "καὶ τί δεινὸν πεποίηκα κατασχῶν εἰς τὸ συνεδρίῳ ἀνδρὰ ὅσι ἄρχιέρεως ἔτι καὶ ὑνὶ περιορᾶς ὁντα;" οὐκέτ' οὐδεμίαν ὀργὴν ἐποίησατο. πολλάκις γὰρ καὶ ἰδία καὶ κοινή τῆς ιερωσύνης ταύτης ἀξιώμενοι οὐκ ἐδικαίωσε ξόντος τοῦ Λέπιδου λαβείν αὐτήν. Ἀντίστιος μὲν οὖν τοῦτο τε οὐκ ἀπὸ καιροῦ εἰπεῖν ἔδοξε, καὶ ποτὲ λόγων ἐν τῇ Βουλῇ γιγνομένων ὡς χρεὼν εἴη τὸν Ἀὐγούστον ἐκ διαδοχῆς σφας φρούρειν, ἐφη, μὴ ἀντεπεῖν τολμῶν μὴ τε συγκαταθέσθαι ὑπομένων, ὅτι "ῥέγκω καὶ οὖ δύναμαι αὐτοῦ προκοιτῆσαι."

16 ὁ δὲ οὖν Ἀὐγούστος ἀλλὰ τε ἐνομοθέτησε, καὶ τοὺς δεκάσαντας τινας ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἔς

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

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

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1 Presumably because of the oath the thirty men had taken that they would select the best men.
2 Cf. xlix. 15, 3, and chap. 27, 2 inf.
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πέντε ἐτη αὐτῶν εἴρηται. 1 τοῖς τε ἀγάμοις καὶ ταις ἀνάνδροις βαρύτερα τὰ ἐπιτίμια ἐπέταξε, καὶ ἐμπαλιν τοῦ τε γάμου καὶ τῆς παιδοποιίας ἢθλα
2 ἔθηκεν. ἐπειδὴ τε πολὺ πλεῖον τὸ ἀρρέν του θήλεος του εὐγενοὺς ἦν, ἐπέτρεψε καὶ ἐξελευθέρας τοῖς ἐθέλουσι, πλὴν τῶν βουλευόντων, ἀγεσθαί, ἐννομον τὴν τεκνοποιίαν αὐτῶν εἶναι κελεύσας.
3 (Καὶ τοῦτο καταβοήσεως 2 ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ περὶ τε τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν νεανίσκων ἀκοσμίας, πρὸς ἀπολογίαν δὴ τινα τοῦ μή ῥαδίως δὲ αὐτὴν τὰς τῶν γάμων συναλλαγὰς ποιεῖσθαι, γενομένης, καὶ ἐναγόντων αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκείνην ἐπα- νορθώσας χλευασμῷ ὅτι πολλαῖς γυναιξίν ἔχρητο.)
4 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαίοτα διώρισται, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἄδυνατὸν ἐστὶν ὑμῶς παραδοθηναι, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐκβιασθεὶς εἰπεν ὅτι "αὐτὸι ὅφειλετε ταῖς γαμεταῖς καὶ παραινεῖν καὶ κελεύειν ὅσα βούλεσθε· ὅπερ πον
5 καὶ ἐγὼ ποιῶ." ἀκούσαντες οἶν ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνοι πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐνέκειντο αὐτῷ, βουλόμενοι τὰς παραινέσεις ἅς τῇ Διονία παραινεῖν ἐφή μαθεῖν. καὶ δὲ ἄκων μὲν, εἶπε δ' οὖν τινα καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐσθήτος καὶ περὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ κόσμου τῶν τε ἐξόδων καὶ τῆς σωφροσύνης αὐτῶν, μηδ' ὁτιοῦν φροντίσας ὅτι μὴ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ αὐτὰ ἐπιστοῦτο. 6 καὶ ἔτερον δὲ τι τοιὸνδε τιμητεύων ἐπεποιήκειν ἐπειδὴ γὰρ προσήγαγέ τις αὐτῷ νεανίσκον γυναίκα ἐκ μοιχείας γεγαμηκότα, καὶ πλεῖστα ὅσα κατη-

1 εἴρητα R. Steph., εἴρητε M.
2 καταβοήσεως R. Steph., κατεβόησεν M.

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

Meanwhile a clamor arose in the senate over the disorderly conduct of the women and of the young men, this being alleged as a reason for their reluctance to enter into the marriage relation; and when they urged him to remedy this abuse also, with ironical allusions to his own intimacy with many women, he at first replied that the most necessary restrictions had been laid down and that anything further could not possibly be regulated by decree in similar fashion. Then, when he was driven into a corner, he said: “You yourselves ought to admonish and command your wives as you wish; that is what I do.” When they heard that, they plied him with questions all the more, wishing to learn what the admonitions were which he professed to give Livia. He accordingly, though with reluctance, made a few remarks about women’s dress and their other adornment, about their going out and their modest behaviour, not in the least concerned that his actions did not lend credence to his words. Another instance of such inconsistency had occurred while he was censor. Some one brought before him a young man who had taken as his wife a married woman with whom he had previously committed adultery, and made ever so many accusations against the
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γόρησεν αὐτοῦ, διηπορήθη μήτε παριδείν τὸ πράγμα μήτ ἐπιτιμῆσαι τι τολμήσας, καὶ μόλις ι ποτὲ ὁψέ ἀνενεγκὼν "πολλά," ἔφη, "καὶ δεινὰ αἱ στάσεις ἤγεγκαν, ὡστε ἐκείνων μὲν ἀμνημονώμεν, τοῦ δὲ δὴ λοιποῦ προνοῶμεν ὅπως μηδὲν τοι-7 ὦτῳ γίγνηται." Ὅς δ' οὖν βρέφη τινὲς ἐγγυώμενοι τὰς μεν τιμὰς τῶν γεγαμηκότων ἐκαρποῦντο, τὸ δὲ ἔργον αὐτῶν οὐ παρεῖχοντο, προσέταξε μηδεμίαν ἐγγύην ἰσχύειν μεθ' ἤν οὐδὲ δυὸν ἔτοιν διελθόντων γαμήσει τις, τούτῳ ἐστὶ δεκέτων πάντως ἐγγυᾶσθαι τὸν γέ τι ἄτ' αὐτῆς ἀπολαύ-5 σοντα: δόδεκα γὰρ ταῖς κόραις ἕσ την τοῦ γάμου ὥραν ἐτή πλήρη, καθάπερ ἔσπον, νομίζεται.

17 Ταυτά τε οὖν ὁς ἐκαστά διενομοθέτει, καὶ ἣν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ σίτου διαδόσει προβάλλονται οἱ ι αὲν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἀεὶ ὅντες ἐνα ἐκαστος ἐκ τῶν πρὸ τριῶν ἐτῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων, καὶ ἔξι αὐτῶν τέσ-2 σαρες οἱ λαχώντες σιτοδοτῶσιν ἐκ διαδοχῆς. τὸν τε πολιάρχου τὸν ἐς τὰς ἀνοχαὶ καθιστάμενον ἐνα ἀεὶ αἰρεῖσθαι, καὶ ἧ τῇ ἡ Σιβύλλεια ἐξι-7 τηλα ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου γεγονότα του ἑρέας αὐτο-χειρί ἐκγράψασθαι ἐκέλευσεν, ἦνα μηδεὶς ἐτεροσ

1 μόλις Pflugk, μάλιστα M. 2 γαμήσει Zon., γαμήση M.
3 γὰρ supplied by R. Steph. 4 οἱ Bk, καὶ οἱ M.
5 ἐκαστος Reim., ἐκαστον M.

1 Cf. note on liii. 13, 2.
2 Apparently in a lost portion of his work.

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

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

3 Suetonius (Aug. 37) names among the new offices established by Augustus the "curam . . . frumenti populo dividundi."

4 See note on chap. 6; and cf. xli. 14, 4, and xlix. 16, 2.
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3 αυτά ἀναλέξηται. τάς τε ἀρχὰς ἀπασὶ τοῖς δέκα μυριάδων οὐσίαν ἐχουσὶ καὶ ἀρχεῖν ἐκ τῶν νόμων δυναμένοις ἐπαγγέλλειν ἐπέτρεψε. τοσοῦτον γὰρ τὸ Βουλευτικὸν τίμημα τὴν πρώτην εἶναι ἐταξεν, ἑπείτα καὶ ἐς τέντε καὶ εἰκοσι μυριάδας αὐτὸ προῆγαγε. καὶ τισι τῶν εὐ βιούντων ἐλάττω, τοτε μὲν τῶν δέκα, αὕθις δὲ τῶν πέντε καὶ εἰκοσι,

4 κεκτημένοις1 ἐχαρίσατο ὅσον ἐνέδει. καὶ διὰ ταύτα τοῖς Βουλομένοις τῶν στρατηγῶν τριπλάσιον τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ δημοσίου σφίσιν ἐς τὰς πανηγύρες διδομένου προσαναλίσκειν ἐφήκεν. ὡστε εἰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοῦ νομοθετημάτων ἥχθοντο τινες, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τὸ τοῦτο, καὶ ὅτι Πυλάδην τωδ' ὀρχηστὴν διὰ στάσιν ἐξεληλαμένου κατήγαγεν, οὐκέτ' ἐκείνων ἐμέμηντο.

5 οδεντερ πάνω σοφῶς ὁ Πυλάδης, ἐπιτιμώμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπειδὴ Βαθύλλῳ ὄμοτέχνῳ τέ οί οὖντι καὶ τῷ Μαικήνα προσήκοντι διεστασίαξεν, εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὅτι "συμφέρει σοι, Καῖσαρ, περὶ ἡμᾶς τὸν δήμον ἀποδιατρίβεσθαι."

18 Ταύτα μὲν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἐτεί ἐγένετο· ἐπὶ δε Ὁαίον ἐν Φοῦρνίῳ καὶ Οαίον Σιλανοῦ ὑπάτων νιὸν αὕθις ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἀνέλετο τῶν Λούκιον ὀνομασθέντα, καὶ αὐτοῦ εὐθὺς ὁ Ἀγγοῦστος μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Οαίον ἐπονήσατο, μη ἀναμείνας σφᾶς ἀνδρωθῆναι, ἀλλ' αὐτόθεν διαδόχους τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποδείξας, ἐν ἦττον ἐπιβουλεύσαται. τῇ τε τῆς Τιμής καὶ τῆς Ἄρετῆς πανήγυριν ἐς τὰς νῦν ἡμέρας μετέστησε, καὶ τοῖς τα ἐπινίκια πέμπτουσιν ἐργὸν ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ἐς τὴν τῶν πράξεων

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

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

\[1\] "It is to your advantage, Caesar, that the people should devote their spare time to us."

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

\[1\] Cf. Tac. Ann. i. 54.
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μνήμην ποιεῖν προσέταξε, τά τε σαϊκουλάρια τά πέμπτα ἐπετέλεσε. καὶ τοὺς ρήτορας ἀμισθὶ 1 συναγορεύειν, ἢ τετραπλάσιον ὅσον ἂν λάβωσιν
3 ἐκτίνειν, ἐκέλευσε. τοὺς δὲ δικαίειν ἀεὶ λαγχά
νουσιν ἀπείπεν ἐς μηδενὸς οἴκαδε τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκείνων ἐσιέναι. ἐπειδὴ τε ἀσπούδει 2 οἱ βουλευταὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον συνεφοίτων, ἐπηνύξησε τὰς ἵμιας τοῖς οὐκ ἐξ εὐλόγου τινὸς αἰτίας ύστερίζουσι.

19 Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν, Δουκίου τε Δομιτίου καὶ Πουπλίου Σκυπίωνος ὑπατευόντων, ἀρμῆσε, πρόφασιν τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς κατ’ ἐκεῖνο
2 κυνηθέντας λαβὼν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐπάχθης πολλοῖς ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει χρονίων διατριβής ἐγεγόνει, καὶ συχνοὺς μὲν ἔξω τι τῶν τεταγμένων πράτ-
tουτας δικαίων ἐλύπει, συχνῶν δὲ καὶ φειδόμενος τὰ νενομοθετήμενα ὧφ’ ἐαυτοῦ παραβαίνειν ἤγα-
γκάζετο, ἐκδημῆσαι τρόπον τινὰ κατὰ τὸν Σῶλωνα ἔγνω. καὶ τινες καὶ διὰ τὴν Τερεντίαν τὴν τοῦ
3 Μαυκήνου γυναῖκα ἀποδημῆσαι αὐτὸν ὑπετόπη-
σαν, ἵν’ ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ ἐλογοποιεῖτο, ἀνευ ἄροι τινὸς ἐν τῇ ἄλλοδημίᾳ αὐ-
tῆ συνῆς οὕτω γὰρ οὖν πάντως αὐτῆς ἴρα ὡστε καὶ ἀγωνίσασθαι ποτε αὐτῆν περὶ τοῦ κάλλως
4 πρὸς τὴν Διονυσίαν ποιῆσαι. πρὶν δὲ ἡ ἀφορμᾶ-
σθαι, τὸν τοῦ Κυρίωνον ναὸν καθιέρωσεν ἐκ καρνῆς
οἰκοδομῆσας. εἶπον δὲ τοῦτο ὅτι ἐξ καὶ ἐβδομή-
κουτα κλισιν αὐτὸν ἐκόσμησεν, ὡσπερ τὰ πάντα ἐτή 3 διεβίω, κἂν τούτον λόγον τις παρέσχεν ὡς καὶ ἐξεπιτήδες αὐτὸ ἄλλων οὐκ ἐκ τύχῃ ἄλλως
5 πράξει. ἐκείνον τέ οὖν τότε ἔθελοςε, καὶ μονο-

1 ἀμισθὶ St., ἀμισθὲλ M. 2 οἱ supplied by Rk.
3 ἐτή Dind., ἐτῆ τὶς VM.
BOOK LIV

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

Next he set out for Gaul, during the consulship of Lucius Domitius and Publius Scipio, making the wars that had arisen in that region his excuse. For since he had become disliked by many as a result of his long stay in the capital, and now was offending many who committed some act contrary to his decrees by the punishments he was inflicting, and at the same time, by sparing many others, was being compelled to transgress his own enactments, he decided to leave the country, somewhat after the manner of Solon. Some even suspected that he had gone away on account of Terentia, the wife of Maecenas, and intended, inasmuch as there was much talk about them in Rome, to live with her abroad free from all gossip. So great, indeed, was his passion for her that he once made her enter a contest of beauty against Livia. Before setting out he dedicated the temple of Quirinus, which he had rebuilt. I mention this for the reason that he adorned it with seventy-six columns, which was the exact number of the years he lived, and thus caused some to declare that he had chosen this number deliberately and not by mere chance. So he dedicated this temple at that time, and also exhibited
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μαχίας ἀγώνας διὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ διὰ τοῦ Δρούσου, συγχωρηθεὶν δὴ σφισιν (ὑπὸ τῆς Βουλής),
6 ἔθηκε. καὶ οὕτω τὸ μὲν ἄστυ τῷ Ταύρῳ μετὰ τῆς Ἀλλής Ἰταλίας διοικεῖν ἐπιτρέψας (τὸν τε γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν αὐθες ἐστάλκει, καὶ τῷ Μακένα διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα οὐκεθ’ ὀμοίως ἔχαρε), τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ Τιβερίου καίτοι στρατηγοῦντα παραλαβὼν ἐξώρισεν. ἐστράτηγησε γὰρ καὶ πέρ τὰς στρατηγικὰς τιμᾶς ἔχων καὶ τὴν γε ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ πάσαν ὁ Δρούσος ἐκ δόγματος δὴγανεν.
7 ἐξελθόντων δ’ οὖν αὐτῶν τὸ τῆς Νεότητος μέγαρον ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νῦκτα κατεκαύθη, καὶ διὰ τε τούτο καὶ διὰ τὰλλα τὰ προγενέμενα (λύκος τε γὰρ διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς οὔου ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐσπεσῶν ἀνθρώπους ἐφθειρε, καὶ μύρμηκες οὐ 1 πόρρῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἑκαφανέστατα 2 συνεστράφησαν, λαμπάς τὲ τὶς ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρκτον διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς ἦνέχθη) εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπανόδου τοῦ
8 Αὐγοῦστον ἐποιήσαντο. (καὶ τούτω καὶ τὴν πενταετηρίδα τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ διεώρτασαν, τοῦ Ἀγρίππαν (ἐν γὰρ τοῖς πεντεκαίδεκα ἀινδραίν, οἶς ἐκ τῆς περιτροπῆς ἡ διοίκησις αὐτῆς ἐπέβαλ- λεν, ἱέρωτο) διὰ τῶν συνερέων ἀναλώσαντος.
20 Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἐκείνους ἐταράξθη. καὶ γὰρ Καμμούνιοι καὶ Οὔ- ἐννιοί, Ἀλπικὰ γένη, ὅπλα τε ἀντήραντο καὶ νικηθέντες ὕπὸ Ποντιάω Σιλῖου ἐχειρώθησαν.
2 καὶ οἱ Παννόνιοι τὴν τε Ἰστρίαν μετὰ Νορίκων

1 οὐ supplied by Leuncl. 2 ἑκαφανέστατα Μ, ἑμφανέστατα V.
Book LIV

Gladiatorial combats, Tiberius and Drusus representing him in the matter after the senate had granted them permission. Then he committed to Taurus the management of the city together with the rest of Italy (for he had sent Agrippa again to Syria and no longer looked with equal favour upon Maecenas because of the latter's wife), and taking Tiberius, though praetor at the time, along with him, he set out on his journey. Tiberius, it appears, had become praetor in spite of his already holding the rank of a praetor; and Drusus now performed all the duties of his office in pursuance of a decree. The night following their departure the temple ofJuventus¹ was burned to the ground. Other portents also had occurred: a wolf had rushed into the Forum by the Sacred Way and had killed people, and not far from the Forum ants were conspicuously swarming together; moreover, a flame like a torch had shot from the south towards the north all night long. Because of all these signs prayers were offered for the return of Augustus. Meanwhile they held the quadrennial celebration of his sovereignty, Agrippa, represented by his fellow-priests, bearing the expense; for he had been consecrated as one of the quindecimviri, upon whom the management of the festival devolved in regular succession.

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

¹ Aedes Juventutis.
² Other forms of this name are Vennones, Vennontes, and Venostes.
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κατέδραμον, καὶ αὐτῷ τε πρὸς τε τοῦ Σιλίου καὶ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων αὐτοῦ κακωθέντες ἀθίς ὁμολόγησαν, καὶ τοὺς Νωρίκους αὐτοῖς τῆς αὐτῆς 3 δουλείας ἐγένοντο. τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Δελματίᾳ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ νεοχώσαντα δι᾽ οἶλγον κατέστη, καὶ ἡ Μακεδονία ὑπὸ τε τῶν Δενθελητῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Σκορδίσκων ἐπορθήθη. ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ πρότερον μὲν Μάρκος Δόλλιος Ῥωμητάλκη ἑθεὶ τε τῶν τοῦ Κόντος παίδων καὶ ἐπιτρόπω ὀντι βοηθῶν Βησσοῦς κατεστρέψατο, ἑπείτα δὲ Δούκιος Γάμος. Σαυρομάτας ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς αὐτίςς κατήχησας ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰστρον ἀπεώσατο. ὁ δὲ δὴ μέγιστος τῶν τότε συμβαντών τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πολέμων, ὀσπερ που καὶ τῶν Ἀὐγουστον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξῆγαγε, πρὸς τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἐγένετο. Σύγαμβροι τε γὰρ καὶ Ὀυσιπέται καὶ Τέγκτηρος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν τῇ σφετέρᾳ τινὰς αὐτῶν συλλαβόντες ἀνεσταύρωσαν, 4 ἑπείτα δὲ καὶ τὸν Ῥήνον διαβάντες τὴν τε Γερμανίαν καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν ἐλεηλάτησαν, τὸ τε ἱππικὸν τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπελθὸν σφισὼν ἐνήδρευσαν, καὶ φεύγουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιστρέφονοι τὸ τε Δολλίῳ ἀρχοντε αὐτῆς ἐνέτυχον ἀνελπίστοι καὶ 5 ἐνίκησαν καὶ ἐκεὶνον. μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτά ὁ Ἀὐγουστος ὄρμησε μὲν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔργον τι πολέμου ἐσχέν· οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι τὸν τε Δόλλιον παρασκευαζόμενον καὶ ἐκεῖνον στρατεύοντα πυθόμενοι ἐς τε τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ σπουδάς ἐποίησαντο, ὀμήρους δύοντες.

6 ἐνίκησαν καὶ ἐκεὶνον. μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτα ο Ἀὐγουστος ὄρμησε μὲν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔργον τι πολέμου ἐσχέν· οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι τὸν τε Δόλλιον παρασκευαζόμενον καὶ ἐκεῖνον στρατεύοντα πυθόμενοι ἐς τε τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ σπουδάς ἐποίησαντο, ὀμήρους δύοντες.

21 Τῶν μὲν οὖν ὁπλῶν οὐδὲν διὰ ταύθ᾽ ὁ Ἀὐγουστος ἐδεήθη, τὰ δὲ δὴ ἄλλα καθιστάμενος τοῦτον

1 Ῥωμητάλκη R. Steph., Ῥωμητάλκη VM (but Ῥωμητάλκηs elsewhere). 2 Τέγκτηροι R. Steph., τεγκτηροί VM.

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BOOK LIV

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

For this reason Augustus had no need of arms, but in arranging other matters he consumed the
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2 ὑπάτευσαν. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Λικίνιου τινὸς ἐπετόνηντο. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τοῦθ᾽ ὅτι μάλιστα τὸ κῆτός σφίσι προσημῆναι: πλάτος μὲν γὰρ ποδῶν ἐκκο σῆς 

κεφαλῆς ἐοικός, ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐαυτὸ ἐκ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ἐξώκει-

3 λεν. ὁ δὲ Ἰληνίος τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον Γαλάτης ἤν, ἄλοις δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ δούλευσας 

τῷ Καίσαρι ὑπὸ μὲν ἐκείνου ἥλευθερώθη, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐπίτροπος τῆς Γαλατίας κατέστη.

4 οὕτως οὖν πλεονεξία μὲν βαρβαρικῇ ἄξιώσει δὲ Ῥωμαϊκῇ χρώμενος, πάν μὲν τὸ κρειττὸν ποτὲ 

αὐτοῦ νομισθὲν καθῆρε, πάν δὲ τὸ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἱσχυρὸν ἡφάνιζε, καὶ συχνὰ μὲν καὶ πρὸς τὰ 

ἀναγκαῖα τῆς προστεταγμένης οἱ διακοινίας ἐξε-

πόριζε, συχνὰ δὲ καὶ ἑαυτῷ τοῖς τε οἰκεῖοι παρεξ-

5 ἔλεγε. καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτον γε κακοτροπίας ἔχω-

ρησεν ὡστε, ἐπειδὴ τινὲς ἐσφόροι κατὰ μῆνα παρ' 

αὐτοῖς ἐγίγνυντο, τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα αὐτοὺς 

ποιῆ-

σαι, λέγων τὸν μῆνα τοῦτον τὸν Δεκέμβριον καλοῦ-

μενον δέκατον ὄντως εἶναι, καὶ δεῖν διὰ τοῦτο 

αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς δύο τοὺς ὥστάτους, 

δὲ τὸν μὲν 

ἐνδέκατον τὸν δὲ ὀδώδεκατον ὀνόμαζε, νομίζειν, 

καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτοῖς ἐσφέρειν.

6 διὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τὰ σοφισμάτα ἐκινδύνευσεν 

οἱ γὰρ Γαλάται τοῦ Αὐγούστου λαβόμενοι δεινὰ

1 Λικινίου Xiph., λικινίου VM (and similarly just below).
2 ἐπετόκυντο Rk., ἐπετόφυντο VM.
3 oi M cod. Peir., αὑτὰ V.
4 αὑτῶς Reim., αὑτὰ V, αὐτὰs M cod. Peir., τοὺς μῆνα
Xiph. 5 ὥστάτους Dind., ἀυγούστους VM cod. Peir.
whole of this year, as well as the next, in which b.c. 15
Marcus Libo and Calpurnius Piso were consuls.
For not only had the Gauls suffered much at the hands of the Germans, but much also at the hands of a certain Licinus.¹ And of this, I think, the sea-monster had given them full warning beforehand; twenty feet broad and three times as long, and resembling a woman except for its head, it had come in from the ocean and become stranded on the shore. Now Licinus was originally a Gaul, but after being captured by the Romans and becoming a slave of Caesar’s, he had been set free by him, and by Augustus had been made procurator of Gaul. This man, then, with his combination of barbarian avarice and Roman dignity, tried to overthrow every one who was ever counted superior to him and to destroy every one who was strong for the time being. He not only supplied himself with plenty of funds for the requirements of the office to which he had been assigned, but also incidentally collected plenty for himself and for his friends. His knavery went so far that in some cases where the people paid their tribute by the month he made the months fourteen in number, declaring that the month called December was really the tenth, and for that reason they must reckon two more (which he called the eleventh and the twelfth² respectively) as the last, and contribute the money that was due for these months. It was these quibbles that brought him into danger; for the Gauls secured the ear of Augustus and protested indignantly, so that the

¹ Licinus appears to be the proper spelling of the name, although we find Licinius even in some Roman writers.
² Bekker plausibly suggested ἔνδεκέμβριον and ἀφδεκέμβριον, i.e. Undecember and Duodecember.
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ἐποίησαν, ὡστε καὶ ἐκεῖνον τὰ μὲν συνάχθεσθαι 1 σφίσι τὰ δὲ καὶ παρατείνας ἀγνοεῖν τὸ τινά ἐλεγε, καὶ προσεποίειτο ἑτέρα μὴ πιστεύειν, καὶ ἔστω ἢ καὶ συνέκρυπτεν, αἰσχυνόμενος ὅτι τοιοῦ-7 τῷ ἑπιτρόπῳ ἐκέχρητο: ἄλλο δὲ τοιὸντε τι τεχνασάμενοι καὶ πάντων αὐτῶν κατεγέ-\lassev. ἐπειδή γὰρ χαλεπῶς οἱ τὸν Ἄγουστον ἔχοντα ἦσθετο καὶ κολασθήσεσθαι ἐμελλεν, ἐς τῇ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῶν ἐσῆγαγε, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν καὶ ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου θησαυροὺς πολλὰ δὲ καὶ 8 τάλλα σωρηδὸν συννενημένα 2 αὐτῷ δεῖξας, "ἐξε-\πίτηδεσ," ἑφη, "ταῦτα, οὐ δέσποτα, καὶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων ἡθοισα, ἵνα μὴ τοσούτων χρημάτων ἐγκρατεῖς οἱ ἐπιχώροι ὄντες ἀποστῶσιν. ἀμέλει καὶ ἐτήρησα σοι πάντα αὐτὰ καὶ δίδωμι."

Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως, ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἄγουστον τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἰσχὺν ἐκνευρικῶς, ἔσωθη, 22 Δρούσος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Τιβέριος τάδε ἔπραξαν. Ῥαττοι οἰκούντες μεταξὺ του τῆς Νουρίκου καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας, πρὸς ταῖς Ἀλπεσί ταῖς πρὸς τῆς Ἰταλίας ταῖς Τριδεντίναις, τῆς τῆς Γαλατίας τῆς προσόρου σφίσι πολλὰ κατέσχεκαν καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας 3 ἱρπαγάς ἐποιοῦτο, τοὺς τε ὀδῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἢ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς 2 σφετέρας γῆς χρωμένους ἐλυμαίνοντο. καὶ ταύτα μὲν καὶ συνήθη πως τοὺς οὐκ ἐνοπλῶς ποιεῖν ἔδοκοιν, πάν δὲ δὴ τὸ ἀρρεν ἄλλους ἀλωσκομένων, 朔̣ χ ὁτὶ τὸ φαινόμενον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐν ταῖς

1 συνάχθεσθαι Xiph., ἀχθεσθαί VM.
2 συννενημένα Sylburg, συνενεμημένα V, συννενεμημένα M
cod. Peir.
3 Ἰταλίας Bk., Ἰταλίδος VM.

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

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

1 The Alps around Tridentum (Trent).
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γαστράσιν ἐτὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ὑπ' ὑμνεῖαις τισιν

3 ἀνευρίσκοντες, ἔφθειρον. δὴ οὐν ταύτα ὁ Ἄγουστος πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Δρούσον ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψε· καὶ δὲ τοὺς προσαπαντήσαντάς οἱ αὐτῶν περὶ τὰ Τριδεντῖνα ὄρη διὰ ταχέων ἐτρέψατο, ὡστε καὶ τιμᾶς στρατηγικὰς ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ λαβεῖν. ἔπειτα δὲ ἔπειδὴ τῆς μὲν Ἰταλίας ἀπεκρούσθησαν, τῇ δὲ Ἔλλην τῆς Παλαιάς καὶ ὅσῃ ἐνέκειντο, τὸν

4 Τιβέριον προσαπέστειλεν. ἔσβαλόντες¹ οὖν ἐς τὴν χώραν πολλαχόθεν ἀμα ἀμφότεροι, αὐτοὶ τε καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστράτηγων, καὶ ὁ ὁ Τιβέριος καὶ διὰ τῆς λίμνης πλοίων κομμισθείς, ἀπὸ τοῦτον κατέπληξαν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐκάστοις σφίσι συμμεγνύσαντες, τοὺς τε ἀεὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἀφικνομένους οὐ χαλεπῶς, ἀτε διεσπασμέναις ταῖς δυνάμεσι χρωμέναις, κατευργάσαντο, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀσθενεστέρους τε ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἀθυμοτέρους γενομένους

5 εἴλον. ἔπειδὴ τε ἐπολυῶνδροι καὶ ἐδόκουν τι νεωτερεῖν, τὸ τε κράτιστον καὶ τὸ πλέοστον τῆς ἦλικίας αὐτῶν ἐξήγαγον, καταλιπόντες τοσοῦτος ὅσοι τὴν μὲν χώραν ὁικεὶν ἰκανοὶ νεοχμῶσα δὲ τι ἀδύνατον ἦσαν.

23 Κἂν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἔτει Οὐήδιος Πολύλων ἀπέθανεν, ἀμὴρ ἄλλως μὲν οὐδὲν μνήμης ἄξιον παρασχόμενος (καὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἀπελευθέρων ἐγεγονέω καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἑπτὰσι ἐξητάζετο καὶ λαμπρῷ οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο), ἔπι δὲ δὴ τῷ πλούτῳ τῇ τε ὀμότητι ὁμομαστότατος γενόμενος, ὥστε καὶ ἐς ἱστορίας

2 λόγον ἐσελθεῖν. οὗτος γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὅσα ἐπραττε, δὲ οὐχὶν ἄν λεγόμενα γένοιτο, μυραίνας

¹ ἔσβαλόντες Μ, ἔσβάλλοντες V.
² ἀπελευθέρων VM cod. Peir., ἀπελευθέρου Xiph.
BOOK LIV

whom they discovered by some means of divination. b.c. 15

For these reasons, then, Augustus first sent against them Drusus, who speedily routed a detachment of them which came to meet him near the Tridentine mountains, and in consequence received the rank of praetor. Later, when the Rhaetians had been repulsed from Italy, but were still harassing Gaul, Augustus sent out Tiberius also. Both leaders then invaded Rhaetia at many points at the same time, either in person or through their lieutenants, and Tiberius even crossed the lake¹ with ships. In this way, by encountering them separately, they terrified them and not only easily overwhelmed those with whom they came into close quarters at any time, inasmuch as the barbarians had their forces scattered, but also captured the remainder, who in consequence had become weaker and less spirited. And because the land had a large population of males and seemed likely to revolt, they deported most of the strongest men of military age, leaving behind only enough to give the country a population, but too few to begin a revolution.

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

¹ The Lacus Venetus (Lago di Garda).
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dē dedidagmēnas ἀνθρώπους ἐσθελεν ἐν δεξαμεναῖς τρέφων τοὺς δούλους αὐταῖς οὐς ἑθανάτων παρέβαλλε.¹ καὶ ποτε τὸν Ἄγγουστον ἑστιῶν, εἰτ' ἐπειδὴ ὁ οὐνοχός κύλικα κρυσταλλίνην κατέαξεν, ἐς τὰς μυραινᾶς αὐτῶν, μηδὲ τὸν δαιμονίαν αἰδε-3 σθεῖς, ἐμβληθῆναι προσέταξεν. ὁ οὖν Ἀγγουστος, προσπεσόντος οἱ τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ ἱκετεύσαντος αὐτῶν, τὰ μὲν πρώτα πείθει τὸν Πωλίωνα ἐπείρατο μηδὲν τοιοῦτον δράσαι, ὡς ἡ ὑπήκουσεν αὐτῷ, "φέρε," ἤφη, "πάντα τᾶλλα ἐκπώματα, ὅσα ² τοτε τοιοῦτοτρόπα ἦ καὶ ἔτερα τινα 4 ἐντιμα κέκτησαι, ὅνα αὐτὸις χρήσωμαι." καὶ αὐτὰ κοιμισθέντα συντριβῆναι ἐκέλευσεν. ἱδὼν δὲ τούτ' ἐκεῖνος ἄλλος μὲν ἥσχαλλεν, οὔτε δὲ τούτ' ἐνὸς ἐτι ποτηρίου πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀπολωλότων ὄργῃν ἔχων, οὔτ' αὐτ' τὸν διάκονον ὃν γε καὶ ὁ Ἀγγουστος ἐπεποίηκε τιμωρήσασθαι 5 δυνάμενος, ἦσυχίαν καὶ ἄκων ἤγαγε. τοιοῦτος οὖν δὴ τις ὁ Πωλίων οὖν ἐτελεύτησεν ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς πολλὰ καὶ τῷ Ἀγγουστῳ τοῦ τε κλήρου συχνὸν μέρος καὶ τὸν³ Παυσίλυπον, τὸ χωρίου τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς τε Νέας πόλεως καὶ τῶν Ποτεύλων ὃν, καταλιπὼν, τῷ τε δήμῳ περικαλλὲς ἔργων 6 οἰκοδομηθῆναι κελεύσας. ὁ οὖν Ἀγγουστος τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἐσ ἐδαφος προφάσει τῆς ἑκείνου κατασκευῆς, ὅπως μηδὲν μυμοσύνουν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔχῃ, καταβάλων περίστροφον οἰκοδομήσατο, καὶ οὐ

¹ παρέβαλλε cod. Peir. Xiph. Zon., παρέβαλε VM.
² οὗ—τῷ κοινῷ (chap. 24, 7) omitted by V, whose archetype L had lost one folio at this point. ³ τοῦ M Xiph., τῷ Xyl. 340
huge lampreys that had been trained to eat men, B.C. 15
and he was accustomed to throw to them such of his
slaves as he desired to put to death. Once, when
he was entertaining Augustus, his cup-bearer broke
a crystal goblet, and without regard for his guest,
Pollio ordered the fellow to be thrown to the
lampreys. Hereupon the slave fell on his knees
before Augustus and supplicated him, and Augustus
at first tried to persuade Pollio not to commit so
monstrous a deed. Then, when Pollio paid no heed
to him, the emperor said, "Bring all the rest of the
drinking vessels which are of like sort or any others
of value that you possess, in order that I may use
them," and when they were brought, he ordered
them to be broken. When Pollio saw this, he was vexed, of course; but since he was no longer
angry over the one goblet, considering the great
number of the others that were ruined, and, on the
other hand, could not punish his servant for what
Augustus also had done, he held his peace, though
much against his will. This is the sort of person Pollio
was, who died at this time. Among his many be-
quests to many persons he left to Augustus a good
share of his estate together with Pausilypon,\(^1\) the
place between Neapolis and Puteoli, with instructions
that some public work of great beauty should be
erected there. Augustus razed Pollio's house to the
ground, on the pretext of preparing for the erection
of the other structure, but really with the purpose
that Pollio should have no monument in the city;

\(^1\) The modern Posilipo, between Naples and Pozzuoli. The Greek name Pausilypon means "grief-assuaging," thus corresponding to such modern names as Sans Souci, Hearts-
eease, etc.
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to τὸ ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ Πωλίωνος ἄλλα τὸ τῆς Διονίας ἐπέγραφεν.

7 Τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ὑστερον ἐποίησε, τότε δὲ πόλεις ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ συνυπάρκισε, καὶ Κυζικηνοὶ τὴν ἔλευθεριν ἄπέδωκε, Παφίοις τε σεισμὸ πονήσας καὶ χρήματα ἐχαρισάτο καὶ τὴν πόλιν Ἀὐγουσταν καλεῖν κατὰ δόγμα ἐπέτρεψε. ταύτα δὲ ἔγραψα οὕς ὦτι οὐ̣\(^1\) καὶ ἄλλαις πόλεσι πολλαῖς καὶ (πρῶτον) καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀὐγουστός ἐφ᾽ ὀμοίας συμφοραῖς καὶ οἱ βουλεύται ἐπεκούρησαν, δόντες ἀπαντῶν μημονευόν, ἀπέραντον ἀν τὸ ἔργον τῆς συγγραφῆς γένους ἀλλ᾽ ὦτι καὶ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡ γερουσία (ἐν μέρει) τιμῆς ἐνεμε, καὶ οὐ̣\(^1\) ώσπερ ὅν οὕτω ἐκαστὸς καταλόγους ἰδομάτων οὐς ἄν ἐθελήσωσιν ως πλήθει ποιοῦνται.

24 Τῷ δ᾽ ἐπιγνομένῳ ἦτε Μάρκος μὲν Κράσσος καὶ Γναῖος Κορνήλιος ὑπάτευσαν, οἳ δ᾽ ἀγορανόμοι οἱ κουρούλιοι, ἀπειπότες τὴν ἀρχὴν ὦτι ἔξαισιοι σφίσι τῶν ὄρνιθων γεγομένων ἠρήντο, οὕτος αὐτὴν ἐξω τῶν πατρίων ἐν ἐτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀνέλαβον. ἦ τε στοὰ ἡ Παύλειος ἐκαύθη, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸ Ἐστιαῖον ἀφίκετο, ὡστε καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐς τε τὸ Παλάτιον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀειπαρθένων (ἡ γὰρ πρεσβεύουσα αὐτῶν ἐτύφλωτο) ἀνακομισθήμαι καὶ ἐς τῇ τοῦ ἱερέως 3 τοῦ Δίος οἰκίαν τεθῆναι. ἦ μὲν οὖν στοὰ (μετὰ τούτῳ ὄνοματι μὲν ὑπ᾽ Αἰμιλίου, ἐς ὧν τὸ τοῦ

\(^1\) ὦ supplied by Bs. (μὴ by Xyl.).
\(^2\) ἠρήντο Rk., ἠρήσατο M.
and he built a colonnade, inscribing on it the name, not of Pollio, but of Livia.

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

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

1 Cf. xlii. 31, 3.
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ποιήσαντός ποτε αυτὴν γένος ἔληλύθει, (τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Παύλου φίλων ἀνφικοδομήθη· τότε δὲ οἱ τοῦ Παυλίνου νεωτερίσαντες αὐθίς ἐχειρώθησαν, καὶ αἱ Ἀλπεῖς αἱ παραλασσίδιοι ὑπὸ Διυγών τῶν κομητῶν καλουμένων ἐλευθέρως ἔτι καὶ τότε νε- 
μόμεναι ἐδουλώθησαν. τά τε ἐν τῷ Βοσπόρῳ τῷ Κιμμερίῳ νεοχωρώσαντα κατέστη. Σκριβώνιος γὰρ τις τοῦ τε Μιθριδάτου ἐγγονος εἶναι καὶ 
παρὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου τὴν βασιλείαν, ἐπειδὴ περὶ ὁ Ἀσανδρὸς ἐτεθηκεί, εἰληφέναι λέγουν, τὴν 
γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ Δύναμίν τε καλουμένην καὶ τὴν 
ἀρχὴν (παρὰ τοῦ ἄνδρός ἐπιτετραμμένη, ἢ τοῦ 
τε Φαρνάκου θυγάτηρ καὶ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἐγγονος 
ἀληθῶς ἢν, ἡγάγετο, καὶ τὸν Βοσπόρον διὰ χειρὸς 
5 ἐποιεῖτο. πυθόμενος οὖν ταῦτα ὁ 'Αγρίππας τῶν 
Πολέμων ἐπ' αὐτόν, τὸν τοῦ Πόντου τοῦ πρὸς 
τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ ὄντος βασιλεύοντα, ἐπεμψε· καὶ 
ὅς Σκριβώνιος μὲν οὐκέτι περιόντα κατέλαβε 
(μαθόντες γὰρ οἱ Βοσπόροι τὴν ἐπιβολὴν 1 αὐτοῦ 
προαπέκτειναν αὐτὸν), ἀντιστάντων δὲ οἱ ἀκείνων 
δει τοῦ μὴ βασιλεύεσθαι αὐτῷ δοθῆναι, ἐς χειράς 
6 σφίσιν ἦλθε. καὶ ἐνίκησε μὲν, οὐ μὴν καὶ πάρε 
στήσατο σφας πρὶν τῶν 'Αγρίππαν ἐς Σιώπην 
ἐλθεῖν ὡς καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύσοντα. οὕτω δὲ 
τά τα ὅπλα κατέθεντο καὶ τῷ Πολέμων παρεδό 
θησαν· ἢ τε γυνὴ ἡ Δύναμις συνάκησεν αὐτῷ, τοῦ 
7 Αὐγούστου δῆλον ὅτι ταῦτα δικαιώσαντος. καὶ 
ἐπ' αὐτοῖς θυσίας μὲν τῷ τοῦ 'Αγρίππου ὄνομαί 
ἐγένοντο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια καὶ τοις ψηφι 
σθέντα αὐτῷ ἐπέμφθη· οὔτε γὰρ ἐγραψεν ἀρχὴν 

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

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1 i.e. the "long-haired." Ct. Gallia Comata, xlvi. 55, 5.
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8 έδέξατο.\(^1\) καὶ διὰ τούτο οὐδὲ ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἐτὶ τῶν ὁμοίων αὐτῶ, ὡς γε καὶ ἐγὼ κρίνω, ποιήσας τούτῳ ἐδόθη, ἀλλὰ μόναις ταῖς ἐπινικίοις τιμαῖς ἐγαυ-ροῦντο.

25 Ὁ δ' οὖν \(^2\) Ἀὐγουστὸς ἐπειδὴ πάντα τά τε ἐν ταῖς Γαλατίαις καὶ τά ἐν ταῖς Γερμανίαις ταῖς τ' Ἰβηρίαις, πολλὰ μὲν ἄναλώσας ὡς ἐκάστοις πολ-λὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' ἑτέρων λαβών, τήν τε ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τήν πολιτείαν τοῖς μὲν δοὺς τούς δ' ἀφελόμενος, διωκότατο, τὸν μὲν Δρούσον ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐσ τῇ 'Ρώμην ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ ἐπὶ Κυντιλίου\(^3\) Οὐάρου ὑπάτων

2 ἀνεκομίσθη. καὶ ἔτυχε γὰρ ἡ ἀγγελία τῆς ἀφί-ξεως αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἐλθοῦσα ἐν αἷς Κορνήλιος Βάλβος τὸ θέατρον τὸ καὶ νῦν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ καλούμενον καθερώσας θέας ἐπετέλει, ἓπτ' ἐν τοῦτῳ ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν Ἀὐγουστὸν ἐπανάξων ἐσεμμύνετο, καίτοι ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ ὑδατος, ὡπερ ὁ Τίβερις πλεονάσας ἐσπευσίκει, μηδὲ ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ θέατρον εἰ μὴ πλοῖο χυπνηθεῖς, καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ θεάτρου

3 τιμὴ ἐπενήψεσεν. ἢ τε γὰρ βουλὴ θηρολογή, καὶ ἐδοξές φύσιν ἄλλα τε καὶ βωμὸν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Ἀὐγουστοῦ ἐπανόδου ποιή-

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

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

¹ Literally, "in the Gauls, in the Germanies, and the Spains." "Germany" here and just below refers to the provinces of Upper and Lower Germany, west of the Rhine. See note on liii. 12, 6.

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σασθαί, τοῖς τε ικετεύσασιν αὐτὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ πω-
μηρίου ὁντα ἀδειαν εἶναι. οὔ μὲντοι καὶ ἐδέξατο
οὐδέτερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀπάντησιν τοῦ δήμου καὶ
4 τὸτε ἐξέστη νυκτὸς γὰρ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσεκομόσθη,
ὄπερ που καὶ ἀεὶ ὑς εἰπεῖν, εἰτε ἐς τὰ προαστεία
εἰτε καὶ ἄλλοσε ποι ἐκδημοίη, καὶ ἀφορμόμενος
καὶ ἐπανιώ ὀμοίως ἐποίει, ἵνα μηδενὶ αὐτῶν
ὀχληρὸς εἴη. τῇ δ' ὑπεραια ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ
τὸν δήμον ἡσπάσατο, καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτόλιον ἀνελ-
θὼν τὴν τε δάφνην ἀπὸ τῶν ῥάβδων περείλε καὶ
ἐς τὰ τὸν Δίος γόνατα κατέθετο, τῷ τε 1 δήμῳ
προῖκα τά τε λουτρὰ καὶ τοὺς κουρέας τῆν ἡμέραν
5 ἐκείνην παρέσχε. συναγαγὼν δὲ ἐκ τούτων τῷ
βουλευτῆριον αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν εἰπεν ὑπὸ βράγχου,
τῷ δὲ δὴ βιβλίον 2 τῷ ταμίᾳ 3 ἀναγνώσαν δοὺς τά
τε πεπραγμένα οἱ κατηρμηνεύσατο, καὶ διέταξε τά
τε ἐτ ὁσα οἱ πολίται στρατεύσουντο, καὶ τὰ χρη-
ματά ὁσα πανσάμενοι τῆς στρατείας, ἀντὶ τῆς
χώρας ἥν ἀεὶ ποτὲ ῥτων, λήψωντο, ὅπως ἐπὶ
ῥητοὶς ἐκείθεν ἣδη καταλεγόμενοι μηδὲν τούτων γε
6 ἑνεκα νεωτερίζουσιν. ἦν δὲ ὁ τε ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἐτῶν
τοῖς μὲν δορυφόροις δῶδεκα τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἐκκαὶ-
deka, καὶ τῷ 4 ἀργυρίου τοῖς μὲν ἐλαττών τοῖς δὲ
πλείου. ταῦτα δὲ ἐκείνους μὲν οὐθ' ἡδονὴν οὐτ'
ὁργὴν ἐν γε τῷ τότε παρόντι ἐντοίησε διὰ τὸ μῆτε
πάντων ὃν ἐπεθύμουν τυχεῖν μῆτε πάντων δια-
μάρτειν, τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἄλλοις ἀγαθὰς ἐδίδασκα τοῦ
μηκέτι τῶν κτημάτων ἀφαιρηθήσεσθαι.

26 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ ταῦτα τὸ τε θέατρον τὸ τοῦ Μαρ-
kέλλου καλούμενον καθιέρωσε, καὶ τῇ πανηγύρει

1 τῇ Bk., δὲ VM. 2 βιβλίον V, βυβλίον M. 3 ταμίᾳ Bk., ταμιελαί VM. 4 τῷ Bk., τῷ μὲν VM.

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

He next dedicated the theatre named after Marcellus. In the course of the festival held for this
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τῇ διὰ τούτῳ γενομένῃ τὴν τε Τροίαν οἱ παῖδες οἳ εὑπατρίδαι οἳ τε ἄλλοι καὶ οἳ ἔγγονοι αὐτοῦ οἳ Γάιος ἵππευσαν, καὶ θηρία Διβυκὰ ἔξακοσια

2 ἀπεσφάγη τα τε γενέθλια τοῦ Ἀὔγουστον οἳ Ἰουλλος ο τοῦ Ἀντωνίου παῖς στρατηγῶν καὶ ἱπποδρομία καὶ σφαγαῖς θηρίων ἔωρτασε, καὶ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τὴν Βουλὴν (κατὰ δόγμα αὐτῆς εἰστίασεν.

3 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐξέτασις αὐθες τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐγένετο. ἐπειδὴ ἤγαρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον δέκα μυριά-δὼν τὸ τίμημα αὐτοῖς ὅριστο διὰ τὸ συχνοῖς τῶν πατρών υπὸ τῶν πολέμων ἐστερηθαι, προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων περιουσίας κτωμένων ἐς πέντε καὶ εἰκοσι τριήμην, οὐκέτι

4 οὐδὲς ἐθελοντὶ 1 βουλεύσων εὐρίσκετο, ἄλλα καὶ παῖδες εἰσὶν οἳ καὶ ἔγγονοι βουλευτῶν, οἳ μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς πενόμενοι οἳ δὲ καὶ έκ συμφορῶν προ-γονικῶν τεταπεινωμένοι, οὐχ οὐν οὐκ ἀντεποι-οὐντο τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ ἀξιώματος, ἄλλα καὶ προσ-

5 κατείλεγμένοι ᾣ ἐξώμηντο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρότερον μὲν, ἀποδημοῦντος ἐτὶ τοῦ Ἀὔγουστον, δόγμα ἐγένετο τοὺς εἰκοσι καλουμένους ἀνδρας ἐκ τῶν ἰππέων ἀποδείκνυσθαι· ὅθεν οὐκέτι οὐδὲς αὐτῶν ἐς το βουλευτήριον ἐσεγράφη, μὴ καὶ ἐτέραν τινὰ ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσάγειν δυναμένων λαβὼν.

6 οἳ δὲ δὴ 2 εἰκοσὶν οὕτω ἀνδρες ἐκ τῶν ἐξ καὶ εἰ-κοσὶν εἰσιν, οἳ τε τρεῖς οἳ τὰς τοῦ θανάτου δίκας προστηταγμένοι, καὶ οἳ ἐτέροι τρεῖς οἳ τοῦ τοῦ

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

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

1 See xliii. 23, 6, and note. 2 Tresviri capitales. 3 Tresviri monetales.
νομίσματος κόμμα μεταχειρίζομενοι, οί τε τέσσαρες οί τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀστεί ὁδῶν ἐπιμελοῦμενοι, καὶ οἱ δέκα οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων τῶν ἐς τοὺς ἐκατόν

7 ἀνδρας κληρουμένων ἀποδεικνύμενοι: οἱ γὰρ δὴ δύο οί τὰς ἕξω τοῦ τείχους ὀδοὺς ἐγχειρίζομενοι, οἱ τε τέσσαρες οἱ ἐς τὴν Καμπανίαν πεμπόμενοι, κατελέλυντο. τούτο τε οὖν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Αὐγοῦστου ἐκδημίᾳ ἐψηφίσθη, καὶ ἵν', ἐπειδὴ μνήμης ἐτί ῥαδίως τὴν δημαρχίαν ἤτει, 1 κλήρῳ τινὲς ἐκ τῶν τεταμενικῶτων καὶ μήπω τεσσαράκοντα ἐτή γεγονότων

8 καθιστώνται. τότε δὲ αὐτὸς πάντας αὐτοὺς ἔξητασε, καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν ὑπὲρ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἐτή γεγονότων οὐκ ἐπολυπραγμόνησε, τοὺς δὲ ἐντὸς τε τῆς ἡλικίας ταύτης οὔτας καὶ τὸ τίμημα ἔχοντας θουλεύσα τακτικά καθαρίσεσθαι, χωρὶς ἢ εἰ τις

9 ἀνάπηρος ἦν. καὶ τὰ μὲν σωματα καὶ αὐτὸς που αὐτῶν 3 ἔωρα, περί δὲ δὴ τῶν οὕσιῶν ὥρκοις ἐπιστῶτο αὐτῶν τε ἐκεῖνων καὶ ἑτέρων συνομνύσμων σφίσι καὶ λογισμὸν τῆς τε ἀπορίας ἁμα καὶ τοῦ βίου διδόντων.

27 Καὶ οὐκ ἐν μὲν τοῖς κοινοῖς τοιούτος ἦν, τῶν δ’ ἴδιων 4 παρημέλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Τιβέριῳ ἐπετευχθεὶς ὅτι τὸν Γάλον ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τῇ εὐκταίᾳ, ἢν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπανόδῳ αὐτοῦ διετίθει, παρεκκαθίσατο, καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ὅτι καὶ κρότοις καὶ ἐπαίνοις αὐτόν

2 ἐτίμησαν. ἐπειδὴ τε τοῦ Δεπίδου μεταλλάξαντος

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

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

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1 Quatuorviri viis in urbe purgandis; cf. chap. 8, 4.
2 Decemviri stlitibus indicandis.
3 Duoviri viis extra urbem purgandis.
4 Quatuor praefecti Capuam Cumas.
5 Cf. Suet., Aug. 56.
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ἀρχιέρεως ὑπεδείχθη καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἡ βουλὴ ψηφί-
σαθαι . . . 1 αὐτῷ ἢ θέλησεν, οὔτε τι αὐτῶν
προσήχεσθαι ἐφὶ, καὶ ἐγκειμένων οἱ ἑξανέστη τε
καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου. καὶ οὔτε έκεῖνα
ἐτὶ ἐκυρώθη οὔτε οἰκίαν τω ἀνήμονον ἔλαβεν,
ἀλλὰ μέρος τι τῆς ἐαυτοῦ, ὅτι τὸν ἀρχιέρεως ἐν
κοινῷ πάντως οἰκείων ἔχρην, ἔδημοσίωσεν. τὴν
μέντοι τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν ἱερῶν 3 ταῖς ἀειπαρθένοις
ἐδωκεν, ἐπείδὴ 4 ὁμοτοχὸς ταῖς οἰκήσεωι αὐτῶν
ἡν.

4 Κορυνήλιον τε Σισέννου 5 αἰτιαν ἐπὶ τῶ τῆς γυ-
ναικὸς Βίω σχόντος, καὶ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ εἰπόντος
ὅτι καὶ εἰδότος καὶ συμβουλεύσαντος οἱ αὐτῶν
ἡγάγετο αὐτὴν, περιοργής τε ἐγένετο καὶ εἴπε μὲν
οὖν ὃ ὅπερ ἐπράξε δεινόν, ἐκπορεῖς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ
βουλευτήριου ἐπείτα μετ' ὅλιγον ἐπανύλθεν, ἐλὸ-
μενος, ὡς γε καὶ τοῖς φίλοις μετὰ ταύτα ἐφὶ, τοῦτο
μάλλον καίπερ οὐκ ὅρθως ἔχον ποιῆσαι ἢ κατὰ
χώραν μείνας ἀναγκασθήναι τι κακὸν δρᾶσαι.

28 Καὶ τοῦτο τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐκ τῆς Συρίας ἐλ-
θόντα τῇ τῆς δημαρχίκῃ ἐξουσία αὕτης ἐς ἀλλα
ἐτη πέντε ἐμεγάλυνε καὶ ὡς τὴν Παννονίαν πολε-
μοσείουσαν ἐξέπεμψε, μεῖζον αὐτῷ τῶν ἐκστα-
χόθι ἐξω τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀρχόντων ἱσχύσαι ἐπιτρέ-

2 φασ. καὶ δὲ τὴν μὲν στρατεύειν καὶ τοῦ τοῦ ἱερῶν,
ἐν ὀφ. Μάρκος τοῦ Οὐαλέριος καὶ Πούπλιος Σουλ-
πίκιος ὑπάτευν, ἐνεστηκόστος ἐποιήσατο, ἐκπλα-
γέντων δὲ τῶν Παννονίων πρὸς τὴν ἐφοδίου ἀυτοῦ

1 Lacuna recognized by Elsner. 2 αὐτῷ V, αὐτῶν M.
3 ἱερῶν Leuncl., ἱερῶν VM.
4 ἐπείδη H. Steph., ἐπεί δὲ VM.
5 Σισέννου Glandorp, σισεντίου VM.
Lepidus he was appointed high priest and the senate accordingly wished to vote him [other honours (?)]; but he declared that he would not accept any of them, and when the senators urged him, he rose and left the meeting. That measure, therefore, now failed of passage, and he also received no official residence; but, inasmuch as it was absolutely necessary that the high priest should live in a public residence, he made a part of his own house public property. The house of the rex sacrificulus, however, he gave to the Vestal Virgins, because it was separated merely by a wall from their apartments.

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

Meanwhile he increased the power of Agrippa, who had returned from Syria, by giving him the tribunician power again for another five years, and he sent him out to Pannonia, which was eager for war, entrusting him with greater authority than the officials outside Italy ordinarily possessed. And Agrippa set out on the campaign in spite of the fact that the winter had already begun (this was the year in which Marcus Valerius and Publius Sulpicius were the consuls); but when the Pannonians became terrified at his approach and gave up their
καὶ μηδὲν ἐτὶ νεωτερισάντων ἑπανήλθε, καὶ ἐν
3 Καμπανία γενόμενος ἐνόσησε. πυθόμενος δὲ τούτῳ ὁ Ἀὔγουστος (ἐτυχε δὲ ἐν τοῖς Παναθηναίοις ὀπλομαχίας ἀγώνας τῷ τῶν παίδων ὀνόματι τιθεῖσ) ἐξωρμήθη, καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτὸν τεθυνκότα ἐς τὸ ἀστυ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἑσεκόμισε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ προεθηκε, τὸν τε λόγον τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ εἶπε, παραπέτασμα τι πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ παρατείνας.
4 ὅπερ ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἴδα διὰ τί ἐποίησεν, εὕρηται δὲ ὁμοὶ τοῖς μὲν ὁτι ἄρχιέρεως ἦν, τοῖς δὲ ὅτι τὰ τῶν τιμητῶν ἔπραττεν, οὐκ ὃρθῶς φρονοῦσιν οὔτε γὰρ τῷ ἄρχιέρεῳ ἀπείρηται νεκρὸν ὅραν οὔτε τῷ τιμητῇ, πλὴν ἄν τὸ τέλος ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς μέλλῃ ἐπάξειν· ἀν γὰρ τινα πρὸ τοῦ καθαρσίου ἴδη, ἀνάδαστα τὰ πραχθέντα αὐτῷ πάντα γίγνεται.
5 τούτῳ τε οὗν οὔτως ἐδρασε, καὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ τρόπῳ ἐν φ' καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ ταύτα ἐξηνέχθη ἐποίησατο, καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ μνημείῳ ἐθάψε, καίτοι ἴδιον ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ λαβόντα. 1
29 Αγρίππας μὲν οὖν οὕτως μετήλλαξε, τὰ τε ἅλλα ἄριστος τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀνθρώπων διαφανὸς γενόμενος, καὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀὔγουστον φιλίᾳ πρός τε τὸ αὐτὸ ἑκεῖνῳ καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῷ κοινῷ συμφορώτατον χρησάμενος. ὡςον τε γὰρ τοὺς ἅλλους ἄρετῇ κατεκράτει, τοσοῦτον ἑκείνων ἐθε- λοντής ἤττάτο, καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτῶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ σοφίαν καὶ ἀνδρείαν ἐς τὰ λυσιτελέστατα παρέ-

1 λαβόντα Μ, οὐτα V.
BOOK LIV

plans for rebellion, he returned, and upon reaching Campania, fell ill. Augustus happened to be exhibiting, in the name of his sons, contests of armed warriors at the Panathenaic festival,¹ and when he learned of Agrippa's illness, he set out for Italy; and finding him dead, he conveyed his body to the capital and caused it to lie in state in the Forum. He also delivered the eulogy over the dead, after first hanging a curtain in front of the corpse. Why he did this, I do not know. Some, however, have stated that it was because he was high priest, others that it was because he was performing the duties of censor. But both are mistaken, since neither the high priest is forbidden to look at a corpse, nor the censor, either, except when he is about to complete the census; but if he looks upon a corpse then, before his purification, all his work has to be done over again. Now Augustus not only did what I have recorded, but also had the funeral procession of Agrippa conducted in the manner in which his own was afterward conducted, and he buried him in his own sepulchre, though Agrippa had taken one for himself in the Campus Martius.

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

¹ In Athens.
3 έσ το τους άλλους ευεργετεῖν ἀνήλισκεν. άφ' οὖν δὴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα οὔτ' αυτῷ ποτέ τῷ Αὔγουστῳ ἐπαχθής οὔτε τοῖς άλλοις ἐπίφθονος ἐγένετο, άλλ' ἐκείνῳ τε τὴν μοναρχίαν (ὡς καὶ δυναστείας ὄντως ἐπιθυμητῆς 1) συνέστησε, καὶ τὸν δήμον εὐεργεσίαις ὡς καὶ δημοτικώτατος προσεποίησατο. καὶ τότε γοῦν κήπους τέ σφισι καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον τὸ ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν, ὡστε προϊκα αὐτοῦς λούσθαι, χωρία τινὰ ἐς τούτῳ τῷ Αὔγουστῳ δώσ. καὶ ὅσ' οὖ μόνον ταύτ' ἐδημοσίευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ' ἐκατόν 2 δραχμαὶ τῷ δήμῳ ὡς καὶ ἐκείνου
5 κελεύσαντος διένεμε. τῶν τε γὰρ πλείστων αὐτοῦ ἐκληρονόμησεν, ἐν οἷς ἄλλα τε καὶ Ἡχερρώμησος ἦν 3 ἥ πρός τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ, οὐκ οἷ'] ὅπως ἐς τὸν Ἄγριτπαν ἐλθοῦσα καὶ πάνυ (ἐπὶ πολὺ αὐτοῦ ἐπάθησεν, καὶ διὰ τούτο) καὶ ἐντιμὸν παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ ἐποίησε, τὸν τε υἱὸν τὸν τελευτήσαντι οἱ γεννηθέντα Ἄγριππαν προση-
6 γόρευσεν. οὐ μέντοι οὔτε τοῖς άλλοις ἐκλιπεῖν τι τῶν πατρίων, καίστερ μηδενὸς τῶν πρώτων ἐς τᾶς πανηγύρεις ἀπαντήσαι ἑθέλοντος, ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰς μονομαχίας διετέλεσε πολλάκις τε 4
7 καὶ ἀπόντος αὐτοῦ ἐποιοῦντο. οὔτω γοῦν ὦκ ίδιον τούτῳ τὸ πάθος τῇ τοῦ Ἄγριππαν οἰκία ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινῶν (πάσι τοῖς Ἔρωμαίοις ἐγένετο, ὡστε καὶ σημεία ὅσα πρὸ τῶν μεγίστων συμφορῶν

1 ἐπιθυμητὴς Xyl., ἐπιθυμητὴ VM cod. Peir.
2 ἐκατόν M, ἐκατόν V cod. Peir.
3 ἦν supplied by Bs.
4 τε Bs., γε VM.
honor and influence he received from him upon benefactions to others. It was because of this in particular that he never became obnoxious to Augustus himself nor invidious to his fellow-citizens; on the contrary, he helped Augustus to establish the monarchy, as if he were really a devoted adherent of the principle of autocratic rule, and he won over the people by his benefactions, as if he were in the highest degree a friend of popular government. At any rate, even at his death he left them gardens and the baths named after him, so that they might bathe free of cost, and for this purpose gave Augustus certain estates.\footnote{For the baths, see liii. 27, 1. The estates here mentioned were to provide an income for the maintenance of the baths.} And the emperor not only turned these over to the state, but also distributed to the people four hundred sesterces apiece, giving it to be understood that Agrippa had so ordered. And, indeed, he had inherited most of Agrippa’s property, including the Chersonese on the Hellespont, which had come in some way or other into Agrippa’s hands. Augustus felt his loss for a long time and hence caused him to be honoured in the eyes of the people; and he named the posthumous son born to him Agrippa. Nevertheless, he did not allow the citizens at large, although none of the prominent men wished to attend the festivals, to omit any of the time-honoured observances, and he in person superintended the gladiatorial combats, though they were often held without his presence. The death of Agrippa, far from being merely a private loss to his own household, was at any rate such a public loss to all the Romans that portents occurred on this occasion in such numbers as are wont to happen
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συμβαίνειν σφίσιν εἰώθε, καὶ τότε συνενεχθήναι. βύαι τε γὰρ τῇ πόλει διεφοίτησαν, καὶ κεραυνὸς
ἐς τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ οἰκίαι, ἐς ἦν οἱ ὑπατοὶ ἐν
8 ταῖς ἱερουργίαις καταλύουσιν, ἐνέσκηψε. τὸ τε
ἀστρον ὁ κομίτης ὑπομασμένος ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέ-
ρας ὑπερ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἄστεως αἰώρηθεῖς ἐς λαμ-
πάδας διελύθη. καὶ πυρὶ ἄλλα τε τῆς πόλεως
συχνὰ καὶ ἣ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου σκηνὴ ἐκαύθη, κοράκων
κρέα ἐς αὐτῆν ἐκ βωμοῦ τινὸς ἐμπυρα ἐμβα-
λόντων.

30 Οὔτω μὲν τὰ κατὰ Ἀγρίππαν ἐγένετο- μετὰ δὲ
δὴ 1 τοῦτο ὁ Αὐγούστος ἐπιμελήτης τε καὶ ἐπαν-
ορθωτής τῶν τρόπων ἐς ἔτερα ἐτη πέντε αἰρεθεὶς
(καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο κατὰ προσεμιάς, ὡσπερ ποι τι
καὶ τῆς μοναρχίαν, ἐλάμβανε) θυμιὰν τε τοὺς βου-
λευτάς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ, ὁσαίς ἀν ἔδρα αὐτῶν ἦ,
καὶ τὴν ἀφίξιν πρὸς ἐαυτὸν μὴ 2 ποιεῖσθαι, τὸ
μὲν ἵνα θεοσεβῶσι, τὸ δὲ ἵνα ἀπονητὶ 3 συνίσωσιν,
2 ἐκέλευσε. τὴν δὲ δημαρχίαν ὄλγων σφόδρα διὰ
τὸ τὴν ἱσχύν σφών καταλελύσθαι αἰτοῦντων, ἐγο-
μοθέτησεν ἐκ τῶν ἱππεῶν τῶν μὴ ἔλαττον πέντε
καὶ εἰκοσὶ μυριάδας κεκτημένων προβάλλεσθαι
τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἄρχαις ἐνα ἑκαστον, κὰκ τοῦτων τὸ
πλῆθος τοὺς ἐνδέοντας αἰρεῖσθαι ἐφ' ὅ τε, 4 εἰ μὲν
καὶ βουλευέων μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐθέλοιεν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐς
τὴν ἱππάδα αὐθίς ἐπανεῖναι ἐξείναι.

3 Ἐπειδὴ τε ἡ Ἀσία τὸ ἔθνος ἐπίκουρίαι τινὸς
diὰ σεἰσμοὺς μάλιστα ἐδείτο, 5 τὸν τε φόρον αὐτῆς

1 δὴ V, om. M.
2 μὴ supplied by Bk., following Casaubon.
3 ἀπονητὶ R. Steph., ἀπονῆτι VM.
4 ἐφ' ὅ τε Bk., σφίσιν VM.
5 ἐδεῖτο Dind., ἐδέστο VM.

360
to them before the greatest calamities. Owls kept flitting about the city, and lightning struck the house on the Alban Mount where the consuls lodge during the sacred rites.\(^1\) The star called the comet\(^2\) hung for several days over the city and was finally dissolved into flashes resembling torches. Many buildings in the city were destroyed by fire, among them the hut of Romulus,\(^3\) which was set ablaze by crows which dropped upon it burning meat from some altar.

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

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

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1 At the Feriae Latinae.  
2 i.e. the "hairy" star.  
3 Cf. xlviii. 43, 4.  
4 Praefectus moribus.
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tὸν ἑτειὸν ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ χρημάτων τῷ κοινῷ ἐσῆμενε, καὶ ἄρχοντα οἱ ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἀιρετοῦ, ἐπὶ δύο ἐτη προσέταξε.

4 Κακῶς τε ποτε τοῦ Ἀπουλείου καὶ τοῦ Μαϊκήνου ἐν δικαστηρίῳ τινὶ μοιχείας, οὐχ ὃτι τι καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑβρίκεσαν ἀλλ' ὅτι τῷ κρισμένῳ σπουδῇ συνήροντο, ἄκουόντων ἦλθε τε (ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον) καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἔδρα καθίζεσαν δειὼν μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπράξεν, ἀπειπὼν δὲ τῷ κατηγόρῳ μήτῃ τοῦς συγγενεῖς μήτῃ τοὺς

5 φίλους αὐτοῦ προπηλακίζειν ἀνέστη. καὶ αὐτὸν διὰ τε ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τὰ ἄλλα ἀνδρασί τε ἐκ συντελείας ἐτύμησαν, καὶ τῷ τοῖς τε ἀγώνισας καὶ ταῖς ἀνάνδροις καὶ συνθεᾶσθαι τοῖς ἁλλοίς καὶ συνδεῖσαι (ἐν τοῖς γενεθλίοις) αὐτοῦ δοῦναι, οὐ γὰρ ἔξην οὐδὲτερον.

31 Ὁς δ' οὖν  ὁ Ἁγρίππας, ὄντερ ποὺ δι' ἀρετὴν ἀλλ' οὖ δι' ἀνάγκην τινὰ ἠγάπα, ἐπεθυκηκεὶ, καὶ συνεργὸν πρὸς τὰ πράγματα πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τῇ τιμῇ καὶ τῇ δυνάμει προφέρωντος, ὡστε καὶ (ἐν καιρῷ) καὶ ἀνεν φθόνου καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς πάντα διάγεσθαι, ἐδείκτο, τὸν Τιβέριον καὶ ἰκὼν προσεῖλετο· οἱ γὰρ ἐγγυοῦ καὶ ἀποτελεῖσαν καὶ προσεπταίσας καὶ ἐκείνου τῆς γνωστῆς, καὶ τοῦ τε Ἁγρίππου θυγατέρα (ἐξ ἁλλῆς τινὸς γαμετῆς) οὐδ' καὶ τέκνων τὸ μὲν ἥδη τρέφουσαν τὸ δὲ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσαν, τὴν τε Ἰουλίαν οἱ ἡγγύησε καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Παννονίους αὐτὸν ἐξέπεμψε τέως μὲν γὰρ τὸν Ἁγρίππαν

1 Ἀπουλείου M, Ἀπουλίου V Xiph.
2 τι M, om. V.
3 ταῖς V, τοῖς M.
4 δ' οὖν Pflugk, γοῦν VM.
5 ἡγγύησε V, ἡγγύησε M.
the public treasury from his private funds the amount of its annual tribute and assigned to it for two years a governor chosen by lot and not appointed.

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

When now Agrippa, whom he loved because of his excellence and not because of any kinship, was dead, Augustus felt the need of an assistant in the public business, one who would far surpass all the others in both rank and influence, so that he might transact all business promptly and without being the object of envy and intrigue. Therefore he reluctantly chose Tiberius; for his own grandsons were still boys at this time. He first made him, as he had made Agrippa, divorce his wife, though she was the daughter of Agrippa by a former marriage and was bringing up one child and was about to give birth to another; and having betrothed Julia to him, he sent him out against the Pannonians. This people had for a time been quiet through fear of
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3 φοβηθέντες ἦσύχασαν, τότε δὲ τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ ἔπαινετσήσαν. καὶ σφας ο Ὄμβερος, πολλά μὲν τῆς χώρας πορθήσας πολλά δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κακώσας, ἔχειρώσατο, τοῖς Σκορδί-

1 σκορδίσκοις, ὁμόροις τε αὐτῶν καὶ ὁμοσκεῦοις οὖσι, συμμάχοις ὃτι μάλιστα χρησάμενος. καὶ τὰ τῇ ὀπλὰ σφῶν ἀφείλετο, καὶ τῆς ἠλικίας τὸ πλεῖον ἐπ᾽ ἰξαγωγῇ ἀπέδοτο. καὶ αὐτῷ διὰ ταῦτα ἡ μὲν βουλὴ τὰ γε ἐπινίκην ἐψηφίσατο, ὁ δ' Ἀὐ-

γουστος ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν ἐορτάσαι, τὰς δὲ τιμᾶς τὰς ἐπινικίους ἀντέδωκε.

32 Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τούτο καὶ τῷ Δροῦσῳ συννῄ. τῶν τῇ γὰρ Συγαμβρῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτῶν διὰ τῇ τῶν Ἀὐγούστου ἀποσίαν καὶ διὰ τὸ τοὺς Γαλάτας, μὴ ἐθελοδουλεῖν πολεμωθέντων σφίς, τὸ τῇ ὑπήκουν προκατέλαβε, τοὺς πρῶτος αὐτοῦ, προφάσει τῆς ἐορτῆς ἤν καὶ νῦν περὶ τῶν τῶν Ἀὐγούστου βωμῶν ἐν Δουγδούνῳ τελοῦσι, μετα-

2 Ἐφίσιος, καὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς τηρήσας τῶν ἐς τῇ τῶν Οὐσιπτετῶν κατ' αὐτὴν τὴς τῶν Βατάουνων νῆσου διέβη, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Συγαμβρίδα ἐκείθεν ἐπιπαρελθὼν συχνὰ ἐπόρθησεν. ἔς τῇ τῶν ὦκεανῶν διὰ τοῦ Ρήμου καταπλεύσας τοὺς τοῖς Ἐφίσιος ὦκειώσατο, καὶ ἐς τὴν Χαυκίδα διὰ τῆς λίμνης ἐμιβαλὼν ἐκινδύνευσε, τῶν πλοίων ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ὦκεανῶν παλιρροιάς ἐπι τοῦ ἐξηροῦ

1 σκορδίσκοις M, κορδίσκοις V.
2 γε H. Steph., τε VM.
3 τὸ supplied by R. Steph.
4 Βατάουνων Leuncl., Πατάουνων VM.
5 Φρίσιος Bk., φρεισίους VM.
6 ὑπὸ Rk., ἐπὶ VM.
Agrippa, but now after his death they had revolted. B.C. 12
Tiberius subdued them after ravaging much of their
country and doing much injury to the inhabitants,
making as much use as possible of his allies the
Scordisci, who were neighbours of the Pannonians
and were similarly equipped. He took away the
enemy's arms and sold most of the men of military
age into slavery, to be deported from the country.
For these achievements the senate voted him a
triumph, but Augustus did not permit him to cele-
brate it, though he granted him the triumphal
honours instead.

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

¹ The Usipetes or Usipii dwelt at this time just east of
the Rhine and north of the Lupia (Lippe).
² Some have taken this to be the Zuyder Zee (Lacus Flevo),
others the bay at the mouth of the Ems, east of which the
Chauci lived. Presumably he would already have sailed
through the Zuyder Zee to reach the Frisians.
3 γενομένων. καὶ τότε μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Φρισίων ἡ πεζῇ συνεστρατευκότων αὐτῷ σωθεὶς ἀνεχώρησε (χειμῶν γὰρ ἦν), καὶ ἐσ τὴν 'Ρώμην ἐλθὼν ἀστυνόμος ἐπὶ τε Κνίντο Διλίου καὶ ἐπὶ Παύλου Φαβίου ὑπάτων, καίπερ τὰς στρατηγικὰς τιμὰς

33 ἔχων, ἀπεδείχθη ἀμα δὲ τῷ ἤρι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον αὐθεὶς ὄρμησε, καὶ τὸν τε Ἱρίνων ἐπεραιῶθη καὶ τοὺς Οὐσιστέας κατεστρέψατο, τὸν τε Δουμπιαν ἐξευέξε καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν Συγαμβρῶν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ δι’ αὐτῆς καὶ ἐς τὴν Χερουσκίδα προεχώρησε 2 μέχρι τοῦ οὐσιουργοῦ. 3 ἡ ὑδυνήθη δὲ τούτο ποιήσαι, ὅτι οἱ Συγαμβροὶ τοὺς Χάττους, μόνους τῶν προσοίκων μὴ ἔθελθαντάς 4 σφιχὶ συμμαχήσαι, ἐν ὅργῃ σχόντες παυδημεὶ ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἐξεστράτευσαν, καὶ 5 τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ ἐλαθε 6 τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν διεξελθὼν. καὶ διέβη ἀν καὶ τὸν Οὐσιουργοῦ, ἐι μὴ τῶν τε ἑπιτηδείων ἐσπάνισε καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἐνέστη καὶ τὶ καὶ σμήνος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτοῦ

3 ὤφθη. οὐτ’ οὖν περαιτέρω διὰ ταύτα προεχώρησε, καὶ ἐς τὴν φιλίαν ἀνακομιζόμενος δεινῶς ἐκινδύνευσεν οἱ γὰρ πολέμιοι ἄλλως τε ἐνέδρας αὐτῶν ἐκάκωσαν, καὶ ποτὲ ἐς στενῶν καὶ κοίλων χωρίον κατακλείσαντες ὀλίγον διέφθειραν, κἂν πασσυδὶ ἀν 7 ἄπωλεσαν, εἰ μὴ καταφρονήσαντες σφών ὃς καὶ ἐαλωκότων καὶ μιᾶς ἐπικοπῆς 8

1 φρισίων M, φρεσίων V.
2 προεχώρησε Leuncl., προσεχώρησε VM.
3 Οὐσιουργοῦ Leuncl., οὐσιουρτρού VM. (and similarly just below).

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left high and dry by the ebb of the ocean. He was saved on this occasion by the Frisians, who had joined his expedition with their infantry, and withdrew, since it was now winter. Upon arriving in Rome he was appointed praetor urbanus, in the consulship of Quintius Aelius and Paulus Fabius, although he already had the rank of praetor. At the beginning of spring he set out again for the war, crossed the Rhine, and subjugated the Usipetes. He bridged the Lupia,¹ invaded the country of the Sugambri, and advanced through it into the country of the Cherusci, as far as the Visurgis.² He was able to do this because the Sugambri, in anger at the Chatti, the only tribe among their neighbours that had refused to join their alliance, had made a campaign against them with all their population; and seizing this opportunity, he traversed their country unnoticed. He would have crossed the Visurgis also, had he not run short of provisions, and had not the winter set in and, besides, a swarm of bees been seen in his camp. Consequently he proceeded no farther, but retired to friendly territory, encountering great dangers on the way. For the enemy harassed him everywhere by ambuscades, and once they shut him up in a narrow pass and all but destroyed his army; indeed, they would have annihilated them, had they not conceived a contempt for them, as if they were already captured and needed only the finishing stroke, and so come

¹ The Lippe. ² The Weser.

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4 ἀπελήσαντας Bk., ἀπελήσαντας VM. 6 καὶ Rk., καὶ VM.
6 ἔλαβε M, διέλαβε V. 7 ἀν M, om. V.
8 ἐπικοπῆς M, ἐπισκοπῆς V.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

4 οὕτων ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς ἀσύντακτοι ἐχώρησαν. νῦν κηθέντες γὰρ ἐκ τούτου οὐκεθ' ὁμοίως ἐθρασύνυντο, ἀλλὰ πόρρωθεν μὲν σφας παρελύπουν, ἐγγὺς δὲ οὐ προσήσαν, ὡστε τὸν Δροῦσον ἀντικαταφρονήσαντα αὐτῶν ἐκεῖ τῇ ἡ 2 τοῦ Δουπίας καὶ ὁ Ἐλίσων συμμίγγυνται φρούριον τῷ σφιντὶ ἐπιτειχίζει, καὶ ἐτερον ἐν Χάττοις παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ

5 Ρήγῳ. διὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τάς τε ἐπινικίους τιμὰς καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ κέλητος ἐς τὸ ἀστυ ἑσελάσαι, τῇ τε τοῦ ἀνθυπατόν ἐξουσία, ἐπειδῶν διαστρατηγῆς, χρήσασθαι ἐλαβε. τὸ γὰρ οὖνα τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐπεφημίσθη μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ἐκεῖνο τότε καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ πρότερον, οὐ 3 μέντοι παρὰ τοῦ Ἀγαύστου ἐδόθη, καίτερ αὐτοῦ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἔργων τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως αὐξησαντος.

34 Ἐν ὧν ὁ Δρούσος ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο, ἡ τε πανήγυρις ἡ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ αὐτοῦ προσήκουσα πολυτελεστάτη ἐποιήθη, καὶ τα γενέθλια τὰ τοῦ Ἀγαύστου καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀλλῃ

2 πόλει πολλαχόθι θηρίων σφαγαίς ἑτιμήθη. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, καίτοι μὴ ψηφισθέν, ἐν πᾶσιν ὡς εἰπεῖν τοῖς ἐστει πρὸς τινὸς τῶν ἀπὸ στρατηγούντων ἐγίγνετο· τὰ δὲ δὴ Ἀγαύσταλια, ἀκαίρην ἀγεταῖ, τότε πρότον ἐκ δόγματος ἐτελέσθη.

3 "Ο τε Τιβέριος τοὺς τε Δελμάτας νεοχμώσαντας καὶ τοὺς Παυνονίους μετὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τε τὴν ἐκεῖνον καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πλείονος στρατοῦ ἀπονεωσίαν νεωτερίσαντας ἐχειρώσατο, πολεμῶν τε ἀμα

1 ἀσύντακτοι M, ἀσύντακτον V.
2 ἡ M, ἡν V.
3 πρότερον οὐ Leuncl., οὐ πρότερον VM.

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to close quarters with them in disorder. This led to their being worsted, after which they were no longer so bold, but kept up a petty annoyance of his troops from a distance, while refusing to come nearer. Drusus accordingly conceived a scorn of them in his turn and fortified a stronghold against them at the point where the Lupia and the Eliso unite, and also another among the Chatti on the bank of the Rhine. For these successes he received the triumphal honours, the right to ride into the city on horseback, and to exercise the powers of a proconsul when he should finish his term as praetor. Indeed, the title of imperator was given him by the soldiers by acclamation as it had been given to Tiberius earlier; but it was not granted to him by Augustus, although the number of times the emperor himself gained this appellation was increased as the result of the exploits of these two men.

While Drusus was thus occupied, the festival belonging to his praetorship was celebrated in the most costly manner; and the birthday of Augustus was honoured by the slaughter of wild beasts both in the Circus and in many other parts of the city. This was done almost every year by one of the praetors then in office, even if not authorised by a decree; but the Augustalia, which are still observed, were then for the first time celebrated in pursuance of a decree.

Tiberius subdued the Dalmatians, who began a rebellion, and later the Pannonians, who likewise revolted, taking advantage of the absence of himself and the larger part of his army. He made war

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1 The Alme, uniting with the Lippe at Paderborn. The usual classical form of the name is Aliso.
2 That is, to celebrate an ovatio.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἀμφοτέροις, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν τῇ τοτὲ δὲ τῇ μεθιστά-
μενος, ὅστε καὶ τῶν ἄθλων 1 τῶν αὐτῶν τῷ Δρούσῳ
4 τυχεῖν. κἀκεῖνοι καὶ ἡ Δελματία 2 τῇ τοῦ
Αἰγούστου φρουρά, ὡς καὶ ὅπλων τινῶν ἄει καὶ
d' ἑαυτὴν καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν Παυσιών γειτονίαν
dεομένη, παρεδόθη.
5 Οὕτως μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔπρασσον ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς
αὐτοῖς τούτοις χρόνοις Οὐσογαῖης 3 Θραξ Βησ-
σός, 4 ἱερεὺς τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς Διονύσου, προσεπώ-
sατό τινα πολλὰ θειάσας, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἀπο-
stάς τὸν τε 'Ρασκύποριν τὸν τοῦ Κότυνοι ὑπὸ
μικῆς ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὸν θείον αὐτὸ τοῦ 'Ρυμη-
tάκην μετὰ ταύτα ἀμαχεὶ γυμνώσας τῶν δυνά-
μεων τῇ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ 5 δόξῃ φυγεῖν ἐποίησε, καὶ
αὐτὸν ἐπιδιώκων ἐς τε τὴν Χερρόνησον ἐνέβαλε
6 καὶ δεινῶς αὐτὴν ἐλυμηνατο. ὡς οὖν οὕτως τε
tαῦτ' ἐποίησε καὶ οἱ Σιαλέται τὴν Μακεδονίαν
ἐκακούργουν, Δούκιος Πίσσων ἐκ Παμφυλίας, ἢς
ἤρχε, προσετάχθη σφίσι'; καὶ προαναχωρησάντων
οίκας τῶν Βησσών ἐπειδὴ ἐπυνθάνοτο αὐτὸν
προσώπα, ἐς τε τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἀφίκετο, καὶ
ἤτηθεις τὸ πρῶτον ἀντεπεκράτησε, καὶ ἐκεῖνην τε
καὶ τὴν τῶν προσχώρων τῶν συνεπαναστάτων
7 σφίσιν ἐπόρθησε. καὶ τότε τοὺς μὲν ἔθελοντας
προσθέμενοι 6 τοὺς δ' ἀκοντας ἐκπλήξας, τοῖς δὲ
καὶ ἐκ παρατάξεως συνενεχθέεις, πάντας αὐτοὺς
ὑπηγάγετο, καὶ μετὰ τούτο νεοχμωσάντας τινας
αὐτῶν αὐθις κατεδουλώσατο. καὶ αὐτῷ διὰ ταῦτα
καὶ ἱερομηνία καὶ τιμᾶι ἐπινίκιοι ἐδόθησαν.

1 ἀθλών Bk., ἂλλων VM. 2 Δελματία St., δαλματία VM.
3 Οὐσογαῖης Reim., βουσογαῖης VM.
4 Βησσός V, βεσσός M. 5 θεοῦ Bk., θείου VM.
6 προσθέμενον Oddey, προσθεμένου VM.

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upon both of them at once, shifting now to one front and now to the other. As a result of his success he gained the same prizes as Drusus. After this Dalmatia was given over into the keeping of Augustus, because of the feeling that it would always require armed forces both on its own account and because of the neighbouring Pannonians.

These men, then, were thus engaged. At this same period Vologaesus, a Bessian from Thrace and a priest of the Dionysus worshipped by that people, gained a following by practising many divinations, and with these adherents revolted. He conquered and killed Rhascyporis, the son of Cotys, and afterwards, thanks to his reputation for supernatural power, he stripped Rhoemetalces, the victim’s uncle, of his forces without a battle and compelled him to take flight. In pursuit of him he invaded the Chersonese, where he wrought great havoc. Because of these deeds of his and because of the injuries the Sialetae were causing to Macedonia, Lucius Piso was ordered to proceed against them from Pamphylia, where he was governor. The Bessi, now, when they heard that he was drawing near, retired homeward ahead of him. So he came into their country, and though defeated at first, vanquished them in turn and ravaged both their land and that of the neighbouring tribes which had taken part in the uprising. At this time he reduced all of them to submission, winning over some with their consent, terrifying others into reluctant surrender, and coming to terms with others as the result of battles; and later, when some of them rebelled, he again enslaved them. For these successes thanksgivings and triumphal honours were granted him.
35 'Εν ν θ' οὖν ἐκεῖνα ἐγένετο, ὁ Αὐγοῦστος ἀπογραφάς τε ἐποιῆσατο, πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά οἱ καθάπερ τις ἰδιώτης ἀπογραφάμενος, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν κατελέξατο. ὁρῶν δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἦν συχνὸι συνελέγοντο, ἐκέλευσε τὰ δόγματα αὐτῆς καὶ ἐν ἐλάττοσιν ἡ τετρακοσίοις γέγρασθαι; οὐ γὰρ ἔξην 2 τινα ἐκ τοῦ πρὸν ἄλλως κυροῦσθαι. ἐπειδὴ τε ἄργυριον αὖθις ἐσεῖκόνια αὐτοῦ 1 καὶ ἐκείνη καὶ ὁ δήμος συνεσήνεγκαν, ἑαυτοῦ μὲν οὐδεμίαν, Τυγείας δὲ δημοσίας καὶ προσέται καὶ Ὄμουσίας Εἰρήνης τε ἐστησέν. οὕτε τὰ γὰρ ὅσ' εἰπέν καὶ ἐπὶ πάση προφάσει τούτ' ἐποίουν, καὶ τέλος καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρα οὐκέτι ἴδια ποὺ κατέβαλ- λον αὐτό, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ' ἐκεῖνο προσιόντες οἱ μὲν 3 πλεῖον οἱ δὲ ἐλάττων ἐδίδοσαν. καὶ οὐς προσθείς ἀν ἐτερον τοσοῦτον ἡ καὶ πλέον ἀντεδίδου, οὕτω ὅπως τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. ἡδη δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνο ἥκουσα, ὅτι καὶ ἄλλο τι ἄργυριον ἐκ λογίου τινὸς ἡ καὶ οὐείρατος παρὰ τῶν προστυχόν- των οἱ, ὥσ καὶ προσαίτων, ἐν μιᾷ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρα ἐλάμβανε.

4 Καὶ τούτο μὲν, εὖ γε τῷ πιστῶν, οὔτω παραδε- δόται· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτεί ἐκείνῳ τῆς τε Ἰουλίαν τῷ Τιβερίῳ συνφίλον, καὶ τῆς Ὀκταούνιαν τῆν ἀδελ- φῆν ἀποδοκιοῦσαν προέθετο ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰουλιείου 2 ἡρῴου, παραπετάσατο καὶ τότε ἐπὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ 5 χρησάμενος. καὶ αὐτὸς τε ἐκεῖνον ἔπειτα οὖν ἔπαιν, καὶ δ' Ἰουλίσσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος· δημόσιον γὰρ τὸ πένθος ἀλλαξαμένων τῆν ἑσθῆτα τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐγένετο. καὶ τὸ μὲν σώμα αὐτής οἱ

1 αὐτοῦ Ζον., εαυτοῦ VM.
2 Ἰουλιείου Dind., Ἰουνίου VM.

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While these events were occurring, Augustus took a census, making a list of all his own property like any private citizen; and he also made a roster of the senate. As he saw that sometimes there were not many present at the meetings of that body, he ordered that its decrees should be passed even when less than four hundred were present; for hitherto no decree could have validity if passed by a smaller number. When the senate and the people once more contributed money for statues of Augustus, he would set up no statue of himself, but instead set up statues of Salus Publica, Concordia, and Pax. The citizens, it seems, were nearly always and on every pretext collecting money for this same object, and at last they ceased paying it privately, as one might call it, but would come to him on the very first day of the year and give, some more, some less, into his own hands; and he, after adding as much or more again, would return it, not only to the senators but to all the rest. I have also heard the story that on one day of the year, following some oracle or dream, he would assume the guise of a beggar and would accept money from those who came up to him.

This is the tradition, whether credible to any one or not. That year he gave Julia in marriage to Tiberius, and when his sister died, he caused her body to lie in state in the shrine of Julius; and on this occasion also he had a curtain over the corpse. He himself delivered the funeral oration there, and Drusus delivered one from the rostra; for the mourning was publicly observed and the senators had changed their dress. Her body was carried in

1 Cf. chap. 28, 3.
γαμβροι ἐξήγεγαγαν, τὰ δὲ δὴ ψηφισθέντα αυτῇ οὐ πάντα ὁ Ἀὐγοῦστος ἐδέξατο.

36 Καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ ὁ τε ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς πρῶτον μετὰ τὸν Μεροῦλαν ἀπεδείχθη, καὶ τοῖς ταρμαίσι τὰ δόγματα τὰ ἔκαστοτε γιγνόμενα διὰ φυλακῆς ποιεῖσθαι ἐκελεύσθη, ἐπειδὴ οἴ τε δή-

μαρχοὶ καὶ οἱ ἀγορανόμοι οἱ πρότερον αὐτὰ ἐπι-

τετραμμένοι 2 διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τοῦτ' ἐπράττων,

καὶ τις ἐκ τοῦτον καὶ διαμαρτία καὶ ταραχή ἐγένετο.

2 Ἐψηφίσθη μὲν οὖν τὸν Ἱανὸν τὸν Γέμινων ὡς καὶ πεπαυμένων τῶν πολέμων (ἀνέφετο γάρ) κλεισθήμεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκλεῖσθην· οἳ 'τε γὰρ

∆ακὸ τὸν Ἰστρον πεπηγότα διαβάστες λείαν ἐκ τῆς Παννονίας ἀπετέμοντο, καὶ οἱ Δελμάται 3 πρὸς τὰς ἐσπραξίς τῶν χρημάτων ἐπανέστησαν.

3 καὶ τούτους μὲν ὁ Τιβερίος ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας, ἐς ἣν μετὰ τοῦ Αὐγοῦστον ἑσεληνύθη, καταπεμφθεὶς ἀνεκτήσατο, 4 τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν Κελτῶν τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ τῶν Χάττων (πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς Συγάμβρους μετέστησαν, καὶ τῆς 5 χώρας αὐτῶν, ἢ ποὺ ἐκεῖν παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἰλήφεσαν, ἐξανέστησαν) ὁ Δραῦσος

4 τὰ μὲν ἐκάκωσε τὰ δὲ ἐχειρώσατο... καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην σὺν τῷ Αὐγοῦστῳ ἀνεκο-

μίσθησαν (ἐν γὰρ τῇ Δούγουνίδι 6 τὰ πολλὰ ὄντος 7 ἐγγύθευ τοῖς Κελτοῖς ἐφεδρεῦων διέτριβε), καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις ἐψηφίστο ἡ καὶ ἄλλως καθήκοντα ἢ γενέσθαι, ἐπετέλεσαν.

1 τὰ supplied by Rk.
2 ἐπιτετραμμένοι R. Steph., ἐπιγεγραμμένοι VM.
3 Δελμάται St., δαλμάται VM.
4 ἀνεκτήσατο Pflugk, ἀνεστήσατο VM.

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the procession by her sons-in-law; but not all the B.C. 11
honours voted for her were accepted by Augustus.
At this same period the priest of Jupiter was
appointed for the first time since Merula,¹ and the
quaestors were ordered to preserve the decrees
passed at various times, inasmuch as the tribunes
and aediles, who had previously been entrusted with
this duty, were performing it through their assistants,
and in consequence some mistakes and confusion
occurred.
It was voted that the temple of Janus Geminus,
which had been opened, should be closed, on the
ground that the wars had ceased. It was not closed,
however, for the Dacians, crossing the Ister on the
ice, carried off booty from Pannonia, and the Dalmatians rebelled against the exactions of tribute.
Against these people Tiberius was sent from Gaul,
whither he had gone in company with Augustus;
and he reduced them again to submission. The
Germans, particularly the Chatti, were either
harassed or subjugated by Drusus. The Chatti, it
seems, had gone to join the Sugambri, having
abandoned their own country, which the Romans
had given them to dwell in. Afterwards Tiberius
and Drusus returned to Rome with Augustus, who
had been tarrying in Lugdunensis much of the time,
keeping watch on the Germans from near at hand;
and they carried out whatever decrees had been
passed in honour of their victories or did whatever
else devolved upon them.
¹ See vol. ii. 477, and note.

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5 τῆς Rk., τῆς τε VM.
6 λουγῶντιδι R. Steph., λουγῶντιδι VM.
7 οὕτως Reim., οὕτως VM.

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BOOK LV

Τάδε ἐνεστὶν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῇ πέμπτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαίων

α. Ὅς Δρούσος ἀπέθανεν.

β. Ὅς τὸ Διονύσιος τέμενος καθιερώθη.

γ. Ὅς τὸ Ἀγρίππον πεδίον καθιερώθη.

δ. Ὅς τὸ διριβιτάριον¹ καθιερώθη.

ε. Ὅς Τιβέριος ἐς Ῥόδου ἀνεχώρησεν.

ζ. Ὅς ἡ Αὐγούστος ἀγορὰ καθιερώθη.

η. Ὅς ὁ τοῦ Ἀρεως ναὸς δ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐν καθιερώθη.

θ. Ὅς Λαύκιος Καίσαρ καὶ Γάιος Καίσαρ ἀπέθανον.

ι. Ὅς Αὐγούστος Τιβέριον ἑποίησατο.

κ. Ὅς Διονύσιος παρῆνεσεν Αὐγούστῳ φιλανθρωπῷ ἀρχεῖν.

λ. Περὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ ὅς οἱ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ χρήματα
dioikήσουτες κατέστησαν.

μ. Ὅς οἱ νυκτοφύλακες κατέστησαν.

ν. Ὅς Δεματάις καὶ Παννονίοις Τιβέριος ἑπολέμησεν.

Χρόνου πλήθος ἐτη ἐπτακαίδεκα, ἐν οἷς ἀρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμοῦμενοι
οἴδε ἐγένοντο

Nέρων Κλαύδιος Τιβ. υ. Δρούσος ὑπ. ¹
Τ.² Κυῖκτιος Τ. υ. Κριστινός
Γ. Μάρκιος Δ. υ. ³ Κηνσωρίνος ὑπ.
Γ. Ἀσίνιος⁴ Γ. υ. Γάλλος
Τιβ. Κλαύδιος⁵ Τιβ. υ. Νέρων τὸ β’ ὑπ. ⁹
Γν.⁶ Καλπόρυνιος Γν.⁷ υ. Πίσιων⁸
Δέκιμος Λαίλιος Δέκιμον υ. Βάλβος ὑπ.
Γ. Ἀντίστιος Γ. υ. Οὐέτερ

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¹ διριβιτάριον Bs., δειριβιτάριον M.
² T. Bs., Τι M.
³ Λ. υ. supplied by Bs.
⁴ Ἀσίνιος Bs., ἀσιάνιος M.
⁵ Κλαύδιος XyI., κλ’ M.
⁶ Γν. supplied by H. Steph.
⁷ Γν. H. Steph., γ M.

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BOOK LV

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

How Drusus died (chaps. 1, 2).
How the Precinct of Livia was dedicated (chap. 8).
How the Campus Agrippae was dedicated (chap. 8).
How the Diribitorium was dedicated (chap. 8).
How Tiberius retired to Rhodes (chap. 9).
How the Forum of Augustus was dedicated (lacking).
How the Temple of Mars therein was dedicated (chap. 10).
How Lucius Caesar and Gaius Caesar died (chap. 10 a).
How Augustus adopted Tiberius (chap. 13).
How Livia urged Augustus to rule more mercifully (chaps. 14-21).
About the legions and how men were appointed to manage the military funds (chaps. 23-25).
How the night-watchmen were appointed (chap. 26).
How Tiberius fought against the Dalmatians and Pannonians (chaps. 29-34).

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

B.C.
9 Nero Claudius Ti. F. Drusus, T. Quinctius T. F. Crispinus.
8 C. Marcius L. F. Censorinus, C. Asinius C. F. Gallus.
7 Ti. Claudius Ti. F. Nero (II), Cn. Calpurnius Cn. F. Piso.
6 Decimus Laelius Decimi F. Balbus, C. Antistius C. F. Vetus.

Πισων Borghesi, πισων το δευτερον Μ.
9 ιν. supplied by Bs.
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Aνγουστος τὸ 1β'
Λ. Κορνήλιος Π. υ. Σύλλας
Γ. Καλούσιος Γ. υ. Σαβίνος
Λ. Πασσήνος υ. Ὑ. Ρούφος
Λ. Κορνήλιος Δ. υ. Λεντούλος
Μ. Ουαλέριος Μ. υ. Μεσσαλάς Μεσσαλίνος
Ανγουστος τὸ 1γ'
Μ. Πλαύτιος Μ. υ. Σιλουανός
Κόσσος Κορνήλιος Γυν. υ. Λεντούλος
Λ. Καλίπορνιος Γυν. υ. Πίσσων
Γ. Καίσαρ Αγνουστοῦ υ. Υπ.
Λ. Αίμλιος Δ. υ. Πάυλος
Π. Οινικίος Μ. υ. Ούαρος
Π. Ἀλφήνος Π. υ. Ούαρος
Λ. Αίλιος Λ. υ. Λαμίλας
Μ. Σερούλλιος Μ. υ. Ξέντος Αίλιος
Κ. υ. Κάτος
Γ. Ξέντιος Γ. υ. Σατούρνίνος
Λ. Ουαλέριος Πολίτος υ. Μεσσάλας Ουάλαυσος
Γυν. Κορνήλιος Δ. υ. Κίννας Μάγνος
Μ. Αίμλιος Δ. υ. Λέπιδος
Λ. Ἀρρούτιος Δ. υ.
Ἀδλ. Λικίνας Αδλ. υ. Νέρους Σιλιανός
Κ. Καικίλιος Κ. υ. Μέτελλος Κρητικός
Μ. Φούριος Μ. υ. Κάμιλλος
Σέξ. Νάνιος Γ. υ. Κυντιλιανός

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Ἰούλλου Ἀντωνίου καὶ ἐπὶ Φαβίου Μαξίμου ὑπάτων ἐγένετο, τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἐτεί ὁ Δρούσος μετὰ Τίτου Κριστίνου

1 Λ. Κορνήλιος... υ. Ὕρόφος supplied by Xyl. and Bs.
2 Λ. supplied by R. Steph.
3 Μεσσαλίνος Mommsen, ἢ Μεσσαλίνος Μ.
4 Αὐγουστοῦ Reim., αὐγουστος τοῦ Μ.
5 Οὐινίκιος Bs., οὐινίκιος ἢ μινούκιος М.  * М. Xyl., ν. М.
6 Ἀλφήνος Bs., ἀλφήνος ἢ ἀλφήνος М.
7 Ούαρος υ. υπ. Ούαρος υπ. oδαρος Μ.
8 Λ. Αίλιος R. Steph., λαίλιος Μ. 10 Λαμίας R. Steph., ταμίας М.
9 Σερούλλιος R. Steph., σαρούλλιος М. 12 Αίλιος Bs., αἰμίλιοι М.
13 Σατούρνίνος Leunel., σατούρνίνοι М.
14 Ουάλαυσος Xyl., ουάλαυσος М.
15 υπ. supplied by Bs. 16 Ἀδλ. Bs., αὐδος М.
BOOK LV

B.C. 5 Augustus (XII), L. Cornelius P. F. Sulla.
4 C. Calvisius C. F. Sabinus (II), L. Passienus ... F. Rufus.
2 Augustus (XIII), M. Plautius M. F. Silvanus.
1 Cossus Cornelius Cn. F. Lentulus, L. Calpurnius Cn. F. Piso.

A.D. 1 C. Caesar Augusti F., L. Aemilius L. F. Paulus.
2 P. Vinicius M. F., P. Alfenus P. F. Varus.
3 L. Aelius L. F. Lamia, M. Servilius M. F.
4 Sextus Aelius Q. F. Catus, C. Sentius C. F. Saturninus.
5 L. Valerius Potiti F. Messalla Volesus, Cn. Cornelius L. F. Cinna Magnus.
6 M. Aemilius L. F. Lepidus, L. Arruntius L. F.
7 A. Licinius A. F. Nerva Silianus, Q. Caecilius Q. F. Metellus Creticus.
8 M. Furius M.¹ F. Camillus, Sex. Nonius C. F. Quintilianus.

The events related happened in the consulship of b.c. 9
Iullus Antonius and Fabius Maximus. In the following
year Drusus became consul with Titus Crispinus,
¹ Or P., if we follow the form given in the Fasti Capitolini.

17 Ἀβλ. vi. supplied by Bs. 18 Νέρωνας R. Steph., οὔερνας M.
19 Σιλιανός Bs., σιλιανός M. 20 κ. Καϊκίλιος Χυλ., κ' καϊλίος M.
21 κ. vi. supplied by Bs. 22 ον. supplied by Bs.
23 φούριος Χυλ., φούρνιος M.
24 Instead of M. vi. Bs. would read Π. vi. See Fasti Capitol.
25 Νῶνιος H. Steph., νάννιος M.
26 Α. vi. Leuncl., γ. vi. M. 27 Ἰουάλλου Bs., ιουλίου M.
28 The words ταῦτα ... ἐγένετο appear at the end of liv. in VM; Bk. placed here. V breaks off at this point; cf. pref. to vol. i. p. xxv.

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υπάτευσε, καὶ αὐτῷ σημεία ὅπις ἀγαθὰ συνηνέχθη, πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα καὶ χειμῶνι καὶ κεραυνοῖς, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ναοὶ ἐφθάρμησαν, ὡστε καὶ τὸν τοῦ Διός τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τῶν τε συννάων αὐτοῦ και-κωθῆναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐφρόντισέ τι αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἦς τε τὴν τῶν Χάττων ἐσέβαλε καὶ προῆλθε μέχρι τῆς Σουνβίας, τὴν τε ἐν ποσὶν ὅπις ἀταλαίπωρως χειρούμενος καὶ τοὺς προσμιγνῦντας οἱ ὅπις ἄναι-μωτὶ κρατῶν. κἂντεύθεν πρὸς τε τὴν Χερουσκίδα 1 μετέστη, καὶ τὸν Ὀυίσουργον 2 διαβάς ἐλασε

3 μέχρι τοῦ Ἀλβίου, πάντα πορθῶν. ἐκείνου γὰρ (ρεῖ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Ὀυανδαλίκων ὄρων, καὶ ἐς τὸν ὦκεανὸν τὸν προσάρκτιον πολλῷ μεγέθει ἐκδιδωσίν) ἐπεχείρησε μὲν περαιωθῆναι, οὐκ ἡδυνήθη δὲ, ἀλλὰ τρόπαια στῆσας ἀνεχώρησε· γυνὴ γὰρ τις μείζων ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπου φύσιν ἀπαντήσασα αὐτῷ ἐφ' ὅ ποι δήτα ἐπείγη, Δρούσε ἀκόρεστε; οὐ πάντα σοι ταῦτα ἰδεῖν πέπρωται. ἀλλ' ἀπίθι καὶ γάρ σοι καὶ τὸν ἔργων καὶ τοῦ βίου τελευτῆ.

4 ἡδη πάρεστι." θαυμαστὸν μὲν οὖν τὸ τινα φανὴν παρὰ -οὐ δαιμονίου τοιαύτην τῷ γενέσθαι, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀπιστεῖν ἔχω· παραχρῆμα γὰρ ἀπέβη, σπουδὴ τε ὑποστρέψαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ εν τῇ ὠδῷ νόσῳ τι, πρὶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐρήνου ἐλθεῖν, τελευτήσαντος. καὶ μοι τεκμηριώ τὸ λεχθὲν ὅτι καὶ λύκοι περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑπὸ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ περινοστοῦντες ὄρυντο, καὶ νεανίσκοι δύο διὰ μέσου τοῦ ταφρεύματος διυππεύνοντες ὄφθησαν, θρήνος τε τὶς γυναικεῖος ἦκουσθη, καὶ ἀστέρων διαδρομαί εἴγοντο.

1 Χερουσκίδα Bk., χερουσκίαν M.
2 Οὐίσουργον Reim., οὐίσουργον M.

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and omens occurred that were anything but favourable to him. Many buildings were destroyed by storm and by thunderbolts, among them many temples; even that of Jupiter Capitolinus and the gods worshipped with him was injured. Drusus, however, paid no heed to any of these things, but invaded the country of the Chatti and advanced as far as that of the Suebi, conquering with difficulty the territory traversed and defeating the forces that attacked him only after considerable bloodshed. From there he proceeded to the country of the Cherusci, and crossing the Visurgis, advanced as far as the Albis, pillaging everything on his way. The Albis rises in the Vandalic Mountains, and empties, a mighty river, into the northern ocean. Drusus undertook to cross this river, but failing in the attempt, set up trophies and withdrew. For a woman of superhuman size met him and said: "Whither, pray, art thou hastening, insatiable Drusus? It is not fated that thou shalt look upon all these lands. But depart; for the end alike of thy labours and of thy life is already at hand." It is indeed marvellous that such a voice should have come to any man from the Deity, yet I cannot discredit the tale; for Drusus immediately departed, and as he was returning in haste, died on the way of some disease before reaching the Rhine. And I find confirmation of the story in these incidents: wolves were prowling about the camp and howling just before his death; two youths were seen riding through the midst of the camp; a sound as of women lamenting was heard; and there were shooting stars in the sky. So much for these events.

1 The Elbe. 2 The Riesengebirge.
Ταύτα μὲν οὕτως ἔσχη, προπυθόμενος δ’ ὁ Ἄυγουστος ὅτι νοσεῖ (οὐ γὰρ ἦν πόρρω), τὸν Τίβεριον κατὰ τάχος ἔπεμψε· καὶ ὅς ἔμπνευσε τὸ αὐτῶν κατέλαβε καὶ ἀποθανόντα ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκόμισε, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα μέχρι τοῦ χειμαδίου τοῦ στρατοῦ διά τε τῶν ἐκατοντάρχων καὶ διὰ τῶν χιλιάρχων, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ διὰ τῶν καθ’ ἐκάστην πόλιν πρῶτων

βαστάσας. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἄγορᾷ προτεθέντος διπλοὺς ὁ ἐπιτάφιος ἐλέξθη· ὁ τε γὰρ Τίβεριος ἐν τῷ Φλαμινίῳ ἵπποδρόμῳ ἐξεστάτευτο γὰρ, καὶ οὐκ ἦν οἱ ζωικοὶ μὴ οὐ τὰ καθηκοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς κατειργασμένοις παρ’ αὐτὴν τὴν έἰσω τοῦ πομηρίου

ἐσοδον ἐπιτελέσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς τε τὸ Ἀρειον πεδίον ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων, τῶν τε ἐς τὴν ἱππάδα ἀκριβῶς τελοῦντων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ γένους ὄντων, ἢνέχθη, κανταύθα πυρὶ δοθεὶς ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἀυγοῦστον μυνμείον κατετέθη, Γερμανίκος τε μετὰ τῶν παίδων ἐπονομασθεὶς, καὶ τιμᾶς καὶ εἰκόνων καὶ ἄνδρος κενοταφίου τε πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ Ῥήμῳ λαβῶν.

Ὀ ὁ δὲ Τίβεριος τῶν τὲ Δελματῶν καὶ τῶν Πάννων ὑποκινησάντων τι αὐθίς ξώντος ἐτι αὐτοῦ κρατήσας, τὰ τε ἐπὶ τοῦ κέλητος ἐπινίκια ἔπεμψε, καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦς μὲν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ τοὺς δ’ ἀλλοθι πολλαχόθι ἐδείπνησε. καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἡ Λιονία μετὰ τῆς Ἰουλίας τὰς γυναίκας εἰστι-
Augustus, upon learning of Drusus' illness before it was far advanced (for he was not far off), had sent Tiberius to him in haste. Tiberius found him still breathing, and on his death carried the body to Rome, causing the centurions and military tribunes to carry it over the first stage of the journey,—as far as the winter quarters of the army,—and after that the foremost men of each city. When the body had been laid in state in the Forum, two funeral orations were delivered: Tiberius pronounced a eulogy there in the Forum, and Augustus pronounced one in the Circus Flaminius. The emperor, of course, had been away on a campaign, and it was not lawful for him to omit the customary rites in honour of his exploits at the time of his entrance inside the pomerium. The body was borne to the Campus Martius by the knights, both those who belonged strictly to the equestrian order and those who were of senatorial family; then it was given to the flames and the ashes were deposited in the sepulchre of Augustus. Drusus, together with his sons, received the title of Germanicus, and he was given the further honours of statues, an arch, and a cenotaph on the bank of the Rhine itself.

Tiberius, while Drusus was yet alive, had overcome the Dalmatians and Pannonians, who had once more begun a rebellion, and he had celebrated the equestrian triumph, and had feasted the people, some on the Capitol and the rest in many other places. At the same time Livia, also, with Julia, had given a dinner to the women. And the same

1 He could not return the customary thanks to the gods at this time because he was in mourning; hence he remained outside the pomerium until his period of mourning should be at an end. 2 Cf. liv. 2, 5. 3 The ovatio.
5 ase. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ ἡτοιμάζετο·
καὶ γε αἱ ἀνοχαί δεύτεροι τὴν χάριν αὐτοῦ, πρὸς
τὸ τὰ νικητῆρια ἐν ἐκείναις αὐτὸν ἐορτάσαι, γενή-
σεσθαι ἐμελλον. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν προαπώλετο, ἥ δὲ δὴ
Διονία εἰκόνων τε ἐπὶ παραμυθία ἔτυχε, καὶ ἐς
6 τὰς μητέρας τὰς τρὶς τεκούσας ἐσεγράφη. οἷς
γὰρ ἂν τὸ δαίμονιν, εἰτ' οὖν ἀνδρῶν εἶτε γυναι-
κῶν, μὴ δὲ τοσαυτάκις τεκνώσας, τούτων τισιν ὁ
νόμος, πρότερον μὲν διὰ τῆς βουλῆς υἱόν δὲ διὰ τοῦ
αὐτοκράτορος, τὰ τῶν τρὶς 1 γεγεννηκότων δικαιώ-
ματα χαρίζεται, ὥστε σφᾶς μῆτε τοῖς τῆς ἀπαι-
dίας ἐπιτιμίως ἐνέχεσθαι καὶ τὰ τῆς πολυπαιδίας
7 ἀθλα πλήν δλίγων τινῶν καρποῦσθαι. καὶ αὐτὰ
οὐκ ἀνθρωποί μόνοι ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοὶ εὑρίσκονται,
'ιν' ἂν τῖς τι αὐτοῖς τελευτῶν καταληπτή λαμβά-
νωσι.

Τοῦτο μὲν ἰὴ τοιοῦτον ἔστω, ὁ δ' Λύγουστος τὰς
τε τῆς γερουσίας ἐδρας ἐν ρηταις ἡμέραις γίγνεσθαι
ἐκέλευσεν (ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὔδεν πρότερον ἀκριβῶς
περί αὐτῶν ἐτέτακτο καὶ τινες διὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις
ὑστέριξον, δύο 2 βουλάς κατὰ μήνα κυρίας ἀπέδει-
ξευ, ὥστε ἐς αὐτᾶς ἐπάναγκες, οὔς γε καὶ ὁ νόμος
2 ἐκάλει, συμφοιτάνης καὶ ὅπως γε μὴ ᾧ ἀλλη μηδε-
mía σκῆψις τῆς ἀπουσίας αὐτοῖς ὑπάρξῃ, προσέ-
tαξίς μῆτε δικαστήριον μὴτ' ἀλλο μηδὲν τῶν προσ-
ηκόντων σφίσιν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ γίγνεσθαι),
tὸν τε ἀριθμὸν τὸν ἐς τῆν κύρωσιν τῶν δογμάτων

1 τρὶς Leuncl., τε τρὶς M. 2 τρὶς supplied by Xyl.
3 δύο supplied by Casaubon.
festivities were being prepared for Drusus; even b.c. 9
the Feriae were to be held a second time on his
account, so that he might celebrate his triumph on
that occasion. But his untimely death upset these
plans. To Livia statues were voted by way of
consoling her and she was enrolled among the
mothers of three children. For in certain cases,
formerly by act of the senate, but now by the
emperor's, the law bestows the privileges which
belong to the parents of three children 1 upon men
or women to whom Heaven has not granted that
number of children. In this way they are not
subject to the penalties imposed for childlessness and
may receive all but a few of the rewards offered
for large families; and not only men but gods also
may enjoy these rewards, the object being that,
if any one leaves them a bequest at his death, they
may receive it. 2

So much for this matter. As to Augustus, he
ordered that the sittings of the senate should be
held on fixed days. Previously, it appears, there had
been no precise regulation concerning them and it
often happened that members failed to attend; he
accordingly appointed two regular meetings for each
month, so that they were under compulsion to at-
tend,—at least those of them whom the law
summoned,—and in order that they might have no
other excuse for being absent, he commanded that
no court or other meeting which required their
attendance should be held at that time. He also
fixed by law the number of senators necessary for

1 See liii. 13, 2 and note.
2 Certain gods and goddesses (see Ulpian xxii. 6) might
legally be named as heirs, but it appears that they had to
fulfil the same conditions as the other heirs.
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ἀναγκαίον καθ' ἐκαστὸν εἴδος αὐτῶν, ὡς γε ἐν κεφαλαίοις εἰπεῖν, διενομοθέτησε, καὶ τὰ ξημιώματα τοῖς μη δι' εὐλογὸν τινα αἰτίαν τῆς συνε.

3 δρείας ἀπολειπομένοις ἐπηρέξασεν. ἐπειδὴ τε πολλὰ τῶν τοιούτων ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ὑπευθύνων ἀτιμώρητα εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι, κληροῦσθαί τε αὐτοὺς εἰ συχνοὶ τοῦτο ποιήσειαν, καὶ τὸν ἀεὶ πέμπτον λαχῶνα ὀφλισκάνειν αὐτὰ ἐκέλευσε. τα τε ὅνομα συμπάντων τῶν βουλευόντων ἐσ λεύκωμα ἀναγράφας ἐξέθηκε· καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ νῦν (κατ' ἠτο τοῦτο ποιεῖται. ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς συμφοιτήσεως αὐτῶν ἀνάγκη ἐπράξεν· εἰ δ' οὖν ποτε ἐκ συντυχίας τινὸς μὴ συλλεχθεῖεν ὅσοις ἡ κρεῖα ἐκάστοτε ἐκάλει (πλὴν γὰρ ὅτι ὅσακις ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ παρῇ, ἐν γε ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡμέραις ἐς πάντα ὅλιγον τὸ τῶν ἁθροιζομένων πλῆθος καὶ τότε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀκριβῶς ἐξητάζετο), ἐβουλεύοντο μὲν καὶ ἡ γε γνώμη συνεγράφετο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τέλος τὶ ὡς κεκυρωμένη ἐλάμβανεν, ἀλλὰ αὐκτώριτας ἐγένετο, ὅπως φανερὸν τὸ βού.

5 λῆμα αὐτῶν ἦ. τοιοῦτον γὰρ τι ἡ δύναμις τοῦ ὅνοματος τοῦτοῦ δηλοῖ· ἐλληνίσαι γὰρ αὐτὸ καθ- ἀπαξ ἀδύνατον ἐστὶν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ εἰ ποτε ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ μὴ νεομισμένοι ἡ ἡμέρα μη καθηκοῦση, ἡ καὶ ἐξω νομίμου παραγγέλματος, ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἡδροίσθησαν, ἡ καὶ ἐναντιωθέντων τινῶν δημάρχων τὸ μὲν δόγμα οὐκ ἡδυνήθη γενεσθαι, τὴν δὲ δὴ γνώμην σφών οὐχ ὑπέμενον ἀπο-

1 γε Rk., τε Μ.

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passing decrees, according to the several kinds of B.C. 9 decrees,—to state only the chief points of the matter; and he increased the fines of those who without good excuse stayed away from the sessions. And since many such offences had regularly gone unpunished owing to the large number of those who were liable to punishment, he commanded that if many were guilty, they should draw lots and one out of every five, according as the lot should fall, should incur the fine. He had the names of all the senators entered on a tablet and posted; and this practice, originating with him, is still observed each year. Such were the measures he took to compel the attendance of the senators; but if on any occasion, as the result of some accident, fewer assembled than the occasion demanded,—and it should be explained that at every session, except when the emperor himself was present, the number of those in attendance was accurately counted, both at that time and later; for practically every matter of business,—the senators would proceed with their deliberations and their decision would be recorded, though it would not go into effect as if regularly passed, but instead, their action was what was termed auctoritas, the purpose of which was to make known their will. For such is the general force of this word; to translate it into Greek by a term that will always be applicable is impossible. This same custom prevailed in case they ever assembled in haste at any but the usual place, or on any but the appointed day, or without a legal summons, or if by reason of the opposition of some of the tribunes a decree could not be passed and yet they were unwilling that their opinion should remain unknown;
κρυφθήναι, ἔνομιζετο· καὶ αὐτὴ μετὰ ταύτα καὶ ἦ
κύρωσις κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἔτη γεγενοτο καὶ ἐπίκλησις
6 ἡ τοῦ δόγματος ἐπεφέρετο. τούτῳ τε οὖν ἱσχυρῶς
ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῖς πάλαι τηρηθεὶν ἐξίτηλον τρόπου
τινά ἦδη γέγονε, καὶ τὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν· καὶ γὰρ
ἐκεῖνοι ἀγανακτισάντες ὅτι μηδεμίαν γυνώμην,
καὶ τοῖς δημάρχοις προτετιμημένου, ἐσ τὴν
βουλὴν ἐσέφερον, παρὰ μὲν τοῦ Ἀνυγούστου ἐλαβο
βοῦν αὐτὸ ποιεῖν, ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου ἀφηρε
θῆσαν.
4 ταῦτα τε οὖν καὶ τάλλα ἀ1 τότε ἐνομοθέτησεν, ἐσ
τε τὸ συνεδρίον ἐν λευκώμασι γεγραμμένα προε
θηκε πρὶν χρηματίσα τι περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῖς
βουλευταῖς μεθ' ἐνὸς ἑτέρου ἐσελθοῦσιν ἀναγρῶναι
ἐπέτρεψεν, ὅπως ἄν τι μὴ ἀρέσῃ αὐτοὺς ἢ καὶ
ἐτερὸν τι βέλτιον συμβουλεύσαι δυνηθῶσιν εὕπω-
2 σιν. οὕτω γὰρ ποι δημοκρατίκος ἡξίου εἶναι
ὡς τινὸς τῶν συστρατευσαμένων ποτὲ αὐτῶ
συνηγορήματος παρ' αὐτοῦ δεθέντος τὸ μὲν πρό-
των τῶν φίλων τινά, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἀσχολίᾳ ὦν,
συνεπεῖν αὐτῷ κελεύσαι, ἔπειτ' ἐπείδη ἐκεῖνος
οργισθεὶς ἔφη "ἐγὼ μέντοι, ὡσάκις ἐπικουρίας
χρείαν ἔσχες, οὐκ ἀλλὰ τινὰ ἀντ' ἐμαυτοῦ σοι
ἔπεμψα, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς πανταχοῦ προεκινδύνευσά
σου," ἐς τε τὸ δικαστήριον ἐσέλθειν καὶ συνηγορη-
3 σαι οἱ. φίλῳ τε τινὶ δίκην φεύγοντι συνεξητάσθη,
προεπικοινώσας αὐτὸ τούτῳ τῇ γερουσίᾳ· καὶ ἐκει
νόν τε ἐσώσε, καὶ τὸν κατηγοροῦν αὐτοῦ οὐχ ὅπως

1 a supplied by Rk.
BOOK LV

afterwards the resolution would be ratified according to established precedent and would receive the name of a decree.\(^1\) This method, strictly followed for a long period by the men of old time, has in a way already become null and void, as has also the special privilege of the praetors. For they, becoming indignant that they could bring no proposal before the senate, though they outranked the tribunes, received from Augustus the right to do so, but in the course of time were deprived of it.

These and the other laws which Augustus enacted at this time he had inscribed on tablets and posted in the senate before bringing them up for consideration, and he allowed the senators to enter the chamber in groups of two and read them, so that if any provision did not please them, or if they could advise anything better, they might speak. He was very desirous indeed of being democratic, as one or two incidents will illustrate. Once, when one of those who had campaigned with him asked him for his assistance as advocate, though he at first pretended to be busy and bade one of his friends speak in the man’s behalf, yet when the petitioner became angry and said, “But I, whenever you had need of my assistance, did not send some one else to you in place of myself, but personally encountered dangers everywhere in your behalf,” the emperor then entered the court-room and pleaded his friend’s cause. He also stood by a friend who was defendant in a suit, after having first communicated his purpose to the senate; and he saved his friend, but was so far from being angry with the friend’s ac-

\(^{1}\) It was now a senatus consultum, and no longer merely senatus auctoritas.
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καλύτερα μεταφρασμένον, καὶ εὐθυνόμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς τρόποις ἀφήκεν, εἰπὼν ἄντικρος ὅτι ἀναγκαία σφίσιν ἡ παρρησία αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν πονηρίαν εἰς. ἄλλους γε μὴν ἐπιθυμεύειν οἱ μηνυθέντας 4 ἐκόλουσε, καὶ ταμίας ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐν ἐτέρωσι τισὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας χωρίως ἀρχείᾳ ἐποίησεν καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω ἐτη ἐγένετο.

Τότε μὲν οὐν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸν 5 τοῦ Δρούσου βασιλέων, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἐσελθείν, τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἔτει, ἐν ὅ Ἀσυνίος τε Γάλλος καὶ Γάιος Μάρκιος ὑπάτευσαν, τὴν τε ἀφίξιν ἐποίησαν καὶ τὴν διάφημον ἐς τοῦ Διός τοῦ Φειδρίου παρὰ τὸ 2 νομίζομεν ἐσφήνγκε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἐπὶ τούτους ἐφτην ἤγαγε, πολὺ πλεῖον ἐν τῷ τοῦ Δρούσου ὀλέθρῳ ἐξημώσθαι ἢ ἐν ταῖς νίκαις ὀφεληθῆναι νομίζων οἱ δὲ δὴ ὑπατοί τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡσα ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτως γίγνεται ἐποίησαν, καὶ ἐκ 3 τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τινὰς ἀλλήλοις συνέβαλον, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ Αὔγουστος, αἰτιαθέντως καὶ ἐκεῖνως καὶ τῶν ἀλλων ἀρχόντων ὡς ἐκ δεκασμοῦ τινος ἀποδεδειγμένων, τούτο μὲν οὔτε ἐξήλεγξεν οὔτε ἀρχὴν προσεποιήσατο εἰδέναι· οὔτε γὰρ κολάσαι τινὰς οὔτ᾽ αὐτοῦ συγγυνώνα ἐλεγχθεὶσιν ἡθέλησε· τοὺς δὲ δὴ σπουδαρχίωντας χρῆματα (πρὸ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων) ὅσπερ τι ἐνέχυρον προήτησεν, ἐπὶ τῷ μηδὲν τοιούτῳ αὐτοῦ ποιῆσαι ἡ στερηθῆναι

1 ἄντικρος is omitted in M, but has been added in the margin by an early corrector who indicates its place as between εἰπὼν and ὅτι.
cuser, though this man had indulged in the utmost frankness in his speech, that later on, when the same man appeared before him, as censor, for a scrutiny of his morals, the emperor acquitted him, saying openly that the other's frankness was necessary for the Romans on account of the baseness of the majority of them. However, he punished others who were reported to be conspiring against him. He also caused quaestors to serve along the coast near the city and in certain other parts of Italy; and this practice was followed for many years.

At the time in question he was unwilling, as I have stated,¹ to enter the city because of Drusus' death; but the next year, when Asinius Gallus and Gaius Marcius were consuls, he made his formal return and carried the laurel, contrary to custom, into the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. He himself did not celebrate any festival in honour of the achievements mentioned, feeling that he had lost far more in the death of Drusus than he had gained in his victories; but the consuls performed the ceremonies usual on such occasions, among other things exhibiting combats between some of the captives. And later, when both they and the rest of the officials were accused of having secured their election by bribery, Augustus failed to investigate the matter, and furthermore pretended not even to know of it at all; for he was unwilling either to punish any of them or yet to pardon them if they were convicted. In the case of candidates for office, however, he demanded of them in advance of the elections a deposit of money on the understanding that they should forfeit this money in case they resorted to

¹ In chap. 2.
4 tōn dedoménon. kai touto mēn pántes éphtésean óti Í' ouk ēxōn Ín dōulon kata despóton basanivsthēnai ekēleusen, òsakís Ín xreia toioúton tinos gēnetai, tō dēmosiów autōn ἱ kai eautō pýpraroskeithai, òpws Ís álloptrios tou kriuoménou Ïwν ἐξετάζhetai, oi mēn ētiovn, óti Í nómov Ï h tou despóton metallagē katallúsesthai ēmelle, Ín Í d' anagkaión autō Ófasskon èinai, Ïtì polloi Ïia Ï touto kai Ïtè autō Ókeínw kai Ïtè tais Ïrkhain svnístantw.

6 Metà Ï dè taúta Ïn te Ïgemonía, kaiíper Ïffeís, Ïs Ólesev, èpëidh Ï déka Ïtì Ïa Ïeútera èxelhlythei, Ïkwn dèthe autìs Ïpésthe, kai Ïtè touz Keltouz èsttráfeuse. kai autós mēn Ïn Ï h oíkeía Ïpémeinev, Ï Ï Ï dè Ï h Tíbérivos Ïn Ïn 'Rhínon dièðh. Ïòbheíntes Ïn Ï autōu Ïi bárbraroi plívn tōn Sýgambrwv1 èparkhrékusan, kai Ïùte tōte ètuníon tinos (o Ï Ï Arýunostos Ïh Ïfēì sfísoin Ïneu Ïkeíwv Ïspéísevthai) Ïùth' Ïsteredon. èpemwván

2 mēn Ïar kai Ïi Sýgambrwv2 prósbeis, tousouton Ï dé èdèshván3 diapráxhsthai Ïi Ïste kai Ïkeíwns pántas, kai polllou kai Ïlloígmos Ïntas, pròs-

1 Sýgambrwv Bucher, kantárbrwv M, kantárbrwv Uo.
2 Sýgambrwv Reim., sýgambrwv M and Uo.
3 èdèshván Uo, èdèhðhshván M.
any illegal methods. This action of his was approved by all; but it was otherwise with another of his laws. As it was not permitted that a slave should be tortured for evidence against his master, he ordered that, as often as the necessity for such a course should arise, the slave should be sold either to the state or to him, in order that, being now no longer the property of the defendant, he might be examined. Some found fault with this, on the ground that the change of masters would in effect nullify the law; but others declared it to be necessary, because many were taking advantage of the old arrangement and conspiring against both the emperor himself and the magistrates.

After this, now that his second period of ten years had expired, Augustus once more accepted the supreme power,—though with a show of reluctance,—in spite of his oft-expressed desire to lay it down; and he made a campaign against the Germans. He himself remained behind in Roman territory, while Tiberius crossed the Rhine. Accordingly all the barbarians except the Sugambri, through fear of them, made overtures of peace; but they gained nothing either at this time,—for Augustus refused to conclude a truce with them without the Sugambri,—or, indeed, later. To be sure, the Sugambri also sent envoys, but so far were they from accomplishing anything that all these envoys, who were both many and distinguished, perished into the bargain. For Augustus arrested them and placed them in various cities; and they, being greatly distressed at this, took their own lives. The Sugambri were thereupon quiet for a time, but later they amply requited the Romans for their calamity.
4 δοσαν. ο δ' οὖν Αὔγουστος τούτό τε οὖτως ἐποίησε, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀρχύριον, οὐχ ὡς καὶ κεκρατηκόσι, καίτοι τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἅνωμα καὶ αὐτὸς λαβὼν καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ δοῦσί, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸν Γάιον ἐν ταῖς γυμνασίαις τὸ τε πρῶτον συνεξετάζομενόν σφισιν ἔσχον, ἐχαρίσατο. 5 τὸν δ' οὖν Τιβερίῳν ἐς τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἀρχήν ἀντὶ τοῦ Δρούσου προαγαγὼν τῇ τε ἐπικλήσει ἐκείνη ἐγαύρωσε καὶ ὑπατον αὕθια ἀπέδειξε, γράμματὰ τε κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαίον ἔθος, καὶ πρὶν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐσελθεῖν, ἐκθεῖνα πρὸς τὸ κοίνον ἐποίησε, καὶ προσέτε καὶ τοῖς ἐπιμυκίοις 6 ἐσείμυνεν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐκείνα μὲν οὖν ἡθέλησε πέμψαι, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰ γενεθλία ἱπποδρομίαν ἄλλων ἑλαβε. τὰ τε τοῦ πωμηρίου ὅρια ἐπηύξησε, καὶ τὸν μὴν τὸν Σεξτίλιον ἐπικαλούμενον Αὔγου- 7 στὸν ἀντωνόμασθε· τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων τὸν Σεπτέμ- βριον οὖτως, ἐπειδὴ περ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐγεγένητο, προσαγορεῦσαι ἐθελησάντων ἐκεῖνον αὐτοῦ προ- ετίμησεν, ὅτι καὶ ὑπατος ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ πρῶτον ἀπεδέδεικτο καὶ μάχας πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐνενικήκει. 7 Ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τούτως ἐγαυρώτο, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Μαϊκήνον τελευτήσαντος ἠληγε. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀλλὰ ἄπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπώνυμο, ὅτεν καίπερ ἤπει αὐτῷ ὑπήκοο καὶ τὸ ἀστυ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐπέτρεψε, μάλιστα δὲ ὅσαίκες ἄκρατοτέρῳ τῷ θυμῷ ἐχρήτο· τῆς τε γὰρ ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ ἀεὶ 2 παρέ- 2 λυε καὶ ἐς τὸ ἡπτώτερον μεθίστη. τεκμήριον δὲ, δικαζόντι ποτε αὐτῷ προσστάς, καὶ ἰδὼν ὅτι

1 μὴν R. Steph., μὲν μὴν M.
2 ἀεὶ omitted by M, but added in margin by early corrector.
Besides doing this, Augustus granted money to the soldiers, not as to victors, though he himself had taken the title of imperator and had also conferred it upon Tiberius, but because then for the first time they had Gaius taking part with them in their exercises. So he advanced Tiberius to the position of commander in place of Drusus, and besides distinguishing him with the title of imperator, appointed him consul once more, and in accordance with the ancient practice caused him to post up a proclamation before entering upon the office. He also accorded him the distinction of a triumph; for he did not wish to celebrate one himself, though he accepted the privilege of having his birthday permanently commemorated by Circensian games. He enlarged the pomerium and changed the name of the month called Sextilis to August. The people generally wanted September to be so named, because he had been born in that month; but he preferred the other month in which he had first been elected consul and had won many great battles.  

All these things filled him with pride; but he was grieved at the death of Maecenas. He had received many benefits at his hands, for which reason he had entrusted him, though but a knight, with the oversight of the city for a long period; but he had found him of especial service on occasions when his own temper was more or less uncontrollable. For Maecenas would always banish his anger and bring him to a gentler frame of mind. Here is an instance. Maecenas once came upon him as he was holding court, and seeing that he was on the point

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πολλοὺς θανατώσειν μέλλοι, ἑπεχείρησε μὲν διώσασθαι τοὺς περιεστηκότας καὶ ἐγγὺς οἱ προσελθεῖν, μὴ δυνηθεῖσι δὲ ἦγραψεν ἐς γραμματέαν ἀνάστηθι ἢδη ποτὲ, δήμε, καὶ αὐτὸ ὡς καὶ ἐτερῶν τι ἔχου (ἐς τὸν κόλπον αὐτοῦ ἔρριψεν, ὅστ' ἐκεῖνον μὴν ἀποκτεῖναι τινα καὶ 3 εὐθὺς ἐξαναστήναι. οὐ γὰρ ὅπως ἦγανάκτει τοῖς τοιούτοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔχαρεν ότι ὅσα αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τε τῆς ἐαυτοῦ φύσεως καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνάγκης καὶ παρὰ τὸ προσήκον ἐθυμοῦτο, τάυτα

4 τῇ τῶν φίλων παρρησία διωρθοῦτο. μέγιστον δ' ὅν τε καὶ ἐκεῖνο τῆς τοῦ Μαικήνου ἀρετῆς δεύγμα ἦν, ὅτι τῷ τε Αὔγουστῳ, καίτοι πρὸς τὰς ὅρμας αὐτοῦ ἀνθιστάμενος, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοίς πᾶσιν ἥρεσκετο, πλείστον τε παρ' αὐτῷ δυνηθεῖσι, ὥστε πολλοῖς καὶ τιμᾶς καὶ ἀρχὰς δοῦναι, οὐκ ἐξεφρόνησεν ἀλλὰ ἐν 1 τῷ τῶν ἱππέων τέλει κατε-

5 βίῳ. τούτων τε οὖν ἑνεκα ἰσχυρῶς αὐτὸν ὁ Αὔγουστος ἐπόθησε, καὶ ὅτι καὶ κληρονόμοι αὐτῶν, καίπερ ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικὶ δυσκολαίνων, κατέλιπε, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ πλὴν ἐλαχίστων ἐποίησατο ἀν τε τινὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ δοῦναι τι ἐθελήσῃ ἀν τε καὶ μή. τοιούτως μὲν ὁ Μαικήνας ἐγένετο, καὶ

6 οὕτω τῷ Αὔγουστῳ ἐχρήτο· πρῶτος τε κολυμβήθραν θερμοῦ ὕδατος ἐν τῇ πόλει κατεσκεύασε, καὶ πρῶτος σημεῖα τινα γραμμάτων πρὸς τάχος

1 ἐν supplied by Reim. (and so Zon. cod. B).
BOOK LV

of condemning many people to death, he attempted to push his way through the bystanders and get near him. When he was unable to do this, he wrote on a tablet, "Pray rise at last, executioner!" Then he threw the tablet into the lap of Augustus, as if it contained some indifferent matter, and the emperor imposed no death sentences, but arose and departed. Indeed, he not only was not displeased at such liberties, but was actually glad of them, because whenever he was led into unseemly outbursts of passion by his natural disposition or by the stress of his affairs, these were corrected by the frank speech of his friends. This also was a supreme proof of Maecenas' excellence, that he not only made himself liked by Augustus, in spite of resisting his impulsiveness, but also pleased everybody else, and though he had the greatest influence with the emperor, so that he bestowed offices and honours upon many men, yet he did not lose his poise, but was content to remain in the equestrian order to the end of his life. Not only for these reasons, then, did Augustus regret his loss exceedingly, but also because Maecenas, although vexed at the emperor's relations with his wife, had left him as his heir and had empowered him to dispose of all his property, with very few reservations, in case he wished to make gifts to any of his friends or otherwise. Such was the character of Maecenas and such was his treatment of Augustus. He was the first to construct a swimming-pool of warm water in the city, and also the first to devise a system of symbols to give speed in writing,¹ and

¹ This invention is usually ascribed to Tiro, Cicero's freedman; and Aquila is said to have made improvements upon his system.
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ἐξεῖρε, καὶ αὐτὰ διὰ Ἀκύλου ἀπελευθέρων συν-χυνούς ἐξεδίδαξε.

8 Τιβέριος δὲ ἐν τῇ νομηνίᾳ ἐν ἦ ὑπατεύειν μετὰ Γναίου Πίσσωνος ἦρξατο ἐς τὸ ὁκταούνιον¹ τὴν βουλὴν ἥθρουε διὰ τὸ ἐξώ τοῦ πωμηρίου αὐτὸ εἶναι, καὶ τὸ ὁμονόειον αὐτὸς ἑαυτῳ ἐπι- σκευάσας προστάξας, ὅπως τὸ τε ἱδίον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δρούσου ὄνομα αὐτῷ ἐπιγράψῃ, τὰ τε νικητήρια ἦγαγε καὶ τὸ τεμένισμα τὸ Λίουνω ὄνομα μεμένον καθιέρωσε μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς· καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν γερουσίαν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, ἐκείνη δὲ τὰς γνω-καὶ ἵδια ποιο εἰστίασε. καὶ οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον κινθέντων τινών ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ ἡξωρμήθη· τὴν δὲ δὴ πανήγυριν τὴν ὑπέρ τῆς ἐπανόδου τοῦ Ἀὐγούστου γενομένην ὁ Γάιος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ σὺν τῷ Πίτωνι διέθηκε. τὸ τε πεδίον τὸ Ἀγρίππειον, πλὴν τῆς στοάς, καὶ τὸ διηβιτώριον² αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀὐγούστος ἐδημοσίευσε. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ (ἡν δὲ οἶκοσ μέγιστος τῶν πῶπτος μίαν ὀροφὴν σχόντων· νῦν γὰρ δὴ πάσης τῆς στέγης αὐτοῦ καθαρε-θείσης, ὅτι οὐκ ἦδυνθη αὕτης συστήνα, ἀχανής ἑστιν) ὁ τε Ἀγρίππας οἰκοδομούμενον κατέλιπε, καὶ τότε συνετελεσθη· ἦ δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ στοά, ἤν ἡ Πώλλα ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ ἡ καὶ τοὺς δρόμους διακοσμήσασα ἐποίει, οὐδέπω ἐξείργαστο. κἀ̃ ντούτῳ καὶ αἱ ἐπιτάφιοι ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππα ὀπλο- μαχίαι, φαινόν ἐσθῆτα τῶν τε ἄλλων πλῆν τοῦ Ἀὐγούστου καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν νιέων αὐτοῦ λαβόντων,

¹ ὁκταούνιον Dind., ὁκταούνιον M.
² διηβιτώριον Bk., δειριβιτώριον M.
³ αἱ Dind., οἱ M.
he used Aquila, a freedman, to train a considerable number in the system.

Tiberius on the first day of the year in which he was consul with Gnaeus Piso convened the senate in the Curia Octaviae, because it was outside the pomerium. After assigning to himself the duty of repairing the temple of Concord, in order that he might inscribe upon it his own name and that of Drusus, he celebrated his triumph, and in company with his mother dedicated the precinct called the precinct of Livia. He gave a banquet to the senate on the Capitol, and she gave one on her own account to the women somewhere or other. A little later, when there was some disturbance in the province of Germany, he took the field. The festival held in honour of the return of Augustus was directed by Gaius, in place of Tiberius, with the assistance of Piso. The Campus Agrippae and the Diribitorium were made public property by Augustus himself. The Diribitorium was the largest building under a single roof ever constructed;\(^1\) indeed, now that the whole covering has been destroyed, the edifice is wide open to the sky, since it could not be put together again. Agrippa had left it still in process of construction, and it was completed at this time. The portico in the Campus, however, which was being built by Polla, Agrippa's sister, who also adorned the race-courses, was not yet finished. Meanwhile the funeral combats in honour of Agrippa were given, all except Augustus putting on black clothing and even Agrippa's sons doing the same. There were not

\(^1\) The Diribitorium was used for the sorting (diribere) of the ballots used in voting. Pliny (\textit{Nat. Hist.} xvi. 201 and xxxvi. 102) speaks of its remarkable roof; this was destroyed by fire in 80 A.D. (cf. Dio, lxvi. 24).
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καὶ ἕνος πρὸς ἑνα καὶ πλειόνων πρὸς ἵσους, ἐν τοῖς σέπτοις διὰ τε τὴν ἐς τὸν 'Αγρίππαν τιμήν καὶ διὰ τὸ πολλά τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν οἰκοδομημάτων κε-6 καῦσθαι, ἐγένοντο. καὶ τὸ μὲν τοῦ πυρὸς αἰτίων ἐς τοὺς χρεωφέιλας ἀνεφέρετο, ὡς καὶ ἐπίτηδες αὐτὸ παρασκευάσαντας ἵν' ἀποκόψωσι τι τῶν χρεῶν, συνῦν δόξαντες ἐξημιώσθαι· ἔτυχον δὲ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐδενός, οἱ δὲ δὴ στενωποὶ ἐπιμελητῶν τινῶν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου, οὕς καὶ στενωπάρχους καλοῦ-7 μὲν· καὶ σφισὶ καὶ τῇ ἐσθήτῃ τῇ ἀρχικῇ καὶ ῥαβδούχους δύο, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς χωρίοις ὁν ἀν ἄρχωσιν, ἡμέραις τισὶ χρήσθαι ἐδόθη, ἢ τε δου-λεία ἢ τοῖς ἀγορανόμοις τῶν ἐμπιμπραμένων ἕνεκα συνούσα ἐπετράπη, καίτοι καὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τῶν δημάρχων τῶν τε στρατηγῶν πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν, δεκατέσσαρα 1 μέρη νεμηθεῖσαν, κλήρῳ προσταχθέντων· ὅ καὶ νῦν γίγνεται.

9 Τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ ἑτεὶ τούτῳ ἐπράξθη· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῇ Γερμανίᾳ οὐδὲν ἄξιον μνήμης συνέβη· τῷ δὲ ύστέρῳ, ἐν φ. Γαίος τε 'Αντίστιος καὶ Λαίλιος Βάλβος ὑπάτευσαν, ἵδικυ ὁ Αὔγουστος τὸν τε Γαίον καὶ τὸν Λούκιον αὐτοὺς τε μὴ πάνυ, οἷα ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ τρεφομένους, τὰ ἐαυτοῦ ἡθη ξηλούντας (οὐ γὰρ ὅτι ἀβρότερον δῆγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐθρα-σύνοντο· ἐς γοῦν τὸ θέατρόν ποτε καθ' ἑαυτὸν 2 ὁ Λούκιος ἐσῆλθε) καὶ πρὸς πάντων τῶν(ἐν τῇ

1 δεκατέσσαρα R. Steph., δεκατέσσερα Μ.

400
only combats between single champions but also between groups of equal numbers on either side; and they were held in the Saepta both as an honour to Agrippa and because many of the structures around the Forum had been burned. The blame for the fire was laid upon the debtor class, who were suspected of having contrived it on purpose, in order that they might have some of their debts remitted when they appeared to have lost heavily. They, for their part, however, gained nothing from the fire; but the streets were put in charge of supervisors, chosen from the people, whom we call street commissioners. These men were allowed to use the official dress and two lictors, but only in the regions under their administration and on certain days, and they were given control over the force of slaves which had previously been associated with the aediles to save buildings that caught fire. The aediles, however, together with the tribunes and praetors, were still assigned by lot to have charge of the whole city, which was divided into fourteen wards. This is also the present arrangement.

These were all events of that year, for nothing worthy of mention happened in Germany. The next year, in which Gaius Antistius and Laelius Balbus were consuls, Augustus was vexed when he saw that Gaius and Lucius were by no means inclined of their own choice to emulate his own conduct, as became young men who were being reared as members of the imperial house. They not only indulged in too great luxury in their lives, but were also inclined to insolence; for example, Lucius on one occasion entered the theatre unattended. They

\[1 \text{ Curatores viarum.} \]
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πολεῖ, τὰ μὲν γνώμη τὰ δὲ θεραπεῖα, κολακευομένους\(^1\) κὰκ τούτου ἐτε καὶ μᾶλλον θρυπτομένουσ\(^1\)
(τὰ τε γὰρ ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπατον τὸν Γάιον μηδὲ
ἐς ἐφήβους πω τελοῦντα προεχειρίσαντο\(^2\)), ἡγα-
νάκτησε, καὶ προσεπηρύξατο μηδεμιάν τοιαύτην
καιρὸν ἀνάγκην ὅποια ποτὲ\(^3\) αὐτὸν κατέλαβε
γενέσθαι, ὡστε τινὰ νεώτερον εἰκοσιετοὺς ὑπα-
τεῦσαι. ἐπειδὴ τε καὶ ὃς ἐνέκειντο οἱ, τότε ἐφῇ χρή-
ναι τινὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην λαμβάνειν, ὅταν μήτε
τι αὐτὸς ἀμαρτάνει καὶ ταῖς τοῦ δήμου σπουδαῖς
ἀνθίστασθαι δύνηται. καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' ἱερωσύνην
μὲν τινὰ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον συμφοίτησιν
tὸ τε συνθεάσθαι καὶ τὸ συνειστάσθαι τῇ θουλῇ
ἐδωκε. θουληθεὶς δὲ ἐς τρόπον\(^4\) τινὰ\(^5\) μᾶλλον
αὐτοὺς σωφροῦσαί, τῷ Τιβερίῳ τὴν τε ἐξουσίαν
tὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐς πέντε ἑτῆ ἤνειμε\(^6\) καὶ τὴν
Ὑμενίαν ἀλλοτριουμένην μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Τιγράνου
θάνατον προσέταξε.\(^7\) συνέβη δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκεῖνος
καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ μάτην προσκροῦσαι, τοῖς μὲν ὅτι
παρεσώρασθαι ἐδοξαίν, τῷ δὲ ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν
ἐφοβήθη. ἀμέλει καὶ ἐς 'Ρόδου ως καὶ παιδεύ-
σεως τίνος δεόμενος ἑστάλη, μήτ' ἄλλους τίνας
μήτε τὴν θεραπείαν πᾶσαν ἐπαγόμενος, ἵν' ἐκ-
pοδῶν σφισί καὶ τῇ ὄψει καὶ τοῖς ἐργοῖς γένηται.
καὶ τὴν τε ὀδὸν ἰδιωτικῶς ἐποιήσατο, πλὴν καθ'

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1 κολακευομένους, θρυπτομένους Pflugk, κολακευόμενος, θρυπτό-
μενος M.
2 προεχειρίσαντο Rk., προεχειρίσατο M.
3 ποτὲ Xiph., τότε M.
4 Between τρόπον and ('Α)ρεί (chap. 10, 2) two folios have
been lost in M. The text here given is a combination of the
epítomes of Zon., Xiph., and the Excerpta Valesiana (see
Introd. to Vol. I. xviii ff.).

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BOOK LV

were being flattered by everybody in the city, sometimes sincerely and sometimes to curry favour, and consequently were being spoiled more and more. Among other things of this sort, the people had elected Gaius consul before he was as yet of military age. All this, as I have said, vexed Augustus, and he even prayed that no compelling circumstances might arise, as had once occurred in his own case, such as to require that a man less than twenty years old should become consul. When even so the people insisted, he then said that one ought not to receive the office until one was able not only to avoid error oneself but also to resist the ardent impulses of the populace. After that he gave Gaius a priesthood and also the right to attend the meetings of the senate and to behold spectacles and be present at banquets with that body. And wishing in some way to bring Gaius and Lucius to their senses still more sharply, he bestowed upon Tiberius the tribunician power for five years, and assigned to him Armenia, which was becoming estranged since the death of Tigranes. The result was that he needlessly offended not only his grandsons but Tiberius as well; for the former felt they had been slighted, and Tiberius feared their anger. At any rate he was sent to Rhodes on the pretext that he needed incidentally a bit of instruction; and he did not even take his entire retinue, to say nothing of friends, the object being that Gaius and Lucius should be relieved both of the sight of him and of his doings. He made the journey as a private citizen, though he

5 τινὰ supplied by scribe of L'.
6 ένειμε Ξιφ., ἀπένειμε Ζον.
7 προσέταξε Rk., προσήξε Ξιφ., προσέκληρωσεν Ζον.
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οσον τούς Παρίους τὸ τῆς Ἑστίας ἄγαλμα πω-
λῆσαι οἱ ἡνάγκασεν, ὅπως ἐν τῷ Ὀμονοεῖο
ιδρυθῇ καὶ ἐσ τὴν νήσου ἔλθὼν οὐδὲν ὄγκηρον
7 οὔτε ἐπραττεν οὔτε ἐλεγεν. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀλη-
θεστάτη αἰτία τῆς ἐκδημίας αὐτοῦ τοιαύτην ἐστὶ,
λόγον δὲ τινὰ ἔχει καὶ διὰ τὴν γυναίκα τὴν
Ἰουλίαν, ὅτι μηκέτι αὐτὴν φέρειν ἐδύνατο, τούτῳ
ποιήσαι· κατέλυπε γοῦν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ. οἱ
δὲ ἐφασαν χαλεπῆναι αὐτὸν ὅτι μή καὶ Καίσαρ
ἀπεδείχθη οἱ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀὐγουστοῦ ὅσο καὶ
tοῖς παῖσιν αὐτοῦ ἐπιβουλεύουσα ἐκβλήθηναι.
8 ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὔτε παιδείας ἕνεκα οὔτε ἀβουλίας
tα δεδομένα ἀπεδήμησε, δῆλον έκ τε τῶν ἄλλων
δὲν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπραξε, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τὰς διαθήκας
αὐτὸν εὐθὺς τότε 2 καὶ λῦσαι καὶ τῇ μητρὶ τῷ τέ
Ἀὐγουστῳ ἀναγινώσκαν, ἐγένετο· κατεικάζετο πάνθρ
όσα ἐνεδέχετο.—Xiph. 100, 18–30, Exc. V. 177
(p. 662 sq.), Zon. 10, 35.
9 Τῷ δ' ἐφεξῆς ἔτει δωδέκατον ὑπατεύων ὁ Ἀὐ-
γουστος εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους τὸν Γαίον ἔταξε καὶ
ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἁμα εἰσήγαγε καὶ πρόκριτον
ἀπέφημε τῆς νεοτητος ἱλαρχον τῇ φυλής γενεσθαι
ἐπέτρεψε.—Zon. 10, 35.
10 Καὶ (μετ' ἐνιαυτόν) καὶ ὁ Δούκιος τὰς τιμάς
όσα τῷ Γαίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἐδέσωντο ἐλαβεν.
ἀθροισθέντος δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἐπανορθωθῆναι
τινα ἄξιοντος καὶ τοὺς δημάρχους διὰ τοῦτο
πρὸς τὸν Ἀὐγουστον πέμψαντο, ἦλθεν ἔκεινος
καὶ περὶ ὅν ἐδέσων σφίσι συνδιεσκέψατο καὶ
ἐπὶ τούτῳ 3 ἤσθησαν ἀπαντες.—Zon. 10, 35.

1 τοιαύτη cod. Peir., τοιάδε Val.
2 τότε Val., τὸ τότε cod. Peir.
3 τοῦτο ABCe, τούτῳ E.

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exercised his authority by compelling the Parians to sell him the statue of Vesta, in order that it might be placed in the temple of Concord; and when he reached Rhodes, he refrained from haughty conduct in both word and deed. This is the truest explanation of his journey abroad, though there is also a story that he took this course on account of his wife Julia, because he could no longer endure her; at any rate, she was left behind in Rome. Others said that he was angry at not having been designated as Caesar, and yet others that he was expelled by Augustus himself, on the ground that he was plotting against Augustus' sons. But that his departure was not for the sake of instruction nor because he was displeased at the decrees passed, became plain from many of his subsequent actions, and particularly by his opening his will immediately at that time and reading it to his mother and Augustus. But all possible conjectures were made.

The following year Augustus in the course of his twelfth consulship placed Gaius among the youths of military age, and at the same time introduced him into the senate, declared him princeps iuventutis, and permitted him to become commander of a division of cavalry.

And after the lapse of a year Lucius also obtained all the honours that had been granted to his brother Gaius. On one occasion, when the people had gathered together and were asking that certain reforms be instituted and had sent the tribunes to Augustus for this purpose, the emperor came and consulted with them about their demands; and at this all were pleased.
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10 'Ο δὲ Αὐγούστος τὸ τοῦ σιτοδοτουμένου πλήθος ἀόριστον ὄν ἐς εἴκοσι μυριάδας κατέκλεισε, καὶ ὃς γέ τινες λέγοντι, καθ' ἐνα ἐξήκοντα δραχμὰς ἔδωκε.—Xiph. 100, 30-101, 1.

1a 'Ὡς ἦ Αὐγούστου ἀγορὰ καθιερώθη.—Index to Bk. LV. 1. 6.

1b 'Ὡς ὁ τοῦ Ὁρεως ναὸς ὃ ἐν αὐτῇ ὃν καθιερώθη.—Index to Bk. LV. 1. 7.

2 . . Ἀρεί, ἐαυτὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἑγγόνους, ὅσακι ἂν ἐθελήσωσι, τοὺς τε ἐκ τῶν παίδων ἐξίοντας καὶ ἂ τοὺς ἐφήβους ἑγγαραφομένους ἐκείσθε πάντως ἀφικνεῖσθαι, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς ἐκδήμους στελλομένους ἐκείθεν ἀφορμᾶσθαι, τάς τε γνώμας τὰς (περὶ τῶν νυκτηρίων ἐκεῖ τὴν βουλήν ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τοὺς πέμψαντας αὐτὰ τῷ Ἀρεί τούτῳ καὶ τὸ σκήπτρον καὶ τὸν στέφανον ἀνατιθέμεναι, καὶ ἐκείνους τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τους τὰς ἐπινικίους τιμὰς λαμβάνοντας ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἁλκοῦς ἰστασθαί, ἄν τε ποτὲ σημεία στρατιωτικὰ ἐς πολεμίους ἀλόντα ἀνακομισθῇ, ἐς τὸν ναὸν αὐτὰ τίθεσθαι, καὶ πανηγυρίν τις ἀπὸ τοὺς ἀνα-βασμοῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν αἰε ἱλαρχοῦντων ποιεῖσθαι, ἢλὸν τε αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῶν τιμητευσάντων προσπήγνυσθαι, καὶ τὴν τε παράσχεσιν τῶν ἵππων τῶν ἐς τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν ἀγωνιομένων

1 σιτοδοτουμένου L', σιτοδοτουμένου VC.
2 Ἀρεί Morell, ρεῖ ᾫ.
3 ἱλαρχοῦντων Bk., εἰλαρχοῦντων M.

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Augustus limited the number of people to be supplied with grain, a number not previously fixed, to two hundred thousand; and, as some say, he distributed a largess of sixty denarii to each man.

[How the Forum of Augustus was dedicated.]
[How the Temple of Mars therein was dedicated.]

... to Mars, and that he himself and his grandsons should go there as often as they wished, while those who were passing from the class of boys and were being enrolled among the youths of military age should invariably do so; that those who were sent out to commands abroad should make that their starting-point; that the senate should take its votes there in regard to the granting of triumphs, and that the victors after celebrating them should dedicate to this Mars their sceptre and their crown; that such victors and all others who received triumphal honours should have their statues in bronze erected in the Forum; that in case military standards captured by the enemy were ever recovered they should be placed in the temple; that a festival should be celebrated beside the steps of the temple by the cavalry commanders of each year;¹ that a nail should be driven into it by the censors at the close of their terms;² and that even senators should have the right of contracting to supply the horses that were to compete in the Circensian games, and also to take

¹ The seviri equitum.
² This custom is not elsewhere recorded in the case of the censors. In early times a nail was driven each year into the side of the cella of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, for the purpose of keeping official count of the years. After the practice had lapsed for a time, it was again revived on the occasion of great disasters or dangers, as a propitiatory rite, and a dictator was sometimes chosen for this sole purpose in the absence of both consuls.
καὶ τὴν τοῦ ναὸν φυλακῆν καὶ βουλευταῖς ἐργολαβεῖν ἐξείναι, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ἐνενομοθέτητο. 6 Ἔπει μὲν τούτους τὸ μέγαρον ἐκεῖνο ὁ Ἀὐγοῦστος ἔθεισε, καίτοι τῷ τε Γαῖᾳ καὶ τῷ Δούκῳ πάντα καθάπαξ τὰ τοιαύτα ἱεροῦ ἐπιτρέψας ὑπατικὴ τινὶ ἀρχῇ (κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν) χρωμένους. καὶ τὴν γε ἱπποδρομίαν αὐτοὶ τότε διεθέσαν, τὴν τε Τροίαν καλουμένην οἱ παῖδες οἱ πρῶτοι μετὰ τοῦ. 7 Ἀγρίππου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῶν ἱππεύσαν. καὶ λέοντες ἔξηκοντα καὶ διακόσιοι ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ ἐσφάγησαν. ὄπλομαχία τε ἐν τοῖς σέπτοις καὶ ναυμαχία ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐν οἴκοι καὶ νῦν ἐτί σημεῖα τινα αὐτῆς δείκνυται Περσῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐποιήθη· ταύτα γὰρ τὰ ὀνόματα τοῖς ναυμαχοῦσιν 8 ἐτέθη, καὶ ἐνίκων καὶ τότε οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. καὶ μετὰ τούτο ἐς τὸν Φλαμίνιον ἱππόδρομον ὑδωρ ἐσήχθη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κροκόδειλοι ἑξ καὶ τριᾶκοντα κατεκόπησαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ διὰ πασῶν τῶν ἥμερῶν τούτων ὁ Ἀὐγοῦστος ὑπάτευσεν, ἀλλ' ἔπ' ὀλίγον ἀρξας ἀλλὰ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς ὑπατείας ἔδωκε. 9 Τῷ μὲν οὖν "Ἀρει ταῦτ', ἐγένετο, αὐτῷ δὲ δὴ τῷ Ἀὐγοῦστῳ ἄγων τε ἱερὸς ἐν Νέᾳ πόλει 3 τῇ Καμπανίδι, λόγῳ μὲν ὃν τοῖς κακοθείσαν αὐτὴν καὶ ὕπο σεισμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἄνελαβεν, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῶν Ἐλλήνων μόνοι τῶν προσχώρων 10 τρόπον τινὰ ἐξῆλθον, ἐγνήσθη, καὶ ἡ ἐπισυμία ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀκριβῶς ἐδόθη· πρότερον γὰρ ἄλλως

1 αὐτῶν Morelli, αὐτῶ M.
2 κροκόδειλοι R. Steph., κορκόδειλοί M.
3 Νέα πόλει Bk., νεαπόλει M.

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general charge of the temple, just as had been provided by law in the case of the temples of Apollo and of Jupiter Capitolinus.

These matters settled, Augustus dedicated this temple of Mars, although he had granted to Gaius and Lucius once for all the right to consecrate all such buildings by virtue of a kind of consular authority that they exercised in the time-honoured manner. And they did, in fact, have the management of the Circensian games on this occasion, while their brother Agrippa took part along with the boys of the first families in the equestrian exercise called "Troy." Two hundred and sixty lions were slaughtered in the Circus. There was a gladiatorial combat in the Saepta, and a naval battle between the "Persians" and the "Athenians" was given on the spot where even to-day some relics of it are still pointed out. These, it will be understood, were the names given to the contestants; and the "Athenians" prevailed as of old. Afterwards water was let into the Circus Flaminius and thirty-six crocodiles were there slaughtered. Augustus, however, did not serve as consul during all these days, but after holding office for a short time, gave the title of the consulship to another.

These were the celebrations in honour of Mars. To Augustus himself a sacred contest\(^1\) was voted in Neapolis, the Campanian city, nominally because he had restored it when it was prostrated by earthquake and fire, but in reality because its inhabitants, alone of the Campanians, tried in a manner to imitate the customs of the Greeks. He also was given the strict right to the title of "Father"; for hitherto he had

\(^1\) Cf. li. 1, 2.
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ἀνευ ψηφίσματος ἐπεφημίζετο. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐπάρχους τῶν δορυφόρων τότε πρῶτον Κύνντον τε Ὅστώριον Σκαπούλαν καὶ Πούπλιον Σάλουμον ἂπρον ἀπέδειξεν. οὕτω γὰρ τοι αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐγὼ μόνους τῶν ἐπαρχόντων τυνός, ἐπειδήπερ ἐκνευρίκηκεν, ὄνομαίζω. ἐποίησε μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ Πυλάδης ὁ ὀρχηστής πανηγυρίζω νῦν, οὐκ αὐτοὺς χειρουργήσας ἀτε καὶ ὑπέργηρως ἄν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε σκευῇ τῇ ἄρχικῇ καὶ τοῖς ἀναλώμασιν, ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ Κύνντος Κριστίνος στρατηγός. λέγω δὲ οὐ τοῦτο ἀλλ' ὁτι ἀνδρες τε ἰπτής καὶ γυναῖκες οὐκ ἀφανεῖς ἐστὶ τὴν ὀρχήστραν ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ ἐσθήθησαν.

11 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν οὐδεὶς λόγῳ ὁ Αὐγούστος ἐτίθετο, τὴν δὲ Ἰουλίαν τὴν θυγατέρα ἀσελγαῖνουσαν οὕτως ὥστε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ γε τοῦ βήματος καὶ κωμάζειν νύκτωρ καὶ συμπίνειν οὒε ποτε φωράσας ὑπερωργίσθη.

12 κατείκαζε μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρῶτον οὐκ ὁρθῶς αὐτὴν βιοῦν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπίστευεν οἱ γὰρ τοῖς ἕγεμονίας ἔχοντες πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ σφέτερα γυνώσκουσι, καὶ οὔτ' αὐτοὶ τι τοὺς συνόντας ὥν ποιοῦσι λανθάνουσιν οὔτε τὰ ἐκείνων ἀκριβεῖσθι.

13 τοῦτο δ' οὖν μαθὼν τὰ πραττόμενα τοσοῦτον ἐχρήσατο ὡστε μηδ' οἰκοι αὐτὰ 1 κατασχεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ γερονσίᾳ κοινωναι. (κακὸς τούτου) ἐκείνη (μὲν εἰς Παυδατερίαν τὴν πρὸς Καμπανίαν ἡ νῆσον ὑπερωρίσθη, καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ ἡ

1 αὐτὰ Rk., αὐτὸν M, αὐτὸν cod. Peir. Xiph.
2 Καμπανία Xiph., καμπανίαν M.
merely been addressed by that title without the formality of a decree. Moreover, he now for the first time appointed two prefects over the Praetorians, Quintus Ostorius Scapula and Publius Salvius Aper, —for I, too, apply this name “prefect” solely to them, of all who exercise a similar office, inasmuch as it has won its way into general use. Pylades, the dancer, gave a festival, though he did not perform any of the work himself, since he was very old, but merely wore the insignia of office and provided the cost of the entertainment; and the praetor Quintus Crispinus also gave one. I mention this only because it was on this occasion that knights and women of distinction were brought upon the stage. Of this, however, Augustus took no account; but when he at length discovered that his daughter Julia was so dissolute in her conduct as actually to take part in revels and drinking bouts at night in the Forum and on the very rostra, he became exceedingly angry. He had surmised even before this time that she was not leading a straight life, but refused to believe it. For those who hold positions of command, it appears, are acquainted with everything else better than with their own affairs; and although their own deeds do not escape the knowledge of their associates, have no precise information regarding what their associates do. In the present instance, when Augustus learned what was going on, he gave way to a rage so violent that he could not keep the matter to himself, but went so far as to communicate it to the senate. As a result Julia was banished to the island of Pandateria, lying off Campania, and her mother Scribonia

1 Praefecti praetorio.
2 The modern Ventotene, between the Ponza islands and Ischia.

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15 Σκριβωνία ἡ μήτηρ ἐκοῦσα συνεξέπλευς· τῶν δὲ δὴ χρησαμένων αὐτῇ ὁ μὲν Ἰουλλὸς ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ μοναρχίᾳ τούτῳ πράξει, ἀπέθανε μετ' ἄλλων τινῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐς νήσους ὑπερωρίσθησαν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ δήμαρχος τις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἦν, οὐ πρότερον πρὶν διάρρηξεν ἐκρίσθη. πολλῶν δὲ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἄλλων γυναικῶν ἐφ' ὤμοις τινὶς αὐτίκας λαβο- σῶν οὐ πάσας τὰς δίκας ἐδέξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρόνου τινὰ ἀφώρισεν ὡστε τὰ πρὸ ἐκείνων πραξακέντρα μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖσθαι. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς θυγατρὸς μηδὲν μετράσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ φήσας ὅτι Φοίβης πατὴρ μᾶλλον ἐκείνης γεγονέναι ἦθελε, τῶν ἄλλων ἐφείδετο. ἦ δὲ δὴ Φοίβη ἐξελευθέρα τῇ Ἰουλίᾳς καὶ συνεργὸς οὐσα προαπέθανεν ἐκουσία, διότερ καὶ ὁ Αὐγουστος αὐτῆς ἐπῆνεσε.—Xiph. 101, 21–32, Exc. V. 178b, 179 (p. 665).

17 "Οτι Γάιος τὰ στρατόπεδα τὰ πρὸς τῷ Ἰστρῳ εἰρήνικως ἔπειν· πόλεμον γὰρ οὐδένα ἐπολέμησεν, οὔχ ὅτι οὐκ ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐκείνος μὲν ἐν τῇ ἰσνυχίᾳ καὶ ἀσφαλείᾳ ἄρχειν ἐμάνθανεν, οἱ δὲ δὴ κίνδυνοι ἄλλοι προσετάσσετο.—Exc. V. 180 (p. 665).

18 Τῶν Ἀρμενίων δὲ νεωτερισάντων καὶ τῶν Πάρ- θων αὐτοῖς συνεργούντων ἀλγῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Ἀὐγουστος ἦπορει τί ἄν πράξῃ· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς στρατεύσαι οἶδο τῇ ἦν διὰ γηρας, ὁ τε Τιβέριος, ὃς εἰρηται, μετέστη ἤδη, ἄλλον δὲ τινὰ πέμψαι

1 Ἰουλλὸς Bs., Ἰουλίος M. cod. Peir. Xiph.
2 ὁ supplied by Bk.
3 Between ὡς καὶ and ἔτερος (10a, 1) two folios are lacking in M.
4 διάρρηξα Val., διαρπάσαι cod. Peir.
BOOK LV

voluntarily accompanied her. Of the men who had enjoyed her favours, Iullus Antonius, on the ground that his conduct had been prompted by designs upon the monarchy, was put to death along with other prominent persons, while the remainder were banished to islands. And since there was a tribune among them, he was not tried until he had completed his term of office. As a result of this affair many other women, too, were accused of similar behaviour, but the emperor would not entertain all the suits; instead, he set a definite date as a limit and forbade all prying into what had occurred previous to that time. For although in the case of his daughter he would show no mercy, remarking that he would rather have been Phoebe’s father than hers, he nevertheless was disposed to spare the rest. This Phoebe had been a freedwoman of Julia’s and her accomplice, and had voluntarily taken her own life before she could be punished. It was for this that Augustus praised her.

Gaius assumed command of the legions on the Ister with peaceful intent. Indeed, he fought no war, not because no war broke out, but because he was learning to rule in quiet and safety, while the dangerous undertakings were regularly assigned to others.

When the Armenians revolted and the Parthians joined with them, Augustus was distressed and at a loss what to do. For he himself was not fit for campaigning by reason of age, while Tiberius, as has been stated, had already withdrawn, and he did not
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tòν δυνατῶν οὐκ ἐτόλμα, ὦ Γάιος δὲ καὶ ὁ Δούκιος νέοι καὶ πραγμάτων ἐτύγχανον ἄπειροι. (ἀνάγκης δ’ ἐπικεφαλήνης τὸν Γάιον εἴλετο, καὶ τὴν τε ἐξου-
σίαν αὐτῷ τὴν αὐθώπατον καὶ γυναίκα ἔδωκεν, ἱνα κάκ τούτον τι προσάβη ἄξιωμα, καὶ οἱ καὶ

19 συμβούλους προσέταξε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀφωρμιθή ἐντίμως παρὰ πάντων ὑποδεχόμενος οἷα τού αὐτο-
κράτορος ἔγχοις ἥ καὶ παῖς νομιζόμενος, καὶ τὸ Τυβέριος ἐς Χίον ἐλθὼν αὐτὸν ἐθεράπευσε, τὰς
ὑποφίας ἀποτρέβωμεν’ ἐταπείνου τε γὰρ εἰστών καὶ ὑπὲπιπτεν οὖχ ὅτι τῷ Γαϊῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ 3 τοῖς
μετ’ αὐτοῦ οὔσι’ ἄπειθών δὲ εἰς τὴν Συρίαν καὶ μηδὲν μέγα κατωρθωκῶς ἐτρώθη.—Zon. 10, 36,
Xiph. 101, 32–102, 4.

20 Ὁτι ὡς ἐπίθυμον οἱ βάρβαροι τὴν ἐπιστρα-
τείαν τοῦ Γαϊοῦ, Φρατάκης 4 ἐπεμψε πρὸς τὸν
Αὐγουστοῦ, ὑπὲρ τῶν γεγονότων ἀπολογοῦμενος
καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐπὶ εἰρήνη ἀπαιτῶν· καὶ αὐτῷ
ἐκεῖνος Φρατάκης 4 ἀπλῶς 5 ἀνευ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως
ἐπικλήσεως, ἀντεπιστείλας, τὸ τε ὅνομα τὸ βα-
σιλικὸν καταθέσατε καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἀποστήναι
προσέταξεν. (ἐφ’ ὁ δὴ ὁ Πάρθος οὐχ ὅσον οὐ
κατέπτηξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντέγραψεν οἱ τὰ τε ἄλλα
ὑπερφρόνως, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν βασιλέα βασιλεῶν
ἐκεῖνον ἔκατε Ἀρκασδά μόνον ὅνομάσας. ὁ δὲ δὴ
Τιγράνης εὐθὺς μὲν οὐκ ἐπρεσβεύσατο, τοῦ δὲ
Ἀρταβάζου νόσῳ ύστερον τελευτήσαντος δώρα τε

1 οἱ καὶ AE, οἱ BCc.
2 νομιζόμενος ABC, λογιζόμενος E.
3 καὶ supplied by Bs.
4 Φρατάκης, Φρατάκη Bs., φρατάκης, φρακτάκη (but corrected by first hand to φρατάκη) Exc. Urs. cod. A, φρατάκτου Xiph. VL, φρατάκτου Xiph. C, φρατάκτη Xiph. VCL.

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BOOK LV

dare send any other influential man; as for Gaius and Lucius, they were young and inexperienced in affairs. Nevertheless, under the stress of necessity, he chose Gaius, gave him the proconsular authority and a wife,—in order that he might also have the increased dignity that attached to a married man, and appointed advisers to him. Gaius accordingly set out and was everywhere received with marks of distinction, as befitted one who was the emperor’s grandson and was even looked upon as his son. Even Tiberius went to Chios and paid court to him, thus endeavouring to clear himself of suspicion; indeed, he humiliated himself and grovelled at the feet, not only of Gaius, but also of all the associates of Gaius. And Gaius, after going to Syria and meeting with no great success, was wounded.

When the barbarians heard of Gaius’ expedition, Phrataces sent men to Augustus to explain what had occurred and to demand the return of his brothers on condition of his accepting peace. The emperor sent him a letter in reply, addressed simply to “Phrataces,” without the appellation of “king,” in which he directed him to lay aside the royal name and to withdraw from Armenia. Thereupon the Parthian, so far from being cowed, wrote back in a generally haughty tone, styling himself “King of Kings” and addressing Augustus simply as “Caesar.” Tigranes did not at once send any envoys, but when Artabazus somewhat later fell ill and died, he sent gifts to Augustus, in view of the

1 See note on liii. 13, 2.

5 ἀπλῶς Xiph., om. Exc. Urs.
6 ὑπερφάνως Exc. Urs., ὑπερηφάνως Xiph.
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τῷ Αὐγοῦστῳ, ὃς καὶ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου ὑπεξηρη-
μένου οἷ, ἔπεμψε, τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄνομα ἐς τὴν
ἐπιστολὴν μὴ ἐγγράψας, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν δῆθεν
παρ' αὐτοῦ ᾔτησε. τούτως τε ὁ ὑπαχθεῖς καὶ
τὸν πόλεμον ἀμα τὸν Παρθικὸν ἐφοβηθεὶς τὰ τε
dῶρα ἑδέσσατο, καὶ μετ' ἐλπίδων αὐτῶν χρηστῶν ἐς
tὴν Συρίαν πρὸς τὸν Γάιον ἑλθείν ἐκέλευσεν.—
Exc. U 36 (p. 390), Xiph. 102, 4—11.

10a . . . ἑτέρους ἐκ τῆς Αὐγοῦτου ἐπιστρατεύσασ-
tάς σφισάν ἀπεώσαντο, οὐ πρότερον τε ἐνδόσαν
πρὶν χιλίαρχον τινα ἐκ τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ ἐπ' αὐ-
tοὺς πεμφθήναι. καὶ ἑκείνος δὲ ἐν χρόνῳ τάς
καταδρομὰς αὐτῶν ἐπέσχεν, ὅστε ἐπὶ πολὺ μη-
dένα βουλευτὴν τῶν ταύτῃ πόλεων ἀρξαί.

2 Ταύτα τε οὖν ἀμα καὶ τὰ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐκαίνωθη,
ὁ γὰρ Δομίτιος πρότερον μὲν, ἔως ἔτι τῶν πρὸς
τῷ Ἴστρῳ χωρίων ἤρχε, τούς τε Ἐρμονυδοῦρος
ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας οὐκ οἶδ' ὡς ἐξαναστάντας καὶ
κατὰ ζήτησιν ἐτέρας γῆς πλανομένους ὑπολαβὼν
ἐν μέρει τῆς Μαρκομαννίδος κατάκισε, καὶ τὸν
Ἀλβίαν μηδενὸς οἱ ἐναντιουμένου διαβᾶς φιλίαν
τε τοῖς ἑκείνῃ βαρβάροις συννέθητο καὶ βωμὸν ἔπ'

3 αὐτοῦ τῷ Αὐγοῦστῳ ἱδρύσατο. τότε δὲ πρὸς τε
τὸν Ἰρηνοὺς μετελθῶν, καὶ ἐκπεσόντας τινὰς Χε-
ρούσκων καταγαγεῖν δι' ἑτέρων ἐθελῆσας, ἐδυστύ-
χησε καὶ καταφρονήσας σφών καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
βαρβάρους ἐποίησεν. οὐ μεῖνοι καὶ πλέον τι τῷ
ἐτεῖ ἑκείνῳ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπράξῃ. διὰ γὰρ τὸν
Παρθικὸν πόλεμον ὑπόγυνον ὑντα ὀνδεμία αὐτῶν
ἐπιστροφῆ τότε ἐγένετο.

1 τε Α (Β ? Β ?).
2 τὸν Παρθικὸν Βς., τῶν Πάρθων Uρ., τὸν Παρθικὸν Α (Β ? Β ?).

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fact that his rival had been removed, and though he did not mention the name "king" in his letter, he really did petition Augustus for the kingship. Influenced by these considerations and at the same time fearing the war with the Parthians, the emperor accepted the gifts and bade him go with good hopes to Gaius in Syria.

... others who marched against them from Egypt, and did not yield until a tribune from the pretorian guard was sent against them. This man in the course of time checked their incursions, with the result that for a long period no senator governed the cities in this region.

Coincident with these events there was an outbreak on the part of the Germans. Somewhat earlier Domitius, while still governing the districts along the Ister, had intercepted the Hermunduri, a tribe which for some reason or other had left their own land and were wandering about in quest of another, and he had settled them in a part of the Marcomannian territory; then he had crossed the Albis, meeting with no opposition, had made a friendly alliance with the barbarians on the further side, and had set up an altar to Augustus on the bank of the river. Just now he had transferred his headquarters to the Rhine, and in his desire to secure the return of certain Cheruscan exiles through the efforts of other persons had met with a reverse and had caused the other barbarians likewise to conceive a contempt for the Romans. This was the extent, however, of his operations that year; for in view of the Parthian war which was impending no attention was paid to the Germans at this time.
4 Οὐ μὴν οὖδε τοῖς Πάρθοις ἐπολεμήθη. ὁ γὰρ Φρατάκης τῶν Γαίων ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ὄντα καὶ ὑπατεύοντα ἀκόουσας, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰ οἰκεία μηδὲ πρότερον εὐνοϊκῶς οἱ ἔχοντα ὑποτοπῆςας, προκατηλλάγη ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῶς τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ ἀποστήναι καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ πέραν θαλάσσης εῖναι. οὐ γὰρ Ἀρμένιοι, καίπερ τοῦ τε Τιγράνου εἷς πολέμου τινὸς βαρβαρικοῦ φθαρέτως καὶ τῆς Ἑρατοῦς τῆν ἀρχήν ἀφείσης, ὡμοὶ ἐπειδὴ Ἀριοβαρζάνει τινὶ Μήδῳ, ὃς ποτε μετὰ τοῦ Τηριδάτου πρὸς τοὺς Ρωμαίους ἀφίκτω, παρεδίδοντο, ἐπολέμησαν σφιεσι τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει, ἐν Πούπλιος τε Οὐκίνιος καὶ Πούπλιος Οὐάρος ὑπά- τευσαν. καὶ ἀλλὸ μὲν οὖν ἀξιόλογον ἐδρασάν, Ἀδδων δέ τις τὰ Ἀρτάγερα κατέχων ὑπηγάγετο τὸν Γαίον ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος ὡς καὶ τῶν τοῦ Πάρθου τι ἀπορρήτων αὐτῷ φράσων, καὶ ἐτρώξεν αὐτόν, καὶ τούτου πολιορκηθεῖς ἐπὶ πλείστων ἀντέσχεν.
5 ἅλοντος δ' οὖν ποτε αὐτοῦ τὸ τε ὅνομα τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος οὐχ ὁ Αὐγουστος μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Γαίος ἐπέθετο, καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας τότε μὲν ὁ Ἀριοβαρζάνης, ἀποθανόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐ πολλῷ ὑστέρον Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ νῖος παρά τοῦ Αὐγου- 6 στοῦ καὶ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐλαβεν. ὃ δ' οὖν Γαίος ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἤρρωστησε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μηδ' ἄλλως υγειόν ἦν, ύφ' οὔπερ καὶ τῆς διά- νοιαν ἔξελένυτο, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἀπημβλύνθη. καὶ τέλος ἴδιωτεύειν τε ἦξιον καὶ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ που καταμείνα ἦθελεν, ὡστε τὸν Αὐγουστον περιαλ- γήσαντα τῇ τε γερονσίᾳ τὸ βούλημα αὐτοῦ

1 Τηριδάτου Dind., τειριδάτου Μ.
Nevertheless, war did not break out with the Parthians, either. For Phrataces, hearing that Gaius was in Syria, acting as consul, and, furthermore, having suspicions regarding his own people, who had even before this been inclined to be disloyal to him, forestalled action on their part by coming to terms with the Romans, on condition that he himself should renounce Armenia and that his brothers should remain beyond the sea. The Armenians, however, in spite of the fact that Tigranes had perished in a war with barbarians and Erato had resigned her sovereignty, nevertheless went to war with the Romans because they were being handed over to a Mede, Ariobarzanes, who had once come to the Romans along with Tiridates. This was in the following year, when Publius Vinicius and Publius Varus were consuls. And though they accomplished nothing worthy of note, a certain Addon, who was holding Artagira, induced Gaius to come up close to the wall, pretending that he would reveal to him some of the Parthian king's secrets, and then wounded him, whereupon he was besieged. He held out for a long time; but when he was at last captured, not only Augustus but Gaius also assumed the title of imperator, and Armenia was given by Augustus and the senate first to Ariobarzanes and then upon his death a little later to his son Artabazus. Gaius became ill from his wound, and since he was not robust to begin with and the condition of his health had impaired his mind, this illness blunted his faculties still more. At last he begged leave to retire to private life, and it was his desire to remain somewhere in Syria. Augustus, accordingly, grieved at heart, communicated his wish to the senate, and
κοινώσαι καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐς γοῦν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐλθόντα
9 πράττειν ὦ τι βουλίτου προτρέψασθαι. πάντ᾽ ὦν εὐθὺς τὰ τῆς ἁρχῆς ἅφεις ἐς Λυκίαν ἐν ὅλκαὶ ἄ
παρέπλευσε, κανταῦθα ἐν Διμύρῳς μετῆμπαξε. πριν δὲ ἡ τελευτήσαι αὐτὸν ὦ Δοῦκιος ἐν Μασ-
σαλίᾳ προαπέσβη· πολλαχῇ γάρ τοι καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἀλλοτε ἀλλη πεμπόμενος ἢσκεῖτο, καὶ τὰς γε τοῦ ᾿Γαῖου ἐπιστολὰς αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, ὀσάκις ἀν
παρεῖν, ἀνεγίγνωσκεν. ἀπέθανε δὲ ἐξαίφνης νοσή-
σας, ὥστε ἐπ᾽ ἀμφοτέροις σφίσει τὴν Διούλιαν, ἀλλως τε καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ὁ Τιβέριος ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκ τῆς Ῥόδου ᾱφίκετο, ὑποπτευ-
θήμαι. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἐμπειρῶτατος τῆς διὰ τῶν ἀστρων μαντικῆς ὄν, καὶ Ῥασύλλουν ἄνδρα πάσης ἀστρολογίας διαπεφυκότα ἔχων, πάντα καὶ τὰ ἔαυτῷ καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνοι πεπρωμένα ἀκριβῶς
10 ἡπίστατο· καὶ λόγου γε ἔχει ὅτι μελλῆσας ποτὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ τὸν Ῥασύλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ τεῖχους, ἐπειδὴ μόνος αὐτῷ πάνθ᾽ ὅσα ἐνενόει συνήδει, ὡσεὶν, οὐκέτι αὐτὸς ἐποίησε σκυθρωπάσαντα αὐτὸν ἱδὼν, οὕτω γε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι ἐπε-
ρωτηθεὶς διὰ τὰ συννενοφε, κίνδυνον τινα ὑπο-
πτευεν οἱ γενήσεσθαι ἔφη· θαυμάζας γάρ ὅτι καὶ τὴν μέλλησιν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ᾿προείδεν, φυ-
λάξαι αὐτὸν ἐαυτῷ διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἡθέλησεν.—
Zon. 10, 36.

3 Ὑπὸ γάρ που πάντα ἐκεῖνος σαφῶς ἦδει ὅστε καὶ τὸ πλοῖον τὸ τὴν ἀγγελίαν τῷ Τιβέριῳ τῆς ἐς 
tὴν Ῥώμην ἀνακομιδῆς παρά τε τῆς μητρὸς καὶ

1 αὐτὸ Xiph., αὐτῶι M.
2 Between ἐπιβουλῆς and Τιβέριον (13, 2) two more folios are lacking in M.
3 ἰπροείδεν supplied by Bs.

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urged him to come at least to Italy and then do as he pleased. So Gaius resigned at once all the duties of his office and took a trading vessel to Lycia, where, at Linyra, he passed away. But even before Gaius' death the spark of life in Lucius had been quenched at Massilia. He, too, was being trained to rule by being despatched on missions to many places, and it was his custom personally to read the letters of Gaius in the senate, whenever he was present. His death was due to a sudden illness. In connexion with both deaths, therefore, suspicion attached to Livia, and particularly because it was just at this time that Tiberius returned to Rome from Rhodes. Tiberius, it seems, was extremely well versed in the art of divination by means of the stars, and had with him Thrasyllus, who was a past-master of all astrology, so that he had full and accurate knowledge of what fate had in store both for him and for Gaius and Lucius. And the story goes that once in Rhodes he was about to push Thrasyllus from the walls, because he was the only one who shared all his own thoughts; but he did not carry out his intention when he observed that Thrasyllus was gloomy,—not, indeed, because of his gloom, but because, when asked why his countenance was overcast, the other replied that he had a premonition that some peril was in store for him. This answer made Tiberius marvel that he could foresee the mere project of the plot, and so he conceived the desire to keep Thrasyllus for his own purposes because of the hopes he entertained.

Thrasyllus had so clear a knowledge of all matters that when he descried, approaching afar off, the ship which was bringing to Tiberius the message from his

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παρά τοῦ Αὔγουστον φέρον πόρρωθεν κατιδων προσπλέον, προειπεῖν αὐτῷ ἀ ἀγγέλλειν ἔμελλεν. 1

12 Τοῦ δὲ Δουκίου τοῦ τε Γαίου τὰ σώματα διὰ τε τῶν χιλιάρχων καί διὰ τῶν ἐφ' ἐκάστης πόλεως πρῶτων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκομίσθη, καὶ αἱ πέλται τά τε δόρατα, ἃ παρὰ τῶν ἅπειρων ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐσίνωντες χρυσᾶ εἰλήφεσαν, ὡς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀνετέθη.—Xiph. 102, 25–103, 3.

2 Δεσπότης 2 δὲ ποτε 3 ὁ Αὔγουστος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ὄνομασθεῖς οὐχ ὅπως ἀπέιπε μιθέαν τούτῳ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τὸ προσρήματι χρήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ διὰ φυλακῆς αὐτὸ ἐποιησάτο. πληρωθείσης δὲ οἱ καὶ τῆς τρίτης δεκαετίας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τότε τὸ 4 τέταρτον, ἐκβιασθεὶς δῆσαν, ὑπεδέξατο, προάτερος τε καὶ ὁκυπρότερος ὑπὸ τοῦ γῆρως πρὸς τὸ τῶν βουλευτῶν τισιν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι γεγονός οὔδεν ἐτέ αὐτῶν προσκρούειν ἦθελεν.—Xiph. 103, 3–11, Zon. 10, 36.

3a Χιλίας τε καὶ πεντακοσίως μυριάδας δραχμῶν ἀτόκους τοὺς δεσπένους δανέσας ἐπ' ἑτη τρία, ἐπηνείτο παρὰ πάντων καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο.—Zon. 10, 36.

4 Ἐμπρησμοῦ δὲ ποτε τὸ παλάτιον διαφθείραντος, καὶ πολλῶν αὐτῷ πολλὰ διδόντων, οὔδ' ἐιλαβὲν ἦ μόνον παρὰ μὲν τῶν δήμων χρυσοῦν παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἱδιωτῶν δραχμῆν. χρυσοῦν γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸ νόμισμα τὸ τὰς πεντε καὶ εἴκοσι δραχμᾶς δυνάμενον κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχώριον ὄνομαζω καὶ τῶν Ἐλλήνων δὲ τίνες, ὃν τὰ βιβλία ἐπὶ τῷ ἀττικίζειν ἀναγινώσκομεν, οὔτως αὐτὸ ἐκάλεσαν.—Xiph. 103, 11–18, Zon. 10, 36.

1 ἔμελλεν V, ἦμελλε CL'. 2 δεσπότης VC, καὶ δεσπότης L'.

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mother and Augustus to return to Rome, he told him in advance what news it would bring.

The bodies of Lucius and Gaius were brought to Rome by the military tribunes and by the chief men of each city. And the golden targes and spears which they had received from the knights on entering the class of youths of military age were set up in the senate-house.

When Augustus was once called “master” by the people, he not only forbade that any one should use this form of address to him, but also took very good care to enforce his command. And now that his third ten-year period was completed, he accepted the leadership for the fourth time, though ostensibly under compulsion. He had become milder through age and more reluctant to incur the hatred of any of the senators, and hence now wished to offend none of them.

For lending sixty million sesterces for three years without interest to such as needed it he was praised and magnified by all.

Once, when a fire destroyed the palace and many persons offered him large sums of money, he accepted nothing but an aureus from entire communities and a denarius from single individuals. I here use the name aureus, according to the Roman practice, for the coin worth one hundred sesterces. Some of the Greeks, also, whose books we read with the object of acquiring a pure Attic style, have given it this name.
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Parà dé toîs "Ελλησιν έκκοσι δραχμών ὁ Δίων φησὶ τὸ χρυσὸν ἀλλάσσεσθαι νόμισμα.—Zon. 10, 36.

Ὁ δὲ Αὐγούστος τὴν οἰκίαν οἰκοδομήσας ἐδημόσιως πᾶσαν, εὕτε δὴ διὰ τὴν συντέλειαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ δήμου οἱ γενομένη, εὕτε καὶ ὁτι ἀρχιερεὺς ἦν, ἵν' ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἄμα καὶ ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς οἰκοῖς.

13 Τοῦ δὲ δήμου σφόδρα ἐγκειμένου τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἴνα καταγάγῃ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ, θάσσου ἐφ' ὑπὲρ ὑδατί μιχθήσεσθαι ἡ ἐκείνη καταχθήσεσθαι. καὶ ὁ δήμος πυρὰ ἐσ τὸν Τίβεριν πολλὰ ἐνέβαλε· καὶ τότε μὲν οὐδὲν ἤνυσεν, ὕστερον δὲ ἐξεβιάσατο ὡστε ἐς γοῦν τὴν ἡπειρον αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς νῆσου κομισθῆναι.—Xiph. 103, 19–28.

1a Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κελτικοῦ πολέμου κεκινημένου αὐτὸς ὕπὸ τε γῆρως καὶ νόσου κεκμηκός ἔχων τὸ σώμα καὶ ἐκστρατεύσαι μὴ οἶδός τε ὄν, πη μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναγκασθεὶς πη δ' ὑπὸ τῆς Ἰουλίας ἀναπεισθείς (ἡδὴ γὰρ αὕτη εκ τῆς ὑπεροφίας κατήχθη), [Zon. 10, 36]. τὸν Τίβεριον καὶ ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἐξέπεμψε, τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῶ τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐσ δέκα ἐτῆς δούσ. καὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ὑποπτεύσας πὴ ἐκφρονήσειν, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ νεοχωμόσῃ τι, τὸν Γερμανικὸν οἱ τὸν ἀδελφίδον καὶ τοῦ καὶ 3 αὐτῶ ὑδὸν ἔχοντι ἐσεποίησε. καὶ τοῦτων ἐπιθαρσήσας ὡς καὶ διαδόχους καὶ βοσθοῦς ἔχων, διαλέξας τὴν γερουσίαν αὕτης ἥθελησε, καὶ δέκα

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1 παρὰ Ι', ἐπὶ τὰ VC.
2 γῆρως E (ω corrected from ou), γῆρους ABCε.
3 αὕτη BCε, καὶ αὕτη AE. 4 τὸν supplied by Bs.
Among the Greeks, Dio says, the aureus is exchanged for twenty drachmas.\footnote{That is, for the equivalent of eighty, instead of a hundred, sesterces.}

When Augustus had built his house, he made it all state property, either on account of the contributions made by the people or because he was high priest and wished to live in apartments that were at once private and public. The people urged Augustus very strongly to restore his daughter from exile, but he answered that fire should sooner mix with water than she should be restored. And the people threw many firebrands into the Tiber; and though at the time they accomplished nothing, yet later on they brought such pressure to bear that she was at least brought from the island to the mainland.

Later, when a German war broke out and Augustus was worn out in body, by reason of old age and illness, and incapable of taking the field, he yielded, partly to the force of circumstances and partly to the persuasions of Julia, who had now been restored from banishment, and not only adopted Tiberius, but also sent him out against the Germans, granting him the tribunician power for ten years. Yet suspecting that he also would lose his poise somehow or other, and fearing that he would begin a rebellion, he made him adopt his nephew Germanicus, though Tiberius had a son of his own. After this he took courage, feeling that he had successors and supporters, and he desired to reorganize the senate once more. So he nominated the ten senators whom he most highly

\footnote{\textit{ἐξέπεμψε} supplied by Xyl.}
\footnote{\textit{ἐκέλνου} Xyl., \textit{ἐκέλνου} M. cod. Coisl.}
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βουλευτάς οὖς μάλιστα ἐτίμα προβαλόμενος ¹ τρεῖς ἢ π' αὐτῶν ἐξεταστὰς ἀπέδειξεν, οἷς ὁ κλήρος εἴλετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πολλοὶ οὔτε προκατέγνωσάν σφῶν ἐξουσίας αὐτοῖς δοθείσης, ὡσπερ καὶ πρότερον, οὔτ' ἀκοντες ἀπηλίφησαν.²

4 Τούτῳ μὲν δὴ δὶ' ἔτερων ἔπραξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπογραφᾶς τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατοικοῦντων καὶ μὴ ἐλάττω πέντε μυριάδων οὐσίαν κεκτημένων ἑποίησατο τοὺς γὰρ ἀσθενετέρους τοὺς τε ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας οἰκούντας οὐκ ἦνάγκασεν ἀπογράψασθαι, δεῖσας μὴ νεωτέρισσοι τι ταραχθέντες.

5 καὶ ὅπως γε μὴ δοξεῖν ὡς τιμητὴς αὐτὸ ποιεῖν, δὶ' ὅπερ εἴπον πρότερον, ἀνθύπατον ἐξουσίαν πρὸς τε τὸ τέλος τῶν ἀπογραφῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν 6 τοῦ καθαρσίου ποίησιν προσέθετο. ἐπειδὴ τε συχνοὶ τῶν νεανίσκων ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ γένους κὰκ τῶν ἄλλων ἢπέων ἐπένοιτο μηδὲν ἑπαίτιον ἔχοντες, τοὺς μὲν πλεῖοι τὸ τεταγμένον τίμημα ἀνεπλήρωσεν, οὐδοκόντα δὲ τισι καὶ ἐς 7 τριάκοντα αὐτὸ μυριάδας ἐπηύξησε. πολλῶν τε πολλοὺς ἀκρίτως ³ ἑλευθεροῦντον, διέταξε τὴν τε ἡλικίαν ἦν τὸν τε ἑλευθερώσοντα τινα καὶ τὸν ἀφεθησόμενον ὥπ' αὐτοῦ ἔχειν ἤθεο, καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα οἷς οἱ τε ἄλλοι πρὸς τούς ἑλευθερομένους καὶ αὐτὸι οἱ δεσπόται σφῶν γενόμενοι χρήσοιτο.

14 Πράσσοντι δὲ αὐτῷ ταύτα ἐπεβούλευσαν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Γναῖος Κορυήλιος θυγατρίδος τοῦ μεγάλου

¹ προβαλόμενος H. Steph., προβαλλόμενος M.
² ἀπηλίφησαν St., ἀπηλείφησαν M.
³ ἀκρίτως Casaub., ἀκριβῶς M.

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honoured and appointed three of them, selected by lot, to examine the qualifications of senators. There were not many, however, who were affected, either by declaring themselves disqualified when permission was given them to do so, as had been done on the previous occasion,\(^1\) or by having their names erased against their will.

Now Augustus caused others to carry through this business for him; but he himself took a census, but only of the inhabitants of Italy who possessed property worth at least two hundred thousand sesterces, for he did not compel the poorer citizens or those living outside of Italy to be listed, fearing lest if they were disturbed, they would become rebellious. And in order that he might not appear to be acting herein in the capacity of censor, for the reason I mentioned before,\(^2\) he assumed the proconsular power for the purpose of completing the census and performing the purification. Inasmuch, moreover, as many of the young men of the senatorial class and of the knights as well were poor through no fault of their own, he made up to most of them the required amount, and in the case of some eighty increased it to one million two hundred thousand sesterces. Since also many were freeing their slaves indiscriminately, he fixed the age which the manumitter and also the slave to be freed by him must have reached and likewise the legal principles which should govern the relations of both citizens in general and the former masters toward slaves were set free.

While he was thus occupied, various men for plots against him, notably Gnaeus Cornelius, a son

\(^1\) Cf. lli. 42, 2, and liv. 26, 4. \(^2\) Cf. liv. 1, 5-2, 1.
Πομπηίου ὃν, ὡστε ἐν μεγάλῃ αὐτῶν ἀμηχανίᾳ χρόνων τινὰ γενέσθαι, μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι σφας, ὅτι οὐδὲν πλέον πρὸς ἁσφάλειαν ἐκ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἑώρα οἱ γιγνόμενοι, μὴ ἀπολύσαι, μὴ καὶ ἑτέρους ἐκ τούτου ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπισπάσηται, ἐθέλοντα. 2 ἀποροῦντι τε ὅν ἀυτῷ ὁ τι πράξῃ, καὶ οὔτε μεθ' ἦμεραι ἀφροντιστεῖν οὔτ' αὐ νύκτωρ ἀτρεμεῖν δυναμένῳ ἐφὶ ποτὲ ἡ Διονία· "τί ἐστι τούτο, ὦ ἄνερ; διὰ τί οὐ καθεύδεις;"  
Καὶ ὁ Ἀὐγουστος· "καὶ τίς ἂν," εἶπεν, "ὁ γύναι, κἀν ἐλάχιστον ἀπομερμηρίσει τοσοῦτος τε ἀεὶ ἔχοντες ἔχων καὶ συνεχὼς οὕτως ἄλλοτε 3 ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐπιβουλευόμενος; ἢ οὖν ὅρας ὅσοι καὶ ἔμοι καὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἡμῶν ἐπιτίθενται; καὶ αὐτῶν οὐδὲ αἱ τιμωρίαι τῶν δικαιουμένων ἀνα- 
στέλλουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάν τοῦναντίον, ὡσπερ ἐπ' ἁγαθόν τι ἐπειγόμενοι, σπεύδουσι καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ προσαπόλλυσθαι." 4 Ἀκούσασα οὖν τούτων ἡ Διονία· "τὸ μὲν ἐπιβουλεύσαται σε," ἐφη, "οὔτε θαυμαστῶν οὔτε ἔξω τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπου ἐστὶ· καὶ γὰρ 
πρόσεις πολλὰ ἄτε τηλικαύτην ἀρχὴν ἔχων, καὶ λυπεῖς, ὡσπερ εἰκός, συχνοὺς. οὐ γὰρ ποὺ καὶ 
πᾶσιν οἶνον τε τὸν ἀρχοντα τινων ἄρεσκειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι πολλοῖς καὶ τὸν πάνυ ὅρθως 5 βασιλεύουντα ἀνάγκη. πολλῷ τε γὰρ πλείους 
τῶν δικαιῶν τι πραπτόντων οἱ ἀδικεῖν ἐθέλοντέσ 
eἰσιν, ὃν ἀδύνατον ἐστὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἀπο-
πιμπλάναντες καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν τινα ἐχόντων 
οἱ μὲν καὶ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων, ὃν οὐ δύνανται
BOOK LV

of the daughter of Pompey the Great. Augustus A.D. 4 was consequently in great perplexity for some time, since he neither wished to put the plotters to death, inasmuch as he saw that no greater safety would accrue to him by their destruction, nor to let them go, for fear this might induce others to conspire against him. While he was in doubt what to do and was finding it impossible either to be free from apprehension by day or from restlessness by night, Livia one day said to him: "What means this, husband? Why is it that you do not sleep?"

And Augustus answered: "What man, wife, could even for a moment forget his cares, who always has so many enemies and is so constantly the object of plots on the part of one set of men or another? Do you not see how many are attacking both me and our sovereignty? And not even the punishment of those who are brought to justice serves to check them; nay, quite the opposite is the result—those who are left are as eager to accomplish their own destruction also as if they were striving for some honourable thing."

Then Livia, hearing this, said: "That you should be the object of plotting is neither remarkable nor contrary to human nature. For you do a great many things, possessing so large an empire as you do, and naturally cause grief to not a few. A ruler can not, of course, please everybody; nay, it is inevitable that even a king whose rule is altogether upright should make many men his enemies. For those who wish to do wrong are far more numerous than those who do right, and it is impossible to satisfy their desires. Even among such as possess a certain excellence, some covet many great rewards which they
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tυχεῖν, ἐπορέγονται, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἑτέρων ἐλαττωθέντες ἀχθοῦνται, καὶ οὕτως ἄμφοτεροι τὸν κρά-
6 τοῦντα αἰτιῶνται. ὡστε ἐκ τοῦτων μὴ εἶναι κακοῦ ἁμαρτάνειν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτι-
θεμένων οὕτι γε καὶ σοὶ ἂλλα τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ. σὲ μὲν γὰρ ἰδιωτεύοντα οὐδ' ἀν εἰς ἐθελοντής κακοῦ
τι, μηδέν γε προπαθῶν, ἐποίησε· τής δὲ δὴ ἀρχής καὶ τῶν ἁγαθῶν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πώντες, καὶ οἱ γε
ἐν δυνάμει τινὶ οὕτως πολὺ μᾶλλον τῶν ὑποδει-
7 στέρων, ὄργινώνται. τούτῳ γὰρ ἦστι μὲν ἄδικων ἄνθρωπων καὶ ἢκιστα νοῦν ἔχοντων ποιεῖν, οὐ
μὴν ἂλλ' ἐν τῇ φύσει αὐτῶν καθάπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἐνεστὶ, καὶ οὐχ οἶον τέ ἦστι τὰ τοιάδυτα οὔτε
πείθοντα οὔτ' ἀναγκάζοντα ἐξελέσθαι τινῶν
οὕδεις γὰρ οὐτε νόμος οὔτε φόβος κρείττων τῶν
8 φύσει πεφυκότων γίγνεται. ταῦτ' οὖν λογίζομενος
τὰς μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἁμαρτίας μὴ δυσχέραινε, φυλακὴν δ' ἀκριβῆ καὶ σεαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς μοναρχίας
ποιοῦ, ἵνα αὐτὴν μὴ ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα κολάξειν τινᾶς
ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα φυλάσσειν ἁσφαλῶς ἔχωμεν.

15 Πρὸς οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Αὐγουστος· "ἀλλ' οἶδα μὲν
καὶ ἐγώ, ὦ γύναι, ὅτι οὔτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν μεγάλων
ἐξω φθόνου καὶ ἐπίζουλῆς καθέστηκεν, ἢκιστα
2 δὲ αὐταρχία· καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἵσοθεοὶ ἦμεν, εἰ μὴ
καὶ πράγματα¹ καὶ φροντίδας καὶ φόβους ὑπέρ
πάντας τοὺς ἰδιωτεύοντας ἔχομεν. ἐμὲ δὲ δὴ καὶ
αὐτὸ τοῦτο λυπεῖ, ὅτι καὶ ἀναγκαίον ἔστι ταὐθ'
οὕτως γίγνεσθαι, καὶ ἄδυνατον θεραπεῖαν τινὰ
αὐτῶν εὑρεθήναι."

3 "Ἀλλ' ἐπειδῆ γε τινὲς τοιοῦτοι εἰσιν οἴοι

¹ πράγματα Xiph., πράγμα Μ.

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can not obtain, and some chafe because they are less
honoured than others; hence both these classes find
fault with the ruler. Therefore it is impossible to
avoid meeting with mischief, either at the hands of
these or, in addition, at the hands of those who
attack, not you personally, but the monarchy. For
if you were a private citizen, no one would willingly
have done you any harm, unless he had previously
received some injury; but all men covet the office of
ruler and the good things that office affords, and
those who already possess some power covet much
more than those who are lacking in this respect. It
is, indeed, the way of men who are wicked and have
very little sense to do so; in fact, it is implanted in
their nature, just like any other instinct, and it is
impossible either by persuasion or by compulsion to
destroy such instincts in some of them; for there
is no law and no fear stronger than the instincts im-
planted by nature. Reflect on this, therefore, and
do not be vexed at the shortcomings of the other
sort of men, but as for your own person and your
sovereignty, keep close guard of them, that we may
hold the throne securely, not by the strictness of the
punishments you inflict upon individuals, but by the
strictness with which you guard it.”

To this Augustus replied: “But, wife, I, too, am
aware that no high position is ever free from envy
and treachery, and least of all a monarchy. Indeed,
we should be equals of the gods if we had not
troubles and cares and fears beyond all men in
private station. But precisely this is what causes my
grief,—that this is inevitably so and that no remedy
for it can be found.”

“Yet,” said Livia, “since some men are so con-
πάντως ἄδικεῖν ἐθέλειν," εἶπεν ἡ Διονία, "ἡμεῖς
gε αὐτούς φυλαττόμεθα. ἔχομεν δὲ καὶ στρα-
tῶτας πολλοὺς, ὃν οἱ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους
ἀντιτεταγμένοι οὐ δὲ καὶ περὶ σὲ ὄντες φρουροῦσιν
ἡμᾶς, καὶ θεραπεῖαν πολλῆν, ὡστε καὶ οὐκοί καὶ
ἐξώ δι’ αὐτούς ἀσφαλῶς ἔστην."

4 Ῥπολαβῶν οὖν ὁ Ἀὐγουστος: "ὅτι μὲν πολλοὶ
πολλάκις καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν συνόντων ἐφθάρη-
σαν, οὐδὲν," ἔφη, "δέομαι λέγειν. πρὸς γὰρ
τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τούτ’ ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις χαλεπώ-
tατόν ἔστιν, ὅτι μὴ μόνον τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡσπερ
οἱ ἄλλοι, ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς φίλους φοβούμεθα.

5 καὶ πολὺ γε πλείους ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων, ἀτε καὶ
ἀεί, καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ, καὶ γυμνουμένοις
σφίσι καὶ καθεύδουσι σιτία τε καὶ ποτὰ ὑπ’
αὐτῶν παρεσκευασμένα λαμβάνουσι συγγνω-
μένων, ἐπεζουλεύθησαν ἣ ὑπὸ τῶν μηδὲν προση-
κόντων τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα, καὶ πρὸς μὲν ἐκείνους
ἔστι τούτους ἀντιτάξαν, πρὸς δὲ τούτους αὐτοὺς

6 οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλῳ τινὶ συμμάχῳ χρήσασθαι. ὥσθ’
ἡμῖν διὰ πάντων δεινὸν μὲν τὴν ἐρημίαν δεινὸν
dὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ φοβερὰν μὲν τὴν ἀφυλαξίαν
φοβερωτάτους δὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς φύλακας, καὶ χαλε-
pους μὲν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς χαλεπωτέρους δὲ τοὺς
φίλους εἶναι. φίλους γὰρ ἀνάγκη πάντας σφᾶς,

7 καὶ μὴ ὤσί, καλεῖσθαι. εἰ δ’ ὄντι τις καὶ χρηστῶν
αὐτῶν τύχων, ἀλλ’ οὕτι γε οὕτω πιστεύειν ἄν
σφίσιν ὡστε καὶ ἄφροτιστο ἀν ἀνυπόπτω τῇ ψυχῇ προσομιλεῖν. τοῦτο τε οὖν

1 φίλους M, φίλους Xiph.
2 καὶ added (between lines) by corrector in M, om. Xiph.
flor.

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BOOK LV

stituted as to want to do wrong in any event, let us guard against them. We have many soldiers who protect us, some arrayed against foreign foes and others about your person, and also a large retinue, so that by their help we may live in security both at home and abroad.”

“I do not need to state,” Augustus answered and said, “that many men on many occasions have perished at the hands of their immediate associates. For monarchies have this most serious disadvantage in addition to all the rest, that we have not only our enemies to fear, as have other men, but also our friends. And a far greater number of rulers have been plotted against by such persons than by those who have no connexion with them at all, inasmuch as his friends are with the ruler both day and night, when he takes his exercise, when he sleeps, and when he takes the food and drink which they have prepared. For the ruler labours under this special disadvantage as regards his friends, that, although he can protect himself from his enemies by arraying his friends against them, there is no corresponding ally on whom he may rely to protect him from these very friends. Consequently we rulers find it to be true at all times, that whereas solitude is dreadful, company also is dreadful, that whereas unprotectedness is terrifying, the very men who protect us are most terrifying, and that whereas our enemies are difficult to deal with, our friends are still more difficult. ‘Friends,’ I say, for friends they must all be called, even if they are not friends. And even if one should find loyal friends, still one could by no means so completely trust them as to associate with them with a sincere, untroubled, and unsuspecting
καὶ τὸ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι ἀμύνεσθαι πάντειν ἔστιν. τὸ γάρ τοι τιμωρεῖσθαί τε καὶ κολάζειν ἀεὶ τινὰς ἀναγκάζεσθαί μεγάλην ἀχθηδόνα τοῖς γε ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι φέρει.

16 “Ἀλλ’ ὀρθῶς γε λέγεις,” ἀπεκρίνατο ἡ Διονία, “καὶ σοι γνώμην δοῦναι ἔχω, ἃν γε καὶ προσδέξασθαι αὐτὴν ἐθελήσῃ, καὶ μὴ διαμέμψῃ ὅτι γυνὴ οὕσα τολμῶ σοι συμβουλεύσαι τι οἶνον οὐδὲ ἄν εἰς ἅλλος οὐδὲ τῶν πάνω φίλων παρανέσθειν, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἱσασίν αὐτό, ἀλλ’ ὅτι οὐθαρσοῦσιν εἰπέν.”

2 “Λέγ’,” ἡ δὲ ὁ Ἀὔγουστος, “ὅ τι δὴ ποτε τοῦτό ἔστιν.”

Ἡ οὖν Διονία “φράσω,” ἐφη, “μηδὲν κατοκηνήσασα, ἀτε καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ κακὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἱσοῦ σοι ἔχουσα, καὶ σωζόμενον μέν σου καὶ αὐτὴ τὸ μέρος ἄρχουσα, δεινὸν δέ τι παθόντος, ὅμὴ γενοῖτο, συναπολομμένη. εἰ γὰρ τοι ἡ τε φύσις ἢ ἀνθρωπίνη πάντως τι ἀμαρτάνειν τινὰς ἀναπείθει, καὶ ἀμήχανον ἔστιν αὐτὴν πρᾷξαι τι ὀρμημένην ἐπισχεῖν, καὶ ἢδη γε καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ δοκοῦντα τισὶν ἀγαθὰ εἶναι, ἵνα μὴ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν κακίας εἴπω, καὶ πάνυ συχνοὺς ἄδικεῖν ἐπαιρεῖ (καὶ γὰρ γένους αὐχεμα καὶ πλούτου φρονῆμα τιμῆς τε μέγεθος καὶ ἐπ’ ἀνδρείᾳ θράσος ἐξουσίας τε ὅγκος πολλοῦς ἐξοκέλλειν ποιεῖ), καὶ μήτε τὸ γενναῖον δυσχεῖν μήτε τὸ ἀνδρεῖον δειλὰν μήτε τὸ ἐμφρον ἄνουν ἔστι ποιησάι (ἀδύνατον γάρ), μήτ’ αὐ τὰς περιουσίας τινῶν περικόπτειν

1 διαμέμψῃ R. Steph., διαπέμψῃ M Xiph.
2 ἐπ’ ἀνδρείᾳ Wolf, ἐπ’ ἀνδρείας M, ἐπ’ ἀνδριαν Xiph.

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heart. This situation, then, and the necessity of taking measures to protect ourselves against the other group of plotters, combine to make our position utterly dreadful. For to be always under the necessity of taking vengeance and inflicting punishments is a source of great sorrow, to good men at least."

"You are indeed right," answered Livia, "and I have some advice to give you,—that is, if you are willing to receive it, and will not censure me because I, though a woman, dare suggest to you something which no one else, even of your most intimate friends, would venture to suggest,—not because they are not aware of it, but because they are not bold enough to speak."

"Speak out," replied Augustus, "whatever it is."

"I will tell you," said Livia, "without hesitation, because I have an equal share in your blessings and your ills, and as long as you are safe I also have my part in reigning, whereas if you come to any harm, (which Heaven forbid!), I shall perish with you. If it indeed be true that man's nature persuades some persons to err under any and all conditions, and that there is no way to curb man's nature when it has once set out upon a course of action, and that even what some men look upon as good conduct (to leave out of consideration the vices of the many) is forthwith with an incentive to wrongdoing to very many men (for example, boasting of high birth, pride of wealth, loftiness of honours, arrogance of bravery, conceit of power—all these bring many to grief); if it be true that one can not make ignoble that which is noble, or cowardly that which is brave, or prudent that which is foolish (for that is impossible); if, on the other hand, one ought not to curtail the abundance
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η τὰς φιλοτιμίας ταπεινών μηδέν γε πλημμελούν των χρή (ἀδικον γάρ), τό τ’ ἀμυνόμενον ή καὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντά τινας καὶ ἀνιάσθαι καὶ κακοδοξεῖν ἀναγκαίον ἔστι, φέρε μεταβαλόμεθα καὶ τινὸς αὐτῶν φεισώμεθα. καὶ γὰρ μοι 1 δοκεῖ πολλῷ πλεῖω φιλανθρωπία ἢ τινὶ ὀμότητι κατορθοῦσθαι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ συγγνώμονας οὐ μόνον οἱ ἐλεηθέντες ὑπ’ αὐτῶν φιλούσιν, ὡστε καὶ ἀμείβεσθαι σφας σπουδάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ άλλοι πάντες καὶ αἰδοῦνται καὶ σέβουσιν, ὡστε μὴ εὐτολμεῖν αὐτῶς ἀδικεῖν· τοὺς δ’ ἀπαραίτητοις ὀργαῖς χρωμένους οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι μόνοι οὐ τι φοβοῦμενοι μισοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες δυσχεραίνουσι, καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐπίβουλουσιν αὐτοῖς, ἓνα μὴ προσπόλωνται.

17 "Ἡ οὖχ ὤρας ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἱατροί τὰς μὲν τομὰς καὶ τὰς καύσεις σπανίωτατα τις προσέρχοντοι, ἵνα μὴ ἐξαγριαίνωςιν αὐτῶν τὰ νοσήματα, τοῖς δὲ αἰσθήμασι καὶ τοῖς ἕττοις φαρμάκοις τὰ πλεῖο μαλθάσσοντος θεραπεύουσι; μὴ γὰρ, ὅτι ἐκεῖνα μὲν τῶν σωμάτων ταῦτα δὲ τῶν ψυχῶν παθήματά ἐστι, διαφέρειν τι νομίσῃς αὐτά ἀλλήλων. 2 πάμπολλα γὰρ ἰτομία τρόπου τινὰ καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀσώματον ὄσιν, καὶ 2 τοῖς σώμασι συμβαίνει· συνετέλλονται τε γὰρ ὑπὸ φόβου καὶ ἐξοιδούσιν ὑπὸ θυμοῦ, λύπη τε τινας κολούει καὶ θάρσος ὅγκοι, ὡστ’ ὀλῖγον σφόδρα τὸ παραλλάττον αὐτῶν εἶναι, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ παραπλησίων ἱαμάτων αὐτὰ δεῖσθαι.

1 γάρ μοι Plfugk, μοι γάρ M.
2 ὃσιν καὶ flor., ὃσιν καὶ M (but & deleted by corrector).
of others or humble their ambitions, when they are guilty of no offence (for that were unjust); if, finally, the policy of defending oneself or even of trying to forestall the attacks of others inevitably leads to vexation and ill repute—if all this is true, come, let us change our policy and spare some of the plotters. For it seems to me that far more wrongs are set right by kindness than by harshness. For those who forgive are not only loved by the objects of their clemency, who will therefore even strive to repay the favour, but are also respected and revered by all the rest, who will therefore not readily venture to harm them; those, on the other hand, who indulge in inexorable resentment are not only hated by those who have something to fear, but are also disliked by all the rest, and are in consequence even plotted against by them in their desire to avoid meeting with destruction first.

"Do you not observe that physicians very rarely resort to surgery and cautery, desiring not to aggravate their patients' maladies, but for the most part seek to soothe diseases by the application of fomentations and the milder drugs? Do not think that, because these ailments are affections of the body while those we have to do with are affections of the soul, there is any difference between them. For also the minds of men, however incorporeal they may be, are subject to a large number of ailments which are comparable to those which visit their bodies. Thus there is the withering of the mind through fear and its swelling through passion; in some cases pain lops it off and arrogance makes it grow with conceit; the disparity, therefore, between mind and body being very slight, they accordingly
Λόγος τε γὰρ ἦπιος τῷ λεχθεὶσι πᾶν τὸ ἀγριαῖνον αὐτοῦ χαλαρά, καθάπερ πραξὶς ἔτερος καὶ τὸ ἀνειμένον ὄργιζεν καὶ συγγνώμη δοθεῖσα καὶ τὸν πάνυ θρασὺν διαχεῖ, καθάπερ ἡ τιμωρία καὶ τὸν πάνυ πράον χαλεπαίνει. αἱ μὲν γὰρ βίαιοι πράξεις ἄει πάντας, κἀν δικαιόταται ὃσι, παροξύν. Οὔσιν, αἱ δὲ ἐπιεικεῖς ἡμεροῦσι. καὶ διὰ τὸ τοῦτο πεισθείς ἂν τις ῥᾴδιον καὶ τὰ δεινότατα ἐκὸν ἢ βιασθείς ὑπομείνειν. καὶ οὕτω γε φύσει τοῖς ἀναγκαῖοι ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν χρῆται, ὡστε καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ξίων τῶν μηδένα νοῦν ἐχόντων πολλὰ μὲν καὶ τῶν ἵσχυροτάτων καὶ ἀγριωτάτων θωπείαις τέ τισι τιθασεῦται καὶ δελεάσμασι χειροῦται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν δειλοτάτων καὶ ἀσθενεστάτων λυπήμασι τε καὶ φόβοις καὶ ἑκταρράτεαι καὶ παροξύνεται.

18 "Καὶ οὐ λέγω τοῦτο ὃτι δεῖ πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν ἀδικούντων φείδεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὃτι τὸν μὲν ἴτην καὶ πολυπράγμωνα καὶ κακοήθη καὶ κακόβουλου καὶ ἀνηκέστω τινὶ καὶ διαρκεὶ πονηρίᾳ συνόντα ἐκκόπτειν ὡσπερ ποιοῖ καὶ τὰ πάνυ ἀνίατα μέρη τῶν σωμάτων, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων ὡσοὶ τι νεότητι ἢ ἀμαθία ἢ ἄγνοια ἢ καὶ ἐτέρα τινὶ συντυχία οἱ μὲν ἐκόντες οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀκούτες ἀμαρτάνουσιν, τοὺς μὲν λόγοις νοοθετεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπειλαῖς σωφρονίζειν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐτεροί τινα τρόπον μετρίως πως μεταχειρίζεσθαι, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δούλων

1 μὲν ἴτην Χιφ., μενίτην Μ.
require cures of a similar nature. Gentle words, for example, cause all one's inflamed passion to subside, just as harsh words in another case will stir to wrath even the spirit which has been calmed; and forgiveness granted will melt even the utterly arrogant man, just as punishment will incense even him who is utterly mild. For acts of violence will always in every instance, no matter how just they may be, exasperate, while considerate treatment mollifies. Hence it is that a man will more readily submit to the most terrible hardships—and gladly, too,—if he has been persuaded, than if compulsion has been put upon him. And so true it is that, in following both these courses, man is subject to a compelling law of nature, that even among the irrational animals, which have no intelligence, many of the strongest and fiercest are tamed by petting and subdued by allurements, while many even of the most cowardly and weak are aroused to fury by acts of cruelty which excite terror in them.

"I do not mean by this that we must spare all wrongdoers without distinction, but that we must cut off the headstrong man, the meddlesome, the malicious, the trouble-maker, and the man within whom there is an incurable and persistent depravity, just as we treat the members of the body that are quite beyond all healing. In the case of the rest, however, whose errors, committed wilfully or otherwise, are due to youth or ignorance or misapprehension or some other adventitious circumstance, we should in some cases merely rebuke them with words, in others bring them to their senses by threats, and in still others apply some other form of moderate treatment, just as in the case of slaves, who commit now
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άλλων ἀμαρτανόντων ἄλλα 1 τοὺς μὲν μείξοι τοὺς δὲ ἐλάττοσι πάντες κολάξουσιν. ὥστε καὶ τὰ κατὰ τούτους ἀκινδύνους μετριάζειν ἐξεστί σοι, τοὺς μὲν φυγῇ τοὺς δὲ ἀτιμία τοὺς δὲ χρήμασι ξημιοῦτι, ἐτέρους ἐς χωρία ἐτέρους ἐς πόλεις τινὰς καταπιθεμένω.

“Καὶ ἤδη γέ τινες καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ τυχεῖν ὃν ἠλπίζου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ διαμαρτεῖν ὃν ἐφίεντο ἑσώ-φρονίσθησαν. ἐδραί τε ἅτιμοι καὶ στάσεις ἐπονείδιστοι τὸ τε προλυπηθήναι καὶ τὸ προ- φοβηθήναι συχνοὺς βελτίων ἐποίησε· καίτοι καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἐλοίτ' ἀν τις εὐ τε γεγονὼς καὶ ἀνδρείας ὃν ἡ τοιοῦτο τι παθεῖν. ἐξ οὖν τούτων ἔκείνους μὲν οὐδὲν ράων ἡ τιμωρία, ἄλλα καὶ χαλεπωτέρα γίγνοντ' ἀν, ἡμῖν δὲ δὴ τὸ μῆτε τινὰ ἐπηγορίαν ἐξείναι καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ζῆν υπάρξειν. ὡς νῦν γε πολλοὺς, μὲν ὀργῇ, 2 πολλοὺς δὲ ἐπιθυμία χρη-μάτων, ἄλλους ἀνδρείας φόβῳ καὶ μάλα ἄλλους ἄρετῆς τινος φθόνῳ κτείνειν δοκοῦμεν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἱδίως πιστεύει ότι τις ἐν τε ἐξουσία καὶ ἐν δυνάμει τοσαύτῃ ὃν ὑπ' ἰδιότου τινὸς ἀόπλου 3 ἐπιβουλευθήναι δύναται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ταύτα λογοποιοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ότι ψευδὴ πολλὰ ἀκούομεν καὶ πολλοῖς μάτην ὡς καὶ ἀληθέσι προσέχομεν. τοὺς γὰρ τοῦ διοπτεύοντάς τε καὶ ὀτακουστοῦντας 4 τὰ τοιαῦτα, τοὺς μὲν ἔχθρα

1 δούλων ἄλλων ἀμαρτανόντων ἄλλα Capps, τάλλα ἀμαρτανόν-
tων R. Steph., δούλων timoralis Rk., τάλλα M Xiph.
2 πολλοὺς μὲν ὀργῇ supplied by Bs. M shows a lacuna of
fourteen to sixteen letters.
3 ἀόπλου R. Steph., ἀνόπλου M Xiph.
4 ὀτακουστοῦντας Xiph. and corrector in M, ὀτακουστάς M.

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this and now that offence, all men impose greater penalties upon some and lesser upon others. Hence, so far as these political offenders are concerned, you may employ moderation without danger, punishing some by banishment, others by disfranchisement, still others by a pecuniary fine, and another class you may dispose of by placing some in confinement in the country and others in certain cities.

"Experience has shown that men are brought to their senses even by failing to obtain what they hoped for and by being disappointed in the object of their desires. Many men have been made better by having assigned to them at the spectacles seats which confer no honour, or by being appointed to posts to which disgrace attaches, and also by being offended or frightened in advance; and yet a man of high birth and spirit would sooner die than suffer such humiliation. By such means their plans for vengeance would be made no easier, but rather more difficult, of accomplishment, while we on our part should be able to avoid any reproach and also to live in security. As things are now, people think that we kill many through resentment, many through lust for their money, others through fear of their bravery and others actually through jealousy of their virtues. For no one finds it easy to believe that a ruler who possesses so great authority and power can be the object of plotting on the part of an unarmed person in private station, but some invent the motives I have mentioned, and still others assert that many false accusations come to our ears and that we give heed to many idle rumours as if they were true. Spies, they say, and eavesdroppers get hold of such rumours, and then—actuated sometimes
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tous de ὅργη, ἀλλοις ἀργύριον παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν λαβόντας, ἀλλοις παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων μή λαβόντας, πολλὰ καὶ ψευδή σκευωρεῖσθαι φασίν, οὐ μόνον ὅτι τι δεινῶν ἐπραξάν τινες ἢ καὶ ποιήσεις μέλλουσι λέγοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἐφθέγξατο τοιοῦτο τι, ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐσιώτησεν, ἀλλος ἐγέλασεν, ἀλλος ἐδάκρυσεν.

19 "Μυρία ἄν τοιοτότροπα εἴπειν ἔχοιμι, ἂ
εἴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀλήθη ἐιθ', ἀλλ' οὐτί γε καὶ
προσήκοντά ἐστιν οὔτε πολυπραγμονεῖσθαι παρ' ἐλευθέρους ἀνθρώπους. οὔτε σοὶ διαγγέλλεσθαι.
λαθόντα μὲν γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὔδὲν ἂν σε βλά-
ψειεν, ἀκουσθέντα δὲ παροξύνει καὶ ἀκοντα.

2 ὅπερ ἤκιστα χρή ἀλλως τε καὶ ἄρχοντὶ τινων
συμβαίνειν. συχνοὺς γοῦν ἐκ τούτου, τοὺς μὲν
ἀκρίτους τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐσκευωρημένη τινὶ κατα-
γνώσει δικαστηρίου, ἀδίκως ἀπόλλυσθαι πολλοὶ
νομίζουσιν. οὔτε γὰρ τὰς μαρτυρίας οὔτε τὰς
βασάνους οὔτ', ἀλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων ὡς καὶ
3 ἀληθὲς ὅν κατ' αὐτῶν προσεῖνεται. ταύτα γὰρ
οὔτως, εἴ καὶ μὴ δικαίως ἐστιν ἡ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ
πάντων γε ὡς εἴπειν τῶν οὕτω θανατουμένων
θρυλεῖται. καὶ δεὶ σε, ὁ Αὐγουστε, μὴ μόνον
μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ δοκεῖν. ἠδιώτη μὲν γὰρ
ἀρκεῖ μηδὲν πλημμελεῖν, ἄρχοντι δὲ δὴ προσήκει
4 μηδὲ δόκησίν τινα αὐτοῦ λαμβάνειν. ἀνθρώπων
gὰρ, ἀλλ' οὐ θηρίων ἥγεμονεύεις· καὶ μόνως ἃν

1 πολλοὶ added by corrector in M, om. Xiph.
2 ὡς Xiph. V, om. M Xiph. C.
BOOK LV

by enmity and sometimes by resentment, in some cases because they have received money from the foes of their victims, in other cases because they have received none from the victims themselves—concoct many falsehoods, reporting not only that such and such persons have committed some outrage or are intending to commit it, but even that when so-and-so made such and such a remark, so-and-so heard it and was silent, a second person laughed, and a third burst into tears.

"I could cite innumerable instances of such a kind, which, no matter how true they may be, are surely not proper subjects for gentlemen to concern themselves about or to be reported to you. Such rumours, if ignored, would do you no harm, but if listened to, would irritate you even against your will; and that is a thing by all means to be avoided, especially in one who rules over others. It is generally believed, at any rate, that many men are unjustly put to death as the result of such a feeling, some without a trial and others by a prearranged conviction in court; for the people will not admit that the testimony given or the statements made under torture or any evidence of that nature is true or suffices for the condemnation of the victims. This is the sort of talk that does, in fact, go the rounds, even though it is sometimes unjust, in the case of practically all who are put to death by action of the courts. And you, Augustus, ought not only to avoid unjust action, but even the suspicion of it; for though it is sufficient for a person in private station not to be guilty of wrongdoing, yet it behooves a ruler to incur not even the suspicion of wrongdoing. You are ruling over human beings, not wild
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οὕτως εὖνοεῖν σοι αὐτοῦς ἄληθῶς ποιήσειας, ἄν πανταχόθεν σφᾶς καὶ διὰ πάντων ὁμοίως πείσης ὅτι μήτε ἐκών τινα μήτε ἄκων ἄδικήσεις. 1 φοβεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ τινα ἀναγκασθήναι τις δύναται, 5 φίλειν δὲ πεισθήναι οφείλει. πείθεται δὲ ἐξ ὅν ἂν αὐτὸς τε ἐν πάθῃ καὶ ἑτέρους ἐνεργετουμένους ἰδη. οὐ δ' ὑποτοπῆδας μὴ δικαίως τινά ἀπολογλέναι καὶ φοβεῖται μὴ ποτὲ τί ὁμοίων πάθη καὶ μυσεῖν τὸν δράσαντα αὐτῷ ἀναγκάζεται. τὸ δὲ δὴ μισεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων, πρὸς τῷ μηδ' 6 ἄλλως καλῶς ἔχειν, ἀλυσιτελέστατὸν ἔστι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ νομίζουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλοις ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πάντας τοὺς καὶ ὅτι οὖν ἄδικη- σαντᾶς σφας ἀμύνεσθαι, ἣν μὴτε καταφρονῶνται μὴτε ἐκ τούτου πλεονεκτῶνται, τοὺς δ' ἀρχοντας τοὺς μὲν τὸ κοινὸν ἄδικοουσιν ἐπεξίεναι χρῆναι, τοὺς δ' ἰδιὰ τι ἐς αὐτοὺς πλημμελεῖν δοκοῦντας φέρειν. μὴτε γὰρ ἐκ καταφρονήσεως μὴτε ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἄδικησθήναι σφας δύνασθαι διὰ τὸ πολλὰ τὰ προφυλάσσοντα αὐτοὺς εἶναι.

20 ""Ὡστε ἐγὼ γαρ ταύτα τε ἀκοῦονα καὶ πρὸς ταύτα ἀποβλέπονσα κινδυνεύω καὶ παντελῶς ἀπεισεῖν σοι μηδένα διὰ τοιοῦτο τι ἀποκτινύναι. 2 αἱ τε γὰρ προστασίαι ἐπὶ τε τῇ τῶν ἀρχομένων σωτηρία καθίστανται, ὅπως μηδὲν μὴθ' ὑπ' ἀλλή- λων μὴθ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων βλάπτωνται, οὐ μᾶ Δία ὑπὸ ὅπως ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἑκέινων τι λυπῶνται.

1 ἄδικήσεις ἅλορ., ἄδικήσεις Μ, ἄδικησελας ἤν Χιφ.
beasts, and the only way you can make them truly well disposed toward you is by convincing them, by every means and on every occasion consistently, that you will wrong no one, either purposely or unwittingly. A man can be compelled to fear another, but he ought to be persuaded to love him; and he is persuaded not only by the good treatment he himself receives, but also by the benefits he sees conferred on others. The man, however, who suspects that a certain person has been put to death unjustly both fears that he may some day meet a like fate and is compelled to hate the one who is responsible for the deed. And to be hated by one's subjects, quite apart from its being deplorable in general, is also exceedingly unprofitable. For most people feel that, although all other men must defend themselves against all who wrong them in any way or else become objects of contempt and so be oppressed, yet rulers ought to prosecute only those who wrong the state, tolerating those who are supposed to be committing offences against them privately; rulers, they reason, can not themselves be harmed either by contempt or by direct attack, inasmuch as there are many instrumentalities which protect them from both.

"I, therefore, when I hear such considerations advanced and turn my thoughts to them, am inclined to go so far as to urge you to give up altogether the inflicting of the death penalty in any case for reasons of this kind. For the office of ruler has been established for the preservation of the governed, to prevent them from being injured either by one another or by foreign peoples, and not for a moment that they may be harmed by the rulers themselves;
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καὶ εὐκλεέστατον ἐστὶν οὐ τὸ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπολλύναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ πάντας, ἀν οἶον τε ἦν. 3 σῶξειν δύνασθαι. παιδεύειν μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ νόμοις καὶ εὐρεγεσίαις καὶ νοουθεσίαις δεὶ, ὡπώς σωφρονίσσι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τηρεῖν καὶ φυλάττειν, ἢν κἂν ἄδικείν ἐθέλησον μὴ δυνηθώσιν: ἂν δὲ δὴ νοσήσῃ τι, θεραπεύειν τε τρόπον τῶν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπανορθοῦν, ἵνα μὴ παντελῶς φθαρῇ. τὸ τε γὰρ φέρειν τὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἀμαρτήματα καὶ πάντων μεγάλης καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ δυνάμεως ἐργον ἐστίν· ἂν τε τις πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα κατὰ τὴν ἄξιον κολάξῃ, λήσει τοὺς πλείους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπολέσας. οἶδεν καὶ διὰ ταύτα σοι γνώμην δίδωμι θανάτῳ μὲν μηδένα τῶν τοιούτων τιμωρεῖσθαι, ἔτέρως δέ πως αὐτοὺς, ὥστε μηδὲν ἐτί δεινῶν δράσαι, σωφρονίζειν. τί γὰρ ἂν ἄδικησεί τις ἐς νῆσον κατακλεισθεῖς, ἣ καὶ ἐν ἀγρῷ πόλει τὲ τινὶ, οὐχ ὡπῶς ἄνευ πλῆθους οἰκετῶν ἢ χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ φρουρᾶς ὅν, ἂν γε καὶ τούτου δεήσῃ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγγύς που ἐνταῦθα οἱ πολέμοι ἦσαν, ἢ καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης ἀλλότριον τι ἦν, ὥστε τινὰ αὐτῶν διαδράντα πρὸς ἐκεῖνος κακῶν τι ἡμᾶς ἐργάσασθαι, πόλεις τὲ τινὲς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἔχυραι καὶ τείχη καὶ ὀπλα ἔχουσαι ὑπήρχον, ὥστε τινὰ καταλαβόντα αὐτὰς. φοβερόν ἦμῖν γενέσθαι, ἔτερος ἂν ἦν λόγος· ἀόπλων δὲ δὴ πάντων τῶν ταύτη καὶ ἀτεἰχίστων ὡς πρὸς πόλε-

1 ἦν R. Steph., ἦν M.

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BOOK LV

and the greatest glory is gained, not by putting many citizens to death, but by being in a position to save them all, if that be possible. We must educate the citizens by means of laws and benefits and admonitions, in order that they may be right-minded, and furthermore, we must watch over them and guard them, in order that, even if they wish to do wrong, they may not be able to do so; and if there is any ailment among them, we must find some way to cure it and correct it, in order that the ailing member may not be utterly destroyed. To endure the offences of the multitude is a task demanding at once great prudence and great power; but if any one is going to punish them all without distinction as they deserve, before he knows it he will have destroyed the majority of mankind. Hence and for these reasons I give you my opinion to the effect that you should not inflict the death penalty upon any man for such offences, but should rather bring them to their senses in some other way, so that they will not in future commit any crime. What wrongdoing, indeed, could a man indulge in who is shut up on an island, or in the country, or in some city, not only deprived of a throng of servants and a supply of money, but also under guard, in case this, too, is necessary? Of course, if the enemy were anywhere near here or if some part of our sea belonged to a foreign power, so that one or another of the prisoners might escape to them and do us some harm, or if, again, there were strong cities in Italy with fortifications and armed forces, so that if a man seized them, he might become a menace to us, that would be a different story. But in fact all the places here are unarmed and without walls that
μον ὠντων, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων παμπληθές ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἀφεστηκότων (πολλὴ μὲν γὰρ θάλασσα πολλὴ δὲ καὶ γῆ, καὶ ὄρη καὶ ποταμοὺς δυσδιαβά-
8 τοὺς ἔχουσα, διὰ μέσου ἑστὶ), τί ἂν τις φοβηθεὶ
tὸν δείνα ἢ τὸν δείνα, γυμνούς, ἰδιωτεύοντας, ἐν-
tαυθά ποὺ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ σῇ ἀρχῇ ὄντας καὶ ἑντὸς
tῶν σῶν ὅπλων κατακεκλειμένους ¹; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ
οὔτ’ ἂν ἐνυψησαί τινα τοιούτων οὐδέν, οὔτ’ ἂν, εἰ ²
cαὶ τὰ μάλιστα μανείη τις, δύνασθαι γέ τι πράξαι
νομίζω.

21 Ὅπεραν οὖν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τούτων ἀρξάμενοι ποιη-
σώμεθα. τάχα γὰρ ἂν καὶ αὐτοὶ μεταβάλλοιτο ³ καὶ
tοὺς ἅλλους ἀμείνους ποιήσειν καὶ γὰρ ὃρᾶσ ὅτι καὶ ὁ Κορωνήλιος καὶ εὐγενὴς καὶ ὁνο-
μαστὸς ἑστὶ, δεὶ δὲ ποὺ καὶ ταῦτα ἀνθρωπίνωσ
2 ἐκλογίζεσθαι. οὐ πάντα τοῦ τὸ ξίφος διαπράτ-
tetai (μέγα γὰρ ἢν ἂν ⁴ ἁγαθόν, εἰ σωφρονίζειν τὲ
tinas καὶ πείθειν ἢ καὶ καταναγκάζειν φίλειν τὶνα
ἀληθῶς ἐδύνατο), ἄλλα τὸ μὲν σῶμα τίνος φθεί-
ρειν ἂν, τὰς δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων ψυχὰς ἀλλοτριώ-
σειν οὐ γὰρ εἶ ὅν ἂν ἐτεροὶ τιμωρηθῶσι, προς-
φιλέστεροι τινὶ, ἄλλες εἴ ὅν ἂν αὐτοὶ φοβηθῶσιν,
3 ἐχθίους γίγνονται. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἔχει, οὐ
dὲ δὴ συγγρῶμης τινὸς τυχόντες καὶ μετανοοῦσιν,
αἰσχυνόμενοι αὐθίς τι τοὺς ἑνεργεῖτας ἀδικήσαι,
καὶ πολλὰ αὐτοὶ άνθυπουργοῦσιν, ἐπίζοντες
πλεῖον ἂντ’ εὐ πείσεσθαι ⁵ ύφ’ οὐ γὰρ ἂν τις
ἀδικηθέντος τι σωθῆ, τούτων εὐ παθόντα οὐδὲν ὃ τι

¹ κατακεκλειμένους Dind., κατακεκλεισμένους M Xiph.
² εἰ supplied by Pflugk.
³ μεταβάλλοιτο Xiph., μεταβάλλοιτο M.
⁴ ὅν added by corrector of M (in margin), om. Xiph. flor.
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would be of any value in war, and our enemies are separated from them by an immense distance; much sea and much land, including mountains and rivers hard to cross, lie between them and us. Why, then, should one fear this man or that, defenceless men in private station, here in the middle of your empire and hemmed in by your armed forces? For my part, I do not believe that any one could conceive any such plot as I have mentioned, or that the veriest madman could accomplish anything by it.

"Let us make the experiment, therefore, beginning with these very men. Perhaps they may not only be reformed themselves, but also make others better; for you see that Cornelius is both of good birth and famous, and we ought, I presume, to take human nature into account in reasoning out such matters also. The sword, surely, can not accomplish everything for you,—it would indeed be a great boon if it could bring men to their senses and persuade them or even compel them to love a ruler with genuine affection,—but instead, while it will destroy the body of one man, it will alienate the minds of the rest, For people do not become more attached to any one because of the vengeance they see meted out to others, but they become more hostile because of their fears. So much for that side; but as for those who are treated in a forgiving spirit, they not only repent, because they are ashamed to wrong their benefactors again, but also repay them with many services, hoping to receive still further kindnesses; for when a man has been spared by one who has been wronged, he believes that his rescuer, if fairly treated, will go

5 ἀντ' εὖ πείσεσθαι Dind., ἀντευπείσεσθαι Rk., ἀνθυποίσεσθαι M Xiph.
4 οὖν εὐρηγετήσειν ἕαυτὸν ἤγείται. πείσθητι οὖν μοι, φίλτατε, καὶ μεταβαλοῦ.1 οὖτω μὲν γὰρ καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ δυσχερὰ πάντα ἀνάγκη πεποιηκέναι δόξεις: οὐ γὰρ ἔστι πόλιν τηλικαύτην ἐκ δημο-
κρατίας πρὸς μοναρχίαν ἁγιοτα ἀναμοτὶ μετα-
στήσας ἀν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμένης, καὶ ἐκεῖνα 
γνώμη δεδρακέναι νομισθῆσαι.”

22 Ταῦτα τῆς Διούσας εἰποῦσης ὁ Λύγουστος ἐπεί-
σθη τε αὐτῇ, καὶ ἀφίκε μὲν πάντας τοὺς ὑπατίους 
λόγους τοὺς νουθετήσας, τὸν δὲ Ἡ Κορηλίου καὶ 
2 ὑπατον ἀπέδειξε.2 καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκεῖνον καὶ 
τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπους οὗτος φιλεῖσατο ὡστε 
μηδενά ἐτ' αὐτῷ τῶν ἄλλων μήτ' οὔτως ἐπιβου-
λεύσαι μήτε δόξαι ἡ γὰρ ἡ Διούσα αἰτιωτάτη 
τῆς σωτηρίας τῷ Κορηλίῳ γενομένη ήμελλεν 
αὐτῇ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Λύγουστου 
λήφθησαι.

3 Τότε δ' οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦ Κορηλίου καὶ ἐπὶ 
Οὐαλερίου Μεσσάλου ὑπάτων σεισμοὶ τε ἐξαίσιοι 
συνέβησαν, καὶ ὁ Τίβερις τὴν τε γέφυραν κατέσυρε 
καὶ πλωτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ ἐπτα ἡμέρας ἐποίησε, 
τοῦ τε ἡλίου τε ἐκλυπὲς ἐγένετο, καὶ λιμὸς συνη-

4 νέχθη. καὶ τὸν αὐτῷ ἐτει τούτῳ ὁ τε Ἀγρίππας 
ἐς ἐφῆβους, μηδενὸς τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς 
tυχων, ἐςεγράφη καὶ ταὶ ἱπποδρομίας χωρίς μὲν 
οἱ βουλευταὶ χωρὶς δε οἱ ἱππῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ 
5 πλῆθους εἶδον, ὁ καὶ νῦν γίγνεται. ἐπειδή ὅ τε οὐ 

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1 μεταβαλοῦ Xiph., μεταβάλλου M.
2 ἀπέδειξε Μ Xiph., προσαπέδειξεν Zon.
to any lengths in his benefactions. Heed me, therefore, dearest, and change your course; if you do, all your other acts that have caused displeasure will be thought to have been dictated by necessity,—indeed, it is impossible for a man to guide so great a city from democracy to monarchy and make the change without bloodshed,—but if you continue in your old policy, you will be thought to have done these unpleasant things deliberately.”

Augustus heeded these suggestions of Livia and released all the accused with some words of admonition; and he even appointed Cornelius consul. As a result of this course he so conciliated both him and the other persons so treated that neither they nor anyone of the rest thereafter either actually plotted against him or was suspected of doing so. It was rather Livia herself, who was chiefly responsible for saving the life of Cornelius, that was to be charged with plotting the death of Augustus.

At this time, in the consulship of Cornelius and Valerius Messalla, violent earthquakes occurred and the Tiber carried away the bridge and made the city navigable for seven days; there was also a partial eclipse of the sun, and famine set in. This same year Agrippa was enrolled among the youths of military age, but obtained none of the same privileges as his brothers. The senators witnessed the Circensian games separately and the knights also separately from the remainder of the populace, as is the case to-day also. And since the noblest families did not show themselves inclined to give their daughters to be priestesses of Vesta, a law was passed that the daughters of freedmen might like-
άπελευθέρων γεγενημένας ἱεράσθαι. ¹ καὶ ὁ μὲν κλήρος αὐτῶν, ἔπει πλείους ἡμιφεσβήτησαν, ² ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρόντων τῶν πατέρων σφῶν, οὕς γε ἦπεινον, ἐγένετο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τοιαύτη τε ἀπεδείχθη.

23 Χαλεπώς δὲ δὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἄθλων σμικρότητα διὰ τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς τότε ἐνεστηκότας οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐξόντων, καὶ μηδενὸς ἔξω τοῦ τεταγμένου τῆς στρατείας σφίσι χρόνου ὅπλα λαβεὶν ἑθέλοντος, ἐψηφίσθη τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ πεντάκισχιλίας δραχμάς, ἐπειδὰν ἐκκαίδεκα ἐτη, τοῖς δὲ ἐτέροις τρισχιλίας, ἐπειδὰν 2 εἰκοσι στρατεύσωνται, δίδοσθαι. τρία δὲ δὴ τότε καὶ εἰκοσι στρατόπεδα, ἢ ὡς γε ἐτεροί λέγοντι πέντε καὶ εἰκοσι, πολιτικὰ ἔτρέφετο. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἐννεακαίδεκα ἐκ αὐτῶν μόνα διαμένει, τὸ τε δευτεροῦν τὸ Ἀυγοῦστειον ³ τὸ ἐν Βερετάνια τῇ ἁνω χειμάζον, καὶ τὰ τρία τὰ τρίτα, τὸ τε ἐν Φοινίκῃ τὸ Γαλατικόν, καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ τὸ Κυρηναϊκόν, ³ τὸ τε ἐν Νομιδίᾳ τὸ Ἀυγοῦστειον ³ τέταρτον Σκυθικὸν ἐν Συρίᾳ, πέμπτον Μακεδονικὸν ἐν Δακίᾳ, ἐκτα δύο, ὅν τὸ μὲν ἐν Βερετάνια τῇ κάτω, τὸ τῶν νικητῶν, τὸ δὲ ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ, τὸ σιδηροῦν, τέτακται· καὶ οἱ ἐβδομοὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ τῇ ἁνω, οἱ ⁴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα Κλαυδίειοι ὄνομάδαι, οἱ τε ⁵ οἴγσοι Ἀυγοῦστειοι, ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ τῇ ἁνω ὄντες· ⁴ καὶ οἱ δέκατοι ἐκάτεροι, ⁶ οἱ τε ἐν Πανονία τῇ ἁνω οἱ δίδυμοι, καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ· τὸ τε ἐνδέκατον τὸ

¹ ἱεράσθαι R. Steph., ἱερώσθαι M.
² ἡμιφεσβήτησαν Bs., ἰμφεσβήτησαν M (but in margin γρ. ἰμφεσβήτησαν).
³ Ἀυγοῦστειον Xiph., ἀυγοῦστειο M (and similarly just below).
wise become priestesses. Many vied for the honour, A.D. 6 and so they drew lots in the senate in the presence of their fathers, so far as these were knights; however, no priestess was appointed from this class.

The soldiers were sorely displeased at the paltry character of the rewards given them for the wars which had been waged at this time and none of them consented to bear arms for longer than the regular period of his service. It was therefore voted that twenty thousand sesterces should be given to members of the pretorian guard when they had served sixteen years, and twelve thousand to the other soldiers when they had served twenty years. Twenty-three, or, as others say, twenty-five, legions of citizen soldiers were being supported at this time.1 At present only nineteen of them still exist, as follows: the Second (Augusta), with its winter quarters in Upper Britain; the three Thirds—the Gallica in Phoenicia, the Cyrenaica in Arabia, and the Augusta in Numidia; the Fourth (Scythica) in Syria; the Fifth (Macedonica) in Dacia; the two Sixths, of which the one (Victrix) is stationed in Lower Britain, the other (Ferrata) in Judaea; the Seventh (generally called Claudia2) in Upper Moesia; the Eighth (Augusta) in Upper Germany; the two Tenths in upper Pannonia (Gemina) and in Judaea; the Eleventh (Claudia) in

1 The confusion is due to the fact that after the defeat of Varus there were but twenty-three legions left (out of twenty-six); but Augustus later increased the number to twenty-five.
2 Cf. lx. 15, 4.

4 of R. Steph., εἰ M Xiph.
5 of τε Xiph., ὅδε ἢ M.
6 δέκατοι ἐκάτεροι Reim., δεκάτεροι M, δέκατοι Xiph.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐν Μυσία τῇ κάτω, τὸ Κλαυδίειον· οὔτω γὰρ τὰ δύο στρατόπεδα ἀπὸ τοῦ Κλαυδίου ἐπεκλήθη, ὅτι αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Καμίλλου ἐπαναστάσει μὴ ἀντε-πολέμησε· καὶ τὸ δωδέκατον τὸ ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ τὸ κεραυνοφόρον, τὸ τε τρίτον καὶ δέκατον τὸ ἐν Δακίᾳ τὸ δίδυμον, καὶ τὸ τέσσαρτον καὶ δέκατον τὸ ἐν Παννονίᾳ τῇ ἀνω τὸ δίδυμον, τὸ τε πεντεκαιδέ-κατον τὸ Ἀπολλώνειον τὸ ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ· καὶ οἱ εἰκοστοὶ οἱ καὶ Ὀυαλερίειοι καὶ νικήτορες ὁνομα-σμένοι καὶ ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ τῇ ἀνω ὄντες· οὕστινα ὁ Ἀγγουστος, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, μετὰ τῶν τῆς τε τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἐπωνυμίαν ἐχόντων καὶ ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ τῇ ἀνω χειμαζόντων, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μηθ' ύψ' ἀπάντων Ὀυαλερίειοι ἐπεκλήθη-σαν μήτε νῦν ἐτί τῇ προσηγορίᾳ ταύτη χρώνται, παραλαβῶν ἐτήρησε· ταύτ' ἐκ τῶν Ἀγγουστείων στρατοπέδων σώζεται· τὰ γὰρ δὴ λοιπὰ τὰ μὲν παντελῶς διελύθη, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐτέροις τισὺν ὑπὸ τε αὐτοῦ ἔκεινον καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων αὐτοκράτορῶν ἀνε-μίχθη, ἀφ' οὔτερ καὶ δίδυμα ὀνομασμένα νεό-μισται.

24 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπαξ ἐς τῶν περὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων λόγων προήχθην, καὶ τᾶλα τὰ νῦν ὄντα, ὅσ πρὸς τῶν μετὰ ταύτα αὐταρχησάντων κατελέκθη, φράσω, ἵν' ἐνί χωρίῳ πάντα γεγραμμένα ῥαδίως τοὺς βουλόμενον τι περὶ αὐτῶν μαθεῖν διδάσκῃ, ὁ τε γὰρ Νέρων τὸ πρῶτον τὸ καὶ Ἰταλικῶν ὁνο-μαζόμενον καὶ ἐν τῇ κάτω Μυσίᾳ χειμάζον, καὶ ὁ

1 ὁ Ἀγγουστος Βκ., αὐτοῦς Μ.
2 δευτέρου καὶ supplied by Mommsen.
3 ἐν supplied by Xyl.
4 πρῶτον τὸ Βς., πρῶτον τε Ἡ.
BOOK LV

Lower Moesia (for two legions were thus named after A.D. 5 Claudius because they had not fought against him in the rebellion of Camillus\(^1\)); the Twelfth (Fulminata) in Cappadocia; the Thirteenth (Gemina) in Dacia; the Fourteenth (Gemina) in Upper Pannonia; the Fifteenth (Apollinaris) in Cappadocia; the Twentieth (called both Valeria and Victrix) in Upper Britain. These latter, I believe, were the troops which Augustus took over and retained, along with those called the Twenty-second who are quartered in Germany,\(^2\)—and this in spite of the fact that they were by no means called Valerians by all and do not use that name any longer. These are the legions that still remain out of those of Augustus; of the rest, some were disbanded altogether, and others were merged with various legions by Augustus himself and by other emperors, in consequence of which such legions have come to bear the name Gemina.

Now that I have once been led into giving an account of the legions, I shall speak of the other legions also which exist to-day and tell of their enlistment by the emperors subsequent to Augustus, my purpose being that, if any one desires to learn about them, the statement of all the facts in a single portion of my book may provide him easily with the information. Nero organized the First Legion, called the Italica, which has its winter quarters in

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1 Cf. lx, 15, 4.
2 Dio is in error here; the Twenty-second (Primigenia) was organized by Claudius and therefore should be in the list of later legions given in chap. 24.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Γάλβας τὸ τε πρῶτον τὸ ἐπικούρικὸν τὸ ἐν τῇ
3 Παυλονίᾳ τῇ κάτω καὶ τὸ ἔβδομον τὸ δίδυμον τὸ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ συνέταξαν, Οὐσπασιανὸς τὸ τε δεύτερον τὸ ἐπικούρικὸν τὸ ἐν Παυλονίᾳ τῇ κάτω καὶ τὸ τέταρτον τὸ Φλαυνίειον τὸ ἐν Μυσίᾳ τῇ ἄνω, τὸ τε ἐκκαιδέκατον τὸ Φλαυνίειον τὸ ἐν Συρίᾳ, Δομιτιανὸς τὸ πρῶτον τὸ Ἀθηναίων τὸ ἐν Γερ-
μανίᾳ τῇ κάτω, Γραῖανὸς τὸ δεύτερον τὸ Ἀιγύ-
ππιον καὶ τὸ τριακοστὸν τὸ Γερμανικὸν, ᾞ καὶ ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ ἐποιόμασεν, Ἀντωνίνος ὁ Μάρκος τὸ τε δεύτερον τὸ ἐν Νωρίκῳ καὶ τὸ τρίτον τὸ ἐν Ῥαιτίᾳ, ᾖ καὶ Ἰταλικὰ κέκληται, Σευνήρος τὰ Παρθικά, τὸ τε πρῶτον καὶ τὸ τρίτον τὰ ἕν Μεσοποταμία, καὶ τὸ διὰ μέσον τοῦ δευτέρου τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ.

5 Νῦν μὲν δὴ τοσάντα τείχη τῶν ἓκ τοῦ κατα-
λόγου στρατευομένων ἔξω τοῦ τε ἄστικον καὶ τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ ἔστι, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Αὐγοῦστου ταῦτά τε, εἰτ’ οὖν τρία εἰτε πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ὄντα, ἐτρέφετο, καὶ συμμαχικά καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ἵππεων καὶ ναυτῶν ὁσαδῆποτε ἤν’ οὐ γὰρ ἔχο τὸ ἀκριβὲς εἰπεῖν· οἱ τε σωματοφύλακες μύριοι ὄντες καὶ δεκαχῆ τεταγμένοι, καὶ οἱ τῆς πόλεως φρουροὶ ἐξακισχίλοι τε ὄντες καὶ τετραχῇ νενεμημένοι·

6 ἕνοι τε ἱππῆς ἐπίλεκτοι, οἱ τοῦ τῶν Βατάουων ἀπὸ τῆς Βατάουας τῆς ἐν τῷ Ῥήνῳ νήσου ὄνομα, οἱ τιμήσουσι καὶ τοῦτοι ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν ἀκριβῆ, ὡσπερ οὐδὲ τῶν ἄνακλη-
7 των, εἰπεῖν δύναμαι. καὶ γὰρ τούτων ἦρξατο μὲν νομίζειν ἀφ’ οὗ τοὺς συστρατευσαμένους τῷ πατρὶ
8 ὃτι δὴ κράτιστοι ἱππεύειν εἰσὶ, κεῖται· οὐ μέντοι ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν ἀκριβῆ, ὡσπερ οὐδὲ τῶν ἄνακλη-

1 τὰ Bk., τὸ M.
BOOK LV

Lower Moesia; Galba the First (Adiutrix), with quarters in Lower Pannonia, and the Seventh (Gemina), in Spain; Vespasian the Second (Adiutrix), in Lower Pannonia, the Fourth (Flavia), in Upper Moesia, and the Sixteenth (Flavia), in Syria; Domitian the First (Minervia), in Lower Germany; Trajan the Second (Aegyptia) and the Thirtieth (Germanica), both of which he also named after himself;^ 1 Marcus Antoninus the Second, in Noricum, and the Third, in Rhaetia, both of which are called Italica; and Severus the Parthicae—the First and Third, quartered in Mesopotamia, and the Second, quartered in Italy.

This is at present the number of the legions of regularly enrolled troops, exclusive of the city cohorts and the pretorian guard; but at that time, in the days of Augustus, those I have mentioned were being maintained, whether the number is twenty-three or twenty-five, and there were also allied forces of infantry, cavalry, and sailors, whatever their numbers may have been (for I can not state the exact figures). Then there were the body-guards, ten thousand in number and organized in ten divisions, and the watchmen of the city, six thousand in number and organized in four divisions; and there were also picked foreign horsemen, who were given the name of Batavians, after the island of Batavia in the Rhine, inasmuch as the Batavians are excellent horsemen. I can not, however, give their exact number any more than I can that of the Evocati.\^ 2 These last-named Augustus began to make a practice of employing from the time when he called again

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1 The Second was called Traiana and the Thirtieth Ulpia.
2 That is, the "Recalled." Cf. xlv. 12, 3.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

πρὸς τὰ ὀπλὰ αὐθις ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνεκάλεσεν, ἐτήρησε δὲ καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ νῦν σύστημα ἰδίου, ῥάβδους φέροντες ὡσπερ οἱ ἐκατόνταρχοι.

9 Δι' οὗν ταῦτ' ἀπορῶν χρημάτων, γνώμην ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐσήνεγκε πόρον τινὰ διαρκῆ καὶ ἀείνων ἀποδειχθῆναι, ὡποῖς μηδὲν ἔξωθεν μηδὲν λυπομένου ἀφθόνωσ εκ τῶν τεταγμένων καὶ τὴν τροφὴν καὶ τὰ γέρα λαμβάνωσιν. καὶ οἷ μὲν ἔζητείτο, ἐπειδή τε μηδεὶς ἄγορανομῆσαι ἐκὼν ἤθελεν, ἡμαγκάσθησαν ἐκ τε τῶν τεταμιευκότων καὶ ἐκ τῶν δεδημαρχικότων κλήρων τινὲς αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι,

25 καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλοτε πολλάκις ἐγένετο· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τε Λιμιλίου Λεπίδου καὶ ἐπὶ Δουκίου Ἀρρουντίου ὑπάτων, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς πόρος ἀρεσκὼν τις ἐὑρίσκετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πάντες στὶ

2 καὶ ἔζητείτο ἐβαρύνοντο, ἐσήνεγκεν ὁ Ἀὐγουστὸς χρήματα καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐς τὸ ταμιεῖον, ὁ καὶ στρατιωτικὸν ἐπωνόμασε, καὶ τρισὶ τῶν ἐστρατηγικότων τοῖς λαχοῦσιν ἐπὶ τρία ἐτη διοικεῖν προσέταξε, ῥαβδούχοις τ' ἀνὰ δύο καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ύπηρεσίᾳ τῇ προσηκούσῃ χρωμένοις.

3 καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω ἐτη κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἐγένετο· νῦν γὰρ καὶ αἴρονται πρὸς τοῦ ἀεὶ αὐτοκράτορος καὶ χωρὶς ῥαβδούχων περιάσιν. αὐτὸς τε οὖν συνεσήνεγκε τινὰ, καὶ τοῦτο κατ' ἐτος πράξεων ύπέσχετο, καὶ παρὰ βασιλέων δὴ-

1 ἀείνων Dind., ἀείνων M.

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into service against Antony the troops who had served with his father, and he maintained them afterwards; they constitute even now a special corps, and carry rods, like the centurions.

Now Augustus lacked funds for all these troops, and therefore he introduced a proposal in the senate that revenues in sufficient amount and continuing from year to year should be set aside, in order that the soldiers might receive without stint from the taxes levied their maintenance and bonuses without any outside source being put to annoyance. The means for such a fund were accordingly sought. Now when no one showed a willingness to become aedile, some men from the ranks of the ex-quaestors and ex-tribunes were compelled by lot to take the office—a thing which happened on many other occasions.¹ After this, in the consulship of Aemilius Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius, when no revenues for the military fund were being discovered that suited anybody, but absolutely everybody was vexed because such an attempt was even being made, Augustus in the name of himself and of Tiberius placed money in the treasury which he called the military treasury,² and commanded that three of the ex-praetors, to be chosen by lot, should administer it for three years, employing two lictors apiece and such further assistance as was fitting. This method was followed with the successive incumbents of the office for many years; but at present they are chosen by the emperor and they go about without lictors. Now Augustus made a contribution himself toward the fund and promised to do so annually, and he also

¹ Cf. xli. 16, 2; liii. 2, 2; liv. 11, 1.
² Aerarium militare.


μων τε τινῶν ἔπαγγελίας ἐδέξατο· παρὰ γὰρ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, καὶ περὶ συχνῶν ἔθελοντι, ὡς γε ἔλεγον, 4 ἐπιδιδόντων τι, οὐδὲν ἠλαβεν. ὡς δὲ οὖν ταῦτα τε ἐλάχιστα πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀναλισκομένων ἦν καὶ ἀθανάτου τινὸς εὐπορίας ἐδείτο, προσέταξε τοῖς Βουλευταῖς ζητῆσαι πόρους ἰδία καὶ καθ’ ἐαυτὸν ἐκαστόν, καὶ τούτους ἐς βιβλία γράφαντας δοῦναι οἱ διασκέψασθαι, οὔχ ὅτι οὐκ ἐπενόει τινὰ, ἀλλ’ ὅτως ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτοῦς 5 πείσῃ ὃν ἔβουλετο ἐλέσθαι. ἀμέλει ἄλλων ἄλλα ἐσηγηγαμένων ἐκείνων μεν οὐδὲν 1 ἐδοκίμασε, τινὶ δ’ εἰκοστὴν τῶν τε κληρῶν καὶ τῶν δωρεῶν, ἂς ἄν οἱ τελευτώντες τις πλήν τῶν πάνω συγγενῶν ἢ καὶ πενήντων καταλείπωσι, κατεστήσατο, ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπομνῆμασι τὸ τέλος 6 τούτο γεγραμμένον εὔρων ἐσήκτο μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρότερον ποτε, καταλυθεὶν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα αὖθις τὸτε ἐπανήχθη, τὰς μὲν οὖν προσόδους οὔτως ἐπηύξησε, τὰ δ’ ἀναλώματα διὰ τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑπατευκότων, οὔς ὁ κληρος ἀπέφηνε, τὰ μὲν συνεστείλε τὰ δὲ καὶ παντάπασι διέγραψε.

26 Ταῦτά τε οὖν τοὺς Ρωμαίους ἐλύπει, καὶ προσέτι καὶ λίμος ἵσχυρός, ὡσθ’ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοὺς τε μονομαχοῦντας καὶ τα ἀνδράποδα τὰ ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐπτακοσίους σταδίους ἐξώσθηναι, ἐκ τε τῆς θεραπείας καὶ τῶν Ἀγωνιστοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τὸ πλεῖον ἀποπέμψασθαι, καὶ δικῶν ἀνοχὰς γενέσθαι, ἐκδημεῖν τε τοῖς Βου-
2 λευταῖς ἐνθα ἄν ἐθελήσωσιν ἐπιτραπῆναι. καὶ ὅπως γ’ ἄν μηδέν ἐκ τούτου τὰ δόγματα ἐμποδί-

1 οὐδὲν Reim., οὐδένα M.

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accepted voluntary contributions from kings and certain communities; but he took nothing from private citizens, although a considerable number made offers of their own free will, as they at least alleged. But as all this proved very slight in comparison with the amount being spent and there was need of some permanent supply, he ordered each one of the senators to seek out sources of revenue, each independently of the others, to write them in books, and give them to him to consider. This was not because he had no plan of his own, but as the most certain means of persuading them to choose the plan he preferred. At all events, when different men had proposed different schemes, he approved none of them, but established the tax of five per cent. on the inheritances and bequests which should be left by people at their death to any except very near relatives or very poor persons, representing that he had found this tax set down in Caesar’s memoranda. It was, in fact, a method which had been introduced once before, but had been abolished later, and was now revived. In this way, then, he increased the revenues; as for the expenditures, he employed three ex-consuls, chosen by lot, by whose help he reduced some of them and altogether abolished others.

This was not the only source of trouble to the Romans; for there was also a severe famine. In consequence of this, the gladiators, and the slaves who were for sale, were banished to a distance of one hundred miles, Augustus and the other officials dismissed the greater part of their retinues, a recess of the courts was taken, and senators were permitted to leave the city and to proceed wherever they pleased. And in order that their absence might not
ξηταί, κύρια πάντα τὰ γυγνωσκόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ἂνεὶ παρόντων εἶναι ἐκελεύσθη. καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἄνδρες ὑπατευκότες ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ σίτου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρτου κατέστησαν, ὡστε τακτὸν ἐκάστῳ πιπράσκεσθαι. ἔπεδωκε μὲν γὰρ καὶ προῖκα ὁ Ἀὐγουστος τοῖς σιτοδοτουμένοις τοσοῦτον ἔτερον ὅσον ἂν ἐλάμβανον ὡς δ᾽ οὔδε ἐκεῖνο σφισιν ἐξήρκεσθεν, οὔδε ἐς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ γενέθλια δημοσίᾳ αὐτοὺς ἐστιαθήναι εἰσαέν.

4 Ἐπειδὴ τε ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τοῦτῳ πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως πυρὶ διεθάρη, ἄνδρας τε ἐξελευθέρους ἐπταξῆ πρὸς τὰς ἐπικουρίας αὐτῆς κατελέξατο, καὶ ἄρχοντα ἵππεα αὐτοῖς προσέταξεν, ὡς καὶ δι᾽ ὅλην σφᾶς διαλύσων. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐποίησε τούτοις καταμαθῶν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πείρας καὶ χρησιμοτάτην καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτην τὴν παρ’ αὐτῶν βοήθειαν οὕσαν ἐτήρησεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ νῦν οἱ νυκτοφύλακες οὕτως ἰδίον τινα τρόπον οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἐτὶ μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων στρατευόμενοι, καὶ τείχῃ τε ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔχουσι καὶ μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου φέρουσιν.

27 Ὅ δ᾽ οὖν ὁμιλοὺ, οἷα ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ τέλους τοῖς θ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπολῶλοσι κεκακωμένος, ἥσχαλλε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ φανερῶς νεωτεροποιαὶ 1 διελάλουν, πλεῖω δὲ δη ἡ βιβλία νῦκτωρ ἐξετίθεσαν, καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐλέγετο μὲν ἐκ παρασκευῆς Πουπλίου τινὸς Ῥούφου γηγεσθαι, ὑπωπτεύετο δὲ ἐς ἄλλους· ὁ μὲν γὰρ

1 νεωτεροποιαὶ Leuncl., νεωτεροποιαῖ (corrected from νεω-τεροποιαῖ) M.

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prevent decrees from being passed, a ruling was made that all decisions reached by those in attendance at any meeting should be valid. Moreover, ex-consuls were appointed to have oversight over the grain and bread supplies, so that only a fixed quantity should be sold to each person. Augustus, to be sure, gave free of cost to those who were receiving doles of corn as much again in every case as they were already getting; but when even that did not suffice for their needs, he forbade even the holding of public banquets on his birthday.

When many parts of the city were at this time destroyed by fire, he organized a company of freedmen, in seven divisions, to render assistance on such occasions, and appointed a knight in command over them, expecting to disband them in a short time. He did not do so, however; for he found by experience that the aid they gave was most valuable and necessary, and so retained them. These night-watchmen exist to the present day, as a special corps, one might say, recruited no longer from the freedmen only, but from the other classes as well. They have barracks in the city and draw pay from the public treasury.

Now the masses, distressed by the famine and the tax and the losses sustained in the fire, were ill at ease, and they not only openly discussed numerous plans for a revolution, but also posted at night even more numerous bulletins. Word was given out that all this had been planned and managed by one Publius Rufus, but suspicion was directed to others;

1 The same man, evidently, who is called Plautius Rufus by Suetonius (Aug. 19); his whole name may have been Publius Plautius Rufus.
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'Ρούφος οὔτε ἐνθυμηθήναι τι αὐτῶν οὔτε πράξαι ἐδύνατο, ἔτεροι δὲ τῷ εἰκείου ὑνόματι καταχρῶν μενοι καινοτομεῖν ἐπιστεύοντο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔζητησις τε αὐτῶν ἐψηφίσθη καὶ μήνυτρα προετέθη μηνύσεις τε ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ ἣ πόλεις καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἐταράττετο, μέχρις οὗ ἦ τε σιτοδεία ἐπαύσατο, καὶ μονομαχίας ἄγωνες ἐπὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ πρὸς τε τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ πρὸς Τιβερίου Κλαύδιου Νέρωνος, τῶν νίεων αὐτοῦ, εὐγένουτο. τοῦτο τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Δρούσου μνήμη παρεμνῆσατο, καὶ ὃτι τὸ Διοσκόρειον ὁ Τιβέριος καθιερώσας οὐ τὸ ἐαυτοῦ μόνον ὅνομα αὐτῷ, Κλαύδιανον ἐαυτὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ Κλαύδιον διὰ τὴν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἀὐγοῦστου γένος ἐκποίησιν ὅνομάσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖνον ἐπέγραψε. τά τε γὰρ τῶν πολέμων ἀμα διψκεῖ, καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ὅποτε παράσχοι, συνεχῶς ἔσεφοίτα, τὸ μὲν τι πραγμάτων τινῶν ἐνεκα, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλείστον φοβούμενος μη ὁ Ἀὐγοῦστος ἄλλον τινὰ παρὰ τὴν ἀποουσίαν αὐτοῦ προτιμήσῃ.

6 Ταυτά τε ἐν τῷ ἐτεί τούτῳ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ τῆς Ἀχαίας ἄρχων μεσούσης που τῆς ἥγεμονίας ἀπέθανε, τῷ τε ταμίᾳ καὶ τῷ παρέδρῳ αὐτοῦ, διν πρεσβευτὴν, ὡσπερ ἐπιτυχον, καλοῦμεν, τῷ μὲν τά ἐντος τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ τῷ δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ διουκήσαι προσετάχθη. ο ἐτε Ὁρώδης ὁ Παλαιστῖνος, αἰτιᾶς τινὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἅδελφῶν λαβών, ὑπέρ τὰς "Αλπεῖς

1 Διοσκόρειον Dind., διοσκούρειον M.
2 ταμία Bk., ταμίεια M.
for as Rufus could neither have devised nor accomplished any of these things, it was believed that others, making use of his name, were planning a revolution. Therefore an investigation of the affair was voted for and rewards for information were announced. Information began to be offered, and this also contributed to the commotion in the city. This lasted until the scarcity of grain was at an end and gladiatorial games in honour of Drusus were given by Germanicus Caesar and Tiberius Claudius Nero, his sons. For this mark of honour to the memory of Drusus comforted the people, and also the dedication by Tiberius of the temple of Castor and Pollux, upon which he inscribed not only his own name,—calling himself Claudianus instead of Claudius, because of his adoption into the family of Augustus,—but also that of Drusus. Tiberius, it should be explained, continued to carry on the wars, and at the same time visited the city repeatedly whenever the opportunity offered; this was partly, to be sure, on account of various business, but chiefly because he was afraid that Augustus might take advantage of his absence to show preference to somebody else.

These were the events in the city that year. In Achaia the governor died in the middle of his term and instructions were given to his quaestor and to his assessor (whom, as I have stated,¹ we call envoy) for the former to administer the province as far as the Isthmus and the other the remainder. Herod² of Palestine, who was accused by his brothers of some wrongdoing or other, was banished beyond the

¹ Cf. liii. 14, 6.
² Archelaus, son of Herod the Great, who used the name Herod on his coinage.
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υπερωρίσθη, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ἔδημοςιώθη.

28 Κἂν τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους χρόνους καὶ πόλεμοι πολλοὶ ἐγένοντο. καὶ γὰρ λήσται συχνὰ κατέ-

tréchon, ὡστε τὴν Σαρδῶν μηδ' ἀρχοντα βουλευ-

τὴν ἔτεσί τισι σχεῖν, ἀλλὰ στρατιώταις τε καὶ

2 στρατιάρχαις ἐπιπέδαις ἐπιτραπήναι καὶ πόλεις

οὐκ ὁλίγαι ἐνεωτερίζον, ὡστε καὶ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτη τοὺς

αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς τοῦ ἰδίου ἐθνεῖς, καὶ αἱρετοὺς γε

ἀντὶ τῶν κληρωτῶν, ἀρξαία; τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Καίσαρος

καὶ ἄλλως ἐπὶ πλείω χρόνον τοῖς αὐτοῖς προσ-

ετάττετο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ περὶ πάντων αὐτῶν

ἀκριβῶς ἐπεξέξω; 3 πολλά τε γὰρ ὡς ἐκάστοις καὶ

οὐκ ἄξιόλογα συνηνέχθη, καὶ οὔδεν ἂν

3 λεπτολογηθέντα ὀφελθείε. τὰ γε μὴν μηνης

tινὸς ἄξια κεφαλαιώσας, πλὴν τῶν μεγίστων, ἔρω.

"Ἰσαυροὶ τε γὰρ ἐκ ληστείας ἀρξάμενοι καὶ ἐς

πολέμου δεινότητα προήχθησαν, μέχρις οὐ κατε-

dαμάσθησαν· καὶ Γαίτουλαι τὸ τε 'Ἰουβα τὸ

βασιλεῖ ἄχθομενοι, καὶ ἀμα ἀπαξιώντες μὴ οὐ

καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχεσθαι, ἔπανε-

στησαν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν τε πρόσχωρον ἐπόρθησαν καὶ

συχνὰς καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιστρατεύσαντάς

σφίσιν ἀπέκτειναν, τὸ τε σύμπαν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον

ἐπηνεξήθησαν ὡστε Κορνήλιον Κόσσον τὸν κατε-

ρασάμενον σφας τιμὰς τε ἐπινικίους καὶ ἐπώ-

5 νυμίαν ἀπ' αὐτῶν λαβεῖν. ταῦτα τε ἀμα ἐγίγνετο,

καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Κέλτους ἐστράτευσαν μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι

1 μηδ' Bk., μην' M.

2 τοῖς Reim., ἐν τοῖς M.

3 ἐπεξέξω Reim., ἐπεξέξω M.

4 οὔδεν ἂν Pflugk, οὔδενα M.

5 Γαίτουλαι (Γαίτουλαι) R. Steph., γαίτουλοι M.

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Alps and his portion of the domain was confiscated to the state.

During this same period many wars also took place. Pirates overran a good many districts, so that Sardinia had no senator as governor for some years, but was in charge of soldiers with knights as commanders. Not a few cities rebelled, with the result that for two years the same men held office in the provinces which belonged to the people and were appointed instead of being chosen by lot; of course the provinces which belonged to Caesar were, in any case, assigned to the same men for a longer period. But I shall not go into all these matters minutely, for many things not worthy of record happened in individual instances and their recital in detail would serve no useful purpose. I shall give simply the events worthy of some mention and very briefly at that, except in the case of those of greatest importance.

The Isaurians began with marauding expeditions, but were led on into all the horrors of war, until they were utterly subdued. The Gaetulians, also, were discontented with their king, Juba, and scorning the thought that they, too, should be ruled over by the Romans, rose against him. They ravaged the neighbouring territory, slew many even of the Romans who made a campaign against them, and, in fine, gained so great headway that Cornelius Cossus, who subjugated them, received triumphal honours and also a title from them. While these events were occurring, expeditions against the Germans also were being conducted by various leaders,

1 By Augustus, naturally.
2 Gaetulicus.
πινές, ἐστράτευσε δὲ καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος. καὶ µέχρι
γε τοῦ ποταµοῦ, πρότερον µὲν τοῦ Ουισούργου, ¹
µετὰ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ Ἀλβίου, προεχώρησεν, οὐ
µέντοι καὶ ἀξιοµηµόνευτον τι τότε γε ἐπράχθη,
6 καὶ τοιῷ καὶ αὐτοκράτορος µὴ ὅτι τοῦ Ἀυγοῦστοῦ
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Τιβέριου ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς κληθέντος,
καὶ τιµᾶς ἐπινικίους Γαίου Σεντίου τοῦ τῆς Γερ-
µανίας ἀρχοντος λαβόντος, ἐπειδὴ µὴ µόνον ἀπαξ
ἀλλὰ καὶ δεύτερον, φοβηθέντες αὐτούς, ἔστει-
σαντο. αὐτία δὲ τοῦ καίπερ παρασπούδησασι
σφισι δ’ ὀλίγου αὕθις τὴν εἰρήνην δοθήναι τᾭ τε
τῶν Δελµατῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν Παννονίων, µειζόνως
τε ταραχθέντα καὶ ὄξειας ἐπιστροφῆς δεθέντα,
ἐγένετο.
29 Ῥαὶς γὰρ ἐσφοραῖς τῶν χρηµάτων οἱ Δελµάται
βαρυνόµενοι τὸν µὲν ἐµπροσθε χρόνον καὶ ἄκοντες
ἡσύχαζον ὡς δ’ ὁ τε Τιβέριος ἐπὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς
τὸ δεύτερον ἐστράτευσε, καὶ Οὐαλέριος Μεσσα-
λίνος ὁ τότε καὶ τῆς Δελµατίας καὶ τῆς Παννονίας
ἀρχων αὐτός τε σὺν ἐκείνῳ ἑστάλη καὶ τὸ πολὺ
2 τοῦ στρατοῦ συνεξῆγαγε, καὶ τῶν καὶ σφεῖς
δύναµιν πέµψαι κελευσθέντες συνήλθον τε ἐπὶ
tοῦτῳ καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν σφῶν ἀνθοῦσαν εἴδον,
οὐκέτι διεµέλλησαν, ἀλλ’ ἐνάγοντος αὐτοὺς ὅτι
µάλιστα Βάτωνός τινος Δησιδιάτον τὸ µὲν πρῶ-
tου ὀλίγον τίνες ἐνεωτέρισαν καὶ τοὺς Ῥωµαίους
ἐπελθόντας σφίσιν ἐσφήλαν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐκ τοῦτον
3 καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι προσαπέστησαν. καὶ µετὰ τοῦτο
καὶ Βρεδικοὶ Παννονικὸν ἔθνος, Βάτωνα καὶ αὐτοῦ
ἐτερον προστησάµενοι, ἐπὶ τε τὸ Σίρµιον καὶ ἐπὶ
tοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ Ῥωµαίους ὄρµησαν. καὶ ἐκεῖνο

¹ Ουισούργου Reim., σούγρου Μ.
especially Tiberius. He advanced first to the river Visurgis and later as far as the Albis, but nothing noteworthy was accomplished at this time, although not only Augustus but also Tiberius was called imperator because of the campaign, and Gaius Sentius, the governor of Germany, received triumphal honours, inasmuch as the Germans, through their fear of the Romans, made a truce, not merely once, but twice. The reason that peace was granted them a second time, in spite of their having broken their truce so soon, was that the Dalmatians and Pannonians were in a state of great disturbance and required sharp attention.

The Dalmatians, chafing under the levies of tribute, had hitherto kept quiet, though unwillingly. But when Tiberius made his second campaign against the Germans, and Valerius Messallinus, the governor of Dalmatia and Pannonia at the time, was sent out with him, taking most of his army along, the Dalmatians, too, were ordered to send a contingent; and on coming together for this purpose and beholding the strength of their warriors, they no longer delayed, but, under the vehement urging of one Bato, a Desidiatian, at first a few revolted and defeated the Romans who came against them, and then the rest also rebelled in consequence of this success. Next the Breucians, a Pannonian tribe, put another Bato at their head and marched against Sirmium and the Romans in that town. They did
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μὲν οὐκ ἔξειλον (αἰσθόμενος γὰρ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως αὐτῶν Κακίνας) ἦσον ὁ τῆς πλησιοχόρου Μυσίας ἄρχων ἐπήλθε τε αὐτοῖς διὰ ταχέων περὶ τῶν Δράουν ποταμῶν οὕτω καὶ συμβαλῶν ἑνίκησεν), ἀναμαχέσεσθαι δὲ πη διὰ βραχέος, ἐπείδη καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συχνοὶ ἐπεπτώκεσαν, ἐπισάντες πρὸς παράκλησιν συμμάχων ἐτρά-

4 ποντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν συνιστῶν ὅσον ἐδύναντο, ἐν δὲ τοῦτῷ ὁ Βάτων ὁ Δελμάτης ἐπὶ Σάλωνα στρατεύσας αὐτὸς μὲν λίθῳ χαλεπῶς πληγεὶς οὐδὲν ἐπράξεν, ἐτέρους δὲ τινας πέμψας πάντα τὰ παραθαλάσσια μέχρι τῆς Ἀπολλωνίας ἑλυμήνατο, καὶ τινὶ ἐνταῦθα μάχη δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς προσμε-ξαντάς σφίσι Ῥωμαίοις, καίπερ προητηθεῖς, 4 ἀντεπεκράτησε. πυθόμενος οὖν ταῦθ’ ὁ Τιβέριος, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἕσ τήν Ἰταλίαν ἑσβάλωσιν, ἐκ τῇς Κελτικῆς ἀνέστρεψε, καὶ τῶν Μεσσα-λιῶν προσέμψας αὐτὸς τῷ πλείου τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔφειτε. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τῆς προσόδου αὐτῶν ὁ Βάτων ἀπήνυσε τῷ Μεσσαλίῳ, καίπερ μη-

2 δέπω καλῶς ἔχων, καὶ ἐπικρατέστερος αὐτοῦ ἐν παρατάξει γενόμενος ἐπειτ’ ἐξ ἐνέδρας ἐνικήθη. καὶ τούτου πρὸς τε τῶν Βάτωνα τῶν Βρευκὸν ἦλθε, καὶ κοινωσάμενος αὐτῷ τὸν πόλεμον ὠρος τι Ἀλμᾶν κατέλαβε· κάνταυθα πρὸς μὲν τοῦ Ῥυμητάλκου τοῦ Θρακός, προπεμφθέντος ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεούρου, βραχεία τινὶ μάχη ἡττήθησαν, πρὸς δ’ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἱσχυρῶς ἀντ-

4 ἔσχον. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ τε Σεούρου ἐς τὴν Μυσίαν διὰ τε τοὺς Δακοὺς καὶ διὰ τοὺς

1 Κακίνας R. Steph., καὶ κίννας M.
2 ἀναμαχέσεσθαι Dind., ἀναμαχέσασθαι M.

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not capture the place, however, for Caecina Severus, A.D. 6
the governor of the neighbouring province of Moesia, marched rapidly against them, when he heard of their uprising, and joining battle with them near the river Dravus, vanquished them; but hoping in some way to renew the struggle soon, since many of the Romans also had fallen, they turned their attention to summoning their allies and were getting together as many as they could. Meanwhile the Dalmatian Bato marched upon Salonae, where he was badly wounded by a stone missile and so accomplished nothing himself; but he sent out some others, who wrought havoc along the whole sea-coast as far as Apollonia, and at that point, in spite of having been first defeated, won a battle in turn against the Romans who engaged them. Now when Tiberius learned of this, fearing that they might invade Italy, he returned from Germany, sending Messallinus ahead and following himself with most of his army. But Bato learned of their approach, and although not yet well, went to meet Messallinus; and though he proved stronger than Messallinus in open conflict, he was afterward defeated by an ambuscade. Thereupon he went to Bato, the Breucian, and making common cause with him in the war, occupied a mountain named Alma. Here they were defeated by Rhoe-metalces, the Thracian, who had been sent ahead against them by Severus, but resisted Severus himself vigorously. Later, when Severus withdrew to Moesia, because the Dacians and Sarmatians were

\[1\] The Drave.

\[2\] τινι ἢ μάχη Oddey, τινα ἢ μάχην M.
\[3\] ἑπτηθέεις Polak, ἑπτηθέεις M.
Σαυρομάτας πορθοῦντας αὐτὴν ἀπάραντος, καὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου τοῦ τε Μεσσαλίνου εὺν Σισκία ἐγχρονισάντων, τὴν τε συμμαχία σφῶν ἐπέδραμον καὶ συχνοὺς προσαπέστησαν. καὶ ἐς μὲν χείρας, καίπερ τοῦ Τιβερίου πλησιώσαντός σφιῶν, οὐκ ἦλθον αὐτῷ, ἄλλοσε δὲ καὶ ἄλλοσε μεθιστάμενοι πολλὰ ἑπόρθησαν τῆς τε γὰρ χώρας ἐμπείρως ἐχούντες καὶ κούφως ἐσκευασμένοι, ράδιως ὅπῃ ποτὲ ἐβούλοντο ἑχόρουν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε ὁ χειμῶν ἐνέστη, πολὺ πλείω ἐκακούργησαν καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν αὐθίς ἐνέβαλον. καὶ τούτους μὲν ὦ τε Ὁμητάλκης καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ῥασκύπορις μάχη κατέλαβον. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι τῇ μὲν χώρᾳ σφῶν πορθομένη μετὰ τούτο ἐπὶ τε Καικιλίου Μετέλλου καὶ ἐπὶ Λικινίου Σιλανοῦ ὑπάτων οὐκ ἐπήμυναν, ἐς δὲ τὰ ἐρυμικὰ ἀναφυγόντες ἐκεῖθεν ὅπῃ παρεῖκοι καταδρομᾶς ἐποιοῦντο.

31 Μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Ἁγουστος, καὶ ὑποπτεύσας ἐς τὸν Τιβέριον ὡς δυνηθέντα μὲν ἀν διὰ ταχέως αὐτοὺς κρατῆσαι, τρίβουντα δὲ ἐξεπίτηδες ἵνα ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πολέμου προφάσει ἦ, πέμπει τὸν Γερμανικὸν καὶ τοὺς ταμιεύοντα, στρατιώτας οἱ οὐκ εὐγενεῖς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξελευθέρους δοῦς, ἄλλους τε καὶ ὅσους παρὰ τε τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν γυναικῶν δούλους, πρὸς τὰ τιμῆματα αὐτῶν, σὺν προφή 2 ἐκμῆνῳ λαβὼν ἢλευθέρωσεν. οὐ μόνον δὲ τούτῳ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου χρείαν ἐπραξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῶν ἱππέων τὴν εὖ τῇ ἀγορᾷ γιγνο-

1 Σισκία Χυλ., σεισκία Μ.  2 Λικινίου Βκ., λικινίου Μ.

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ravaging it, and Tiberius and Messallinus were tarrying in Siscia, the Dalmatians overran the territory of their allies and caused many more to revolt. And although Tiberius approached them, they would engage in no pitched battle with him, but kept moving from one place to another, causing great devastation; for, owing to their knowledge of the country and the lightness of their equipment, they could easily proceed wherever they pleased. And when winter set in they did much greater damage, for they even invaded Macedonia again. As for these forces, now, Rhoemetalces and his brother Rhascyporis checked them by a battle; and as for the others, they did not come to the defence of their country when it was later ravaged (in the consulship of Caecilius Metellus and Licinius Silanus), but took refuge in the mountain fortresses, from which they made raiding expeditions whenever the chance offered.

When Augustus learned of these things, he began to be suspicious of Tiberius, who, as he thought, might speedily have overcome the Dalmatians, but was delaying purposely, in order that he might be under arms as long as possible, with the war as his excuse. He therefore sent out Germanicus, although he was only a quaestor, and gave him an army composed not only of free-born citizens but also of freedmen, including those whom he had freed from slavery by taking them from their masters and mistresses on payment of their value and the cost of their maintenance for six months. This was not the only measure he took to meet the need occasioned by the war, but he also postponed the review of the knights, which was wont to occur in the Forum. And he
μένην ἀνεβάλετο. κατά τε τῆς πανηγύρεως τῆς μεγάλης ηὔξατο, ὃτι γωνίν τις ἐς τὸν βραχίονα 
3 γράμματα ἀττα ἐνεμοῦσα ἐθείασε τινα. ἦσθετο μὲν γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ θεοῦ κατέσχητο ἀλλ’ ἐκ παρα-
σκευῆς αὐτὸ ἔπεποιήκει. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἀλλος τε καὶ διὰ τοὺς πολέμους τὸν τε λιμὼν, ὃς καὶ τότε αὐθίς συνέβη, δεινῶς ἐταράττετο, πιστεύειν τε καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν ἐπλάττετο, καὶ πάνθ’ ὅσα παραμυθήσεσθαι τὸν ὁμιλὸν ἡμελ-
λευ ὡς καὶ ἀναγκαία ἐγκατατε. καὶ ἐπὶ γε τῇ 
σιτοδείᾳ δύο αὐθίς ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἐπι-
μελητὰς τοῦ σίτου σὺν ραβδούχοις ἀπέδειξε. προσδέομενος δὲ δὴ χρημάτων ἐς τοὺς πολέμους 
καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν υπκοφυλάκων τροφήν, τὸ τε 
τέλος τὸ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνδρα-
πόδων πράσει ἐσήγαγε, καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον τὸ 
τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τοῖς τάς ὀπλομαχίας ποιοῦσιν 
ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου διδόμενον ἐκέλευσε μηκέτ’ ἀνα-
λίσκεσθαι.

32 Τὸν δὲ δὴ Γερμανικόν, ἀλλ’ οὗ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξέπεμψεν, ὅτι δουλοπρεπῆς τε 
ἐκεῖνος ἢν καὶ τὰ πλείστα ἠλιεύετο, θειετπερ καὶ 
Ποσείδώνα ἑαυτὸν ἐπωνύμαζε, τῇ τε ὀργῇ προ-
2 πετεῖ ἔχριτο, καὶ τὴν Διονίαν ὡς μητριαῖν 
διέβαλλεν, αὐτῷ τε τῷ Ἀὐγούστῳ πολλάκις ὑπὲρ 
τῶν πατρῴων ἑπεκάλει. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἔσωφρο-
νίζετο, ἀπεκηρύχθη, καὶ ἦ τε οὐσία αὐτοῦ τῷ 
στρατιωτικῷ ταμείῳ ἐδόθη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς Πλα-
νασίαν τὴν πρὸς Κύρνυν υῆσον ἐνεβλήθη.

1 ἦξατο R. Steph., εξατο M.
2 Διούλαν Lipsius, ἤουλαν M.
3 ταμείῳ Bk., ταμείῳ M.

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made a vow with reference to the Megalensian A.D. 7 games because some woman had cut some letters on her arm and practised some sort of divination. He knew well, to be sure, that she had not been possessed by any divine power, but had done this thing deliberately; but inasmuch as the populace was terribly wrought up over both the wars and the famine (which had now set in once more), he, too, affected to believe the common report and proceeded to do anything that would make the crowd cheerful, regarding such measures as necessary. And in view of the dearth of grain he appointed two ex-consuls commissioners of the grain supply, granting them lictors. And as there was need of more money for the wars and for the support of the night-watchmen, he introduced the tax of two per cent. on the sale of slaves, and he ordered that the money which was regularly paid from the public treasury to the praetors who gave gladiatorial combats should no longer be expended.

The reason why he sent Germanicus and not Agrippa to take the field was that the latter possessed an illiberal nature, and spent most of his time in fishing, by virtue of which he used to call himself Neptune. He used to give way to violent anger, and spoke ill of Livia as a stepmother, while he often reproached Augustus himself for not giving him the inheritance his father had left him. When he could not be made to moderate his conduct, he was banished and his property was given to the military treasury; he himself was put ashore on Planasia, the island near Corsica.
3 Taúta μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐγένετο· τοῦ δὲ δὴ Γερμανικοῦ ἐς τήν Παννονίαν ἐλθόντος καὶ στρατευμάτων πολλαχόθεν ἔκεισε συνιόντων, τηρήσαντες οἱ Βάτωνες τοῦ Σεούρην ἐκ τῆς Μυσίας προσίντα ἐπέτεσσον αὐτῷ ἀπροσδόκητοι, στρατοπεδευμένῳ πρὸς τὸν Οὐσίλκαιος ἔλεσι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἔξω τοῦ ταφρεύματος ἐφόβησαν καὶ κατηράζαν ἐς αὐτό, δεξαμενῶν δὲ σφας τῶν ἐνδον ἡττήθησαν. καὶ μετὰ τούθ᾽ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι νεμηθέντες, ὅπως πολλαχῇ ἁμα τῆς χώρας κατατρέχωσιν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγον τότε γε ἐδρασαν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Γερμανικὸς Μαξάιος Δελματικόν ἔθνος μάχῃ νικήσας ἐκάκωσεν.

33 'Εν μὲν δὴ τῷ ἐτει ἐκείνῳ ταῦτ' ἐπράξθη, Μάρκου δὲ δὴ Φούριον μετὰ Σέξτου Νωνίου ὑπατεύσαντος ἐπεθύμησαν μὲν καὶ οἱ Δελμάται καὶ οἱ Παννόνιοι συμβήναι διὰ τὸ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λιμῷ, εἶτα καὶ νόσῳ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, πόσαι τε τισιν ἄλλοκότοις καὶ ρίζαις χρώμενοι, πονηθήναι, οὐκ ἔπεκηρυκεύσαντο δὲ κωλυσάντων τῶν μηδεμίαν παρὰ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἐξίτιδα σωτηρίας ἐχόντων, 2 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃς ἀντείχον. καὶ Σκενοβαρδὸς τε τις προσποιησάμενος μεταστήσεσθαι, καὶ πέμψας κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο πρὸς Μάνιον Ἐμνίου φρούραρχον Σισκίας ἕως ἐτοιμὸς μὲν ὧν αὐτομολῆσαι, δεδιὸς δὲ μὴ προπάθη ἑ... 3 Padus, quem Italiae soli fluviorum regem dicunt cognomento Eridanus, ab Augusto imperatore latis-

1 Σισκίας Βκ., σελσκίας Μ.
2 Between προπάθη and μέντοι (chap. 34) four folios are lacking in M.
These were the events in the city. After Germanicus reached Pannonia and armies were assembling there from many sides, the two Batos waited until Severus approached from Moesia and then fell upon him unexpectedly, while he was encamped near the Volcaean marshes. They frightened the pickets outside the ramparts and drove them back inside, but when the men in the camp stood their ground, the attackers were defeated. After this the Romans were divided into detachments, in order that they might overrun many parts of the country at once; most of these detachments did nothing worthy of note, at least not at that time, but Germanicus conquered in battle and harassed the Mazaei, a Dalmatian tribe.

These were the achievements of that year. In the consulship of Marcus Furius and Sextus Nonius, the Dalmatians and Pannonians desired to make terms, because they were afflicted first by famine and then by disease that followed it, since they were using for food roots and strange herbs. They did not, however, make any overtures, being hindered by those who had no hope of being spared by the Romans, but even in their distress still resisted. And one, Scenobardus, who had pretended he was going to change sides and with reference to this very matter had sent to Manius Ennius, the commander of the garrison in Siscia, as if he were ready to desert, became afraid that he might suffer harm beforehand . . . .

The Po, which, under the name Eridanus,¹ they call the king of the rivers that cleave the soil of Italy, had its waters let into a very wide canal by the

¹ This is the usual name of the river in Greek.
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sima fossa demissus, qui septima sui alvei parte per mediam influit civitatem, ad ostia sua amoenissimum portum praebens, classem ducentarum quinquaginta navium, Dione referente, tutissima dudum credebatur recipere statione.—Jordanes, Get. 29, 150.

4  Δωφήσαντος δέ ποτε τού λιμοῦ, ἐπὶ τε τῷ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ ὄνοματι, δὲ ἢν τοῦ Δρούσου παῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἵπποδρομίας ἐποίησε, καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ἐλέφας τε ρυνοκέρωτα κατεμαχέσατο καὶ ἀνὴρ ἐππεύς πλούτῳ ποτὲ προενεγκὼν ἐμονομάχησε.

5  Καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ γῆρᾳ καὶ τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενείας ἔκαμνεν, ὡστε μὴ δύνασθαι πᾶσι τοῖς δεομένοις τι αὐτοῦ χρηματίζειν, τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν συνέδρων καὶ διεσκόπη ¹ καὶ ἐδίκαζεν, ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἐπὶ βήματος προκαθήμενος, τὰς δὲ δὴ ² πρεσβείας τὰς τε παρὰ τῶν δήμων καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἀφικνουμένας τρισὶ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἐπέτρεψεν, ὡστ' αὐτοῖς χωρὶς ἕκαστον καὶ διακούειν τινὸν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν αὐτοῖς διδόναι, πλὴν τῶν ὅσα ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τὴν τε βουλὴν καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐπιδιακρίνειν.—Xiph. 114, 15–30.

34  . . . μέντοι καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρωτοῖς ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ὑστάτοις ἀπεφαίνετο, ὡσποδ' ἰδιοβουλεῖν ἀπασιν ἔξειν καὶ μηδεῖς αὐτῶν τῆς εαυτοῦ γνώμης, ὥσ καὶ ἀνάγκην τινὰ συμφρονήσαι οἱ ἔχων, ἐξίστατο, ³

¹ διεσκόπη V, διεσκ ... C, διεσκέφατο L'.
² δὴ V, μὴ C, om. L'. ³ εξίστατο Bk., εξίσταται M.
Emperor Augustus. A seventh part of the stream of this river flows through the centre of the city, affording at its mouth a most attractive harbour, which was formerly believed, according to Dio, to be a thoroughly safe anchorage for a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships.

When at last the famine had abated, he conducted games in the Circus in the name of Germanicus, who was son of Drusus, and in that of Germanicus' brother. On this occasion an elephant overcame a rhinoceros and a knight who had once been distinguished for his wealth fought in single combat.

Now when Augustus was growing weary by reason of old age and the feebleness of his body, so that he could not attend to the business of all those who needed his care, though he continued personally, with his assistants, to investigate judicial cases and to pass judgment, seated on the tribunal in the palace, he entrusted to three ex-consuls the embassies sent to Rome by peoples and kings; these, sitting separately, gave audience to such embassies and made answer to them, except in matters in which the final decision had of necessity to be rendered by the senate and Augustus.

[It had been Augustus' practice hitherto to attend all the meetings of the senate, though he did not,] however, declare his opinion among the first, but among the last, his purpose being that all might be permitted to form their views independently and no one should abandon his own judgment, as though he were under any necessity of agreeing with the emperor; and he would often sit with the magis-

1 Ravenna.
2 Claudius, who later became emperor.
τοῖς τε ἄρχονσι πολλάκις συνεδίκαζε· καὶ ὀσάκις 
γε οἱ παρεδρεύοντες σφίσιν ἐδιχογυμώνουν, 1 καὶ 
ἡ ἐκείνου ψήφος ἀπὸ τῆς ἕσης ταῖς τῶν ἀλλων 

2 ἡμιθμεῖτο. τὸτε δὲ τῇ μὲν γερουσίᾳ καὶ ἀνευ 
ἐαυτοῦ τὰ πολλὰ δικάζειν ἐπέτρεπτεν, ἐς δὲ τὸν 
δήμον οὐκέτι παρῆι, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν προτέρῳ ἔτει 
πάντας τοὺς ἀρξοντας αὐτός, ἐπειδήπερ ἐστα-

σιάζετο, ἀπέδειξε, τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἑπετί 
γράμματα τυπα ἐκτιθεὶς συνίστῃ τῷ τε πλήθει 

3 καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ὅσους ἐσπούδαζε. πρὸς μέντοι τὰς 
τῶν πολέμων διαχειρίσεις οὕτως ἔρρωτο ὅσθ', 

Ἰ, ἐγγύθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς Δελμάταις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς 
Παννονίως πάν ὁ τι χρὴ συμβουλεύειν ἔχῃ, πρὸς 
Ἄρίμυννον ἐξώρμησε. καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἔξοδῷ αὐτοῦ 
ἐνχαί ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἑπανόδῳ αἱ θυσίαι 
ἀσπερ ἐκ πολεμίας τινὸς ἀνακομισθέντος ἐτε-

λέσθησαν.

4 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη ἐπράξθη, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ 
ὁ Βάτων ὁ Βρεύκος, ὁ τὸν τε Πίνυνν προδοῦς καὶ 
μισθὸν τούτων τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Βρεύκων λαβῶν, 
ἐάλω τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐτέρου Βάτωνος καὶ διεφθάρη.

5 ἐπειδή γὰρ ὑποπτεύεσας τι ἐς τὸ υπῆκον ὀμῆρον 
καθ ἐκαστον τῶν φρουρίων περίῳν 2 ἢτε, μαθῶν 
τούτ ἐκείνου ἐνήδρευσε που αὐτόν, καὶ καθ 
κρατήσας κατέκλεισεν ἐς τεῖχος, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ 
ἐκδοθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνδὸν λαβῶν παρῆγαγε τε ἐς 
τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ καταψηφισθέντα ὑποδοκεῖν 

6 ἐν χερσὶ ἐποίησε. γενομένου δὲ τούτων συχρο 
τῶν Παννονίων ἐπανέστησαν, καὶ αὐτοῖς 3 ὁ

1 ἐδιχογυμώνου Morell, ἐδιχογυμων M.
2 περίῳν R. Steph, περίῳν M.
3 αὐτοῖς Rk., αὐτοῖς M.

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trates as they tried cases. Also, whenever those who sat in judgment with him found themselves in disagreement, the emperor's vote was counted as no more than equal to that of any other judge. But at the time to which I refer, Augustus allowed the senate to try most cases without him, and he gave up attending the popular assemblies. Instead, he had the year before personally appointed all who were to hold office, because there were factional outbreaks, and in this and the following years he merely posted a bulletin recommending to the plebs and to the people those whom he favoured. Yet he was so vigorous when it came to directing campaigns against the enemy that he proceeded to Ariminum in order that he might be near at hand to give all necessary advice in regard to both the Dalmatians and the Pannonians. On his departure vows were made, and on his return the sacrifices customary when he came back from the enemy's country were offered.

This was what was done in Rome. Meanwhile, Bato, the Breucian, who had betrayed Pinnes and had received the right to rule over the Breucians as his reward, was captured by the other Bato and put to death. The Breucian, it seems, had been somewhat suspicious of his subject tribes and had gone round to each of the garrisons to demand hostages; and the other, learning of this, lay in wait for him somewhere or other, defeated him in battle, and shut him up in a stronghold. Later, when the Breucian was delivered over by those inside, he took him and brought him before the army, and then, when he had been condemned, put him to death on the spot. After this many of the Pannonians rose in revolt,
Σιλουανός ἐπιστρατεύσας τούς τε Βρεύκους ἐνικήσε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινῶν ἄμαχεὶ προσεποιήσατο. ἤδην οὖν ταύτα ὁ Βάτων τῆς μὲν Παννονίας οὐδεμίαν ἐτ' ἐλπίδα ἔσχε, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὴν Δελματίαν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἑσόδους φρουραῖς διαλαβὼν ἐκείνην 7 ἐπόρθει. καὶ οὕτω καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Παννονίων, ἄλλος τε καὶ τῆς χώρας σφῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σιλουανοῦ κακουμένης, ὁμολογησαν, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον ληστικά τινα οἷα ἐκ ταραχῆς τοσαύτης ἐπὶ πλεῖον κακουργοῦντα διεγένετο, ὅπερ ποὺ καὶ ἄει ὡς εἰπεῖν παρὰ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις μᾶλιστα συμβαίνει.
and Silvanus made a campaign against them, con-
quered the Breucians, and won over some of the
others without a battle. Bato, on seeing this, gave
up all hope of Pannonia, but occupied the passes
leading to Dalmatia with garrisons and ravaged that
country. Then at last the remainder of the Pan-
onians also came to terms, chiefly for the reason
that their country was being harried by Silvanus.
However, certain bands of brigands continued their
forays for a long time, as was natural after so great a
disturbance; indeed, this nearly always happens, not
only among other peoples, but especially in the case
of these tribes.
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