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Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ ἐκτῷ τῶν Δίωνος Ρωμαίων

α. Ἔστε τά τέκνα ἐξούσι καὶ μετὰ τούτο τοῖς ἀτέκνοις καὶ ἀγάμοις ὁ Αὐγουστος διελέχθη, καὶ ὡσα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀφίσεν.

β. Ἡ Ῥωμαίος Οὐδεὶς ἠπεθανεν ὑπὸ Κελτῶν ἀπέθανεν.

γ. Ἠ Τὸ Ὀμονοεῖον καθιερώθη.

δ. Ἡ Διονύσιος στοὰ καθιερώθη.

ε. Ἡ Αὐγουστος μετῆλλαξεν.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἔτη ἕξ, ἐν ὃῖς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμοῦμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο

Κ. Συμπρίκιος Κ. úi. Καμερίνος ὑπ.

Γ. Ποππαιώς Κ. úi. Σαβίνος

Π. Καρυλλιώς Π. úi. Δολοβέλλας ὑπ.

Γ. Ἡ Θύνιος Γ. úi. Σιλάνος

Μ. Λιμίλιος Κ. úi. Λέπιδος ὑπ.

Τ. Στατιλίος Τ. úi. Ταύρος

Γερμανικός Τ. Καίσαρος úi. Καίσαρ ὑπ.

Γ. Φοντέιος 2 Γ. úi. Καπίτων

Α. Μούνατιος Α. úi. Πλάγγος

Γ. Σίλιος Γ. úi. Καϊκίνα Λάργας úp.

Σέξτος Πομπήιος Σέξτου úi.

Σέξτος Απούλειος úp. Σέξτου úi.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλοι καθήρουν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, μετὰ τὸν χειμῶνα ἐν ὧν Κύντος Συμπρίκιος καὶ Γάιος Σαβίνος ὑπάτευσαν, ἀνεκομίσθη καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐς

1 Γ. úi. supplied by Bs., 2 Φοντέιος Bs., φονταίος M.

3 Καϊκίνα Λάργας Bs., καγκαλαρίος M.
The following is contained in the Fifty-sixth of Dio’s Rome:—

How Augustus addressed those who were fathers and afterwards the childless and unmarried, and the recompenses that he established for them (chaps. 1–10).

How Quintilius Varus was defeated by the Germans and perished (chaps. 18–24).

How the temple of Concord was dedicated (chap. 25).

How the Portico of Livia was dedicated (chap. 27).

How Augustus passed away (chaps. 29–47).

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

A.D.

10 P. Cornelius P. f. Dolabella, Q. Iunius C. f. Silanus.
14 Sextus Pompeius Sexti f., Sextus Apuleius Sexti f.

While others were reducing these places, Tiberius returned to Rome after the winter in which Quintus Sulpicius and Gaius Sabinus became consuls. Even Augustus himself went out into the suburbs to meet

1 The compiler of this synopsis had before him a faulty reading in chap. 27 (see critical note on that passage); the Porticus Iulia is meant.

4 Ἀπολύτιος Μ., Ἀπολύτιος Μ.
DIOS ROMAN HISTORY

to prooesteion apantaq̄itas ἤλθε τε μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐσ 

ta Seppata, κανταύθα ἀπὸ βῆματος τὸν δῆμον ἠσπάσατο, καὶ μετὰ τὸν τα ἀλλα τὰ προσ-

ηκοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἐποίησε καὶ θέας

2 epivnikious dia τῶν ὑπάτων. ἐπειδὴ τε οἱ ἱππὶς 
pollh ἐν αὐταῖς σπουδὴ τὸν νόμον τὸν περὶ τῶν 
mhete 1 γαμοῦντων μίτε τεκνοῦντων καταλυθήναι 

ηξίους, ἠθροισεν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν χωρίς μὲν τοὺς 

ἀγνωσίους σφῶν χωρίς δὲ τοὺς γεγαμηκότας ἢ καὶ 
tekna ἔχουνας, καὶ ἰδὼν πολὺ τούτους ἐκείνων 

ἐλάττους ἦλακησε τε καὶ διελέξατο αὐτοῖς τοιάδε·

2 "Εἰ καὶ ὅλῳν παντάπασιν, ὃς γε πρὸς τοσοῦ-
ton οὕκοιν πόλεως εὐπειν, καὶ πολλὰ καταδείπτεροι 
tów ἔτερων τῶν μιδὲν τῶν δεόντων πράττειν 

ἐθελοῦντων ἐστε, ἀλλ' ἐγώγη καὶ κατ' αὐτό τοῦτο 

μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ καὶ πολλὰν χάριν ὑμῶν ἔχω, 

ὅτι καὶ ἐπείσθητε καὶ τὴν πατρίδα συμπληρύστε.

2 εκ γὰρ τῶν ὁυτοι βιουντων παμπληθείς οἱ μετὰ 

taunta Rwmainoi geneqhtovta. καὶ γὰρ τὸ κατ' 

ἀρχὰς καὶ πάνι βραχεῖς ὠντες, ἐπείτα γάμων 

ἐπιμεληθέντες καὶ τέκνα ποιησάμενοι πάντας 

ἀνθρώπους οὐκ εὐανδρία μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πο-

3 λυανθρωπία υπερέφυμεν. οὐν χρῆ μεμνημένους 

to thnpton τῆς φύσεως ἠμῶν ἀδιδἡ διαδοχὴ γενών 

ὡςπερ τινῶν λαμπαδίων παραμύθεσθαι, ἵνα 

ètres τῆς θείας εὐδαιμονίας ἠττομέθα, τοῦτ'

4 ἔξ ἀλλήλων ἀθάνατον καθιστῶμεθα. διὰ γὰρ 

tou to to καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ὁ πρῶτος καὶ μέγιστος 

ἐκεῖνος θεός, ὁ τεκτηράμενος ἡμᾶς, δικῇ τε διείλε 

to thnpton γένος, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄρρεν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἰ

1 mhete Bk., mh M.
him, accompanied him to the Saepta, and there from a tribunal greeted the people. Following this he performed all the ceremonies proper to such occasions, and caused the consuls to give triumphal games. And when the knights were very urgent, during the games, in seeking the repeal of the law regarding the unmarried and the childless, he assembled in one part of the Forum the unmarried men of their number, and in another those who were married, including those who also had children. Then, perceiving that the latter were much fewer in number than the former, he was filled with grief and addressed them somewhat as follows:

"Though you are but few altogether, in comparison with the vast throng that inhabits this city, and are far less numerous than the others, who are unwilling to perform any of their duties, yet for this very reason I for my part praise you the more, and am heartily grateful to you because you have shown yourselves obedient and are helping to replenish the fatherland. For it is by lives so conducted that the Romans of later days will become a mighty multitude. We were at first a mere handful, you know, but when we had recourse to marriage and begot us children, we came to surpass all mankind not only in the manliness of our citizens but in the size of our population as well. Bearing this in mind, we must console the mortal side of our nature with an endless succession of generations that shall be like the torch-bearers in a race, so that through one another we may render immortal the one side of our nature in which we fall short of divine bliss. It was for this cause most of all that that first and greatest god, who fashioned us, divided the race of mortals in
θῆλυ ἀποδείξας ἔρωτα καὶ ἀνάγκην σφίσι τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνουσίας ἐνέβαλε, καὶ γόνυμον τὴν ὁμιλίαν αὐτῶν ἐποίησεν, ὅπως ἐκ τῶν ἀεὶ γεννωμένων ἀδίδον τρόπον τινὰ καὶ τὸ θυτῆτον ἀπεργάσηται. καίτοι καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν οἱ μὲν ἀρρενεῖς αὐτῷ θήλειαν νομιζόνται, καὶ οἳ μὲν γεγενημένοι πιανᾶν οἱ δ’ ἐκ τῶν γεγεννήσθαι παραδέδονταί οὖν καὶ παρ’ ἐκεῖνοις τοὺς μηδὲν τούτων δεσμονοῖς καλὸν εἶναι δεδοκται καὶ γάμος καὶ τέκνωσις.
twain, making one half of it male and the other half female, and implanted in them love and compulsion to mutual intercourse, making their association fruitful, that by the young continually born he might in a way render even mortality eternal. Indeed, even of the gods themselves some are accounted male and others female; and the tradition prevails that some have begotten others and some have been begotten of others. So even among those beings, who need no such device, marriage and the begetting of children have been approved as a noble thing.

"You have done right, therefore, to imitate the gods and right to emulate your fathers, so that, just as they begot you, you also may bring others into the world; that, just as you consider them and name them ancestors, others also may regard you and address you in similar fashion; that the works which they nobly achieved and handed down to you with glory, you also may hand on to others; and that the possessions which they acquired and left to you, you also may leave to others sprung from your own loins. For is there anything better than a wife who is chaste, domestic, a good house-keeper, a rearer of children; one to gladden you in health, to tend you in sickness; to be your partner in good fortune, to console you in misfortune; to restrain the mad passion of youth and to temper the unseasonable harshness of old age? And is it not a delight to acknowledge a child who shows the endowments of both parents, to nurture and educate it, at once the physical and the spiritual image of yourself, so that in its growth another self lives again? Is it not blessed, on departing from life, to leave behind as
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6 ὡστε ἐν πολέμῳ γε ἀπολέσθαι; καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κέρδη ἤδια ποὺ τοὺς γαμοῦσι καὶ τεκνοποιοῦσιν ὑπάρχειν τῷ ἐξ ἐκείνου διαδοχὴ ἐστί, καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ ἀλλοτρίοις ὅσπερ ἐν πολέμῳ γενέσθαι μὴ τε ἁρδην

7 καὶ οἱ ὁμοίως ἔσονται, καὶ ὑμεῖς τε ἐπέρων ἀρξετε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ύμῖν ὑπακούσουσιν, πολυπληθία ἐν τε εἰρήνῃ γῆν ἐργάσασθαι καὶ ναυτιλίας ναυτιλασθαί τέχνας τε ἀσκήσαι καὶ δημιουργίας ἐπιτηδεύσαι, καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ τὰ τὸ ὡστε προθυμότερον διὰ τὰ γένη σώσαι καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἐτέρως ἀντικαταστήσαι; ὑμῖς μὲν οὖν, ὁ ἄνδρες (μόνοι γὰρ ἀν ἀνδρεῖς δικαίως ὑνομάζοσθε), καὶ ὁ πατέρες (καὶ γὰρ ταύτην ἄξιον τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ὁμοίως ἐμοὶ ἐχειν ἐστε) καὶ φίλω διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐπαινῶ, καὶ τούτως τε οἷς ἐθήκα ἄθλοις ἄγάλλω, καὶ προσετί καὶ ἄλλαις καὶ τιμαῖς καὶ ἀρχαῖς ἐπιγαυρῶσω, ὡστε αὐτοὺς τε μεγάλα καρπώσασθαι καὶ τοῖς πασί μὴ ἐλάττω καταλιπεῖν. μεταβήσομαι δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς οὕτε τι τῶν ὁμοίων ύμῖν πε- ποιηκότας καὶ πάντων διὰ τοῦτο τῶν ἐναντίων τευχόμενοι, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἄλλα καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἐτί καὶ μᾶλλον καταμάθητε ὡσον αὐτῶν διαφέρετε.”

1 ἐν πολέμῳ γε corrupt. Dindorf rejected it altogether as a mere repetition from the line above; Capps suggests ἐν λοιμῷ.

8
BOOK LVI

successor and heir to your blood and substance one that is your own, sprung from your own loins, and to have only the human part of you waste away, while you live in the child as your successor, so that you need not fall into the hands of aliens, as in war, nor perish utterly, as in a pestilence? These, now, are the private advantages that accrue to those who marry and beget children; but for the State, for whose sake we ought to do many things that are even distasteful to us, how excellent and how necessary it is, if cities and peoples are to exist, and if you are to rule others and all the world is to obey you, that there should be a multitude of men, to till the earth in time of peace, to make voyages, practise arts, and follow handicrafts, and, in time of war, to protect what we already have with all the greater zeal because of family ties and to replace those that fall by others. Therefore, men,—for you alone may properly be called men,—and fathers,—for you are as worthy to hold this title as I myself,—I love you and praise you for this; and I not only bestow the prizes I have already offered but will distinguish you still further by other honours and offices, so that you may not only reap great benefits yourselves but may also leave them to your children undiminished. I will now go over to the other group, whose actions will bear no comparison with yours and whose reward, therefore, will be directly the opposite. You will thus learn not alone from my words, but even more from my deeds, how far you excel them."

2 πολυπληθία Bk., πολυπληθιαi M.
3 ναυτιλίας Bk., ναυτιλίαι M.
4 ἂν supplied by Dind.
4 Taunt' eiπων, καὶ τὰ μὲν παραχρήμα δοῦς τισιν αὐτοῖς τὰ δ' ύποσχόμενος, μετήλθε τε πρὸς τοὺς ἑτέρους καὶ ἔλεγε καὶ ἐκεῖνοις τάδε:

2 "Θαυμαστοῦ μὲν τι πέπονθα, ὡς τί ἂν ὑνομάσαιμι ὑμᾶς; ἀνδρὰς; ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἀνδρῶν ἐργον παρέχεσθε. πολίτας; ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐφ' ύμων, ἥ πόλις ἀπόλλυται. Ῥωμαίους; ἀλλ' ἐπιχειρεῖτε τὸ ὅνομα τούτο καταλῦσαι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐγγυε, οὕτως ποτε ἔστε καὶ οἰσιν ὑπείρᾳ ὁνομαζό-

3 μενοι, παράδοξοι μὲν τι πάθος πέπονθα. ὑπὲρ γὰρ τῆς πολυναυτροπίας υμῶν ἀεὶ τε πάντα ποιῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπίτιμησειν ύμῖν μέλλων, ἀνθέως ύμᾶς ὀρῷ πολλοὺς ὑμνας, καὶ μάλλον ἢ Ἰβουλόμην τοσούτοις μὲν τοὺς ἑτέρους ἑκεῖνους, οἰς προδιειλέγομαι, εἶναι, ὅσοι 2 υμεῖς ὀρῴσθε, ύμᾶς δὲ δὴ μᾶλλον μὲν σὺν ἑκεῖνοις τετάχθαι, εἰ δὲ μὴ, μηδὲ εἰναι:

4 οὕτως οὕτε τῆς τῶν θεῶν προνοίας οὕτε τῆς τῶν προπατόρων ἐπιμελείας ἐνθυμηθέντες ἐπιθυμεῖτε πᾶν μὲν τὸ γένος ἑμῶν ἁφαίσαι καὶ θυτιτόν ὑμνώς ποιῆσαι, πᾶν δὲ τὸ Ῥωμαίων ἔθνος φθείρα καὶ πάυσαι. τί μὲν γὰρ ἂν ὑπολειπθεῖν σπέρμα ἀνθρώπων, ἂν τὰ αὐτὰ ύμών καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες πράξωσιν; ὃν ἀρχηγοῖ γεγονότες εὐλογῶς ἂν

5 τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς πανωλεθρίας ἔχοιτε.3 πῶς δ' οὖ, κἂν 4 μηδὲνς ἄλλοι ξηλώσωσιν ύμᾶς, εἰκότως ἂν καὶ δ' αὐτὸ τούτο μισοῦσθε, ὅτι παροράτε τε ἡ μηδεῖς ἂν ἄλλος παρίδοι καὶ ἀμελεῖτε ὅπ' οὐδεῖς ἂν 5 ἄλλος ἀμελήσει, καὶ νόμους καὶ ἐπιτηδεύ-

1 προδιειλέγομαι R. Steph., προδιειλέγομαι M.
2 ὅσοi Rk, ἦ ὅσοi M. 3 ἔχοιτε Bk., ἔχητε M.
3 πῶς δ' οὖ, κἂν Cobet, πῶς δ' οὖκ, ὅν M.
4 κἂν supplied by R. Steph.
After this speech he made presents to some of them at once and promised to make others; he then went over to the other crowd and spoke to them as follows:

"A strange experience has been mine, O—what shall I call you? Men? But you are not performing any of the offices of men. Citizens? But for all that you are doing, the city is perishing. Romans? But you are undertaking to blot out this name altogether. Well, at any rate, whatever you are and by whatever name you delight to be called, mine has been an astonishing experience; for though I am always doing everything to promote an increase of population among you and am now about to rebuke you, I grieve to see that there are a great many of you. I could rather have wished that those others to whom I have just spoken were as numerous as you prove to be, and that preferably you were ranged with them, or otherwise did not exist at all. For you, heedless alike of the providence of the gods and of the watchful care of your forefathers, are bent upon annihilating our entire race and making it in truth mortal, are bent upon destroying and bringing to an end the entire Roman nation. For what seed of human beings would be left, if all the rest of mankind should do what you are doing? For you have become their leaders, and so would rightly bear the responsibility for the universal destruction. And even if no others emulate you, would you not be justly hated for the very reason that you overlook what no one else would overlook, and neglect what no one else would neglect, introducing customs and practices which, if imitated,
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ματα τοιαύτα ἐσφέρετε ἄ ζηλώσαντες μὲν πάντες ἄν ἀπόλοιντο, μυσήσαντες δ' ύμᾶς ἀν δικαιώσειαν.

6 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν φονεῶν φειδόμεθα ὅτι μὴ πάντες φονεύουσιν, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἱεροσύλους ἀφίεμεν ὅτι μὴ πάντες ἱεροσύλουσιν, ἀλλ' ὀστὶς ἀν τῶν ἀπειρημένων τι πράττων ἄλω, καὶ ύπερ αὐτοῦ τούτων κολάζεται, ὅτι μόνος ἦ καὶ μετ' ὀλίγων

5 ποιεῖ τι τοιοῦτον ὁ μηδεὶς ἑτέρος, καίτοι καὶ τὰ μέγιστά τις ἀδικήματα ὑνομίσῃ, οὐδὲν ἐστὶ τᾶλλα πρὸς τούτῳ τὸ νῦν υφ' ἕμων χειρόμενον, οὐχ ὅτι ἐν πρὸς ἐν ἑξεταζόμενα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁμοί πάντα πρὸς τούτῳ τὸ ἐν παραβαλλόμενα. καὶ γὰρ μιαφονείτε, μηδὲ τεκνοῦντες ἅρχην τοὺς ἔξ

2 ύμῶν γεννηθήναι ὀφείλομας, καὶ ἀνοσινυργεῖτε, τὰ τε ὑνόματα καὶ τὰς τιμὰς τῶν προγόνων παύντες, καὶ ἀσεβεῖτε, τὰ τε γένη ύμῶν τὰ καταδειχθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἀφανίζοντες, καὶ τὸ μένιστον τῶν ἀναθημάτων αὐτῶν, τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν, ἀπολλύντες, τὰ τε ἑρᾶ δία τούτου καὶ τῶς ναοὺς αὐτῶν ἀνατρέποντες. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν καταλύντε, μη πειθόμενοι τοῖς νόμοις, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα προδίδοτε, στερήσιν τι αὐτήν καὶ ἄγονον ἀπεργαζόμενοι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἄρθην κατασκάπτε, ἐρήμων τῶν οἰκησιῶν ποιοῦντες: ἀνθρώποι γὰρ ποὺ πόλεις ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἰκίαι οὐδὲ στοι διὰ οὐδ' ἀγοραὶ ἀνδρῶν κεναί.

3 "Ἐνθυμήθητε οὖν, τίνα μὲν οὐκ ἂν ὀργὴν ὁ Ἅρωμύλος ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἄρχηγέτης ἕμων δικαιώς

1 ἀλλ' ὀστὶς Ῥκ., ἵν' ἄλλος ὀτις Μ.

1 Compare the words of Nicias (in Thuc. vii. 77): ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλεις, καὶ οὐ τεῖχε οὐδὲ νήες ἄνδρων κεναί (it is men that
would lead to the extermination of all mankind, and, if abhorred, would end in your own punishment? We do not spare murderers, you know, because not every man commits murder, nor do we let temple-robbers go because not everyone robs temples; but anybody who is convicted of committing a forbidden act is punished for the very reason that he alone or in company with a few others does something that no one else would do. Yet, if one were to name over all the worst crimes, the others are as naught in comparison with this one you are now committing, whether you consider them crime for crime or even set all of them together over against this single crime of yours. For you are committing murder in not begetting in the first place those who ought to be your descendants; you are committing sacrilege in putting an end to the names and honours of your ancestors; and you are guilty of impiety in that you are abolishing your families, which were instituted by the gods, and destroying the greatest of offerings to them,—human life,—thus overthrowing their rites and their temples. Moreover, you are destroying the State by disobeying its laws, and you are betraying your country by rendering her barren and childless; nay more, you are laying her even with the dust by making her destitute of future inhabitants. For it is human beings that constitute a city, we are told, not houses or porticos or market-places empty of men.

Bethink you, therefore, what wrath would justly seize the great Romulus, the founder of our race, if constitute a city, not walls or ships empty of men). Compare also Soph., *O.R.* 55 f.
λάβοι, λογισάμενος τὰ τε καθ' ἐαυτὸν, οὖθεν ἐγεννῆθη, καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα, ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐκ νομίμων
5 γάμων παιδοποιεῖσθαι ἐθέλετε· τίνα δ' οὐκ ἂν οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ 1 Ὀρωμαίοι, ἐννοήσαντες ὅτι αὐτὸι
καὶ τὰς ἀλλοτρίας κόρας ἤρπασαν, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐδὲ τὰς οἰκείας ἀγαπᾶτε, καὶ οἱ μὲν καὶ ἐκ τῶν
πολεμίων ἐπαιδοποιήσαντο, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐδὲ ἐκ τῶν πολιτίδων τεκνοῦτε· τίνα ὁ Κοῦρτιος ὁ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπομείνας, ἵνα μὴ στερηθῶσι τῶν
γυναικῶν οἱ γεγαμμηκότες· τίνα Ἡρσιλία ἡ καὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ ἀκολουθήσασα καὶ τὰ γαμμικά πάνθ᾽
6 ἦμιν καταδείξασα. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πατέρες ἤμων καὶ ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς Σαβίνους ύπερ τῶν γάμων, καὶ
κατελύσαντο τῶν τε γυναικῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν τέκνων συναλλάξαντοι σφᾶς, ὅρκους τε ἐπὶ
tούτοις ἐπήγαγον καὶ συνθῆκας τινὰς ἐποιήσαντο·
7 ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνα πάντα συγχέιτε. διὰ τί; ἦ ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἢ ἁγνοῦν ἤτε, ὅσπερ αἱ ἑρεῖαι
αἱ ἦλεπορθέναι ἀνανδροῦ ἐισίν; οὐκοῦν καὶ κο-
λάζεσθε, ἄν ἀσελγαίνητέ τι, ὅσπερ καὶ ἐκεῖνα.
6 "Πικρῶς εὖ οἴδ᾽ ὅτι καὶ πραχέως δοκῶ υμῖν
dιαλέγεσθαι. ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν λογίσασθε ὅτι
καὶ οἱ ἱεροὶ συνχοῦσι καὶ καῖνοτες καὶ τέμνοντες,
ὅταν μὴ δύνωσαι ἀλλοι πῶς υγείς γενέσθαι,
2 θεραπεύωσιν, ἑπείτα δὲ ὅτι ύπερ ἐκὸν οὐθ'
ηδεῶς αὐτὰ λέγω, ὅστε ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦθ᾽
ὑμῖν ἐγκαλῶ ὅτι μὲ ἐσ τούτους τοὺς λόγους
προηγάγετε, υμεῖς δ' εἴπερ ἄκθεσθε τοῖς εἰρη-
μένοις, μὴ ποιεῖτε ταῦτα ἐφ' οἷς ἀναγκαίως κακῶς
ἀκούετε. εἰ γὰρ δὴ διάκνει τινὰς υμῶν τὰ ὑπ᾽
ἐμοῦ λεγόμενα, πῶς οὐ πολὺ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐμὲ

1 αὐτοῦ Leuncl., αὐτὸν M.
he could reflect on the circumstances of his own birth and then upon your conduct in refusing to beget children even by lawful marriages! How wrathful would the Romans who were his followers be, if they could realize that after they themselves had even seized foreign girls, you are not satisfied even with those of your own race, and after they had got children even by enemy wives, you will not beget them even of women who are citizens! How angry would Curtius be, who was willing to die that the married men might not be bereft of their wives! How indignant Hersilia, who attended her daughter at her wedding and instituted for us all the rites of marriage! Nay, our fathers even fought the Sabines to obtain brides and made peace through the intercession of their wives and children; they administered oaths and made sundry treaties for this very purpose; but you are bringing all their efforts to naught. And why? Do you desire to live apart from women always, even as the Vestal Virgins live apart from men? Then you should also be punished as they are if you are guilty of any lewdness.

"I know that I seem to you to speak bitterly and harshly. But reflect, in the first place, that physicians, too, treat many patients by cauterity and surgery, when they cannot be cured in any other way; and, in the second place, that it is not my wish or my pleasure to speak thus. Hence I have this further reproach to bring against you, that you have provoked me to this discourse. As for yourselves, if you do not like what I say, do not continue this conduct for which you are being and must ever be reproached. If my words do wound some of you, how much more do your actions wound both me and
καὶ τοὺς Ἀλλους 'Ῥωμαίους πάντας τὰ ύφ' ύμῶν 3 ποιούμενα; οὐκοῦν εἶπερ ὃς ἀληθῶς ἀσχάλλετε, μετάβαλεσθε, ἵνα καὶ ἐπαινέσω ύμᾶς καὶ διαμείψωμαι. ὅτι γὰρ οὗτε τῇ φύσει χαλεπός εἶμι, πάντα τε ὁσα προσήκον ἦν τῶν ἁγαθῶν νομοθέτημων πρᾶξαι ἀνθρωπίνως προκατεστησάμην, οὐδ' αὐτοὶ ἁγνοεῖτε.

4 "Ἰν μὲν γὰρ οὖδὲ πρὸσθεν ἐξὸν ἀμέλειν τις παιδοποιίας καὶ γάμου· καὶ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς ἦμα τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς πολιτείας καταστάσει ἀκριβῶς περὶ αὐτῶν ἐνυμοθετήθη, καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ πολλὰ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἔδοξεν, ἀ περιττόν 5 ἀν εἶ ἡ καταλέγειν ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπηὑξίασα μὲν τὰ ἐπιτύμια τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσιν, ἵνα φόβῳ τοῦ περιπεσεῖν αὐτοῖς σωφρονίζωσθε, ἑθικά δὲ καὶ ἄθλα τοῖς πειθαρχοῦσι τοσάυτα καὶ τηλικάυτα ἱλικα καὶ ὁσα 2 ἐπ' οὖδεμιᾶ ἀλλη ἀνδραγαθία δίδοται, ἵν' εί καὶ διὰ μηδεν ἄλλο, διά γε τάυτα καὶ 6 γαμεῖν καὶ παιδοποιεῖν ἀναπεθοισθε. ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς οὖτε ἐκείνων τινὸς ὄργυντες οὖτε τῶν ἐπιτιμίων τι φοβηθέντες πάντα τε αὐτὰ κατεφρονήσατε καὶ πάντα αὐτά ὡς οὖδε ἐν πόλει τινὶ οἰκούντες κατεπατήσατε. καὶ φατε μὲν τῶν εὐξωνον δὴ τούτον καὶ ἐλευθερὸν βίον τῶν ἁγνών καὶ ἀτέκνων ἐπανηρήσθαι, ληστῶν δὲ δὴ καὶ θηρίων τῶν 7 ἀγριωτάτων οὐδέν διαφέρετε. οὐ γὰρ δὴπον 3 μοναυλία χαίρετε, ἵν' ἄνευ γυναικῶν διάγητε, οὖδε ἕστων ὅσις ύμῶν ἢ στείται μόνος ἢ καθεύδει μόνος, ἀλλ' ἐξουσίαιν καὶ υβρίζειν καὶ ἀσελγαίνειν

1 μεταβάλεσθε Bk., μεταβάλεσθε M.
2 ὁσα Dind., οῖα M.
3 δήπον Bk., δὴ δήπον M.
all the rest of the Romans! Accordingly, if you are vexed in very truth, change your course, so that I may praise and recompense you; for that I am not harsh by nature and that I have accomplished, subject to human limitations, everything it was proper for a good law-giver to do, even you cannot fail to realize.

"Indeed, it was never permitted to any man, even in olden times, to neglect marriage and the begetting of children; but from the very outset, when the government was first established, strict laws were made regarding these matters, and subsequently many decrees were passed by both the senate and the people, which it would be superfluous to enumerate here. I, now, have increased the penalties for the disobedient, in order that through fear of becoming liable to them you might be brought to your senses; and to the obedient I have offered more numerous and greater prizes than are given for any other display of excellence, in order that for this reason, if for no other, you might be persuaded to marry and beget children. Yet you have not striven for any of the recompenses nor feared any of the penalties, but have shown contempt for all these measures and have trodden them all underfoot, as if you were not living in a civilized community. You talk, forsooth, about this 'free' and 'untrammelled' life that you have adopted, without wives and without children; but you are not a whit better than brigands or the most savage of beasts. For surely it is not your delight in a solitary existence that leads you to live without wives, nor is there one of you who either eats alone or sleeps alone; no, what you want is to have full liberty for wantonness and
2 ἐχεῖν ἐθέλετε. καὶ τοιοῦτο καὶ μνηστεύειν ὑμῖν ἀπαλάς ἑτὶ κόρας καὶ μηδέπω γάμων ὕραιας ἐπέτρεψα, ἵνα τὸ ὄνομα τῶν μελλονυμφίων ἔχουντες οἰκωφελῶς βιώτε, καὶ ἐξελευθέρας τοὺς γε ἕξω τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ ὄντων ἀγεσθαί συνεχώρισα, ἵν' εἰ καὶ τις ἐξ ἔρωτος ἤ καὶ συνηθείας τινὸς ἐς
3 τούθ' ὑπαχθείη, ἐννόμως αὐτὸ ποιοῦν. καὶ οὐδε ἐς ταῦτα μέντοι κατήπειξα ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τρία ἑτη ὅλα πρὸς παρασκευὴν ὑμῖν ἐδωκα, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον δύο. ἀλλ' οὑδὲν οὐδ' οὔτως οὕτε ἀπειλῶν οὔτε προτρέπων οὔτ' ἀνα-
4 βαλλόμενον οὔτε δεδεμένος τι πεποίηκα. ὀρατε γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὺς ὅσῳ πλείους τῶν γεγαμηκότων ἐστὲ. οὐς ἔχριμ ἢ ὅτα τοσοῦτοι ἔτερους, μᾶλλον δὲ πολλαπλασίους παῖδας ἤμων παρασχικέναι. πῶς μὲν γὰρ ἄν ἀλλος τὰ γένη διαμείνει, πῶς ὃ ἄν τὸ κοινὸν διασωθεῖ μήτε γαμούντων ἡμῶν
5 μήτε παιδοποιούμενων; οὔ γὰρ ποιν καὶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς προσδοκᾶτε τινας ἀναφύσεσθαι τοὺς δια-
δεξομένους τὰ τὲ ὑμέτερα καὶ τὰ δημόσια, ὥσπερ οἱ μὴθοι λέγουσιν. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ὅσιον Ἠ καὶ καλὸς έχον ἑστὶ τὸ μὲν ἑμέτερον γένος παύσασθαι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ Ὥρμαιῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀποσβήναι, ἀλλοὶ δὲ τισιν ἀνθρώποις Ἐλλησιν ἢ καὶ βαρ-
6 βάροις τὴν πόλιν ἐκδοθήσαται. ἢ τοὺς μὲν δούλους δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο μάλιστα ἐλευθεροῦμεν, ὅπως ὡς πλείστους ἐξ αὐτῶν πολίτας ποιώμεθα, τοῖς τε συμμάχοις τῆς πολιτείας μεταδίδομεν ὅπως πλη-
thύμουμεν· αὐτοὶ δ' ἤμεισ ὡς οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Ὥρμαιοι, οἱ τοὺς προγόνους ἐκείνους τοὺς Μαρκίους τοὺς

1 ὕραιας R. Steph., ὕρας M.
2 ἀναφύσεσθαι Bk., ἀναφύσεσθαι M.
licentiousness. Yet I allowed you to pay your court to girls still of tender years and not yet ripe for marriage, in order that, classed as prospective bridegrooms, you might live as family men should; and I permitted those not in the senatorial order to wed freedwomen, so that, if anyone through love or intimacy of any sort should be disposed to such a course, he might go about it lawfully. And I did not limit you rigidly even to this, but at first gave you three whole years in which to make your preparations, and later two. Yet not even so, by threatening, or urging, or postponing, or entreating, have I accomplished anything. For you see for yourselves how much more numerous you are than the married men, when you ought by this time to have provided us with as many children besides, or rather with several times your number. How otherwise can families continue? How can the State be preserved, if we neither marry nor have children? For surely you are not expecting men to spring up from the ground to succeed to your goods and to the public interests, as the myths describe! And yet it is neither right nor creditable that our race should cease, and the name of Romans be blotted out with us, and the city be given over to foreigners—Greeks or even barbarians. Do we not free our slaves chiefly for the express purpose of making out of them as many citizens as possible? And do we not give our allies a share in the government in order that our numbers may increase? And do you, then, who are Romans from the beginning and claim as your

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3 *oi* supplied by Bk.
4 Μάρκιος Reim., μάρκους M.
Φαβίους τοὺς Κυντίους 1 τοὺς Οδαλερίους τοὺς Ἰουλίους 2 καταλέγοντες, ἐπιθυμεῖτε μεθ’ ύμων αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ γένη ἅμα καὶ τὰ ὅνοματα ἀπολέσαι; ἀλλ’ ἐγὼς αἰσχύνομαι καὶ ὅτι τοιούτων εἰπεῖν προήχθην. παύσασθε οὖν μανινομενοι, καὶ λογίσασθε ἢ ποτὲ ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστι, πολλῶν μὲν ἐν ταῖς νόσοις πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐκάστοτε τελευτώντων, σωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν, ἀν μὴ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτὴς ἐκ τῶν αἰεὶ ἐπιγνωσμένων ἀναπληρῶται.

2 "Καὶ μηδεὶς ύμῶν οἰεσθω με ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι ἐστὶν ἡμῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ γάμῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ τεκνοποιίᾳ καὶ δυσχερῇ καὶ λυπηρᾷ· ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνο ἐνθυμεῖσθε, ὅτι οὐδ’ ἄλλο τι ἄγαθον ἔχομεν ὃ μὴ καὶ ἀναρόν τι παραμέμκεται, καὶ τοῖς γε πλείστοις καὶ μεγίστοις αὐτῶν πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα συμπέφυκεν.

3 ὡστ’ εἰ ταῦτ’ ἐκκλίνετε, μηδεὶς ἐκεῖνων ἐπορέγεσθε. πάσι γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν τοῖς ἀρετην καὶ ἱδονην τινα εἰλικρινην ἔχουσι καὶ προπονεῖν καὶ συμπονεῖν καὶ ἐπιπονεῖν χρή τι γὰρ δεῖ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν ἐπεξίοντα μακριγορεῖν; οὐκοὖν εἰ καὶ ἐν τῷ γῆμαι καὶ ἐν τῷ τεκνώσαι ἀναρά τινα ἐνεστιν, αὐτιλογίζεσθε καὶ τὰ ἀμείνονα, καὶ πλεῖω τε καὶ ἀναγκαιοτερα αὐτὰ εὑρήσετε. πρὸς γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄγαθοῖς τοῖς φύσει προσοῦν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν νόμων ἄθλα, ὃν πολλοστὸν μέρος καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν συχνοὺς ἀναπείθει, πάντα ἂν τινα πειθαρχήσαι μοι ὑπαγώγοιτο. καίτοι πῶς οὐκ αἰσχρόν, ὑπὲρ ὃν ἐτεροι καὶ ἑαυτοὺς προίνεται,

1 Κυντίους Reim., κυντίους M.
2 Ἰουλίους R. Steph. Ἰουλίους M.
ancestors the famous Marcii, the Fabii, the Quintii, the Valerii, and the Julii, do you desire that your families and names alike shall perish with you? Nay, I for my part am ashamed that I have been forced even to mention such a thing. Have done with your madness, then, and stop at last to reflect, that with many dying all the time by disease and many in war it is impossible for the city to maintain itself, unless its population is continually renewed by those who are ever and anon being born.

"And let none of you imagine that I fail to realize that there are disagreeable and painful things incident to marriage and the begetting of children. But bear this in mind, that we do not possess any other good with which some unpleasantness is not mingled, and that in our most abundant and greatest blessings there reside the most abundant and greatest evils. Therefore, if you decline to accept the latter, do not seek to obtain the former, either, since for practically everything that has any genuine excellence or enjoyment one must strive beforehand, strive at the time, and strive afterwards. But why should I prolong my speech by going into all these details? Even if there are, then, some unpleasant things incident to marriage and the begetting of children, set over against them the advantages, and you will find these to be at once more numerous and more compelling. For, in addition to all the other blessings that naturally inhere in this state of life, the prizes offered by the laws should induce everyone to obey me; for a very small part of these inspires many to undergo even death. And is it not disgraceful that for rewards which lead others to
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υπέρ τούτων ὑμᾶς μήτε γυναίκας ἄγεσθαι μήτε
tέκνα τρέφειν θεολέσθαι;
9 "Ἐγὼ μὲν, ὁ ἄνδρες ποιῶται (νομίζω γὰρ ὑμᾶς
νῦν γε πεπεικέναι καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν πολιτῶν ὅνοματι
ἐμμεῖναι καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν τε πατέρων
προσηγορίαν προσλαβεῖν), ταύτῃ ὑμῖν ἐπετίμησα
ἀπόδειξη ἢ ἄναγκαιος δέ, οὐχ ὡς ἔχθρος οὐδ’ ὡς
μισῶν ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ φιλῶν, καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ ἐτέ-
2 ρος ὁμοίους ὑμῖν πολλοὺς κτίσασθαι, ἐν ἔστιαν
νόμον οἰκούντες καὶ οἰκίας πλήρεις γενῶν ἐχουτες
τοῖς τε θεοῖς μετὰ τε τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ μετὰ τῶν
παίδων προσερχόμεθα, καὶ ἄλλης ὁμιλῶμεν
παντα τε ἐκ τοῦ ἱσοῦ παραβαλλόμενοι καὶ τὰς
ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς ἑλπίδας ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου καρπούμενοι.
Ἡ πῶς μὲν ἄλλοις ἁρχομι ὑμῶν, ἃν ἐλάττους
3 ὑμᾶς ἀεὶ γεγομένους ὅρων ἀνέχωμεν; πῶς δὲ ἂν
ἐτι πατηρ ὑμῶν ὅρθῶς ὁμομαζομην, ἂν μή καὶ
παίδας τρέφητε; ὅστ’ εἴπερ ὄντως τα ἄλλα
ἀγαπᾶτε με, καὶ ταύτην μοι τὴν προσηγορίαν
οὐχ ὡς κολακεύοντες ἄλλ’ ὡς τιμῶντες ἐδωκάτε,
ἐπιθυμήσατε καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ πατέρες γενέσθαι,
יνα καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ταύτης μεταλαβῆτε
καὶ ἐμὲ φερονύμουν αὐτῆς ποιῆσητε.”

10 Τότε μὲν τοιαῦτα ἀμφότεροι αὐτοῖς διελέχθη,
μετὰ δὲ δὴ τούτο τοῖς μὲν τὰ τέκνα ἐχουσι τὰ
γέρα προσεπηύξησε, τοὺς δὲ γεγαμηκότας ἀπὸ
tῶν ἀγώνων τῶν ὑμῶν ἐπιτιμίων διαφόρῳ διεχώρισε,
καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκατέροις 1 ἐσ τὸ τοὺς πειθαρχὴ-
σαντάς οἱ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τοῦτο τούτων ἀναίτιοις γενέσθαι
2 προσεπέδωκε. τῶν τε γυναικῶν τισὶ καὶ παρὰ
τὸν Οὐκοκώνειον νόμων, καθ’ ὃν οὐδεμιὰ αὐτῶν

1 ἐκατέροις R. Steph., ἐκατέροις M.
BOOK LVI

sacrifice even their lives you should be unwilling either to marry wives or to rear children?

"Therefore, fellow-citizens,—for I believe that I have now persuaded you both to hold fast to the name of citizens and to secure the title of men and fathers as well,—I have administered this rebuke to you not for my own pleasure but from necessity, and not as your enemy nor as one who hates you but rather loving you and wishing to obtain many others like you, in order that we may have lawful homes to dwell in and houses full of descendants, so that we may approach the gods together with our wives and our children, and in partnership with one another may risk our all in equal measure and reap in like degree the hopes we cherish in them. How, indeed, could I be a good ruler over you, if I could endure to see you growing constantly fewer in number? How could I any longer be rightfully called father by you, if you rear no children? Therefore, if you really hold me in affection, and particularly if you have given me this title not out of flattery but as an honour, be eager now to become both men and fathers, in order that you may not only share this title yourselves but may also justify it as applied to me."

Such were his words to the two groups at that time. Afterwards he increased the rewards to those who had children and in the case of the others made a distinction between the married men and the unmarried by imposing different penalties; furthermore, he granted a year's time to those who were remiss in either respect, in which to obey him and thus escape the penalties. Contrary to the Lex Voconia, according to which no woman could inherit property
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οὐδενὸς ὑπὲρ δύο ἡμίσιν μυριάδας οὐσίας κληρονομεῖν ἔξην, συνεχώρησε τοῦτο ποιεῖν· καὶ ταῖς ἀειπαρθένοις πάντ' ὀσαπερ αἰ τεκούσαι

1 εἶχον 3 ἐχάριστα. καὶ τοῦτον ὁ τε Πάτιος καὶ ὁ Ποπ-παῖος νόμος ὑπὸ τε Μάρκου Παπίου Μουτίλου καὶ ὑπὸ Κυίνου Ποππαίου Σεκούνδου, 2 τῶν τότε ἐν μέρει τοῦ ἑτούς ὑπατεύοντων, ἐτέθησαν. καὶ συνέβη γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους σφᾶς μὴ ὅτι παῖδας, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ γυναῖκας ἔχειν· καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦτον ἡ ἀνώγη τοῦ νόμον κατεφωράθη.

11 Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ 'Ῥώμῃ ταύτ' ἐπραύχθη, Γερμανικὸς δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἄλλα τε χωρία Δελματικὰ εἴλε καὶ Ἡπαλάγουν, καίστερ τῇ τῇ φύσει ἱσχυρῶν ὅν καὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν εἰς πεφραγμένον τοὺς τε ἀμυνομένους παμπληθεῖσ' ἔχον. οὐκόμοις οὔτε μηχαναῖς οὔτε προσβολαῖς ἡδυνήθητε ἐξεργάσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐκ 2 τοιάσθε αὐτὸ συντυχίας ἔλαβε. Πονσίων ἵππεις Κελτός λίθου ἐσ το τείχος ἀφεὶς οὔτω τὴν ἐπαλέξιν διέσεισεν ὅστε αὐτὴν τε αὐτικὰ πεσεῖν καὶ τὸν ἀνδρα τὸν ἑπικεκλιμένον οἱ συγκαταστάσας. γενομένου δὲ τοῦτον ἐκπλαγέντες οἱ ἄλλοι καὶ φοβηθέντες τὸ τε τείχος ἐκεῖνο ἐξέλιπον καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνέδραμον, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ταύτην καὶ ἑαυτοῦς παρέδοσαν.

3 Ἐντεύθεν δὲ ἐπὶ Ὁρίτινων ἐλθόντες οὐχ ὀμιῶς ἀπήλλαξαν. οἱ γὰρ ἑνάντιοι βιαζόμενοι τῷ πλήθει σφῶν, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι αὐτέχειν, πῦρ ἐθελούσιοι ἐς τε τῶν κύκλων πέριξ καὶ ἐς τὰ οἰκοδομήματα πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἐνέβαλον, μηχα-νησάμενοι ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα μὴ παραχρῆμα

1 τεκούσαι R. Steph., τεκνοῦσαι M.
to the value of more than one hundred thousand sestereces, he permitted some women to inherit larger amounts; and he granted the Vestal Virgins all the privileges enjoyed by women who had borne children. Later the Lex Papia Poppaea was framed by Marcus Papius Mutilus and by Quintus Poppaenus Secundus, who were consuls at the time for a part of the year. Now it chanced that both of them were not only childless but were not even married, and from this very circumstance the need of the law was apparent. These were the events in Rome.

Germanicus in the meantime captured Splonum among other places in Dalmatia, in spite of the fact that it occupied a site well fortified by nature, was well protected by walls, and had a vast number of defenders. Consequently he had been unable to make any headway either with engines or by assaults; but he took it as the result of the following incident. Pusio, a German horseman, hurled a stone against the wall and so shook the parapet that it immediately fell and dragged down with it a man who was leaning against it. At this the rest became alarmed and in their fear abandoned that part of the wall and ran up to the citadel; and later they surrendered both the citadel and themselves.

From there the troops of Germanicus came to Raetinum, but did not fare so well here. For the enemy, overwhelmed by their numbers and unable to withstand them, set fire of their own accord to the encircling wall and to the houses adjoining it, contriving, however, to keep it so far as possible from blazing up at once and to make it go unnoticed.

2 Σεκούδου R. Steph., σεκούδου M.
4 ἐκλάμψη ἀλλ' ἐπὶ χρόνον τινα διαλάθη. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦτο ποιήσαντες ἐς τὴν ἀκραν ἀνεχόρησαν· ἀγνοοῦντες δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ πεπραγμένον ἔπεσέ· πεσον ὡς καὶ αὐτοβοεὶ 1 πάντα διαρπάσαντες, καὶ εἴσω τε τῆς τοῦ πυρὸς περιβολῆς ἐγένοντο, καὶ οὗ πρότερον εἶδον αὐτὸ, πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους τῶν νοῦν ἔχοντες, πρὶν πανταχόθεν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περι·
5 ληφθῆναι. τότε δὲ ἐν παντὶ κινδύνου ἐγένοντο, ἀνόωθεν μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀθρόπων βαλλόμενοι, ἐξωθεν δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς φλογὸς κακούμενοι, καὶ μήτε κατὰ χώραν ἀσφαλῶς μείναι μήτε τῇ διαπεσεῖν ἀκινδύνως δυνάμενοι. εἶτε γὰρ ἐξώ βέλους ἀφι- στάντο, πρὸς τοῦ πυρὸς ἀναλύοντο, εἶτ' ἀπὸ τῆς φλογὸς ἀπεπήδων, πρὸς τῶν βαλλόμενων ἐφθει·
6 ροντο· καὶ τινὲς ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ ἀτρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀμα ἀπάλοντο, τῇ μὲν τιτρωσκόμενοι τῇ δὲ καλούμενοι. οἱ μὲν οὖν πλείους τῶν ἐσελθόντων οὕτως ἀπήλ· λαξαν· ὁλογοὶ δὲ τινὲς νεκροὶ ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν φλόγα ἐμβαλόντες, καὶ δίσδον σφίσι δι' αὐτῶν καθάπερ ἐπὶ γεφύρας ποιήσαντες, διέψυγον.
7 οὕτω γὰρ πον τὸ πῦρ ἐπεκράτησεν ὡστε μηδὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀκροτόλει ὄντας κατὰ χώραν μείναι, ἀλλὰ τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτὴν ἐκλιπεῖν καὶ ἐς οἰκήματα κατώρχα κατακρυφθῆναι.
12 Ἐκεῖ μὲν δὴ ταύτ' ἐγένετο, Σερέτιον δὲ, ὅπερ ποτὲ ὁ Τιβέριος πολιορκήσας οὐχ ἦρηκει, ἐχειρόθη, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀλλὰ τινὰ ρᾴδον προσ· εκτήθη. τῶν δ' οὖν θεοπών καὶ διὰ ἀνταρόπτων, καὶ τοῦ τε πολέμου μικρονόμενον καὶ λιμοῦ δι' αὐτὸν οὖχ ἦκιστα ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ γενομένον, τὸν Τιβέριον ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐς τὴν Δελματίαν αὐθις
BOOK LVI

for some time; after doing this they retired to the citadel. The Romans, ignorant of what they had done, rushed in after them, expecting to sack the whole place without striking a blow; thus they got inside the circle of fire, and, with their minds intent upon the enemy, saw nothing of it until they were surrounded by it on all sides. Then they found themselves in the direst peril, being pelted by the men from above and injured by the fire from without. They could neither remain where they were safely nor force their way out anywhere without danger. For if they stood out of range of the missiles, they were scorched by the fire, or, if they leaped back from the flames, they were destroyed by the missiles; and some who got caught in a tight place perished from both causes at once, being wounded on one side and burned on the other. The majority of those who had rushed into the town met this fate; but some few escaped by casting corpses into the flames and making a passage for themselves by using the bodies as a bridge. The fire gained such headway that even those on the citadel could not remain there, but abandoned it in the night and hid themselves in subterranean chambers. These were the operations at that point.

Seretium, which Tiberius had once besieged but had not captured, was reduced, and after this some other places were more easily won. But since in spite of these reverses the remainder of the Dalmatians rose and the war kept dragging on and famine occurred in Italy, largely because of the war, Augustus sent Tiberius once more into Dalmatia.
2 ἐπεμψε. καὶ δὲ ἰδὼν τοὺς στρατιώτας μηκέτι τὴν τριβὴν φέροντας ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ κινδύνου διαπολεμῆσαι πως ἐπιθυμοῦντας, καὶ φοβηθείς μὴ καὶ καθ’ ἐν ὀντες στασιάσωσι, τριχῇ διεilléν αὐτούς, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τῷ Σιλουανῷ¹ τοὺς δὲ Μάρκῳ Λεπίδῳ προστάξας ἐπὶ τὸν Βάτωνα μετὰ 3 τῶν λοιπῶν σὺν τῷ Γερμανικῷ ὀρμήσε. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐ χαλεπῶς τοὺς ἀντιταχθέντας σφίσι μᾶχαις κατεστρέψαντο, αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ πάσης τε ὡς εἴπειν τῆς χώρας ἐπιλανίθη, τοῦ Βάτωνος ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλλὰ περιφοιτῶντος, καὶ τέλος καταφυγόντι² αὐτῷ ἐς 'Αινὴτριον³ τείχος ἐπ’ αὐτῇ τῇ Σαλώνῃ ἐποκισμένον προσεδρέσας δεινῶς ἐποίησε. τὸ τε γὰρ φρούριον ἐπὶ εὐερκοὺς πάνυ καὶ δυσπροσβάτου πέτρας ἐπετείχιστο, φάραγξι βαθείας ποταμοὺς χειμάρρους ἑχούσις ἐγκεκλειμένου,⁴ καὶ οἱ ἀνθρώποι πάντα ἐσ αὐτὸ τὰ ἐπιτίθεια τὰ μὲν προσεσθενοχέσαν τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν ὤν ἐκράτουν ἐπίγοντο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὴν σιτοποιμίαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐνεδρεύσαντες ἐκάλυψαν, ὡστε τὸν Τιβέριον, πολιορκεῖν σφας δοκοῦντα, αὐτὸν τὰ τῶν πολιορκουμένων πάσχειν.

13 Ἀποροῦντος οὖν αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ εὐρίσκοντος ὁ τι πράξῃ (ὃ τε γὰρ προσεδρεῖα καὶ ματαία καὶ ἐπικίνδυνος ἐγιγμένο καὶ ἡ ἀποχώρησις ἐπαισχύς ἐφαίνετο) ἐθορύβησαν οἱ στρατιώται, καὶ τοσαύτη γε καὶ τηλικαύτη βοή ἐχρήσαντο ὡστε τοὺς πολεμίους τοὺς ὑπὸ τὸ τείχει αἰνιζομένους ἐκ- 2 πλαγίμαι τε καὶ ἀναχωρῆσαι. ἐξ οὖν τούτων τοῦ

¹ Σιλουανῷ Reim., σιλανώ Μ.
² καταφυγόντι R. Steph., καταφυγόντα Μ.
³ 'Αινὴτριον Bs., αἰνὴρίων Μ.
BOOK LVI

Tiberius saw that the soldiers were impatient of longer delay and were eager to end the war in some way, even if it involved danger; and fearing that if they all remained together they would mutiny, he made three divisions of them: one he assigned to Silvanus and one to Marcus Lepidus, and with the rest he marched with Germanicus against Bato. The first two commanders easily overcame their opponents in battle; but Tiberius had to wander over practically the whole country as Bato went about from place to place, and finally, when the other took refuge in Andetrium, a fortress erected only a short distance from Salonae itself, he found himself in sore straits when he undertook to besiege him. For the place was built upon a rocky height, well fortified and difficult of access, and was encircled by deep ravines through which torrents poured; and the enemy, moreover, had all the necessary provisions, part of which they had previously stored there, while a part they were still bringing from the mountains, which were in their hands. Besides all this, by means of ambuscades they interfered with the Romans’ provision trains. Hence Tiberius, though supposed to be besieging them, was himself placed in the position of a besieged force.

He was accordingly at a loss what to do, and could not devise any plan of action; for the siege was proving fruitless and dangerous and a retreat seemed disgraceful. This led to a tumult on the part of the soldiers, who raised an outcry so mighty and so prolonged that the enemy, who were encamped at the foot of the fort, became terrified and retreated. In consequence he was both angry and pleased, and

1 ἐγκεκλειμένον Dind., ἐγκεκλωμένον M.
μὲν ὀργίσθεις τοῦ δὲ ἢσθεὶς συνεκάλεσέ τε αὐτοῦς, 
καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπιτιμήσας σφίσε τὰ δὲ καὶ παρα-
νέσας οὕτε ἐθρασύνατο οὕτ' ἀπανέστη, ἀλλὰ κατὰ 
χῶραν ἤσυχαξὶν ἔμεινε, μέχρις οὐ ὁ Βάτων 
ἀπογνών τὴν ἐπικράτησιν (τὰ τε γὰρ ἀλλὰ πλὴ
ν ὄλγων ἐκεχείρωτο, καὶ ἡ δύναμις ἦν εἰχε τῆς 
τότε ἀντικαθεστηκώς οἱ ἱλαττοῦτο) διεκυρυ-

3 κεύσατο πρὸς αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐπείδη μὴ ἐπείσε 
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους σπείσασθαι, ἐγκατέλιπεν αὐτοὺς. 
καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐκέτι οὐδ' ἄλλω τινὶ, καίπερ πολλῶν 
αὐτῶν ἐπικαλουμένων, ἐβούλθησεν ὁ δὲ δὴ Τι-
βέριος καταφρονήσας ἐκ τοῦτο τῶν λουπῶν τῶν 
ἐν τῷ τείχει ὄντων, καὶ νομίσας ἀναιμοτι σφῶν 
κρατήσειν, οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ χωρίου προεἰδετό, ἀλλὰ 

4 καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ἐρμυμὸν ἐχώρισεν. ἔπει δὲ μήτε 
ὀμαλὸν τι ἢ̄ μήτε ἐπικατέβαινεν οἱ πολέμιοι, 
αὐτὸς1 μὲν ἐπὶ βῆματος ἐν περιφανεί ἱδρύθη, ὅπως 
τὰ τε ἐπιμηγνύμενα καθορφῆ, πρὸς τὸ προθυμότερον 
τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀγωνίσασθαι, καὶ ἐν καίρῳ 
σφῖσιν, ἀν που δεήσῃ, προσαμύσῃ (καὶ γὰρ 
μέρος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο τοῦ στρατοῦ, πολὺ γὰρ τῶ 

5 πλήθει περιήν, κατέσχεν), οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τὸ μὲν 
πρῶτον ἐν πλαυσίῳ πυκνῶ συντεταγμένῳ βίαδιν 
ἀνεπορεύνοτο, ἐπειτα δ' ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ὄρθιον καὶ 
ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνωμαλίας τοῦ ὄρους (χαραδρώδες τε 
γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἐς φάραγγας πολλαχῆ κατετέμητο) 
dιεσπάσθησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν θάσσον ὁ δὲ βραδύ-
τερον προσαμύσασαν.

14 Ἰδοντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ Δελμάται ἐξω τε τοῦ 
τείχους ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κριμωνῶδους παρετα-
ξαντο, καὶ λίθους πολλοὺς τοὺς μὲν σφενδόναις

1 αὐτὸς Leuncl., καὶ αὐτὸς M.
calling the troops together, he administered some rebukes and some admonitions. He displayed no rashness nor did he withdraw, but remained quietly on the spot until Bato, despairing of victory, sent a herald to him to ask for terms. Bato was reduced to this necessity, because all but a few of his possessions had been captured, and because the force that he had was inferior to the one then opposing it; but he could not persuade the rest to ask for a truce, and so abandoned them, nor did he again go to the aid of anyone else, though he received many requests for aid. Tiberius, accordingly, conceived a contempt for those still left in the fortress; and thinking that he could conquer them without serious loss, paid no further heed to the terrain, but advanced straight against the stronghold. And since there was no level ground and the enemy would not come down against them, he himself took his seat on a platform in full view of all, in order not only to watch the struggle,—since this would cause his men to fight more zealously,—but also to be able to render opportune assistance, should there be any need of it. In fact, he was holding a part of the army in reserve for this very purpose, inasmuch as he was vastly superior to the foe in point of numbers. The rest, drawn up in a dense square, at first proceeded at a walk; but later they were separated by the steepness and unevenness of the mountain, which was full of gullies and at many points was cut up into ravines, so that some ascended more rapidly and others more slowly.

The Dalmatians, when they observed this, arrayed themselves outside their wall, at the top of the steep, and hurled down quantities of stones upon them,
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ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔβαλλον τοὺς δὲ καὶ κατεκυλίσθαν. ἄλλοι τροχοῦς, ἄλλοι ἀμάξας ὅλας πλήρεις πε- τρῶν, ἄλλοι κηδεμοῦς περιφερεῖς, ἐπιχωρίως πως

2 πεποιημένας καὶ λίθων γεμούσας, ἡφίεσαν. καὶ
tαυτά τε 1 πάντα ἀμα πολλὴ ρύμη καταφερόμενα
dιεσφενδοινάτο, καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διέσπα τε ἐτὶ
cαὶ μᾶλλον ἀπ' ἄλληλων καὶ συνηλόα 2 καὶ
tέτεροι, οἱ μὲν βέλη οἱ δὲ δοράτια ἀφιέντες, 3 συ-

3 χροὺς αὐτῶν κατέβαλλον. καὶ τούτω πολλὴ
mὲν τῶν μαχομένων φιλοτιμία ἐγήγετο, τῶν μὲν
ἀναβηναι τε καὶ ἐπικρατήσαι τῶν 4 ἄκρων, τῶν δὲ
ἀποκρούσασθαι τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπαράξαι 5 πειρω-
μένων, πολλὴ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τε ἀπὸ τοῦ
teίχους ὀρῶντων τὰ γιγανίμενα καὶ τῶν περὶ τῶν

4 Τιβέριον ὄντων. τοῖς τε γὰρ σφετέροις ἐκάτεροι
παρεκελεύνοντε, τοὺς μὲν προθυμουμένους σφόν
ἐπιρρωνυτέντες, τοῖς δ' ὑπείκουσι τι ἐπιτιμώντες,
καὶ ἀθρόοι καὶ καθ' ἐκάστοις καὶ ὅσοι ὑπὲρ
tους ἄλλους ἐγεγονόσκον, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἃρα
ἀνεκάλουν, ὑπὲρ τε τῆς αὐτικα τῶν μαχομένων
ἀμφότεροι σωτηρίας καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐς τὸ
ἐπειτα οἱ μὲν ἐλευθερίας οἱ δὲ εἰρήνης ἐπιβοῶ-

5 μενοί. καὶ παίτελοι όι Ῥωμαῖοι μάτην ἐκινδύ-
νευσαν, ἀτε πρὸς δύο ἃρα, τὴν τε τῶν ῥόπων
φύσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἀντίταξιν, τὸν
ἀγώνα ποιούμενοι, εἰ μὴ ὁ Τιβέριος ἐκείνους τε
ἀκραιφνεῖς βοηθείαις φυγεῖν ἐκώλυσε καὶ τοὺς
πολεμίους ἐτέρων, ἣνὶ ἀνίτητον ἐς τὸ χωρίον

1 τε Plługk, ἐν Μ.
2 συνήλοα Rk., συνήλοα M.
3 ἀφιέντες R. Steph., ἐφιέντες M.
4 τῶν R. Steph., τῆς τῶν M.

32
throwing some from slings and rolling down others. Some let loose wheels, others whole waggons full of rocks, and still others circular chests constructed in a fashion peculiar to that country and packed full of stones. All these objects rushing down at once with great impetus kept striking here and there, as if discharged from a sling, separating the Romans from one another even more than before and crushing them. Others of the enemy were striking many of them down with the missiles and spears that they hurled. Meanwhile there was great rivalry on the part of the combatants, as the one side endeavoured to ascend and conquer the heights, the other to repulse them and hurl them back; and there was great rivalry also on the part of the others, both those who were watching the action from the walls and those with Tiberius. Each side, both individually and collectively, was encouraging its own men, trying to hearten those who showed zeal and chiding those who gave way at any point. Those whose voices could be heard above the rest were also invoking the gods at the same time, both sides praying for the safety of their warriors at the moment, and one side begging for its freedom, the other for peace, in the future. The Romans would certainly have risked their lives all to no purpose, being obliged, as they were, to contend against two difficulties at once,—the nature of the country and the lines of their opponents,—had not Tiberius by repeated reinforcements prevented them from taking to flight, and at the same time thrown the enemy into confusion by sending a detachment of soldiers around

*ἀπαρίζαι Β., ἀπορίζαι Μ.*
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ἐκ πλείονοι περιελθοῦσιν ἢν περιπέμψει ἐτάραξε. 1
6 καὶ τούτου οἱ μὲν τραπέντες οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ τείχος ἐσελθεῖν ἡδυνήθησαν, ἀλλὰ ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη, προ- 
απορρίψαντες τὰ ὅπλα ὡστε κουφίζειν, ἐσκεδά- 
σθησαν· οἱ δὲ ἐπιδιώκοντες σφαίς (πάνω τε γὰρ 
dιαπολεμῆσαι ἐγλύχοντο, καὶ οὐκ ἐβούλοντο συ- 
στραφέντας αὐθίς αὐτούς χαλεπούς σφισι γενέ- 
7 σθαί) ἐπίπαν ἐπεξήλθον, καὶ ἐκείνων τε τοὺς 
πλείους ἐν ταῖς ὑλαῖς κρυπτομένους ἀνευρόντες 
ὡσπερ θηρία ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ 
τοὺς ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ προσχωρήσαντας ἐλι- 
βουν.

Καὶ τούτοις μὲν ὁ Τιβέριος τὰ τε ἀλλὰ καὶ δὴ 
15 καὶ τὰ ὁμολογηθέντα σφίσι καθίστατο, Περ- 
μανικὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθεστηκότας ἐτʼ ἐτράπετο 2 
αὐτόμολοι γὰρ παρ’ αὐτοῖς συχνοὶ ὃντες οὐκ εἰσὶν 
σφάς συμβηναί. καὶ ἐδούλωσατο μὲν χωρίον τι 
᾿Ἀρδουβαν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τῇ ὑκείᾳ δυνάμει, καίτοι 
πολὺ πλείον τῶν ἐναντίων οὐσι, ἡδυνήθη τοῦτο 
πούησαι· αὐτὸ τε γὰρ ἱσχυρὸς ὁ ἑκύρωτο, καὶ 
ποταμὸς ῥοῦδης τοὺς πρόποδας αὐτοῦ κύκλῳ 
2 πλῆν βραχέως περιρρεῖ· ἀλλ’ οἱ αὐτόμολοι στα- 
σιώσαντες πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἐπειδὴ τῶν 
σποιδῶν ὁρέγοντο, ἐς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ἤλθον, καὶ 
συλλαβομένων σφίσι τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ 
τείχει οὕσων (τῆς τε γὰρ ἐλευθερίας καὶ παρὰ 
την τῶν ἀνδρῶν γυνώμης ἐφίεντο, καὶ πᾶν ὡτιοῦν 
πρὸ τοῦ δουλεύσαι παθεῖν ἥροιντο) μάχη τε 

1 ἐτέρων . . . ἐτάραξε a corrupt passage in M. Λ’ has ἐτέ- 
ρωθὲν ἀλλοις στρατιώτας ἐς τὸ ἀνατας τοῦ χωρίων ἐκ πλείονοι 
περιελθοῦσι ἐτάραξε, an obvious paraphrase. Polak proposes 
ἐτέρων. ὅπως ἀνίτητον ἐς τὸ χωρίον ἐκ πλείονοι περιελθοῦσιν ἢν,
to a point where by a wide circuit the place could be ascended. As a result, the enemy were routed and could not even get into the fortress, but were scattered up and down the mountain sides, first having cast aside their armour, so as to be unencumbered by its weight. Their pursuers followed them at every point, for they were very eager to end the war once for all, and did not want the foe to unite again and cause them further trouble. They discovered most of them hiding in the forests and slew them as they would so many wild beasts, after which they took over the men in the fort, who had capitulated.

Tiberius was now engaged in arranging the affairs of the enemies who had surrendered, and in carrying out the terms of their capitulation; but Germanicus turned his attention to those who still offered resistance, for many deserters who were with them prevented them from making terms. He succeeded in subjugating a place called Arduba, but could not accomplish it with his own force, though this was far greater than his opponents' army. For the place itself had been strongly fortified and a river with a swift current flows all around its base except for a short distance. But the deserters fell into a dispute with the inhabitants, because the latter were anxious for peace, and came to blows with them. They were assisted by the women in the fort, for these, contrary to the decision of the men, craved liberty and were ready to suffer any fate whatever rather than servitude. Accordingly a fierce struggle ensued, and the

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\[\text{\textit{ἐπιπέμψει ἑτάραξε}, which with two slight changes (omitting \& and reading \textit{περιπέμψει}) seems very plausible.}\]

\[\text{\textit{ἐτράπετο Βs., ἑτετράπετο Μ.}}\]
ισχυρὰ ἐγένετο, καὶ κρατηθέντες αὐτοὶ μὲν ἔνε·
3 δοσαν, καὶ τινες αὐτὸν καὶ διέφυγον, αἱ δὲ δὴ
γνωσκε τὰ παιδία ἀρπάσαι αἱ μὲν ἐς πῦρ
ἐαυτὰς ἐνέβαλον, αἱ δὲ ἐς ποταμὸν κατεκρήμνισαν,
καὶ οὔτω καὶ ἐκεῖνον τοῦ φρουρίου ἀλόντος, καὶ
τάλλα τὰ πλησία αὐτῶ ἔθελον τῷ Γερμανικῷ
ἂμολόγησεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα πράξας πρὸς τὸν
Τιβέριον ἀνεχώρησεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Ποστούμιος τὰ
16 λοιπὰ προσκατεργάσατο. καὶ τοῦτῳ καὶ ὁ
Βάτων, Σκευᾶν τὸν υἱὸν πρὸς Τιβέριον πέμψας,
παραδώσειν οἱ καὶ ἐαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ
2 πῶντας ὑπέσχετο, ἀν τῆς ἀδείας τύχῃ. καὶ μετὰ
τούτῳ πίστιν λαβὼν νυκτὸς τε ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον
αὐτοῦ ἐσῆλθε, καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπὶ βῆματος αὐτῷ
καθημένῳ προσαχθεῖς ὑπὲρ μὲν ἐαυτοῦ οὐδὲν
ἐδείχθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν προέτειν ὡστ’
ἀποκοπῆναι, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πολλὰ ἀπελογή·
3 σατο. καὶ τέλος ἐρωτηθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιβέρίου “τί
ὕμῖν ἐδοξε καὶ ἀποστῆναι καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἡμῖν
χρόνον ἀντιπολεμῆσαι;” ἐφη ὅτι “ὕμεις τούτων
αὐτοί ἔστε. ἐπὶ γὰρ τὰς ἀγέλας ὦμῶν φύλακας
οὐ κύνας οὐδὲ νομέας ἀλλὰ λύκους πέμπετε.”
4 Ὑ μὲν οὖν πόλεμος τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐσχε,
πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἀνδρῶν, πλείστων δὲ δὴ καὶ
χρημάτων ἀπολομένων πάμπολλὰ τε γὰρ ἐς
αὐτοῦ στρατόπεδα ἐτράφη καὶ λεία ἐλαχίστη
17 ἐάλω. ἀνήγγειλε δὲ καὶ τότε τὴν νίκην ὁ Γερ-
μανικός, καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῇ τῷ μὲν Λύγουστῳ καὶ
τῷ Τιβερίῳ τὸ τε τὸν ἀυτοκράτορος ὄνομα
προσθέσθαι καὶ τὸ τὰ ἐπινίκια πέμψαι, ἀλλαί

1 τὸ supplied by Bk.
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deserters were worsted and surrendered, though some of them made their escape; but the women, catching up their children, either threw themselves into the flames or hurled themselves into the river below. Thus that fort also was taken, whereupon the other places in its vicinity voluntarily made terms with Germanicus; and he, after accomplishing this much, rejoined Tiberius, leaving Postumius to complete the subjugation of the remaining districts. In the meantime Bato sent his son Seeuas to Tiberius, promising to surrender both himself and all his followers if he obtained pardon. And when he later received a pledge, he came by night to Tiberius' camp and on the following day was led before him as he sat on a tribunal. Bato asked nothing for himself, even holding his head forward to await the stroke, but in behalf of the others he made a long defence. Finally, upon being asked by Tiberius why his people had taken it into their heads to revolt and to war against the Romans so long, he replied: "You Romans are to blame for this; for you send as guardians of your flocks, not dogs or shepherds, but wolves."

In this way the war was ended after the loss of many men and immense treasure; for ever so many legions were maintained for this campaign and but very little booty was taken. On this occasion, also, Germanicus announced the victory; and because of it Augustus and Tiberius were permitted to add the title of imperator to their other titles and to celebrate a triumph, and they received other honours, besides,

1 C. Vibi Postumus is doubtless the person meant.
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tè tines timai kai ἀψίδες ἐν τῇ Παννονίᾳ τρω-2 παιοφόροι δύο ἐδόθησαν (ταῦτα γὰρ ἀπὸ πολλῶν τῶν ψυφισθέντων σφίσιν ὁ Λύγγουστος ἐδέξατο), τῷ δὲ δὴ Γερμανικῷ αἱ τε νικητήριοι τιμαί, ὅπερ ποι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατιάρχοις ὑπῆρξε, καὶ αἱ στρατηγικαὶ, τὸ τε τὴν γνώμην πρῶτῳ μετὰ τοὺς ὑπατευκότας ἀποφαίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ τὴν ὑπατείαν θᾶσσον παρὰ τὸ νεομισμένον λαβεῖν.

3 καὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ δὲ τῷ τοῦ Τιβερίου νεῖε, καὶ τοι μὴ μετασχόντι τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον συμφοιτάν πρὶν βουλεύσαι, καὶ ἐπειδὰν ταμείνη γνώμην πρὸ ἐν ἐστρατηγηκότων ποιεῖσθαι, ἐψηφίσθη.

18 Ἡ Ἀρτί τε ταῦτα ἐδέδοκτο, καὶ ἀγγελία δεινη ἐκ τῆς Γερμανίας ἐλθοῦσα ἐκώλυσε σφαῖς διεορ-τάσαι. ἐν γὰρ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ τάδε συνηνέχθη. εἰχόν τινα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι αὐτῆς, οὔκ ἀθρόα ἄλλα ὅσ ποι καὶ ἐτυχε χειρω-

2 θέντα, διὸ οὐδὲ ἐς ἱστορίας μνήμην ἀφίκετο· καὶ στρατιώταί τε ἀυτῶν ἐκεῖ ἐχείμαζον καὶ πόλεις συνωρκίζοντο, ἐς τε τῶν κόσμων σφῶν οἱ βァρβαροὶ μετερρυθμίζοντο καὶ ἄγορας ἐνόμιζον συνόδους τε εἰρηνικάς ἐποιεῖσθαι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τῶν πατρίων ἡθῶν τῶν τε συμφύτων τρόπων καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦμοι διαίτης τῆς τε ἐκ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐξουσίας ἐκλείησ-

3 μένῳ ἤσαν. καὶ διὰ τούτῳ, τέως μὲν κατὰ βραχῦ καὶ ὀδῷ τινι μετὰ φυλακῆς μετεμαίθαἰ αὐτά,

1 ἀψίδες early correction in margin of M, ἀσπίδες M.
2 πρὸ R. Steph., παρὰ M (corr. to πρὸς in marg.).
notably two triumphal arches in Pannonia; for these were the only distinctions of the many voted to them that Augustus would accept. Germanicus received the *ornamenta triumphalia*, a distinction which fell likewise to the other commanders, and also the rank of a praetor, as well as the privilege of giving his vote immediately after the ex-consuls and of holding the consulship earlier than custom allowed. To Drusus, also, the son of Tiberius, even though he had taken no part in the war, was granted the privilege of attending the sittings of the senate before becoming a member of that body and of voting ahead of the ex-praetors as soon as he should become quaestor.

Scarcely had these decrees been passed, when terrible news that arrived from the province of Germany prevented them from holding the festival. I shall now relate the events which had taken place in Germany during this period. The Romans were holding portions of it—not entire regions, but merely such districts as happened to have been subdued, so that no record has been made of the fact—and soldiers of theirs were wintering there and cities were being founded. The barbarians were adapting themselves to Roman ways, were becoming accustomed to hold markets, and were meeting in peaceful assemblages. They had not, however, forgotten their ancestral habits, their native manners, their old life of independence, or the power derived from arms. Hence, so long as they were unlearning these customs gradually and by the way, as one may say, under careful watching, they were not disturbed by

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1 *τερμανία* is Dio’s word for the Roman province *or provinces* of Germany, *Κελτοί* for Germany proper.
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οὔτε ἐβαρύνοντο τῇ τοῦ βίου μεταβολῇ καὶ ἐλάτθανον σφας ἀλλοιούμενοι· ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Οὐνάρος ὁ Κυντίλιος τὴν τὴν ἤγεμονίαν τῆς Γερμανίας λαβὼς καὶ τὰ παρ' ἑκεῖνοι ἐκ τῆς ἀρχής διοικῶν ἐπευσέσεν αὐτοὺς ἀθροώτερον μεταστήσας, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡς καὶ δουλεύονσι σφισὶν ἐπέταττε καὶ

4 χρήματα ὡς καὶ παρ' ὑπηκόων ἐσέπρασεν, οὐκ ἦνεχοντο, ἀλλ' οἱ τε πρῶτοι τῆς πρὸσθεν δυναστείας ἐφείμονει, καὶ τὰ πλῆθη τὴν συνηθῆ κατάστασιν πρὸ τῆς ἀλλοφύλου δεσποτείας προτιμῶντες, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ φανεροῦ οὐκ ἀπέστησαν, πολλοὺς μὲν πρὸς τῷ Ρήμῳ πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐν

5 τῇ σφετερατών Ῥωμαίων ὑρόωντες ὡντας, δεξίμενοι δὲ τὸν Οὐνάρον ὡς καὶ πάντα τὰ προστασσόμενα σφιάταν ποιήσωσσαν προῆγαγον αὐτὸν πόρρω ἀπὸ τοῦ Ρήμου ἔς τε τὴν Χερουσκίδα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Οὐνίσσωργον,1 καὶ λατάνθα εἰρημικῶτατα τε καὶ φιλικώτατα διαγαγόντες πίστιν αὐτῷ παρέσχον ὡς καὶ ἀνευ στρατιωτῶν δουλεύειν δυνάμενοι.

19 Οὔτ' οὖν τὰ στρατεύματα, ὅσπερ εἴκος ἦν ἐν πολέμια, συνείχε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν συχνοὺς αὐτούς τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ φυλακὴ χωρίων τινῶν ἦ καὶ ληστῶν συλλήψει παραπομπᾶι τέ τις

2 τῶν ἐπιτηδείων διέδωκεν. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ μάλιστα συνομόσαντες καὶ ἄρχηγοι τῆς τε ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ τοῦ πολέμου γενόμενοι ἅλλοι τε καὶ Ἀρμήνιος καὶ Σηγήμερος, συνόντες τέ αὐτῷ ἁὲ καὶ συνε-

3 στιώμενοι πολλάκις. θαρσοῦντος οὖν αὐτοῦ, καὶ μήτε τί δεινὸν προσδεχομένου, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τὸ τε2 γεγυμόμενον ὑποτοποῦσι καὶ φυλάττεσθαι οἱ

1 Οὐνίσσωργον Χυλ., οὔεισσωγρον Μ.
2 τὸ τέ Χυλ., τὸ τότε Μ.
the change in their manner of life, and were becoming different without knowing it. But when Quintilius Varus became governor of the province of Germany, and in the discharge of his official duties was administering the affairs of these peoples also, he strove to change them more rapidly. Besides issuing orders to them as if they were actually slaves of the Romans, he exacted money as he would from subject nations. To this they were in no mood to submit, for the leaders longed for their former ascendancy and the masses preferred their accustomed condition to foreign domination. Now they did not openly revolt, since they saw that there were many Roman troops near the Rhine and many within their own borders; instead, they received Varus, pretending that they would do all he demanded of them, and thus they drew him far away from the Rhine into the land of the Cherusci, toward the Visurgis, and there by behaving in a most peaceful and friendly manner led him to believe that they would live submissively without the presence of soldiers.

Consequently he did not keep his legions together, as was proper in a hostile country, but distributed many of the soldiers to helpless communities, which asked for them for the alleged purpose of guarding various points, arresting robbers, or escorting provision trains. Among those deepest in the conspiracy and leaders of the plot and of the war were Armenius and Segimerus, who were his constant companions and often shared his mess. He accordingly became confident, and expecting no harm, not only refused to believe all those who suspected what was going on and advised him to be on his guard,

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1 See note on p. 39.  
2 The Weser.
παρατιμοῦσιν οὖν ὁπως ἀπιστοῦτος ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιτιμῶντος ὡς μάτην αὐτοῖς τε παραττομένοις καὶ ἐκείνους διαβάλλουσιν, ἐπανίστανταί τινες πρῶτοι τῶν ἀπωθεῖν αὐτοῦ οἰκούντων ἐκ παρα-
σκευῆς, ὅπως ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ὁ Οὐάρος ὀρμήσας ἐνα-
λωτότερός σφίσιν ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ, ὡς καὶ διὰ φιλίας
διών, γένηται, μηδὲ ἐξαίφνης πάντων ἠμα
πολεμωθέντων αὐτῶ φυλακῆν τινα ἐαυτοῦ ποιή-
σηται. καὶ ἐσχεν οὕτως προπερπηνάν τε γὰρ
αὐτὸν ἐξορμώντα, καὶ παρέμενοι ὡς καὶ τὰ
συμμαχικὰ παρασκευάσοντες καὶ διὰ ταχέων οἱ
προσβοιθίσοντες τάς τε δυνάμεις ἐν ἐτοιμῷ που
οὕσας παρέλαβον, καὶ ἀποκτείναντες τοὺς παρὰ
σφίσιν ἐκάστους στρατιώτας, ὡς πρότερον ἡτή-
κεσαν, ἐπὶ ἤλθον αὐτῶ ἐν ὑλαῖς ἡδη δυσεκβάτοις
οὕτι. καὶ ταυτὰ ἁμα τὰ ἀνεφάνησαν πολέμιοι
ἀνθ ὑπηκόων οὕτε, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ εἰργά-
σαντο.

20 Τά τε γὰρ ὅρη καὶ φαραγγώδη καὶ ἀνώμαλα
cαι τὰ δεύτερα καὶ πυκνὰ καὶ ὑπερμήκη ἤν, ὡστε
tους Ρωμαίους, καὶ πρὸ τοὺς πολέμιους σφίσι
προπεσεῖν, ἔκεινα τε τέμνοντας καὶ ὀδοποιοῦντας
gεφυρώντας τε τά τούτου δεόμενα ποιηθήναι.

2 ἤγον δε καὶ ἀμάξας πολλὰς καὶ νωτοφόρα πολλὰ
ὡς ἐν εἰρήνῃ παῖδες τε οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ γυναῖκες
ἡ τε ἀλλῆθερασία συχνὴ αὐτοῖς συνεϊπετο, ὡστε
cαι κατὰ τούτʼ ἐσκεδασμένη τῇ ὀδοιπορίᾳ

3 χρήσθαι. καὶ τούτω καὶ ἠπότομος καὶ ἀνεμός πολὺς
ἐπιγενόμενοι ἐτί καὶ μᾶλλον σφας διέσπειραν
το το ἐδαφὸς ὀλισθηρὸν περὶ τε ταῖς ρίζαις καὶ
περὶ τοῖς στελέχεσι γενόμενοι σφαλερώτατα

42
but actually rebuked them for being needlessly excited and slandering his friends. Then there came an uprising, first on the part of those who lived at a distance from him, deliberately so arranged, in order that Varus should march against them and so be more easily overpowerd while proceeding through what was supposed to be friendly country, instead of putting himself on his guard as he would do in case all became hostile to him at once. And so it came to pass. They escorted him as he set out, and then begged to be excused from further attendance, in order, as they claimed, to assemble their allied forces, after which they would quickly come to his aid. Then they took charge of their troops, which were already in waiting somewhere, and after the men in each community had put to death the detachments of soldiers for which they had previously asked, they came upon Varus in the midst of forests by this time almost impenetrable. And there, at the very moment of revealing themselves as enemies instead of subjects, they wrought great and dire havoc.

The mountains had an uneven surface broken by ravines, and the trees grew close together and very high. Hence the Romans, even before the enemy assailed them, were having a hard time of it felling trees, building roads, and bridging places that required it. They had with them many waggons and many beasts of burden as in time of peace; moreover, not a few women and children and a large retinue of servants were following them—one more reason for their advancing in scattered groups. Meanwhile a violent rain and wind came up that separated them still further, while the ground, that had become slippery around the roots and logs, made
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αὐτοὺς βαδίζειν ἐποίει, καὶ τὰ ἄκρα τῶν δένδρων καταθραυσμένα καὶ καταπίπτοντα διετάρασσεν.

4 ἐν τοιαύτῃ οὖν δὴ τινὶ ἁμηχανίᾳ τότε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὄντων, οἱ βάρβαροι πανταχόθεν ἀμα αὐτοὺς ἐξαπιναῖος δι’ αὐτῶν τῶν λοχῳδεστάτων, ἀτε καὶ ἐμπείρου τῶν τριμμῶν ὄντες, περιεστοιχίσαντο, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πόρρωθεν ἔβαλλον, ἔπειτα δὲ, ώς ἦμυνετο μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐπιτρώσκοντο

5 δὲ πολλοῖ, ὦμόσε αὐτοῖς ἐχώρησαν· οίᾳ γὰρ οὔτε ἐν τάξει τινὶ ἅλλα ἁμαῖς ταῖς τε ἁμάξαις καὶ τοῖς ἄτοπλοις πορεύομενοι, οὔτε συστραφῆμαι τῇ ῥάδιως δυνάμενοι, ἐλάττους τε καθ’ ἐκάστους τῶν ἀεὶ προσμυγνύτων σφισιν ὄντες, ἐπασχοῦν μὲν πολλὰ, ἀντέδρων δὲ οὐδὲν.

21 Αὐτοὺ τε οὖν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, χωρίον τινὸς ἐπιτηδείου, ὡς γε ἐν ὅρει ὑλόδει ἐνεδέχετο, λαβόμενοι, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰς τε πλείους ἁμάξας καὶ τάλλα τὰ μὴ πάνυ σφίσιν ἁπαγκαία τὰ μὲν κατακαύσαντες τὰ δὲ καὶ καταλυόντες, συν- τεταγμένοι μὲν τῇ μᾶλλον τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπορεύ- θησαν, ὡστε καὶ ἐσ φιλόν τι χωρίον προισχρήσαι,

2 οὐ μὲντοι καὶ ἀναμωτὶ ἀπῆλλαξαν. ἐνυπεθεῖν δὲ ἀραντες ἐς τε ὅλας αὐθίς ἐσέπεσον, καὶ ημύνοντο μὲν πρὸς τοὺς προσπίπτοντάς σφισιν, οὐκ ἐλά- χιστα δὲ δὴ κατ’ αὐτὸ τούτο ἐπταιον· συστρε- φόμενοι γὰρ ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ, ὅπως ἀθρόοι ἱππῆς τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ὀπλίται ἐπιτρέχωσιν αὐτοῖς, πολλὰ μὲν περὶ ἄλληλοις πολλὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῖς δέν-

3 δροις ἐσφάλλουσι. τετάρτῃ τε ἡμέρα 1 πορευ-
walking very treacherous for them, and the tops of the trees kept breaking off and falling down, causing much confusion. While the Romans were in such difficulties, the barbarians suddenly surrounded them on all sides at once, coming through the densest thickets, as they were acquainted with the paths. At first they hurled their volleys from a distance; then, as no one defended himself and many were wounded, they approached closer to them. For the Romans were not proceeding in any regular order, but were mixed in helter-skelter with the wagons and the unarmed, and so, being unable to form readily anywhere in a body, and being fewer at every point than their assailants, they suffered greatly and could offer no resistance at all.

Accordingly they encamped on the spot, after securing a suitable place, so far as that was possible on a wooded mountain: and afterwards they either burned or abandoned most of their wagons and everything else that was not absolutely necessary to them. The next day they advanced in a little better order, and even reached open country, though they did not get off without loss. Upon setting out from there they plunged into the woods again, where they defended themselves against their assailants, but suffered their heaviest losses while doing so. For since they had to form their lines in a narrow space, in order that the cavalry and infantry together might run down the enemy, they collided frequently with one another and with the trees. They were still

1 τετάλτη τε ἡμέρα Dind., τότε γὰρ 'τῇ' 'τε' ἡμέραι M (the signs about τῇ and τε probably by early corrector who wished to delete these words).
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μένοις σφίσιν ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτοῖς ὑπός τε αἰδίς λάβρος καὶ ἀνέμος μέγας προσπετοῦν οὔτε ποι προϊέναι οὐθ' ἵστασθαι παγίως ἐπέτρεπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χρήσιν σφας τῶν ὀπλῶν ἀφείλετον οὔτε γὰρ τοῖς τοξεύμασιν οὔτε τοῖς ἀκοντίοις, ἤ ταῖς γε ἁσπίσιν ἄτε καὶ διαβρόχιοι οὐσιός, καλὸς χρήσθαί εὖναι τοῖς γὰρ πολεμίοις, ψίλοις τε τὸ πλείστον οὔσι καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ τῆς ἐφόδου καὶ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως ἱδεὰ ἐχουσιν, ἤττον που ταῦτα συνέβαινε. πρὸς δ' ἦτι αὐτοὶ τε πολὺ πλείουσι γεγονότες (καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρότερον περισκοποῦστων συχνοὶ ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ λείᾳ συνήλθον) καὶ ἐκείνους ἐλάττους ἡδὴ ὄντας (πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πρὶν μάχαις ἄπωλόλεσαν) καὶ ἐκυκλούντο ῥᾴδοι καὶ κατεφόνευοι, ὡστε καὶ τόν Ὀὐάρον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τους λογιμωτάτους, φοβηθέντας μη ἤτοι κυριηθόσιν ἢ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἑχθίστων ἀποθάνωσι (καὶ γὰρ τετρωμένοι ἤσαι), ἐργον δεινὸν μὲν ἀναγκαίον δὲ τολμῆσαι· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐαυτοὺς ἀπέκτειναν.

22 Ὁς de τούτῳ διηγγέλθη, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδεὶς ἐτι, εἰ καὶ ἔρρωτο τις, ἡμύνατο, ἄλλ' οἱ μὲν τὸν ἄρχοντα σφων ἐμιμήσατον, οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ ὁπλα παρέντεσ ἐπέτρεπον σφας τῷ βουλομένῳ φονεύειν· 

46

2a Καὶ τὰ ἐρύματα πάντα κατέσχον οἱ βάρβαροι ἄτερ ἔνος, περὶ δ' ὃ ἅσχοληθέντες οὔτε τὸν Ῥῆνον

1 After τε a folium is lost from M, which resumes with τῷ μὲν πρῶτον. The missing portion is in part supplied by Zonaras.
advancing when the fourth day dawned, and again a heavy downpour and violent wind assailed them, preventing them from going forward and even from standing securely, and moreover depriving them of the use of their weapons. For they could not handle their bows or their javelins with any success, nor, for that matter, their shields, which were thoroughly soaked. Their opponents, on the other hand, being for the most part lightly equipped, and able to approach and retire freely, suffered less from the storm. Furthermore, the enemy's forces had greatly increased, as many of those who had at first wavered now joined them, largely in the hope of plunder, and thus they could more easily encircle and strike down the Romans, whose ranks were now thinned, many having perished in the earlier fighting. Varus, therefore, and all the more prominent officers, fearing that they should either be captured alive or be killed by their bitterest foes (for they had already been wounded), made bold to do a thing that was terrible yet unavoidable: they took their own lives.

When news of this had spread, none of the rest, even if he had any strength left, defended himself any longer. Some imitated their leader, and others, casting aside their arms, allowed anybody who pleased to slay them; for to flee was impossible, however much one might desire to do so. Every man, therefore, and every horse was cut down without any fear of resistance, and the...

And the barbarians occupied all the strongholds save one, their delay at which prevented them
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diebēsan ous' ēs tīn Galatian eisēbalon. ἀλλ' ous' ekēino χειρώσασθαι ἥδυνηθσαν, ἐπεὶ μήτε πολιορκεῖν ἦπισταντο καὶ τοξόταις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι συχνοῖς ἔχρωντο, εξ ὑν καὶ ἀνεκόπτοτο καὶ πλεῖστοι ἀπώλλυντο.—Zon. 10, 37 (p. 452, 12—17 Dind.).

2 Metà dé touto πυθόμενοι φυλακήν τοῦ Ῥήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίου ποιήσασθαι καὶ τὸν Τιβέριον σὺν βαρεῖ προσελαύνειν στρατεύματι, οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἀπανέστησαν τὸν ἐρύματος, οἱ δ' ὑπολειφθέντες ἀποστάντες αὐτοῦ, ὡστε μή αἰφνιδίως ἐπεξ- ἐλεύσεσθι τῶν ἑντὸς κακοῦσθαι, τὰς ὅδους ἐτήρουν, σπάνει σιτίων αἰρήσειν ἕλπικότες αὐτούς. οἱ δ' ἑντὸς οὔτε Ῥωμαίοι ἔως μὲν εὑπόρουν τροφῆς, κατὰ χόραν ἐμενον βοήθειαν προσδεχόμενοι· ὡς δ' οὔτε τις ἐπεκούρει αὐτοῖς καὶ λιμῷ συνείχοντο, ἐξῆλθον νῦκτα τηρήσαντες χειμέριον (ハウス δὲ στρατιῶται μὲν ὀλίγοι, ἄσπλοι δὲ πολλοὶ), καὶ

2 [Zon. 10, 37, p. 452, 18—29 D.] τὸ μὲν πρώτον τὸ τε δεύτερον σφων φυλακτήριον παρῆλθον, ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τῷ τρίτῳ ἐγένοντο, ἐφωράθησαν, τῶν τε γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν παιδῶν συνεχῶς τους ἐν τῇ ῥηλίκια διά τε τῶν κάματον καὶ διὰ τῶν φόβων τὸν

3 τε σκότος καὶ τὸ ἰύχως ἀνακαλοῦντων. καὶ πάντες ἀπώλοντο ἢ καὶ ἑάλωσαν, εἰ μὴ οἱ βαρβαροὶ περὶ τὴν τῆς λείας ἄρπαγὴν ὀσχολοὶ ἐγέ- νοντο. οὔτω γὰρ οἱ τε ἐρρωμενέστατοι πολὺ ἀπέσπασαν, καὶ οἱ σαλπικταὶ οἱ σῦν αὐτ ὀντες τροχαῖοι τι συμβοῆσαντες δόξαν τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὡς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀσπρίμου πεπεμμένοι παρέ-

1 σαλπικταί Dind., σαλπιγκταί M.
from either crossing the Rhine or invading Gaul. Yet they found themselves unable to reduce this fort, because they did not understand the conduct of sieges, and because the Romans employed numerous archers, who repeatedly repulsed them and destroyed large numbers of them.

Later they learned that the Romans had posted a guard at the Rhine, and that Tiberius was approaching with an imposing army. Therefore most of the barbarians retired from the fort, and even the detachment still left there withdrew to a considerable distance, so as not to be injured by sudden sallies on the part of the garrison, and then kept watch of the roads, hoping to capture the garrison through the failure of their provisions. The Romans inside, so long as they had plenty of food, remained where they were, awaiting relief; but when no one came to their assistance and they were also hard pressed by hunger, they waited merely for a stormy night and then stole forth. Now the soldiers were but few, the unarmed many. They succeeded in getting past the foe's first and second outposts, but when they reached the third, they were discovered, for the women and children, by reason of their fatigue and fear as well as on account of the darkness and cold, kept calling to the warriors to come back. And they would all have perished or been captured, had the barbarians not been occupied in seizing the plunder. This afforded an opportunity for the most hardy to get some distance away, and the trumpeters with them by sounding the signal for a double-quick march caused the enemy to think that they had been sent by Asprenas. Therefore the foe ceased
σχον. κάκ τούτου ἐκεῖνοι τε ἐπέσχον τῆς διώ-
ξεως, καὶ ὁ Ἀσπρήμνας μαθῶν τὸ γιγάμωνον
οὗτως σφίσιν ἐπεκούρησε. καὶ τινες μετὰ τούτο
καὶ τῶν ἐκαλωκότων ἀνεκομίσθησαν, λυτρωθέντες
υπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἐπετράπῃ γὰρ σφισὶ τούτο
ποιῆσαι ἐφ᾽ ὦ τε ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας αὐτοῦς εἶναι.

Τούτῳ μὲν ὑστερον ἐγένετο· τότε δὲ μαθὼν ὁ
Ἄγγυστος τὰ τῷ Ὄναρῳ συμβεβηκότα τὴν τε
ἐσθήτα, ὡς τινὲς φασί, περιερήξατο, καὶ πένθος
μέγα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπολολόσι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ περὶ
tε τῶν Γερμανίων καὶ περὶ τῶν Γαλατίων δέει
ἐποιήσατο, τὸ το μέγιστον ὦτι καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν
Ἰταλίαν τὴν τε Ῥώμην αὐτὴν ὁρμήσειν σφάς
προσεδόκησε, καὶ οὔτε πολιτικὴ οἱ ἡλικία ἄξιω-
λόγος ὑπελείπτο, καὶ τὰ συμμαχικά, ὁν τι καὶ

ὄφελος ἦν, ἐκεκάκωτο. ὅμως δ᾽ οὖν τὰ τε ἄλλα
ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων παρεσκευάσατο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ
μηδεὶς τῶν τὴν στρατεύσιμον ἡλικίαν ἔχοντων
καταλεχθῆναι ἠθέλησεν, ἐκλήρωσεν αὐτοὺς, καὶ
τῶν μὲν μηδέπω πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἐτῆ γεγο-
νότων τῶν πέμπτων, τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων τῶν
dékatoν ἀεὶ λαχῶντα τὴν τε οὐσίαν ἀφελετο καὶ

ἡτίμωσε. καὶ τέλος, ὡς καὶ πάνω πολλοὶ οὐδὲ
οὕτω τι αὐτοῦ προετίμων, ἀπέκτεινε τινας. ἀπο-
κληρώσας δὲ ἐκ τε τῶν ἐστρατευμένων ᾗδη καὶ
ἐκ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων ὠσοὺς ἡδυπήθη, κατέλεξε, καὶ
eὐθὺς σπουδῆ μετὰ τοῦ Τιβέρίου ἐς τὴν Γερμανίαν
ἐπεμψεν. ἐπειδὴ τε συχνοὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ
Γαλάται καὶ Κελτοὶ, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἐπιδημοῦντες
οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ δορυφορικῷ στρατευτόμενοι, ἤσαν,
ἐφοβήθη μὴ τι νεοχμώσωσι, καὶ τούτους μὲν ἐς

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his pursuit, and Asprenas, upon learning what was taking place, actually did render them assistance. Some of the prisoners were afterwards ransomed by their relatives and returned from captivity; for this was permitted on condition that the men ransomed should remain outside of Italy. This, however, occurred later.

Augustus, when he learned of the disaster to Varus, rent his garments, as some report, and mourned greatly, not only because of the soldiers who had been lost, but also because of his fear for the German and Gallic provinces, and particularly because he expected that the enemy would march against Italy and against Rome itself. For there were no citizens of military age left worth mentioning, and the allied forces that were of any value had suffered severely. Nevertheless, he made preparations as best he could in view of the circumstances; and when no men of military age showed a willingness to be enrolled, he made them draw lots, depriving of his property and disfranchising every fifth man of those still under thirty-five and every tenth man among those who had passed that age. Finally, as a great many paid no heed to him even then, he put some to death. He chose by lot as many as he could of those who had already completed their term of service and of the freedmen, and after enrolling them sent them in haste with Tiberius into the province of Germany. And as there were in Rome a large number of Gauls and Germans, some of them serving in the pretorian guard and others sojourning there for various reasons, he feared they might begin a rebellion; hence he sent away such as were in his
1. Dio's Roman History

νήσους τινάς ἀπέστειλε, τοῖς δ' ἀόπλοις ἐκχωρήσας τῆς πόλεως προσέταξε.

24. Τότε μὲν ταύτ' ἐπηράξε, καὶ οὐτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν νομιζομένων ἐγένετο οὐθ' αἱ πανηγύρεις ἔωρτασθησαν· μετὰ δὲ τούτο ἀκούσας ὅτι τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν τινὲς ἐσώθησαν καὶ αἱ Γερμανίαι ἐφρουρίζησαν, τὸ τε πολέμιον οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῶν Ῥήμων ἐλθεῖν ἐτόλμησε, τῆς τε ταραχῆς ἀπηλλαγῆ καὶ διαγνώμην ἐποιήσατο, τὸ τε γὰρ πάθος οὐκ ἀνευ δαιμονίου τινὸς ὀργῆς καὶ μέγα οὐτώ καὶ ἄθροιον ἐδόκει οἱ γεγονόντες καὶ προσέτησαν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τεράτων τῶν πρὸ τε τῆς ῥήτης καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συμβαίνων δεινὴν ὑποψίαν ἐς τὸ θείου ἔσχεν. ὁ τε γὰρ τοῦ Ἄρεως μᾶς ὁ ἐν τῷ πεδιῖ ἀυτοῦ ὁν ἐκεραυνώθη, καὶ ἀπτέλεβοι πολλοὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ ἀστυ πετόμενοι ὑπὸ χελιδόνων ἀνηλώθησαν, αἱ τε κορυφαὶ τῶν Ἀλπεων συμπεπτωκέναι τε ἐς ἀλλήλας καὶ κύονας τρεῖς πυροειδεῖς ἀνεικέναι ἐδόξαν, καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς φλεγομένως πολλαχῇ ἐδόκει, ἀστέρες τε κομὴται συχνοὶ ἀμα κατεφαινοῦτο, καὶ δόρατα ἀπ' ἀρκτοῦ φερόμενα πρὸς τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδα προσπίπτονε τοῖς ἐδόκει, μέλισσαὶ τε περὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς αὐτῶν κηρία ἀνέπλασσον, καὶ Νίκης τι ἀγαλμα ἐν τε τῇ Γερμανίᾳ ὑν καὶ πρὸς τὴν πολεμίαν βλέπον πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν μετεστράφη· καὶ ποτὲ καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἀετοὺς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις, ὡς καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐσπερτώκτων, μάχη καὶ ἀγωνισμὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν διὰ κενῆς ἐγένετο.

Τούτων τε οὖν ἐνεκα καὶ ὅτι καὶ . . .
body-guard to certain islands and ordered those who were unarmed to leave the city.

This was the way he handled matters at that time; and none of the usual business was carried on nor were the festivals celebrated. Later, when he heard that some of the soldiers had been saved, that the Germanies were garrisoned, and that the enemy did not venture to come even to the Rhine, he ceased to be alarmed and paused to consider the matter. For a catastrophe so great and sudden as this, it seemed to him, could have been due to nothing else than the wrath of some divinity; moreover, by reason of the portents which occurred both before the defeat and afterwards, he was strongly inclined to suspect some superhuman agency. For the temple of Mars in the field of the same name was struck by lightning, and many locusts flew into the very city and were devoured by swallows; the peaks of the Alps seemed to collapse upon one another and to send up three columns of fire; the sky in many places seemed ablaze and numerous comets appeared at one and the same time; spears seemed to dart from the north and to fall in the direction of the Roman camps; bees formed their combs about the altars in the camps; a statue of Victory that was in the province of Germany and faced the enemy's territory turned about to face Italy; and in one instance there was a futile battle and conflict of the soldiers over the eagles in the camps, the soldiers believing that the barbarians had fallen upon them.

For these reasons, then, and also because . . .

1 M has lost a folium at this point; it resumes with μετὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν (ch. 25).
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6 'O de Tiβεριος διαβήναι τῶν Ῥώνου  ὄνκ ἔκρινεν, ἀλλ’ ἦτρεμιζεν ἐπιτηρῶν μὴ οἱ βάρβαροι τοῦτο ποιήσωσιν. ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἐκεῖνοι διαβήναι ἐτόλμησαν γυνάτες αὐτῶν παρόντα.—Zon. 10, 37 (p. 458, 7–10 D.).

7 Ὄστι ὁ Γερμανικὸς ἐκ πολλῶν φικειότο τῷ πλήθει, καὶ ὦτι ὑπερεδίκει 1 τινῶν, οὐχ ὁπως ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων δικαστῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λύγουστου. διὸ καὶ ταμία τινὶ φόνου αἰτίαν ἔχουτι τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ συναγορεῦειν μέλλουσον, 2 ἐδείσεν ὁ κατήγορος αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐλαττωθῇ διὰ τοῦτο παρὰ τοῖς δικασταῖς ἐφ’ οἴστερ εἰώθει τὰ τοιαῦτα κρίνεσθαι, καὶ παρὰ τῷ Λύγουστῳ δικασθῆναι μάτην ἡθέλησεν· οὐ γὰρ ἐκρίτησεν.
—Exc. V. 182 (p. 665).

25 . . . μετὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἔχων. τῷ δὲ δευ- τέρῳ τὰ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ προειρημένα ἐγένετο, καὶ τὸ Ὄμονόειον ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου καθιερώθη, καὶ αὐτῷ τὸ τὰ ἐκεῖνον ὄνομα καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δρούσου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ τεθηκότος ἐπεγράφη.

2 Μάρκου δὲ Λιμιλίου μετὰ Στατιλίου Ταύρου ὑπατεύσαντος, Τιβερίος μὲν καὶ Γερμανικὸς ἀντὶ υπάτου ἄρχον ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐσέβαλον καὶ κατέδραμον τινὰ αὐτῆς, οὐ μέντοι οὔτε μάχῃ τινὶ ἐνίκησαν (ἔς γὰρ χεῖρας οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς ἤμει) οὔτε

3 ἐθνὸς τὶ ὑπηγόγοντο· ἐδείσετε γὰρ μὴ καὶ συμ- φορὰ αὐθίς περιπέσωσιν, οὐ πάντων πόρρω τοῦ Ῥώνου προήλθον, ἀλλὰ αὐτοῦ που μέχρι τοῦ μετοπώρου μείνατε καὶ τὰ τοῦ Λύγουστου γενέθλια ἐφτασάντες καὶ τινὰ ἱπποδρομίαν ἐν αὐτοῖς διὰ τῶν ἐκατοντάρχων ποιήσατες ἐπανήλθον.

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BOOK LVI

Tiberius did not see fit to cross the Rhine, but kept quiet, watching to see that the barbarians did not cross. And they, knowing him to be there, did not venture to cross in their turn.

Germanicus was becoming endeared to the populace for many reasons, but particularly because he acted as advocate for various persons, and this quite as much before Augustus himself as before the other judges. Accordingly, on one occasion when he was going to lend assistance in this way to a quaestor who was charged with murder, his accuser became alarmed lest he should in consequence of this lose his suit before the judges who regularly heard such cases, and wished to have it tried before Augustus. But his efforts were all in vain, for he did not win the suit.

... holding [it] after his praetorship. But the next year, in addition to the events already described, the temple of Concord was dedicated by Tiberius, and both his name and that of Drusus, his dead brother, were inscribed upon it. In the consulship of Marcus Aemilius and Statilius Taurus, Tiberius and Germanicus, the latter acting as proconsul, invaded Germany and overran portions of it. They did not win any battle, however, since no one came to close quarters with them, nor did they reduce any tribe; for in their fear of falling victims to a fresh disaster they did not advance very far beyond the Rhine, but after remaining in that region until late autumn and celebrating the birthday of Augustus, on which they held a horse-race under the direction of the centurions, they returned.

1 ὑπερδίνει Val., ὑπερδίκη cod.
2 ἔχοιτι... μέλλοντος Bk., ἔχοιτι ἐδίκασε τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ συναγορέων οἱ μέλλοντος cod.
4 Ἑν δὲ δὴ τῇ Ῥώμῃ Δροῦσὸς τε Καῖσαρ ὁ τοῦ Τιβερίου παῖς ἐταμίευσε, καὶ στρατηγοὶ ἐκκαίδεκα ἤρξαν, ἐπειδὴ τοσοῦτοι τε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντεποίησαντο καὶ οὐδένα αὐτῶν λυπήσαι ὁ Λύγουστος, οία ἐν τοιούτωι ὄν, ἠθέλησεν οὐ μὴν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἑφεξῆς ἐτεσι ταύτῶν ἑγένετο, ἀλλ' οἱ δόδεκα ἐπὶ πολὺ κατέστησαν.

5 τότε δ' οὖν ταύτα τε οὕτως ἐπράξθη, καὶ τοῖς μάντεσιν ἀπηγορεύθη μήτε κατὰ μόνας τινὶ μήτε περὶ θανάτου, μηδὲ ἄν ἄλλοι συμπαρόσιν οἱ, χρὴν' καίτοι οὕτως οὐδὲν τῷ Λύγουστῳ τῶν καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἐμελεν ὡστε ἐκ προγραφῆς πᾶσι τὴν τῶν ἀστέρων διάταξιν, ὡφ' ὅν ἐγεγένητο, φανερῶσαι.

6 οὐ μὴν ἦλθ' ἐκεῖνο τε ἀπείπε, καὶ τῷ ὑπηκόῳ προσπαρίγγυελε μηδενὶ τῶν προστασισμένων αὐτοῖς ἀρχόντων μήτε ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνῳ μήτε ἐντὸς ἑξῆκοιτα ἠμερῶν μετὰ τὸ ἀπαλλαγήναι σφας τιμῆν τινα διδόναι, ὅτι τινὲς μαρτυρίας παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπαίνους προσπαρασκευάζομενοι

7 πολλὰ διὰ τούτου ἐκακούργουν. ταῖς τε πρεσβείαις τρεῖς καὶ τότε βουλευταὶ ἐχρημάτισαν, καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν, ὦ καὶ θαυμάσειν ἄν τις, μονομαχεῖν ἐπετράπη. αὐτίου δὲ ὅτι ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ τινὲς τὴν ἀτιμίαν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπικειμένην ἐποιήσαντο. ἐπεὶ γὰρ μὴν ὁμολογοῦσι τις ἀπορρίσθεις ἐγίγνετο καὶ τιμωρίας μείζονος ἄξιοι εἶναι ἐδόκουν, ἢ καὶ ἀποτραπῆσθεσθαι ἐνομίσθησαν, συνεχώρηθη

8 σφίσι τούτο ποιεῖν. καὶ οὕτως ἄντι τῆς ἀτιμίας θάνατον ὁφλίσκανον. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦττον ἐμονομά-
At Rome Drusus Caesar, the son of Tiberius, A.D. 11 became quaestor, and sixteen praetors held office because that number were candidates for the position and Augustus, in view of the difficulties in which he found himself, was unwilling to offend any of them. The same did not hold true, however, of the years immediately following, but the number remained at twelve for a considerable period. Besides these events at that time, the seers were forbidden to prophesy to any person alone or to prophesy regarding death even if others should be present. Yet so far was Augustus from caring about such matters in his own case that he set forth to all in an edict the aspect of the stars at the time of his own birth. Nevertheless, he forbade this practice. He also issued a proclamation to the subject nations forbidding them to bestow any honours upon a person assigned to govern them either during his term of office or within sixty days after his departure; this was because some governors by arranging beforehand for testimonials and eulogies from their subjects were causing much mischief. Three senators, as before, transacted business with embassies, and the knights—a fact which may cause surprise—were allowed to fight as gladiators. The reason for this was that some were making light of the disfranchisement imposed as the penalty for such conduct. For inasmuch as there proved to be no use in forbidding it, and the guilty seemed to require a greater punishment, or else because it seemed possible that they might even be turned aside from this course, they were granted permission to take part in such contests. In this way they incurred death instead of disfranchisement; for they fought just as much as ever, especially since their
χον, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι δεινῶς οἱ ἀγώνες αὐτῶν ἐσπουδάζοντο, ὡστε καὶ τὸν Ἀὔγουστον τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τοῖς ἀγωνιστοῦσι σφας συνθεᾶσθαι. ¹

26 Γερμανικὸς δὲ μετὰ τούτῳ τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν μηδὲ στρατηγήσας ἐδέξατο, καὶ δὲ ὅλου αὐτῆς ἡτοῦ, οὐ πρὸς τὴν ἀξίωσιν ἄλλ' ὡς ποῦ καὶ ἄλλοι τινες ἔτι καὶ τοὺς ἠρχον, ἐσχε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἀξίων μνήμης ἐπρᾶξε, πλὴν ὅτι καὶ τοὺς υπερεξικησεν, ἐπεῖ γε ὁ συνάρχων αὐτοῦ Γάιος Καπίττων καὶ πάνω τῇ ἄλλως ἥριθμεῖτο.

2 ὁ δὲ Ἰούγουστος ἐκείνων τε ὡς καὶ ἔπι γῆρως ὅν τῇ Βουλῇ καὶ ταύτῃ τῷ Τιβερίῳ παρακατέθετο. ἀνέγυν δὲ τὸ βιβλίον οὐκ αὐτὸς (οὐ γὰρ οἶος τε ἡ γεγονόσκειν) ἀλλ' ὁ Γερμανικός, ὥσπερ εἰσώθη. καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ ὑγησάτο παρ' αὐτῶν, ἔπι τῇ τοῦ Κελτικοῦ πολέμου προφάσει, μήτ' οἶκοι αὐτῶν ἀσπαξεσθαι μήτ' ἀγανακτεῖν εἰ μηκετί.

3 συσσιτοῦν σφήσι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖστον, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅσακις ἔδρα αὐτῶν ἐγέρνετο, ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ γε ἔστιν ὅτε τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ εἰςινὰ αὐτῶν καὶ ἅπιοντα αὐθίς ἁπαζοῦτο, ἡδὲ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ, καὶ καθήμενον γε, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ κατακείμενοι, οὐχ ὅτι η γερουσία ἄλλα καὶ οἱ ἰππης τοῦ τε δήμου πολλοί.

27 Οὐ μέντοι καὶ τάλλον ἠττῶν τι παρὰ τοῦτο διώκει, ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἰππεύσι δημαρχίαν αἰτήσαι ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ μαθῶν ὅτι βιβλία ἄττα ἐφ' ὑβρει τινῶν συγγράφουτο, ξήπησιν αὐτῶν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἐκεῖνά τε, τὰ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει εὐρεθέντα πρὸς

¹ συνθεᾶσθαι Plugk, συνθέσθαι Μ.
² εἰς αὐτῆν Μ (but corrected in marg. ?).

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contests were eagerly witnessed, so that even Augustus used to watch them in company with the praetors who superintended the contests.

Germanicus soon afterwards received the office of consul, though he had not even been praetor, and he held it throughout the whole year, not because of his rank, but in the same way that certain others still held the office at this time for the whole period. Germanicus himself did nothing memorable, except that at this time, too, he acted as advocate in law-suits, since his colleague, Gaius Capito, counted as a mere figurehead. But Augustus, since he was growing old, wrote a letter commending Germanicus to the senate and the latter to Tiberius; the letter was not read by Augustus himself, for he was unable to make himself heard, but by Germanicus, as usual. After this the emperor, making the German war his excuse, asked the senators not to greet him at his home or to feel hurt if he did not continue to join with them in their public banquets. For it was their general practice, especially whenever they were to have a meeting, to greet him not only in the Forum but sometimes also in the senate-house itself, both when he entered and again when he left; and it actually happened that when he was sitting or sometimes even lying down in the palace not only the senate but the knights and many of the populace as well came to greet him.

In spite of all this, however, he continued to attend to his other duties as before. He now allowed the knights to become candidates for the tribuneship. And learning that some vituperative pamphlets were being written concerning certain people, he ordered search to be made for them; those that were found...
τῶν ἀγορανόμων τὰ δε ἔξω πρὸς τῶν ἐκαστα-χόθι ἄρχοντων, κατέφλεξε, καὶ τῶν συνθέντων
2 αὕτα ἐκκόλασε τινα. ἑπειδὴ τε συχνοὶ φυγάδες
οὶ μὲν ἔξω τῶν τόπων ἐς οὐς ἐξωρίζησαν τὰς
dιατριβὰς ἐποίοιντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνως
ἀβροτερον διήγον, ἀπηγόρευεσε μηδένα πυρὸς καὶ
ὐδατος εἰρχθέντα ἡπειρῳ διατρίβειν
μῆτε ἐν νήσῳ τῶν ὦσαι ἑλαττον τετρακοσίων ἀπὸ
τῆς ἡπείρου σταδίων ἀπέχουσι, πλὴν Κῶ τε καὶ
Ῥόδου Σάμου 2 τε καὶ Δέσβους ταῦτας γὰρ οὐκ
3 οἴδ᾽ ὅπως μόνας ὑπεξείλετο. ἐκεῖνα τε οὐν
αὐτοῖς προσέταξε, καὶ τὸ μῆτε περαιοῦσθαι ποι
ἀλλοσε, μῆτε πλοία πλεῖω φορτικοῦ τε ἐνὸς
χιλιοφόρου καὶ κωπηρῶν δύο κεκτήσθαι, μῆτε
δούλωις ἦ καὶ ἀπελευθέρωις ὑπὲρ εἴκοσι χρήσθαι,
μῆτον αὐσίαν ὑπὲρ δώδεκα καὶ ἡμίσειαν μυριάδα
ἐχειν, τιμωρηθήσεσθαι καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνους καὶ
τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τι παρὰ ταῦτα συμπράξαντάς
σφισιν ἐπαπειλήσας.
4 Ταῦτα τε οὕτως, ὦσα γε καὶ ἐς ἱστορίαν ἀναγκαῖα ἐστι, διευκρινισθῇ, καὶ πανηγυρίς ἔξω
τῶν νευμισμένων ὑπὸ τε τῶν ὄρχηστῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἰπποτρόφων ἐποίησθη. τὰ τε Ἄρεια τὸτε
μὲν, ἑπειδὴ ο Τίβερις 3 τῶν ἰππόδρομων προκατέ-
σχεν, ἐν τῇ τοῦ Λυγοῦστον ἁγορᾶ καὶ ἰππῶν
dρόμῳ τρόπων τινὰ καὶ θηρίων σφαγῆ ἐτύμηθη,
5 αὕτες δὲ ὡσπερ εἴθιστο ἐγένετο, καὶ λέοντας γε
ἐς αὕτα ἐν τῷ ἰππόδρομῳ διακοσίους ὦ 4 Περμα-

1 εἰρχθέντα R. Steph., εἰρχθέντα M.
2 Σάμου Rs., σαρδοῦς M.
3 Τίβερις R. Steph., τιβέριος M.
4 ὁ Rk., ὁ τε M.

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in the city he ordered to be burned by the aediles, and those outside by the officials in each place, and he punished some of the writers. As there were many exiles who were either living outside of the districts to which they had been banished or living too luxuriously in the proper places, he ordered that no one who had been debarred from fire and water should live either on the mainland or on any of the islands within fifty miles of it, except Cos, Rhodes, Samos, and Lesbos; for he made an exception in the case of these alone for some reason or other. Besides this, he enjoined upon the exiles that they should not cross the sea to any other point, and should not possess more than one ship of burden having a capacity of a thousand amphorae and two ships driven by oars; that they should not employ more than twenty slaves or freedmen, and should not possess property to the value of more than half a million sesterces; and he threatened to punish not only the exiles themselves but all others as well who should in any way assist them in violating these commands.

These are the laws, as fully as is necessary for our history, that he caused to be passed. A special festival was also held by the actors and the horse-breeders. The Ludi Martiales, owing to the fact that the Tiber had overflowed the Circus, were held on this occasion in the Forum of Augustus and were celebrated in a fashion by a horse-race and the slaying of wild beasts. They were also given a second time, as custom decreed, and Germanicus this time caused two hundred lions to be slain in the Circus.

1 Literally, pantomimic dancers.
2 Cf. lx. 6, 4.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

νικὸς ἀπέκτεινεν. ἢ τε στοὰ ἡ Ἰουλία

calou-
méνη ὥκοδομήθη τε ἐς τιμὴν τοῦ τε Γαίου καὶ
tοῦ Λουκίου τῶν Καισάρων, καὶ τότε καθιερώθη.

28 Λουκίου δὲ δὴ Μουσατίου καὶ Γαίου Σιλίου ἐς
tοὺς ὑπατεύοντας ἐσγραφεῖτον, τὴν τε προστα-
sίαν τῶν κοινῶν τὴν δεκέτιν 2 τὴν πέμπτην

1 Ιουλία Merkel, Λιουλία Μ.

2 δεκέτιν R. Steph., δεκέτη" Μ (ν due to corr.).

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BOOK LVI

The Porticus Iulia, as it was called, was built in honour of Gaius and Lucius Caesar, and was now dedicated. When Lucius Munatius and Gaius Silius had been installed as consuls, Augustus with seeming reluctance accepted a fifth ten-year term as head of the State. He again gave Tiberius the tribuniciam power, and permitted Drusus, the latter's son, to stand for the consulship two years later without ever having held the praetorship. He also asked for twenty annual counsellors because of his age, which did not permit him to go to the senate-house any longer except on rare occasions; previously, it seems, he had associated with himself fifteen advisers for six months at a time. It was also voted that any measure should be valid, as being satisfactory to the whole senate, which should be resolved upon by him in deliberation with Tiberius and with these counsellors, as well as the consuls of the year and the consuls designate, together with his grandchildren (the adopted ones, I mean) and such others as he might at any time call on for advice. Having gained by this decree these privileges, which in reality he had possessed in any case, he continued to transact most of the public business, though he sometimes reclined while doing so. When, now, nearly all felt burdened by the five per cent. tax and an uprising seemed likely, he sent a communication to the senate bidding its members to seek some other sources of revenue. He did this, not with the intention of abolishing the tax, but in order that when no other method should seem to them better, they should ratify the measure, reluctantly though it might be, without bringing any censure upon him. He also

1 Cf. iv. 25, 5.
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5 σωσι. καὶ ὅπως γε μὴ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ τοῦ τε Δρούσου γνώμην τινὰ εἰπόντων υποτοπίσωσι τε ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐντολῆς τούτῳ γεγονέναι καὶ ἀνεξέταστον αὐτὴν ἔλονται, προσέταξε μηδέτερον αὐτῶν μηδὲν εἶπεῖν. καὶ ἐλέχθη μὲν πολλά, καὶ τινα καὶ διὰ βιβλίων τῷ Λύγουστῳ ἐδηλώθη.

6 καταμαθὼν δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντα μᾶλλον ἡ ἐκεῖνο ἔτοιμος σφᾶς ύπομείναι ὅποι, ἐπὶ τε τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῆς συντελείας θήγαγε, καὶ παραχρῆμα μηδὲν εἰπόν, μήθ' ὅσον μήθ' ὅπως αὐτὸ δώσουσιν, ἐπεμψεν ἄλλους ἄλλη τὰ τῶν ἰδιοτῶν καὶ 1 τὰ τῶν πόλεων κτήματα ἀπογραφομένους, ὡς καὶ μείζονος ξημιωθη- σόμενοι δεῖσσοι καὶ τὴν εἰκοστὴν τελεῖν ἀνθ- ἐλονται. δ' καὶ ἐγένετο.—Χιφ. 118, 3–6.

29 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὅδε πη τῷ Λύγουστῳ διωρκεῖτο· ἵπποδρομίας δὲ τελουμένης ἐν τῇ τῶν Λύγουστα- λών θέα, ἤτις ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ γενεθλίως ἐγύγνετο, ἀνὴρ τῆς ἐμμανῆς ἐς τε τὸν δίφρον τοῦ τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ Ταῦλῳ κείμενον 2 ἐνιδρύθη 3 καὶ τὸν στέφανον αὐτοῦ λαβῶν περεύθετο. δ' πάντας ἐπάραξεν, καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει ἐς τὸν Λύγουστον τι σημαίνεσθαι.

2 ὅπερ καὶ ἀληθές ἦν τῷ γὰρ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει, ἐν ὧν Σέξτος τε Ἀπονλέιος 4 καὶ Σέξτος Πομπῆιος ὑπάτευσαν, ἐξωρμῆθη τε ἐς τὴν Καμπανίαν ὁ Λύγουστος, καὶ τὸν ἁγῶνα τὸν ἐν τῇ Νέᾳ πόλει 5 διαθεὶς ἐπείτα ἐν Νώλῃ μετήλλαξε. τέρατα δὲ

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1 A folium of M is missing after καί. The lacuna is supplied from Xiph. and Zon.
2 κείμενον Xiph., ἀνακείμενον Zon.
3 ἐνιδρύθη Βκ., ἐνιδρύθη Xiph.
4 Ἀπονλέιος Βς., ἀπονλέιος Xiph.
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ordered both Germanicus and Drusus not to make any statement about it, for fear that if they expressed an opinion it should be suspected that this had been done at his command, and the senate would therefore choose that plan without further investigation. There was much discussion and some proposals were submitted to Augustus in writing. When he learned from these that the senators were ready to submit to any form of tax rather than to the one in force, he changed it to a levy upon fields and houses; and immediately, without stating how great it would be or in what way imposed, he sent men out everywhere to make a list of the property both of private individuals and of cities. His object was that they should fear even greater losses and so be content to pay the five per cent. tax; and this is what actually happened. Thus Augustus handled these matters.

During a horse-race at the Augustalia,\(^1\) which were celebrated in honour of his birthday, a madman seated himself in the chair which was dedicated to Julius Caesar, and taking his crown, put it on. This incident disturbed everybody, for it seemed to have some bearing upon Augustus, as, indeed, proved true. For in the following year, when Sextus Apuleius and Sextus Pompeius were consuls, Augustus set out for Campania, and after superintending the games at Neapolis, passed away shortly afterward at Nola.

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\(^1\) Cf. liv. 34, 1–2, where Dio himself appears to apply the name Augustalia to the celebration of Augustus’ birthday as well as to the Augustalia proper; but he there adds the phrase “which are still celebrated” to distinguish the latter from the former.

\(^5\) Νέοι πόλεις Βς., τειανόλεις VCL."
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άρα ἐσ τούτο αὐτῷ φέροντα οὔτε ἐλάχιστα οὔτε
3 δυσσώμβλητα ἐγεγένητο· ὁ τε γὰρ ἦλιος ἄπας ἐξέλυτε, καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸ πολὺ καίεσθαι ἔδοξε, ἦνα τε διάπυρα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πάπτοντα ἐφαντάσθη, καὶ ἀστέρες κομίται καὶ αἰματώδεις ὀφθησαν. Βουλής τε ἐπὶ τῇ νόσῳ αὐτοῦ ἐπαγγελθείσης, ἦν εὐχάς ποιήσωνται [Χιρ. 118, 622, Ζων. 10, 38, p. 453, 21–454, 2 D.] τὸ 1 τε συνεδρίου κεκλειμένον 2 εὐρέθη καὶ βύας ἵππερ αὐτοῦ καθήμενος

4 ἐβυζὴ. καὶ κεραυνὸς ἐς εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἐστῶσαν ἐμπεσὼν τὸ γράμμα τὸ πρῶτον τοῦ ὁνόματος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἥφανεσαν, ὅθεν οἱ μάντεις ἐκατοστή 3 μετὰ τούτο αὐτῶν ἠμέρα θείας τινὸς μοίρας μεταλήψεσθαι ἐφασαν, τεκμαίρομενοι ὅτι τὸ τε στοιχεῖον ἐκεῖνο τον τῶν ἐκατὸν ἀριθμὸν παρὰ τοῖς Λατίνοις καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν

5 πάν ὄνομα θεών παρὰ τοῖς Τυρσηνοῖς νοεῖ. ταῦτα μὲν ξύντος ἐτ’ αὐτοῦ προεβάλι, τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἐπείτα ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὸ τῶν ὑπάτων τὸ τε τοῦ Σεροῦν Σουλπικίου Γάλβου ἐνθύμιον ἐγένετο. ἐκείνοι τε γὰρ συγγενεῖς τη τοῦ Αὐγοῦστου οὔτε ἦρχον, καὶ ὁ Γάλβας ὁ τοῦ κράτος ὑστεροῦ χρόνω λαβὼν τότε ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νομηματίς ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους

6 ἐνεγράφῃ. ἐπεὶ οὖν πρῶτος μετὰ τοῦ Αὐγοῦστου γένος ἕκ τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων ἐμονάρχησε, λόγον τις παρέσχεν ὡς οὐκ ἀπὸ ταύτωμαν τότε ταῦτα ἄλλα ἐκ δαιμονίου προβουλῆς ἐγένετο. 30 Ὁ δ’ οὖν Αὐγοῦστος νοσήσας μετῆλλαξε· καὶ τινα ὑποψίαν τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ ἡ Λιουία

1 M resumes with τό.
2 κεκλειμένον Dind., κεκλεισμένον M.
3 ἐκατοστή Dind., ἐκαστος τῇ M.
Indeed, not a few omens had appeared, and these by no means difficult of interpretation, all pointing to this fate for him. Thus, the sun suffered a total eclipse and most of the sky seemed to be on fire; glowing embers appeared to be falling from it and blood-red comets were seen. When a meeting of the senate had been appointed on account of the emperor's illness, in order that they might offer prayers, the senate-house was found closed and an owl sitting on it hooted. A thunderbolt fell upon his statue that stood upon the Capitol and blotted out the first letter of the name "Caesar." This led the seers to declare that on the hundredth day after that he should attain to some divine state. They deduced this from the fact that the letter "C" signifies "one hundred" among the Latins, and the remainder of the word means "god" among the Etruscans. Now these signs appeared beforehand while he was still alive; but people of later days were struck also by coincidences in the case of the consuls and of Servius Sulpicius Galba. For the consuls then in office were in some way related to Augustus; and Galba, who later came to the throne, assumed the toga virilis at this time on the very first day of the year. Now since he was the first of the Romans to become emperor after the family of Augustus had passed away, it gave occasion to some to say that this had not been a mere coincidence, but had been brought about by some divine purpose.

So Augustus fell sick and died. Livia incurred some suspicion in connexion with his death, in view of the fact that he had secretly sailed over to the
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ελαβεν, επειδὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν κρύφα ἐστὶν νῆσον διέπλευσε καὶ ἔδοκει οἱ καὶ πανταπασι καταλλαγήσεσθαι. δεῖσασα 1 γὰρ, ὡς φασί, μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ μοναρχίᾳ αὐτῶν καταγάγῃ, σὺν τινα ἐπὶ δεύδροις ἐτέρα ἐπόντα, ἀφ' ὄνοι λύγουστος αὐτοχειρία συκάζειν εἰώθει, φαρμάκω ἔχρισε, καὶ αὐτὴ τῇ ἀμα τὰ ἀνήλιφα 2 ήσθενεν 3 κάκεινῳ τὰ πεφαρμαγμένα 3 προσέβαλλεν. οὐχ' ὕπε ὡς τοῦτον εἰτε καὶ ἄλλωσ ἀρροδὴς τοὺς τε ἐταίρους συνεκάλεσε, καὶ εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς ὅσα ἔχρηξε, τέλος ἐφή ὅτι "τὴν Ῥώμην γηήν 4 παραλαβὼν λιθίνην ὕμιν καταλείπων." τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὡς πρὸς τὸ τῶν ὀἰκοδομημάτων αὐτῆς ἀκριβεῖς ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἱσχυρὸν ἐνεδείξατο· κρότον δὲ δὴ τινα παρ' αὐτῶν ὁμοιός τοῖς γελωτοποιοῖς, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ μίμου τινὸς τελευτής, 5 αὐτής καὶ πάμπαν πίνατα τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίων διέσκιψε.

5 Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὖν τῇ εἰνεκακαδεκάτη τοῦ Ἀγριώστου, ἐν ᾗ ποτὲ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπάτευσε, μετῆλλαξε, ἔτηςα μὲν πέντε καὶ ἐρδομίκοντα ἐτη καὶ μήνας δέκα καὶ ἡμέρας ἑξ καὶ εἰκοσί (τῇ γὰρ τρίτη καὶ εἰκοστῇ τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου ἐγεγέννητο), μοναρχίας δὲ, ἀφ' οὗ πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτιῷ ἐνίκησε, τέσσαρα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἐτη, δεκατριῶν ἡμερῶν δέοντα. οὗ μέντοι καὶ ἐκφανής εὐθὺς ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο· ἡ γὰρ Διονίσια, φοβηθείσα μὴ τοῦ Τιβέριου ἐν τῇ Δελματίᾳ ἐτέρα ὁντος νεωτερισθῆ τι, συνέκρυψεν αὐτὸν μέχρις οὐκ ἔκεινος ἀφίκετο. ταῦτα γὰρ οὖν τοῖς τε πλέοισι καὶ τοῖς 6 αξιο-

1 δεῖσασα Xiph., δεῖσας M.
2 ἀνήλιφα Sylburg, ἀνήλειφα M Xiph.
island to see Agrippa and seemed about to become completely reconciled with him. For she was afraid, some say, that Augustus would bring him back to make him sovereign, and so smeared with poison some figs that were still on trees from which Augustus was wont to gather the fruit with his own hands; then she ate those that had not been smeared, offering the poisoned ones to him. At any rate, from this or some other cause he became ill, and sending for his associates, he told them all his wishes, adding finally: "I found Rome of clay; I leave it to you of marble." He did not thereby refer literally to the appearance of its buildings, but rather to the strength of the empire. And by asking them for their applause, after the manner of the comic actors, as if at the close of a mime, he ridiculed most tellingly the whole life of man.

Thus on the nineteenth day of August, the day on which he had first become consul, he passed away, having lived seventy-five years, ten months, and twenty-six days (he had been born on the twenty-third of September), and having been sole ruler, from the time of his victory at Actium, forty-four years lacking thirteen days. His death, however, was not immediately made public; for Livia, fearing that as Tiberius was still in Dalmatia there might be some uprising, concealed the fact until he arrived. This, at any rate, is the statement made by most

\[1\] The island of Planasia; see lv. 32, 2.

\[3\] πεφαρμαγμένα Xiph., Zon., variant in M, πεφαρμακευμένα M.

\[4\] γηλίνην M Xiph., πηλίνην Zon.

\[5\] τελευτά Xiph., τελευτήσ M.

\[6\] τοῖς supplied by Dind.
πιστοτέρους γέγραπτατε εἰσὶ γάρ τινες οἱ καὶ παραγενέσθαι τῶν Τιβέριον τῇ νόσῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἑπισκήψεις τινὰς παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἐφασαν.

2 τὸ δ' οὖν σῶμα τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐκ μὲν τῆς Νώλης οἱ πρῶτοι καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἐβᾶστασαν, πρῶς δὲ δὴ τῇ Ῥώμῃ γενόμενοι οἱ ἵππης παραλαβόντες νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἐσεκόμισαν. τῇ τε ὑστεραίᾳ βουλή ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὴν ἱππάδα στόλην ἐνδεδυκότες συνήλθον, οἱ δ' ἄρχοντες τὴν βουλευτικήν

3 πλῆν τῶν ἰματίων τῶν περιπορφύρων· ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος καὶ ὁ Δροῦσος ὁ νίος αὐτοῦ φαίνει, τὸν ἀγοραίον τρόπον πεποιημένην, εἶχον. καὶ τοῦ μὲν λιβαυωτοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐθυσαν, τῷ δ' ἀυλητῇ οὐκ ἔχρισαντο. ἐκαθέξοντο δὲ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ὅσ πον ἐκαστος εἰώθει, οἱ δ' ὑπατοι κατω ἐν τοῖς βάθροις ὁ μὲν τὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ δὲ τὸ τῶν δημάρχων. καὶ μετὰ τούτο ὑπ' τοῦ Τιβερίου ἄδεια ἐδόθη, ὅτι τοῦ τε νεκροῦ, οὐκ ἔξον δὴ, ἡψατο καὶ συμπαρέπεμψεν αὐτὸν (καίτοι τὰς 1 . . .)

32,1a . . . τὰς διαθήκας αὐτοῦ ὁ Δροῦσος ἐκ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων τῶν τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερείων, καὶ παρετέθειτο, εἰληφὼς εἰς τοῦ συνεδρίου εἰσήγητε, καὶ τὰς σφραγίδας οἱ κατασημηνιώμενοι ἐπεσκέπασαν, καὶ ἀνεγνώσθησαν ἐν ἐπηκοὸ τοῦ συνεδρίου. —Ζον. 10, 38 (p. 454, 27-455, 2 D.).

1 Χιψ. 120, 7–121, 32: . . . τὰς διαθήκας αὐτοῦ Πολύβιος τις καισάρειοι ἀνέγγικ ὡς μὴ πρέπον βουλευτὴν τοιούτῳ τι ἀναλέγεσθαι. κατελέειπτο δὲ ἐν αὐταῖς τὰ μὲν δύο μέρη τοῦ κλήρου τῷ Τιβερίῳ, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τῇ Λιονίᾳ, ὅσ τινες λέγονσιν ἢνα γάρ τι καὶ ἑκείνη τῆς οὐσίας 70
writers, and the more trustworthy ones; but there are some who have affirmed that Tiberius was present during the emperor's illness, and received some injunctions from him. The body of Augustus was carried from Nola by the foremost men of each city in succession. When it drew near Rome, the knights took it in charge and conveyed it by night into the city. On the following day there was a meeting of the senate, to which the majority came wearing the equestrian costume, but the magistrates the senatorial garb except for the purple-bordered toga. Tiberius and his son Drusus wore dark clothing; made for use in the Forum. They, too, offered incense, but did not employ a flute-player. Most of the members sat in their accustomed places, but the consuls sat below, one on the praetors' bench and the other on that of the tribunes. After this Tiberius was absolved for having touched the corpse, a forbidden act, and for having escorted it on its journey, although

. . .

. . . his will Drusus took from the Vestal Virgins, with whom it had been deposited, and carried it into the senate. Those who had witnessed the document examined the seals, and then it was read in the hearing of the senate.

. . . Polybius, an imperial freedman, read his will, as it was not proper for a senator to pronounce anything of the sort. It showed that two-thirds of the inheritance had been left to Tiberius and the remainder to Livia; at least this is one report. For, in order that she, too, should have some enjoyment of his

1 Cf. xl. 46, 1.

Another folium is here lost from M.
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αὐτοῦ ἀπόνηται, παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἤτησατο τοσοῦτον αὐτῇ καὶ παρὰ τὸν νόμον καταλιπεῖν δυνη-2 θῆναι. κληρονόμοι μὲν δὴ οὗτοι ἐγεγράφατο· κτήματα δὲ καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ πολλοῖς καὶ τῶν προσηκόντων οἱ καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, οὐχ ὅπως βουλευταῖς καὶ ἵππευσιν ἄλλα καὶ βασιλεύσι, τῷ τε δῆμῳ χιλίας μυριάδας, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς μὲν δορυφόροις κατὰ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας δραχμῖς, τοῖς δ' ἀστικοῖς τὴν ἡμίσειαν, τῷ τε λοιπῷ τῷ πολιτικῷ πλήθει 3 πέντε καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα δοθῆναι εκέλευσε. καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοῖς παισὶν ὅν μικρῶν ἔτι ὁντων τοὺς πατέρας τῶν οὖσιῶν ἐκεκληρομομίκει, προσέ-έταξε πάντα μετὰ τῶν προσόδων, ἐπειδὰν ἄνδρωσιν, ἀποδοθῆναι. ὅπερ ποιὴν καὶ ξων ἐποίειν· εἰ γὰρ τινὰ τέκνα ἔχοντα διεδέξατο, τοῖς παισιν αὐτοῦ πάντως, εἰ μὲν ἡδὴ τότε τέλειον ἦσαν, εὐθὺς, εἰ δὲ μὴ, μετὰ τούτο πάντα ἀπε-4 δίδου. τοιοῦτος μέντοι περὶ τός ἀλλοτρίους παῖδας ὅν τὴν θυγατέρα οὔτε κατήγαγε, καὶπερ καὶ δωρεῶν ἀξιώσας, καὶ ταφῆναι εν τῷ αὐτοῦ μνημείῳ ἀπηγόρευσε.

33 Τοσάντα μὲν αἱ διαθήκαι ἐδίλουν, ἐσεκομίσθη δὲ καὶ βιβλία τέσσαρα· καὶ αὐτὰ ὁ Δρούσος ἀνέγιγ. ἐγέγραπτο δὲ ἐν μὲν τῷ πρῶτῳ ὅσα τῆς ταφῆς εἰχέτο, ἐν δὲ τῷ δεύτερῳ τὰ ἐργά ἐπιγράφε 2 πάντα, ἀ καὶ ἐς χαλκας στήλας πρὸς τῷ ἡρώῳ αὐτοῦ σταθείσας ἀναγραφῆναι εκέλευσε· τὸ τρί-

1 Cf. ch. 10, 2.
2 The Acta Divi Augusti. A fragmentary copy of this record, together with a Greek translation, was discovered in the sixteenth century inscribed on the walls of a temple of 72
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estate, he had asked the senate for permission to leave her so much, which was more than the amount allowed by law. These two, then, were named as heirs. He also directed that many articles and sums of money should be given to many different persons, both relatives of his and others unrelated, not only to senators and knights but also to kings; to the people he left forty million sestereces; and as for the soldiers, one thousand sestereces apiece to the Praetorians, half that amount to the city and to the rest of the citizen soldiery three hundred each. Moreover, in the case of children of whose fathers he had been the heir while the children were still small, he enjoined that the whole amount together with interest should be paid back to them when they became men. This, in fact, had been his practice even while living; for whenever he inherited the estate of anyone who had offspring, he never failed to restore it all to the man's children, immediately if they were already grown up, and otherwise later. Nevertheless, though he took such an attitude toward the children of others, he did not restore his own daughter from exile, though he did hold her worthy to receive gifts; and he commanded that she should not be buried in his own tomb. So much was made clear by the will.

Four books were then brought in and Drusus read them. In the first were written detailed instructions regarding his funeral; in the second were recorded all the acts which he had performed, which he commanded also to be inscribed upon bronze columns to be set up around his shrine; the third

Augustus at Angora, the ancient Ancyra (hence known as the Monumentum Ancyranum).

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τον τα των στρατιωτων και τα των προσόδων των των ἄναλωμάτων των δημοσίων, τὸ τε πλῆθος τῶν ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς χρημάτων, καὶ ὧσα ἄλλα τοιούτοτροπα ἐσ τὴν ἥγεμονίαν φέροντα ἢν, εἰσε, 3 καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ἐντολάς καὶ ἐπισκύψεις τῷ Τιβερίῳ καὶ τῷ κοινῷ, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ὅπως μήτ' ἀπελευθέρωσε πολλοὺς, ἵνα μὴ παντοδαποῦ ὄψιν τὴν πόλιν πληρώσωσι, μήτ' αὐτ ἐσ τὴν πολιτείαν συχνὸς ἐσχηράφωσιν, ἵνα πολὺ τὸ 4 διάφορον αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἦ. τὰ τε κοινὰ πᾶσι τοῖς δυναμέοις καὶ εἰδέναι καὶ πράττειν ἐπιτρέπειν, καὶ ἐσ μηδένα ἕνα1 ἀναρτάν αὐτὰ παρηγένεσε σφισίν, ὅπως μῆτε τυραννίδος τις ἐπιθυμήσῃ,2 μήτ' αὐτ παῖσαντος ἐκεῖνον τὸ 5 δημόσιον σφαλῆ. γνώμην3 τε αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε τοῖς τε παρούσιν ἄρκεσθήναι καὶ μηδαμῶς ἕπτ' πλεῖον τὴν ἄρχην ἐπαύξησαι ἐθελῆσαι: δυσφύλακτον τε γὰρ αὐτήν ἐσεσθαί, καὶ κινδυνεύσειν ἐκ τούτον 6 καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἀπολέσαι ἐφή. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὄντως ἀεὶ ποτὲ οὐ λόγῳ μόνῳ ἄλλα καὶ ἔργῳ ἐτήρησε: παρὸν γοῦν αὐτὼ πολλὰ ἐκ τοῦ βαρ- βαρικοῦ προσκτήσασθαι ὑν ἤθελησε. 34 Ταῦτα μὲν αἱ ἐντολαὶ εἶχον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἦ ἐκφορὰ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο. κλώνὴ ἦν ἐκ τε ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ πεποιημένη καὶ στρώμασιν ἄλουργος διαχρύσως κεκοσμημένη καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ μὲν σῶμα κάτω ποὺ ἐν θήκη συνεκέκρυστο, εἰκών δὲ δὴ τις αὐτοῦ κηρίνη ἐν ἐπινικίῳ στολῇ ἐξεφαί-

1 ἕνα supplied by Reim.
2 τυραννίδος τις ἐπιθυμήσῃ L', τυραννίδα τις ἐπίθεις εἳ C, τυραννίδα τις ἐπίθειη V.
3 γνώμην CL', γνώσειν V.
BOOK LVI

contained an account of military matters, of the revenues, and of the public expenditures, the amount of money in the treasuries, and everything else of the sort that had a bearing upon the administration of the empire; and the fourth had injunctions and commands for Tiberius and for the public. Among these injunctions was one to the effect that they should not free many slaves, lest they should fill the city with a promiscuous rabble; also that they should not enrol large numbers as citizens, in order that there should be a marked difference between themselves and the subject nations. He exhorted them to entrust the public business to all who had ability both to understand and to act, and never to let it depend on any one person; in this way no one would set his mind on a tyranny, nor would the State, on the other hand, go to ruin if one man fell. He advised them to be satisfied with their present possessions and under no conditions to wish to increase the empire to any greater dimensions. It would be hard to guard, he said, and this would lead to danger of their losing what was already theirs. This principle he had really always followed himself not only in speech but also in action; at any rate he might have made great acquisitions from the barbarian world, but he had not wished to do so. These, then, were his injunctions.

Then came his funeral. There was a couch made of ivory and gold and adorned with coverings of purple and gold. In it his body was hidden, in a coffin down below; but a wax image of him in triumphal garb was visible. This image was borne from the palace by the officials elected for the following year, and another of gold from the senate-house, and still
2 μετο. καὶ αὐτὴ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ παλατίου πρὸς τῶν ἐς νέωτα ἀρχόντων, ἕτερα δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Βουλευτηρίου χρυσῆ, καὶ ἔτερα αὐ θ᾽ ἀρματος πομπικοῦ κῆγετο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτας αἱ τε τῶν προπατόρων αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ τῶν ἄλλων συγγενῶν τῶν τεθυνκότων, πλὴν τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ὅτι ἐς τοὺς ἦρως ἐσεγέγραπτο, αἱ τε τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων τῶν καὶ καθ' ὁτιοῦν πρωτευσάντων, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ

3 Ῥωμύλου ἀρξάμεναι, ἑφέροιτο. καὶ τις καὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου τοῦ μεγάλου εἰκῶν ὁφθη, τὰ τε ἐθνὶ πάνθ' ὅσα προσεκτήσατο, ἐπιχωρίως σφίξει ὡς ἐκαστὰ ἀπηκασμένα ἐπέμφθη. κὰκ τοῦτον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα αὐτοῖς, ὅσα ἐν τοῖς ἄνω λόγοις εὑρηται,

4 ἑφέσπετο. προτεθείσης δὲ τῆς κλίνης ἐπὶ τοῦ δημηγορικοῦ βῆματος, ἀπὸ μὲν ἑκείνου ὁ Δροῦσος τι ἀνέγμω, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐτέρων ἐμβόλων τῶν Ἰουλιείων ὁ Τιβέριος δημόσιος δὴ τινὰ κατὰ δόγμα λόγον ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοιὸνδε ἐπελέξατο.

35 "Οσα μὲν ἱδία καὶ παρὰ τῶν συγγενῶν ἐπὶ τῶ θείω ἑκείνω Λυγοῦστῳ λεχθῆναι εδει, Δροῦσος εἰρηκέν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ δημοσίας τρόπων τινὰ φωνῆς ἢ γερουσία καλῶς ποιοῦσα ἡξίωσεν αὐτοὺς, οἶδα μὲν προσήκοντα ἐμαυτῷ τῶν λόγων τόνδε

2 ἑπιτραπεῖς (τις γὰρ ἄν δικαιότερον ἐμοῦ τοῦ καὶ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ διαδόχου τοῦ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπαινον ἐνεχειρίσθη;,) οὐ μέντοι καὶ θαρρεῖν ἔχω ὡς οὐ πολὺ καταδεέστερος καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας περὶ αὐτοῦ

3 βουλήσεως καὶ τῆς ἑκείνου ἀξιώσεως ὡν. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις τισὶ λέξειν ἐμελλον, σφόδρα ἃν ἐφοβοῦμην μὴ τῶ ἐμῶ λόγῳ προσέχοντας τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ νομίσωσιν εἶναι· νῦν δὲ δὴ παραμυθεῖται με ὅτι παρ' ὑμῖν τοῖς πάντα 76
another upon a triumphal chariot. Behind these came the images of his ancestors and of his deceased relatives (except that of Caesar, because he had been numbered among the demigods) and those of other Romans who had been prominent in any way, beginning with Romulus himself. An image of Pompey the Great was also seen, and all the nations he had acquired, each represented by a likeness which bore some local characteristic, appeared in the procession. After these followed all the other objects mentioned above. When the couch had been placed in full view on the rostra of the orators, Drusus read something from that place; and from the other rostra, that is the Julian, Tiberius delivered the following public address over the deceased, in pursuance of a decree:

"The words which required to be spoken in a private capacity by relatives over the Deified Augustus, Drusus has spoken. But the senate has wisely held him to be worthy of some kind of public eulogy as well; and while I recognize that the speech was fittingly entrusted to me (for to whom more justly than to me, his son and successor, could the duty of praising him be entrusted?), still I cannot feel any confidence that my abilities measure up in any wise either to your desires in the matter or to his merits. Indeed, if I were going to speak in the presence of strangers, I should be greatly concerned lest in following my speech they should believe his deeds to be no better than my account of them. But, as it is, I am encouraged by the thought that my words will
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te autà ákriβôs eîdôsi kai pántwv autôn
tepetpramévoi, kai dia tauta kai twv èpaînov
tônde autôn hêsiaokôsi, tous logous poiôsmoi.
4 ou γâr eξ ón an ègô èipto kai tîn èkeínon èrpetîn
krîneîte, allâ eξ ón autôi súmiste kai touîs èmôis
logous bothîste, anaplèrountes to èlleîpon
tî μuîhô tîn yegovîtwv, óсте kouûn kùn touû
parâ pántwv tîn èpâiwn genêståi, èmuî te
ôsster en xorô twî tâ kefálâia àpòsìmâînontos,
5 kai ùmôw tâ loutâ suiveptîxhôtontw. ou γâr dî
kai èkeíno dêdôkia, mh ùtoî èmuî¹ àsêneiâm twâ
katagnwste, ouî mh dûvmaî tîs èptîthumîas ùmôn
tuxeîn, h autôi tî ùperebállonti ùmàs tîs
èrpetîs autôi ìthônîhste. tws γâr ouî èpístatai
touû, ouî ouî an pántes ànthwpoi suvnelwîntes
èzîonou autôn èpâiînou èpiôenî, kai pántes ède-
6 lonataî twn nĭkhtîrmwv autô parâkhorîte, ouî
ouî ouûdeîs an èmôn èzîswthêî ouî ìthônîntes,
allâ kai autô tî ùpereçhônti autôi àgallh-
meûnî; ouî ςâr an ouûs meîzôn ùmôn fwnh,
tosoutoù meîzôna ùmêîs ènhrgethôshâi dôxeste, woste
mh afîw ouî èlaptoûsthâe autôi bâskhîanî ùmîw,
allâ afîw ouî én pepôûdate ùpî autôi semvotîta
èggevèsthai.
36 ""Aρξomai dê ènèteûthen òdênîper kai èkeînos tâ
couîa prâttwv ërkatî, touû" èstîn àpdo tîs
próthès ýlikîas autôn. kai γâr toûto èn tîw
megís tôn toû Aûgouòtwv èrgwv èstîn, ouî àrth
ek té tîw páîdôn èxeilhlywos kai meîrakîwsthai
2 àrkhòmenos tôîn mên àlloû chrônîwv, kath' òn kalôs

¹ èmuî Reim., èmuî M.

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be addressed to you who are thoroughly acquainted with all his achievements, who have known them all through personal experience, and for that reason have held him to be worthy of these words of praise. For you will judge of his excellence, not from what I may say, but from what you yourselves know, and you will come to the aid of my discourse, supplying what is deficient by your memory of the events. Hence, in this respect also, his eulogy will be a public one, rendered by us all, as I, like the leader of a chorus, merely give out the leading words, while you join in and chant the rest. For of this I assuredly am not afraid—either that you will find it a weakness in me that I am unable to attain to your desires, or that you yourselves will be jealous of one whose virtue so far surpassed your own. For who does not realize that not all mankind assembled together could worthily sound his praises, and that you all of your own free will yield to him his triumphs, feeling no envy at the thought that not one of you could equal him, but rather rejoicing in the very fact of his surpassing greatness? For the greater he appears in comparison with you, the greater will seem the benefits which you have enjoyed, so that rancour will not be engendered in you because of your inferiority to him, but rather pride because of the blessings you have received at his hands.

"I shall begin at the point where he began his public career, that is, with his earliest manhood. For this, indeed, is one of the greatest achievements of Augustus, that at the time when he had just emerged from boyhood and was barely coming to man's estate, he devoted himself to his education just so long as public affairs were well managed by
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tà δημόσια πρὸς τοῦ ἡμιθέου ἐκεῖνου Καίσαρος διωκεῖτο, παιδεία προσεῖχεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπιβουλευθέντος αὐτοῦ πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ἐταράχθη, τῷ τε πατρὶ ἀμα ἰκανῶς ἐτιμώρησε καὶ ὑμῖν ἀναγκαῖος ἐπεκούρησε, μήτε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐχθρῶν φοβηθεῖς μήτε τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πραγμάτων δεῖσας μήτε τὴν 3 ὀλιγοετίαν τῆς ἐαυτοῦ ὁδηγήσας. καὶ τοι τοιούτον ἠ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών ἦ Ῥωμύλος ὁ ἡμέτερος, οἵπερ ποιοῦν μάλιστα νεαροὶ διότι ἐλλόγιμον τι ποιήσαι δοκοῦσιν, ἔπραξαν; ἀλλὰ τούτοις μὲν εἰσώ, ἢν μὴ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παραβάλλεν οἱ καὶ παραδεικτῦναι σφᾶς, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ὑμῖν μηδὲν ἦττον ἐμοῦ αὐτῶς εἰδόσι, σμικρότεραν τὴν τοῦ 4 λυγούστον ἀρετὴν ποιεῖν νομισθῶν πρὸς μόνῳ δὲ δὴ τὸν Ἡρακλεᾶ καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου ἐργά παραθεωρῶν αὐτὸν ὀρθῶς μὲν ἂν καὶ αὐτὸ τούτῳ ποιεῖν δοξαίμι, τοσοῦτον δ' ἂν τῆς προαιρέσεως διαμάρτυροι ὁςον ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐν τε παισιν ὅφεις καὶ ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἐλαφόν τε τινα καὶ κάπρον καὶ νη Βία καὶ λέοντα άκων καὶ ἐξ ἐπιπάξεως ἀπεκτεινεν, 5 οὕτος δὲ οὐκ ἐν θηρίοις ἄλλων ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἐθελοντής καὶ πολεμῶν καὶ νομοθετῶν τὸ τε κοινὸν ἀκρίβως ἐσωσε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλαμπρύνθη. τοιγάρτῳ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ στρατηγῷν αὐτῶν ἐλέσθη καὶ ὑπατόν ἀπεδείξατε 1 ἐκεῖνῳ τῆς ἡλικίας ἔχοντα ἐν ὧ μηδὲ στρατεύεσθαι τινες ἐθέλονσιν. 37 "Αὐτὴ μὲν δὴ καὶ Λυγούστῳ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ βίου ἀρχῆ καὶ ἐμοὶ τοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγου γέγονε· μετὰ δὲ δὴ τούτῳ ὡρῶν τὸ μὲν πλείστων καὶ κράτιστον καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς Βουλῆς ἐαυτῷ συμφρονοῦν,

1 ἀπεδείξατε Bs., ἐδείξατε M.
BOOK LVI

that demigod, Caesar, but when, after the conspiracy against Caesar, the whole State was thrown into confusion, he at one and the same time amply avenged his father and rendered much-needed assistance to you, neither fearing the multitude of his enemies nor dreading the magnitude of the responsibilities nor hesitating by reason of his own immaturity. Yet what deed like this can be cited of Alexander of Macedon or of our own Romulus, who perhaps above all others are thought to have performed some notable exploit in youth? But these men I shall pass over, lest from merely comparing them with him and using them as examples—and that among you who know them as well as I—I may be thought to be detracting from the virtues of Augustus. With Hercules alone and his exploits I might compare him, and should be thought justified in so doing, if that were all; but even so I should fall short of my purpose, in so far as Hercules in childhood only dealt with serpents, and when a man, with a stag or two and a boar which he killed,—oh, yes, and a lion, to be sure, albeit reluctantly and at somebody’s behest: whereas Augustus, not among beasts, but among men, of his own free will, by waging war and enacting laws, literally saved the commonwealth and gained splendid renown for himself. Therefore it was, that in recognition of these services you chose him praetor and appointed him consul at an age when some are unwilling to serve even as common soldiers.

"This then was the beginning of Augustus' political life, and this is likewise the beginning of my account of him. Soon afterwards, seeing that the largest and best element of the people and of the senate was in
στασιωτείαις 1 δέ τισι τῶν τε Δέπιδου καὶ τῶν Ἀντώνιον τὸν τε Σέξτον καὶ τὸν Βρούτον τὸν τε
2 Κάσσιον χρωμένους, καὶ 2 φοβηθεὶς μὴ πολλοῖς ἁμα πολέμοις, καὶ τούτοις ἐμφυλίοις, ἡ πόλις συνενεχθεῖσα καὶ διασπασθῇ καὶ ἐκτρυχωθῇ ὡστε μηδένα ἐτί τρόπον ἀνενεγκεῖν δυνηθήματι, φρονιμώτατα καὶ δημοφιλεῖστατα αὐτοὺς διέ-
3 θηκεν τοὺς τε γὰρ ἱσχύοντας καὶ αὐτῶ τῷ ἀστεί ἐπικειμένως προσλαβών κατεπολέμησε μετ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ἑτέρους, καὶ τούτων ὑπεξαιρε-
4 θέντων αὐθίς αὐ καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἧλενθέρωσεν ἡμᾶς, ἐλόμενος μὲν ὅλην τινὰς καὶ ἄκων σφίσι προεσθαί ὡςτε τοὺς πλείους διασώσαι, ἐλόμενος δὲ καθ' ἐκάστους αὐτοὺς ἐπιτηδείως πως προσ-
5 ἐνεχθῆμαι ὡστε μὴ πάσιν ἁμα πολεμῆσαι. ἐξ ὧν ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐδὲν ἱδία ἐκερδάνει, ἡμᾶς δὲ δὴ πάντας περιφανῶς ὀφελήσε. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς τε ἐμφυλίους καὶ τοὺς ὁθει-
6 οὺς ἔργα αὐτοῦ τί ἄν τις μακρηγοροὔῃ, ἄλλως τε καὶ διότι τὰ μὲν ὀφελὲ μὴ δ' ἄρχην γεγονέναι, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐπικτηθέντων πολὺ ἑιργηστέραν τὴν ὦφελίαι παντὸς λόγου παρέχεται; καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῆς τύχης τὸ πλείστον ὄντα, καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν μὲν πολιτῶν πολλῶν καὶ συμμάχων κατορθω-
7 θέντα, καὶ κοινὴ πρὸς ἐκείνους τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῷ ἔχει, καὶ τάχα ἄν καὶ ἑτέρων τινῶν πρᾶξεσι παραβληθείη. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν παραλείψω καὶ γαρ του πολλαχῆ αὐτά καὶ γεγραμμένα καὶ τετυπωμένα καὶ ὅραν καὶ ἀναγιγνώσκειν δύνασθε· ἀ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Λυγοῦστου ἔργα

1 στασιωτείαις Dind., στασιωτείαις M.

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accord with him, but that Lepidus and Antony, Sextus, Brutus, and Cassius were resorting to factious machinations, and fearing the city might become involved in many wars at once, and civil wars too, and thus be torn asunder and exhausted beyond all possibility of recovery, he accordingly dealt with them with the greatest prudence and to the greatest public good. For he first attached to himself the powerful leaders who were menacing the very existence of the city, and with them fought the others until he had made an end of them; and when these were out of the way, he in turn freed us from the former. He chose, though against his will, to surrender a few to their wrath so that he might save the majority, and he chose to assume a friendly attitude towards each of them in turn so as not to have to fight with them all at once. From all this he derived no personal gain, but aided us all in a signal manner. And yet why should one dwell on his exploits in the wars, whether civil or foreign, especially when the former ought never to have occurred at all, and the latter by the conquests gained show the benefits they brought better than any words can tell? Moreover, since these exploits depended largely upon chance and their success was due to the aid of many citizens and many allies, he must share with them the credit for them, and these achievements might possibly be compared with the exploits of some other men. These, accordingly, I shall omit; for they are described and depicted in many a book and painting, so that you can both read and behold them. But of the deeds which are in a peculiar sense those of Augustus

*2 καὶ Νῦλ., καὶ μῆ Μ.*
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ἐστὶ, καὶ μήτ' ἄλλω τινι ἀνθρώπων πέπρακται, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἤμων οὐ μόνον ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν κινδύνων περιπετευθέκεν ἅλλα καὶ εὐπορωτέραν καὶ δυνατωτέραν ἐξείργασται, ταύτ' ἐρώ μόνα: ἐκείνῃ τε γὰρ εὐκλειαν ἐξαιρετον λεχθέντα οὕσει, καὶ ὑμῶν τοὺς μὲν πρεσβυτέρους ἥδονην ἄμεμπτον πούσει, τοῖς δὲ νεώτεροις διδασκαλίαν ἀκριβῆ τοῦ τε τρόπου καὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τῆς πολιτείας παρέξει.

38 ὁ τὸν Ἀὐγουστός οὗτος, ὅν δὲ αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ταύτης ἥξιοσετε, ἑπεὶ δὴ τάχιστα τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων ἀπηλλάγη καὶ πράξας καὶ παθῶν οὐχ ὅσα αὐτοῦ ἠθέλεν ἄλλ' ὅσα τῷ δαιμονίῳ ἔδοξεν, πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς πλείους τῶν ἀντιστάντων οί καὶ περιγενομένων ἐκ τῶν παρατάξεων ἐσωσεν, ἐν μηδείν τὸν Σύλλαν μμη-

2 σάμενος τὸν εὐτυχὴ ὀνομαζόμενον, καὶ ἵνα μὴ πάντας αὐτοὺς καταλέγω, τῆς οὐκ οίδε τῶν Σόσιον, τῆς τῶν Σκαύρον τῶν ἀδελφῶν τοῦ Σέξτου, τῆς τῶν Λέπιδου αὐτῶν, ὅς καὶ ἐπεβίωσεν τοσοῦτον τῇ ἡπτῃ χρόνοι καὶ ἀρχιέρεως διὰ παντὸς αὐτοῦ ὦν διετέλεσεν; ἑπείτα δὲ τοὺς συνεξετασθέντας οἱ πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις δώρεαις τιμήσας οὐθ' ὑπερήφανον τι πράττειν οὐθ' ἴδον

3 υβρίζειν εἰσαζον, ἀλλὰ ἵστε γὰρ ἀκριβῶς καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τούς τε ἄλλους καὶ τῶν Μακιήμαν καὶ τῶν Ἀγρίπταν, ὡστε με μηδὲν μηδὲ τούτους ἐξαιριθμήσασθαι δεῖσθαι. δύο μὲν δὴ ταύτ' ἐσχεν οία ἐν οὐνεὶ ἄλλῳ ἐνὶ ἐγένετο. ἣδ' γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ ἐχθρών τινες ἐφείσαντο καὶ ἑτεροί τοῖς ἕταίροις ἀσελγαίνειν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψαν: ἀλλὰ ἀμφότερα τῷ αὐτῷ ἁμα διὰ πάντων ὦμοίως οὐκ ἔστιν ὁτῷ ποτέ

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himself, deeds which have never been performed by any other man, and have not only caused our city to survive after many dangers of every kind but have rendered it more prosperous and powerful,—of these alone I shall speak. For the recounting of them will not only confer upon him a unique glory, but will also afford the older men among you a pleasure unalloyed while giving the younger men most excellent instruction in the character and constitution of our government.

"This Augustus, then, whom you deemed worthy of this title for the very reasons just cited, as soon as he had rid himself of the civil wars, in which his actions and his fortunes were not such as he himself desired but as Heaven decreed, first of all spared the lives of most of his opponents who had survived the various battles, thus in no wise imitating Sulla, who was called the Fortunate. Not to recount them all, who does not know about Sosius, about Scaurus, the brother of Sextus, and particularly about Lepidus, who lived so long a time after his defeat and continued to be high priest throughout his whole life? Again, though he honoured his companions in arms with many great gifts, he did not permit them to indulge in any arrogant or wanton behaviour. But, indeed, you know full well the various men in this category, especially Maecenas and Agrippa, so that in their case also I may omit the enumeration. These two qualities Augustus possessed which were never united in any other one man. There have, indeed, been conquerors, I know, who have spared their enemies, and others who have not permitted their companions to give way to license; but both virtues combined have never before been consistently and uniformly found
4 ἄλλω ὑπήρξε. τεκμηρίου δὲ, Σύλλας μὲν καὶ Μάριος καὶ τοὺς παιδας τῶν ἀντιπολεμησάντων σφίσιν ἤχθηραν τί γὰρ δὲι τῶν ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν τῶν μικροτέρων μυμονεύειν; Πομπήιος δὲ καὶ Καίσαρ τούτων μὲν ἀπέσχοντο ὡς γε ἐπάπαν εἰπεῖν, τοῖς δὲ δὴ φίλοις οὐκ ὀλίγα παρὰ τὰ 5 ἐαυτῶν ἦθη ποιεῖν ἐφήκαν. ἀλλ' οὕτως οὕτως ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν ἐμιξέ καὶ ἐκέρασεν ὡστε τοῖς τε ἐναντιωθείσιν οἱ νῖκην τὴν ἦτταν ἀποφήγηται καὶ τοῖς συναγωνισμένοις εὐτυχῆ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀποδείξατι.

39 Ἔτερος δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ τὸ μὲν στασιωτικὸν πᾶν τὸ περιλειφθέν φιλανθρωπία καταστήσας, τὸ δὲ στρατιωτικὸν τὸ κρατήσαν εὐεργεσία μετρίας, καὶ ὑμηθεῖς ἂν ἐκ τούτων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὁπλῶν τῶν τε χρημάτων μόνος ἀναμφιλόγος 2 κύριος ἀπάντων, ὅν γε καὶ ὑπὸ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγεγονεί, εἰμι, οὐκ ἡθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ὀστερ τὶς ἱατρὸς ἁγαθὸς σῶμα νεοσηκὸς παραλαβὼν καὶ ἔξισσαμενος, ἀπέδωκε πᾶντα ὑμῖν ὑγία ποιήσας, καίτοι τούτοι 1 ἤλθον ἐστί, μάλιστα ἂν ἐξ ἐκείνου τεκμηριασθέ 2 ὅτι καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ τὸν Μέτελλον τὸν τότε ἀνθήσαντα ἐπήμεσαν οἱ πατέρες ἤμων, ἐπειδή τὰς δυνάμεις μεθ' ὃν 3 ἐπολέμησαν ἐδελουταὶ διαφήκαν. εἰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι μικράν τινα ἵσχυν καὶ ταύτην πρόσκαιρον ἑχοντες, καὶ προσέται καὶ ἀντιπάλους τοὺς οὐκ ἐπιτρέψοντάς σφισιν ἄλλο τι ποιῆσαι κεκτημένοι, τοῦτο τε 3 ἐπραξαν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶ έπαινον

1 καίτοι τοῦτο Ρκ., καὶ τοιοῦτον Μ.
2 τεκμηριασθέ Η. Σιπ., τεκμηριασθαι Μ.
3 τε Ρκ., γε Μ.
in one and the same man. For example, Sulla and Marius cherished hatred toward even the sons of those who had fought against them; and why need I mention the minor instances? Pompey and Caesar refrained in general from such hatred, yet permitted their friends to do not a few things that were contrary to their own principles. But this man so combined and fused the two qualities, that to his adversaries he made defeat seem victory, and to his comrades in arms proved that virtue is blest by fortune.

"After these achievements, and when by kindness he had allayed all that remained of factional discord and by generosity had moderated the victorious soldiery, he might on the strength of this record and of the weapons and the money at his command have been indisputably the sole lord of all, as, indeed, he had become by the very course of events. Nevertheless, he refused; and like a good physician, who takes in hand a disease-ridden body and heals it, he first restored to health and then gave back to you the whole body politic. The significance of this act you may judge best by recalling that our fathers praised Pompey and the Metellus who flourished at that time 1 because they voluntarily disbanded the forces with which they had waged war; for if they, who possessed only a small force gathered for the occasion, and, besides, were confronted by rivals who would not allow them to do otherwise, acted thus and received praise for doing so, how could one

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1 Q. Caecilius Metellus, the conqueror of Crete, who was content with the title Creticus for his reward; see Florus iii. 7. He is described as Pompey’s contemporary in order to distinguish him from the many other famous Metelli.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

1 σχον, ποῦ δὲ δύναιτ' ἀν τις τῆς Αὐγοῦστον
4 μεγαλοφροσύνης ἐφικέσθαι, ὥστις πάσας μὲν τὰς
dύναμεις ὑμῶν τηλικάυτας οὕσας ἔχουν, πάντων
dὲ τῶν χρημάτων πλείστων ὄντων κρατῶν, καὶ
μήτε φοβοῦμενός τινα μὴ' ὑποπτεύων, ἀλλ'
ἐξον αὐτῶ πάντων συνεπαινοῦτον μόνω ἄρχειν,
οὐκ ἤξιωσεν, ἀλλά καὶ τὰ ὀπλὰ καὶ τὰ ἑθνη καὶ
tὰ χρήματα ἐστὶ μέσον ὑμῖν κατέθηκεν;

5 "Οθενπερ καὶ ὑμεῖς, καλῶς ποιοῦντες καὶ ὁρθῶς
φρονοῦντες, οὐκ ἤμεσχεσθε οὔτε ἕπετρέψατε
αὐτῶ ἰδιωτεύσαι, ἀλλ' ἀτε 2 εὐ εἰδότες ὅτι
ἐκκρατεία μὲν ὑποτ' ἀν τηλικοῦτοις πράγμασιν
ἀρμόσειν, προστασία δὲ ἐνος ἀνδρὸς μᾶλιστ' ἀν
αὐτὰ σώσειν, οὔτε λόγῳ μὲν 3 ἐπανελθεῖν ἐς
tὴν αὐτονομίαν ἐργῳ δὲ ἐς τοὺς στασιασμοὺς

6 ἠθελήσατε, καὶ ἐκεῖνον, ὅν αὐτὸις τοῖς ἑργοῖς
ἐδεδοκιμάκειτε, προκρίναντες ἡμαγκάσατε χρόνον
gε τινα ὑμῶν προστίηναι. ἐξ οὖν δὴ πολὺ μᾶλλον
αὐτοῦ πειραθέντες, καὶ δεύτερον αὐθίς καὶ τρίτον
tέταρτόν τε καὶ πέμπτον ἐξεβιάσασθε αὐτὸν ἐν

40 τῇ τῶν κοινῶν διαχειρίσει ἐμμείναι. καὶ μᾶλλα
εἰκότως: τίς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἔλοιτο ἀπραγμόνως
σώζεσθαι καὶ ἀκινδύνως εὐδαίμονειν, καὶ τῶν
μὲν ἀγαθῶν τῶν τῆς πολιτείας άφθονοσ ἀπο-
λαυείν, ταῖς δὲ δὴ φροντίσω ταῖς ὑπ' εὔτης μὴ
συνείπαι:

"Τίς δ' ἄν ἀμείνων τοῦ Αὐγοῦστον τῆς ἱδίας
2 ὦκίας μόνης, μήτι γε καὶ ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων
tοσούτων, ἀρξεν; ὥστις τὰ μὲν ἐπίπονα καὶ ἐμ-
pολέμια ἑθνη αὐτὸς καὶ φρουρήσειν καὶ σώσειν 5

1 οὐδὲ Bk., οὕτε M.
2 ἀλλ' ἀτε R. Steph., ἀλλά τε M.
fittingly characterize the magnanimity of Augustus? He possessed all your armies, whose numbers you know; he was master of all your funds, so vast in amount; he had no one to fear or suspect, but might have ruled alone with the approval of all; yet he saw fit not to do this, but laid the arms, the provinces, and the money at your feet.

“You, therefore, on your part acted well and prudently, when you withheld your assent and did not permit him to retire to private life; for you knew well that a democracy could never accommodate itself to interests so vast, but that the leadership of one man would be most likely to conserve them, and so refused to return to what was nominally independence but really factional discord; and making choice of him, whom you had tested by his actual deeds and approved, you constrained him for a time at least to be your leader. And when you had thus proved him far better than before, you compelled him for a second, a third, a fourth, and a fifth time to continue in the management of affairs. And this was but fitting; for who would not choose to be safe without trouble, to be prosperous without danger, to enjoy without stint the blessings of government while escaping the life of constant anxiety for its maintenance?

“Who was there that could rule better than Augustus even his own house, to say nothing of so many other human beings? He it was who undertook as his own task to guard and preserve the
ὑπεδέξατο, τὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα τὰ εἰρηναία καὶ ἀκίνδυνα ὑμῶν ἀπέδωκεν, στρατιώτας τε τοσούτους ἀβανά-τονς πρὸς τὸ προπολεμεῖν ὑμῶν τρέφων οὐδεὶ τῶν σφετέρων λυπηροὺς αὐτοὺς ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ὀθνεῖον φύλακας φοβερωτάτους, πρὸς δὲ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀόπλους ἀπολέμους εἰναι παρ-εσκεύασε.

3 Ὅτι μὲντοι καὶ τῶν Βουλευτῶν οὔτε ἐν ταῖς ἡγεμονίαις τὴν τοῦ κλήρου τύχην ἀφείλετο, ἄλλα καὶ τὰ ἀθλὰ σφίσι τῆς ἀρετῆς προσπαρέσχες, οὔτε ἐν ταῖς διαγνώμαις τὴν ἐξονσίαν τῆς δια-ψηφίσεως κατέλυσεν, ἄλλα καὶ τὴν ἁσφάλειαν τῆς παρρησίας προσέθηκεν.1 ἐκ τοῦ δῆμου τὸ δύσκριτον ἐν ταῖς διαγνώσεσιν ἐς τὴν τῶν δικα-στηρίων ἀκρίβειαν μεταστήσας, τὸ τε ἀξίωμα τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων αὐτῷ ἔτηρησε, καὶ ταύταις τὸ φιλότιμον ἄντι τοῦ φιλονείκου σφᾶς ἔξεπαιδεύσε, κακὰ τῶν σπουδαρχίων αὐτῶν τὸ πλεονεκτικὸν ἐκκόψας τὸ εὐθοξέων αὐτοῖς ἀπέτυχκε. τὰ τε ἑαυτοῦ χρήματα σωφρόνως ἔπαυξον ἐς τὴν δη-μοσίαν χρεῖαν ἀνύλισκεν, καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ὡς

4 ἱδίων κηδόμενος ὡς ἀλλοτρίων ἀπείχετο. καὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ ἔργα τὰ πεποιηκότα ἐπισκευάσας οὗδενὸς τῶν ποιησάντων αὐτὰ τὴν δόξαν ἀπε-εστέρησε; πολλά δὲ καὶ ἐκ καυχῆς, τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶ ἑαυτοῦ ὁμόματι τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐφ᾽ ἐτέρων, τὰ μὲν αὐτῶς κατεσκεύασε τὰ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι οἰκοδομήσαι ἐπέτρεψε, τὸ τῶ κοινῷ χρήσιμον διὰ πάντων ἱδίων, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τῆς ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς εὐκλείας ἱδία τισὶ φθονήσας.

5 ἰδίων κηδόμενος ὡς ἀλλοτρίων ἀπείχετο. καὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ ἔργα τὰ πεποιηκότα ἐπισκευάσας οὗδενὸς τῶν ποιησάντων αὐτὰ τὴν δόξαν ἀπε-εστέρησε; πολλά δὲ καὶ ἐκ καυχῆς, τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶ ἑαυτοῦ ὁμόματι τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐφ᾽ ἐτέρων, τὰ μὲν αὐτῶς κατεσκεύασε τὰ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι οἰκοδομήσαι ἐπέτρεψε, τὸ τῶ κοινῷ χρήσιμον διὰ πάντων ἱδίων, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τῆς ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς εὐκλείας ἱδία τισὶ φθονήσας.

1 προσέθηκεν Pflugk, προστέθηκεν M.
provinces that were troublesome and at war, restoring to you such as were peaceful and free from danger; and though he supported so vast a number of soldiers as a permanent force to fight in your behalf, he permitted them to annoy no Roman citizen, but made them most formidable protectors against alien races while being to the people at home unarmed and unwarlike.

"Furthermore, as regards the members of the senate, he did not take away from them the right to cast lots for the governorship of provinces, but even offered them additional prizes as a reward for excellence; nor in connection with the senate's decrees did he do away with their privilege of voting, but even added safeguards for their freedom of speech. From the people he transferred matters difficult of decision to the strict jurisdiction of the courts, but preserved to them the dignity of the elections; and at these elections he inculcated in the citizens the love of honour rather than the love of party strife, and eliminating the element of greed from their office-seeking, he put in its place the regard for reputation. His own wealth, which he enhanced by sober living, he spent for the public needs; with the public funds he was as careful as if they were his own, but would not touch them as belonging to others. He repaired all the public works that had suffered injury, but deprived none of the original builders of the glory of their founding. He also erected many new buildings, some in his own name and some in others', or else permitted these others to erect them, constantly having an eye to the public good, but grudging no one the private fame attaching to these services."
6 "Τοῖς τε τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ύβρίσμασιν ἀπαρατήτως ἐπεξείς τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀμαρτήματα ἀνθρωπίνως μετεχειρίσετο καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀρετῆς τινὰ ἔχοντας ἀφθόνως εἶα οἱ παρισοῦθαι, τοὺς
7 δ' ἄλλους πως βιοῦντας οὐκ ἦλεγχεν. ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων αὐτῷ μόνονς τοὺς μηδ' ἂν ἔαυτοις λυσιτελοῦντος ἔξησαντας ἐδικαίωσε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ λοιποὺς οὕτω διέθηκεν ὡστε παμπληθῇ χρόνῳ μηδένα μητ' οὐν ἀληθῇ μίτε ψευδή αἰτίαν ἐπιθέσεως λαβεῖν. θαυμαστὸν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν εἰ καὶ ἐπεβουλεύθη ποτέ· οὔδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' οἱ θεοὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἀρέσκουσιν ἢ δὲ δὴ τῶν καλῶς ἀρχόντων ἄρετή οὐκ ἦν ἃν ἄτεροι κακουργήσωσιν, ἄλλ' ἔξ ὧν ἃν αὐτοὶ εὗροι ποίησωσι φαίνεται.

41 "Εἰρήκα, δ' Κυρίται, τὰ μέγιστα καὶ ἐκπρεπέστατα, ὡς γε ἐν κεφαλαίοις διελθεῖν, ἐπεὶ ἂν γε τις πάντα ἀκριβῶς καθ' ἐκαστον ἀγαρίθμησασθαι ἔθελησην, παμπόλλοι ἄν ἡμερῶν δεηθεὶς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ εὗροι ὁ παρ' ἐμοὶ μὲν μόνα ταῦτα ἀκηκοότες ἔσεσθε, παρ' ἐαυτοῖς δὲ δὴ καὶ τὰλλα ἔξ αὐτῶν πάντα ἀναμμηνησθῆσθε, ὡστε πρότων τινὰ καὶ ἐκείνα ἐμὲ δοκεῖν εἰρηκείαι.

2 οὔδὲ γὰρ ἄλλως κόμπτων τινὸς ἐνεκα οὔτ' ἐγὼ τὸν περι αὐτοῦ λόγον ὃ οὔθ' ὑμεῖς τὴν ἀκρόασιν πεποίησθε, ἀλλ' ὅπως τὰ πεπραγμένα αὐτῷ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ὑματα ἀειμνηστον παρὰ ταίς ψυχαῖς

3 ύμῶν εὐκλείας τύχη. τίς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄν τῶν βουλευτῶν αὐτοῦ μυθομοεύσειεν; ὃν τὸ φαύλον

1 μηδ' ἂν Βκ. (3), μηδὲν Μ.           2 εὗ supplied by Βκ.
3 ἐνεκα οὔτ' ἐγὼ τὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον Βκ., ἐν ἑτέροις τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον Μ.
BOOK LVI

"Wantonness on the part of his next of kin he followed up relentlessly, but the offences of others he treated with human kindness. Those who had traits of excellence he ungrudgingly allowed to approach his own standard, but he did not try to censor those whose standards of life were different. In fact, even in the case of such as conspired against him, he punished only those whose lives would have been of no profit even to themselves, while he treated the rest in such a way that for years afterward they could find no pretext true or false for attacking him. That he was, indeed, conspired against at times is not surprising, for even the gods do not please all alike; but the excellence of good rulers is discerned, not in the villainies of others, but in their own good deeds.

"I have spoken, Quirites, only of his greatest and most striking characteristics, and in a rather summary way; for if one wished to enumerate all his qualities minutely one by one, he would require many days. Furthermore, I know well that though you will have heard from me only these few facts, yet they will lead you to recall in your own minds all the rest, so that you will feel that I have in a manner related those also. For neither I, in what I have said about him, have been moved by a spirit of vain boasting, nor have you in listening; rather my purpose has been that his many noble achievements should gain the meed of everlasting glory in your souls. Yet how can one refrain from mentioning his senators? Without giving offence

1 Said with particular reference, perhaps, to his daughter Julia; see lv. 10 and 13. But see also the list of his freedmen given in Suet. Aug. 67.
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τὸ ἐκ τῶν στάσεων ἐπιπολάσαν ἀλύπως ἀφελὼν τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτῷ τε τούτῳ ἐσέμυνε καὶ τῇ αὐξήσει τοῦ τιμῆματος ἐμεγάλυνε τῇ τε δόσει τῶν χρημάτων ἐπληύσθησεν· οἷς ἐξ ἴσου καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν γνώμην ἐδίδου, καὶ μεθ’ ὃν συμμεθίστατο· οἷς πάντα τὰ μεγίστα καὶ ἀναγκαίότατα ἀεὶ 1 ποτε ἦ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἢ καὶ οὐκὶ διὰ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τοῦ σώματος, παραλαμ-4 βάνων ἄλλοτε ἄλλους, ἐπεκοίνων. τίς δ’ οὖν ἀν τῶν λοιπῶν Ῥωμαιῶν, οῖς ἔργα, χρήματα, ἀγώνιας, πανηγύρεις, ἀδειαν, ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἀσφάλειαν οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων οὐδ’ ἀπὸ τῶν κακούργων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου οὖν ὅτι μεθ’ ἠμέραν ἀλλὰ καὶ νύκτωρ συμπτότων, παρεσκέυασε. τίς τῶν συμμάχων, οἷς ἀκίνδυνον τὴν ἔλευθερίαν, οἷς ἀξίμιον τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐποίησε. τίς τῶν ὑπηκόων, ὃν 2 5 οὐδεὶς οὗθ’ ὑβρίσθη ποτὲ οὔτε ἐπηρεάσθη. πῶς δ’ ἂν τις ἐπιλάθητο ἀνδρὸς ἱδία μὲν πένητος δημοσία δὲ πλουσίου, καὶ πρὸς έαυτὸν μὲν οἰκονομικό πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀναλωτικοὺ γενομένου, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν πάντα ἀεὶ καὶ πόνον καὶ κίνδυνον ὑπὲρ ὕμων ὑπομείναντος, ὑμᾶς δὲ δὴ μηδ’ ὅσον προπέμψαι ποι αὐτὸν ἀπιόντα ἢ καὶ ἀπαντήσαι οἱ ἐπαινόντες ταλαιπωρήσαντος, καὶ ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἔορταις καὶ τὸν δῆμον οἰκαδε προσδε-ξαμένου, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἅλλαις ἠμέραις καὶ τὴν γερον-6 σίαν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἄσπασμένου; πῶς τοῦ τε πλῆθους καὶ τῆς ἀκμιβείας ἅμα τῶν νόμων τῶν τοῖς μὲν ἀδικουμένοις αὐτάρκεις παραμύθιοι

1 ἀεὶ Χυλ., εἰ M. 2 ὃν supplied by R. Steph.
BOOK LVI

he removed from their number the scum that had come to the surface from the factions, and by this very act exalted the remainder, magnified it by increasing the property requirement, and enriched it by grants of money; he voted on an equality with his colleagues and with them took part in a division of the house; he always communicated to them all the greatest and most important matters, either in the senate chamber or else at his house, whither he summoned different members at different times because of his age and bodily infirmity. How can one refrain from mentioning the Roman people at large? For them he provided public works, largesses, games, festivals, amnesty, food in abundance, and safety, not only from the enemy and from evildoers, but even from the acts of Heaven, both those that befall by day and those also that befall by night. There are, again, the allies: for them he freed their liberty of its dangers and their alliance of its costs. There are the subject nations also: no one of them was ever treated with insolence or abuse. How could one forget to mention a man who in private life was poor, in public life rich; who with himself was frugal, but towards others lavish of his means; who always endured every toil and danger himself on your behalf, but would not inflict upon you the hardship of so much as escorting him when he left the city or of meeting him when he returned; who on holidays admitted even the populace to his house, but on other days greeted even the senate only in its chamber? How could one pass over the vast number of his laws and their precision? They contained for the wronged an all-
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τοῖς δ' ἀδικοῦσιν οὐκ ἀπάνθρωπον τιμωρίαν εχώντων; πῶς τῶν γερῶν τῶν τοῖς γαμοῦσι καὶ τεκνοῦσι προκειμένους; πῶς τῶν ἀθλῶν τῶν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀνευ τινῶς ἐτέρου βλάβης δεδομένων; 7 τί δέ; τὸ τοῖς ἀπαξ ἀναγκαίως κτηθεῖσιν ἀρκεσθή-ναι αὐτῶν καὶ μηδὲν ἐτέρων προσκατεργάσασθαι ἑθελῆσαι, ἐξ οὗ πλειόνων ἃν δόξαντες ἀρχεῖν καὶ τὰ ὁντα ἀπωλέσαμεν, ἢ τὸ τοῖς μὲν πάνω φίλοις καὶ συνησθήμαι ἂν ποτε αὐτὸν καὶ συλλυπηθῆμαι 8 καὶ συμπαίξαι καὶ συσπουδάσαι, πᾶσι δ' ἀπλῶς τοῖς ὁφέλιμον τι ἐπινοῆσαι δυνασθεῖσι παρ-ρησιάσασθαι ἐπιτρέψαι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀληθιξο-μένους τινὰ ἐπαινέσαι, τοὺς δὲ κολακεύοντας μισῆσαι, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων πολλοῖς χαρίσασθαι, πάντα δὲ τὰ καταλειφθέντα αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τινῶν παῖδας ἐχῶντων αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ἀποδοῦναι, ποία ἂν ἐπιληψμοσύνη φθαρεῖν;

9 "Τουγαροῦν διὰ ταῦτα εἰκότως καὶ προστάτην αὐτῶν καὶ πατέρα δημόσιον ἐποιήσασθε, καὶ ἄλλως τε πολλοῖς καὶ ὑπατείαις πλείστας ἐπεγαυρώσατε, καὶ τὸ τελευταίον καὶ ἤρωα ἀπεδείξατε καὶ ἄθανατον ἀπεφήματε. οὐκοιν οὐδὲ πενθεῖν αὐτὸν ἢμῖν πρέπει, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν σῶμα αὐτοῦ τῇ φύσει ἐδη ἀποδοῦναι, τὴν δὲ ψυχήν ὡς καὶ θεοῦ ἂει ἀγάλλειν."

42 Τιβέριος μὲν ταῦτα ἄνεγιμο, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν τε κλίνην οἱ αὐτοὶ οίπερ καὶ πρότερον ἀράμενοι διὰ τῶν ἐπινικίων πυλῶν κατὰ τὰ τῇ βουλῇ δόξαντα διεκόμισαν, παρήν δὲ καὶ συνεξεφερεν 96
BOOK LVI

sufficient consolation, and for the wrongdoers a not inhuman punishment. Or his rewards offered to those who married and had children? Or the prizes given to the soldiers without injury to anyone else? Or, again, shall I not tell how satisfied he was with our possessions acquired once for all under the compulsion of necessity, but refused to subjugate additional territory, the acquisition of which might, while seeming to give us a wider sway, have entailed the loss of even what we had? Or how he always shared the joys and sorrows, the jests and earnestness of his intimate friends, and allowed all, in a word, who could make any useful suggestion to speak their minds freely? Or how he praised those who spoke the truth, but hated flatterers? Or how he bestowed upon many people large sums from his own means, and how, when anything was bequeathed to him by men who had children, he restored it all to the children? Could a speaker's forgetfulness cause all these things to be blotted out?

"It was for all this, therefore, that you, with good reason, made him your leader and a father of the people, that you honoured him with many marks of esteem and with ever so many consulships, and that you finally made him a demigod and declared him to be immortal. Hence it is fitting also that we should not mourn for him, but that, while we now at last give his body back to Nature, we should glorify his spirit, as that of a god, for ever."

Such was the eulogy read by Tiberius. Afterwards the same men as before took up the couch and carried it through the triumphal gateway, according to a decree of the senate. Present and taking part in the funeral procession were the senate and the
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αὐτῶν ἢ τε γερονσία καὶ ἢ ἱππάς, αἰτε γυναικεῖς αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ δορυφορικόν, οί τε λουποὶ πάντες

2 ὡς εἰπεῖν οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε ὄντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐστὶν πυρὰν τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἄρειῳ πεδίῳ ἐνετέθη, πρῶτοι1 μὲν οἱ ἱερῆς πάντες περιήλθον αὐτήν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τε ἱππάς, οἱ τε ἐκ τοῦ τέλους καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, καὶ τὸ ὀπλιτικὸν τὸ φρουρικὸν περιέ-

3 δραμοὺν, πάντα τὰ νικητήρια, ὅσα τινὲς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ ἀριστεία ποτὲ παρ’ αὐτῷ εἰλήφεσαν, ἐπιβάλ-

4 λοιυτε αὐτῇ.2 κακὸ τοῦτον δάδας ἐκατώτατος, ὡς πον τῇ βουλῇ ἐδόκει,3 λαβόντες ύφήγαν αὐτήν καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀνηλίκητο, ἑτοὺς δὲ τις ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀφεθείς αὕτητατο ὡς καὶ ἤν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν οὔρανον ἀναφέρων.4 πραξθέντων

43 ὁ δὲ δὴ πένθος τοῦ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις αἰτε γυναικεῖς ἐναυτῷ ὅλω κατὰ ψήφισμα ἐποίησαντο,5 το δὲ ἀληθὲς ἐν μὲν τῷ παραχρήμα ὡς πολλοὶ ὡς ἐπετειλατο δὲ πάντες ἐσχον. εὐπρόσοδός τε ἡμᾶρ πᾶσιν ὅρμοις ἢ, καὶ ἔστι χρήματα πολλοῖς ἐπήρκει, τούς τε φιλοὺς ἱσχυροὺς ἐτίμα, καὶ ταῖς παρρησίαις

2 αὐτῶν ὑπερέχαιρε. τεκμήριον δὲ πρὸς τοὺς εἰρη-

43 μένους6, ὅτι τοῦ Ἀθηναώρου ἐν δίφρῳ ποτὲ καταστέγῳ ἐστὶ δωμάτιον αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ γυναικὸς

1 πρῶτοι M, πρῶτον Xiph. 2 αὐτὴ Oddey, αὐτῷ M Xiph. 3 ἐδόκει Xyl., ἐδεδόκει M. 4 ἡμέραις M, ἡμέρας Xiph. 5 ἐποίησαντο St., ἐποίησαν M.
equestrian order, their wives, the pretorian guard, A.D. 14 and practically all the others who were in the city at the time. When the body had been placed on the pyre in the Campus Martius, all the priests marched round it first; and then the knights, not only those belonging to the equestrian order but the others as well, and the infantry from the garrison ran round it; and they cast upon it all the triumphal decorations that any of them had ever received from him for any deed of valour. Next the centurions took torches, conformably to a decree of the senate, and lighted the pyre from beneath. So it was consumed, and an eagle released from it flew aloft, appearing to bear his spirit to heaven. When these ceremonies had been performed, all the other people departed; but Livia remained on the spot for five days in company with the most prominent knights, and then gathered up his bones and placed them in his tomb.

The mourning required by law was observed only for a few days by the men, but for a whole year by the women, in accordance with a decree. Real grief was not in the hearts of many at the time, but later was felt by all. For Augustus had been accessible to all alike and was accustomed to aid many persons in the matter of money. He showed great honour to his friends, and delighted exceedingly when they frankly spoke their opinions. One instance, in addition to those already related, occurred in the case of Athenodorus. This man was once brought into his room in a covered litter, as if he

1 *i.e.* cavalrymen.

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τίνος ἐσκομισθέντος, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ξιφίρους ἐκτηδήσαντος, καὶ προσεπιπόντος "οὐ φοβῆ μὴ τίς σε οὖτως ἐσελθὼν ἀποκτείνῃ;" οὐχ ὅπως 3 ὑργίσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ χάριν αὐτῷ ἔγνω. Ταυτά τε οὖν αὐτοῦ ἀνεμιμνησκοντο, καὶ ὁτὶ καὶ τοῖς λυπη-σασί τι αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀκρατῶσ ὑργίζετο, τὴν τε πίστιν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς οὐκ ἄξιον αὐτής ἐτήρει. Κορικότταν 1 γοῦν 2 τινα ληστήν ἐν Ἱβηρίᾳ ἀκμᾶ-σαντα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὖτω δ’ ὄργης ἔσχεν ὅστε 3 τῷ ξωγρίσαντι αὐτὸν πέντε καὶ εἰκοσι μυριάδας ἐπικηρύξαι, ἔπειτ’ ἐπειδὴ ἐκὼν οἱ προσήλθεν, οὔτε τι κακὸν εἰργάσατο καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῷ ἀργυρῷ ἐκαίνῳ ἐπιλύτισε.

4 Διὰ τε οὖν ταύτα, καὶ ὁτι τὴν μοναρχίαν τῆ δημοκρατίας μίξας τὸ τε ἐλευθερῶν σφισιν ἐτύρησε καὶ τὸ κόσμον τὸ τε ἀσφαλές προσπαρεσκευάσεν, ὡστ’ ἔξω μὲν τοῖς δημοκρατικοῖς θράσους ἔξω δὲ καὶ τῶν τυραννικῶν ὑβρεων οὖν ἐν τε ἐλευθερία σώφρονι καὶ ἐν μοναρχίᾳ ἅδεει ζῆν, βασιλευο-μένους τε ἀνεφ δουλείας καὶ δημοκρατουμένους ἀνεφ διχοστασίας, δεινῶς αὐτοῦ ἐπόθουν. 4 Εἰ γάρ τινες καὶ τῶν προτέρων τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίως πολέμοις γενομένων ἐμμημόνευν, ἐκεῖνα μὲν τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνάγκης ἀνετίθεσαν, τὴν δὲ δὴ γνώμῃ αὐτοῦ ἔξο οὗ τὸ κράτος ἀναμφίλογον ἐσχεν ἐξετίζειν ἥξιον· πλείστον γὰρ δὴ τὸ διάφορον 2 ὡς ἀληθῶς παρέσχετο, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καθ’ ἕκαστον ἄν τις τῶν πραχθέντων ἐπεξεῖν ἀκρι-
were a woman, and leaping from it sword in hand cried: “Aren’t you afraid that someone may enter in this way and kill you?” Augustus, far from being angry, thanked him for his suggestion. Besides these traits of his, people also recalled that he did not get blindly enraged at those who had injured him, and that he kept faith even with those who were unworthy of it. For instance, there was a robber named Corocotta, who flourished in Spain, at whom he was so angry at first that he offered a million sesterces to the man that should capture him alive; but later, when the robber came to him of his own accord, he not only did him no harm, but actually made him richer by the amount of the reward.

Not alone for these reasons did the Romans greatly miss him, but also because by combining monarchy with democracy he preserved their freedom for them and at the same time established order and security, so that they were free alike from the license of a democracy and from the insolence of a tyranny, living at once in a liberty of moderation and in a monarchy without terrors; they were subjects of royalty, yet not slaves, and citizens of a democracy, yet without discord. If any of them remembered his former deeds in the course of the civil wars, they attributed them to the pressure of circumstances, and they thought it fair to seek for his real disposition in what he did after he was in undisputed possession of the supreme power; for this afforded in truth a mighty contrast. Anybody who examines his acts in detail can establish this fact; but summing them all up briefly, I may state
βώσειε1 κεφάλαιον δὲ ἐὰν ἀπασίν αὐτοῖς γράφω ὅτι τὸ τε στασιάζον πάν ἐπανει καὶ τὸ πολίτευμα πρὸς τε τὸ κράτιστον μετεκόσμησε καὶ ἵσχυρῶς ἐκράτυνεν, ὥστε εἰ καὶ βιαίοτερόν τι, οἷα ἐν τοῖς παραλόγοις φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν, ἐπράξη, δικαιότερον ἂν τινα αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἢ ἐκείνον αἰτιάσασθαί.

3 Οὐκ ἐλάχιστον δ') ὡν αὐτῷ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν καὶ τὸ πολυχρόνιον τῆς ἤγεμονίας συνήρατο. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἀνδρῶν καὶ οἱ πλείους καὶ οἱ δυνατώτεροι ἀπωλώλεσαν οἱ δ') ὡστεροὶ ἐκείνης μὲν οὐδὲν εἰδότες, τοῖς δὲ παροῦσι μόνοις ἢ καὶ μάλιστα ἐντραφέντες οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἤχθουσιν αὐτοῖς ἀτε καὶ συνήθεσιν οὕσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔχαιρον, καὶ βελτίω καὶ ἀδεέστερα αὐτὰ δὲν ἤκουον ὀρῶντες ὄντα.

45 Ταῦτα δὲ ἡπίσταντο μὲν καὶ ᾿ζῶντος αὐτοῦ,2 ἐπὶ πλείου δ') ὡμος μεταλλάξαντος ἐγνωσαν καὶ γὰρ φιλεὶ πως τὸ ἀνθρώπειον3 οὐχ οὕτω τι εὑπαθοῦν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας αἰσθάνεσθαι ὡς δυστυχήσαν ποθεῖν αὐτήν. ὅπερ ποι καὶ τῶτε περὶ τοῦ Ἀὐγοστοῦ συννέβη: τοῦ γὰρ Τιβερίου μετ’ αὐτοῦ οὐχ ὀμοίων πειραθέντες ἐκείνου ἔξητον. καὶ ἤν μὲν καὶ παραχρήμα την μεταβολῆν τῆς καταστάσεως τοὺς ἐμφροσι τεκμήρισθαί: ὁ τε γὰρ ὑπατος ὁ Ὑποτήριος ἐξορμήσας ὡς καὶ τοῖς τοῦ Ἀὐγοστοῦ σώμα ἁγουσίν ἀπαντήσων τὸ τε σκέλος ἐπλήγη καὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ φοράδην ἀνέκομισθη, καὶ βύας αὕθις ὑπὲρ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐν

1 ἀκριβώσει Dind., ἀκριβώσεις M (s deleted by corr.), ἀκριβῶσει cod. Peir.
2 αὐτοῦ M Xiph., αὐτοῦ πολλοὶ cod. Peir.
that he put an end to all the factional discord, transformed the government in a way to give it the greatest power, and vastly strengthened it. Therefore, even if an occasional deed of violence did occur, as is apt to happen in extraordinary situations, one might more justly blame the circumstances themselves than him.

Now not the least factor in his glory was the length of his reign. For the majority as well as the more powerful of those who had lived under the republic were now dead, and the later generation, knowing nought of that form of government and having been reared entirely or largely under existing conditions, were not only not displeased with them, familiar as they now were, but actually took delight in them, since they saw that their present state was better and more free from terror than that of which they knew by tradition.

Though the people understood all this during his lifetime, they nevertheless realized it more fully after he was gone; for human nature is so constituted that in good fortune it does not so fully perceive its happiness as it misses it when misfortune has come. This is what happened at that time in the case of Augustus. For when they found his successor Tiberius a different sort of man, they yearned for him who was gone. Indeed, it was possible at once for people of any intelligence to foresee the change in conditions. For the consul Pompeius, upon going out to meet the men who were bearing the body of Augustus, received a blow on the leg and had to be carried back on a litter with the body; and an owl sat on the roof of the

\[^3\ \text{\antrwp\pi\nuov} \ M, \ \text{\antrwp\pi\nuov} \ Xiph.\]
 Dio's Roman History

autē tē prōtē tīs Bouλhēs metà tōn thānaton autōn ēdrα idrūthē kai pollα kai ouk aūsia 3 ēpēphēγξαto. tosouτou o ὦν το σύμπαν ἀλλήλων διήνεγκαν ὡστε τινάς kai ἐς τὸν Αὐγουστον υποπτεύσαi ὃτι ἐξεπίτηδες τὸν Τιβέριον, καπερ ευ εἰδώς ὁποίος ἦν, διάδοχον ἀπέδειξεν, ἵνα αὐτὸς εὐδοξήσῃ.

46 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὦν ύστερον διαθροεῖν ἥρξαιτο, τότε δὲ ἄθανατίσαντες αὐτὸν, καὶ θιασώτας οἱ καὶ ιέρα ιέρειάν τε τὴν Λιονίαν τὴν Ἰουλίαν τε 1 καὶ Αὐγουσταν ἦδη καλουμένην ἀπέδειξαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν καὶ ῥαβδούχω χρήσθαι εὖ ταῖς ιερούργιαις αὐτῆ ἐπέτρεψαν ἐκείνῃ δὲ δὴ Νουμερίῳ τινὶ Ἀπτεῖ, θουλεύτη ἐστρατηγηκότι, πάντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἐχαρίσατο, ὃτι τὸν Αὐγουστον ἐς τὸν οὐρανόν, κατὰ τὰ περὶ τε τοῦ Πρόκλου καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου λεγόμενα, ἀνύοντα ἔσορα—

3 κέναι ὀμοσε. καὶ αὐτῷ ἐν τε τῇ Ῥώμη ἡρῴου ψηφισθείων μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας οἰκοδομηθέν δὲ ὑπὸ τε τῆς Λιονίας καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐποιήθη, καὶ ἄλλοθι πολλαχόθι, τὰ μὲν ἐκόντων δὴ τῶν δήμων τὰ δὲ ἀκόντων οἰκοδομουμένων, καὶ οἱ καὶ ἡ ἐν τῇ Νώλη οἰκία, ἐν ἡ μετήλλαξεν, ἐτε—

4 μενύσθη. ἐν ὦ δὲ ὦν τὸ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη ἡρῴου ἐγρινετο, εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ χρυσῆν ἐπὶ κλάνης ἐς τῶν τοῦ Ἀρεως ναοῦ ἔθεσαν, καὶ ἐκείνῃ πάντα ὅσα τῷ ἀγάλματι αὐτοῦ μετὰ τοῦτο χρήσεθαι ἐμελλον ἐνόμισαν. ταῦτα τε αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσθη, καὶ ὅπως μῆτ' εἰκὼν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐκθήρᾳ τῶν πομπεύῃ, καὶ τὰ γενέσια οἱ ὑπατοὶ ἔξ ἱσον τοῖς Ἀρείοις 2

1 τῇν Ἰουλίαν τε Reim., Ιουλίαν τε τῇν Μ.

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senate-house again at the very first meeting of the senate after his death and uttered many ill-omened cries. At all events, the two emperors differed so completely from each other, that some suspected that Augustus, with full knowledge of Tiberius’ character, had purposely appointed him his successor that his own glory might be enhanced thereby.

Now these rumours began to be current at a later date. At the time they declared Augustus immortal, assigned to him priests and sacred rites, and made Livia, who was already called Julia and Augusta, his priestess; they also permitted her to employ a lietus when she exercised her sacred office. On her part, she bestowed a million sesterces upon a certain Numerius Atticus, a senator and ex-praetor, because he swore that he had seen Augustus ascending to heaven after the manner of which tradition tells concerning Proculus and Romulus. A shrine voted by the senate and built by Livia and Tiberius was erected to the dead emperor in Rome, and others in many different places, some of the communities voluntarily building them and others unwillingly. Also the house at Nola where he passed away was dedicated to him as a precinct. While his shrine was being erected in Rome, they placed a golden image of him on a couch in the temple of Mars, and to this they paid all the honours that they were afterwards to give to his statue. Other votes in regard to him were, that his image should not be borne in procession at anybody’s funeral, that the consuls should celebrate his birthday with games like the Ludi

1 The *Sodales Augustales*.

2 *Apetous Reim., ἀφύοις Μ.*
AGYNO THESEWSI, TÁ TE ÁNGYOSOStudy ÍA OI DiMARXOY
5 óIS KAI ÍEPÓPREPEIS ÓNTES DÍATIDWOSI. KAI OI TÁ
MÉN ÁLLA ÓSPEPIR EIÓTHEI GÍGNISETHAI ÊPRAZAI (KAI
YAR TÉ ËSÔHÝTÝ TÉ ÊPUNIKÝO ÓN TÉ ÍPPODORMIÉ
ÈXHÝSAUTÔ), OÜ MÉNTOI KAI TOU ÁRMAOTOS ÊPÉBÝSAHN.
CHÔRIS DÈ TOÚTOV KAI H LIOVIA ÍDIAN DÝ TWA ÁUTÔ
PANÝGYRIN ÊPÎ TÔEIS ÍMÉRAS EN TÔ PÁLATOY
ÈPOÝHSEN, H KAI DEÝRO 1 ÆI ÝP' ÁUTÔN TÔN ÆI
ÁUTOKRATÔRÔN TELÉIATAI.
47 'ÉPI MÉN OÚN TÔ ÁNGYOSÓTOJ TOSÁUTÅ, LÔGÔW MÉN
ÝPO TÉS ÍEROUSSIAS ÉRGÔ ÏDÉ ÝPO TE TÔN TÍBERIÔN
KAI ÝPO TÉS LIOVIAS, ÊNOMÍSTHÊ ÆLLWÔN YAR ÁLLA
ÈSPÍGÔMÉNÔN, ÈDÔXÈ ßFÍSI ÏBIÎLIA PAR' ÁUTÔN
TÔN TÍBERIÔN LABÔNTA ÉKLÈGÁSSTHI ðSÁ ÊBVÓLETO,
PROSÈTHHKA DÈ TÔ TÉS LIOVIAS ðNÔMÅ, ÏTI KAI
ÁUTÅ TÔN PRAGMÁTÔN ÏS KAI ÁUTARXÔSA
ÁNTEPOIEITO.
2 KÁN TOÚTO TÔ PHLÝDOS, TÔN ÓRKHÔSTÔN TWOS
MH ÝTHELÝSAUTÔS ÊPÎ TÔ TETAGMÉNÔN MÍSTHÔ ÊS TÔ
TÉGÔTRÔN ÓN TÔIS ÁNGYOSOTALIÓNÈS ÊSÈLTHÉIVN, ÊSTOT-
SÍASÈ KAI OU PRÔTEROY ÊPÁUSANTO TAPATÔMENOI
PRÎN TÔS DÍMARXOY TÎN TÔN BÔULÎÎV ÁNÔHMEÒN
SUNIAPAGÈIVN, KAI DEYHÔNÁI ÁUTÎS ÊPITREPSAI ßFÎSI
PŁEÝÒN TÔ TÔN VENOMÎSMÉNÔN ÝNALÔSÁI. 2

1 DEÝRO CASAUION, ÝEVTÉRA M.
2 M Î PLACES HERE TÀUTÅ MÉN KATÅ ÁNGYOSÔTÔN ÝGÉNETO, THE
OPENING WORDS OF LVII.
Martiales, and that the tribunes, as being sacro-sanct, were to have charge of the Augustalia. These officials conducted everything in the customary manner—even wearing the triumphal garb at the horse-race—except that they did not ride in the chariot. Besides this, Livia held a private festival in his honour for three days in the palace, and this ceremony is still continued down to the present day by whoever is emperor.

Such were the decrees passed in memory of Augustus, nominally by the senate, but actually by Tiberius and Livia. For when some men proposed one thing and some another, the senate decreed that Tiberius should receive suggestions in writing from its members and then select whichever he chose. I have added the name of Livia because she, too, took a share in the proceedings, as if she possessed full powers.

Meanwhile the populace fell to rioting, because at the Augustalia one of the actors would not enter the theatre for the stipulated pay; and they did not cease their disturbance, until the tribunes convened the senate that very day and begged it to permit them to spend more than the legal amount. Here ends my account of Augustus.¹

¹ These words properly belong at this place in the English, instead of at the beginning of the following book, where the Greek calls for them and where modern editors place them in spite of the fact that our best manuscript (M) here violates the usual practice.
FRAGMENTS

1. οὗτος τοσούτον ὑπὸ πάντων ἔγαπάτο ὡστε καὶ τελευτῶν τις ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ κληρονόμοις θύσαι ὅτι ζῶντα τὸν Σεβαστὸν καταλείπει. Exc. Salm. fr. 78, 4 Muell. (p. 393, 26–28 Cram.).

τοσούτον δὲ πεφίχητο παρὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων ὡστε τὸν βίον ἐκλείπειν μέλλων ἀνὴρ Ρωμαῖος ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ παισὶ καὶ διαδόχοις ἀρείστηρίους τοῖς θεοῖς προσενεγκεῖν θυσίας, ἃν ἰφεί σφαίρα, τὸν Σεβαστὸν ζῶντα καταλιμπάνω.


2. δυστυχίσας δὲ περὶ γάμου καὶ τὰ εἰς παῖδας ἐκβεβηκότα ἔβοι: αἱ ὁφελοὶ ἁγαμὸς τ' ἐμεναι ἁγονὸς τ' ὑπολε-σθαι.

Exc. Salm. fr. 78, 4 Muell. (p. 393, 28–30 Cram.).

3. περὶ δὲ ὀρθογραφίαν ἐσπουδάκει ὡστε καὶ διάδοχον τινὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπεμψεν, ὅτι αὐτῷ ἐπιστέλλων τῆς ὅρθως ἁρχούσης ἐσφάλη γραφῆς. Exc. Salm. fr. 78, 4 Muell. (p. 393, 31–33 Cram.).
FRAGMENTS

1. He was so greatly beloved by everybody that a certain man, when he came to die, bade his heirs offer sacrifices because he left Augustus still living. He had won the affection of all his subjects to such a degree that a certain Roman, when about to leave this life, instructed his sons and successors to offer sacrifices of thanksgiving to the gods, because, as he said, he left Augustus still living.

2. Having been unfortunate in his marriage and in the fate of his children, he used to cry:

   “Oh, would that I ne’er had wed, and would I had childless died!”

3. He was so punctilious about correct spelling that he actually cashiered one of the governors because that official in writing to him had misspelled a word.

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1 These excerpts from Byzantine writers of Roman history may perhaps derive from Dio as their ultimate source. Since their exact places in Dio’s account of Augustus are uncertain, Boissevain places them together at this point.
BOOK LVII

Τάδε ἐνεστὶν ἐν τῷ πεντακοστῷ ἔβδομῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαίων
a. Περὶ Τιβερίου.
β. Ἰδῖ Καππαδοκία ὑπὸ Ρωμαίων ἀρχεσθαι ἱράτο.
γ. Ἰδὶ Γερμανικὸς Καῖσαρ ἀπέθανεν.
δ. Ἰδὶ Δροῦσος Καῖσαρ ἀπέθανεν.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἐτη ἐνδεκα, ἐν οἷς ἀρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμοῦμενοι οἴδε ἐγένοντο

Δροῦσος Καῖσαρ Τιβερίου ὑπ. 1
Γ. Ναρβανὸς Γ. ὑπ. Φλάκκος
T. Στατίλιος Τ. ὑπ. Σισέννας 2 Ταύρος ὑπ. 3
Λ. Σκρήδωνοι Λ. ὑπ. Δίβων
Γ. Κακίλιος Γ. ὑπ. Νέπως 4 Ροῦφος ὑπ. 5
Λ. Πομπάνιος Λ. ὑπ. Φλάκκος
ΤiB. Καῖσαρ Ἀγγούστου υἱ. τὸ γ’, ὑπ.
Γερμανικὸς Καῖσαρ Τιβ. υἱ. τὸ β’, ὑπ.
M. Ἰούλιος Μ. ὑπ. Σιλανὸς
Γ. Ναρβανὸς Γ. ὑπ. Φλάκκος Ἰ. Βάλβος ὑπ. 6
M. Οὐαλέριος Μ. ὑπ. Μεσσάλας ὑπ. 7
M. Άιρήλιος Μ. ὑπ. Κόττας
ΤiB. Καῖσαρ Ἀγγούστου υἱ. τὸ δ’, ὑπ.
Δροῦσος Ἰούλιος ΤiB. υἱ. τὸ β’, ὑπ.
Δέκιμος Ἀτέριος Κ. ὑπ. Ἀγρίππας
Γ. 8 Συμπίκιος Σεργ. ὑπ. 9 Γάλβας 10 ὑπ.
Γ. Ἀσίνιος Γ. ὑπ. Πωλίων
Γ. Ἀντιστίγιος Γ. ὑπ. Οὐέτος 11 ὑπ.
Σέργ. Κορνήλιος Σεργ. ὑπ. Κέθηγος
Λ. Οὐιέλλιος 12 Γ. ὑπ. 13 Οὐάρπαν 14 ὑπ.
M. 15 Ἀσίνιος Γ. 16 ὑπ. Ἀγρίππας
Κόσσως Κορνήλιος Κόσσου ὑπ. Λευτοῦλος ὑπ.

1 ὑπ. supplied by Bs.
2 Σισέννας R. Steph., σισένναι M.
3 Νέπως R. Steph., νέπως M.
4 Bs. suggests that Ἰ should be deleted.
5 ὑπ. supplied by Bs.
6 M. R. Steph., μ’ ὑπ. M.
7 τὸ β’ ὑπ. Bs., ὑπ. τὸ β’ M.
8 Σέργ. ὑπ. supplied by Bs.

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The following is contained in the Fifty seventh of Dio's Rome:

About Tiberius (chap. 1 ff.).
How Cappadocia began to be governed by Romans (chap. 17).
How Germanicus Caesar died (chap. 18).
How Drusus Caesar died (chap. 22).

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

A.D.
18 Ti. Caesar Augusti f. (III), Germanicus Caesar Ti. f. (II).
21 Ti. Caesar Augusti f. (IV), Drusus Iulius Ti. f. (II).

1 "Or" is perhaps to be deleted.

10 Σαλβας R. Steph., γάλους M.
11 Οὐδέτερος Xyl., ιούστος M.
12 Α. Ὄνοσέλλιος Xyl., κηλοσέλλιος M, i. e. K. Ἔ Α. Ὄνοσέλλιος? 13 Γ. vi. RycKius, A. vi. M.
14 Ὄναρων II. Steph., Ὄναρων M.
15 M. R. Steph., μ'/ηγ'/M.
16 T. Bs., M. R. Steph., μ'/ηγ'/M.
Ταύτα μὲν κατὰ Αὐγουστον ἐγένετο, Τιβέριος δὲ εὐπατρίδης μὲν ἦν καὶ ἐπεπαιδευτό, φύσει δὲ ἱδιωτάτη ἐκέχρητο. οὐτε γὰρ ὃν ἐπεθύμει προσεποιεῖτο τι, καὶ ὃν ἐλεγεν οὔδεν ὡς εἰπείν ἐβούλετο, ἀλλ' ἐναντιωτάτοις τῇ προαιρέσει τοὺς λόγους ποιούμενοι πάν τι δ ἐπόθει ἱρνεῖτο καὶ πάν δ ἐμίσει προσεπείνετο· ὥργύζοτε τε ἐν ὅις ἦκιστα ἐθυμούτο, καὶ ἐπιεικῆς ἐν ὅις μάλιστα ἡγανάκτει 2 ἐδόκει εἶναι· ἥλεε τε δῆθεν οὕς σφόδρα ἐκόλαξε, καὶ ἐχαλέπαινεν οἵς συνεγίγνωσκε· τὸν τε ἔχθιστον ὡς οἰκείωτατον ἔστιν ὃτε ἔωρα, καὶ τῷ φιλτάτῳ ὡς ἀλλοτριωτάτῳ προσεφέρετο. τὸ τε σύμπαν οὐκ ἤξιόν τοῦ αὐταρχώντα κατάδηλον ὃν φρονεῖ εἶναι· ἐκ τε ὑὰρ τούτον πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα πταίεσθαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίον πολλῶ 3 πλεῖω καὶ μείζω κατορθοῦσθαι ἐλεγε. καὶ εἰ μὲν μόνα ταύτ' εἰχεν, εὐφύλακτος ἂν τοὺς ἐς πείραν αὐτοῦ ἔλθοῦσιν ἦν· πρὸς γὰρ τοῦ τὸ ἐναντιώτατον πάντα ἄν λαμβάνοντες· ἐκ τοῦ ἱσοῦ τὸ τε μὴ βούλεσθαι δή τι αὐτοῦ τῷ πάνιν ποθεῖν καὶ τὸ ὅρεγεσθαι τινος τῶ· μὴ ἐφίεσθαι ἐνόμιζον· ὃν δὲ ὅργυζοτε εἰ τοὺς αὐτοῦ συνεἰς φανερὸς ἐγένετο, καὶ πολλοὺς οὔδεν ἀλλο σφίσων ἢ ὅτι συνενόησαν αὐτοῦ ἐγκαλέσει ἕχων ἀπέκτεινεν. ὡστε χαλεποῦ μὲν ἦν μηδεμίαν αὐτοῦ σύνεσιν ποιεῖσθαι (πολλὰ γὰρ ἀτε προς τὸ λεγόμενον ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ βουλόμενον συναινοῦντες οἱ ἐσφάλλοντο), χαλεπώτερον δὲ συνιέναι·

1 ἂν λαμβάνοντες Xiph., ἄγαλαμβάνοντες M cod. Peir.

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BOOK LVII

Tiberius was a patrician of good education, but he had a most peculiar nature. He never let what he desired appear in his conversation, and what he said he wanted he usually did not desire at all. On the contrary, his words indicated the exact opposite of his real purpose; he denied all interest in what he longed for, and urged the claims of what he hated. He would exhibit anger over matters that were very far from arousing his wrath, and make a show of affability where he was most vexed. He would pretend to pity those whom he severely punished, and would retain a grudge against those whom he pardoned. Sometimes he would regard his bitterest foe as if he were his most intimate companion, and again he would treat his dearest friend like the veriest stranger. In short, he thought it bad policy for the sovereign to reveal his thoughts; this was often the cause, he said, of great failures, whereas by the opposite course far more and greater successes were attained. Now if he had merely followed this method quite consistently, it would have been easy for those who had once come to know him to be on their guard against him; for they would have taken everything by exact contraries, regarding his seeming indifference to anything as equivalent to his ardently desiring it, and his eagerness for anything as equivalent to his not caring for it. But, as it was, he became angry if anyone gave evidence of understanding him, and he put many to death for no other offence than that of having comprehended him. While it was a dangerous matter, then, to fail to understand him,—for people often came to grief by approving what he said instead of what he wished,—it was still more dangerous to understand him, since
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5 τούτοι καὶ ἀλλοθρεπθείμης εὐνοούσιν αὐτὸν καταφωράν κακῶς ὁμος ὁ δεικτὸς ὑποπτεύοντο, μόνοις 1 ὁδὸς ἐπείδ' ὁπερ ποι σπανιώτατον ἐστι, διεγέρῃσθαι ὑπὲρ ἕγγεγυσσε τήν φύσιν αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ ἐκεῖξεν, ὁπερ ὁντὶς υπὲρ πιστεύοςαντες οἱ ἡπατηθησαν, ὁπερ ἐνδειξάμενοι νοεῖν ἀ ἐπραττεν ἐμισήθησαν. πάνω ὄντως ὄχλον παρείχεν, εὔτε 6 τις ἐναντιούστο ὃς ἐλεγεν εὔτε καὶ συναίροιτο, τὸ μὲν ἥρω ἀληθῶς γενέσθαι τὸ δὲ δοκεῖν βούλεσθαι ἐθέλων, πάντως τέ τινας πρὸς ἐκάτερον ἐναντιομένους εἴχε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τους μὲν τής ἀληθείας τοὺς δὲ τής δοκήσεως ἐνεκα ἡχθαιρε.

2 Τοιοῦτοι ὁδὸς ὃς τίς ὃς τέ τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐθνη πάντα ὃς αὐτοκράτωρ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τής Ἀγωνίς ἐπέστειλε, μή λέγων αὐτοκράτωρ εἶναι ψηφισθὲν ὅπερ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὕπομάτων ὁμίλετο, καὶ τὸν κλήρον τοῦ Ἀγωνίους λαβόν τὴν ἐπικλήσιν αὐτοῦ ταύτην 2 ὁμίλος ἔθετο. τοὺς τε σωματοφύλακας ἀμφ' αὐτῶν ἡδὴ ἔχων ἐδείτο δὴ τῆς γερουσίας συνάρασθαι οἱ ὅπερ μηδὲν βίαιον ἐν τῇ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ ταφῆ παθεῖν ἐδείκτεν ὅπερ δῆθαι μὴ τινες αὐτῷ ἀρπάσσατεν ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ, ὡσπερ τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, 3 καύσωσι. καὶ ἐπειδὴ θε συμφιμονοὶ τοις ἐπὶ τοῦτω φρουρᾶν αὐτῷ ὃς ὁμίλος ἔχοντὶ δοθῆναι ἐσηγήσατο, τόν τε χλεασμόν αὐτοῦ σωμῆκε, καὶ ἐφ' ἐτὶ "οἱ στρατιῶται ὁμίλοι ἀλλὰ

1 μόνος Νιφ., μόνον Μ cod. Peir.
people were then suspected of discovering his practice and consequently of being displeased with it. Practically the only sort of man, therefore, that could maintain himself,—and such persons were very rare,—was one who neither misunderstood his nature nor exposed it to others; for under these conditions men were neither deceived by believing him nor hated for showing that they understood his motives. He certainly gave people a vast amount of trouble whether they opposed what he said or agreed with him; for inasmuch as he really wished one thing to be done but wanted to appear to desire something different, he was bound to find men opposing him from either point of view, and therefore was hostile to the one class because of his real feelings, and to the other for the sake of appearances.

It was due to this characteristic, that, as emperor, he immediately sent a dispatch from Nola to all the legions and provinces, though he did not claim to be emperor; for he would not accept this name, which was voted to him along with the others, and though taking the inheritance left him by Augustus, he would not adopt the title "Augustus." At a time when he was already surrounded by the bodyguards, he actually asked the senate to lend him assistance so that he might not meet with any violence at the burial of the emperor; for he pretended to be afraid that people might catch up the body and burn it in the Forum, as they had done with that of Caesar. When somebody thereupon facetiously proposed that he be given a guard, as if he had none, he saw through the man's irony and answered: "The soldiers do not belong to me, but to the State."
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diēmōsioī eiōi." tautā te ōvn ōūtwos ēmprasse, 
kai tā tīs ārχhēs ērγw πwnta diwōkōn ērνeítō 4 
mhēdēn aūtēs dhēsqthai. kai tō mevn prōtōn kai 
pāsan aūtēn diā te tīn ēlikhian (ēξ γár kai 
pεντhkotā ὰτη ēγγhōnei) kai δi ēμβlwnptiaν 
(πlēištōn γáρ tōv skótous blētōn ēlāχhsta 
tīs ēmēras ēwra) ēξīstasth ai ēlēγen ēpētā δē 
koumōnous tē tīnas kai συνάρχwntas, ōytē ge kai 
pwntw kathāptāx ōσπεr ēn oλıγharchiā, ἀλλ' ēs 
trh mērē vēmōn aūtēn, ἥtei, kai tō meν aūtōs 
ēχhew ἥξhου, tōn δē ētērōn ἀllwos pαrēχwrei. 

5 ἢν δὲ tauta ἐν μεν ἢ τε Ῥωμη καὶ ἡ ᾨλλῃ 
῾Ιταλiā, ētērōn δὲ tā στρατόπεδα, καὶ ētērōn 
oi λοιποὶ ὑπήκουοι. ὡς συν πολὺs ēnēκeito, oĩ 
meν ἀlloi kai ὡς αὐτέλεγον δῆθεν kai ōdēontō 
aūtōu ἄρχhew pāntwv, Ἀσίνoς δὲ δῇ Γάλlloś 
pαρrhhsia aei pote pαtραa kai ὑπὲr tō συμβféron 
aūtō χρόμενοs "ἐλοῦ" ἐφη "ἣn ἀν ἐθελῆσῃs 
6 μοίραν." kai Τιζβερiοs "καὶ πῶs oĩōn τέ ἐστιν" 
eīpēν "τὸν aūtōn kai νέμειν tı kai aíreísthai;" 
sυνείς oũn o Γάλlloś ēn ὃ kakou ēγγhōnei, tōw 
meν λόγhō eθhράπευσεn aūtōn, ὑπολαβῶν ὅτι 
"οὐχ ὡς kai tō tρhτoν ēξhūntoś sou, ἄλλ` ὡς 
ἀδύνατoν ὁν τὴn ἀρχhν δiαiprēthnai, τοῦτο σοι 
7 προέτεινa," oũ mēntoi kai tō ἔργhν eτiθάσει σεν, 
ἀλλὰ πόλlα kai deinā προπάθαw metā tāutā 
ἐπαπεσφάγη. kai γáρ kai tṁn γυναίκa aūtōu 
tṁn προτέραν ἐγγhμhkei, tōn tē Δροῦσoν ὡς 
vıōn προσεποιhτo, ὀθενπερ kai πρότερoν diā 
muśouς aūtō ἡν.
Such was his action in this matter; and similarly he was administering in reality all the business of the empire while declaring that he did not want it at all. At first he kept saying he would give up the rule entirely on account of his age (he was fifty-six) and of his near-sightedness (for although he saw extremely well in the dark, his sight was very poor in the daytime); but later he asked for some associates and colleagues, though not with the intention that they should jointly rule the whole empire, as in an oligarchy, but rather dividing it into three parts, one of which he would retain himself, while giving up the remaining two to others. One of these portions consisted of Rome and the rest of Italy, the second of the legions, and the third of the subject peoples outside. When now he became very urgent, most of the senators still opposed his expressed purpose, and begged him to govern the whole realm; but Asinius Gallus, who always employed the blunt speech of his father more than was good for him, replied: "Choose whichever portion you wish." Tiberius rejoined: "How can the same man both make the division and choose?" Gallus, then, perceiving into what a plight he had fallen, tried to find words to please him and answered: "It was not with the idea that you should have only a third, but rather to show the impossibility of the empire's being divided, that I made this suggestion to you." As a matter of fact, however, he did not mollify Tiberius, but after first undergoing many dire sufferings he was at length murdered. For Gallus had married the former wife of Tiberius and claimed Drusus as his son, and he was consequently hated by the other even before this incident.
3 'Ο δ' οὖν Τιβέριος ταύτα τότε ἐποίει τὸ μὲν πλείστον ὃτι οὐτῷ τε ἐπεφύκει καὶ οὐτῷ προήριτο, ἣδη δὲ καὶ ὅτι τὰ τε στρατεύματα, καὶ τὰ Παννονικὰ καὶ τὰ Γερμανικὰ, ὑπετόπει, καὶ τὸν Γερμανικὸν τῆς Γερμανίας ἄρχοντα τότε καὶ
2 φιλούμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐδείξει. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ὁντας τοῖς ὅρκοις τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγοῦστου καταδειχθέντι προκατέλαβεν· ἐς δὲ ἐκεῖνον ὑποπτεύον ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα ἀνείχεν, ὅπως, ἄν τι νεωτέρας ἐπικρατήσωσιν, ὡς καὶ ἰδιωτεύων σωθῆ. καὶ πολλάκις γε διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀρρωστεῖν προσεποιεῖτο καὶ οἷκοι κατέμενεν, ὡς μὴ ἀναγκασθῇ ἀποκεκριμένον τι εἴπειν ἢ πράξαι.
3 ἢδη μὲν γὰρ ἤκουσα ὅτι, ἐπειδὴ ἡ Διονύα ἀκούσας τοῦ Αὐγοῦστον τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ περιπετευκέναι ἐλέγετο, ἐπραττεν, ὅπως μὴ παρ' ἐκείνης (καὶ γὰρ πάνω αὐτῆς ἡχητο) ἄλλα παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀναγκαστὸς, ὡς καὶ κατὰ ἁρετὴν σφων προήκατο,
4 δοξείεν αὐτὴν εἰληφέναι καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκείνο, ὃτι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὁρῶν ἀλλοτρίως εαυτῷ ἔχοντας διέμελλε καὶ διήγεν, ὅπως μὴ φθάσαντες τι νεοχωμάσσωσιν ἐλπίδι τοῦ καὶ ἐθελούσιον αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφήσειν, μέχρις οὐ ἐγκρατήσῃς αὐτῆς 5 διὰ πάντων ἐγένετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ταύτ' οὖτως αὕτη τῆς διαγωγῆς ταύτης γράφω, ὡς τὴν τε ἐπιτίθεσιν τῆς γνώμης αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ταραχὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν. τὸν μὲν γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν παραχρῆμα ἀπὸ τῆς Νωλης περιψας τινὰ ἀπέκτεινε καὶ ἔλεγε μὲν μὴ ἐκ τῆς εαυτοῦ προσταξεως τούτο

1 τῆς Γερμανίας ἄρχοντα τότε Ζων., τῆς τότε Γερμανίας ἄρχοντα Μ.
BOOK LVII

Tiberius acted in this way at that time, chiefly because it was his nature to do so and because he had determined upon that policy, but partly also because he was suspicious of both the Pannonian and Germanic legions and feared Germanicus, then governor of the province of Germany and beloved by them. For he had previously made sure of the soldiers in Italy by means of the oaths of allegiance established by Augustus; but as he was suspicious of the others, he was ready for either alternative, intending to save himself by retiring to private life in case the legions should revolt and prevail. For this reason he often feigned illness and remained at home, so as not to be compelled to say or do anything definite. I have even heard that when it began to be said that Livia had secured the rule for him contrary to the will of Augustus, he took steps to let it appear that he had not received it from her, whom he cordially hated, but under compulsion from the senators by reason of his surpassing them in excellence. Another story I have heard is to the effect that when he saw that people were cool toward him, he waited and delayed until he had become complete master of the empire, lest in the hope of his voluntarily resigning it they should rebel before he was ready for them. Still, I do not mean to record these stories as giving the true causes of his behaviour, which was due rather to his regular disposition and to the unrest among the soldiers. Indeed, he immediately sent from Nola and caused Agrippa to be put to death. He declared, to be sure, that this had not been done by his orders and

2 ἐπραττεν Β., ἐπλαττεν Μ.
6 γεγονόναι, ἐπητείλει τε τὸ δράσαντι, οὐ μὴν καὶ τιμωρίαν τινὰ αὐτοῦ ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλὰ εἰὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους λογοποιεῖν, τοὺς μὲν ὅτι ὁ Ἀὐγουστος αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὴν τελευτήν ἀπεχρήσατο, τοὺς δὲ ὅτι ὁ ἐκατόνταρχος ὁ τὴν φρουρὰν αὐτοῦ ἔχων καινοτομοῦντα τι ἀπέσφαξεν αὐτογνωμονήσας, ἀλλοὺς ὡς ἡ Λιονία, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἑκεῖνος, ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν.

4 Ἰούνιον μὲν οὖν αὐτίκα ὑπεξείλετο, τὸν δὲ Ἡ Γερμανικὸν δεινὸς ἐφοβεῖτο. ἐθορύβησαν μὲν γὰρ καὶ οὐ ἐν τῇ Παυσονίᾳ στρατιώται, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῆς τοῦ Ἀὐγουστοῦ μεταλλαγῆς ἔσθοντο· καὶ συνελθόντες ἐστιν τεῖχος, καὶ ἑκεῖνο κρατυνόμενοι, πολλὰ καὶ στασιαστικὰ ἐπράξαν.

2 τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τὸν ἀρχοντὰ σφῶν Ἰούνιον Βλαίσου ἀποκείμεναι ἐπεχείρησαν, τοὺς τε δούλους αὐτοῦ συλλαβόντες ἐβασάνισαν. το τε σύμπαν οὖθεν ὑπὲρ ἐκκαίδεκα ἐτης στρατεύσθαι ἦθελον, καὶ δραχμὴν ἡμερισίαν φέρειν τα τε ἄθλα εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ λαμβάνειν ἡξίουν, ἀπειλοῦντες, ἄν μὴ τύχωσιν αὐτῶν, τὸ τε ἔθνος

3 ἀποστῆσειν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλάσειν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα ἑκεῖνοι μὲν τότε τε ἁ μόλις ποτὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Βλαίσου πεισθέντες πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν Τιβέριον ύπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐπεμψαν· ἐν γὰρ τῇ μεταβολῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς πάνθε ὡςα ἐπεθύμουν, ἡ αὐτοῦ ἐκφοβήσαντες ἢ καὶ ἄλλῳ τινὶ τὸ κράτος δόντες, κατα-

4 πράξειν ἠλπίζουν· καὶ μετὰ τὰντα τοῦ Δρούσου σὺν τοῖς δορυφόροις ἐπελθόντος σφίσιν ἐταράχθησαν μὲν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς βέβαιον ἐλέγετο, καὶ τῶν τε συνόντων αὐτῷ κατέτρωσιν τινὰς καὶ

1 te supplied by Bk.
made threats against the perpetrator of the deed; yet he did not punish him at all, but allowed men to invent their own versions of the affair, some to the effect that Augustus had put Agrippa out of the way just before his death, others that the centurion who was guarding him had slain him on his own responsibility for some revolutionary dealings, and still others that Livia instead of Tiberius had ordered his death.

This rival, then, he got rid of at once, but of Germanicus he stood in great fear. For the troops in Pannonia had mutinied as soon as they learned of the death of Augustus, and coming together into one camp and strengthening it, they committed many rebellious acts. Among other things they attempted to kill their commander, Junius Blaesus, and arrested and tortured his slaves. Their demands were, in brief, that their term of service should be limited to sixteen years, that they should be paid a denarius per day, and that they should receive their prizes then and there in the camp; and they threatened, in case they did not obtain these demands, to cause the province to revolt and then to march upon Rome. However, they were at this time finally and with no little difficulty won over by Blaesus, and sent envoys to Tiberius at Rome in their behalf; for they hoped in connexion with the change in the government to gain all their desires, either by frightening Tiberius or by giving the supreme power to another. Later, when Drusus came against them with the Pretorians, they fell to rioting when no definite answer was given them, and they wounded some of his followers and placed a guard round about him in the night to
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αὐτὸν τῆς νυκτὸς περιεφρούρησαν, μὴ διαφύγῃ, τῆς δὲ δὴ σελήνης ἐκλυπούσης ἐνθυμηθέντες ἀπημβλύνθησαν, ὡστε κακῶν μὲν μηδὲν ἐτ' αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι, πρέσβεις δ' αὖθις πρὸς τὸν
5 Τιβέριον ἀποστεῖλαι. κἂν τούτῳ χειμώνος μεγάλου γενομένου, καὶ δ' αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐκάστων τείχη ἰακωρησάντων, οἳ τε θρασύτατοι ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Δρούσου καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ γε τῇ σκηνῇ αὐτοῦ, μεταπεμφθέντες ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν συνακολουθησάντων αὐτῶν ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον ἐφθάρησαν, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κατέστησαν, ὡστε καὶ πρὸς τιμωρίαν τινὰς ὡς καὶ αἰτίους τῆς στάσεως γεγονότας ἐκδούναι.

5 Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οὕτως ἰσύχασαν, οἳ δὲ ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ, καὶ πολλοὶ διὰ τῶν πόλεων ἠθροισμένοι καὶ τῶν Γερμανικῶν καὶ Καῖσαρα καὶ πολὺ τοῦ Τιβερίου κρείττων ὅρωντες οὕτα, οὐδὲν ἐμετρῆσον ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτὰ προτεινόμενοι τὸν τέ Τιβέριον ἐκκακηγόρησαν καὶ τὸν Γερμανικὸν αὐτοκράτορα
2 ἐπεκάλεσαν. ἐπειδὴ τε ἐκείνος πολλά εἴπον καὶ μὴ δυνηθεῖς αὐτοὺς καταστῆσαι, τέλος τὸ ξίφος ὡς καὶ ἐαυτὸν καταχρησάμενος ἐσπάσατο, ἐπεβοηθῶν οἱ χλευάζοντες, καὶ τις αὐτῶν τὸ ἐαυτὸν ξίφος ἀνατείνας "τοῦτο" ἐφ' "λαβέ' τοῦτο γὰρ
3 ὀξυτερὸν ἐστιν." ὁ οὖν Γερμανικὸς ἰδὼν ὅποι 2 τὸ πράγμα προεληλύθει, ἀποκτείνα μὲν ἐαυτὸν οὐκ ἐτόλμησε διὰ τε τάλλα καὶ ὅτι στασιάσειν αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν ἤττον ἠλπίσε, γράμματα δὲ δὴ τινὰ ὡς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου πεμφθέντα συνθείς, τὴν τε δωρεὰν τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Λυγουστοῦ καταλειφθεῖσαν

1 χλευάζοντες v. Herw., a'άξοντες M. 2 ὅποι Bk., ὅπη M.
prevent his escape. But when the moon suffered eclipse, they took the omen to heart and their spirit abated, so that they did no further harm to this detachment and dispatched envoys again to Tiberius. Meanwhile a great storm came up; and when in consequence all had retired to their own quarters, the boldest spirits were put out of the way in one manner or another, either by Drusus himself in his own tent, whither they had been summoned as if for some other purpose, or else by his followers; and the rest were reduced to submission, and even surrendered for punishment some of their number whom they represented to have been responsible for the mutiny.

These troops, then, were reduced to quiet in the manner described; but the soldiers in the province of Germany, where many had been assembled on account of the war, would not hear of moderation, since they saw that Germanicus was at once a Caesar and far superior to Tiberius, but putting forward the same demands as the others, they heaped abuse upon Tiberius and saluted Germanicus as emperor. When the latter after much pleading found himself unable to reduce them to order, he finally drew his sword as if to slay himself; at this they jeeringly shouted their approval, and one of them proffered his own sword, saying: "Take this; this is sharper." Germanicus, accordingly, seeing to what lengths the matter had gone, did not venture to kill himself, particularly as he did not believe they would stop their disturbance in any case. Instead, he composed a letter purporting to have been sent by Tiberius and then gave them twice the amount of the gift bequeathed them by Augustus,
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σφισι διπλῆν ώς καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου ἐδωκε, καὶ τοὺς
4 ἔξω τῆς ἡλικίας ἀφήκε· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἀστικοῦ
ὀχλοῦ, οὐς ὁ Ἀὔγουστος μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Οὐάρου
συμφορὰν προσκατέλεξεν, οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν ἦσαν.
tοτε μὲν ὀυν ὀυτω στασιάζοντες ἐπαύσαντο·
ὕστερον δὲ πρεσβευτῶν παρὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου βου-
λευτῶν ἐλθόντων, οἰς ἐκεῖνος ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ μόνα
5 εἶπεν ὃσα τὸν Γερμανικὸν μαθείν ἠθέλησεν (εὔ τε
γὰρ ἡπίστατο πάντως σφᾶς ἐροῦντας οἱ πάντα
tά ἑαυτοῦ διανοήματα, καὶ οὐκ ἠβουλίθη παρὰ
tαῦτα οὐδέν, ὡς καὶ μόνα ὄντα, οὔτε ἐκείνους
οὗτο τὸν Γερμανικὸν πολυπραγμονῆσαι), τούτων
οὐν ἄφικομένων οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ τε τοῦ Γερμα-
νικοῦ στρατήγημα μαθόντες, καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς
ὡς καὶ ἔτι τῶν προπαραγμῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
καταλύσει παρόνται ὑποπτεύσαντες, ἐθόρυβησαν
6 αὕθιας, καὶ τῶν τε πρέσβεων ὀλίγου τινὰς ἀπέ-
σφαξάν καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἔνεκειντο, τὴν τε γυναῖκα
αὐτοῦ Ἀγριππίναν, τοῦ τε Ἀγρίππου καὶ τῆς
Ἰουλίας τῆς τοῦ Ἀὔγουστον θυγατέρα 2 οὕςαν,
καὶ τῶν υἱῶν, ὃν Γαίον Καλιγόλαν, ὧτι ἐν τῷ
στρατοπέδῳ τοὺς πλείστος τραφεῖς τοῖς στρα-
τιωτικοῖς ὑποδήμασιν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀστικῶν ἑρῆτο,
προσωνόμαξον, ὑπεκτεμφέντας ποι ὑπὸ τοῦ
7 Γερμανικοῦ συνελαβον. καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἀγριππίναν
ἐγκύμονα οὕςαν ἀφῆκαν αὐτῷ δειθέντι, τῶν δὲ δὴ
Γαίου κατέσχον. χρόνῳ δ' οὕν ποτε καὶ τότε, ὡς
οὐδὲν ἐπέραινον, ἦσύχασαν, καὶ ἔς τοσαύτην γε
μεταβολὴν ἠλθον ὡστε καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς θρασυτά-
tους σφῶν αὐτοκέλευστοι συλλαβέειν καὶ τοὺς

1 ἐκείνῳ supplied by Bk.
2 θυγατέρα R. Steph., θυγατρός θυγατέρα M.

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pretending it was the emperor who did this, and discharged those who were beyond the military age; for most of them belonged to the city troops that Augustus had enrolled as an extra force after the disaster to Varus. As a result of this they ceased their seditious behaviour for the time. Later on came senators as envoys from Tiberius, to whom he had secretly communicated only so much as he wished Germanicus to know; for he well understood that they would surely tell Germanicus all his own plans, and he did not wish that either they or that leader should busy themselves about anything beyond the instructions given, which were supposed to comprise everything. Now when these men arrived and the soldiers learned about the ruse of Germanicus, they suspected that the senators had come to overthrow their leader's measures, and so they fell to rioting once more. They almost killed some of the envoys and became very insistent with Germanicus, even seizing his wife Agrippina and his son, both of whom had been sent away by him to some place of refuge. Agrippina was the daughter of Agrippa and Julia, Augustus' daughter; the boy Gaius was called by them Caligula, because, having been reared largely in the camp, he wore military boots ¹ instead of the sandals usual in the city. Then at Germanicus' request they released Agrippina, who was pregnant, but retained Gaius. On this occasion, also, as they accomplished nothing, they grew quiet after a time. In fact, they experienced such a change of heart that of their own accord they arrested the boldest of their number, putting some of them to

¹ Caligae.
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μὲν ἰδίᾳ ἀποκτείναι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ μέσον ὄγαγώντες ἐπειτα πρὸς τὸ τῶν πλειόνων βοῦ-
λήμα τοὺς μὲν ἀποσφάξασκε τοὺς δ' ἀπολύσασκε.
6 φοβηθεὶς δ' ὁν καὶ ὅ το Γερμανικὸς μὴ καὶ ἀθίς
στασισμόςει, ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν ἐνέβαιλε, καὶ ἐν
ἀυτῇ ἁρχολίαν τε ἀμα αὐτοῖς καὶ τροφὴν ἄφονον
ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων παρέχων ἐνεχρώνει.
2 Καὶ ὁ μὲν δυνηθεὶς ἀν τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν
λαβεῖν (ἐν γὰρ εὐνοία πάντων ἄπλως τῶν τε
Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων σφῶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἔποιεῖ),
οὐκ ἠθέλησε. Τιβέριος δὲ ἔπημες ἐμὲν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ
tοῦτο, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ κεχαρισμένα ἐκεῖνῳ καὶ
τῇ Ἀγριππίνῃ ἐπέστειλεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἢσθῃ
οῖς ἐπραξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ
3 τὰ στρατεύματα ἀνηρτημένου ἔδεισεν. οὐ γὰρ
ποὺ καὶ φρονεῖν οὔτως ὡς 1 ἐδόκει, ἐξ ὧν ἐαυτῷ
συνήδει ἀλλὰ μὲν λέγοντι ἀλλὰ δὲ ποιοῦντι,
ὑπελάμβανεν, ὡσθ' ὑπετόπει μὲν καὶ ἐκεῖνον,
ὑπετόπει δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ· ἢν γὰρ
ἀντίπαλον τὸ φρόνημα τῷ τοῦ γένους ὅγκῳ
4 ἔχουσα, οὐ μὴν καὶ προσεποιεῖτο ἄχθεσθαι
σφίσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔπαινος ἐν τῇ βουλῇ τοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ πολλοῦς ἐποίησατο, καὶ θυσίας ἐπὶ
tοῖς πραχθεῖσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς
ὑπ' τοῦ Δρούσου, γενέσθαι ἐσηγήσατο. τοῖς τε
στρατιώταις τοῖς ἐν τῇ Πανυόλα τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς
5 ὑπ' ἐκείνου διδεῖσθαι ἐδωρήσατο· ἐς μέντοι τὸ
ἐπείτα ὦν πρότερον τοὺς ἐξω τῆς Ἰταλίας
στρατευομένους ἀπέλυε πρὶν τὰ εἰκοσιν ἐτὶ
στρατεύσασθαι.
7 Ὄς δ' οὖν οὐδὲν ἐπὶ νεώτερον ἤγγελλετο, ἀλλὰ

1 ὦς supplied by Reim.
death privately and bringing the rest before an assembly, after which they either slew them or released them in accordance with the wishes of the majority. But Germanicus, being afraid even so that they would fall to rioting again, invaded the enemy's country and tarried there, giving the troops plenty of work and food in abundance at the expense of aliens.

Thus, though Germanicus might have obtained the imperial power,—for he had the good will of absolutely all the Romans as well as of their subjects,—he refused it. For this Tiberius praised him and sent many pleasing messages both to him and to Agrippina; and yet he was not pleased with his conduct, but feared him all the more because he had won the attachment of the legions. For he assumed, from his own consciousness of saying one thing and doing another, that Germanicus' real sentiments were not what they seemed, and hence he was suspicious of Germanicus and suspicious likewise of his wife, who was possessed of an ambition commensurate with her lofty lineage. Yet he displayed no sign of irritation toward them, but delivered many eulogies of Germanicus in the senate and also proposed that sacrifices should be offered in honour of the achievements of Germanicus just as in the case of those of Drusus. Also he bestowed upon the soldiers in Pannonia the same rewards as Germanicus had granted to his troops. For the future, however, he refused to release soldiers in the service outside of Italy until they had served the full twenty years.

Now when no further news of any rebellions
ἀσφαλῶς πάντα τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐς τὴν ἡγε-
μονίαν αὐτοῦ συνεφρόνησε, τὴν τε ἁρχὴν οὐδὲν ἔτι εἰρωνεύομενος ὑπεδέξατο, καὶ ἐν τοιῷδε αὐτῇ τρόπῳ, ἐφ' ὁσοῦ ὁ Γερμανικὸς ἔξ, διήγαγεν.  
2 αὐτὸς μὲν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἤ τι ἦ οὐδὲν ἔπραττε, πάντα δὲ δὴ καὶ τὰ σμικρότατα ἐς τὴν γερον-
σίαν ἐσέφερε καὶ ἐκεῖνη ἐκοίνων. ἐπεποίητο μὲν 
γὰρ βῆμα ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ, ἐφ' οὐ προκαθίξων ἐχρη-
μάτιζε, καὶ συμβουόλους ἢς κατὰ τὸν Ἀὐγουστοῦ 
παρελάμβανεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ διόκει λόγον τι 
3 ἀξιοῦ ὁ μὴ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπεκοίνων. καὶ ἐς γε 
τὸ μέσον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυνώμην τιθεῖς οὐχ ὅπως 
ἀντεπεῖν αὐτῇ παντὶ τῷ παρρησίαν ἐνεμεῦν, ἀλλὰ 
καὶ τάναντια οἱ ἔστων ὅτε ψηφιξομένων τινῶν 
ἐφέρε. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ψήφου πολλάκις ἐδίδου. 
ὁ μὲν γὰρ Δροῦσος ἐξ ἵου τοῖς ἄλλοις τοτε οὲν 
4 πρῶτος τοτε δὲ μεθ' ἑτέρους τούτω ἐποιεῖ· ἐκεῖνος 
δὲ ἔστι μὲν ὅτε ἔσιώτα, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ πρῶτος ἦ 
καὶ μετ' ἄλλους τινὰς ἦ καὶ τελευταῖος τὰ μὲν 
ἀντικριν ἀπεφαίνετο, τὰ δὲ δὴ πλεῖον ἵνα δὴ μὴ 
δοκῇ τὴν παρρησίαν αὐτῶν ἀφαίρεθαι, ἐλέγεν 
ὅτι " ἐι γυνώμην ἐποιούμην, τὰ καὶ τὰ ἀν ἀπεδε
5 ξάμην." 1 καὶ ἦν μὲν καὶ τοῦτο τὴν ἵσην τῷ 
ἐτέρῳ ἤχων ἐχόν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκωλύοντο οἱ 
λοιποὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὰ δοκοῦντ' σφικτέεν, ἀλλὰ 
καὶ πολλάκις ὁ μὲν τὸ ἐγγύωσκεν, οἱ δὲ μετ' 
αὐτοῦ ἐτέρον τι ἀνθηροῦντο, καὶ ἐστιν ὅτε καὶ 
ἐπεκράτουν· καὶ οὐδὲν μέντοι παρὰ τοῦτο ὅριγν 
5 εἶχεν. ἐδίκαζε μὲν οὖν ὁσπερ εἰπον, ἐπεφοίτα 
de καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν ἁρχόντων δικαστήρια, καὶ 

1 ἀπεδειξάμην Rk., ἐπεδειξάμην M Xiph.
moves came and the whole Roman world had a.d. 14 acquiesced securely in his leadership, Tiberius accepted the rule without further dissimulation, and exercised it, so long as Germanicus lived, in the way I am about to describe. He did little or nothing on his own responsibility, but brought all matters, even the slightest, before the senate and communicated them to that body. In the Forum a tribunal had been erected on which he sat in public to dispense justice, and he always associated with himself advisers, after the manner of Augustus; nor did he take any step of consequence without making it known to the rest. After setting forth his own opinion he not only granted everyone full liberty to speak against it, but even when, as sometimes happened, others voted in opposition to him, he submitted; for he often would cast a vote himself. Drusus used to act just like the rest, now speaking first, and again after some of the others. As for Tiberius, he would sometimes remain silent and sometimes give his opinion first, or after a few others, or even last; in some cases he would speak his mind directly, but generally, in order to avoid appearing to take away their freedom of speech, he would say: "If I had been giving my views, I should have proposed this or that." This method was just as effective as the other and yet the rest were not thereby prevented from stating their views. On the contrary, he would frequently express one opinion and those who followed would prefer something different, and sometimes they actually prevailed; yet for all that he harboured anger against no one. He held court himself, as I have stated, but he also attended the courts presided over by the
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παρακαλούμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπαράκλητος, καὶ ἐκεῖνοις μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐαυτῶν χώρᾳ καθῆσθαι εἰ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βάθρου τοῦ καταντικρύς σφών κειμένου καθίζων ἔλεγεν ὅσα ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ὡς πάρεδρος.¹

8 Καὶ τάλλα δὲ πάντα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον τρόπον ἔποιει. οὖτε γὰρ δεσπότην ἐαυτὸν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις οὔτε αὐτοκράτορα πλήν τοῖς στρατιώταις καλεῖν ἔφει, τὸ τε τοῦ πατρὸς τῆς πατρίδος πρόσρημα παντελῶς διεώσατο, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀνγοῦντου οὐκ ἔπεθε τοῦ (οὔδε γὰρ ψηφισθήναι ποτε εἰσε), λεγόμενον δ' ἀκούων καὶ γραφόμενον 2 ἀναγγειώσκων ἐφερεῖ καὶ ὅσαίκες γε βασιλεύσι τισιν ἐπέστελλε, καὶ ἐκεῖνο προσενέγραφε. τὸ δ' ὅλον Καίσαρ, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ Γερμανικὸς ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ πραξῆτων, πρόκριτος τε τῆς γερουσίας κατὰ τὸ ἁρχαῖον καὶ υφ' ἐαυτοῦ ² ὑνομάζετο, καὶ πολλάκις γε ἔλεγεν ὅτι "δεσπότης μὲν τῶν δοῦλων, αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν,

3 τῶν δὲ δὴ λοιπῶν πρόκριτος εἰμί." εὐχέτο τε, ὅσαίκες τι τοιοῦτο παραπέσοι, ³ τοσοῦτον καὶ ζήσαι καὶ ἄρξαι χρόνον ὅσον ἀν τῷ δημοσίῳ συμφέρη. καὶ οὔτω γε διὰ πάντων ὁμοίως δημοτικὸς ἢν ὡστε οὔτε ἐν τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ γινομεθάνις τι παρὰ τὸ καθεσθήκος ἐπέτρεπεν, οὔτ' ὀμνύναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τῖν ἐαυτοῦ τύχην συνεχώρει, εἰ τε ⁴ καὶ ὁμόσας τις αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ὡς καὶ 4 ἐπιωρκήκως ἔλαβεν, οὐκ ἐπεξῄει. συνελύντι τε

¹ πάρεδρος Rk., πράεδρος M Xiph.
² After ἐαυτοῦ M repeats κατὰ τὸ ἁρχαῖον.
³ τι τοιοῦτο παραπέσοι Bg., τοιοῦτο τι παραπέσοι Pflugk, τι τοιοῦτό τι ἄρα πέσοι M.

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magistrates, not alone when invited by them, but also when not invited. He would allow them to sit in their regular places, while he himself took his seat on the bench facing them and as an assessor made any remarks that seemed good to him.

In all other matters, too, he behaved in this same way. Thus, he would not allow himself to be called master by the freemen, nor imperator except by the soldiers; the title of Father of his Country he rejected absolutely; that of Augustus he did not assume,—in fact he never permitted it to be even voted to him,—but he did not object to hearing it spoken or to reading it when written, and whenever he sent messages to kings, he would regularly include this title in his letters. In general he was called Caesar, sometimes Germanicus (from the exploits of Germanicus), and Chief of the Senate,\(^1\)—the last in accordance with ancient usage and even by himself. He would often declare: "I am master of the slaves, imperator of the soldiers, and chief of the rest." He would pray, as often as occasion for praying arose, that he might live and rule so long only as should be to the advantage of the State. And he was so democratic in all circumstances alike, that he would not permit any special observance to be made of his birthday and would not allow people to swear by his Fortune, and if anybody after swearing by it incurred the charge of perjury, he would not prosecute him. In short, he would not at first even sanction the carrying out in his own case of the custom which has regularly been followed on New Year's day down

\(^1\) Princeps senatus.

\(^4\) et \(\tau\)e Dind., \(\omega\)\(\tau\)e M.
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εἰπεῖν, οὐδ' ὁπερ ἐπὶ τε τῷ Λύγουστῳ δεύρο ἀεὶ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἑτοὺς ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς μετ' ἐκείνων ἀρξασιν, ὅν γε καὶ λόγον τινὰ ποιοῦμεθα, ἐπὶ τε τοῖς τῷ κράτος ἀεὶ ἔχουσιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης γίγνεται, τὸ τὰ τε πραχθέντα ὑπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ πραχθησόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀεὶ ζωντων ὄρκοις τις βεβαιοῦσθαι, οὐδὲ τούτο τά γε πρῶτα

5 ἐφ’ έαυτῷ περιεῖδε γενόμενον. καίτοι ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ Λύγουστου πράξεις τούς τε ἄλλους πάντας ὄρκου καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμως. καὶ ὁπως γε ἐκδηλοτερον αὐτὸ ποιοίη, παρεῖς ἂν 2 τὴν νομηνίαν καὶ μίτη ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσελθὼν μηθ’ ὅλως ἐν τῇ πόλει τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ὀφθείς, ἀλλ’ ἐν προσαστείῳ τινὶ διατρίψας, ἐσήμε τε μετα ταύτα καὶ

6 κατὰ μόνας ἐπιστοῦτο. τούτου τε οὖν ἔνεκα ἔξω που ταῖς νομηνίαις δίηγε, καὶ ἵνα μηδένα τῶν αὐθρωπῶν ἀσχολον, περὶ τε ταῖς νέας ἀρχάς καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐορτὴν ἔχοντα, ποιῆ, ἢ καὶ ἀργύριον παρ’ αὐτῶν λαμβάνῃ. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦ Λύγουστον ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐπήμει διὰ τὸ πολλὴν μὲν δυσχέρειαν ἐν αὐτῷ πολλὴν δὲ καὶ ἀναλωσιν ἐκ τῆς ἀντιδόσεως γίνεσθαι.

9 Ταύτα τε οὖν δημοτικῶς διώκει, καὶ ὅτι οὔτε τεμένισμα αὐτῷ οὐχ ὁπως αὐθαίρετον ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἄλλους τότε γε ἐτεμενίσθη, οὔτε εἰκόνα ἔδειν αὐτοῦ οὔδεν στῆσαι. ἀντικρος γὰρ παραχρῆμα ἀπηγόρευσε μιτε πόλει μητ’ ἱδιωτῇ τούτο ποιεῖν.

2 προσέθηκε μὲν γὰρ τῇ ἀπορρήσει ὅτι "ἀν μη ἐγὼ ἐπιτρέψω," προσπεπείπε δὲ ὅτι "οὐκ ἐπιτρέψω." ἐπεὶ το γε ύβρίσθαι πρὸς τινὸς ἥ καὶ τὸ ᾧσεβήσθαι

1 τὸ added by Pflugk.
2 παρεῖς ἂν R. Steph., παρεῖσαν M.
to the present time, as a necessary observance in honour not only of Augustus but of all the rulers likewise that have followed him whom we reckon as of any account, and of such as hold the supreme power at the time—I refer to the ratification under oath of their acts both past, and, in the case of those living at the time, future as well. Yet as regarded the acts of Augustus, he not only required all others to take the oath but also took it himself; moreover, in order to do the latter in a more conspicuous manner, he would let New Year's day go by without entering the senate-house or showing himself at all in the city on that day, but spending the time in some suburb, and then would come in later and pledge himself separately. This was one reason why he remained outside on New Year's day; but he also wished to avoid disturbing any of the citizens while they were concerned with the new officials and the festival, as well as to avoid taking money from them. Indeed, he did not commend Augustus for his behaviour in this respect, because it occasioned much embarrassment and great expense in order to return such favours.

Not only in the ways just related were his actions democratic, but no sacred precinct was set apart for him either by his own choice or in any other way,—at that time, I mean,—nor was anybody allowed to set up an image of him; for he promptly and expressly forbade any city or private citizen to do so. To this prohibition, it is true, he attached the proviso, "unless I grant permission," but he added, "I will not grant it." For he would not by any means have it appear that he had been insulted or impiously
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πρὸς τινος (ἀσέβειαν τε γὰρ ἦδη καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὁνόμαζεν, καὶ δίκας ἐπὶ αὐτῶ πολλὰς ἔσηγον) ἤκιστα προσεποιεῖτο, οὐδὲ ἐστὶν ἦμνια τοιαύτην ἐφ' ἕαυτῷ γραφήν προσεδέξατο, καὶ περὶ τοῦ Αὔγουστον καὶ ἐν τούτῳ σεμνύνων. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον οὐδένα οὐδὲ τῶν ἐπὶ ἐκείνω τινὰ αἰτίαν λαβόντων ἐκόλασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγκληθέντας τινὰς ὡς καὶ ἐπιωρκηκότας τὴν τύχην αὐτοῦ ἀπέλυσε· προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ πάνυ πολλοὺς ἐθανάτωσε.

10 Καὶ ἐν τε τούτῳ τοῦ Αὔγουστον ἦγαλλε, καὶ ὅτι τὰ τε οἰκοδομήματα, ἐποκατεβάλετο μὲν οὐκ ἐξετέλεσε δέ, ἐκποιῶν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπέγραφε σφισι, τὰ τε ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ ἀρχαίοι αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅσα οἱ δήμοι καὶ ὅσα οἱ ἱδιόται ἐποίουν, τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς καθιέρου, τὰ δὲ τῶν ποντικῶν τιμὶ προσέτασε. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς οὐκ ἐπὶ ἐκείνως μόνοις τοῖς τοῦ Αὔγουστον ἔργοις, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἐπισκευηθησάμενοι τινος δεθείσιν ἐποίησε· πάντα γὰρ τὰ πεπονησκότα ἀνακτησόμενος (αὐτὸς γὰρ ὀυδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐκ καὶ τοῦ Αὔγουστείου, κατεσκευάζατο) οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἰδίωστο, ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν πρῶτων οἰκοδομημάτων αὐτὰ ὀνόματα πᾶσι σφισιν ἀπεδωκεν. ἐλάχιστα γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐαυτὸν1 δαπανῶν πλείστα ἕν τοῦ κοινῶν ἀνήλισκε, πάντα μὲν ὡς εἰπείν τὰ δημόσια ἔργα τὰ μὲν ἀνοικοδομῶν τὰ δὲ ἐπικοσμῶν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἱδιώταις ἐπαρκῶν, τῶν τε θαυμάστων συχνῶς πενθομένους καὶ μηκέτι

1 εαυτὸν Χιψ. Ζων., αὐτὸν Μ.
treated by anybody (they were already calling such conduct *maiestas* and were bringing many suits on that ground), and he would not hear of any such indictment being brought on his own account, though he paid tribute to the majesty of Augustus in this matter also. At first, to be sure, he did not punish any of those, even, that had incurred charges for their actions in regard to his predecessor, and he actually released some against whom complaint was made that they had perjured themselves after swearing by the Fortune of Augustus; but as time went on, he put great numbers to death.

Not only did he magnify Augustus in the manner stated, but also when completing the buildings which Augustus had begun without finishing them he inscribed upon them the other's name; and in the case of the statues and the shrines which were being erected to Augustus, whether by communities or by private individuals, he either dedicated them himself or instructed one of the pontifices to do so. This principle of inscribing the original builder's name he carried out not only in the case of the buildings erected by Augustus, but in the case of all alike that needed any repairs; for, although he restored all the buildings that had suffered injury (he erected no new ones whatsoever himself except the temple of Augustus), yet he claimed none of them as his own, but restored to all of them the names of the original builders. While expending extremely little for himself, he laid out very large sums for the common good, either rebuilding or adorning practically all the public works and also generously assisting both cities and private individuals. He enriched numerous senators who were poor and on that account no
μηδὲ βουλεύειν διὰ τούτ’ ἐθέλοντας ἐπλουτ.σεν.
4 οὖν μέντοι καὶ ἀκρίτως αὐτὸ ἐποίει, ἀλλὰ καὶ
dιέγραφε τοὺς μὲν ὑπ’ ἀσελγείας τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ
πτωχείας, οὐσὶ μηδένα αὐτῆς λογισμὸν εἰκότα
ἀποδοῦναι ἐδύναντο. πᾶν τε ὁ ἐδωρεῖτό τισιν
eὐθὺς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ ἥριθμεῖτο,
ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔπὶ τοῦ Αὐγοῦστου μεγάλα ἐκ τῶν
τοιούτων οἱ δοτήρες αὐτῶν ἀπετέμνοντο, δεινῶς
ἐφυλάττετο μὴ καὶ ἐφ’ έαυτῷ τούτῳ γίγνεσθαι.
6 καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα ἐκ τῶν νεομισμένων
προσόδων ἐδαπάνα· οὔτε γὰρ ἀπέκτεινε χρημά-
tων ἕνεκα οὐδένα οὔτ’ οὐσίαν τινὸς τότε γε
ἐδήμευσεν, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ εξ ἐπηρείας τι ἠγνορολ-
γῆσεν. Αἰμιλίῳ γοῦν Ρήκτῳ χρῆματα ποτὲ αὐτῷ
πλεῖον παρὰ τὸ τεταγμένον ἐκ τῆς Αὐγοῦπτου ἡς
ηρχεὶ πέμψαντι ἀντεπέστειλεν ὅτι “κεῖρεσθαί μον
τὰ πρόβατα, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀποξύρεσθαι βοῦλομαι.”
11 Καὶ μέντοι καὶ εὐπρόσοδοι καὶ εὐπροσήγοροι
ἰσχυρῶς ἦν. τους γοῦν βουλεύτας ἀθρόους
ἀσπάξεσθαί αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν, ἵνα μὴ ἱστίζωνται.
tὸ τε σύμπαν τοσαύτην ἐπιείκειαν ἦσκει ὡστε,
2 ἐπειδὴ ποτὲ οἱ ‘Ῥοδίων ἀρχοντες ἐπιστεύλαντες
ti αὐτῷ οὐχ ὑπέγραψαν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τούτῳ δὴ τὸ
νομίζομενον, εὐχαὶ αὐτῷ ποιούμενοι, μετεπέμ-
ψατο μὲν σφας σπουδῆ ὡς καὶ κακὸν τι δράσων,
ἐλθόντας δὲ οὐδὲν δεινὸν εἰργάσατο, ἀλλ’ ὑπογρά-
ψαντας τὸ εὐδέον ἀπέπεμψε. τοὺς τε ἀεὶ
3 ἀρχοντας ὡς ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ ἑτίμα, καὶ τοῖς
ὑπαίτοις καὶ ὑπανίστατο· ὅποτε τε αὐτοῦς δει-
pνίζοι, τούτῳ μὲν ἐσιόντας σφᾶς πρὸς τὰς θύρας
ἐξεδέχετο, τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἀπίόντας προεπεμπεν.
longer wished to be members of the senate; yet he did not do this indiscriminately, but actually expunged the names of some for licentiousness and of others even for poverty when they could give no satisfactory reason for it. All the money that he bestowed upon people was counted out at once in his sight; for since under Augustus the officials who paid over the money had been wont to deduct large sums for themselves from such donatives, he took good care that this should not happen in his reign. All these expenditures, moreover, he made from the regular revenues; for he neither put anybody to death for his money nor confiscated, at this time, anybody's property, nor did he even resort to tricky methods of obtaining funds. In fact, when Aemilius Rectus once sent him from Egypt, which he was governing, more money than was stipulated, he sent back to him the message: "I want my sheep shorn, not shaven."

He was, moreover, extremely easy to approach and easy to address. For example, he bade the senators greet him in a body and thus avoid jostling one another. In fine, he showed himself so considerate, that once, when the magistrates of the Rhodians sent him some communication and failed to write at the end of the letter the customary formula about offering their prayers for his welfare, he summoned them in haste, as if he intended to do them some harm, but on their arrival, instead of doing anything serious to them, he caused them to supply the missing words and then sent them away. He honoured the annual magistrates as if he were living in a democracy, even rising in his seat at the approach of the consuls; and whenever
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ei te pote ep’ toû diphrou koumiôsito,1 oudeo na oui parakeolouthein ouq úpopos bouleuthein all’ oude.
4 ippea toûn protoin eia. en te tais panhyriesi, kaî ei dh tî kai all’ touioutotropou aîkholan tois polloîs parèxein emellein, elthoun av’ af’ esteperas pros tina toûn Kaisarênw toûn pros tois chwrisois ekeinois2 es a symphohtasai edei oikouïton, entautha tas nuktas evnelizeto, opwos eix etoomtotou kai apouwotatou tois andraphois
5 enthyghaneiin autò logouto, kai toûs ge toûn ippoon agóvna ex oikias kai autous toûn apleun-théroun tinos polllakisin ëfopra. synexestata gar epî tais theas aptepta tis te tîmheis toûn epite-loûntwv autais eneka kai tis toûn plítousois eukos-mias, toû te syneprotazew synfisi dokeivn. ou gar ouste epsoùdase pote to parâpauan toûn touioutwn oudein, ouste doxan tina âs kai syzepođovn tivn
6 eschev. ouâno te eis pânta ísos kai omoios hyn óst’ orxeisthîn tina tou dîmou elenewtheinai pote boulythevstos mi’ pròteron synepainessei prîn ton despotih autou kai peisîhmai kai tîn tîmhein
7 labêein. tois te etairois âs kai en idiotheia synên kai gar dikazomênous sîfis synhygnizeto kai thûouni3 synerôrtaçê, vosounvastes te epekeipteto miâdemian frouran epeasagômenos, kai ef’ evi gê tîn autôn telephtisantì toûn epitâfion autou eîpê.

1 koumiôsito Xiph., Íkoumiôsito M.
2 ekeinois R. Steph., ekeiev M (oun added in margin by corr.)
3 thûouni Xiph., Ïwsiouási M.
he entertained them at dinner, he would both receive them at the door when they entered and escort them on their way when they departed. In case he was at any time being carried anywhere in his litter, he would not even allow any one of the knights who was prominent to accompany him, still less a senator. On the occasion of festivals or as often as anything similar was going to afford the multitude diversion, he would go the evening before to the house of some one of the imperial freedmen who lived near the place where the crowd was to gather, and would spend the night there. His purpose in doing this was, that the people might meet him with as little difficulty and trouble as possible. And he, too, would often watch the equestrian contests from the house of a freedman. For he attended the spectacles very frequently, in order not only to show honour to those who gave them, but also to ensure the orderliness of the multitude and to seem to be sharing in their holiday. As a matter of fact, however, he never felt the slightest enthusiasm for anything of the kind, nor had he the reputation of favouring any one of the contestants. In all respects he was so fair and impartial that once, when the populace wanted a certain actor manumitted, he would not approve their demand until the man's master had given his consent and had received payment for him. His relations with his companions were such as he would maintain in private life: he stood by them when they were involved in law-suits and joined them in offering sacrifice on festal occasions; he visited them in their sickness, taking no guard into the room with him; and in the case of at least one of them who died he himself delivered the funeral oration.
Καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὴν μητέρα πάνθ᾽ ὅσα πρέπουσα αὐτῇ τὸν τοιούτων ποιεῖν ἦν, τὸ μὲν τι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἔτηλόσεως ἑνεκα, τὸ δὲ ἑναὶ μὴ ὑπεραὐχή, πράττειν ἐκέλευε. πάνυ γὰρ μέγα καὶ ὑπὲρ πάσας τὰς πρόσθεν γυναικὰς ὦγκωτο, ὡστε καὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοὺς ἔθελοντας οἰκαδε ἀσπασμένους ἀεὶ ποτε ἐσδέχεσθαι, καὶ τούτο καὶ ἐς τὰ δημόσια ὑπομηματα ἐσγράφεσθαι. αἰ τε ἐπιστολαὶ αἱ τοῦ Τιβέριου καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖνης ὄνομα χρόνων τινά ἔσχον, καὶ ἐγράφετο ἀμφοῖν ὅμοιως. πλὴν τε ὅτι οὔτε ἐς τὸ συνέδριον οὔτε ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα οὔτε ἐς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐτόλμησέ ποτε ἐσελθεῖν, τά γε ἀλλὰ πάντα ὡς καὶ αὐταρχοῦσα διοικεῖν ἐπεχείρει. ἐπὶ τε γὰρ τοῦ Ἀὐγοῦστον μέγιστον ἡδυνήθη καὶ τὸν Τιβέριον αὐτὴν αὐτοκράτορα πεποιηκέναι ἔλεγε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὅσον ἐξ ὅσον οἱ ἀρχεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρεσβεύειν αὐτοῦ ἔθελεν. ὅθεν ἀλλὰ τε ἔξω τοῦ νεομισμένου ἐσεφέρετο, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν μητέρα αὐτὴν τῆς πατρίδος πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ γονέα προσαγορεύεσθαι γνώμην ἐδωκαν. Ἀλλοι καὶ τὸν Τιβέριον ἀπ᾿ αὐτῆς ἐπικαλεῖσθαι ἐσηγήσαντο, ὅπως ὡσπερ οἱ Ἑλληνες πατρότεθεν, οὗτω καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μητρὸθεν ὅνομάζηται. ἀγανακτῶν οὖν ἐπὶ τοὺτοις οὔτε τὰ ψηφιζόμενα αὐτῇ πλῆν ἐλαχίστων ἐπεκύρου, οὔτ᾽ ἄλλο τι ὑπέρογκον ποιεῖν ἐπέτρεπεν. εἰκόνα γοῦν ποτε αὐτῆς οἰκο τὸν Ἀὐγοῦστῳ ὀσιωσάσης, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἐπίτευς μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐστιάσατε ἐθελησάσης, οὔτ᾽ ἄλλος συνεχώρησέν
Moreover, he bade his mother conduct herself in a similar manner, so far as it was fitting for her to do so, partly that she might imitate him and partly to prevent her from becoming over-proud. For she occupied a very exalted station, far above all women of former days, so that she could at any time receive the senate and such of the people as wished to greet her in her house; and this fact was entered in the public records. The letters of Tiberius bore for a time her name, also, and communications were addressed to both alike. Except that she never ventured to enter the senate-chamber or the camps or the public assemblies, she undertook to manage everything as if she were sole ruler. For in the time of Augustus she had possessed the greatest influence and she always declared that it was she who had made Tiberius emperor; consequently she was not satisfied to rule on equal terms with him, but wished to take precedence over him. As a result, various extraordinary measures were proposed, many persons expressing the opinion that she should be called Mother of her Country, and many that she should be called Parent. Still others proposed that Tiberius should be named after her, so that, just as the Greeks were called by their father's name, he should be called by that of his mother. All this vexed him, and he would neither sanction the honours voted her, with a very few exceptions, nor otherwise allow her any extravagance of conduct. For instance, she had once dedicated in her house an image to Augustus, and in honour of the event wished to give a banquet to the senate and the knights together with their wives, but he would not permit her to carry out any part of this programme until the senate had
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οἱ τοῦτο πραξαὶ πρὶν τὴν γερονσίαν ὕψισταθαί, οὔτε τότε τοὺς ἄνδρας δειπνίσασι, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς μὲν 6 τούτοις ἑκείνῃ δε ταῖς γυναιξῖν εἰστίασε. καὶ τέλος τῶν μὲν δημοσίων παντάπασιν αὐτὴν ἀπήλλαξε, τὰ δὲ οίκοι διακιεῖν οἱ ἐφεῖς, εἶδ' ὡς καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἐπαχθής ἦν, ἀποδημίας τε ἐστέλλετο καὶ πάντα τρόπον αὐτὴν ἐξιστάτο, ὡστε καὶ ἐς τὴν Καπριάν δι' ἑκείνην ὦχ ἤκιστα μεταστήναι.

13 Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῆς Λιονίας παραδεδοται: ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος αὐτὸς μὲν τραχύτερον τοὺς αἰτια-ζομένους τι μετεχειρίζετο, τὸ δὲ δὴ Δρούσω τῷ νίει καὶ ἀσελγεστάτω καὶ ωμοτάτῳ, ὡστε καὶ τὰ ὕξυτα τῶν ξιφῶν Δρουσίαν ἀπ᾿ αὐτοῦ κληθήναι, ὅτι καὶ ἱχθετο καὶ ἐπετίμα καὶ ἱδία 2 καὶ δημοσία πολλάκις. καὶ ποτε αὐτῷ καὶ ἀντίκρυς πολλῶν παροῦντων, εἶπεν ὃτι "ξώντος μὲν μου οὐδὲν οὔτε βίας οὐθ' ὑβριστικῶν πράξεις. ἂν δὲ τι καὶ τολμήσῃς, οὔθε τελευτήσατος."

3 σωφρονεῖστα τῷ χρόνῳ τινὰ διεγένετο, καὶ οὔδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδενὶ ἀσελγαῖνειν ἐφεί, ἄλλα καὶ συχνοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦτο οἰκόλαξε, καὶτοι τῶν βουλευτῶν ποτε ἐπιτιμῶν τι κατὰ τῶν ἀσώτως ξωντῶν νομοθετήθηκεν ἐθελησάντων μήτε ταῦτα, καὶ προσεπειπὼν ὃτι ἀμεινόν ἄστιν ἰδίᾳ τρόπον τινὰ αὐτοὺς σωφρονίζειν ἢ κοινῆ σφικῆ 4 τιμωρίαν ἐπιθεῖναι. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἄν τῷ φόβῳ τῆς αἰσχύνης καὶ μετρίασαι τινὰ αὐτῶν, ὡστε καὶ λαθεῖν ἐπιχειρήσαι. ἄν δὲ ἀπαξ ὁ νόμος ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐκκυκηθῆ, μηδένα αὐτοῦ προτεμήσειν. 5 καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε τὸ πολλὴ ἐσθῆτι ἄλουργει καὶ ἄνδρες

1 δειπνίσας H. Steph., δειπνήσαι M.
so voted, and not even then to receive the men at dinner; instead, he entertained the men and she the women. Finally he removed her entirely from public affairs, but allowed her to direct matters at home; then, as she was troublesome even in that capacity, he proceeded to absent himself from the city and to avoid her in every way possible; indeed, it was chiefly on her account that he removed to Capreae. Such are the reports that have been handed down about Livia.

Tiberius, now, began to treat more harshly those who were accused of any crime, and he became angry with his son Drusus, who was most licentious and cruel (so cruel, in fact, that the sharpest swords were called Drusian after him), and he often rebuked him both privately and publicly. Once he said to him outright in the presence of many witnesses: "While I am alive you shall commit no deed of violence or insolence; and if you dare to try, not after I am dead, either." For Tiberius lived a very temperate life for a time, and would not allow anyone else to indulge in licentiousness, but punished many for it. And yet once, when the senators desired to have a penalty imposed by law upon those who were guilty of lewd living, he would make no such provision, explaining that it is better to correct them privately in some way or other than to inflict any public punishment upon them. For under existing conditions, he said, there was a chance that some of them would restrain themselves through fear of disgrace, in the endeavour to escape detection; but if the law should once be overcome by human nature, no one would pay any heed to it. Not a few men, also, were wearing a great deal of
συχνοὶ καίπερ ἀπαγορευθέν πρότερον ἐχρώντο, διεμέμψατο μὲν οὐδένα οὐδὲ ἐξημώσεν οὐδένα, ύπετοῦ δὲ ἐν πανηγύρει τινὶ γενομένου φαιαν μανδύην ἐπενέδυν· κακὶ τούτῳ οὐκέτ᾿ οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀλλοίον ἔσθημα λαβεῖν ἐτολμήσε.

6 Ταῦθ’ οὔτω πάντα μέχρι γε καὶ ὁ Γερμανικὸς ἔξη ἐποίει· μετὰ γὰρ τούτῳ συχνά αὐτῶν μετέβαλεν, εἰτ’ οὖν φρονῶν μὲν οὔτως ἀπὸ πρώτης ως ύστερον διέδειξε, πλασάμενος δὲ ἐφ’ ὅσον ἐκεῖνος ἔβιω, ἐπειδήπερ ἐφεδρεύοντα αὐτὸν τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ ἑώρα, εἰτε καὶ πεφυκός μὲν εὖ, ἐξοκείλας ὁτ’ ὀτε τοῦ ἀνταγωνιστοῦ ἐστερήθη. λέξῳ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς καίρους ὡς ἐκαστὰ ἐγένετο, ὅσα γε καὶ μνήμης ἄξια ἔστιν.

Ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ Δρούσου τοῦ νιέος αὐτοῦ Γαίου τε Νωρίβανοῦ ὑπάτων τῷ δήμῳ τὰ καταλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Λυγοῦστον ἀπέδωκεν, ἐπειδὴ προσελθὼν τις πρὸς νεκρὸν διὰ τῆς ἄγορᾶς ἐκφερόμενον καὶ πρὸς τὸ οὖς αὐτοῦ προσκύψας ἐψιθύρισε τι, καὶ ἐρεμένων τῶν ιδόντων ὅ τι εἰρήκοι, ἐντετάλθαι ἐφ’ τῷ Λυγοῦστῳ ὅτι οὐδέπω οὐδὲν ἐκομίσατο.

2 ἐκεῖνον μὲν γὰρ αὐτίκα ἀπέκτεινεν, ἵνα αὐτάγγελος αὐτῷ, ὡς ποι καὶ ἐπισκόπτων εἶπε, γένηται, τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀπῆλλαξε, κατὰ πέντε καὶ ἔξικοντα δραχμὰς διανείμας.

3 καὶ τούτῳ μὲν τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει γενέσθαι τινὲς λέγουσι· τότε δὲ ἱππέων τινῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀγώσιν
purple clothing, though this had formerly been for-
bidden; yet he neither rebuked nor fined any of
them, but when a rain came up during a certain
festival, he himself put on a dark woollen cloak.
After that none of them longer dared assume any
different kind of garb.

Such was Tiberius' behaviour in all matters as long
as Germanicus lived; but after his death he changed
his course in many respects. Perhaps he had been
at heart from the first what he later showed himself
to be, and had been merely shamming while Ger-
manicus was alive, because he saw his rival lying in
wait for the sovereignty; or perhaps he was ex-
cellent by nature, but drifted into vice when
deprived of his rival. I will relate now in due order
the various events of his reign in so far as they are
worthy of record.

In the consulship of Drusus, his son, and of
Gaius Norbanus he paid over to the people the
bequests made by Augustus. But this was only
after someone had approached a corpse that was
being borne out through the Forum for burial and
bending down had whispered something in its ear;
when the spectators asked what he had said, he
stated that he had sent word to Augustus that they
had not received anything yet. Tiberius, now, put
this fellow to death at once, in order, as he jokingly
remarked, that he might carry his own message to
Augustus; but it was not long afterwards that he
discharged his debt to the rest, distributing to them
two hundred and sixty sesterces apiece. Some,
indeed, state that this payment was made in the
previous year. At the time in question some knights
desired to fight in single combat in the games which
οὖς οἱ Δροῦσος ὑπέρ τε ἐαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ διέθηκε¹ μονομαχήσαι ἥθελησάντων τοῦ μὲν ἀγώνα αὐτῶν οὐκ εἶδε, σφαγείτος δὲ τοῦ ἐπέρου τὸν ἐπέρου οὐκέτ' εἴασεν ὀπλομαχῆσαι. ἔγένειτο δὲ καὶ ἀλλαὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν τοῦ Ἀυγουστου γενεσίων ἱπποδρομία μάχαι, καὶ τινα καὶ θηρία ἐσφάγη. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἔτη οὕτως ἐποιήθη τότε δὲ ἡ Κρήτη τοῦ ἀρχοντος αὐτῆς ἀποθανόντος τῷ τε ταμίᾳ καὶ τῷ παρέδρῳ αὐτοῦ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον προσε- 
5 τάχθη. ἐπειδὴ τε συχνῷ τῶν τα ἐθνὶς κληρουμένων ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ λοιπῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐνδιέτριβον, ὡστε τοὺς προάρχαντας αὐτῶν παρὰ τὸ καθεστήκος χρονίζειν, ἐκέλευσέ σφισιν ἐντὸς τῆς τοῦ Ἰουνίου νουμηνίας ἀφορμᾶ- 
6 σθαί. καὶ τούτῳ τοῦ ἐκγόνου ² αὐτοῦ, δὴ ἐκ τοῦ Δροῦσον ἐίχη, τελευτήσαντος οὔδὲν ὁ τι τῶν συνήθων οὐκ ἔπραξε, μὴν ἀλλὰς ἄξιοὺς τὸν ἀρχοντά τινων πρὸς τὰς ἡδίας συμφοράς τῆς τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελείας ἐξίστασθαι, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐθίζων ³ μὴ διὰ τοὺς οἰχομένους καὶ τά τῶν ξύντων προίσθαι.
7 Τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ τοῦ Τιβέρειδος πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως κατασχόντος ὡστε πλευσθήμαι, οἱ μὲν ἀλλοί ἐν τέρατος λόγῳ καὶ τοῦτο, ὡσπερ ποιν τό τε μέγεθος τῶν σεισμῶν ύφ᾽ ὧν καὶ μέρος τι τοῦ τέχνου ἐπεσε, καὶ τὸ πλήθος τῶν κεραυνῶν ύφ᾽ ὧν καὶ οίνως ἕξ ἀγγειών ἀθραυστῶν ἐξετάκη, ⁸ ἐλαμβανον, ἐκεῖνος δὲ δὴ νομίσας ἐκ πολυπλη-

¹ διέθηκε Βς., δὴ διέθηκε Μ.
² ἐκγόνου Μ, ἐγγόνου Χιφ. Ζων.
Drusus had arranged in his own name and in that of Germanicus; but Tiberius did not witness their combat, and when one of them was killed, he forbade the other to fight as a gladiator again. There were also other contests in connexion with the Circensian games given in honour of Augustus' birthday; and a few beasts, also, were slain. This continued to be done for a number of years. At this time, too, Crete, upon the death of its governor, was entrusted to the quaestor and his assessor for the unexpired period. Since, also, many of those to whom provinces had been allotted were accustomed to linger a long while in Rome and other parts of Italy, so that their predecessors continued in office beyond the appointed time, Tiberius commanded that they should take their departure by the first day of June. Meanwhile his grandson by Drusus died, but he neglected none of his customary duties; for he did not think it right in any case that one who was governing others should neglect his care of the public interests because of his private misfortunes, and moreover he was trying to accustom the rest not to jeopardize the interests of the living on account of the dead.

When now the river Tiber overflowed a large part of the city, so that people went about in boats, most people regarded this, also, as an omen, like the violent earthquakes which shook down a portion of the city wall and like the frequent thunderbolts which caused wine to leak even from vessels that were sound; the emperor, however, thinking that it was due to the great over-abundance of surface

3 έθλιζων Leuncl., καθιζων M.
This was the name of a celebrated gladiator of the time. Cf. Horace, Ep. i. 18, 19.

Among the Greeks and Romans not only cold but also hot water, the latter probably flavoured with spices or herbs, was ordinarily served with wine. "Water!" was a request with which Drusus had grown only too familiar at drinking.
water, appointed five senators, chosen by lot, to constitute a permanent board to look after the river, so that it should neither overflow in winter nor fail in summer, but should maintain as even a flow as possible all the time.

While Tiberius was carrying out these measures, Drusus performed the duties pertaining to the consulship equally with his colleague, just as any ordinary citizen might have done; and when he was left heir to someone's estate, he assisted in carrying out the body. Yet he was so given to violent anger that he inflicted blows upon a distinguished knight, and for this exploit received the nickname of Castor. And he was becoming so heavy a drinker, that one night, when he was forced to lend aid with the Praetorians to some people whose property was on fire and they called for water, he gave the order: "Serve it to them hot." He was so friendly with the actors, that this class raised a tumult and could not be brought to order even by the laws that Tiberius had introduced for regulating them. These were the events of that year.

In the consulship of Statilius Taurus and Lucius Libo, Tiberius forbade any man to wear silk clothing and also forbade anyone to use golden vessels except for sacred ceremonies. And when some were at a loss to know whether they were also forbidden to possess silver vessels having any inlaid work of gold, bouts, and he now uses words appropriate to such an occasion: ἑγχέατι (literally "pour out") and θερμός. Both hot water and hot viands were regarded by Caligula and Claudius as being inappropriate to a season of public mourning, and their sale was therefore prohibited at such times; see lix. 11, 6 and lx. 6, 7.
καὶ περὶ τούτου τί δόγμα ποιῆσαι, ἐκώλυσεν ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ ἐμβλήματος ὡς καὶ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐμβληθῆναι, καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἔχων ὅπως ἐπιχωρίως αὐτὸ ὄνομάς τη. ἐκεῖνό τε τὸν οὐτως ἑποίησε, καὶ ἐκατοντάρχου Ἑλληνιστὶ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ μαρτυρῆσαι τι ἐθελήσαντος οὐκ ἡμέρσχετο, καὶ πολλὰς μὲν δίκας ἐν τῷ διαλέκτῳ ταύτῃ καὶ ἐκεῖ λεγομένας ἄκουσιν, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπερωτῶν. τοῦτο τέ τὸν οὖχ ὁμολογούμενον ἐπράξει, καὶ Ῥούκιον Σκριβώνιον Λιβωνα, νεανίσκον εὐπατρίδην δόξαντα τι νεωτέρες, τέως μὲν ἔρρωτο, οὖκ ἔκρινε, νοσήσαντα δὲ ἐπιθυμαντὸν ἐν τε σκιμποδίῳ καταστέγῳ, ὅποιοι αἱ τῶν βουλευτῶν γυναῖκες χρόνται, ἐς τὴν γερονσίαν ἐσεκόμισε, καὶ ἐπείδη ἀναβολῆς τῖνος γενομένης ἑαυτὸν προαπεχρῆσατο, καὶ τελευτήσαντα εὐθυνε, τά τε χρήματα αὐτοῦ τοὺς κατηγόροις διέδωκε, καὶ θυσίας ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὖχ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον ἕνεκα ἄλλα καὶ τοῦ Ἀγούστου τοῦ τε πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰουλίου, καθάπερ ποτε ἐδέδοκτο, ψηφισθῆναι ἕποιησε. ταύτα δὲ περὶ τούτου πράξας, Ὀὐίβιος Ὁ Ῥοῦφω οὐτὲ ἐνεκάλεσε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅτι τὸ τοῦ Καῖσαρος δίφρω, ἐφ' οὖν ἀεὶ ποτε ἐκαθήξετο καὶ ἐφ' οὗ καὶ ἐσφάγη, ἔχρητο. τοῦτο τε γάρ ὃ Ῥοῦφος ἐπιτηθεύσασα ἐπράττε, καὶ τῇ τοῦ Κικέρωνος γυναίκι συνώκει, σεμνυόμενος ἐφ' ἐκατέρῳ ὡσπερ ἡ διὰ τῆς γυναίκας ρήτωρ ἡ διὰ τῶν δίφρων Καῖσαρ ἐσώμενος. οὐ μὴν οὕτε αὐτ ἑν

1 ἐπιθάνατον Bk., ἐπὶ θάνατον M.
2 διέδωκε Reim., ἐδεδώκει M.
3 Οὐίβιο Bk., οὐειβιοι M.
he wished to issue a decree about this, too, but would not allow the word *emblema*, since it was a Greek term, to be inserted in the decree, even though he could find no native word for inlaid work. Such was the course he took in this matter. Similarly, when a certain centurion wished to give some evidence before the senate in Greek, he would not permit it, in spite of the fact that he was wont to hear many cases tried and to examine many witnesses himself in that language in that very place. This was one instance of inconsistency on his part; another was seen in his treatment of Lucius Scribonius Libo, a young noble suspected of revolutionary designs. So long as this man was well, he did not bring him to trial, but when he became sick unto death, he caused him to be brought into the senate in a covered litter, such as the wives of the senators use; then, when there was a slight delay and Libo committed suicide before his trial could come off, he passed judgment upon him after his death, gave his money to his accusers, and caused sacrifices to be offered to commemorate the man's death, not only on his own account, but also on that of Augustus and of the latter's father Julius, as had been decreed in past times. Though he took such action in the case of Libo, he brought no charge at all against Vibius Rufus, who was using the chair on which Caesar had always been accustomed to sit and on which he had been slain. Indeed, Rufus not only made a practice of doing this, but he also had Cicero's wife as his consort, and prided himself on both these grounds, evidently thinking that he should either become an orator because of his wife or a Caesar because of the chair. And yet
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tiνά ἐπὶ τούτω ἔσχε καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὑπάτευσε.

Καὶ μέντοι τῷ τε Ὑθασύλλῳ ἀεὶ συνὼν καὶ μαντείᾳ τινὶ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἠμέραν χρώμενος, ἀυτὸς τέ υἱοὶ ὑπὸ τὸ πράγμα ὡστε ποτὲ ὀναρ δοῦναι τινὶ ἀργύριον κελευσθείς συνείναι τε ὅτι δαίμων τις ἐκ γοητείας οἱ ἐπιπέμπεται καὶ 8 τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ἀποκτείναι, πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τε ἀστρολόγους καὶ τοὺς γόητας, εἰ τέ τινα ἔτερον καὶ ὁποιονδήποτε τρόπον ἐμαυτεύετο τις, τοὺς μὲν ἔνων ἐθανάτωσε, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας, ὅσοι καὶ τότε ἔτι, μετὰ τὸ πρότερον ὄγγαμα δὲ οὐ ἀπηγό- ῥευτο μηδέν τοιούτον ἐν τῇ πόλει μεταχειρίζεσθαι, ἐσηγγέλθησαν τῇ τέχνῃ χρώμενοι, ὑπερώρισε: 9 τοὺς γὰρ πειθαρχήσαςιν αὐτῶν ἅδεια ἔδοθη. καὶ σύμπαντες δ’ ἀν οί πολίται καὶ παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ ὑφείθησαν, εἰ μὴ δήμαρχός τις ἐκώλυσεν. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ μᾶλιστα ἄν τις τὸ τῆς δημοκρατίας σχῆμα κατενόησεν, ὅτι ἡ βουλὴ τοῦ τε Δρούσου καὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου, συνεπαίνον Γναῖφ Καλπουρνίῳ Πίσσωνι 1 γενομένη, κατεκράτησε, καὶ αὐτὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ δημάρχου ἠττήθη.

16 Ταυτά τε ὅσι οὕτως ἐπράξθη, καὶ ἐκ τῶν πέρυσι τεταμεικώντων ἐς τὰ ἐθνη τινὲς ἐξεπέμ- φθησαν, ἐπειδήπερ οἱ τότε ταμιεύοντες ἐλάττους αὐτῶν ἦσαν. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ αὖθις, ὀσάκις 2 ἐδέησεν, ἐγένετο. ἐπεὶ τε πολλαὶ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων τὰ μὲν καὶ παντελῶς ἀπωλέσω, τὰ δὲ ἕξιτηλα γοῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου ἐγεγόνει, τρεῖς βουλευταὶ προεχειρίσθησαν ὡστε τά τε ὄντα

1 Πίσσωνι Ρ. Στεφ., πείσωνι Μ.
he received no censure for this, but actually became consul.

Tiberius, moreover, was forever in the company of Thrasyllus and made some use of the art of divination every day, becoming so proficient in the subject himself, that when he was once bidden in a dream to give money to a certain man, he realized that a spirit had been called up before him by deceit, and so put the man to death. But as for all the other astrologers and magicians and such as practised divination in any other way whatsoever, he put to death those who were foreigners and banished all the citizens that were accused of still employing the art at this time after the previous decree by which it had been forbidden to engage in any such business in the city; but to those that obeyed immunity was granted. In fact, all the citizens would have been acquitted even contrary to his wish, had not a certain tribune prevented it. Here was a particularly good illustration of the democratic form of government, inasmuch as the senate, agreeing with the motion of Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso, overruled Drusus and Tiberius, only to be thwarted in its turn by the tribune.

Besides the matters just related, some of the men who had been quaestors the previous year were sent out to the provinces, since the quaestors of the current year were too few in number to fill the places. And this practice was also followed on other occasions, as often as was found necessary. As many of the public records had either perished completely or at least become illegible with the lapse of time, three senators were elected to copy off those that were still extant and to recover the
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ἐκγράψασθαι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀναξητηθῇσαι. ἐμπρη
tσθείσι τέ τισιν οὐχ ὅπως ὁ Τιβέριος ἄλλα καὶ ἡ
Λιουδία ἤμουν.

3 Κἂν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει Κλήμης τις, δοῦλος τε τοῦ
Ἀγρίππα του γεγονὼς καὶ τῇ καὶ προσεοικὼς αὐτῷ,
ἐπλάσατο αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος εἶναι, καὶ ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν
ἐλθὼν πολλοὺς μὲν ἐνταῦθα πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐν
tῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ύστερον προσεποίησατο, καὶ τέλος καὶ
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡρώμην ὤρμησεν ὡς καὶ τὴν παππάν

4 μοναρχίαν ἀποληψόμενος. ταραττομένων τε οὖν
ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀστεί, καὶ συγχών αὐτῷ
προστιθεμένων, ὁ Τιβέριος σοφία αὐτοῦ διὰ τινῶν
ὡς καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνον φρονούντων ἑκείρωσατο, καὶ
μετὰ τούτῳ βασανίσας ἢν τι περὶ τῶν συνεγνω
κότων αὐτῷ μάθη, ἐπειτ' ἐπειδή μηδὲν ἐξελάθησεν,
ἐπύθετο αὐτοῦ "πῶς Ἀγρίππας ἐγένου;" καὶ ὃς
ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι "οὔτως ὡς καὶ σὺ Καῖσαρ."

17 Τῷ δ' ἔχομενῳ ἔτει τὸ μὲν τῶν ὑπάτων ὄνομα
Γαίος τε Κακίλιος καὶ Δούκιος Φλάκκος ἔλαβοι,
ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος, ἐπειδή καὶ μετὰ τὴν νουμηνίαν
τινὲς ἀργύριον αὐτῷ προσήγεγκαν, οὔτε ἔδεξατο
καὶ τι καὶ γράμμα περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου ἐξεθηκε,

2 ρήματι τινν ὡς Δατίνῳ χρησάμενος. ἐνθυμηθεῖς
οὗν νυκτὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ πάντας τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα
ἀκριβοῦντας μετεπήμψατο: πάνυ γὰρ δὴ ἐμελεν
αὐτῷ τοῦ καλὸς διαλέγεσθαι. καὶ τινος Ἀτείου
Καπίτωνος εἰπόντος ὅτι "εἰ καὶ μηδεὶς πρόσθεν
tὸ ὅνομα τούτ' ἐφθέγξατο, ἄλλα νῦν ὅ τι πάντες
dιὰ σὲ ἐς τὰ ἄρχαία αὐτῷ καταριθμήσομεν,"
Μάρκελλος τις ὑπολαβῶν ἔφη "σὺ, Καῖσαρ,
ἀνθρώποις μὲν πολιτείαι τῷ Ῥωμαίῳ δύνασαι

3 δούναι, ρήμασι δὲ οὐ." ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἐπὶ

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text of the others. Assistance was rendered to the victims of various conflagrations not only by Tiberius but also by Livia.

The same year a certain Clemens, who had been a slave of Agrippa and resembled him to a certain extent, pretended to be Agrippa himself. He went to Gaul and won many to his cause there and many later in Italy, and finally he marched upon Rome with the avowed intention of recovering the dominion of his grandfather. The population of the city became excited at this, and not a few joined his cause; but Tiberius got him into his hands by a ruse with the aid of some persons who pretended to sympathize with the upstart. He thereupon tortured him, in order to learn something about his fellow-conspirators. Then, when the other would not utter a word, he asked him: “How did you come to be Agrippa?” And he replied: “In the same way as you came to be Caesar.”

The following year Gaius Caecilius and Lucius Flaccus received the title of consuls. And when some brought Tiberius money at the beginning of the year, he would not accept it and published an edict regarding this very practice, in which he used a word that was not Latin. After thinking it over at night he sent for all who were experts in such matters, for he was extremely anxious to have his diction irreproachable. Thereupon one Ateius Capito declared: “Even if no one has previously used this expression, yet now because of you we shall all cite it as an example of classical usage.” But a certain Marcellus replied: “You, Caesar, can confer Roman citizenship upon men, but not upon words.” And

\[1\text{ Μάρκελλος Χυλ., πάρκελλος Μ Χιρι.}\]
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toúτω κακόν, καίπερ ἀκρατῶς παρρησιασάμενον, ἔδρασε.

Τὸν δὲ δὴ Ἀρχέλαον τὸν τῆς Καππαδοκίας βασιλέα δι' ὀργῆς σχὼν, ὅτι πρότερον οἱ ύπο-
pεπτωκῶς ὠστε καὶ συνηγόρῳ, ὅτε ἐπὶ 1 τοῦ Ἀὐγοῦστου ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων κατηγορηθη, 4
χρῆσασθαι, μετὰ τούτο αὐτοῦ μὲν ἐσ τὴν Ῥόδον ἀπελθόντος ἥμελησε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Γάιον ἐς τὴν
Ἄσίαν ἐλθόντα ἐθεράπευσε, μετεπέμψατο ὡς καὶ νεωτερίζοντα τι, καὶ τῇ τῆς γερουσίας ψῆφῳ
παρέδωκεν, οὐ μόνον ὑπεργήρων 2 οὔντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεινῶς ποδαγρῆντα καὶ προσέτι καὶ παρα-
5 φρονεῖν δοκοῖντα. ἔπαθε μὲν γὰρ ποτὲ τοῦτο ὄντος, ὡστε καὶ ἐπίτροπον παρά τοῦ Ἀὐγοῦστον
tῆς ἀρχῆς λαβεῖν, οὐ μὲντοι καὶ τότε ἐτι παρε-
λήρει, ἀλλὰ ἐπλάσσετο, εἰ πως ἐκ γε τοῦτον
σωθεῖη. καὶ ἐθανατώθη, εἰ μὴ καταμαρτυρῶν
tις αὐτοῦ ἐφὶ ποτὲ αὐτὸν εἰρηκέναι ὅτι "ἐπειδὰν
οὐκαδὲ ἐπανέλθω, δεῖξω αὐτῷ οἶα νεῦρα ἔχω."
γέλωτος γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτω, διὰ τὸ τὸν ἀνθρωπον
μὴ ὅτι στὴν ἀλλὰ μηδὲ καθλεσθαι δύνασθαι,
pολλοῦ γενομένου οὐκέτι αὐτὸν ὁ Τιβέριος ἀπέ-
6 κτεινεν. οὕτω γὰρ τοι κακῶς διέκειτο ὡστε ἐν
σκιμποδίῳ καταστέγῳ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσκομμο-
θῆναι (μοιξοθαμεῖν γὰρ ποι καὶ τοῖς ἀνδρᾶσιν
ἡ, ὅποτε 3 τις αὐτῶν ἀσθενῶς ἔχων ἐκείσε ἐσίοι, 
katakeίμενον αὐτῶν ἐσφέρεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ
ὁ Τιβέριος ποτε 4 ἐποίησε), καὶ διελεχθῇ γε τίνα
7 ἐκ τοῦ σκιμποδίου προκύψας. τότε μὲν οὕτως

1 ἐπὶ R. Steph., ὑπὸ M.
2 ὑπεργήρων Xiph., ὑπεργήρω M.
3 ἦν ὅποτε Dind., ἦν ποτε M.
4 ποτε Bs., ποτε M (τότε added in margin by corr.).

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the emperor did this man no harm for his remark, in spite of its extreme frankness.

His anger was aroused, however, against Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia, because this prince, after having once grovelled before him in order to gain his assistance as advocate when accused by his subjects in the time of Augustus, had afterwards slighted him on the occasion of his visit to Rhodes, yet had paid court to Gaius when the latter went to Asia. Therefore Tiberius now summoned him on the charge of rebellious conduct and left his fate to the decision of the senate, although the man was not only stricken in years, but also a great sufferer from gout, and was furthermore believed to be demented. As a matter of fact, he had once lost his mind to such an extent that a guardian was appointed over his domain by Augustus; nevertheless, at the time in question he was no longer weak-witted, but was merely feigning, in the hope of saving himself by this expedient. And he would now have been put to death, had not someone in testifying against him stated that he had once said: "When I get back home, I will show him what sort of sinews I possess." So great a shout of laughter went up at this—for the man was not only unable to stand, but could not even sit up—that Tiberius gave up his purpose of putting him to death. In fact, the prince's condition was so serious that he was carried into the senate in a covered litter (for it was customary even for men, whenever one of them came there feeling ill, to be carried in reclining, and even Tiberius sometimes did so), and he spoke a few words leaning out of the litter. So it was that
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ὁ Ἀρχέλαιος ἔσώθη, ἀλλος δ' οὖ πολλῷ ύστερον ἀπέθανεν, κακὸς τούτων καὶ Ἡ καππαδοκία τῶν τε Ρωμαιῶν ἐγένετο καὶ ἵππει ἐπετράπη.

Ταῦτα τε ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεσι ταῦτα ὑπὸ τοῦ σεισμοῦ κακωθείσαις ἀνήρ ἐστρατηγηκὼς σὺν πέντε ῥαβδοῦχοις προσετάχθη, καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν φόρων ἀνείθη πολλὰ δὲ καὶ 8 παρὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐδόθη τῶν γὰρ ἀλλοτρίων ἵσχυρώς, μέχρι γε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἁρετὴν ἐπετή-

dευσεν, ἀπεχομενος, μηδὲ τὰς κληρονομιὰς ἂς τινὲς αὐτῶν συγγενεῖς ἔχοντες κατέληπον προσ-

ιέμενος, τϊμπόλλα ἐστὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἀνήλισκε, καὶ οὕτε τιμῆν οὕτε ἐπαίνον 9 οὐδένα ἐπὶ αὐτῶν προσεδέχετο. ταῦτα τε πρεσβείαις ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ἦ καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν οὐδέποτε μόνοις ἐχθριμάτιξεν, ἀλλὰ πολλούς, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἀρέσκοντας ποτὲ αὐτῶν, κοινονοὺς τῆς διαγνώμης ἐποιείτο.

18 Γερμανίκος δὲ τῇ ἐπὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς στρατεία

φερόμενος εὗ μέχρι τε τοῦ ὁκεανοῦ προσχώρησε, καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους κατὰ τὸ καρτερὸν νικησας τὰ τῇ ὄστῳ τῶν σὺν τῷ Ωυίρῳ πεσόντων συνελέξε τε καὶ ἔθαψε, καὶ τὰ σημεία τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἀνεκτήσατο.—Χιρ. 134, 20—32.

1a Τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα Ἰουλίαν οὕτε ἐπανήγαγεν ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίας ἢν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς τοῦ Λυγούστου κατεδικάσθη δι' ἁσέλγειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατέκλεισεν αὐτὴν, ὡσθ' ὑπὸ κακουχίας καὶ λιμοῦ φθαρῆναι.—Ζων. 11, 2 (p. 5, 14—17 D.).

1 After αὐτὲ at least two quaternions have been lost out of M; it resumes at 58, 7, 2. The missing portions are supplied
the life of Archelaus was spared for the time being; but he died shortly afterward from some other cause. After this Cappadocia fell to the Romans and was put in charge of a knight as governor.

The cities in Asia which had been damaged by the earthquake were assigned to an ex-praetor with five lietors; and large sums of money were remitted from their taxes and large sums were also given them by Tiberius. For not only did he refrain serupulously from the possessions of others—so long, that is, as he practised any virtue at all—and would not even accept the inheritances that were left to him by testators who had relatives, but he actually contributed vast sums both to cities and to private individuals, and would not accept any honour or praise for these acts. When embassies came from cities or provinces, he never dealt with them alone, but caused a number of others to participate in the deliberations, especially men who had once governed these peoples.

Germanicus, having acquired a reputation by his campaign against the Germans, advanced as far as the ocean, inflicted an overwhelming defeat upon the barbarians, collected and buried the bones of those who had fallen with Varus, and won back the military standards.

Tiberius did not recall his wife Julia from the banishment to which her father Augustus had condemned her for unchastity, but even put her under lock and key until she perished from general debility and starvation.

in part by Xiph. and Zon., the text here given being in some cases a combination of their respective accounts.

2 μηδε Bk., μητε VCL'.

3 Μάρκου δὲ δὴ Ἡσιππίου Δουκίου τε Νωρβανοῦ μετὰ ταύτα ἁρξάντων τέρας ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νοομημίᾳ οὗ σμικρὸν ἐγένετο, ὅπερ ποὺ ἐς τὸ Γερμανικὸν πάθος ἀπεσήμανεν ο γὰρ Νωρβανὸς ὁ ὑπάτος σάλπιγγι ἀεὶ προσκείμενος, καὶ ἐρρωμένως τὸ πράγμα ὁσκὼν, ἠθέλησε καὶ τότε ὑπὸ τὸν ὀρθρὸν, πολλῶν ἥδη πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῶν παρόντων, σαλπίσας, καὶ τοῦτο τε πάντας ὀμοίως ἐξετάραξε καθάπερ ἐμπολέμιον τι σύνθημα τοῦ ὑπάτου σφίσι παραγγείλαντος, καὶ ὁτι καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἰανοῦ ἀγαλμα κατέπεσε. λογίον τε τι ὑς καὶ Σιβύλλεων, ἄλλως μὲν οὐδὲν τῷ τῆς πόλεως χρόνω προσήκου, πρὸς δὲ τὰ παρόντα ἀδόμενον, οὐχ ἢσυχῇ σφας ἐκίνησε ἐλεγε γὰρ ὅτι:

τρις δὲ τριηκασίων περιτελλομένων ἐναυτῶν "Ρωμαίους ἐμφυλός ὀλεθριστίς, Χάριτις ἀφροσύνα.

ὁ οὖν Τιβέριος ταῦτα τε τὰ ἔπη ὡς καὶ Ψευδῆ ὄντα διέβαλε, καὶ τὰ Βιβλία πάντα τὰ μαντεῖαν

1 τῷ δὲ VC, τῷ δὲ γε L'.
2 ἐγεγένητο L', ἐγεγένητο VC.
3 σφίσι παραγγείλαντος VC, παραγγείλαντος σφίσι L'.
4 καὶ om. L'.
5 σφίσι παραγγείλαντος VC, παραγγείλαντος σφίσι L'.
6 καὶ om. L'.

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BOOK LVII

The senate urged upon Tiberius the request that the month of November, on the sixteenth day of which he had been born, should be called Tiberius; but he replied: "What will you do, then, if there are thirteen Caesars?"

Later, when Marcus Junius and Lucius Norbanus assumed office, an omen of no little importance occurred on the very first day of the year, and it doubtless had a bearing on the fate of Germanicus. The consul Norbanus, it seems, had always been devoted to the trumpet, and as he practised on it assiduously, he wished to play the instrument on this occasion, also, at dawn, when many persons were already near his house. This proceeding startled them all alike, just as if the consul had given them a signal for battle; and they were also alarmed by the falling of the statue of Janus. They were furthermore disturbed not a little by an oracle, reputed to be an utterance of the Sibyl, which, although it did not fit this period of the city's history at all, was nevertheless applied to the situation then existing. It ran:

"When thrice three hundred revolving years have run their course,
Civil strife upon Rome destruction shall bring,
and the folly, too,
Of Sybaris . . ."

Tiberius, now, denounced these verses as spurious and made an investigation of all the books that con-
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tinà ἔχοντα ἐπεσκέψατο, καὶ τὰ μὲν ὡς οὐδὲνος ἄξια ἀπέκρινε τὰ δὲ ἐνέκρινε.—Xiph. 135, 4–23.
5 Τὸν τε Ἰουδαίων πολλῶν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην συνελθόντων καὶ συχνῶς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἔθη μεθιστάντων, τοὺς πλείους ἔξηλασεν.
6 Τοῦ δὲ δὴ Γερμανικοῦ τελευτήσαντος ὁ μὲν Τιβέριος καὶ ἡ Λιονία πάνυ ᾤσθησαν, οὶ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι πάντες δεινῶς ἐλυπηθησαν. καλλιστός μὲν γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἁριστὸς δὲ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἑφυ, παιδεία τε ἀμα καὶ ῥώμη διεπρέπε, καὶ ἐς τὸ πολέμιον ἀνδρείστατος ὁ ἦμερώτατα τῷ οἰκεῖῳ
7 προσεφέρετο, καὶ πλείστον ἢσχύων ἀτε Καῖσαρ ὁν ἐς ἵνα τοὺς ἀσθενεστέροις ἐσωφρόνει, καὶ ὦν δὲν ὦτε πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἐπαχθὲς οὐτε πρὸς τὸν Δρούσουν ἐπίθυμον οὐτε πρὸς τὸν
8 Τιβέριον ἐπαίτιον ἐπραττεν,1 ἀλλὰ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν ἐν ὀλίγους τῶν πώποτε οὐτ' ἐξήμαρτε τι ἐς τὴν ὑπάρξασαν αὐτῶ τῆς ὑψη ὦτ' αὐτός ὑπ' ἐκείνης διεφθάρη δυνηθείς γοῦν2 πολλάκις καὶ παρ' ἐκόντων, οὐχ ὅτι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῆς Βουλῆς, τῆν αὐτοκράτορα λαβεῖν
9 ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἤθελησεν. ἀπέθανε δὲ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, ὑπὸ τοῦ Πίσσωνος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Πλαγκίνης ἐπιβουλευθείς: οὕτα τε3 γὰρ ἀνθρώπων4 ἐν τῇ σκίᾳ ἐν ἢ ἀκεί5 κατορθώμενα καὶ ἔλασμοι μολὼν οἱ ἀρσε τινὰς μετὰ τοῦ οὐνόματος αὐτοῦ ἔχοντες ἱστὸς ἐδ' εὑρέθη. ὅτι δὲ καὶ φαρμάκον ἐφθάρη, τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἔξεφηνεν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν

1 ἐπραττεν cod. Peir., ἐπραξε Xiph.
2 γοὺν Xiph., ὄβν cod. Peir.

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tained any prophecies, rejecting some as worthless AD. 19 and retaining others as genuine.

As the Jews had flocked to Rome in great numbers and were converting many of the natives to their ways, he banished most of them.

At the death of Germanicus Tiberius and Livia were thoroughly pleased, but everybody else was deeply grieved. He was a man of the most striking physical beauty and likewise of the noblest spirit, and was conspicuous alike for his culture and for his strength. Though the bravest of men against the foe, he showed himself most gentle with his countrymen; and though as a Caesar he had the greatest power, he kept his ambitions on the same plane as weaker men. He never conducted himself oppressively toward his subjects or with jealousy toward Drusus or in any reprehensible way toward Tiberius. In a word, he was one of the few men of all time who have neither sinned against the fortune allotted to them nor been destroyed by it. Although on several occasions he might have obtained the imperial power, with the free consent not only of the soldiers but of the people and senate as well, he refused to do so. His death occurred at Antioch as the result of a plot formed by Piso and Plancina. For bones of men that had been buried in the house where he dwelt and sheets of lead containing curses together with his name were found while he was yet alive; and that poison was the means of his carrying off was revealed by the condition of his body, which was brought into the Forum and ex-

3 τε Ζον., om. Ξιφ.  
4 ἀνθρώπων Ξιφ., ἀνθρώπεια Ζον.  
5 ψκει Ξιφ., κατψκει Ζον.
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10 Κομίσθεν καὶ τοῖς παρούσι ἔειχθέν. ὁ δὲ Πίσων ἕνεκ' ἑαυτοῦ τοῦ τοῦ Τιβέριος ἐσαχθεὶς, διακρούμενος τὴν ὑποψίαν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ φθορᾷ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ, ἀναβολήν τε τινα ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἑαυτὸν κατεχρῆσατο.—Χίφ. 135, 23–136, 6, Exc. Val. 188 (p. 665 sq.), Ζων. 11, 2 (p. 5, 22–6, 12 D.).

11 Ἐπὶ τρισὶ δ’ ὑϊεσίν ὁ Γερμανικὸς ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐς ὁ Λύγουστος ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις αὐτοῦ Καισαρας ἀνόμασε. τούτων ὁ πρεσβύτατος 3 Νέρων κατά τὸν Χρόνου ἐκεῖνον τοῖς ἐφήβοις κατηριθμήθη.—Ζων. 11, 2 (p. 6, 12–15 D.).

19 Μέχρι μὲν οὖν τοῦ Χρόνου τούτου πλείστα χρήστα ὁ Τιβέριος ἐπραξε καὶ βραχέα ἐξήματεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ἐφεδρεύον οὐκέτ’ εἶχεν, ἐς πᾶν τοῦν αὐτὸν τοὺς πρόσθεν εἴργασμένων αὐτῷ, πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ καλῶν, περιέστη. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἀγρίως ἤρξε, καὶ ταῖς τῆς ἀσεβείας δίκαιαι, εἴ τις οὖν ὦς ὢν ὡς τὸν Λύγουστον ἄλλα καὶ ἐς αὐτόν ἐκεῖνον τὴν τε μητέρα αὐτοῦ πράξας τι καὶ εἰπὼν ἀνεπιτυγίδεον ἐπεκλήθη, δεινῶς ἐπέεξεi.—Χίφ. 136, 6–13, Ζων. 11, 2 (p. 6, 16–22 D.).

1 Καὶ ἐς τοὺς ὑπονοηθέντας ἐπιβουλεῦειν αὐτῷ ἀπαραίτητος ἦν.—Ζων. 11, 2 (p. 6, 22–23 D.).

1b “Ὅτι Τιβέριος τοὺς κατηγορομένους ἐπὶ τοῖς πικρῶς ἐκολοθέας οὕτως ἐπιλέγων ὁ οὐδεὶς ἐκὸν ἀρχείαι ἀλλ’ ἄκως εἰς τούτο συνελαύνεται μὴ μόνον γὰρ μὴ 4 πειθαρχεῖν τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἡδέως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιβουλεῦειν τοὺς ἀρχοῦσι·” καὶ προσεδέχετο τοὺς κατηγορούντας μὴ διακρίνων εἴτε

1 Πίσων Λ’, νησίων VC, πείσων Ζων.
hibited to all who were present. Piso later returned to Rome and was brought before the senate on the charge of murder by Tiberius himself, who thus endeavoured to clear himself of the suspicion of having destroyed Germanicus; but Piso secured a postponement of his trial and committed suicide.

Germanicus at his death left three sons, whom Augustus in his will had named Caesars. The eldest of these, Nero, assumed the toga virilis about this time.

Up to this time, as we have seen, Tiberius had done a great many excellent things and had made but few errors; but now, when he no longer had a rival biding his chance, he changed to precisely the reverse of his previous conduct, which had included much that was good. Among other ways in which his rule became cruel, he pushed to the bitter end the trials for maiesias, in cases where complaint was made against anyone for committing any improper act, or uttering any improper speech, not only against Augustus but also against Tiberius himself and against his mother.

And towards those who were suspected of plotting against him he was inexorable.

Tiberius was stern in his chastisement of persons accused of any offence. He used to remark: "Nobody willingly submits to being ruled, but a man is driven to it against his will: for not only do subjects delight in refusing obedience, but they also enjoy plotting against their rulers." And he would accept accusers indiscriminately, whether it

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2 νείκων BO, νιός AE.  3 πρεσβύτατος BCE, πρεσβύτερος A.  4 μη Dind., τούς μὴ cod.
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1c 'Hde de kai endeiknuemenos tisw she bouletai tevnai tivnas, de' ekeiwn sfaas upkeklinne, kai ouk elavthave tausta poiwn.—Zon. 11, 2 (p. 6, 23-25 D.).

2 'Ebasanizounto de ouchi oiketai monon kata twn idion despotow, alla kai eleutheroi kai poltaiai. o' te katagorhantas h kai katamarturiasantes tisw tas outhis twn allskomenein dieilaganon, kai proseti kai arxas kai timas proselambanov.

3 pollous de kai tihu tmeran kai tihu oran en 1' egegevnnto exetasw, kai ekeiwen kai twn trpoton kai tihu tychn auton diaskonton, upektinwv. ei gar tw uperogkon ti kai evelpi pros dwnasteian enveide.

4 pantwos apowllenev. outw 1 ouw to pteromenein ekastw twn prwtwn kai exhtaex kai hipista to wste kai tw Galba to meta tausta autarchiasant autantisas, gynaiika egegeneumeno, eitein oti 'kai su potene tis egemoneias geushe.' efeisato gar 2 autou, wos mev egw dokw, oti kai tout autw eimarmenon hyn, wos 1 autous eleneg, oti kai en nghra kai metapa polu tis telenthis auton argoi.

—Xiph. 136, 13-29, Zon. 11, 2 (p. 6, 25-31 D.).

18, 'Oti kai afomias tinas phonon o Tiberios esche: 10b diadh gar ton ton Germanikou thanaton pollloi wos kai efhthesentes autw apwlonoto.

19, Synharato 3 de kai synkateiragasto autw pan-
5 ta prothymotata Loukios Alienos 4 Seianos, 5 vios

1 kata patros supplied by Mai. 2 gar Xiph., de Zon.
3 synharato R. Steph., synelrato VCL', synheto cod Peir.
was a slave denouncing his master or a son his father.

Indeed, by indicating to certain persons his desire for the death of certain others, he brought about the destruction of the latter at the hands of the former, and his part in these deaths was no secret.

Not only were slaves tortured to make them testify against their own masters, but freemen and citizens as well. Those who had accused or testified against persons divided by lot the property of the convicted and received in addition both offices and honours. In the case of many, he took care to ascertain the day and hour of their birth, and on the basis of their character and fortune as thus disclosed would put them to death; for if he discovered any unusual ability or promise of power in anyone, he was sure to slay him. In fact, so thoroughly did he investigate and understand the destiny in store for every one of the more prominent men, that on meeting Galba (the later emperor), when the latter had had a wife betrothed to him, he remarked: "You also shall one day taste of the sovereignty." He spared him, as I conjecture, because this was settled as his fate, but, as he explained it himself, because Galba would reign only in old age and long after his own death.

Tiberius also found some pretexts for murders; for the death of Germanicus led to the destruction of many others, on the ground that they were pleased at it.

He was most enthusiastically aided and abetted in all his undertakings by Lucius Aelius Sejanus,
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μὲν τοῦ Στράβωνος ὁν, 1 παιδικὰ δὲ ποτε 1 Μάρκου Γαβριού 1 Απίκιοι γενόμενος, 'Απίκιοι ἐκείνου ὃς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀσωτίᾳ ὑπερεβάλετο οὕτως ὅστε, ἐπειδὴ μαθεῖν ποτε ἑθελίσας ὅσα τε ἤδη καταναλώκει καὶ ὁσα ἐτ' εἶχεν, ἔγνω ὅτι διακόσιαι καὶ πεντήκοντα αὐτῷ μυριάδες περιεῖ, 2 ἐλυπήθη τε ὡς καὶ λιμῷ τελευτήσειν μέλλων καὶ ἑαυτόν διέθειρεν. οὕτος οὖν ὁ Σείανος χρόνῳ μὲν τινι μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τών δορυφόρων ἤρξεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκείνου ἐς τὴν Λέγυπτον πεμφθέντος μόνος τὴν προστασίαν αὐτῶν ἔσχε, τὰ τε ἄλλα συνέστησεν αὐτήν, καὶ τοὺς λόχους ἱδία καὶ χωρίς ἀλλήλων, ὡσπερ τοὺς τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων, ὅπως ἐς ἐν τείχος συνήγαγεν, ὅστε τὰ παραγγέλματα καὶ ἀθρόους καὶ διὰ ταχέων λαμβάνειν, καὶ φοβεροὺς πάσιν ἐπεί καὶ ἐν ἐνὶ τείχει ὅπως εἶναι. τοῦτον οὖν ὁ Ἰαβέριος ἐκ τῆς τῶν πρόσων ὁμοίωτητος προσλαβών ταῖς τε στρατηγικαῖς τιμαῖς ἐκόσμησεν, δ' ὁ μήπω προτέρου μηδενί τῶν ὁμοίων οἵ 3 ἐγεγόνει, καὶ σύμβουλον καὶ ὑπηρέτῃν πρὸς πάντα ἐποιεῖτο.

8 Τὸ μὲν οὖν σύμπαν οὕτω μετὰ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ θὰνατον μετεβάλετο ὅστε αὐτῶν μεγάλως καὶ πρότερον ἐπαινούμενον πολλῷ δὴ τότε μᾶλλον θαυμασθήναι.—Χίφ. 136, 29—137, 17, Exc. Val. 189 (p. 666).

20 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Τιβέριος τὴν ὑπατον ἄρχην ἤρξε μετὰ τοῦ Δρούσου, εὐθὺς οἱ ἀνθρωπον τῶν ὀλεθρον τῷ Δρούσῳ εὗ αὐτοῦ τοῦτον προεμαντεύσαντο.

1 ὁν and δὲ ποτε and Γαβριον om. cod. Peir.
2 περιείδειν Xiph. VC, cod. Peir., ἐτι περιείδειν L'.
3 οἱ cod. Peir., αὐτῷ Xiph.
the son of Strabo, and formerly a favourite of Marcus Gabinus Apicius—that Apicius who so far surpassed all mankind in prodigality that, when he wished one day to know how much he had already spent and how much he still had left, and learned that ten millions still remained to him, became grief-stricken, feeling that he was destined to die of hunger, and took his own life. This Sejanus, now, had shared for a time his father's command of the Pretorians; but when his father had been sent to Egypt and he had obtained sole command over them, he strengthened his authority in many ways, especially by bringing together into a single camp the various cohorts which had been separate and distinct from one another like those of the night-watch. In this way the entire force could receive its orders promptly, and would inspire everybody with fear because all were together in one camp. This was the man whom Tiberius, because of the similarity of their characters, attached to himself, elevating him to the rank of praetor, an honour that had never yet been accorded to one of like station; and he made him his adviser and assistant in all matters.

In fine, Tiberius changed so much after the death of Germanicus that, whereas previously he had been highly praised, he now caused even greater amazement.

When Tiberius held the consulship with Drusus, men immediately began to prophesy destruction for Drusus from this very circumstance. For not one

1 i. e. sesterces; literally 2,500,000 denarii.
2 i. e. to one who did not belong to the senatorial class. See Mommsen, Rom. Staatsrecht, p. 463, n. 3.
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ού γὰρ ἐστὶν ὡς τῶν ὑπατευσάντων ποτὲ μετ’
2 αὐτοῦ οὐ βιαίως ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν ὁ Ὀὐάρος 1 ὁ Κυντίλιος, τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Πίσων 2 ὁ Ἑναῖος ὁ τε Γερμανικὸς αὐτὸς βιαῖως καὶ κακῶς 3 ἀπώλοντο. τοιούτῳ τινί, ὡς ἔσοικε, διὰ βίου δαιμονὶ συνεκεκλήρωτο. 4 ἀμέλει καὶ ὁ Δρούσος τότε καὶ ὁ Σείανος μετὰ ταῦτα συνάφεστες οἱ ἐφθάρησαν. 5

3 Ἑκδημοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Τιβερίου Γάιος Δουτώριος Πρίσκος ἢππεύς, ἀλλως τε μέγα (ἐπὶ ποιήσει φρονῶν καὶ ἐπιτάφιον ἐπὶ τῷ Γερμανικῷ ἐπιφανῆ συγγράφας, ὡστε καὶ χρήματα δὲ αὐτῶν πολλὰ λαβεῖν, αὐτίαν ἔσχεν ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ ποίημα παρὰ τὴν νόσου αὐτοῦ συντεθεικός, καὶ ἐκρίθη τε διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ κατεδικάσθη καὶ ἀπέθανεν. ὁ οὖν Τιβέριος ἀγανακτήσας, οὐχ ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ἐκολούθη ἀλλ' ὅτι τις ὑπὸ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἄνευ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης ἐθανατώθη, ἐπετίμησε τε αὐτοῖς, καὶ δόγματι παραδοθήκαι ἐκεῖνοι μήτ' ἀποθνῄσκει εἰς τὸν ἕμερον τῶν καταψηφισθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν, μήτε τὸ γράμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῶν γενόμενον ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἑπτὸς τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου ἀποτίθεσθαι, ὅπως καὶ ἀποδημῶν προπυνθανμαι τὰ δόξαντα σφισι καὶ ἐπιδιακρίνη.

4 Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐξελθοῦσιν αὐτῷ τῆς ὑπατείας ἐς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ἠλθει, καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους συναγορεύειν τισὶν ἐκκάλυσεσ, εἰπὼν ὅτι "εἰ ὑπάτευοι, 2 οὐκ ἂν ἐποίησα τοῦτο." ἐπειδὴ τε τῶν στρατη-

1 ὁ Ὀὐάρος VC, ὀβαρός L'.
2 ὁ Πίσων VC, πεῖσων L'.
3 βιαίως καὶ κακῶς L', κακῶς VC.
4 συνεκεκλήρωτο cod. Peir., συνεκεκλήρωτο VCL'.
5 ἐφθάρησαν VC, διεφθάρησαν L'.

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of the men who had ever been consul with Tiberius A.D. 21
failed to meet a violent death; but in the first place there was Quintilius Varus, and next Gnaeus Piso, and then Germanicus himself, all of whom died violent and miserable deaths. Tiberius was evidently doomed to exert some such fatal influence throughout his life; at all events, not only Drusus, his colleague at this time, but also Sejanus, who later shared the office with him, came to destruction.

While Tiberius was out of town, Gaius Lutorius 1 Priseus, a knight, who took great pride in his poetic talents and had written a notable ode on the occasion of Germanicus’ death, for which he had received a considerable sum of money, was charged with having composed a poem about Drusus, also, during the latter’s illness. For this he was tried in the senate, condemned, and put to death. Tiberius was vexed at this, not because the man had been executed, but because the senators had inflicted the death penalty upon a person without his approval. He therefore rebuked them, and ordered a decree to be issued to the effect that no person condemned by them should be executed within ten days and that the decree in such a person’s case should not be made public within that time. The purpose of this was to ensure his learning their decisions in season, even while absent, and of reviewing them.

After this, when his consulship had expired, he came to Rome and prevented the consuls from acting as advocates for some persons in court, remarking: “If I were consul, I should not have done so.” One

1 The form Clutorius (Tac., Ann. iii. 49-51) is probably to be preferred to C. Lutorius.
3 ουτοι ηματο. τους δε ορχιστας της τε Ρωμης εξηλασε και μηδαμοθι τη τεχνη χρησθαι προσε- 
ταξεν, ωτι τας τε γνωρικας ήσχυναν και στασεις ήγειρον. ἀλλους μεν δη ουν και πολλους γε των 
tελευτωντων και ἀνδριαση και δημοσιας ταφαις 
έτιμα, τον δε δη Σειανον ξωντα εν τω θεατρω 
χαλκουν έστησε. κακ τουτου πολλαί μεν υπο 
πολλων εικονες αυτου εποιηθησαν, πολλοι δε και 
επαινοι και παρα τω δημω και παρα τη βουλη 
εγγυνοντο, εσ τε την οικιαν αυτου οι τε αλλοι οι 
ελλογιμοι και οι υπατοι αυτοι υπο των ορθων 
sυνεχως εφοιτων και τα τε ιδια αυτω παντα, ωσα 
tυνεις αξιωσεις παρα του Τιβεριου έμελλον, και 
τα κοινα, υπερ δων χρηματισθημαι έδει, επεκοιονυν. 
και συνελοντι ειπειν ουδεν ετι χωρις αυτω των 
tουτων επριστετο. 
5 Κατα δε του χρονον τουτον και στοι μεγιστη 
εν τη Ρωμη, επειδη ετεροκληνης εγενετο, θαυ- 
μαστον δη τινα τροπου αρθωθη, αρχιτεκτων 
γαρ 3 τις, αυ το ονομα ουδεις οιδε (τη γαρ θαυ- 
ματοποια αυτου φθονησας ο Τιβεριος ουκ έπε- 
tρεψεν αυτο εσ τα υπομινηματα έσγραφηναι), 
ουτος ουν οστις ποτε ονομαζετο, τους τε θεμελιων 
6 αυτης περιξ κρατυνας ουστε μη συγκυνηθημαι, και 
tο λοιπον παν ποκοις τε και ιματιοις παχειν

1 άσεβης VI', άσελγες Ο. 2 τι om. Λ'. 3 γαρ Λ', om. ΒC.
of the praetors was accused of having made some impious remark or of having committed some offence against him, whereupon the man left the senate and having taken off his robe of office returned, demanding as a private citizen to have the complaint lodged at once; at this the emperor was greatly grieved and molested him no further. He banished the actors from Rome and would allow them no place in which to practise their profession, because they kept debauching the women and stirring up tumults. He honoured many men after their death with statues and public funerals, but for Sejanus he erected a bronze statue in the theatre during his lifetime. As a result, numerous images of Sejanus were made by many different persons, and many eulogies were delivered in his honour, both before the people and before the senate. The leading citizens, including the consuls themselves, regularly resorted to his house at dawn, and communicated to him not only all the private requests that any of them wished to make of Tiberius, but also the public business which required to be taken up. In a word, no business of this sort was transacted henceforth without his knowledge.

About this time one of the largest porticos in Rome began to lean to one side, and was set upright in a remarkable way by an architect whose name no one knows, because Tiberius, jealous of his wonderful achievement, would not permit it to be entered in the records. This architect, then, whatever his name may have been, first strengthened the foundations round about, so that they should not collapse, and wrapped all the rest of the structure in fleeces and thick garments, binding it firmly
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περιλαβόντω, σχοινοις τε πανταχόθεν αυτήν διέ-
δησε, καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄρχαίαν ἔδραν ἀνθρώποις τε πολ-
λοίς καὶ μηχανήμασιν ὀνευσάμενος ἐπανήγαγε.
τὸτε μὲν οὖν ὁ Τιβέριος καὶ ἑθαύμασεν αὐτὸν
καὶ ἐξηλοτύπησε, καὶ διὰ μὲν ἐκεῖνον Χρήμασιν
ἐτίμησε, διὰ δὲ τούτο ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξῆλασε.

7 μετὰ δὲ ταύτα προσελθόντος οἱ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἱκετείαν
ποιουμένου, καὶ τούτω ποτήριον τι ύπόλοι κατα-
βαλόντος τε ἐξεπίτηδες καὶ θλασθέν πως ἡ συμ-
τριβὴν ταῖς τε χεραὶ διατρίψαντος καὶ ἀθραυστὸν
παραχρήμα ἀποφήμαντος, ὡς καὶ συγγνώμης διὰ
τούτο τε αυξόμενοι, καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν.

22 Δρούσος δὲ ὃ παῖς αὐτοῦ φαρμάκῳ διώλετο. ὁ
γὰρ Σείιανὸς ἐπὶ τε τῇ ἱσχὺν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀξίωματι
ὑπερμαζήσας τὰ τε ἄλλα ὑπέροχος ἦν, καὶ τέλος
καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Δρούσον ἐτράπετο καὶ ποτε πῦξ

2 αὐτῷ ἐνέτεινε. φοβηθεῖς τε ἐκ τοῦτο καὶ ἱκε-
νον καὶ τὸν Τιβέριον, καὶ ἀμα καὶ ἡ προσδοκήσας,
ἀν τὸν νεανίσκον ἐκποδῶν ποιήσηται, καὶ τὸν
γέροντα ρᾶστα μεταχειρεῖσθαι, φάρμακον τι
αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ θεραπείᾳ αὐτοῦ ὄντων
καὶ διὰ τῆς γυμναίος αὐτοῦ, ἢν τίνες Διούλλαν
ὄνομάζουσι, ἢ ἐδωκε· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐμοίχευεν αὐτῆν.

1 ὀνευσάμενος v. Herw., ωμευσάμενος VC, ὠσάμενοι L'.
2 ἀμα καὶ om. L'.
3 ἢν τίνες Διούλλαν ὄνομάζουσιν Xyl., ἢν τίνες λουίλαν ὄνο-

μάζουσιν VCL', ἢν 'Ἰουίλιαν ἔτεροι δὲ Αἰβίαν γράφονσι Zon. Bs.
suggests that Dio wrote ἢν τίνες μὲν Διούλλαν ἔτεροι δὲ Διούλλαν
ὀνομάζουσι (in § 4 inf. Zon. has Αἰβία, in lviii. 11 and 24 M
has Διούλλα).

1 This second anecdote is related much more intelligently
by Pliny (N. H. xxxvi. 26, 66) and by Petronius (51). The

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together on all sides by means of ropes; then with the aid of many men and windlasses he raised it back to its original position. At the time Tiberius both admired and envied him; for the former reason he honoured him with a present of money, and for the latter he expelled him from the city. Later the exile approached him to crave pardon, and while doing so purposely let fall a crystal goblet; and though it was bruised in some way or shattered, yet by passing his hands over it he promptly exhibited it whole once more. For this he hoped to obtain pardon, but instead the emperor put him to death.\textsuperscript{1}

Drusus, the son of Tiberius, perished by poison. It appears that Sejanus, puffed up by his power and rank, in addition to his other overweening behaviour, finally turned against Drusus and once struck him a blow with his fist. As this gave him reason to fear both Drusus and Tiberius, and as he felt sure at the same time that if he could once get the young man out of the way, he could handle the other very easily, he administered poison to the son through the agency of those in attendance upon him and of Drusus' wife, whom some call Livilla\textsuperscript{2}; for Sejanus was her paramour. The guilt was imputed to man, it appears, had discovered a method of producing flexible glass, and the goblet in falling received such injuries as a metal cup would have received; in restoring its shape a little hammer was used, according to Petronius. When the emperor learned, upon inquiry, that no one else was in the secret, he caused the man to be beheaded, lest if the process became known, gold should become as dirt.

\textsuperscript{1} Her name is given both as Livilla and Livia. Dio's text here may have read: "whom some call Livilla and others Livia."
3 aitian men gar o Tiberios elabev, oti mhte
usosunostos tou Droousou mht apotheaiunostos eixi ti
toi synithwv epiraxe, mhte 1 tois allos poishai
epetrevesen oiv menvtoi kai piosto ois lomos.
outo te gar apto gnwmh ISIS epie pantwv omoios epirratt, kai
ti viei ate kai monw kai giwmios ointi proso-
4 eketo, tois te xeiropurghisanatais tov ollebrou
autou, tois men evthis tois de metat tauta, ek-
larase. tote de oin ephilete te es to synedrion, kai
ton prosiikoneta epie to paieti epainon poish ma-
menos oikade ekomwsith.—Xiph. 137, 17-140, 7.
4a 'O men oin ouwos diwleto,2 o de ge Tiberios
eis to synedrion afikromenos ekwiion te apoduratoto
kai ton Nerwma ton te Droousou tous tou Ger-
manikou paides tis yerwusia parakateveto, kai
to soma ton Droousou proctheid epie ton hmatos,
ka o Nerwm gambridos autou on evainous ep'
autow eipen. o de die thamatos autou pollous
aitios thamatos egeneto os ephesethei tis apowleia
4b autou. pollou te gar kai alloi diwleuto kai
i' Agrhippina meta twn paiddon autis, toun neostos,
tou xoris. polla gar kai autis o Seianos 3
paroxiune ton Tiberiou, prosodikiasa ekeinhs
meta ton tekiwos apolomeneis tis te Aibia synou-
kisein tis ton Droousou ymnaiki, 6is hra, kai to
kratos eixe mideinos tis Tiberiou diadochon ym-
chamos tis gan vidoun emisei os kai mo-
chidion. kai alous de pollous epie allass kai
allass aitiais, taies de ygevleisai teplasmenvais,
ka ephigmdeue se kai diefthepe.—Zon. 11, 2 (p. 7,
11-28 D.).

1 mhte Bk., mhte VCL'.
Tiberius, because he altered none of his accustomed habits either during the illness of Drusus or at his death, and would not allow others to alter theirs. But the story is not credible. For this was his regular practice, as a matter of principle, in every case alike, and besides he was greatly attached to Drusus, the only legitimate son he had; furthermore, he punished those who had compassed his death, some at once and some later. At the time he entered the senate, delivered the appropriate eulogy over his son, and returned home.

Thus perished Drusus. As for Tiberius, he went to the senate-house, where he lamented him publicly and at the same time entrusted Nero and Drusus, the sons of Germanicus, to the care of the senate. The body of Drusus lay in state upon the rostra, and Nero, his son-in-law, pronounced a eulogy over him. His death led to the death of many others, who were accused of being pleased at his destruction. Among the large number of people who thus lost their lives was Agrippina, together with her sons, except the youngest.¹ For Sejanus had incensed Tiberius greatly against her, in the expectation that when she and her sons had been disposed of he might marry Livia, the wife of Drusus, for whom he entertained a passion, and might gain the supreme power, since no successor would then be found for Tiberius; for the emperor detested his grandson as a bastard. Many others, also, he either banished or destroyed for various reasons, most of them fictitious.

¹ Gaius (Caligula). But Nero was not put to death until the year 29, Drusus until 33.
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5 Ἀπεῖπε δὲ ὁ Τιβέριος τοῖς πυρὸς καὶ ύδατος εἰρχθείσιν μὴ διατίθεσθαι καὶ τοῦτο καὶ πῦν φυλάττεται. Ἀξίλιον δὲ Σατορίνου, ὃς καὶ ἐπη τινὰ ἐς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπιτίθεια ἅπορρήψαντα, ὑπὸ τε τὴν Βουλὴν ὑπήγαγε καὶ ἄλοντα ἀπὸ τούτων.

23 Καπιτωλίου κατεκρήμνισε. πολλὰ δ’ ἂν καὶ ἄλλα τουτοῦτον γράφειν ἔχομι, εἰ πάντα ἐπεξίοιμι. τοῦτο τε ὅν εν κεφαλαίῳ εἰρήσθω, ὅτι συχνοὶ διὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἀπώλοντο, καὶ ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι ξητῶν καθ’ ἐν 3 ἐκαστὸν ἀκριβῶς ὡσι τινὲς ἦτιάζοντο φλαύρως περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰρήκεναι, αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν πάντα τὰ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων κακὰ ἐλεγε. καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ τις καὶ πρὸς ἑνα διελέξθη τι, καὶ τοῦτο ἐδημοσίευεν ὡστε καὶ ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ὑπομονήματα ἐσχάρεσθαι. καὶ πολλάκις ἄ μηδ’ εἰπέ τις, ὡς εἰρήμενα, ἐξ ὧν ἑαυτῷ συνήδει προσκατεψεύδετο, ὡς ὅς δικαιότατα ὅργιζεσθαί νομισθεὶ. κακὸ τοῦτον συνέβαινεν αὐτῷ πάντα τε ἐκεῖνα, ἐφ’ οἷς τοὺς ἀλλοὺς ὡς ἀσέβοντας ἐκόλαξεν, αὐτὸν ἐς ἑαυτὸν πλημμελεῖν, καὶ προσέτει καὶ χλεασμὸν ὁφλισκανεῖν ἅ γὰρ ἀπηρνοῦντο τινὲς μὴ λεκαληκέναι, ταῦτα αὐτὸς δισχυριζό μενος εἰρήσθαι καὶ κατομνύων ἀληθέστερον ἑαυτῷ ὡς ὠδικεῖ. ἂφ’ οὖν δὴ καὶ ἐξεστηκέναι τινὲς αὐτὸν τῶν φρενῶν ὑπώτπευσαν. οὐ μὲντοι καὶ ὁντως παραβρονεῖν ἐκ τοῦτον ἐπιστεῦσο. τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ πάνυ πάντα δεόντως διρκεῖ. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Βουλευτῆς των ἁσελγῶς ξωτεὶπότροπον ὡσπερ τινὶ ὀρφανῷ προσέταξε. τοῦτο δὲ τὸν Καπίτωνα

1 Σατορίνου (Σατορίνου) R. Steph., σατορίνου VCL'.
2 ἅπορρήψαντα L', ἅπορράψαντα VCL.
3 ἐν ομ. L'.

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BOOK LVII

Tiberius forbade those who were debarred from fire and water to make any will, a custom that is still observed. He brought Aelius Saturninus before the senate for trial on the charge of having recited some improper verses about him, and upon his conviction caused him to be hurled down from the Capitol. And I might narrate many other such occurrences, were I to go into everything in detail. Suffice it, then, to state, briefly, that many were put to death by him for such offences, and furthermore that while investigating carefully, case by case, all the slighting remarks that any persons were accused of having uttered about him, he was really calling himself all the evil names that men had invented. For even if a man made some remark secretly to a single companion, he would publish this, too, by having it entered in the public records; and often he falsely added, from his own consciousness of his defects, what no one had ever said, as if it had really been uttered, in order that he might appear to have every justification for his anger. Consequently it came to pass that he heaped upon himself all the abuse for which he was wont to punish others on the charge of maiestas, and incurred ridicule besides. For, when persons denied having uttered certain remarks, he, by insisting and swearing that they had been uttered, was more truly wronging himself. On this very account some suspected that he was bereft of his senses. Yet he was not believed to be really insane because of this behaviour, since he handled all other matters in a thoroughly competent manner. For example, he appointed a guardian over a certain senator who lived licentiously, as he would have done in the case of an orphan. Again, he brought
τὸν τὴν 'Ασίαν ἕπιτροπεύσαντα ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἔσηγαγεν, καὶ ἐγκαλέσας αὐτῷ ὅτι καὶ στρατιωταῖς ἐχρήσατο καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ὡς καὶ ἀρχὴν ἔχων ἐπραξεν, ἐφυγάδευσεν. οὐ γὰρ ἐξήν τότε τοῖς τα αὐτοκρατορικὰ χρήματα διωκοῦσι πλέουν οὐδέν ποιεῖν ἢ τὰς νεομισμένας προσόδους ἐκλέγειν καὶ περὶ τῶν διαφορῶν ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐξ ἱσοῦ τοῖς ἰδιώταις δικαίεσθαι.

Τοσοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸ διαλλάττον ἐν ταῖς Τι-

24 βερίοις πρᾶξεσιν ἢν, διελθὸντων δὲ τῶν δέκα ἐτῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ψηφίσματος μὲν ἐς τὴν ἀνά-

ληψιν αὐτῆς οὔδενος ἐδεικθῆ (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐδείτο κατατέμνων αὐτῆς, ὡσπερ ο Ἀὐγουστος, ἀρχεῖν), ἡ μὲντοι πανήγυρις ἡ δεκαετηρίς ἐπουρῆθη.

2 Κρεμούτιος ὑτὶ δὴ Κόρδος αὐτόχειρ ἐαυτοῦ

γενέσθαι, ὅτι τῷ Σείανῳ προσέκρουσεν, ὡνα-

κάσθην οὔτω γὰρ οὔδεν ἐγκλῆμα ἐπαίτιον λαβεῖν ἡ

δυνῆθη (καὶ γὰρ ἐν πῦλαις ἤδη γῆροι ἦν καὶ

ἐπιεύκεστα ἐβεβιώκει) ὥστε ἐπὶ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ,

3 ἢν πάλαι ποτὲ περὶ τῶν τῷ Ἀὐγοῦστῳ πραχθὲν-

των συνετεθεῖκε καὶ ἢν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἄνεγνωκε,

κριθηραί, ὅτι τὸν τὸν Κάσσιον καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον

ἐπήνευσε, καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῆς τῇ Βουλῆς καθήγατο,

τὸν τῇ Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Ἀὐγοῦστον ἐπε μὲν

4 κακον οὔδεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὑπερεσέμυνε. ταῦτα τὸν τῦτα ἤτιόθη, καὶ δία ταῦτα αὐτὸς τῇ ἀπέδαινε,

καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα αὐτοῦ τότε μὲν τὰ τῇ 

1 'Ασίαν Λ', οὔσιαν ΒC.
2 δεκαετηρίς R. Steph., δεκαετηρίς VCL'.
3 Κρεμούτιος Χυλ., κρεμούλιος VC, κλεμούλιος Λ'.
4 For ἐκείνος H. Peter would read ἐκεῖνος, comparing Suet.

Tib. 61.

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Capito, who had been procurator of Asia, before the senate, and after charging him with employing soldiers and acting in other ways as if he had held supreme command, he banished him. For in those days officials administering the imperial funds were not allowed to do anything more than to collect the customary revenues, and in case of disputes, they must stand trial in the Forum and according to the laws, on an equal footing with ordinary citizens.

So great was the contrast between Tiberius' various acts. When the ten years of his rule had expired, he did not ask any vote for its renewal, for he had no desire to receive it piecemeal, as Augustus had done; nevertheless, the decennial festival was held.

Cremutius Cordus was forced to take his own life because he had come into collision with Sejanus. He was on the threshold of old age and had lived most irreproachably, so much so, in fact, that no serious charge could be brought against him, and he was therefore tried for his history of the achievements of Augustus which he had written long before, and which Augustus himself had read.¹ He was accused of having praised Cassius and Brutus, and of having assailed the people and the senate; as regarded Caesar and Augustus, while he had spoken no ill of them, he had not, on the other hand, shown any unusual respect for them. This was the complaint made against him, and this it was that caused his death as well as the burning of his writings;

¹ Or, if Peter's emendation (see critical note) be adopted, 'which he himself had read to Augustus.'

5 τά τε supplied by Kuiper, following Plagk τά).
πόλει εὐρεθέντα πρὸς τῶν ἀγοραπώμων καὶ τὰ ἐξω πρὸς τῶν ἐκασταχόδι ἀρχόντων ἐκαύθη, ὑστερον δὲ 1 ἐξεδόθη τε αὐθίς (ἀλλοι τε γὰρ καὶ μάλαστα ἢ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ Μαρκία συνέκρυψεν αὐτά) καὶ πολὺ ἄξιοσπονδαστότερα 2 ὑπ’ αὐτῆς 3 τῆς τοῦ Κόρδου συμφορᾶς ἐγένετο.

5 Ἐν δ’ οὖν τοῦτο τότε ὁ Τιβέριος τὴν τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ γυμνασίαν τοῖς βουλευταῖς, ὡσπερ ἀγνοοῦσι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν, ἐπέδειξεν ὅπως καὶ πολλοὺς σφας καὶ ἐρρωμένους ἰδόντες μᾶλλον αὐτῶν 4 φοβῶνται.

6 τὸν μὲν ὅν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον ταῦτά τε ἐς ἱστορίας ἀπόδειξιν ἐγένετο, καὶ Κυζικηρῶν ἡ ἐλευθερία αὐθίς, ὅτι τε Ῥωμαίοις τινάς ἔδησαν καὶ ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἡρῴον ὁ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ποιεῖν ἦρξαντο σφικ

7 ἐξετέλεσαν, ἀφηρέθη. πάντως δ’ ἂν καὶ τὸν συμπωλήσαντα τῇ οἰκίᾳ τὸν ἀνδριάντα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ κρίθεντα ἀπεκτόνει, εἰ μὴ ὁ υπατὸς αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνον τὴν γνώμην πρῶτον ἀνήρετο, αἰδε- σθεὶς γὰρ μὴ καὶ ἐαυτῶ τι χαρίζεσθαι δόξη, τὴν

8 ἀπολύουσαν ἑθετό. Λεντουλὼν δὲ τινὸς βουλευ- τοῦ φύσει τε ἔπεικος καὶ τότε ἐν γῇρᾳ πολλῷ ὅντος κατηγόρησεν τῆς ἐπὶ θείβουλευκότος τῷ αὐτοκράτορι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Λεντουλός (παρὰ ἡμάρ) ἀνεκαγχάσειν ὁ δὲ Τιβέριος, ἐπιθυρβησάσες τὶ πρὸς τοῦτο τῆς γερουσίας, “οὐδὲ ζῆν ἐτ’” ἐφη “ἀξιός εἰμι, εἴγε καὶ Λεντουλός με μισεῖ.”—Xiph. 140, 7–142, 18.

1 δὲ L’, om. VC.
2 ἄξιοσπονδαστότερα L’, ἄξιοσπονδαστότερον VC.

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those found in the city at the time were destroyed by the aediles, and those elsewhere by the magistrates of each place. Later they were republished, for his daughter Marcia as well as others had hidden some copies; and they aroused much greater interest by very reason of Cordus' unhappy fate.

About this time Tiberius gave to the senators an exhibition of the pretorian guard at drill, as if they were ignorant of the power of these troops; his purpose was to make them more afraid of him, when they saw his defenders to be so numerous and so strong. There were other events, also, at this time worthy of a place in history. The people of Cyzicus were once more deprived of their freedom, because they had imprisoned some Romans and because they had not completed the shrine to Augustus which they had begun to build. A man who had sold the emperor's statue along with his house was brought to trial for doing this, and would certainly have been put to death by Tiberius, had not the consul called upon the emperor himself to give his vote first; for in this way Tiberius, being ashamed to appear to be favouring himself, cast his vote for acquittal. A senator, also, Lentullus, a man of mild disposition and now far advanced in years, was accused of having plotted against the emperor. Lentulus himself was present and burst out laughing. At this the senate was in an uproar, and Tiberius declared: "I am no longer worthy to live, if Lentulus, too, hates me."

3 ὑπ' αὐτὴς VC, ὑπὸ L. 4 αὐτῶν CL, αὐτῶν V.
BOOK LVIII

1 Απεδήμησε δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτον ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης, καὶ οὐκέτι τὸ παράπαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀνεκομίσθη, καίτοι μέλλων τε ἀεὶ καὶ ἐπαγγελ- λόμενος.—Xiph. 142, 18–21.

1α Πολλοῦ τε πάθους αἰτίως τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο, κοινῆ τε καὶ ἑδία προσαναλίσκων τοὺς ἀνδρας. ἐδοξε γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰς τῶν κυνηγῶν θέας τῆς πόλεως ἀπελάσαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τινὲς ἔξω ταύτας τελεῖν πειραθέντες αὐτοῖς συνδιεφθάρμησαν τοῖς θεάτροις ἐκ τινών σανίδων εἰργασμένοις.—Joann. Antioch. fr. 79 § 5β, 6 M. (v. 25–30).

1 Λατιάριος1 δὲ τις ἑταῖρος Σαβῖνου ἀνδρός τῶν πρώτων ἐν Ῥώμῃ, τῷ Σειανῷ χαριζόμενος, ἐς τὴν τοῦ οἰκήματος ἐν ὑι διμύτω ὀροφὴν βουλευτάς κατακρύψας ὑπηγάγετο τὸν Σαβῖνον ἐς λόγους, καὶ τι εἰπὼν ὃν εἰσέθει, ἐπεσπάσατο καὶ ἐκείνου πάνθ᾽ ὡσ ἐφρόνει ἐκλαλῆσαι. τῶν γὰρ τοι συκοφαντεῖν ἐθελῶντων ἔργων ἐστὶ λοιδορίας τέ τινως προκατάρχεσθαι καὶ ἀπόρρητόν τι ἐκφαίνειν, ἢν ἀκούσας τι αὐτῶς ἢ καὶ ὁμοίων τι εἰπὼν αἰτιαθῆ: τοῖς μὲν γὰρ, ἀτε ἐκ παρασκευῆς τούτο δρόσων, ἀκάνθων ἔστιν ἡ παρρησία (οὐ γὰρ ὡς καὶ φρονοῦντες τινα, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐτέρους ἐλέγξαι

1 Λατιάριος Χυλ., πατιάριος VCL'.

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BOOK LVIII

Tiberius left Rome at this time and never again returned to the city, though he was forever on the point of doing so and kept sending messages to that effect.

He caused the Romans a great deal of calamity, since he wasted the lives of men both in the public service and for his private whim. For example, he decided to banish the hunting spectacles from the city; and when in consequence some persons attempted to exhibit them outside, they perished in the ruins of their own theatres, which had been constructed of boards.

A certain Latiaris, a companion of Sabinus (one of the most prominent men in Rome), wishing to do Sejanus a favour, concealed some senators in the garret of the apartment where his friend lived and then led Sabinus into conversation; and by throwing out some of his usual remarks he induced the other also to speak out freely all that he had on his mind. For it is the practice of such as desire to play the informer to lead off with some abusive remarks about someone and to disclose some secret, so that their victim, either for listening to them or for saying something similar, may lay himself liable to indictment. For the informers, naturally, inasmuch as they are acting thus with a purpose, this freedom of speech involves no danger, since they are supposed to speak as they do, not because of their
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βουλόμενοι λέγειν αὐτὰ πιστεύονται, οὐ δ' ο τι ἄν καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον ἔξω τοῦ καθεστηκότος.

3 εὐπωσι, κολάζονται. Ὑπερ καὶ τότε ἐγένετο· ἔστε γὰρ τὸ δεσμωτήριον αὐθημερόν ὁ Σαβίνος κατετέθη, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀκριτος ἐφθάρη, τὸ τε σῶμα αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἀναβασμὸν ἐρρίφη καὶ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνεβληθη. καὶ δεινὸν μὲν τοῦτο τὸ πάθος καὶ καθ' ἐαυτῷ ἀπασίν ἦν, ἐδεῖνωσε δ' αὐτὸ ἐπὶ πλέον κύων τις τοῦ Σαβίνου, συνεσελθὼν τε αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ οὐκήμα καὶ ἀποθανόντι παραμείνας καὶ τέλος καὶ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν συνεσπεσών.

2 Τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτον ἐγένετο, ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τοῦτῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ἡ Λιονία ἡ Ἀιολία ἡ πολικοῦτα ἐτής ζήσασα. καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Τιβέριος ὄψεν ὑποσύσταν ἐπεσκέπασαν ὦτ' ἀποδανοῦσαν αὐτός προέθετο. 3 οὐ μὴν οὔδε ἐσ τιμήν ἀλλο τι αὐτῇ πλῆν τῆς δημοσίας ἐκφορᾶς καὶ εἰκόνων ἑτέρων. τέ τινων οὐδενὸς ἄξιων ἔνειμεν. ἀδανατισθήναι δὲ αὐτὴν ἀντικρυς ἀπηγόρευσεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ μόνα οἱ ἡ βουλή, ὅσα ἐκεῖνος ἐπέστειλεν, ἐγγυήφισατο, ἀλλὰ πένθος ἐπ' αὐτῇ 4 παρ' ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ταῖς γυναιξὶ ἐπῆγγελλαν, καίπερ τὸν Τιβέριον ἐπαινεσάτως ὅτι τῆς τῶν κοινῶν διοικήσεως οὖν δοξαζόμενον τοτε ἀπεσχέτο καὶ προσέτη καὶ ἄψιδα αὐτῇ, ὁ μηδεμιᾶ ἀλλὰ γυναικὶ, ἐγγυήφισατο, ὅτι τε οὐκ ὁλίγους σφόν ἐσεσώκει, καὶ ὅτι παῖδος πολλῶν ἐτετοῦχε κόρας τε πολλοῖς 5 συνεξεδεδώκει, ἀφ' οὗ γε καὶ μητέρα αὐτήν τῆς πατρίδος

1 ἀκριτος v. Herw., ἀκρίτως VCL'
2 Λιονία R. Steph., λιβία VCL'
3 προέθετο H. Wolf, προσέθετο VCL'
4 ἐπ' αὐτῇ Zon., αὐτῇ VCL'

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real feelings, but because of their desire to convict others; their victims, on the other hand, are punished for the least word out of the ordinary that they may utter. This is what happened in the case in question. Sabinus was put in prison that very day, and later perished without trial, his body being flung down the Stairway\(^1\) and east into the river. This affair was tragic enough in itself in the eyes of all; but it was rendered still more tragic by the behaviour of a dog belonging to Sabinus that went with him to prison, remained beside him at his death, and finally leaped into the river with his body. So much for this affair.

At this time also Livia passed away at the age of eighty-six. Tiberius neither paid her any visits during her illness nor did he himself lay out her body; in fact, he made no arrangements at all in her honour except for the public funeral and images and some other matters of no importance. As for her being deified, he forbade that absolutely. The senate, however, did not content itself with voting merely the measures that he had commanded, but ordered mourning for her during the whole year on the part of the women, although it approved the course of Tiberius in not abandoning the conduct of the public business even at this time. They furthermore voted an arch in her honour—a distinction conferred upon no other woman—because she had saved the lives of not a few of them, had reared the children of many, and had helped many to pay their daughters' dowries, in consequence of all which

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\(^1\) The Scalae Gemoniae.
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tineis epwvomacaiōn. en de tōi mnemēiōi epitph tōi toú Augoustou.—Xiph. 142, 21–143, 25.

3a Oúde en de tōn tis kataplevthēntωn up' ekēinhs deōkev ó Tiβérioς.—Zon. 11, 2 (p. 8, 18–19 D.).

4 Kαi αυτής ἄλλα τε καλῶς εἰρήμενα ἀποφθέγματα φέρεται, καὶ ότι γυμνοίς ποτε ἀνδρας ἀπαντήσανται αὐτή καὶ μέλλοντας διὰ τούτο θανατωθήσεσθαι ἐσώσεν, εἰπούσα ὅτι ούδεν ἀνδριάντων

5 tais soφρονούσαις ois tōi tōun diapherousi. πυθομένου tē tīnōs αὐτῆς πῶς kai tī drōsa oūtō toú Augoustou katekraτhēsen, ἀπεκρινατο ότι αὐτή tē ἄκριβος soφρονούσα, kai πάντα tā dokouνta αὐτῶ ἥδεως ποιουσα, καὶ μήτε ἄλλο tī tōn ἐκεῖνων πολυπραγμονούσα, kai tā ἄφροδίσια αὐτῶν αὐθύρματα μήτε ἀκούειν μήτε αἰσθάνεσθαι

6 prosoπoioumēn.1 τοιαύτη μὲν2 ἡ Λιονία3 ἐγένετο, ἡ μέντοι ψηφισθείσα αὐτή ἁψίς, οὐκ ὄκοδομηθή διὰ tō tōn Tiβérioν tōis ēαυτοῦ τέλεσι κατασκεύάσεων αὐτῆν ὑποχέσθαι κατοκησίας γάρ tō λόγῳ tō δόγμα λῦσαι, τούτου tōn τρόπων ἀνέτρεψεν αὐτό, μήτ' ἐκ tōn dēmosíωn χρηματῶν ἐπιτρέψας tō ἔργων4 γενέσθαι μήτ' αὐτῶς ποίησας.

7 Ὡ de δὴ Σειανός ἔτι kai μάλλον ἤρετο, καὶ ἐψηφίσθη ὅπως tα γενέθλια αὐτῶν dēmosía ἐφορτάζηται. tō γαρ tōi plēbhos tōn ἀνδριάντων ὅν ἦ τε βουλή kai ἡ iππάς αἱ tē phulai kai oὶ ανδρεῖς oἱ πρῶτοι ἐστησαν αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ ἐξηρίθμησεν ἄν

8 tis: πρέσβεις tē iōía mēn ἡ γερουσία iōía de oí

1 ἀθύρματα ὤμε τοιούντων μήτε αἰσθάνεσθαι προσποιουμένη Xiph., Exc. Plan., Zon., ἐπὶ δώματα . .. μήτε αἰσθάνεσθαι προσποιουμένη V, ἐπὶ δώματα ... μήτε εἰςθανέσθω παραποιουμένη C, 188
some were calling her Mother of her Country. She was buried in the mausoleum of Augustus.

Tiberius did not pay to anybody a single one of her bequests.

Among the many excellent utterances of hers that are reported are the following. Once, when some naked men met her and were to be put to death in consequence, she saved their lives by saying that to chaste women such men are no whit different from statues. When someone asked her how and by what course of action she had obtained such a commanding influence over Augustus, she answered that it was by being scrupulously chaste herself, doing gladly whatever pleased him, not meddling with any of his affairs, and, in particular, by pretending neither to hear of nor to notice the favourites that were the objects of his passion. Such was the character of Livia. The arch voted to her, however, was not built, for the reason that Tiberius promised to construct it at his own expense; for, as he hesitated to annul the decree in so many words, he made it void in this way, by not allowing the work to be done at public expense nor yet attending to it himself.

Sejanus was rising to still greater heights. It was voted that his birthday should be publicly observed, and the multitude of statues that the senate and the equestrian order, the tribes and the foremost citizens set up, would have passed anyone’s power to count. Separate envoys were sent to him and to Tiberius by

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3 Τώ δὲ δὴ Γάλλω ὁ Τιβέριος, τῷ τῆς τε γυναικα αὐτοῦ ἀγαγομένῳ καὶ τῇ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς παρ- ρησία χρησαιμένω, καὶ καὶ Λαβὼν ἑπέθετο. ἔπειδὴ γὰρ τὸν Σειανοῦ ἤτοι καὶ ἄληθῶς ὡς αὐταρχή-

2 ἦ καὶ τῷ τοῦ Τιβερίου δέει θεραπεύων, ἡ καὶ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς, ὡσ καὶ αὐτῷ ἱκείων διὰ κόρου γενομένος φθαρῆ, τὰ τε πλεῖον οὐ καὶ τὰ μεῖζων ἐσηγήκατο καὶ ἐν τοῖς προσβενταῖς γενέ-

3 σθαι ἐσπούδασεν, ἐπέστειλε περὶ αὐτοῦ τῇ βουλῆ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ὅτι τῷ Σειανῷ τῆς πρὸς ἐαυτὸν φιλίας φθονοῦση, καίπερ αὗτος Συριακὸς φίλως ἀρμόμενος. καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐξέφηνε τῷ Γάλλῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνω αὐτοῦ ἐδεξίόσατο, ὡστε συμβῆναι οἱ πράγμα παραδοξότατον, καὶ ὁ μιθεῖν ἄλλῳ συνηνέχθη ἐν γὰρ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ παρὰ τῷ Τιβερίῳ εἰστιάθη καὶ φιλοτησίας ἐπιε, καὶ ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ κατεψυχήθη, ὡστε καὶ στρατηγοῖν τὸν δήσοντα τε αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀπαξοντα 9 πεμφθῆναι. καὶ μέντοι τοῦτο οὕτως οἱ Τιβερίως πράξεις οὐδ’ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτῷ ἑθελή-

1 ἵππης Bs., ἵππεις VCL.
2 ἀμφότερος VC, om. L’.
3 ἀγαγομένῳ Plługk., ἀγουμένῳ VCL.
4 παρησία χρησαιμένῃ VC, χρησαιμένῳ παρησίᾳ L’.
5 αὐταρχήσαντα Val., αὐταρχήσαντα cod. Peir.
6 οἱ cod. Peir., αὐτῷ VCL.
7 τὸ om. cod. Peir.
8 τιμωρίαν cod. Peir. L’, ἐξορίαν V, ἐξωρίαν C.
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the senate, by the knights, and also by the people, who selected theirs from the tribunes and from the plebeian aediles. For both of them alike they offered prayers and sacrifices and they took oaths by their Fortunes.

Tiberius now found an opportunity to attack Gallus, who had married the former wife of Tiberius and had spoken his mind so freely regarding the empire. He was now paying court to Sejanus, either sincerely, because he believed this minister would become emperor, or out of fear of Tiberius, or perhaps by way of a plot to make Sejanus irksome to the emperor himself and so cause his ruin; at any rate he proposed the greater and the more important part of the honours voted to him and strove to be one of the envoys. Tiberius, accordingly, sent a message about Gallus to the senate, declaring among other things that this man was jealous of the emperor's friendship for Sejanus, in spite of the fact that Gallus himself had Syriacus as his friend. He did not make this known to Gallus, but instead entertained him in a most hospitable manner. Thus this man had a most remarkable experience, one that never happened to anyone else: on one and the same day he was banqueted at the house of Tiberius, pledging him in the cup of friendship, and was condemned in the senate, so that a praetor was sent to bind him and lead him away to execution. Yet Tiberius, after acting in this manner, did not permit

1 Vipsania Agrippina, whom Tiberius had divorced at Augustus' command, in order to marry Julia. See liv. 31, 2.
2 Cf. lvii. 2, 5.
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6 λαβεῖν ἡμαγκάζετο. καὶ ἦν αὐτῇ τοιαύτῃ καὶ
tosauτῇ ὡστε μήτε τινὰ ἡδονὴν ἢ καὶ ὅρμην
αὐτῶ παρασχεῖν μήτε ἀποθανεῖν αὐτῶν ἐὰν
τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν τὸ δεινοτάτον. ὃ καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλων
συχνῶν ὁ Τιβέριος ἐποίει· δῆσας γοῦν τινὰ τῶν
ἐταίρων, ἐπειτὰ λόγον περὶ τῆς θανατώσεως αὐ-
τοῦ γενομένου ἐφί ὅτι "οὐ δέσω αὐτῷ διήλλαγ-
μαι." ἔτερον μέντοι τινὰ καὶ πάνω ἰσχυρῶς
βασανίσας, ἐπείτα γνόνοις ὅτι ἀδίκως κατηγορήθη,
καὶ πάνω σπουδή ἀπέκτεινεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι χαλεπω-
tέρως ύβρισται ἢ ὡστε καλῶς δύνασθαι ξῆν.
Συμιακὸς δ᾽ οὔτ᾽ ἀδικήσας τι οὔτ᾽ αἰτιαθείς, ἀλλὰ
καὶ ἐπὶ παιδεῖ ἀκαλόγιμος ὁν, ἐσφαγὴ διὰ τοῦτο
μόνον ὅτι φίλον αὐτὸν τοῦ Γάλλου ὁ Τιβέριος
ἐπεν εἶναι.—Exc. Val. 191 (p. 667), Xiph. 144,
19–145, 22.

1 ἡσθετο L', καθ' ἐν V, space left in C.
2 ἐκέλευσε καὶ τῇ βουλῇ supplied by Sylburg.
3 οὐχ ἵνα μὴ φύγῃ (φάγῃ C) ἀλλὰ V C, ἵνα μὴ φύγῃ οὐ μά
δι L'.
4 οὖθ L', οὐχ V C.
his victim to die, in spite of the other's desire for death as soon as he learned of the decree. Instead, in order to make his lot as cruel as possible, he bade Gallus be of good cheer and instructed the senate that he should be guarded without bonds until he himself should reach the city; his object, as I said, was to make the prisoner suffer as long as possible both from the loss of his civic rights and from terror. And so it came to pass; for he was kept under the eyes of the consuls of each year, except when Tiberius held the office, in which case he was guarded by the praetors; and this was done, not to prevent his escape, but to prevent his death. He had no companion or servant with him, spoke to no one, and saw no one, except when he was compelled to take food. And the food was of such quality and amount as neither to afford him any satisfaction or strength nor yet to allow him to die. This was, in fact, the most terrible part of his punishment. Tiberius did the same thing in the case of several others. For instance, he imprisoned one of his companions, and then, when there was talk about executing him, he said: "I have not yet made my peace with him." Another man he tortured very severely, and then, on ascertaining that the victim had been unjustly accused, he caused him to be killed with all speed, declaring that he had been too terribly outraged to live with honour. Syriacus, who had neither committed nor been charged with any wrong, but was renowned for his culture, was slain merely because Tiberius declared he was a friend of Gallus.

5 ὅποτε Βκ., ὅποταν Βοιζ. 6 ἦ καί Βοιζ, καί Βοιζ. 7 ἄλογιμος άν Βοιζ (and Β by corr.), ἂλλος ἂν (κοι) Β first hand, ἂλλ’ ἂμας ἂν Βοιζ.

9 Tov de Seiaionon o Tibeirios epit mega dozhs epárasa kai kheldshen epit Ioúlia tis tov Droousou thugatrí poiesamenes ústeron ekteine.—Zon. 11, 2 (p. 8, 31-9, 1 D.).

4 O de di Seiaionos kai meizwn kai fóberwteros aiei egínweto, oste kai touts Bouleutás kai touts allous ekeinw mèn ws kai autokrátori prosechein, tivn de Tibeirion en olignória poieisbai. Mathwv ouv taúta o Tibeirios ouste ev ëlafrw tis práguma epoihsato, fobithéis mì kai autokrátora antikrus auton apodeixwosin, ouste ëmélhsein. Ek men de
2 ouv tov profanous oudev ëdrafse to te gar doruforikon pan iapwos fkeiwrto, kai tivn Bouleutwv to mèn euergeiasias to de elptisi to de kai fóbhw prosepopeínto, touts te peri tov Tibeirion ointas ouw pántas prosetaírismoto oste to mèn ekeinoun pánta úplos, kai ñsa élleve kai ñsa éprratte, parantika ois ì kygéllesvai, tâ di' up' auton
3 drowmena mhdenva tov Tibeirw dhlwv. Allwos ouv auton metepof euve, kai upatóv te auton ápdeiże

1 Drusus, the son of Germanicus. Cf. livii. 22, 4b.

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Sejanus brought false accusation also against Drusus through the medium of the latter's wife. For by maintaining illicit relations with the wives of nearly all the distinguished men, he learned what their husbands were saying and doing; and he furthermore made them accessories to his crimes by promising to marry them. When, now, Tiberius merely sent Drusus to Rome, Sejanus, fearing that he might change his mind, persuaded Cassius to propose some action against him.

After exalting Sejanus to a high pinnacle of glory and making him a member of his family by his alliance with Julia, the daughter of Drusus, Tiberius later killed him.

Now Sejanus was growing greater and more formidable all the time, so that the senators and the rest looked up to him as if he were actually emperor and held Tiberius in slight esteem. When Tiberius learned this, he did not treat the matter lightly or disregard it, since he feared they might declare his rival emperor outright. He did nothing openly, to be sure, for Sejanus had completely won over the entire Pretorian guard and had gained the favour of the senators, partly by the benefits he conferred, partly by the hopes he inspired, and partly by intimidation: he had furthermore made all the associates of Tiberius so completely his friends that they immediately reported to him absolutely everything the emperor either said or did, whereas no one informed Tiberius of what Sejanus did. Hence Tiberius proceeded to attack him in another way; he appointed him consul and termed him Sharer of

The consul of that year, either C. Cassius Longinus or his brother L. Cassius Longinus.
καὶ κοινωνοῦν τῶν φρουτίδων ὀνόμαξε, "Σειάνος" 
te "ὁ ἔμος" πολλάκις ἐπαναλαμβάνων ἐλεγε, 
kai toúto kai γράφων πρός te tinh boulhν kai 4
πρός τὸν δήμον ἑδήλου. τούτοις οὖν οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ ἀπατώμενοι καὶ πιστεύοντες χαλκοὺς τε αὐτῶν ἀπανταχοῦν ἐκ τοῦ ἱσοῦ ἱστασαν, καὶ ταῖς γραφαῖς συνεγραφοῦν, δίφρους τέ ἐπιχρύσους ἐς τὰ θεάτρα ἀμφοὺς ἐσέφερον καὶ τέλος ἐγκήθη ὑπάτους τέ σφαι διὰ πέντε ἑτῶν ἀμα ἀποδείκνυσθαι, καὶ ἀπάντησιν, ὅποτε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσίοιεν, ἀμφό-
τέροις ὁμοίως γίγνεσθαι. καὶ τέλος καὶ ταῖς εἰκόσιν αὐτῶν ὀσπέρ καὶ ταῖς τοῦ Τιβέριου ἔθνων.

5 Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ 1 τὸν Σειάνον τοιαῦτα ἦν,2 
tῶν δὲ ἄλλων πολλοὶ καὶ ὀνομαστοί ἐφθάρησαν, 
ὅν ἦν καὶ Γάιος Φούφιος 3 Γέμινος.4 ἀσεβείας 
γὰρ ἐς τὸν Τιβέριον ἐγκήθησαν τὰς διαθήκας ἐς 
tε τὸ συνεδρίου ἐσεκόμισε καὶ ἀνέγνω, δηλῶν ὅτι 
tὸν κλήρον ἐξ ἵσον τοῖς τέκνοις καὶ ἐκεῖνοι κατα-
6 λειτουργὸς ἦν καὶ μαλακίας αὐτιαθεῖς ἀπήλθεν 
οὐκαδε πρὶν ψηφιώσθηναι τί, καὶ μαθῶν τὸν ταμίαν 
ἐπὶ δικαίωσε αὐτοῦ παρούσα αὐτός τε ἐαυτὸν ἐτρωσε, 
καὶ ἐκεῖνο τὸ τραύμα δείξας "ἀπάγγειλον" ἐφή 
"τῇ γερουσίᾳ ὅτι ἁνήρ ὀὕτως ἀποθνῄσκειν." 
καὶ ἡ γυνὴ δὲ αὐτοῦ Μοντιλία 5 Πρίσκα ἐγκλήμα 
tὶ λαβοῦσα ἐσῆλθε τε ἐς τὸ βουλευτηρίον, καὶ 
ταῦθα ἐαυτὴν ἐγχειρεῖς τινὶ, ὁ λάθρα ἐςεκ-
κομίκει, ἐσφάξεν.—Χιρῆ, 145, 22-146, 30.

7 Ἐπὶ τούτωι τε Μουκίαν καὶ τὸν ταύτης ἀνδρά

1 περὶ VI', πρὸς C. 2 ἦν VC, om. L'.
3 Φούφιος Nipperdey, ὁδὸς Nipperdey VCL'.
4 Γέμινος Nipperdey, γεμίνος VCL'.

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his Cares, often repeated the phrase "My Sejanus," and published the same by using it in letters addressed to the senate and to the people. Men were accordingly deceived by this behaviour, taking it to be sincere, and so set up bronze statues everywhere to both alike, wrote their names together in the records, and brought gilded chairs into the theatres for both. Finally it was voted that they should be made consuls together every five years and that a body of citizens should go out to meet both alike whenever they entered Rome. And in the end they sacrificed to the images of Sejanus as they did to those of Tiberius.

While matters were going thus with Sejanus, many of the other prominent men perished, among them Gaius Fufius Geminus. This man, having been accused of maestas against Tiberius, took his will into the senate-chamber and read it, showing that he had left his inheritance in equal portions to his children and to the emperor. Upon being charged with cowardice, he went home before a vote was taken; then, when he learned that the quaestor had arrived to look after his execution, he wounded himself, and showing the wound to the official, exclaimed: "Report to the senate that it is thus one dies who is a man." Likewise his wife, Mutilia Prisca, against whom some complaint had been lodged, entered the senate-chamber and there stabbed herself with a dagger, which she had brought in secretly.

Next he destroyed Mucia and her husband and

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1 An error for Mutilia.

5 Μούτιλια Freinsheim, ποσπλία VCL', μουκλία Joann. Antioch.
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άμα δυσὶ θυγατράσιν ἀνείλε διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ μητέρα φιλίαν.—Joann. Antioch. fr. 79 § 7 M. (v. 35–37).

8 "Οτι (ἐπὶ Τιβέριον) πάντας ὁ κατηγοροῦντες τινῶν χρήματα καὶ πολλά γε ἐκ τε τῶν υοσίων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δήμου, καὶ προσέτε καὶ τιμαῖς τινας ἐλώμβανον. ἣδη δὲ καὶ ἐτεροὶ προχείρως τινὰς ἀναβόντες ἢ καὶ ἐτοίμως τινῶν κατα-ψηφιξόμενοι, οἱ μὲν εἰκόνας οἱ δὲ καὶ τιμαῖς ἐπιδι-κίους ἐκτόντως. ὡστε τινᾶς τῶν ἄλλων ἐλλογίμων, ἀξιωθέντας τοιούτων τινός, μὴ ἐθελήσαι αὐτὸ προσθέσθαι, ἵνα μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ δόξωσί ποτε ὦμοιοι ἐκείνοις γεγονέναι.—Exc. Val. 193 (p. 669).


5 'Ο δὲ Σειανός τοσοῦτος ἦν τῇ τε υπεροχῇ 2 τοῦ φρονίματος καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἐξουσίας ὡστε συνελόνται εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν μὲν αὐτοκράτορα τὸν δὲ Τιβέριον νησιαρχὸν τινα εἶναι δοκεῖν διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ λεγομένη Καπρία τὰς διατριβᾶς 2 ποιεῖσθαι. σπουδάι τε 3 καὶ ὀδυσμοί περὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτοῦ ἐγίγνοντο ἐκ τοῦ δεδιέναι μὴ μόνον μὴ οὐκ ὀφθή τις αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ μὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς υστάτοις φανῇ: πάντα γὰρ ἀκριβῶς, καὶ μᾶλιστα τὰ τῶν πρώτων, ἔτηρευτο καὶ τὰ ρήματα καὶ τὰ 3 νεύματα. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οἰκεία ἀξιώσεi προύχοντες οὔτε τὰ δεξιώματα παρά τινων πάνω ἀπαίτονσι, 198
two daughters on account of her friendship for his mother.

Under Tiberius all who accused any persons received money, and large sums too, both from the victims' estates and from the public treasury, and various honours besides. There were cases, too, where men who recklessly threw others into a panic or readily passed sentence of death upon them obtained either images or triumphal honours. Hence several distinguished men who were held worthy of some such honour would not accept it, lest they might one day be thought to have been like these men.

Tiberius, feigning illness, sent Sejanus on to Rome with the assurance that he himself would follow. He declared that a part of his own body and soul was being wrenched away from him, and with tears he embraced and kissed him, so that Sejanus was still more elated.

Sejanus was so great a person by reason both of his excessive haughtiness and of his vast power, that, to put it briefly, he himself seemed to be emperor and Tiberius a kind of island potentate, inasmuch as the latter spent his time on the island of Capreae. There was rivalry and jostling about the great man's doors, the people fearing not merely that they might not be seen by their patron, but also that they might be among the last to appear before him; for every word and every look, especially in the case of the most prominent men, was carefully observed. Those, now, who hold a prominent position as the result of native worth are not much given to seeking signs of friendship from others, and if such manifestations are

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1. οὐτὸν Mai, οὐτὸν cod.
2. τε ύπεροχή L', ύπεροχή τε VL'.
3. τε VL', δὲ O.
καὶ ἄρα καὶ ἐκλεισθῇ τι αὐτῶν, οὔτε ἐγκαλοῦσι σφίσιν, ὑπὲρ καὶ ἑαυτοῖς συνειδότες ὅτι μὴ καταφρονοῦνται ὁ δὲ ἑπακτῷ καλλωπίσματι χρόμενοι πάντα ἵσχυρῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν τοῦ ἀξιώματός σφὼν πλήρωσιν ἀναγκαῖα, ἐπιζητοῦσι, καὶ μὴ τύχωσιν αὐτῶν, ἄχθοντα τε ὡς δια-

4 βαλλόμενοι καὶ ὑγρίζονται ὡς ὑβριζόμενοι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον περὶ τοὺς τοιούτους ἢ περὶ αὐτοὺς ὡς εἶπεῖν τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας σπουδαίοισιν, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν, καὶ πλημμεληθῇ τι, ἀρετὴν τὸ συγγρώναι τῷ φέρει, τοῖς δὲ τοῦτο μὲν τὴν ἄσθενειν σφὼν ἔλεγχειν δοκεῖ, τὸ δὲ ἑπεξελθεῖν καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι βεβαιῶσιν τοῦ μέγα δύνασθαι ἔχειν νομίζεται.  

5 Ἐν δὲ τινὶ νομημαίᾳ πάντων συνιόντων ἐσ τὴν ὁἰκίαν τοῦ Σειάνου ἢ τε κλίνῃ ἢ ἐν τῷ δωμάτῳ, ἐν οὗ ἁπάξετο, κειμένη πάσα ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου τῶν ἰχθυσάντων συνετρίβη, καὶ προϊόντος αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς ὁἰκίας γαλῆ διὰ μέσων σφὼν διήρχεν. ἐπειδὴ τε καὶ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ θύσας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν κατηγεί, οἵ οἶκεται αὐτοῦ οἵ δορυφόροι διὰ τε τῆς ὀδοῦ τῆς ἐς τὸ δεσμωτηρίου ἀγούσῃ ἐξετράποντο, μὴ δυνηθέντες αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου ἐπακολουθήσαι, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀναβασμῶν καθ’ ὃν οἱ δικαλούμενοι ἐρρυπτοῦντο κατίόντες ὀλισθοὺ καὶ 7 κατέπεσον. οἰωνιζομένου τε μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ τῶν μὲν αἰσίων ὀργίθων ἐπεφάνη οὐδεὶς, κόρακες δὲ δὴ πολλοὶ 3 περιπτάμενοι καὶ περικρῶσαι τῶν αὐτῶν ἀπέπταντο ἢθρόι πρὸς τὸ οἰκήμα καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐκαθέζειντο.

1 νομίζεται VCL', νομίζονται C.
2 ἐς R. Steph., εἰς VCL'.

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wanting on the part of these others, they do not tax them with it, inasmuch as they know full well that they are not being looked down upon; but those, on the other hand, who enjoy an adventitious splendour seek very eagerly all such attentions, feeling them to be necessary to render their position complete, and if they fail to obtain them, are as vexed as if they were being slandered and as angry as if they were being insulted. Consequently the world is more scrupulous in the case of such persons than in the case of the emperors themselves, one might almost say; since for the latter it counts as a virtue to pardon anyone in case of an offence, but by the former such conduct is thought to argue their weakness, whereas to attack and to exact vengeance is considered to furnish proof of great power.

Now on a New Year’s day, when all were assembling at Sejanus’ house, the couch that stood in the reception room utterly collapsed under the weight of the throng seated upon it; and, as he was leaving the house, a weasel darted through the midst of the crowd. After he had sacrificed on the Capitol and was now descending to the Forum, the servants who were acting as his body-guard turned aside along the road leading to the prison, being unable by reason of the crowd to keep up with him, and while they were descending the steps down which condemned criminals were cast, they slipped and fell. Later, as he was taking the auspices, not one bird of good omen appeared, but many crows flew round him and cawed, then all flew off together to the jail and perched there.
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6 Τούτων οὖν τῶν τεράτων οὔθ’ ὁ Σείανός οὔτ’ ἀλλος τις ἐνθύμιον ἐποιήσατο: πρὸς γὰρ τὴν τῶν παρόντων ὄψιν οὔθ’ ἀν εἰ σαφῶς θεὸς τις προέλεγεν ὅτι τοσαύτη δι’ ὅλιγου μεταβολῆ
2 γενήσοιτο, ἐπίστευσεν ἀν τις. τὴν τε οὖν τύχηνν 1 αὐτοῦ κατακορῶς 2 ὄμνυσαν, καὶ συνάρχοντα τοῦ Τιβέρίου, οὐκ ἐσ τὴν ὑπατείαν ἄλλ’ ἐσ τὸ κράτος ὑποσημαίνοντες, ἐπεκάλουν. 3 Τιβέριος δὲ ἦγιον μὲν οὐδέν ἔτι τῶν κατ’ αὐτὸν, βουλευόμενος 4 δὲ ὅντων τρόπον αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνῃ, καὶ οὐχ εὐρίσκων ὀπως ἀσφαλῶς ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τούτο ποιῆσει, θαυμαστόν δὴ τινα τρόπον καὶ αὐτῶ ἔκειν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὡστε τὴν γνώμην αὐτῶν ἀκριβῶς 3 μαθεῖν, ἐχρήσατο. περὶ τε γὰρ ἔαυτοῦ πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα καὶ τῷ Σείανῷ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ συνεχός ἐπέστελλε, νῦν μὲν λέγων 5 φλαύρως ἔχειν καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἦδη τελευτήσειν, νῦν δὲ καὶ σφόδρα ψυχαίνειν καὶ αὑτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην 4 ἀφίξεσθαι καὶ τὸν Σείαιον τοτὲ μὲν πάνυ ἐπῆνει τοτὲ δὲ πάνω καθήσει, τῶν τε ἐταῖρων αὐτοῦ τοὺς μὲν ἐτίμα δι’ ἐκείνου τοὺς δ’ ἥτιμαζεν. ὡστε ὁ Σείανος ἐν τῷ μέρει καὶ τοῦ ὑπερόγκου καὶ τοῦ ὑπερφόβου πληρούμενος ἂει μετέωρος ἦν’ οὔτε γὰρ δεδείναι αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ νεοχυώσαι τε ἐπῆει, 6 καὶ γὰρ ἐτιμάτο, 7 οὔτ’ αὖ θαρσεῖν 8 καὶ ἄπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιτολμήσαι τι, καὶ γὰρ ἐκοι. 9 λούντο. καὶ μέντοι καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐναλλὰξ

1 τύχην CL’, τέχνην V.
2 κατακορᾶς Bk., κατακορεῖς VCL’.
3 ἐπεκάλουν VC, ἐδήλουν L’.
4 βουλευόμενοι Xyl., βουλόμενος VCL’.
5 λέγων Bk., λέγων ὧτι VCL’.
6 ἐπῆει L’, ἐπῆει V, ἐπολεί C.

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Neither Sejanus nor anyone else took these omens to heart. For, in view of the way matters stood, not even if some god had plainly foretold that so great a change would take place in a short time, would anyone have believed it. So they swore by his Fortune interminably and called him Tiberius' colleague, covertly referring to the supreme power rather than to the consulship. Tiberius, however, who was no longer ignorant of anything that concerned his minister, was planning how he might put him to death; but, not finding any way of doing this openly and safely, he handled both Sejanus himself and the Romans in general in a remarkable fashion, so as to learn exactly what was in their minds. He kept sending despatches of all kinds regarding himself both to Sejanus and to the senate, now saying that he was in a bad state of health and almost at the point of death, and now that he was exceedingly well and would arrive in Rome directly. At one moment he would heartily praise Sejanus, and again would as heartily denounce him; and, while honouring some of Sejanus' friends out of regard for him, he would be disgracing others. Thus Sejanus, filled in turn with extreme elation and extreme fear, was in constant suspense; for it never occurred to him, on the one hand, to be afraid and so attempt a revolution, inasmuch as he was still held in honour, nor, on the other hand, to be bold and attempt some desperate venture, inasmuch as he was frequently abased. So also with the people at large: they kept hearing alternately the most contradictory reports.

7 καὶ γὰρ ἐτίμωσεν. Φιλ. 1.
8 δαρέαν Βικ., δαρεῖν Βοιλ.'
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καὶ δὲ ὅλγου τὰ ἐναντιώτατα ἀκοῦοντες, καὶ μὴτε τὸν Σεῖανὸν θαυμάζειν ἐτὶ ἢ καὶ καταφρονεῖν ἐχοντες, ἐς τε τὸν Τιβέριον ὡς καὶ τεθνήζοντα ἢ καὶ ἥξοντα ὑποπτεύοντες, ἐν ἀμφιβολοῦ ἐγιγμοῦτο.

7 Σεῖανὸν μὲν οὖν ταύτα τε ἐτάραττε, καὶ πολλὰς μᾶλλον ὅτι ἐξ ἀνδριάντος τινος αὐτοῦ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καπνὸς πολὺς ἀνέθορεν, ἐπειτα δὲ ἀφαίρεθείσης ἡς κεφαλῆς ὡπως τὸ γυμνόμενον ἰδὼσιν, ὅφις μέγας ἀνεπηδήσει, ἔτερας τε εὕθυς ἀντεπι-

2 τέθείσης αὐτῷ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκείνου ἡς θύσεων ἐαυτῷ μέλλοντος (τὰ τε γὰρ [Xiph. 146, 30–149, 6] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐαυτῶ ἐθυνε), σχοινίων περὶ τὸν αὐχένα αὐτοῦ περικείμενον ἐυρέθη. Τύχης τε τι ἁγαλμα, ὁ ἐγεγόνει μὲν, ὡς φασὶ, Τουλλίου 4 τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος ποτε ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ, τότε δὲ ὁ Σεῖανὸς 5

3 οὐκοὶ τε ἐἱχε καὶ μεγάλως ἤγαλλεν, αὐτός τε θύων εἰδεν ἀποστρεφόμενον . . . . . . . . καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐτεροὶ συνεξίοντες σφίσιν. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἀλλοι ὑπώπτευον μὲν ποὺ ταύτα, ἀγνοοῦντες δὲ δὴ τὴν τοῦ Τιβερίου διάνοιαν, καὶ προσεκλομενοῦν τὸ τε ἐκείνου ἐμπλήκτον καὶ τὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀστάθμητον, ἐπημφοτέριζον, καὶ ἵδια μὲν τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἀσφαλείας διεσκόπουν, κοινὴ δὲ δὴ ἐθεράπευον αὐτὸν διὰ τὰ τάλα καὶ ὅτι καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος ἰερέας μετὰ τοῦ Γαίου 7 καὶ ἐκείνον καὶ τὸν νῦν αὐτοῦ ἐποίησε, καὶ τὴν τὲ ἀνθυπατικὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτὸ ἐδωκαν, καὶ προσεπτηφίσαντο

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1 δὲ ἀφαίρεθείσης VL', διαφαίρεθείσης C.
2 ἐκείνου Sylburg, ἐκείνου τε VCL'.
3 M resumes with ἀλλὰ.
4 Τουλλίου R. Steph., τοῦ ἀλλοῦ M.
5 Σεῖανὸς Bs, σιανὸς M (so regularly).

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which came at brief intervals, and so were unable either to regard Sejanus any longer with admiration or, on the other hand, to hold him in contempt, while as for Tiberius, they were kept guessing whether he was going to die or return to Rome; consequently they were in a continual state of doubt.

Sejanus was disturbed by all this, and much more disturbed when from one of his statues there at first burst forth smoke, and then, when the head was removed so that the trouble might be investigated, a huge serpent leapt up; then, when a new head was straightway placed upon the statue, and Sejanus was about to offer sacrifice to himself on account of the omen (for he was wont to include himself in such sacrifices), a rope was discovered coiled about the neck of the statue. Again, there was the behaviour of a statue of Fortune, which had belonged, they say, to Tullius, one of the former kings of Rome, but was at this time kept by Sejanus at his house and was a source of great pride to him: he himself saw this statue turn its back to him while he was sacrificing . . . . . . and later others who went out with them. These incidents aroused the suspicions of the people; but since they did not know the intentions of Tiberius, and, besides, had to take into consideration his caprice and the instability of human affairs, they were steering a middle course. Privately they kept a sharp eye to their own safety, but publicly they paid court to him, the more so as Tiberius had made both Sejanus and his son priests along with Gaius. So they gave him the proconsular power, and also voted that the

6 lacuna indicated by ΛΔ.
7 μετά τοῦ Γαίου Bs., μετά Γαίου Reim., μετ’ αὐτοῦ te M.

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πᾶσιν ὧδε τοῖς ὑπατεύουσι παραγγέλλεσθαι κατὰ 5 τὸ ἐκείνου ζῆλωμα ἀρξαί. ὃ δ' οὖν Τιβέριος ταῖς μὲν ἱερωσύναις ἑτίμησεν αὐτόν, οὐ μὴν καὶ μετε-
πέμψατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰτησαμένῳ οἱ ὅπως ἐς τὴν Ἐπὶ προφάσει τῆς μελλονύμφου νοση-
σάσης ἐλθῃ, κατὰ χώραν μεῖναι προσεταξέν ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ὃσον οὔτω ἐς τὴν Ἡρώμην ἀφεξόμενος.

8 Ἐκ τε οὖν τούτων ὁ Σείανδος αὐθεὶς ἠλλοιώτο, καὶ διότι καὶ τὸν Γαίον ὁ Τιβέριος ἱερέα ἀποδείξας ἔπήνεσε, καὶ τι καὶ ὡς διάδοχον αὐτὸν τῆς μον-
-2 ἀρχίας ἔξων ἑνεδείκνυτο. ἓκαν ἑνεόχμωσέ τι, ἀλλως τε καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς πάντα ἐτοίμως ὑπακούσαι αὐτῷ ἐχόντων, εἰ μὴ τὸν δήμον ἱσχυρὸς τοῖς περὶ τοῦ Γαίου λεχθεῖσι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Γερμα-
νικοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μνήμην ἠσθέντα εἴδε-
πρότερον γὰρ νομίζων καὶ ἐκείνους πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι, τότε ὡς ἧσθετο τὰ τοῦ Γαίου σπουδάζοντας,

3 ἡθύμησε. καὶ ὁ μὲν μετεγήγμασκεν ὅτι μηδὲν ἐν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ ἑνεόχμωσεν, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι . . . 2 διὰ τε ταῦτα, καὶ ὡς οἱ Τιβέριος ἐχθρὸν των αὐτοῦ ἠρπημένοι μὲν πρὸ δέκα ἐτῶν ἸΒηρίας ἀρξαί, κρινόμενον δὲ ἐπὶ τισιν εἰς ἑκείνων ἀφήκε, καὶ δὴ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἡγεμονεύσειν τινών ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι δημόσιον πράξειν μέλλουσιν ἄδειαν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ τῶν τοιούτων δικῶν ἐδώκε.

1 ἔξων R. Steph., ἔξ δὲν Μ.
2 lacuna recognized by Bk., who supplied ἠλλοιώτο (were becoming alienated) or αὐτῶν κατεφρόνησαν (despised him).
consuls of each year should be instructed to emulate him in their conduct of the office. As for Tiberius, though he honoured him with the priesthoods, yet he did not send for him; instead, when Sejanus requested permission to go to Campania, pleading as an excuse that his betrothed was ill, the emperor directed him to remain where he was, because he himself was going to arrive in Rome almost immediately.

This was one reason, then, why Sejanus was again becoming alienated; there was also the fact that Tiberius, after appointing Gaius priest, praised him and gave some indications that he intended to make him his successor to the throne. Sejanus would therefore have set on foot a rebellion, especially as the soldiers were ready to obey him in everything, had he not perceived that the populace was immensely pleased at the compliments paid to Gaius, out of reverence for the memory of Germanicus, his father. For he had previously supposed that they, too, were on his side, and now, finding them earnest supporters of Gaius, he became dejected, and regretted that he had not begun a rebellion during his consulship. The rest [were becoming alienated from him], not only for these reasons, but also because Tiberius quashed an indictment against an enemy of Sejanus, a man who had been chosen ten years before to govern Spain, and was now, thanks to the influence of Sejanus, being brought to trial on certain charges; whereupon, because of this case, he granted a general immunity from such suits, during the interval before taking office, to all who were designated to govern provinces or to perform any other public business. And in a letter to the
4 τῇ τε γερονσία περὶ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἀποθανόντος γράφων Σείανος ἀπλῶς αὐτῶν ὁνόμασε, μηδὲν ὅπερ εἴθιστο προσθείς· καὶ προσέτε καὶ ἀπεἶπε μήτε ἀνθρώπων τινὶ θύεσθαι, διότι καὶ ἐκεῖνῳ τούτῳ ἐγίνετο, μήτε ἐπὶ τῇ ἕαυτον τιμή τι χρηματίζεσθαι, διότι πολλὰ ἐκεῖνῳ ἐψηφίζετο. τούτῳ γὰρ ἀπηγορεύκει μὲν καὶ πρότερον, τότε δὲ διὰ τὸν Σείανον ἀνενεώσατο· οὐ γὰρ ποὺ ὁ μηδὲν ἑαυτῷ τοιοῦτο γίγνεσθαι ἐπιτρέπων ἄλλῳ γε ἐφίει.

9 Ἐπὶ οὖν τούτωι ἐτὶ καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτῶι κατεφρονῆσαι, ὅστε καὶ φανερότερον ἡ λαυθάνειν καὶ ἐξίστασθαι αὐτῶι καὶ ἐγκαταλείπειν. 1 μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Τιβέριος, καὶ θαρσήσας ὡς καὶ τὸν δῆμον καὶ τὴν θουλήν συμμιχὸν ἔζων, ἐπεχεῖρη σεβεν αὐτῷ· καὶ προκαθεῖς 2 τὸν 3 λόγον ὅτι τὴν 4 ἔξοσίαν οἱ τὴν δημαρχίκην δῶσοι, ὁπωσοῦ ἀπροσδόκητον αὐτῶν ὅτι μάλιστα λάβῃ, ἐπεστείλε κατ’ αὐτῶι τῷ συνεδρίῳ διὰ Ναιονίου 5 Σερτωρίου Μάκρουνος, ἄρχειν τι αὐτῶι τῶν σωματοφυλάκων κρύφα προκαταστήσας, καὶ 3 πάνθ᾽ οὐκ ἔχρῆν πραχθῆναι προδιάξας. καὶ ὃς νῦκτορ ἐστὶ τὴν Ἱρώμην ὡς καὶ κατ᾽ ἀλλ᾽ ἐμπρὸν τα τὸ ἐλθὼν, τά τε ἐπεσταλμένα οἱ Μεμιὼν τε Ἰηγούλω τότε ὑπατεύοντι (ὁ γὰρ συνάρχων αὐτῶι τὰ τὸν Σείανον ἑφόρονε) καὶ Γρακινίφ 6 Δάκων τοῖ τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων ἄρχοντι ἐπε-

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1 ἐγκαταλείπειν Χιφ., ἐγκαταλείπειν Μ.
2 προκαθεῖς Χιφ., προσκαθεῖς Μ.
3 τὸν om. Χιψ.
4 τὴν Reiske, τὴν τε Μ.
5 Ναιονίου Μ., Ναιβίου Χιφ.
6 Γρακινίφ Βσ., γρακινίφ Μ Χιφ.
senate about the death of Nero\(^1\) he referred to Sejanus by that name simply, without the addition of the customary titles. Moreover, because sacrifices were being offered to Sejanus, he forbade such offerings to be made to any human being; and because many honours were being voted to Sejanus, he forbade the consideration of any measure which proposed honours for himself. He had, to be sure, forbidden this practice still earlier, but now, because of Sejanus, he renewed his injunction; for one who allowed nothing of the sort to be done in his own case would naturally not permit it in the case of another.

In view of all this, people began to hold Sejanus more and more in contempt; in fact they even avoided meeting him or being left alone with him, and that in a manner too marked not to be noticed. When, therefore, Tiberius learned of this, he took courage, believing that he should have the populace and the senate on his side, and attacked him. And first, in order to take him off his guard as completely as possible, he spread the report that he was going to give him the tribunician power. Then he sent a communication against him to the senate by the hands of Naevius Sertorius Macro, whom he had already secretly appointed to command the bodyguards and had instructed in regard to all that required to be done. Macro entered Rome by night, as if on some different errand, and communicated his instructions to Memmius Regulus, then consul (his colleague sided with Sejanus), and to Graccinius Laco, commander of the night-watch. At dawn

\(^1\) The son of Germanicus. Cf. lvii. 18, 10 and Suet. Tib. 54.
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4 κοίνωσε, καὶ ἀναβὰς ἀμα τῇ ἔως ἐς τὸ παλάτιον (τῆς γὰρ βουλῆς ἐδρα ἐν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ γεννε- σεθαί ἐμελλέ), τῷ τε Σεῖανῷ μηδέπω ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσεληλυθότι περιέπεσε, καὶ ἵδῳν αὐτῶν ταρατ- τόμενον ὦτι μηδὲν οἴ ο Τιβέριος ἐπεστάλκει, παρεμυθήσατο εἰπὼν ἰδίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ ὦτι
5 τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῶ τὴν δημαρχικήν φέρω. καὶ ὁ μὲν περιχαρῆς ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενόμενος ἐς τὸ Βου- λευτήριον ἐσεπτήδησε. Μάκρων δὲ τοὺς μὲν δορυ- φόρους τοὺς περὶ τε ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὸ συνεδρίου ὄντας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπέπεμψε, τὴν τε ἡγεμονίαν σφίσει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκφήμας καὶ γράμ- ματα παρὰ τοῦ Τιβέριον γέρα τινα αὐτοῖς διδόντα
6 φέρειν φήσας, τοὺς δὲ δὴ νυκτοφύλακας ἀντ’ αὐτῶν περὶ τὸν ναὸν περιστήσας ἐσῆλθε τε ἐς αὐτὸν, καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῖς ὑπάτοις δοὺς ἐξῆλθε πρὶν καὶ ὠτιοῦν ἀναγνωσθῆναι, αὐτῷ τε τῷ Λάκωνι τάνταῦθα φυλάττειν προστάξας αὐτὸς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, μὴ καὶ νεωτερισθεῖν τι, ὅρμησε.

10 Καὶ τούτῳ ἐ ἐπιστολὴ ἀνεγρώσθη. ἦν δὲ μακρά, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀθρόον κατὰ τοῦ Σείανοῦ εἴχεν, ἄλλα τὰ μὲν πρώτα ἄλλο τι, εἰτα μὲμψιν κατ’ αὐτοῦ βραχεῖαν, καὶ μετ’ αὐτὴν ἐτερῶν τι, καὶ κατ’ ἐκεῖνον ἄλλο· καὶ ἐπὶ τελευτῆς δύο τε βου- λευτάς τῶν φιλειμένων οἱ κολασθήναι καὶ αὐτῶν
2 ἐν φρουρᾷ γενέσθαι δεῖν ἐλεγεν. ἀντικρυς γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν ὁ Τιβέριος οὐ προσέταξε, ὥχ’ ὅτι οὐκ ἐβούλετο, ἀλλ’ ὅτι ἐφοβήθη μὴ ταραχῇ τις ἐκ τούτου γέννηται· ὥς γοῦν οὐδὲ τῇ ἡδόν άσφαλῶς ποιήσαςθαι δυνάμενος, τὸν ἔτερον τῶν ὑπάτων μετεπέμψα, τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ

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BOOK LVIII

Macro ascended the Palatine (for the senate was A.D. 31 to sit in the temple of Apollo), and encountering Sejanus, who had not yet gone in, and perceiving that he was troubled because Tiberius had sent him no message, he encouraged him, telling him aside and in confidence that he was bringing him the tribunician power. Overjoyed at this announcement, Sejanus rushed into the senate-chamber. Macro now sent back to their camp the Pretorians that were guarding Sejanus and the senate, after revealing to them his authority and declaring that he bore a letter from Tiberius which bestowed rewards upon them. Then, after stationing the night-watch about the temple in their place, he went in, delivered the letter to the consuls, and came out again before a word was read. He then instructed Laco to keep guard there and himself hurried away to the camp to prevent any uprising.

In the meantime the letter was read. It was a long one, and contained no wholesale denunciation of Sejanus, but first some other matter, then a slight censure of his conduct, then something else, and after that some further objection to him; and at the close it said that two senators who were among his intimate associates must be punished and that he himself must be kept under guard. For Tiberius refrained from giving orders outright to put him to death, not because he did not wish to give such orders, but because he feared that some disturbance might result from such a course. At any rate, he pretended that he could not with safety even make the journey to Rome, and therefore summoned one of the consuls to him. Now the letter disclosed no
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3 πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ, πρὶν ἀναγιγνώσκεσθαι αὐτήν, ἐπαίνους τε αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν ληψομένου ἐποιοῦντο καὶ ἐπιβομήσαν ἐχρῶντο, προλαμβανοντες ὅσα ἥλπιζον, καὶ προσενεκυνύμενοι οἱ ὡς καὶ αὐτοί αὐτὰ δῶσοντες· ἐπεὶ δ' οὖνδὲν τοιοῦτον εὐρίσκετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάν τούναντιν ἡ προσε-δόκων ἦκουν, ἐν τε ἄπορία καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν κατηφεία πολλῇ ἐγίνοντο. καὶ τινες καὶ ἐξανέστησαν τῶν συγκαθημένων αὐτῶ· ὅτι γὰρ πρόσθεν περὶ πολλῶν φίλων ἐχειν ἐποιοῦντο, τούτω τότε οὖν ἦσα τῆς αὐτῆς συνεδρείας κοινωνεῖν

5 ἤθελον. καὶ τούτων καὶ στρατηγοῦ καὶ δημαρχοῦ περιέσχον αὐτὸν, ὡς μὴ συνταράξῃ τι έκπει-δήσας· ὁπερ πάντως ἄν ἐπεποίηκει, εἰ κατ' ἀρχαῖας ἄθροώς τινὶ ἄκοῦσματι ἐπέτπηκτο. νῦν δὲ τὸ τε αἰεὶ ἀναγιγνωσκόμενον ὡς 1 καὶ κοὐθοὶ καὶ μόνον ὅν παρορῶν, καὶ μᾶλιστα μὲν μηδὲν ἄλλο, εἰ δὲ μή, μῆτι 2 γε καὶ ἀνήκεστον τι ἐπεστάλθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐλπίζων, διετρήθη καὶ κατὰ χώραν ἐμείνεν.

6 Καὶ τούτῳ προσκαλεσαμένου αὐτὸν τοῦ Ῥη-γούλου ὦχ ὑπήκουσεν, ὦχ ὅτι ὑπερεφρόνησεν (ἡδὴ γὰρ ἐπεταπείνωτο) ἀλλ' ὅτι ἁθῆς τοῦ προσ-τάττεσθαι τι ἦν. ὡς δὲ καὶ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον γε ἐκείνος ἐμβοήσας οἱ καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἀμα ἐκτείνας εἶπεν "Σειανέ, δεῦρο ἐλθέ," ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτὸν αὐτὸ τοῦτο, "ἐμὲ καλεῖς;" ὅψε δ' οὖν

1 ὡς Xiph., ὄπως M.
2 μῆτι R. Steph., μῆτι M, τοι Xiph.
more than this; but one could observe both by sight and hearing many and various effects produced by it. At first, before it was read, they had been lauding Sejanus, thinking that he was about to receive the tribuniciam power, and had kept cheering him, anticipating the honours for which they hoped and making it clear to him that they would concur in bestowing them. When, however, nothing of the sort appeared, but they heard again and again just the reverse of what they had expected, they were at first perplexed, and then thrown into deep dejection. Some of those seated near him actually rose up and left him; for they now no longer cared to share the same seat with the man whom previously they had prized having as their friend. Then praetors and tribunes surrounded him, to prevent his causing any disturbance by rushing out, as he certainly would have done, if he had been startled at the outset by hearing any general denunciation. As it was, he paid no great heed to the successive charges as they were read, thinking each one a slight matter which stood alone, and hoping that, at best, no further charge, or, in any event, none that could not be disposed of, was contained in the letter; so he let the time slip by and remained in his seat. Meanwhile Regulus summoned him to go forward, but he paid no heed, not out of contempt—for he had already been humbled—but because he was unaccustomed to having orders addressed to him. But when the consul, raising his voice and also pointing at him, called the second and the third time, “Sejanus, come here,” he merely asked him, “Me? you are calling me?” At last, however, he
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ποτε ἀναστάντι αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Δάκων ἐπεσελθὼν

7 προσέστη. καὶ τέλος διαναγινωσθείς τῆς ἐπι-

στολῆς πάντες ἀπὸ μιᾶς γλώσσης καὶ κατεβών ἀυτοῦ καὶ δεινὰ ἐπέλεγον, οἱ μὲν ἢδικημένοι οἱ δὲ

πεφοβημένοι, ἅλλοι τὴν φιλίαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπηλυγαζόμενοι, ἅλλοι τῇ μεταβολῇ αὐτοῦ ἐπι-

χαίροντες. οὐ μὴν οὖτε πάντας αὐτοὺς οὗτε περὶ

tοῦ θανάτου τινὰ αὐτοῦ ὁ Ρήγουλος ἐπεψῆφισε,

φοβηθεὶς μὴ τίς ἐναντιωθῇ κὰκ τοῦτο καὶ
tαραχθῇ τι (συγχων γὰρ δὴ καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ

φίλους εἶχεν): ἀλλ' ἓνα τινὰ ἀνακρίνας καὶ σύμ-

ψηφοὺς ὅπως δεθῇ λαβῶν, ἔξηγαγέ τε αὐτὸν ἐκ
tοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον μετὰ τε
tῶν ἅλλων ἄρχοντων καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Δάκωνος
cατηγαγεν.

11 Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἂν τὶς τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην

ἀσθένειαν κατείδευ, ὧστε μηδαμὴ μηδαμῶς φυ-

σάρθαι. ὃν γὰρ τῇ ἑφ πάντες ὡς καὶ κρείττω

σφῶν ὑπτα ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον παρέπεμψαν,
tοῦτον τότε ἐς τὸ οἴκημα ὡς μηδενὸς βελτίω

κατέσυρον, καὶ ὃν στεφάνων πρῶτον πολλῶν

2 ήξίουν, τοῦτῳ τότε δεσμὰ περιέθεσαν· ὅν δὲ

ἐδορυφόρου ὡς δεσπότην, τοῦτον ἐφρούρου ὡς

δραπέτην καὶ ἀπεκάλυπτον ἐπικαλυπτόμενον,

καὶ ὃν τῷ περιπορφύρῳ ἰματίῳ ἐκεκοσμήκεσαν,
tοῦτον1 ἐπὶ κόρρης ἐπαιον, ὃν τε 2 προσεκύνουν

ὡ τε ὅς θεῶς ἐθνον, τοῦτον θανατώσσοντες ἤγον.

3 καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ δήμος προσπιπτὼν πολλὰ μὲν

ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπολολόσιν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπεβοᾷ, πολλὰ

dε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλπισθείσιν ἐπέσκωπτε. τὰς τε

1 τοῦτον added by Bs.
stood up, and Laco, who had now returned, took his stand beside him. When finally the reading of the letter was finished, all with one voice denounced and threatened him, some because they had been wronged, others through fear, some to conceal their friendship for him, and still others out of joy at his downfall. Regulus did not put the vote to all the senators nor propose to any the death penalty, fearing opposition from some quarter and a disturbance in consequence; for Sejanus had numerous relatives and friends. He merely asked a single senator if he should not be imprisoned, and when he got an affirmative answer, he led Sejanus out of the senate, and together with the other magistrates and Laco took him down to the prison.

Thereupon one might have witnessed such a surpassing proof of human frailty as to prevent one's ever again being puffed up with conceit. For the man whom at dawn they had escorted to the senate-hall as a superior being, they were now dragging to prison as if no better than the worst; on him whom they had previously thought worthy of many crowns, they now laid bonds; him whom they were wont to protect as a master, they now guarded like a runaway slave, uncovering his head when he would fain cover it; him whom they had adorned with the purple-bordered toga, they struck in the face; and him whom they were wont to adore and worship with sacrifices as a god, they were now leading to execution. The populace also assailed him, shouting many reproaches at him for the lives he had taken and many jeers for the hopes he had cherished.
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eikónas autóu pássas katέβαλλον kai katέκοπτον kai katέσυρον ós kai autóu ékeínon aikízómenon: kai ou'tw theátis òn peíresathai émelle ev éghuneto.
4 tòte mèn yáre ès to deisìmatìriov éneblîthèi: ústeron ò oú polloû, ìllì aúthìmèrov òn xeroussìa plhìsioù tòu oikímatos èn tò 'Orovoeîf, èpeidhì tâ te tòu dhìmu toiaúta òrta ò'mheto kai tòn dorufórfon ou'deà èwra, âthroustheîsa thánaton
5 autóu katepírfístato. kai ou'tw dikaiowtheîs kattâ te tòw ánabasimwv èrrhèi, kai autóu ó 'ómilos trisìn òlaìs ìmérain èlvmínatos, kai metà touto ès tòw pótamwv énebàlale. tâ te paìdia autóu kattà dòyma ápèthane, tìs kárhis, òn tò tòv Klauðióu níeì ìggyníkei,¹ prodiáphantairës òpò tòu dhìmu, òs ou'ch òsion ou parðhevenoménn:
6 tìnà èn tò deisìmatìriow diòlèsathai. kai ò ìgynì 'Àpíkata² ou katepírfísthì mèn, madoûsa dé òti tà tèkna autìs téðhèke, kai sfwòv tà sòmata èn tòis ánabasimwos ìdoûsa, ìnhekôrèse, kai ès bìbliou graýfasa perì tòu thánatou tòv Drooûsou kattà te tìs Lioûllhìs tìs gnìmikòs autòû, di' òmptèr pou kai autì tòv àndròi pròsokekróûkei òsmte mìkèti sýmnokeîn, to mèn tòv Tìberíw
7 èpemwnev, autì òi éautìs dièxhèstato. kai ou'twos ó Tìberiós èntuchòv tòv bìbliw, kai dielènèzhas tà xegrammëna, tòus te ìlllous pántas kai tìn Lioûllhìan ápèketeinì. òddì dé òmkoûsa òtì ékeínov mèn autíh òsia tìn mìtêra tìn 'Antwínav èfeîsato, autì dé ò ò Antwína èkoûsa lîmî tìn òluagatêra èxwlëse.

¹ ìggyníkei St., ènègyníkei M.
² 'Àpíkata Bk., àpèikàta M.

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They hurled down, beat down, and dragged down all his images, as though they were thereby treating the man himself with contumely, and he thus became a spectator of what he was destined to suffer. For the moment, it is true, he was merely cast into prison; but a little later, in fact that very day, the senate assembled in the temple of Concord not far from the jail, when they saw the attitude of the populace and that none of the Pretorians was about, and condemned him to death. By their order he was executed and his body cast down the Stairway, where the rabble abused it for three whole days and afterwards threw it into the river. His children also were put to death by decree, the girl (whom he had betrothed to the son of Claudius) having been first outraged by the public executioner on the principle that it was unlawful for a virgin to be put to death in the prison. His wife Apicata was not condemned, to be sure, but on learning that her children were dead, and after seeing their bodies on the Stairway, she withdrew and composed a statement about the death of Drusus, directed against Livilla, his wife, who had been the cause of a quarrel between herself and her husband, resulting in their separation; then, after sending this document to Tiberius, she committed suicide. It was in this way that Tiberius came to read her statement; and when he had obtained proof of the information given, he put to death Livilla and all the others therein mentioned. I have, indeed, heard that he spared Livilla out of regard for her mother Antonia, and that Antonia herself of her own accord killed her daughter by starving her. These events, however, were later.
12 Τούτο μὲν οὖν ύστερον ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ θόρυβος
πολὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει συννεκότη. Ὅ τε γὰρ δήμος
ἐξ ποὺ τινὰ τῶν μέγα παρὰ τῷ Σείανῷ δυνη-
θέντων καὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ύβρισάματων τι ἐδεί, ἐφό-
2 νευ καὶ οἱ στρατιώται ἀγανακτοῦντες ὅτι αὐτοὶ
tε ἐς τὴν τοῦ Σείανοῦ εὐνοιαν ὑπωπτεύθησαν
καὶ οἱ νυκτοφύλακές σφων ἐς τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκρά-
tορος πίστιν προετιμήθησαν, ἐμπρήσεις τε καὶ
ἀρπαγάς ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ τοι πάντων τῶν ἐν ταῖς
ἀρχαῖς ὄντων τὸ ἀστυ πᾶν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Τιβέριου
3 ἐντολῆς φυλαττόντων. οὐ μὴν οὖδὲ η ἁυουλὴ
 HttpServletResponse άλλ' οἱ τε τοῦ Σείανοῦ τεθεραπευκότες
dεινῶς δεῖε τῆς τιμωρίας ἑταράσσοντο, καὶ οἱ
κατηγορηκότες ἢ καὶ καταμεμερυκότες τινῶν
dιὰ φόβου, ὑποψία 1 τοῦ καὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἀλλ' οὐ
dιὰ τὸν Τιβέριον αὐτοὺς διεφθάρθαι, ἐγήγοντο.
ὁλόγον τε πάντω τὸ θαρσοῦν ἦν, ἄσων ἐξω τοῦ
τοῦ τοῦ καθειστήκει καὶ τῶν Τιβέριον ἡπιώτερον
4 γενήσεσθαι προσεδόκα. τὰ τε γὰρ συμβεβηκότα
σφίσιν ἐς τῶν ἄπολωλότα, ὥσπερ ποὺ φιλεῖ
γύρισθαι, ἔτρεπον, καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἢ οὐδεῖν ἢ
ὁλόγων 2 ἡτίωντο. τὰ γὰρ πλεῖόνα τὰ μὲν ἡγο-
ηκέναι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἄκοντα κατηγορικόσθαι πρᾶξιν
ἐλεγον. ἔδα μὲν δὴ ἡ ἡκαστοὶ οὕτω διετίθεντο,
κοινῇ δὲ δὴ ἐγυρφίσαντο, ὡς καὶ δεσποτείας τινὸς
ἀπηλλαγμένοι, μῆτε πένθος τινὰ ἐπ' αὐτῶ ποιη-
sασθαι, καὶ Ἑλενθερίας ἁγαλμα ἐς τὴν ἁγορὰν
5 ἀνατεθῆναι, ἐορτὴν τε διὰ τε τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ
diὰ τῶν ἱερέων ἅπαντων, ὃ μητῶποτε ἐγεγονεί,
ἀχθηναι, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἆ ἐτελευτήσει καὶ

1 ὑποψία Rk., ὑποψίαν M.
2 ὅλγων R. Steph., ὅλγον M.
BOOK LVIII

At the time of our narrative a great uproar took place in the city; for the populace slew anyone it saw of those who had possessed great influence with Sejanus and had committed acts of insolence to please him. The soldiers, too, angered because they had been suspected of friendliness for Sejanus and because the night-watch had been preferred to them for loyalty to the emperor, proceeded to burn and plunder, despite the fact that all the officials were guarding the whole city in accordance with Tiberius' command. Moreover, not even the senate remained quiet; but those of its members who had paid court to Sejanus were greatly disturbed by their fear of vengeance; and those who had accused or borne witness against others were filled with terror, because of the prevailing suspicion that their victims had been destroyed in the interest of Sejanus rather than of Tiberius. Very small, indeed, was the courageous element that remained free from these terrors and expected that Tiberius would become milder. For, as usually happens, they laid the responsibility for their previous misfortunes upon the man who had perished, and charged the emperor with few or none of them; as for most of these things, they said he had either been ignorant of them or had been forced to do them against his will. Privately this was the attitude of the various groups; but publicly they voted, as if they had been freed from a tyranny, not to hold any mourning over the deceased and to have a statue of Liberty erected in the Forum; also a festival was to be held under the auspices of all the magistrates and priests, a thing that had never before happened; and the day on which Sejanus had died was to be celebrated by annual
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ὑππων ἠγὼσι καὶ θηρίων σφαγαῖς ἐτησίως διὰ τε τῶν ἐς τὰς τέσσαρας ἱεροσύνας τελοῦντων καὶ διὰ τῶν τοῦ Λύγγουστου θιασωτῶν ἀγάλλεσθαι, 1

6 ὁ οὐδέποτε ἔπεποιητο. οὖν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ταῖς τε ὑπερβολαῖς καὶ ταῖς καυνότησι τῶν τιμῶν πρὸς τὸν ὀλεθρον προήγαγον, κατὰ τούτου καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ξένα τινὰ ἐψηφίζοντο. οὕτω γὰρ τοις σαφῶς ἡπίσταντο ὅτι ὑπ’ ἐκείνων μάλιστα ἐξεφράζησεν, ὡστ’ ἀπαγορεύεσαι παραχρῆμα διαρρήκην μήτε τιμᾶς μηδενὶ ὑπερόγκους δίδοσθαι μήτε τοὺς ὄρκους ἐπ’ ἄλλους τινὸς πλὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος

7 ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ μέντοι ταῦτ’ οὕτω, καθάπερ ἐκ θείας τινὸς ἐπιπνοίας, 2 ψηφισάμενοι καὶ τὸν Μάκρωνα καὶ τὸν Λάκωνα κολακεύειν οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον ἦρξαντο: χρήματά τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς πολλά καὶ τιμᾶς, Λάκωνι μὲν τὰς τῶν τεταμεικτῶν Μάκρωνι δὲ τὰς τῶν ἐστρατηγικῶν, ἐδώκαν, καὶ αὐτοῖς 3 καὶ συνθεᾶσθαι σφισι καὶ ἰματίων περιπορφύρῳ ἐν ταῖς εὐκταῖας πανηγύρισι χρη- 8 σθαί ἐπέτρεψαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκείνοι ἐδέξαντο αὐτὰ: τὸ γὰρ παράδειγμα σφας ύπόγυνον ὄν εὐθο- ρύβει. οὐ μὴν οὐδ’ ὁ Τιβέριος προσηκατό τι, ἀλλοι τ’ 4 αὐτῷ πολλῶν ψηφισθέντων, καὶ ὤπος αὐτός τε πατὴρ τῆς πατρίδος τότε ἢ ἄρξηται ὀνομάξεσθαι, καὶ τὰ γενέθλια αὐτῷ δέκα τε τῶν ὑππων ἀμίλλαις καὶ ἐστιάσει τῆς γερονσίας

1 ἀγάλλεσθαι Xiph., ἀγγέλλεσθαι M.
2 ἐπιπνοίας Reim., ἐπνοίας M.
3 αὐτὸς Leuncl., αὐτῷ M.
4 τ’ supplied by Pflugk.

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horse-races and wild-beast-hunts under the direction of the members of the four priesthhoods and of the Sodales Augustales, another thing that had never before been done. Thus, to celebrate the overthrow of the man whom they had led to his destruction by the excessive and novel honours bestowed upon him, they voted observances that were unknown even in honour of the gods. So clearly, indeed, did they comprehend that it was chiefly these honours that had bereft him of his senses, that they at once expressly forbade the granting of excessive honours to anybody and likewise the taking of oaths in the name of anyone besides the emperor. Nevertheless, though they passed such votes, as if under some divine inspiration, they began shortly afterward to fawn upon Macro and Laco. They granted them large sums of money, and also gave Laco the rank of an ex-quaestor and Macro that of an ex-praetor; they furthermore allowed them to witness the games in their company and to wear the purple-bordered toga at the votive festivals. The two men, however, did not accept these honours, for the example still so fresh in their minds served as a deterrent. Nor did Tiberius take any of the many honours that were voted him, chief among which was the proposal that he should begin to be termed Father of his Country now, at any rate, and also one that his birthday should be marked by ten horse races and a banquet of the senators. On the contrary, he gave notice anew that no one should introduce any such motion.

1 Cf. liii. 1, 4. 2 Cf. lvi. 46, 1. 3 Cf. lvii. 8, 1.
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tμωτός ἀλλὰ καὶ προηγόρευσεν αὖθις μηδένα μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ἐσηγεῖσθαι.

13 Ταύτα μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐγύγνετο, οὐ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος τέως μὲν ἐν δὲ εἰς μεγάλῳ καθεστήκει μὴ ὁ Σειανὸς κατασχῶν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιπλεύσῃ, καὶ πλοία παρασκευάσατο ἵνα, ἂν τι τοιοῦτο συμβῇ, διαφύγῃ τὸ τε Μάκρων, ὡς τινὲς φασίν, ἐνετέλατο ὅπως, ἂν τι παρακινήσῃ, τὸν Δροῦσον ἐς τὴν Βούλην καὶ ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐσαγάγῃ καὶ

2 αὐτοκράτορα ἀποδείξῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐμαθεὶν αὐτὸν ἀπολωλότα, ἔχαρεν ὡσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν τὴν πεμφθείσαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ προσδέξατο, καὶ πέρ πολλῶν μὲν παρὰ τῆς Βούλης πολλῶν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἱππέων τοῦ τε

3 πλήθους, ὡσπερ καὶ πρῶς, σταλέντων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὑπατῶν τῶν Ῥήγουλον, τὰ τε αὐτοῦ ἀεὶ φρονήσαντα καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄσφαλειαν τῆς ἐς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ κομιδῆς, ὡσπερ ἐπεστάλκει, ἐλθόντα, ἀπεωόσατο.

14 Σειανὸς μὲν δὴ μέγιστὸν τῶν τε πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτῶν, πλὴν Πλαυτιανοῦ, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ταύτην λαβόντων ἵσχύσας οὐτως ἀπήλλαξεν, οἱ δὲ δὴ συγγενεῖς οἱ τε ἑταῖροι αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες οἱ τι αὐτῶν κολακεύσαντες καὶ οἱ τὰς

2 τιμὰς αὐτῷ ἐσηγησάμενοι ἐκρίνοντο καὶ ἐκεῖνων τε οἱ πλείους ἥλισκοντο ἐφ' ὧν πρότερον ἐφθανόντο, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι κατεδικαζόν σφών ἐφ' ὧς πρότερον ἐψήφισαντο. καὶ συνην καὶ τῶν κεκρίμενων τε ἐπὶ τισι καὶ ἀφειμένων καὶ κατηγορηθησάν αὖθις καὶ ἐάλωσαν ὡς καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου

3 χάριν τότε σωθέντες. οὕτως, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο
These were the events that were taking place in the city.

Tiberius for a time had been in great fear that Sejanus would occupy the city and sail against him, and so he had got ships in readiness in order to escape if anything of the sort came to pass; he had also commanded Macro, as some report, to bring Drusus before the senate and people, in the event of any uprising, and declare him emperor. When, now, he learned that Sejanus was dead, he rejoiced, as was natural, but he would not receive the embassy that was sent to congratulate him, though many members of the senate and many of the knights and the populace had been sent out, as before. Indeed, he even rebuffed the consul Regulus, who had always been devoted to his interests and had come in response to the emperor's own command, in order to ensure the safety of his journey to the city.

Thus perished Sejanus, after attaining to greater power than any of those who held this position either before or after him, with the exception of Plautianus. Moreover, his relatives, his associates, and all the rest who had paid court to him and had proposed the granting of honours to him were brought to trial. The majority of them were convicted for the acts that had previously made them objects of envy; and their fellow-citizens condemned them for the measures which they themselves had previously voted. Many men who had been tried on various charges and acquitted were again accused and now convicted, on the ground that they had been saved before as a favour to the man now fallen. Accord-

1 Prefect of the Pretorian guard.
2 Cf. lxxv. 14 ff.
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εγκλημα τω ἐπεφέρετο, ἀλλ' αυτό γε 1 τότε εξήρκει οἱ πρὸς τὴν τιμωρίαν ὅτι φίλος τοῦ Σεϊανοῦ ἐγερόμενε, καθάπερ οὐ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Τι-βερίου φιλόσαντος αὐτὸν καὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὕτω σπουδασάντων. ἐμήνυν δὲ δὴ ταῦτα ἄλλοι τε καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ μάλιστα τὸν Σεϊανοῦ θεραπεύοντες· οἱ γὰρ ἀκριβῶς τοὺς ὁμοίους σφόδρα εἰδότες, οὐδὲν πράγμα εἶχον οὔτ' ἀναζή-
tούντες αὐτούς οὔτε ἐξελέγχουτε. καὶ οἱ μὲν, ὡς σωθησόμενοι τε διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τιμᾶς καὶ χρή-
mατα προσληψόμενοι, οἱ μὲν κατηγόροιν τινῶν οἱ δὲ κατεμαρτύρουν, συνεβὴ δὲ αὐτῶν μηδενὸς ὃν ἠλπίζον τυχεῖν· τοὺς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐγκλημασίν οἰς τοὺς ἄλλους μετήμεσαν ἐνεχόμενοι, τὸ μὲν τι δὲ ἐκεῖνα τὸ δὲ καὶ ὡς προδοσέταιροι, προσ-
απόλλυντο. τῶν οὖν αὐτιαθέντων συχνὸι μὲν καὶ κατηγορήθησαν παρόντες καὶ ἀπελογήσαντο, καὶ παρρησία γε εἰσίν οἱ μεγάλη ἐχρήσαντο· οἱ δὲ δὴ πλείους αὐτοῖς ἐαυτοὺς πρὶν ἄλωνα διέφθειραν.

2 ἔποιον δὲ τοῦτο μάλιστα μὲν τοῦ 2 μῆτε τὴν ὑβριν μῆτε τὴν αἰκίαν φέρεων (πάντες γὰρ οἱ τινα τοιαύτην αἰτίαν λαβόντες, οὐχ ὅπως ἢπτῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ βουλευταί, οὐδ' ὅπως ἀνδρὲς ἄλλα καὶ γυναῖκες, ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον συνεκθοίντο, καὶ 3 καταψηφίσθεντες οἱ μὲν ἐκεῖ ἐκολοῦξεν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ὑπὸ τῶν δημώρχων ἦ καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων κατεκρημνίζοντο, καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰ σώματα ἀπάντων αὐτῶν ἐρρίπτετο καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς τῶν ποταμῶν ἐνεβάλλετο). ἦδη δὲ καὶ ὅπως οἱ παῖδες τῶν αὐτίκων αὐτών κλη-

4 Ρονομώσιν· ὸλίγαι γὰρ πάνω τῶν ἐθελοντηδὸν

1 γε Ἡ. Steph., τε Μ.
ingly, if no other complaint could be brought against a person, the very fact that he had been a friend of Sejanus sufficed to bring punishment upon him—as if, forsooth, Tiberius himself had not been fond of him and thereby caused others to display such zeal in his behalf. Among those who gave information of this sort were the very men who had been foremost in paying court to Sejanus; for, inasmuch as they had accurate knowledge of those who were in the same position as themselves, they had no difficulty either in seeking them out or in securing their conviction. So these men, expecting to save themselves by this procedure and to obtain money and honours besides, were accusing others or bearing witness against them; but, as it turned out, they realized none of their hopes. For, as they were liable themselves to the same charges on which they were prosecuting the others, they perished also, partly for this very reason and partly as betrayers of their friends. Of those against whom charges were brought, many were present to hear their accusation and make their defence, and some expressed their minds very freely in so doing; but the majority made away with themselves before their conviction. They did this chiefly to avoid suffering insult and outrage. For all who incurred any such charge, senators as well as knights, and women as well as men, were crowded together in the prison, and upon being condemned either paid the penalty there or were hurled down from the Capitol by the tribunes or even by the consuls, after which the bodies of all of them were cast into the Forum and later thrown into the river. But their object was partly that

\[2 \tau \nu \theta \text{ Ls., } \tau \gamma \text{ M.}\]
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πρὸ τῆς δίκης τελευτῶντων ἐδημεύοντο, προκαλομένου διὰ τούτου τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῦ Τιβερίου αὐτοέντας γένεσθαι, ἵνα μὴ αὐτὸς σφας ἀποκτείνει δοκῇ, ὅσπερ οὖ πολλῷ δεινότερον οὐν αὐτοχειρία τινὰ ἀποθανεῖν ἀναγκάσαι τοῦ τῷ

16 δημίῳ αὐτῶν παραδοῦναι. αἱ δ' οὖν πλεῖστα τῶν οὖν οὕτως ἀποθανόντων οὔσιν ἐδημοσιοῦντο, βραχέος τινὸς ἢ καὶ μιθέως τοῖς κατηγορήσασιν αὐτῶν διδομένου. καὶ γὰρ τὰ χρήματα δι' ἀκρι-

βείας ἦδη πολὺ 1 μᾶλλον ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τέλος τι διακοσιωστὴν ἔχουν ἐκατοστὴν ἥγαγε, καὶ ἐκληρονομεί παντὸς τοῦ καταλειφθέντος αὐτῷ· κατέλειπον 2 δὲ δὴ πάντες ὅλγον καὶ οἱ ἑαυτοὺς ἀναχρώμενοι, ὡσπερ καὶ τῷ Σεῖανῳ ὅτε ἔζη.

3 Τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ διανοίᾳ ἦ τὰ τῶν ἐκόντως ἀποθηνησκόντων χρήματα οὐκ ἀφηρεῖτο, καὶ τὰς ἐσαγγελίας πάσας ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν ἐσήγην, ὅπως αὐτὸς τε ἔξω αἰτίας, ὅσ γε καὶ ἐδόκει, ἢ, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ αὐτὴ ἐαυτῆς ὡς καὶ ἀδικοῦσης 3 τι

4 καταψηφίζηται. οθεν καὶ πᾶν ἀκριβῶς ἔμαθον, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἑαυτῶν ἀπολλύμενοι, ὅτι καὶ τὰ πρότερον ἐκεῖνα οὐ τοῦ Σεῖανοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἔργα ἦν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον οἱ κατηγορήσαντες τινῶν ἐκρίνοντο ἢ καὶ οἱ καταμαρτυρήσαντες κατεμαρτυροῦντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ κατεψηφίσμενοι τινῶν

1 ἦδη πολὺ St., ἢ δείπνα M.
2 κατέλειπον Bk., κατέλειπον M.
3 ἀδικοῦσης Rk., διαδικοῦσης M.

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their children might inherit their property, since very few estates of such as voluntarily died before their trial were confiscated, Tiberius in this way inviting men to become their own murderers, so that he might avoid the reputation of having killed them—just as if it were not far more dreadful to compel a man to die by his own hand than to deliver him to the executioner. Most of the estates of those who failed to die in this manner were confiscated, only a little or even nothing at all being given to their accusers; for Tiberius was now inclined to be far more strict in the matter of money. For this reason he increased to one per cent. a certain tax which had been only one-half of one per cent. and was accepting every inheritance that was left to him; and for that matter, nearly everybody left him something, even those who made away with themselves, as they had also done to Sejanus while he was alive.

Furthermore, with the same purpose that had prompted him not to take away the wealth of those who perished voluntarily, Tiberius caused all accusations to be lodged with the senate, so that he should be free from blame himself (as he imagined) and the senate should pass sentence upon itself as guilty of wrong-doing. Hence people learned only too clearly, now that they were perishing at one another's hands, that their former woes were the work of Tiberius quite as much as the work of Sejanus. For it happened not only that those who had accused others were brought to trial and those who had testified against others now found others testifying against them, but also that those who had condemned others were convicted in their turn. So
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5 ἀνθιλίσκοντο. οὐτὸς οὐθ’ ὁ Τιβέριος τινων ἐφείδετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς κατ’ ἀλλήλων ἀπεχρῆτο, οὕτ’ ἀλλοι βέβαιων φίλοις οὐδένα, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ καὶ τῷ ἄδικον καὶ τῷ ἀναμάρτητον τὸ τε ὑποπτεύον τι καὶ τὸ ἄδεες πρὸς τὴν τῶν Σειανῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀνάκρισιν ἐγνύετο.

6 ἐδοξεὶ μὲν γὰρ τινα ὑμνηστίαν αὐτῶν ὡφεὶ ποτὲ ἐσηγήσασθαι καὶ γὰρ πενθεῖν τοῖς βουλομένοις αὐτῶν ἐπέτρεψε, προσαπειπτῶν μηδὲ 2 ἐφ’ ἐτέρου τινὸς κωλύσθαι τίνα τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ὁ πολλάκις ἐφηφιέτεο: οὐ μὴν καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐβεβαιώσεν αὐτήν, ἀλλ’ ὁλόγον διαλιπῶν ἐπείτα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Σειανῷ καὶ ἐφ’ ἐτέρους ἀθεμέτος ἐγκλήμασι συχνός ἐκόλασεν, ὡς χυγγήκειν τε καὶ ἀπεκτενέναι καὶ τὰς συγγενεστάτας σφόσιν αἰτιαθέντας.

17 Τοιαύτης δ’ οὖν τότε τῆς καταστάσεως οὕσης, καὶ μηδ’ ἀπαρνησασθαί τινὸς δυναμένου τὸ μὴ οὐ καὶ τῶν σαρκῶν ἀν’ αυτοῦ ἤδεως ἐμφαγεῖν, γελοιοτάτον πράγμα τῷ ἔξης ἔτει, ὁ Γναῖος Δομίτιος καὶ Κάμιλλος Σκριβωνιάνδος ὑπάτευσαν, ἐγένετο. τοιμαζομένου γὰρ συχνὸν ἡδὴ χρόνου μηκέτι κατὰ ἄνδρα τὴν βουλήν ἐν τῇ νομηνίᾳ ὑμνώναι, ἀλλ’ ἐνός, ὁσπερ εἴρηται μοι, προσομνύστῳ 4 καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς συνεπαίνειν, οὐκ ἐποίησαν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ αὐτεπάγγελτοι, μηδενὸς σφας ἀναγκασάντως, ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ’ ἐαυτὸν ἐκαστος ἐπιστέθησαν ὁσπερ τι παρὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον

1 A corrupt passage. Bs. suggests ἀλλὰς βέβαιων φίλον οὐδένα ὡφεὶς εἴχεν, followed in the translation.
2 μηδὲ Reim., μηδὲν M cod. Peir.
3 ἐν cod. Peir., om. M.
4 προσομνύστως H. Steph., προσομνύστος M.
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it was that neither Tiberius spared anyone, but employed all the citizens without exception against one another, nor, for that matter, could anybody rely upon the loyalty of any friend; but the guilty and the innocent, the timorous and the fearless, stood on the same footing when face to face with the inquiry into the charges involving the acts of Sejanus. For, although he decided after a long time to propose a sort of amnesty for these offences, in that he permitted all those who so desired to go into mourning for Sejanus (forbidding all interference with such acts in the case of any other person also, though decrees to this effect were frequently passed), yet he did not live up to this edict in fact, but after a brief interval punished a good many for so honouring Sejanus and on sundry lawless charges, the accusation generally being that they had outraged and murdered their nearest kinswomen.

When things had now come to this pass, and there was not a man that could deny that he would be glad to feast on the emperor's flesh, a most ridiculous proceeding took place in the following year, when Gnaeus Domitius and Camillus Scribonianus became consuls. It had long since ceased to be the custom for the members of the senate to take the oath on New Year's day each for himself; instead, one of their number, as has already been stated, would take the oath for them all and the rest would then express their acquiescence. On this occasion, however, they did not do so, but of their own motion, without any compulsion, they pledged themselves separately and individually, as if this would make

1 Evidently in a passage now lost, between Ivii. 17, 8, and Iviii. 7, 2.
3 εὐροκήσουσινες. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ πολλά ἐτή οὐδ᾽ ὁμωνύμα τινὰ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἄρχην αὐτοῦ φέροντα, ὡσπερ εἴπον, ἥμεσχετο· τὸτε δὲ καὶ ἔτερον τι γελοιότερον ἐγένετο. προχειρίσασθαι τε γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὅσουν ἂν ἔθελήσῃ σφῶν, καὶ εἰς αὐτῶν εἰκοσιν, οὕς ἂν ὁ κλήρος ἀποφήγῃ, φρουροῖς, ὀσάκις ἂν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἔση.⁴

4 ξυφίδια ἔχουσι χρήσθαι ἐψηφίσαντο. τῶν τε γὰρ ἐξω πρὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν τηρομένων καὶ εἰσὼ μηδενὸς ἰδιώτου ἐσίοντος, δι᾽ οὕδενα δήλον ὅτι ἄλλον, ἄλλα δι᾽ ἐαυτοὺς μόνους ὅς καὶ πολεμών οἱ ὄντας² τὴν φρουρᾶν αὐτῷ δοθῆναι ἐγνωσαν. ὁ δ᾽ οὖν Τιβέριος ἐπήνεσε μὲν αὐτοὺς, καὶ χάριν δήθεν τὴς εὐνοίας σφίσιν ἐγνω, τὸ δὲ δὴ πράγμα ὡς καὶ ἀνθὲς διεκρούσατο· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως εὐθῆς ἢν ὅστ᾽ αὐτοῖς γε ἐκέινοις, οὕς τε ἐμίσει καὶ ύφ᾽ ὃν ἐμυσεῖτο, ξύφη δοῦναι. ²

18 ἀμέλει καὶ εἰ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν τούτων προσυποτοπίσας σφᾶς (πᾶν γὰρ ὁ τι ἂν τις παρὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐπὶ κολακεῖα ποιῇ ὑποπτεύεται) τοῖς μὲν ἐκείνων ψηφίσμασι μακρὰ χαίρειν ἐφράσε, τοὺς δὲ δορυ-φόρους καὶ λόγους καὶ χρήμασιν, καίπερ τὰ τοῦ Σείανοῦ φρονίσαντας εἰδὼς, ἐτίμησεν, ἵνα αὐτοῖς ἐπριστέροις κατ᾽ αὐτῶν χρήσθαι ἔχῃ. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ὅτε καὶ τοὺς βουλεύτας ἀδῆς ἐπήνεσεν, ἐπεὶ σφίσιν ēκ τοῦ δημοσίου τὸ ἀργύριον δοθῆναι ἐψηφίσαντο· οὕτω δὲ δὴ ἀκριβῶς τοὺς μὲν τῶ

⁴ εἰσὶν cod. Peir., ἐσημὶ M.
² οἱ ὄντας cod. Peir., ἐσωκτας M.

¹ Cf. lvii. 8, 4.
them any more regardful of their oath. It should be explained that previously for many years the emperor objected to anyone's swearing at all to support his official acts, as I have said. At this same time occurred also another incident, still more ridiculous than the other: they voted that Tiberius should select as many of their number as he liked and should then employ twenty of these, to be chosen by lot and armed with daggers, as guards whenever he entered the senate-chamber. Now, inasmuch as the soldiers were on guard outside the building and no private citizen could come inside, their resolution that a guard should be given him was evidently directed against no one but themselves, thus indicating that they were his enemies. Tiberius, of course, commended them and made a show of thanking them for their good will, but he rejected their offer as being without precedent; for he was not so simple as to give swords to the very men whom he hated and by whom he was hated. At any rate, as a result of these very measures he began to grow more suspicious of them (for every act of insincerity that one undertakes for the purpose of flattery is inevitably suspected), and dismissing utterly from his thoughts all their decrees, he bestowed honours both in words and in money upon the Pretorians, in spite of his knowledge that they had been on the side of Sejanus, in order that he might find them more zealous in his service against the senators. There was another time, to be sure, that he commended the senators; this was when they voted that the guards' pay should be given them from the public treasury. Thus, in a most effective manner, he kept deceiving the one
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λόγῳ ἀντεξηπάτα τοὺς δὲ τῷ ἐργῷ προσηταιρί-
ζετο, ὡστε καὶ Ἰούνιον 1 Γαλλίωνα, 2 θέαν τοῖς δια-
στατευσαμένοις αὐτῶν 3 ἐν τῇ τῶν ἱππεῶν ἐδρα
διδοσθαί ἐσηγησάμενον, μὴ μονὸν φυγαδεύσαι,
αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπικληθέντα ὅτι σφᾶς ἀναπείθειν
ἐδοκεὶ τῷ κοινῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐαυτῷ εὐνοεῖν, ἀλλὰ
cαὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐγὼν αὐτῶν ἢ Λέσβον ἀπαίρειν, τῆς
tε ἐκεῖ ἁσφαλοὺς εὐδαιμονίας ἥφεσθαι καὶ ἐς
φυλακὴν τοῖς ἀρχοντισιν, ὡσπερ ποτὲ τὸν Γάλλον,
5 παραδοῦναι. καὶ ὥστε ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἐκατέρως
πείσῃ ὁπως περὶ ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν φρονοῖν,
ἡτήσατο παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον,
ἀρκεῖν οἱ φήσας, 4 τὸν τε Μάκρωνα καὶ τινας 5
χιλιάρχους ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσάγεσθαι. ὦ γὰρ
ποῦ καὶ ἐδειτό 6 τι αὐτῶν, ὃς γε οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν
ἐτὶ ἔστελθεὶν ἐνενόει, ἀλλὰ τὸ τε ἐκεῖνων μᾶς καὶ
tὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν εὐνοιαν ἐνδείξασθαι σφισιν
6 ἠθέλησε. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸι οἱ βουλευταὶ
ὡμολόγησαν τῷ γονῷ 7 δόγματι προσενέγραψαν
ὡςτε ἑρευνάν σφῶν συνιόντων, μὴ καὶ ἐξιδίδιον
tῆς ὑπὸ μάλης ἔχῃ, γέγρεσθαι.

19 Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῷ ἐγομένῳ ἐτεὶ ἐγνώσθη, τότε
dὲ ἐφείσατο μὲν καὶ ἀλλων τινῶν καίτοι τῷ
Σειανῳ ἄκειμενων, ἐφείσατο δὲ καὶ Λυκίνου
Καῖσανοῦ 8 στρατηγοῦ Μάρκου τε Τερεντίου

1 Ἰούνιον R. Steph., ὄνινον M.
2 Γαλλίωνα Xyl., γαλλῆνον γαλλίωνa M, γαλλίων cod. Peir.
3 αὐτῶν R. Steph., αὐτῶν M cod. Peir.
4 φήσας supplied by Capps ; cf. ix. 10, 2 (ἀρκῶν εἶναι
φήσας).
5 τινας supplied by Rk. ; cf. Tac. Ann. vi. 15 (utque Macro
praefectus tribunorumque et centurionum pauci secum introirent,
quodieis curiam ingrediretur, petivit).

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group by his words while winning over the others by his deeds. For example, when Junius Gallio proposed that the Pretorians who had finished their term of service should be given the privilege of witnessing the games from the seats of the knights, he not only banished him, the specific charge being that he was apparently trying to induce the guards to be loyal to the State rather than to the emperor, but in addition, when he learned that Gallio was setting sail for Lesbos, he deprived him of a safe and comfortable existence there and delivered him up to the custody of the magistrates, as he had once done with Gallus. And in order to convince the two parties still more of his attitude toward each of them, he not long afterward asked the senate that Macro and a certain number of military tribunes should escort him into the senate-chamber, saying that this guard would suffice. He had no need of them, of course, for he had no idea of ever entering the city again; but he wished to show them his hatred of them and his good-will toward the soldiers of the guard. And the senators themselves acknowledged this situation; in any event, they attached to the decree a clause providing that they should be searched on entering, to make sure that none had a dagger hidden beneath his arm. This resolution was passed in the following year.

At the time in question he spared, among others who had been intimate with Sejanus, Lucius Caesianus, a praetor, and Marcus Terentius, a knight.

6 εἰκό R. Steph., εἴδετο M. 7 ηοοιν Βκ., δ' οὖν M.
8 Κασιανοῦ Βς., καὶ σιανοῦ M., κασιανοῦ ἐφείσατο λοικίον τε σιανοῦ Χιρ. 233
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ιπτέως, ἐκεῖνον μὲν ὑπερφρονήσας τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα διὰ φαλακρῶν ἐν τοῖς Φλωραλίοις μέχρι νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Τιβερίου χλευασία, ὅτι τοι-2 οὕτως ἦν, ποιήσαντος, καὶ φῶς τοῖς ἀπεινοῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου διὰ πεντακισχιλίων πάϊδων ἀπεξυρημένων παρασχόντος (τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐδέχεσε δι’ ὀργῆς αὐτῶν γενέσθαι ὡστ’ οὐδὲ προσεποίησατο ἀρχὴν ὅτι περὶ αὐτῶν ἤκηκόει, καίπερ Καισιανῶν ἐξ ἐκείνου πάντων τῶν φαλακρῶν ὑσμασθέντων),
3 τοῦ δὲ δὴ Τερεντίου, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Σεῖανοῦ φιλία κρινόμενος οὐχ ὦ σον οὐκ ἤρνησατο, ἄλλα καὶ ἐφή καὶ σπουδάσας μᾶλλον αὐτὸν καὶ θεραπεύσας, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Τιβερίου οὔτως ἔτιμάτο, "ὀστ’ εἰ μὲν ἐκεῖνος ὁ ὅρθος" εἶπεν "ἐποίει τοιούτω φίλῳ χρώμενος, οὐδὲ ἐγὼ 4 τῇ ὑδίκηκα· εἰ δ’ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ὁ πάντα ἀκριβῶς εἰδὼς ἐπλανήθη, τὶ θαυμαστὸν εἰ καὶ ἐγὼ οἱ συνεξηπατήθην; καὶ γὰρ τοῦ προσήκει ἡμῖν πάντας τοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τιμωμένους ἄγαταν, μὴ πολυπραγμονοῦντας ὁποὶ τινές εἰσιν, ἂλλ’ ἔνα ὄρον τῆς φιλίας σφῶν ποιοῦμένους τὸ τῶν αὐτο-5 κράτορι αὐτοὺς ἀρέσκειν." ἡ τε γὰρ βουλὴ διὰ ταῦτα αὐτὸν ἀφίκε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοῖς κατηγορήσαντι αὐτοῦ προσεπετίμησε,2 καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος συγκατέθετο σφίσι. τοῖς τε Πίστωνα τοῖς πολιάρχους τελευτήσαντα δημοσίᾳ ταφῇ εἴτιμησεν, ὅπερ ποὺ καὶ ἄλλοις ἐχαρίζετο· καὶ Λοῦκιοι ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ Λαμίαν3 ἀνθείλετο, ὅν πρόπαλαι τῇ Συρίᾳ4 προστάξας κατείχεν ἐν τῇ

1 Καισιανῶν Βς., καὶ σιανῶν Μ, σιανῶν Xiph.
2 προσεπετίμησε Camerarius, προσεπετίμησε Μ, προετίμησε Xiph.
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He overlooked the action of the former, who at the Flora1ia had seen to it that all the merry-making up to nightfall was done by baldheaded men, in order to poke fun at the emperor, who was bald, and at night had furnished light to the people as they left the theatre by torches in the hands of five thousand boys with shaven pates. Indeed, Tiberius was so far from becoming angry at him that he pretended not to have heard about it at all, though all baldheaded persons were thenceforth called Caesiani. As for Terentius, he was spared because, when on trial for his friendship with Sejanus, he not only did not deny it, but even affirmed that he had shown the greatest zeal in his behalf and had paid court to him for the reason that the minister had been so highly honoured by Tiberius himself; "consequently," he said, "if the emperor did right in having such a friend, I, too, have done no wrong; and if he, who has accurate knowledge of everything, erred, what wonder is it that I shared in his deception? For surely it is our duty to cherish all whom he honours, without concerning ourselves overmuch about the kind of men they are, but making our friendship for them depend on just one thing—the fact that they please the emperor." The senate, because of this, acquitted him and rebuked his accusers besides; and Tiberius concurred with them. When Piso, the city prefect, died, he honoured him with a public funeral, a distinction that he also granted to others. In his stead he chose Lucius Lamia, whom he had long since assigned to Syria.

3 Λαμίαν Τυρν., ταμίαν M.
4 Συρίξ Κασανδρον, στρατην M.
6 Ῥώμην. τούτο δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἐτέρων πολλῶν ἐποίει, ἐργῳ μὲν μηδενὸς αὐτῶν δεόμενος, λόγῳ δὲ δὴ τιμὰν αὐτοὺς προσποιούμενος. καὶ τούτῳ Ὀυι-
τρασίουν Πωλίνων τοῦ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἄρχοντος τελευτήσαντος Ἴβηρῳ τινὶ Καΐσαρείῳ χρόνου τινὰ τῷ ἑθνὸς ἐπέτρεψε.

20 Τῶν δ' οὖν ὑπάτων ὁ μὲν Δομίτιος δι' ἑτους ἦρξε (τῆς γὰρ Ἀγριππίνης τῆς τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ θυγατρὸς ἀνήρ ἦν), οἱ δ' ἄλλου ὡς πον τῷ Τιβερίῳ ἐδοξε. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ μακρότερον τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ βραχύτερον ἄν ἱρεῖτο,2 καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐτὶ καὶ θάσσον τοῦ τεταγμένου ἀπήλλασσο, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἄρχειν ἔδιδον. ἢδὴ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ὁλον τὸν ἐναιστῶν ἀποδείξας ἣν τινὰ ἐκεῖνον μὲν κατέλυνεν, ἐτέρων δὲ καὶ αὐθίς ἑτερον ἀντικαθίστη καὶ τινὰς καὶ ἐσ τρίτον ἐτέρους προχειριζόμενον, εἶτα ἄλλους ὑπατεύειν πρὸ αὐτῶν ἀνθ' ἑτέρων

3 ἐποίει. καὶ περὶ μὲν τοὺς ὑπάτους ταῦτα διὰ πάσης ὡς εἴπειν τῆς ἒρμονίας αὐτῶν ἐγγυητο¬

τὸν δὲ δὴ τὰς ἄλλας ἄρχας αὐτοῦντων ἐξελέγετο ὡςον ἤθελε, καὶ σφας ἐς τὸ συνεδριον ἐσέπεμπε, τοὺς μὲν συνιστὰς αὐτῷ, οὕτε ὑπὸ πάντων ἱροῦντο, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τε ποὺς δικαιῶμαι καὶ 4 ἐπὶ τῷ ὑμηλογίᾳ τῷ τε κλήρῳ ποιούμενον. καὶ μετὰ τούτο ἐς τοῖς δήμοι καὶ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος οἱ προσήκοντες ἐκατέρω, τῆς ἄρχας ὀσίας ἕνεκα, καθὰπερ καὶ νῦν, ὡστε ἐν εἰκόνι δοκεῖν γίγνεσθαι,

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1 Οὐιτρασίου Bk., οὐητρασίου M.
2 ἵνα ἱρεῖτο Bk., ἵνα ἱρεῖτο M.

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1 He is called Severus by Philo, In Flaccum 1.

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but was detaining in Rome. He did the same also with many others, not that he really had any need of them, but he thus made an outward show of honouring them. Meanwhile Vitranius Pollio, the governor of Egypt, died, and he entrusted the province for a time to a certain Hiberus, an imperial freedman.

As for the consuls, Domitius held office for the whole year (for he was the husband of Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus), but the rest only so long as pleased Tiberius. Some he would choose for a longer period and some for a shorter; some he removed before the end of the appointed term, and others he allowed to hold office beyond their time. He would even appoint a man for the whole year and then depose him, setting up another and still another in his place; and sometimes, after choosing certain substitutes for third place, he would then cause others to become consul ahead of them in place of the second set. These irregularities in the case of the consuls occurred throughout practically his whole reign. Of the candidates for the other offices, he selected as many as he wished and referred them to the senate, some with his recommendation, in which event they were chosen unanimously, but in the case of others conditioning their selection upon the merit of their claims, upon mutual agreement, or upon the lot. After that the candidates went before the people or before the plebs, according as they belonged to the one or the other, and were duly elected; this was done in order to conform to time-honoured precedent, just as is done to-day, so as to produce the semblance of a valid

2 The comitia centuriata and the comitia tributa respectively.
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εστιόντες ἀπεδείκνυτο. εἰ δ’ οὖν τοτε ἐνέλιπόν τινες ἢ καὶ φιλονεικία ἀκράτω ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ 5 ἐλάττους προεχειρίζοντο. τῷ γοῦν ἐπίοντι ἔτει, ἐν ω̣ τε Γάλβας ὁ Σέρουιος ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐταρχήσας καὶ Λουκίος Κορηήλιος τὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ὄνομα ἔσχον, πεντεκαίδεκα στρατηγοὶ ἐγένοντο· καὶ τούτο καὶ ἔπει πολλὰ ἔτη συνέβη, ὡστε ἐστὶ μὲν ὅτε ἐκκαίδεκα ἐστὶ δ’ ὅτε παρ’ ἑαυτή ἡ καὶ δύο χειροτονεῖσθαι.

21 Τιβέριος δὲ δὴ ἦλθε μὲν πρὸς τὸ ἅστυ, καὶ διέτριψεν ἐν τοῖς πέριξ αὐτοῦ τόποις, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐσεφοίησεν εἴσω, καίτοι καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίους ἀποσχόν, καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας τὰς τε τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ τὰς λοιπὰς καὶ τὴν τοῦ Δρούσου τὴν ἱερᾶν, καὶ διὰ τούτο οὖν ἡ πόλις τοὺς γάμους αὐτῶν ἐσφάγωσεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε ἅλλα καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ τότε καὶ συνήχθη καὶ ἔδικασε. σφόδρα γὰρ ἐπιμελεῖς ἐποιεῖτο ἢ ἑαυτὴν σφας ὑσάκις καὶ καθήκοις συνείναι καὶ ἑαυτῆς ὑψιαίτερον ἀπαντῶν τοῦ τεταγμένου μήτε προϊαίτερον ἀπαλλάττε-3 σθαι. καὶ πολλὰ περὶ τούτον καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπέστειλε, καὶ ποτὲ τινα ὑπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀναγνωσθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν. ὥς καὶ ἔπει ἅλλων πραγμάτων ἐποίει, καθάπερ μή δυνάμειος αὐτὰ ἀντικρεῖ τῇ βουλῇ γράψαι. ἐσέσπευσε δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν οὐ μόνον τὰ βιβλία τὰ διδομένα οἱ παρὰ τῶν μυστικῶν τι, ἅλλα καὶ τὰς βασάνους ἀσ ὁ Μάκρων ἐποιεῖτο, ὡστε μιθὲν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς πλὴν 4 τῆς καταψυφήσεως γέγονεν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι Οὐλούλιος τε Ἁγρίππας ἱππεὺς φάρμακαν ἐν

1 ἐνέλιπόν R Steph., ἐνέλιπτον M
2 καθήκοι Dind., καθήκη M.
BOOK LVIII

election. In case there was ever a deficiency of candidates, or in case they became involved in irreconcilable strife, a smaller number were chosen. Thus, in the following year, when Servius Galba (who later became emperor) and Lucius Cornelius held the title of consuls, there were only fifteen praetors; and this situation continued for many years, so that sometimes sixteen and sometimes one or two fewer were chosen.

Tiberius now approached the capital and sojourned in its environs; but he did not go inside the walls, although he was but four miles away, and bestowed in marriage the remaining daughters of Germanicus and also Julia, the daughter of Drusus. Hence the city, on its part, did not hold any festival in honour of their marriages, but everything went on as usual, even the senate convening and deciding judicial cases. For Tiberius made an important point of their assembling as often as it was fitting for them to meet, and insisted on their not arriving later or departing earlier than the time appointed. He also sent to the consuls many injunctions on this head, and once ordered certain statements to be read aloud by them. He took the same course also in regard to some other matters—just as if he could not write directly to the senate! He did, however, send in to that body not only the documents given him by the informers, but also the confessions which Macro had obtained from people under torture, so that nothing was left to them except the vote of condemnation. About this time, however, a certain Vibullius Agrippa, a knight, swallowed poison from a ring and died in

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1 He is called Vibulemus by Tacitus (Ann. vi. 40).
άυτῷ τῷ Βουλευτηρίῳ ἐκ δακτυλίων ροφήσας ἀπέθανε, καὶ ὁ Νέρωνας μνηκέτι τὴν συνουσίαν αὐτοῦ φέρων ἀπεκαρτέρησε διά τε τάλλα, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι τοὺς νόμους τοὺς περὶ τῶν συμβολαιῶν ύπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος τεθέντας, ἔξ ὡν καὶ ἀπιστία καὶ παραχῇ πολλὴ γενήσεσθαι ἐμελλεν, 5 ἀνενεώσατο, καὶ πολλὰ γε αὐτοῦ παρακαλοῦντος ὅπως τι ἐμφάγη 1 οὕτω ἀποκρίνασθαι τι ἤθελησε, τό τε πρόγμα το κατὰ τὰ δανείσματα ἐμτρίασε, καὶ δισχίλιας καὶ πεντακοσίας μυριάδας τῷ δημοσίῳ ἐδώκεν ὡστ' αὐτάς ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν Βουλευτῶν ἀποκεῖ τοῖς δεσμεύσεις ἐς τρία ἔτη ἐκδανεισθήναι, τοὺς τε ἐπιβοητοτάτους τῶν τὰς κατηγορίας ποιουμένων ἀποθανεῖν ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκέλευσε. 6 καὶ ἐνεδείξαι τινὰ ἀνδρὸς ἐν τοῖς ἐκατοντάρχοις ἐξητασμένου Βουληθέντος ἀπείπε μηδένα ἐστρατευμένων τούτῳ ποιεῖν, καὶ περὶ καὶ ἱππεύσι καὶ Βουλευταῖς ἐπιτρέπων αὐτῷ πράττειν.

22 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐν 2 μὲν τούτῳ ἐπηρεῖτο, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι ψηφισθέντα οἱ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πολλὰ οὐκ ἐδέξατο, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἐρώτων, οἷς ἀνέδην 3 καὶ τῶν εὐγενεστάτων καὶ ἀρρένων καὶ θηλειῶν 2 ὁμοίως ἔχρητο, διεβάλλετο. ὁ γοῦν Μάριος ὁ Σέξτος ἐκεῖνος ὁ φίλος αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ πλουτήσας καὶ δυνηθεὶς τοσοῦτον ὡστ', ἐπειδὴ γεέττοι τινὶ ἄργισθη, δειπνόσα ὁ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας, καὶ τῇ μὲν προτεραιᾷ τὴν ἐπαυλίν αὐτοῦ πάσαν κατασκάψαι, τῇ δ' ὕστεραι ἐπὶ τε τὸ μείζον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ λαμπρότερον αὐτὴν

1 τι ἐμφάγη Polak, τι ἀν φαὶ M.
2 ἐν M cod. Peir., ἐπὶ Xiph.
3 ἀνέδην cod. Peir. Xiph., ἀναίδην M.
the senate-house itself; and Nerva, who could no longer endure the emperor's society, starved himself to death, chiefly because Tiberius had reaffirmed the laws on contracts enacted by Caesar, which were sure to result in great loss of confidence and financial confusion, and although Tiberius repeatedly urged him to eat something, he would make no reply. Thereupon Tiberius modified his decision regarding loans and gave one hundred million sesterces to the public treasury, with the provision that this money should be lent out by the senators for three years without interest to such as asked for it; and he further commanded that the most notorious of those who were bringing accusations against others should be put to death in a single day. And when a man who had been a centurion desired to lodge information against someone, he forbade anyone who had served in the army to do this, although he allowed the knights and senators to do so.

For his course in these matters Tiberius received praise, and especially because he would not accept numerous honours that were voted to him because of these acts. But the sensual orgies which he carried on shamelessly with persons of the highest rank, both male and female, brought him ill repute. For example, there was the case of his friend Sextus Marius. Imperial favour had made this man so rich and so powerful that once, when he was at odds with a neighbour, he invited him to be his guest for two days, on the first of which he razed the man's villa level with the ground and on the next rebuilt it on a larger and more elaborate scale; and

4 δειπνήσας Νιφ., δειπνήσας Μ.
3 ἀνοικοδομήσαι, ἀγνοοῦντι τε αὐτῷ τοὺς ταύτα πεποιηκότας ἐκάτερον ὁμολογήσαι, καὶ παρα-
δείξαντα εἰπεῖν ὃτι "οὕτω καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι τινα καὶ ἀμείβεσθαι καὶ οἶδα καὶ δύναμαι," τῇν
θυγατέρα ἐκπρεπὴ οὕσαν ὑπεκτέμψας ποι ἢν μὴ
ὁ Τιβέριος αὐτὴν αἰσχύνῃ, αἰτιάν τε ἔσχεν ὡς
4 συνών οἱ, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ συναπώλετο. ἐπὶ
μὲν τούτοις αἰσχύνῃ ὡφλίσκανεν, ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῷ
tε τοῦ Δρούσου καὶ τῷ τῆς 'Αγριππίνης θανάτῳ ὁμότητα: δοκοῦντες γὰρ οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ
Σείανοῦ πάντα τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς πρῶτερον γεγονόντο, καὶ ἐπισάντες σφας σωθήσεσθαι τότε, ὡς καὶ
5 ἐκείνους πεφοινεύσθαι ἐμαθον, ὑπερήληγον διὰ
tε τούτο καὶ ὅτι τὰ ὅστά αὐτῷν οὐ 2 μόνον οὐκ
ἐς τὸ βασιλικὸν μνημεῖον κατέθετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ
κρυφθῆναι ποιν κατὰ τῆς γῆς ἐκέλευσεν ὡστε
μὴ δέσποτε εὑρεθῆναι. τῇ δ' οὖν 'Αγριππίνη καὶ
ἡ Πλαγκίνα ἡ Μουνατία ἐπεσφάγη πρῶτερον
γὰρ καίπερ μισῶν αὐτὴν, οὐ διὰ τὸν Γερμανικὸν
ἀλλὰ διὰ ἄλλο τι, ὁμος ἢν μὴ καὶ ἐκείνη τῷ
θανάτῳ αὐτῆς ἐφησθῇ, ξῆν εἰα.

23 Ταύτα τε ἁμα ἔπραττε, καὶ τὸν Γαύον ταμίαν
μὲν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοιν ἀπεδείξεν, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰς
ἀλλὰς ἀρχὰς πέντε ἐτεσί θᾶσσον τοῦ καθήκοντος
προβηβάσειν ὑπέσχετο, καίτοι καὶ τῆς γερουσίας
δεηθεῖς ὁπως μήτε πολλαὶς μήτ' ἀκαίροις τιμαῖς

1 γεγονέναι Reim., γειώμενα M, τὰ κατ' ἐκείνων πρῶτερον
γίνεσθαι Zon.
2 οὐ supplied by Leunel.

1 The son of Germanicus.

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then, when the other could not guess who had done it, Marius admitted his responsibility for both achievements and added significantly: "This shows you that I have both the knowledge and the power to repel attacks and also to requite kindness." When this Marius, now, had sent away his daughter, a strikingly beautiful girl, to a place of refuge, in order to prevent her from being outraged by Tiberius, he was charged with having criminal relations with her himself, and because of this he perished together with his daughter. All this brought disgrace upon the emperor, and his connexion with the death of Drusus and Agrippina gave him a reputation for cruelty. Men had been thinking that all the previous action against these two was due to Sejanus, and had been expecting that now their lives would be spared; so, when they learned that they, too, had been murdered, they were exceedingly grieved, partly because of the deed itself and partly because, so far from depositing their bones in the imperial tomb, Tiberius ordered their remains to be hidden so carefully somewhere underground that they could never be found. Besides Agrippina, Munatia Plancina was slain; up to this time, it would appear, Tiberius, though he hated her (not on account of Germanicus, but for another reason), nevertheless had permitted her to live, in order to prevent Agrippina from rejoicing at her death.

Besides doing all this, he appointed Gains quaestor, though not of the first rank, and promised to advance him to the other offices five years earlier than was customary, despite the fact that he had requested the senate not to make the young man conceited by numerous or premature honours, for fear he might
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αὐτὸν, μὴ καὶ ἐξοκείλη ποιήσας, ἐπαίρη. ¹ εἶχε μὲν 2 γὰρ καὶ τὸν Τιβέριον τὸν ἐκγόνου· ἀλλὰ ἐκείνῳ μὲν διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν (ἐπὶ γὰρ παῖδιον ἦν) καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑποψίαν (οὐ γὰρ ἐπιστεύετο τὸν Δρούσου παῖς εἶναι) παρεώρισε, τῷ δὲ δὴ Γαίῳ ὦς καὶ μοναρχήσοντι προσεῖχε, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι τὸν Τιβέριον καὶ ὅλιγον χρόνον βιώσεσθαι καὶ υπὸ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου φοινικήσεσθαι σαφῶς ἦπιτίστατο. 3 ἤγνοει μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Γαίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰπὲ ποτέ αὐτῶ διαφερομένῳ πρὸς τὸν Τιβέριον ὅτι “σὺ τε τούτων ἀποκτείνης καὶ σὲ ἀλλοι,“ οὔτε δὲ ἔτερον τίνα ὁμοίως πάνυ προσήκοντα ἐαυτῷ εἶχον, καὶ ἐκείνον κάκιστον 4 εἰδὼς ἐσομενόν, ἀσμένως, ὡς φασί, τὴν ἅρχην αὐτῷ ἐδωκεν, ὡπως τα τε ἐαυτοῦ τῆς τοῦ Γαίου ὑπερβολῇ συγκρυφθῆ, καὶ τὸ πλεῖον τὸ τε εἰσεγένετατον τῆς λοιπῆς βουλῆς καὶ μετ' αὐτόν φθαρῆ. λέγεται γοῦν πολλάκις μὲν ² ἀναφέγγεις ἐξασθαι τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐμοὶ θαυμόντος γεία μιχθήτω πυρί, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὸν Πρίαμον μακαρίσαι ὅτι ἀρδην καὶ μετὰ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ μετὰ τῆς 5 βασιλείας ἀπώλετο. καὶ τεκμαιρονται γε ἀληθῆ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ γεγράφθαι τοῖς τότε γενομένοις· τοσοῦτο γὰρ πλῆθος τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐξόλετο ὡστε τοὺς ἀρχοντας τοὺς κληρονομοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἐστρατηγικοῦσας ἐπὶ τρία τοὺς δ' ὑπατευκότας ἐπὶ ἐξ ἐτὶ τᾶς ἤγεμονίας τῶν ἔθνων, ἀπορία τῶν διαδεξομένων αὐτοὺς, σχείν. 6 τί γὰρ ἂν τῖς ἑχοι τοὺς αἱρέτως ὁνομάζειν, οἷς

¹ ἐπαίρη Plügk, ἐπαίρειν M. ² μὲν supplied by Bk.

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go astray in some way or other. He also had a grandson by the name of Tiberius, but him he dis-regarded both on account of his age (he was still a mere child) and on account of the suspicion that he was not the son of Drusus. He therefore cleaved to Gaius as his successor in the monarchy, the more so as he felt sure that Tiberius would live but a short time and would be murdered by Gaius himself. For there was no element in Gaius' character of which he was ignorant; indeed, he once said to him, when he was quarrelling with Tiberius: "You will kill him and others will kill you." But as he had no one else so closely related to himself, and was well aware that Gaius would be a thorough knave, he was glad to give him the empire, they say, in order that his own misdeeds might be lost sight of in the enormity of Gaius' crimes, and that the largest and the noblest portion of what was left of the senate might perish after his own death. At all events, he is said to have uttered frequently that old sentiment:

"When I am dead, let fire o'erwhelm the earth." ¹

Often, also, he used to declare Priam fortunate, because he involved both his country and his throne in his own utter ruin. Evidence of the truth of these records about him is to be found in the events of those days. For such a multitude of the senators and others lost their lives that in the case of the officials chosen by lot the ex-praetors held the governorship of the provinces for three years and the ex-consuls for six, owing to the lack of persons qualified to succeed them. And what name could one properly apply to the appointed officials, upon

¹ Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. ² Adesp. 513.
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καὶ ἀπὸ πρῶτης ἐπὶ πλείστων ἀρχεῖν ἐδίδοι: ἐν
δ' οὖν τοῖς τότε ἀποθανοῦσι καὶ Γάλλος ἐγένοτο:
tότε γὰρ αὐτῷ μόλις, ὡς αὐτὸς εἶπε, κατηκλυμέ.
ούτω πον, παρὰ τὸ νομιζόμενον, καὶ τὴν ζωὴν
tιμωρίαν τις καὶ τὸν ἡμῶν ἐνεργείαν ἐποίει.

24. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους τῆς ἀρχῆς
ἐπιστάντος αὐτὸς μὲν, καίτοι περὶ τὸ 'Ἀλβανόν καὶ
περὶ τὸ Ῥωσκουλὸν διατρίβοι, οὐκ ἐσῆλθεν
ἐς τὴν πόλιν, οἳ δ' ὑπάτοι Λουκιός τε Οὐσέλλιος καὶ
Φάβιος Περσικὸς τὴν δεκαπενδέκτην τὴν δεύτεραν
ἐφορταζον. οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὴν, ἀλλ' οὖν εἰκοστη-
ρίδα ὀνόμαζον, ὡς καὶ τὴν ἥγημονιαν αὐθίς αὐτῷ
κατὰ τὸν Ἀὔγουστον διδόντες. τὴν τε οὖν ἐορτὴν
ἀμα ἐποίουσι καὶ ἐκολάζομεν· ἀφείς μὲν γὰρ τῶν
αἰτιαθέντων τότε οὐδεὶς, πάντες δ' ἡλίσκοντο, οἳ
μὲν πλείους ἐκ τε τῶν τοῦ Τιβερίου γραμμάτων 1 καὶ
ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Μάκρωνος Βάσανος, οἳ δὲ δὴ
λοιποὶ ἔξο ὄψιν βουλεύεσθαι 2 σφας ὑπόπτευον.
καὶ ἑθρυλεῖτο γε ὅτι δ' αὐτὸ τούτο οὐδ' ἀφικνεῖτο
ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἵνα μὴ παρὸν ταῖς καταδίκαις
3 αἰσχύνοιτο. ἀλλ' οὖν τοῦ, οἳ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν δημῶν
οἳ δὲ καὶ υφ' ἑαυτῶν, ἀπέθανον καὶ Πομπώνιος
Δαβεὼν, καὶ οὕτως μὲν τῆς τοῦ Μισίας ποτὲ
ὀκτὼ ἔτεσι μετὰ τὴν στρατηγιὰν ἀρξας, καὶ
διόρων μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς γραφεῖς, ἐθελοντὶ 3 σὺν
αὐτῇ διεφθαρῆ: Μάμερκος 4 δὲ δὴ Λιμίλιος

1 γραμμάτων Xyl., πραγμάτων M cod. Peir.
2 βουλεύεσθαι M, βουλέσθαι cod. Peir.
3 ἐθελοντὶ Dind., ἐθελοντῇ M.
4 Μάμερκος Lipsius, μάρκος M Xiph., μαμέρτ.ος exc. Vat.

1 Cf. chap. 3, 6 sup.
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whom from the first he bestowed office for indefinitely long periods? Among those who perished at this time was Gallus; for not until then, and scarcely even then, did Tiberius become reconciled with him, as he himself put it. Thus it came to pass that, contrary to the usual custom, he inflicted life upon some as a punishment, and bestowed death upon others as a kindness.

The twentieth year of Tiberius' reign was now at hand, but he did not enter the city, although he was sojourning in the vicinity of the Alban territory and Tuseulum; the consuls, however, Lucius Vitellius and Fabius Persicus, celebrated the completion of his second ten-year period. For this was the way the senators styled it, rather than as a twenty-year period, to signify that they were granting him the leadership of the State again, as had been done in the case of Augustus. But punishment overtook them at the very time that they were celebrating the festival; for this time none of those accused was acquitted, but all were convicted, most of them by means of the papers of Tiberius and the statements obtained under torture by Macro, and the rest by what these two suspected they were planning. It was rumoured, indeed, that the real reason why Tiberius did not come to Rome was to avoid being disgraced by being present when the sentences were pronounced. Among the various persons who perished either at the hands of the executioners or by their own act was Pomponius Labco. This man, who had once governed Moesia for eight years after his praetorship, was indicted, together with his wife, for taking bribes, and voluntarily perished along with her. Mamercus Aemilius Scannus, on the other
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Σκαυρος μήτ' ἀρξας τινων μήτε δωροδοκήσας ἐάλω τε διὰ τραγωδιαν καὶ παθήματι δεινοτέρω 4 οὐ συνέγραψε περιέπεσεν. 'Ατρεὺς μὲν τὸ ποίημα ἢ, παρήμει δὲ τῶν ἀρχομένων τινὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὸν Εὐρυπίδην, ἴνα τὴν τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἀβουλίαν φέρῃ. μαθῶν οὖν τούτῳ ὁ Τιβέριος ἐφ' ἐαυτῷ τε τὸ ἔπος εἰρήσθαι ἐφή, 'Ατρεὺς εἶναι διὰ τὴν μιαφονίαν 1 προσποιήσαμεν, καὶ ὑπειπῶν ὅτι “καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν Ἀἰαῖτ' αὐτῶν ποιήσω,” ἀνάγκην οἱ προσήγαγεν αὐτοεντεί 3 απολέσθαι. οὐ μὴν καὶ 4 ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατηγορίθη, ἀλλ' ὡς 5 τὴν Λιουίλλαν μεμοιχευκός. πολλαὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι δι' αὐτῆς, οἱ μὲν ἐπ' ἀληθείας οἱ δὲ ἐκ συκοφαντίας, ἐκολάσθησαν.

25 Τούτων δ' οὕτως ἐν τῇ Ἐρώμη γεγομενῶν οὐδὲ τὸ ὑπηκοον ἡσύχαζεν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα νεανίσκος τις Δροῦσος λέγων εἶναι περὶ τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ὄφθη, καὶ ἐδέξαντο αὐτῶν ἁμένως αἱ πόλεις καὶ συνήρυντο. κἂν ἐσ τὴν Συρίαν προχορήσας τὰ στρατόπεδα κατέσχεν, εἰ μὴ γηρώτισας τὶς αὐτῶν συνέλαβε τε καὶ πρὸς τὸν Τιβέριον αὐχάγαγεν.

2 Ἕκ δὲ τούτων Γάιος μὲν Γάλλος καὶ Μάρκος Σερουύλλος ὑπάτευσαν, Τιβέριος δὲ ἐν 'Αντίῳ τοὺς τοῦ Γαίου γάμους ἑώρταξεν. ἐς γὰρ τὴν Ἐρώμην οὐδὲ δὲ ἐκείνους ἐσέλειθεν ἡθέλησεν, ἐπειδὴ Φουκίνιος τὶς Τρίων, φίλος μὲν τοῦ Σειάνου

1 εἶναι repeated after μιαφονίαν in M.
2 οὖν Ἀἰαῖτ' αὐτῶν Bs., οὖν αἰαντα αὐτῶν Xiph. Zon. (and late corr. in M), οὐνεανταύτην M.
3 αὐτοεντεί M Xiph., αὐτοεντεία Zon.
4 οὐ μὴν καὶ Xiph., οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ M.
5 ἄλλα' ὡς Xiph., ἄλλως M.

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hand, who had never governed a province or accepted bribes, was convicted because of a tragedy he had composed, and fell a victim to a worse fate than that which he had described. "Atreus" was the name of his drama, and in the manner of Euripides it advised one of the subjects of that monarch to endure the folly of the reigning prince. Tiberius, upon hearing of it, declared that this had been written with reference to him, claiming that he himself was "Atreus" because of his bloodthirstiness; and remarking, "I will make him Ajax," he compelled him to commit suicide. The above, however, was not the accusation that was actually brought against him, but instead, he was charged with having committed adultery with Livilla; indeed, many others also were punished on her account, some with good reason and some as the result of false accusations.

While affairs at Rome were in this state, the subject territory was not quiet either. The very moment a youth who claimed to be Drusus appeared in the regions of Greece and Ionia, the cities received him gladly and espoused his cause. He would have gone on to Syria and taken over the legions, had not someone recognized him, arrested him, and taken him to Tiberius.

After this, Gaius Gallus and Marcus Servilius became consuls. Tiberius was at Antium holding a festival in honour of Gaius' marriage; for not even for such a purpose would he enter Rome, because of the case of a certain Fulcinius Trio. This man, who had been a friend of Sejanus, but had stood high in

1 Cf. Phoen. 393.
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gegonos, sphi'dra o' ayt' dea tais sykofantias
kecharismenon, kathgoriesis te paradothi kai
deisas easion proropkeine, polla mev ekeinon
polla de kai tov Makedonan en tais diathekais

3 loiodhiasas. kai oi men pai'des auton ouk
etolymasan autas dhmosiendais, o de de Tiberios
madoj tis geagarmena es to vouleutihron sfai
eskomisqen ekeileusen. h'kistai te gar aut'?
twv toouton emele, kai tais kakhgorias1 kai
lantoanousas es' ote es touz pollous ekw,

4 opser tiras epaionous, e'xeifieven. amelei kai
osa o' Droudos, ota en te talaiptoria hyv kai
kakopathon, e'xelalhse, kai tauta es ti'n voullh
essemeve. Trion men ouj ouxous apentane,
Pompanos de' Saisin os tis te Musias ekateras
kai prorpeti kai tis Makedonias es ekeino to
xronon parap pasan ws eipein ti'n tov Tiberiou
arki' higma neousas, idista proraphillhgy prin

5 tina autian labein. kai autan o' Rheoulos ep'?
tois autois diebejato, kai gar h' Makedon'as, ois
den tinves fasif, kai h' 'Askia,2 aklnro'ti3
prosetasouto.

26 'Tpdo de degethous autous xronous 'H'Artabanas
o' Parnos televnthistantos tou 'Artabou tin
'Armenian 'Arsakhe to' easion viei edwke, kai
epi'de mi'demia epei tou'to tirmoria para tou
Tiberiou 'geneto, tis te Kappadokia epieira
kai uperefaanoteran kai tois Parnous exrie'

2 apostrapites ou' tinves autous eperosbeusanto pro's
'0n Tiberiou, basilea sfisín en t'0n omperoun'to

1 kakhgoria Bk., kakhgoria M cod. Peir. (kakhgoriwn).
2 'Askia R. Steph., 'Askia M. 3 aklnro'ti St., aklnro'tei M.
the favour of Tiberius on account of his services as an informer, had been accused and handed over for trial; and, becoming frightened, he took his own life before he could be tried, after roundly abusing both the emperor and Macro in his will. His sons, now, did not dare to make the will public, but Tiberius, learning what had been written, ordered it to be brought into the senate. For he was little concerned, indeed, about such matters, and would sometimes voluntarily give to the public denunciations of his conduct that were being kept secret, as if they were so many eulogies. At any rate, he sent to the senate all the statements that Drusus had made in his misery and distress. Besides Trio, who thus perished, there was also Poppaeus Sabinus, who had governed the two Moesias and Macedonia as well during almost the whole reign of Tiberius up to this time, and was now most happy to leave this world before any charge could be brought against him. Regulus became his successor by the same manner of appointment; for Macedonia and, according to some, Achaia, too, were assigned to him without recourse to the lot.\footnote{This is Dio’s way of stating that Tiberius had taken back these provinces that had been assigned to the senate by Augustus (cf. liii. 12, 4). Claudius later restored them to the senate (lx. 21, 1).}

At about this same time Artabanus, the Parthian, upon the death of Artaxes, bestowed Armenia upon his son Arsaces; and when no vengeance came upon him from Tiberius for this, he made an attempt upon Cappadocia and treated even the Parthians somewhat haughtily. Consequently some revolted from him and sent an embassy to Tiberius, asking a king for themselves from amongst those who were
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αἴτοντες· καὶ αὐτοῖς τότε μὲν Φραίτην τόν τοῦ Φραίτου, τελευτήσαντος δὲ ἐκεῖνον κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν Τιριδάτην, ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ καὶ αὐτὸν γένους ὄντα, ἔπεμψε. καὶ ὅπως γε ὡς ράστα τὴν βασιλείαν παραλάβῃ, ἐγραψε Μιθριδάτη τῷ Ἰβηρῷ ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐσβαλεῖν, ἵνα ὁ Ἀρτάβανος τῷ νιεῖ βοηθῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας ἀπάρῃ. καὶ ἐσχεν οὕτως, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ὁ Τιριδάτης ἐβασίλευσεν· ὁ γὰρ Ἀρτάβανος Σκύθας προσλαβὼν ὑπὸ χαλεπῶς αὐτὸν ἐξῆλασε. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν Πάρθων οὕτως ἔσχε, τὴν δ' Ἀρμενίαν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ὁ Μιθριδάτου μὲν τοῦ Ἰβηρος, ὡς ἔοικε, παῖς, Φαρασσάμου δὲ τοῦ μετ' αὐτὸν τῶν Ἰβηρῶν βασιλεύσαντος ἀδελφός, ἐλαβε. Σέξτου δὲ δὴ Παπιών μετὰ Κυίντου Πλαντίου ὑπατεύσαντος ὁ τε Τιβερίας πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπέκλυσεν ὡστε πλευσθήναι, καὶ πυρὶ πολὺ πλεῖων περί τε τὸν ἵπποδρομον καὶ περί τὸν Ἀουετύνου ἐφθάρη, ὡστε τὸν Τιβέριον δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας μυριάδας τοῖς ξημιωθείσι τι ἀπ' 27 αὐτοῦ δοῦναι. εἰ δὲ τι καὶ τὰ Λεγύπτια πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους προσήκει, ὁ φῶτις ἐκεῖνῳ τῷ ἐτει ὢφθην καὶ ἔδοξε πάντα ταῦτα τὸν θάνατον τῷ Τιβερίῳ προσήμην. τοτε μὲν γὰρ ὁ Θράσυλλος, τῷ δ' ἐπιστὸν ἕρι ἐκεῖνος ἔπι τε Γναίου Πρόκλου καὶ ἐπὶ Ποντίου Νεγρίνου ὑπάτων ἐτελεύτησεν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ ὁ Μάκρων

1 Φραίτην Xυλ., φράστην Μ. 2 Τιριδάτην Dind., τειριδάτην Μ (and similarly τειριδάτης just below). 3 γε H. Steph., τε Μ. 4 Φαρασσάμου R. Steph., φαρασσάμου Μ.

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being kept at Rome as hostages. He first sent them Phraates, the son of Phraates, and then, after his death, which occurred on the way thither, Tiridates, who was also of the royal race. To ensure his securing the throne as easily as possible, the emperor wrote to Mithridates the Iberian to invade Armenia, so that Artabanus should leave his own land in order to assist his son. And this is exactly what happened; nevertheless, Tiridates reigned only a short time, for Artabanus enlisted the aid of the Scythians and easily expelled him. While Parthian affairs were taking this course, Armenia fell into the hands of Mithridates, the son, as it would appear, of Mithridates the Iberian and the brother of Pharasmanes, who became king of the Iberians after him.

In the consulship of Sextus Papinius and Quintus Plantius, the Tiber inundated a large part of the city so that people went about in boats; and a much larger region in the vicinity of the Circus and the Aventine was devastated by fire. To the sufferers from the latter disaster Tiberius contributed a hundred million sesterces. And if Egyptian affairs touch Roman interests at all, it may be mentioned that the phoenix was seen that year. All these events were thought to foreshadow the death of Tiberius. Thrasyllus, indeed, did die at this very time, and the emperor himself died in the following spring, in the consulship of Gnaeus Proculus and Pontius Nigrinus. It chanced that Macro had plotted
ἀλλοις τε συχνοίς καὶ τῷ Δομιτίῳ ἐπιβεβουλευκώς, καὶ ἐγκλήματα καὶ βασάνους κατ’ αὐτῶν ἐσκευισμένοις· οὐ μὴν καὶ πάντες οἱ αἰτιαθέντες ἀπέθανον διὰ τὸν Ὁρᾶσωλόν σοφῶτα τὸν·

3 Τιβέριον μεταχειρίσαμενον. περὶ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντων ἀκριβῶς καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν ὁραν ἐν ᾗ τεθνήξοι1 εἶπεν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ δὴ δέκα ἄλλα ἔτη ἴσως βιώσασθαι ἔφη, ὡπως ὧς καὶ ἐπὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔτεικεν σφας ἀποκτείνας· ὁ καὶ ἐγένετο· νομίσας γὰρ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐξεῖναι οἱ πάνθ᾽ ὡς ἐβούλετο κατὰ σχολὴν πράξαι, οὔτ᾽ ἄλλος ἐσπέυσε, καὶ τῆς βουλῆς, αὐτεπόντως τι πρὸς τὰς βασάνους τῶν ὑπευθύνων, ἀναβαλλομένης2 τὴν καταδίκην σφῶν οὐκ ὁργίσθη.·

4 γυνὴ μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἐαυτῆς τρώγοσα ἐσεκομίσθη τε ἐς τὸ συνέδριον, καὶ ἐκείθεν ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπαχθεῖσα ἀπέθανε, καὶ Λούκιος Ἀρρούντιος3 καὶ ἡλικία καὶ παιδεία προήκων, ἐκούσιος, καὶ περ νοσοῦντος ἡδι τοῦ Τιβέριον καὶ νομιζομένου μὴ ῥᾴσειν, ἐφθάρη τὴν γὰρ τοῦ Γαίου κακίαν συνιδὼν ἐπεθύμησε, πρὶν πειραθῆναι αὐτοῦ, προσπαλλαγῆναι, εἰπὼν ὅτι "οὐ δύναμαι ἐπὶ γῆρως δεσπότη καὶ κατ' ὑπὸ ὑπερήφανος ὄντης ὑπερῆφανος ὄντης δούλευσαν."·

5 οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι οἱ μὲν καὶ καταψηφισθέντες, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι γε οὐκ ἐξῆν αὐτοὺς πρὸ τῶν δέκα ἡμέρων ἀποθανεῖν, οἱ δὲ καὶ τῆς δίκης αἰθίς, ἐπειδὴ τὸν Τιβέριον κακώς ἀρρωστοῦντα ἠσθοντο, ἀναβληθη·

28 θείσης ἐσώθησαν. ἐφθασε γὰρ ἐν Μισηνῶ μεταλλάξας πρὶν τι αὐτῶν μαθεῖν. ἐνόεσε μὲν

1 τεθνήξοι Dind., τεθνήσαι M.
2 ἀναβαλλομένης R. Steph., ἀναβαλλομένης M.
3 Ἀρρούντιος Xyl., ἄρούντιος M, ἀροῦντιος exce. Vat.
against Domitius and numerous others, and had manufactured complaints and testimony taken under torture against them; yet not all the accused were put to death, thanks to Thrasyllus, who handled Tiberius very cleverly. For, though in his own case he stated very accurately both the day and the hour in which he should die, he falsely declared that the emperor should live ten years longer; this was in order that Tiberius, feeling he had a fairly long time to live, should be in no haste to put the accused men to death. And thus it came to pass. For Tiberius, thinking it would be possible for him to do whatever he liked later, at his leisure, made no haste in any way, and showed no anger when the senate, in view of the statements made by the defendants contradicting the testimony taken under torture, postponed sentencing them. Nevertheless, one woman wounded herself, was carried into the senate and from there to prison, where she died; and Lucius Arruntius, distinguished alike for his great age and for his learning, took his own life, even though Tiberius was then sick and was not thought likely to recover. For Arruntius was aware of the evil character of Gaius and desired to be out of the way before he should have any experience of it; for he declared, ‘I cannot in my old age become the slave of a new master like him.’ The rest were saved, some even after their condemnation (for it was not lawful for them to be put to death before the expiration of the ten days’ grace), and the others because their trial was again postponed when the judges learned that Tiberius was very low. He died at Misenum before learning anything about the trials. He had been ill
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γὰρ ἐκ πλείστον ἡρών, προσδοκών δὲ δὴ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Θρασύκλου πρόρρησιν βιώσασθαι οὔτε τῶν ἱατρῶν ἐκοινώτο τι οὔτε τῆς διαίτης τι μετέβαλεν,

2 ἀλλὰ πολλάκις, οία ἐν γῇρᾳ καὶ νόσῳ μὴ ὀξείᾳ, κατὰ βραχὺ μαρμαρόμενος τοτε μὲν ὅσον οὐκ ἀπέψυχε 1 τοτὲ δὲ ἀνερρώνυτο, κὼκ τούτων πολλῆν μὲν ἥδονή τοῖς τέ άλλοις καὶ τῷ Γαίῳ ὡς καὶ τελευτήσων, πολύν δὲ καὶ φόβου ως καὶ ξῆσων,

3 ἐνεποίει. δέιοις οὖν ἐκείνος μὴ καὶ ἄληθῶς ἀνασωθῇ, οὔτε ἐμφαγεῖν τι αἰτήσαντι αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ βλαβησομένῳ ἔδωκε, καὶ ἰμάτια πολλά καὶ παχέα ὡς καὶ θερμασίας τινὸς δεομένῳ προσεπέβαλε, καὶ οὕτως ἀπέπνιξεν αὐτοῖς, συναραμένου

4 τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ τοῦ Μᾶκρωνος ἀτε γὰρ κακῶς ἡδῆ τοῦ Τιβερίου νοσούντος τὸν νευρίσκον ἐθέραπτεν, καὶ μᾶλλον’ ὅτι ἐς ἔρωτα αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ γυναικὸς 'Ευνίας Θρασύκλης προὐπήκτο. ὅπερ καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος ὑποπτεύσας ποτὲ “εὑ γε,” ἐφ’ ἃ “τὸν δυόμενον ἐγκαταλιπὼν πρὸς τὸν ἀνατέλλοντα ἐπείγη.”

5 Τιβέριος μὲν δὴ πλείστας μὲν ἀρετὰς πλείστας δὲ καὶ κακίας ἔχων, καὶ ἐκατέρας αὐταῖς ὡς καὶ μόναις κεχρημένοις, οὕτω μετήλλαξε τῇ ἐκτη καὶ εἰκοστῇ τοῦ Μαρτίου ἡμέρᾳ. ἐβίω δὲ ἐπτὰ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ μὴνας τέσσαρας καὶ ἡμέρας ἐννέα, ἀφ’ ὧν ἔτη μὲν δύο καὶ ἑκοστὶ μὴνας δὲ ἐπτὰ καὶ ἡμέρας ἐπτὰ ἐμονώρχησε. καὶ δημοσίας τε ταφῆς ἐτυχε καὶ ἐπηνέθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαίου.

1 ἀπέψυχε Ῥκ., ἀπεψύχετο Μ.

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for a good while, but expecting to live because of Thrasyllus' prophecy, he neither consulted his physicians nor changed his manner of life; and so, wasting away gradually, as he was well stricken in years and subject to a sickness that was not severe, he would often all but expire and then recover again. These changes would alternately cause Gaius and the rest great pleasure, when they thought he was going to die, and great fear, when they thought he would live. Gaius, therefore, fearing that his health might actually be restored, refused his requests for something to eat, on the ground that it would hurt him, and pretending that he needed warmth, wrapped him up in many thick clothes and so smothered him, being aided to a certain extent by Macro. For the latter, now that Tiberius was seriously ill, was paying court to the young man, particularly as he had already succeeded in making him fall in love with his own wife, Ennia Thrasylla. Tiberius, suspecting this, had once said: "You do well, indeed, to abandon the setting and hasten to the rising sun."

Thus Tiberius, who possessed a great many virtues and a great many vices, and followed each set in turn as if the other did not exist, passed away in this fashion on the twenty-sixth day of March. He had lived seventy-seven years, four months, and nine days, of which time he had been emperor twenty-two years, seven months, and seven days. A public funeral was accorded him and a eulogy, delivered by Gaius.

1 Dio is in error. The date was actually the sixteenth.
FRAGMENTS

1. τοιούτος ἦν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς, ἄλλῳ οὖχι μέχρι τέλους: | καὶ γὰρ ἐκόλαξε πικρῶς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀναιτίων, | ἀσυμπαθῶς μιαιφονόν, καὶ τόσον ἐμι-

2. ὅτι ὑπατικὸν ἄνδρα ἀνείλε Τιβέριος, ἐγκαλεσας αὐτῷ ὅτι τὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ μορφὴν φέρων νόμισμα φέρων ἐν κόλ-
ποις εἰς ἄφοδον ἀπεχώ-
ρησεν. Exc. Planud. n.
129 (Mai 81 p. 554 =
vol. 5 p. 236 Dind.).


1 These excerpts, pertaining to Tiberius, are perhaps derived ultimately from Dio. Boisséville places them here at the end of Dio's account of Tiberius.
2 τιβέριον cod.
FRAGMENTS

1. This is what he was like in the beginning, but he did not remain so until the end, for he harshly punished many who were innocent, heartlessly staining his hands with their blood; and he was so cordially hated that he was called "bloodstained mud."  

2. Tiberius put to death a man of consular rank, accusing him of having carried in his bosom a coin bearing the emperor's likeness when he retired to a latrine. For a man of consular rank and one of the noblest in the realm lost his head and with it his wealth at the hands of Tiberius, who had merely this to say to him: "With my coin in your bosom you turned aside into foul and noisome places and relieved your bowels."

3. Tiberius was harsh in his manner and disposition, and was easily overcome with wine. Hence the Romans used to call him Biberius, which with them means a wine-bibber.

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BOOK LI

Τάδε ἐνεστὶν ἐν τῷ πειτηκοστῷ ἐνάτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαίκῶν

α. Περὶ Γαῖου Καίσαρος τοῦ καὶ Καλλιγόλου.

β. Ὁς τὸ Ἀγιούστου ἡρῴου ὕσιάθη.

γ. Ὁς αἱ Μαυριτανίαι ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχεθαί ἡρῴατο.

δ. Ὡς Γαῖος Καίσαρ ἀπέθανεν.

Χρόνου πνήμας τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Γναίου Ἄκερρωνιον καὶ Ποντίου Ἰωγρίνου ὑπατείας καὶ Ἴλλα ἐτης τρία ἐν οἷς ἀρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμοὶμενοι οἴδη ἐγένετο

Μ. Ἀκύλας Γ. οἱ. Ἰουλιανός ὕπ.

Π. Νάνιος Μ. οἱ. Ἀσπήρησας

Γ. Καίσαρ Γερμανικὸς τὸ β'

Λ. Ἀπράνιος Ν. οἱ. Καίσιανος ὕπ.

Γ. Καίσαρ τὸ γ' ὕπ.

Γ. Καίσαρ τὸ δ'

Γν. Σέντιος Γν. οἱ. Σατούρνον ὕπ.

(Οὕτος ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς οὗ συναρθημέναι διὰ τὸ τὰ πλεῖον αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐξηκοστῷ γεγραφαί.)

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Τιβερίου ταῦτα παραδέδοται, διεδέξατο δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Γάιος ὁ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἀγριππίνης παῖς, ὅν καὶ Γερμανικοῦ καὶ Καλλιγόλου, ὡς ἐπερ εἰπον, ἐπισωμαζον. ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὸν Τιβερίῳ τῷ ἐγγούῳ τὴν αὐταρ-χίαν κατέλιπεν ὁ δὲ δὴ Γάιος τὰς διαθήκας αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ συνεδριον διὰ τοῦ Μάκρωνος ἐσπέρμας ἀκύρους ὑπὸ τε τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν προπαρεσκευασμένων οἱ, ὡς καὶ

1 Γναίου Reim. γαῖον M. 2 καὶ added by R. Steph.

3 Λ. Απράνιος Xyl., λαυχρώνιος M.

4 Καίσιανος Bs., κελιανὸς ἡ κεστίανος M.

5 ὕπ. added by Bs.

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BOOK LIX

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

About Gaius Caesar, called also Caligula (chaps. 1-6).
How the shrine of Augustus was dedicated (chap. 7).
How the Mauretanias began to be governed by Romans (chap. 25).
How Gaius Caesar died (chaps. 29-30).

Duration of time, the remainder of the consulship of Gnaeus Acerronius and Pontius Nigrinus, together with three additional years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated:—

A.D.
40 C. Caesar (III).
41 C. Caesar (IV), Cn. Sentius Cn. f. Saturninus.

(This last year is not counted in with the others, since most of its events are recorded in Book LX.)

These are the stories, then, that have been handed down about Tiberius. His successor was Gaius, the son of Germanicus and Agrippina, who was also known, as I have stated,\(^1\) by the names of Germanicus and Caligula. Tiberius, to be sure, had left the empire to his grandson Tiberius as well; but Gaius sent his will to the senate by Macro and caused it to be declared null and void by the consuls and the others with whom he had arranged matters beforehand, on the ground that the testator had not

\(^1\) Cf. lvii. 5 6.

\(^6\) Καλιγόλαω Η. Steph., καλιγόλαω Μ (but with one ι in lvii. 5, 6).
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παραφρονήσαντος, ἐποίησεν, ὅτι παιδίω, ὥ μηδὲ ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐξῆν, ἀρχεῖν σφᾶς
3 ἐπέτρεψε. τότε τε οὖν παραχρῆμα οὕτως αὐτὸν τῆς ἀρχής παρέλυσε, καὶ μετὰ τὸ πολύ τοῦ ποιησά-
μενος ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ περὶ ὁ Τιβέριος πολλαχὶ τὰ αὐτὰ γράψας, ὡς καὶ ἱσχύν τινα παρὰ τοῦτο ἐξοντα, κατέλιπε, καὶ παντα τότε ἐκεῖνα ὕπὸ τοῦ Μάκρωνος ἐν τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἀνεγνώσθη. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω πρὸς τὴν ἄγνωσμοσύνην οὔτε πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν τῶν διαδεχομένων τινὰ ἐπι-
4 σκηνῆς τις ἱσχύει. ταῦτο ἐν ὁ Τιβέριος ἔπαθεν ὅπερ τὴν μιμέρα ἐπεποίηκεν, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν οὗτοι ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνης διάθηκῶν ἀπήλλαξε, τὰ δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταλε-
φθέντα πᾶσι πλὴν τοῦ ἐγγύου αὐτοῦ ἀπεδόθη. ἀφ' οὕτω καταδήλου οὐχ ἢκίστα ἐγένετο ὅτι διὰ τὸ παιδίον πᾶν τὸ κατὰ τὰς διαθήκας
5 αἰτίαμα συνεσκευάσθη. ἐξῆν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ μὴ ἐκφήναι σφᾶς (οὐ γὰρ ποιᾷ τὰ γεγραμ-
μένα ἠγνώσθην)· ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὶ τε αὐτὰ ἱδέσαν, καὶ ἔμελλεν ἐκ μὲν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἡ-
βουλῆ τῆς αἰτίαν, ὥς γε καὶ ἐδόκει, λύφεσθαι, ἀνατρέψαι μᾶλλον αὐτῶς δὲ ἐκείνης ἡ συγκρύψαι
2 ἡθέλησε. πρὸς δὲ τὰ καταλειφθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάντα, ὥς καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἀποδοὺς μεγαλοψυχίας τινὰ δόξαν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐκτήσατο. τοὺς τε ὅν δορυφόρους εὐθὺς ἡγιασίαν ποιομένους θεατάμενος μετὰ τῆς γερουσίας, τάς τε καταλειφθείσας σφίσι

1 ταύτῳ Reim., τοῦτα M.
2 αὐτοῦ Oddey, ὁ αὐτόγονος M.

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been of sound mind, as shown by the fact that he had permitted a mere boy to rule over them, who did not yet possess the right even to enter the senate. Thus Gaius at the time promptly deprived the lad of the throne, and later, in spite of having adopted him, he put him to death. It availed naught that Tiberius in his will had expressed the same purpose in a number of ways, as if this would lend it some force, nor yet that it had all been read at this time by Maero in the senate. But, of course, no injunction can have any weight against the ingratitude or the might of one's successors. Thus Tiberius suffered the same treatment that he had accorded to his mother, with this difference only, that, whereas he had discharged none of the obligations imposed by her will in the case of anybody, his bequests were paid to all the beneficiaries except his grandson. This, in particular, made it perfectly plain that the whole fault found with the will had been invented on account of the lad. Gaius, it is true, need not have published it, as he surely was not unacquainted with the contents; but inasmuch as many knew what was in it, and it seemed probable that he himself in the one case or the senate in the other would be blamed for its suppression, he chose rather to have it overthrown by the senators than to keep it concealed. At the same time, by paying all the bequests of Tiberius, as if they were his own, to every one else, he gained with the multitude a certain reputation for generosity. Thus, in company with the senate, he inspected the Pretorians at drill and distributed to them the money that had been

3 ὅν ἑπὶ Ἰουλ., ἀπὸ Μ.
κατὰ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας δραχμὰς διένεμε
καὶ ἑτέρας τοσαύτας προσεπέδωκε· καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
tὰς τε πέντε καὶ ἐκκοσὶ καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ χιλίας
μυριάδας (τοσαύται γὰρ αὐτῷ κατελείφθησαν)
καὶ προσέτι τὰς ἐξήκοντα κατ' ἀνδρὰ δραχμάς,
ἀς ἐπὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἐς τοὺς ἐφιβοῦν ἐσγραφῇ οὐκ
εἰλήφεσαν, μετὰ τόκον πεντεκαίδεκα ἄλλων
δραχμῶν ἀπέδωκε. τοῖς τε γὰρ ἀστικοῖς καὶ
tοῖς νυκτοφύλαξι, τοῖς τε ἐξω τῆς Ἰταλίας έκ
tου καταλόγου οὕσιν, εἰ τε τι ἄλλο στράτευμα
πολιτικῶν ἐν τοῖς μικροτέροις τείχεσιν ἦν, τὰ
καταλειφθέντα διέλυσε, τούτ' ἐστι τοῖς μὲν ἀστι-
κοῖς ἀνὰ πέντε καὶ εἰκοσὶ καὶ ἑκατὸν δραχμάς,
tοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἀπασι πέντε καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα.
τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τούτο καὶ περὶ τὰς τῆς Λιονίας δια-
θήκας ἐπράξε· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα πάντα ἀπήλλαξε.
καὶ εὔπερ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ χρῆματα δεόντως ἀνα-
λώκει, μεγαλώνουσ τε ἂν καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴς εἰναι
ἐδοξέων. ἐστί μὲν γὰρ ὅτε φοβήθεις καὶ τὸν
dήμου καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ταῦτ' ἐποίησε, τὸ δὲ
dὴ πλείστον ἀπὸ γνώμης: οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς ἄλλοις
ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς ἰδίωταις, οὐχ ὅπως τὰ παρὰ τοῦ
Τιβερίου ἄλλα καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῆς προτήθης δωρη-
5 θέντα διέλυσε. νῦν δὲ καὶ ἐς ὅρχηστάς (αὐτίκα
γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπανήγαγε) καὶ ἐς ἱπποὺς τοὺς τε
μονομάχους καὶ τάλα τὰ τοιούτοτα ἀπλή-
στως δαπανήσας τοὺς τε θησαυροὺς μεγάλους
γειομένους διὰ βραχυτάτου ἐξεκένωσε, καὶ αὐτὸν
προσεξήλεγξεν ὅτι εὐχερεία τε τινι καὶ ἀκρισία

1 μὲν supplied by Bk.
bequeathed them, amounting to a thousand sesterces apiece; and he added as much more on his own account. To the people he paid over the forty-five millions bequeathed to them, and, in addition, the two hundred and forty sesterces apiece which they had failed to receive on the occasion of his assuming the toga virilis, together with interest amounting to sixty sesterces. He also paid the bequests to the city troops, to the night-watch, to those of the regular army outside of Italy, and to any other army of citizens that was in the smaller forts, the city guard receiving five hundred sesterces per man, and all the others three hundred. He behaved in this same way also in regard to Livia's will, executing all its provisions. And if he had only spent the rest of the money in a fitting manner, he would have been regarded as a generous and munificent ruler. It was, to be sure, his fear of the people and the soldiers that in some instances led him to make these gifts, but in general they were made on principle; for he paid the bequests not only of Tiberius but also of his great-grandmother,¹ as well those left to private citizens as the public ones. As it was, however, he lavished boundless sums upon actors (whose recall² he at once brought about), upon horses, upon gladiators, and everything of the sort; and thus in the briefest space of time he exhausted the large sums of money that had accumulated in the treasury and at the same time convicted himself of having made the earlier gifts, also, as the result of an easy-going temper and lack of

¹ Livia.
² They had been banished by Tiberius; cf. lvii. 21, 3.
6 καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐπεποιήκει. πέντε\(^1\) γοὺν μυριάδας μυριάδων καὶ πεντακοσίας καὶ ἐπτακισχίλιας, ὡς δὲ ἐτεροί, ὡκτώ τε καὶ δισχίλιας καὶ πεντακοσίας τεθησαυρισμένας εὐρῶν οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ τρίτον ἐτος μέρος ἀπ' αὐτῶν τι διέσωσεν, ἀλλ' εὖθυς τῷ ἐτέρῳ παμπόλλων προσεδεήθη.

3 Τῷ δ', αὐτῷ τούτῳ τρόπῳ καὶ ἐς τάλλα πάντα ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔχρητο. δημοκρατικότατος τε γὰρ εἶναι τὰ πρῶτα δόξας, ὡστε μήτε τῷ δήμῳ ἢ τῇ γε βουλῇ γράφαι τι μήτε\(^2\) τῶν νομιμάτων τῶν ἁρχικῶν προσθέσθαι τι, μοναρχικότατος ἐγένετο,

2 ὡστε πάντα ὁσα ὁ Ἀὐγουστος ἐν τοσούτῳ τῆς ἁρχῆς χρόνων μόλις καὶ καθ' ἐν ἐκαστὸν ψηφισθέντα οἱ ἐδέξατο, ὅν ἐνα ὁ Τιθέριος οὐδ' ὅλως προσήκατο, ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ λαβεῖν. πλὴν γὰρ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπικλήσεως οὐδὲν ἀλλο ἀνεβάλλετο\(^3\) καὶ ἐκείνην δὲ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν προσεκτή- 3 σατο. μοιχικώτατος\(^4\) τε ἁνδρῶν γεγενημένος, καὶ γυναῖκα μίαν μεν ἑκδιδομένην ἁνδρὶ ἁρτᾶςας, ἄλλας δὲ συνοικούσας τισῶν ἀποσπάσας, ἐπειτα αὐτῶς πλὴν μιᾶς ἐμίσησε πάντως δ' ἀν καὶ ἐκείνην ἡχθηρεν, εἴ ἐπὶ πλείον ἐβεβιώκει. ἐς τε τὴν μιθέρα καὶ ἐς τὰς ἀδελφὰς\(^5\) τὴν τε τίθην τῆν Ἀντωνίαν πλεῖστα ὁσα εὔσεβῶς ποιήσας—ταῦτη τε γὰρ Ἀὐγουστῶν τε εὖθυς καὶ ἱέρειαν τοῦ Ἀὐγουστοῦ ἀποδείξας πάντα αὐτῇ

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\(^1\) For πέντε Χυλ. suggested ἕΞ, which would make the sum the same as given by Suet., Gai. 37 (vicies ac septies millies sestertium = 2,700,000,000 sesterces).

\(^2\) τὶ μήτε cod. Peir., τιμὴ τε M.

\(^3\) ἀνεβάλλετο cod. Peir., ἀνεβάλλετο M.

\(^4\) μοιχικώτατος cod. Peir. Xiph. Zon., μοιχιλώτατος M.


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BOOK LIX

judgment. At all events he had found in the treasury 2,300,000,000 or, according to others, 3,300,000,000 sesterces,¹ and yet did not make any part of it last into the third year, but in his very second year found himself in need of vast sums in addition.

He went through this same process of deterioration, too, in almost all other respects. Thus, he had seemed at first most democratic, to such a degree, in fact, that he would send no letters either to the people or to the senate nor assume any of the imperial titles; yet he became most autocratic, so that he took in one day all the honours which Augustus had with difficulty been induced to accept, and then only as they were voted to him one at a time during the long extent of his reign, some of which indeed Tiberius had refused to accept at all. Indeed, he postponed none of them except the title of Father,² and even that he acquired after no long time. Though he had proved himself the most libidinous of men, had seized one woman at the very moment of her marriage,³ and had dragged others from their husbands,⁴ he afterwards came to hate them all save one; and he would certainly have detested her, had he lived longer. Towards his mother, his sisters, and his grandmother Antonia he conducted himself at first in the most dutiful manner possible. His grandmother he immediately saluted as Augusta, and appointed her to be priestess of Augustus, granting to her at once all the privileges

¹ See note on Greek.
² Pater patriae, text.
³ See chap. 8, 7.
⁴ See chap. 12, 1.
καθάπαξ, ὥσα ταῖς ἀειπαρθένοις ὑπάρχει, ἔδωκε, καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς ταῦτα τε τὰ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων καὶ τὸ τάς ἱπποδρομίας οἰ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ προεδρία.1 συνθεᾶσθαι, τὸ τε τὰς ἐν χὰς τὰς κατ' ἑτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχώντων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων ὑπέρ τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ δημοσίου ποιομένας καὶ τοὺς ὀρκοὺς τοὺς ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ φέροντας καὶ ὑπέρ ἑκείνων ὀμοίως γίγνεσθαι ἐνειμέ. τὰ τε ὀστὰ τὰ τε τῆς μιτρὸς καὶ τα τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἀποθανόντων αὐτῶν τε πλεύσας καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτο- χειρία ἀνελόμενος ἐκόμισε καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἀγνού- στοῦ μνῆμα κατέθετο, τὸ ἱμάτιον τὸ περιπορφυρον ἐνδοὺς καὶ ῥαβδούχοις τισίν ὡσπέρ ἐν ἐπινικίοις κοσμηθεῖς. τὰ τε ψηφισθέντα κατ' αὐτῶν πάντα ἀπήλειψε, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσαντας σφίσι πάντας ἐκόλασε, τοὺς τε φεύγοντας δι' αὐτῶν κατήγγαγε—ταῦτ' ὅλου ποιήσας ἀνοσιώτατος ἀνθρώ- πων καὶ περὶ τὴν τήθην καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς ἐγένετο ἑκείνην τε γὰρ ἐπιτιμήσασάν τι αὐτῶ νέαν ἱκουσίου θανάτου κατέστησε, καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς πάσας διαφθείρας ἐς νήσον τὰς δύο κατέκλεισεν. ἡ γὰρ τρίτη προαπέθανε. τὸν τε Τιβέριον αὐτῶν, ὅν καὶ πάππων προσωνόμαζε, τῶν αὐτῶν τὸ Ἀγνούστῳ οἰμῶν παρὰ τῆς Βουλῆς τυχεῖν ἀξιώσας, ἐπειτ' ἐπειδὴ μὴ παραχρήμα ἐφηφιόσθησαν (οὕτε γὰρ τιμῆσαι αὐτῶν ὑπομε- νοντες ὦτ' ἀτιμᾶσαι θαρσοῦντες, ἀτ' μηδὲν τὴν τοῦ νεανίσκου γνώμην σαφῶς εἶδότες, ἐς τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτῶν πάντα ἀνεβάλλοντο), οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ πλὴν τῇ δημοσίᾳ ταφῇ ὑγιλε,
of the Vestal Virgins. To his sisters he assigned these privileges of the Vestal Virgins, also that of witnessing the games in the Circus with him from the imperial seats, and the right to have uttered in their behalf, also, not only the prayers annually offered by the magistrates and priests for his welfare and that of the State, but also the oaths of allegiance that were sworn to his rule. He himself sailed across the sea, and with his own hands collected and brought back the bones of his mother and of his brothers who had died; and wearing the purple-bordered toga and attended by lictors, as at a triumph, he deposited their remains in the tomb of Augustus. He annulled all the measures that had been voted against them, punished all who had plotted against them, and recalled such as were in exile on their account. Yet, after doing all this, he showed himself the most impious of men toward both his grandmother and his sisters. For he forced the former to seek death by her own hand, because she had rebuked him for something; and as for his sisters, after ravishing them all he confined two of them on an island, the third having already died. He even demanded that Tiberius, whom he called grandfather, should receive from the senate the same honours as Augustus; but when these were not immediately voted (for the senators could not, on the one hand, bring themselves to honour him, nor yet, on the other hand, make bold to dishonour him, because they were not yet clearly acquainted with the character of their young master, and were consequently postponing all action until he should be present), he bestowed upon him no mark of distinction other than a public funeral, after causing
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νυκτὸς τε ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐσαγαγὼν
καὶ ἀμα τῇ ἐφ προθέμενος. ἐποιήσατο μὲν γὰρ
καὶ λόγους ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' οὕτι γε καὶ ἐκεῖνον
αὐτῶς ἐπαινῶν ὡς τοῦ τε Αὐγούστου καὶ τοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ τοῦ δήμου ἀναμιμνήσκων καὶ ἐαυτοῦ
αὐτοῦς παρακατατιθέμενος.

4 Οὕτω γὰρ καὶ πρὸς πάντα ἐναντίον ἐπεφύκει
ὡςτε τὴν μὲν ἀσέλγειαν καὶ τὴν μιαφονίαν
ἀυτοῦ, ἐφ' οἴσπερ καὶ διέβαλλεν αὐτὸν, οὐ μόνον
ἐξήλωσεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερέβαλεν, ὅν δὲ δὴ ἐπήνει
οὖν ἐμιμήσατο. πρῶτος τε ὑβρίσασα αὐτὸν καὶ
πρῶτος λοιδορήσας, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκ
tοῦτον χαριεῖσθαί οἱ νομίζαντες προπετεστέρα
παρρησία χρήσασθαι, ἐπείτα καὶ ἑνεκωμίαξε καὶ
ἐσέμνυνεν, ὥστε καὶ κολάσαι τινὰς ἐφ' οἷς εἰρή-
κεσαν, καὶ ἐκείνους τε ἀμα ὡς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ
Τιβερίου διὰ τὰς βλασφημίας, καὶ τοὺς ἐπαινοῦν-

3 τὰς πη αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ φίλους, ἐμίσει. τὰ τε τῆς
ἀσεβείας ἐγκλήματα παύσας πλείστους ὅσους
ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀπώλεσε. καὶ τοῖς συστάσιν ἐπὶ
tε τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν μητέρα τοὺς τε
ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ τὴν τε ὀργὴν ἀφεῖς, ὡς ἐλεγε, καὶ
tὰ γράμματα αὐτῶν καταφλέξας, παμπλη-
θείς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν διεφθείρε μὲν γὰρ ὡς
ἀληθῶς γράμματά τινα, ὥστε μὲν κάκεινα τὰ
αὐτὸχειρα τὰ 1 τὸν ἄκρισθη ἐλεγχόν ἔχοντα, ἀλλὰ
ἀντίγραφα αὐτῶν ποιῆσας. πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις
eἰκόνας τε ἀπαγορεύσεως κατ' ἀρχὰς μηδένα αὐτοῦ
ἰστάναι, καὶ ἐς ἀγαλμάτων ποιῆσιν προεχώρησε,

1 τὰ supplied by Bk.
2 αὐτοῦ Bk., αὐτοῦ M.

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the body to be brought into the city by night and laid out at daybreak. And though he delivered a speech over it, he did not say so much in praise of Tiberius as he did to remind the people of Augustus and Germanicus and incidentally to commend himself to them.

For Gaius invariably went so by contraries in every matter, that he not only emulated but even surpassed his predecessor's licentiousness and bloodthirstiness, for which he used to censure him, whereas of the qualities he praised in the other he imitated not one. Though he had been the first to insult him and the first to abuse him, so that others, thinking to please him in this way, indulged in rather reckless freedom of speech, he later lauded and magnified Tiberius, even going so far as to punish some for what they had said. These, as enemies of the former emperor, he hated for their abusive remarks; and he hated equally those who in any way praised Tiberius, as being the other's friends. Though he put an end to the charges of maiestas, he nevertheless made these the cause of a great many persons' downfall. Again, though, according to his own account, he had given up his anger against those who had conspired against his father and mother and brothers, and even burned their letters, he yet put to death great numbers of them on the strength of those letters. He did, it is true, actually destroy some letters, but they were not the originals containing the absolute proof, but rather copies that he had made. Furthermore, though he at first forbade any one to set up images of him, he even went on to manufacture statues himself; and though he once requested the annulment of a decree ordering sacrifices to be offered to
καὶ ψηφισθέν ποτε τῇ τύχῃ αὐτοῦ θύεσθαι παρέμενος, ὡστε καὶ ἐστὶ στίλην αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἐγγραφῆται, καὶ ναὸς ἔαυτῷ καὶ θυσίας ὡς καὶ θεῷ γίγνεσθαι 5 ἐκέλευσε. πλήθει τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐρημία αὐτ' ἔχαρεν, αὐτοῦμενός τε τι καὶ μὴ αὐτοῦμενος αὐτ' ὁργίζετο. ὡστε ταύτα τε πρὸς πράξεις τινὰς ἐφέρετο, καὶ νοσθέστατα ἅπαν ἀς αὐτῶν μετεχειρίζετο. τὰ τὲ χρήματα καὶ ἀφειδέστατα ἁγίλισκε καὶ ῥυπαρωτάτα ἥρμυρολύγει. τοῖς τε θωπεύοσιν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς παρρησιαζόμενοις τι καὶ ἦχθετο 6 ὁμιῶς καὶ ἦδετο. καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν μεγάλα ἀδικήσαντας οὐκ ἐκόλασε, πολλοὺς δὲ μηδὲ δόξαντας 3 ἀπέσφαξε. τῶν τε ἐστιρών τοὺς μὲν ὑπερεκολάσε καὶ δὲ ὑπερύψη ζεν. ὡστε μηδένα μὴθ' ὑπτείν μὴθ' ὅτι ποιήσαι χρῆ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰδέναι, ἀλλ' ὤσοι τι καὶ κατώρθωσαν, ἐκ συντυχίας μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμης τυχεῖν αὐτῶν.

5 Τοιούτῳ μὲν τότε αὐτοκράτορι οἱ Ρωμαῖοι παρεδώθησαν, ὡστε τά τοῦ Τιβέριον ἔργα, καὶ περ χαλεπώτατα δόξαντα γεγονέναι, τοσοῦτον παρὰ τά τοῦ Γαίον ὅσον τά τοῦ Αὐγούστου παρ' ἐκείνα 2 παρενεγκείν. Τιβέριος μὲν γὰρ αὐτός τε ἤρχε καὶ ὑπηρέταις τοῖς άλλοις πρὸς γε τὸ αὐτὸν βούλημα ἐχρῆτο, Γαίος δὲ ἤρχετα μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρματηλατοῦντων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπλομαχοῦντων, ἐδούλευε δὲ καὶ τοῖς όρχησταις καὶ τοῖς άλλοις τοῖς περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐχούσις τῶν γοῦν Ἀπελλήν τῶν εὐδοκιμώτατον τῶν τότε πραγμάτων

1 ὡς St., & M Xiph. cod. Peir.
3 δόξαντας Polak, ἀδικήσαντας M.
his Fortune, and even caused this action of his to be inscribed on a tablet, he afterwards ordered temples to be erected and sacrifices to be offered to himself as to a god. He delighted by turns in vast throngs of men and in solitude; he grew angry if requests were preferred, and again if they were not preferred. He would display the keenest enthusiasm about various projects, and then carry out certain of them in the most indolent fashion. He would spend money most unsparingly, and at the same time show a most sordid spirit in exacting it. He was alike irritated and pleased, both with those who flattered him and with those who spoke their mind frankly. Many who were guilty of great crimes he neglected to punish, and many who had not even incurred any suspicion of wrong-doing he slew. His associates he either flattered to excess or abused to excess. As a result, no one knew either what to say or how to act toward him, but all who met with any success in this respect gained it as the result of chance rather than of shrewd judgment.

This was the kind of emperor into whose hands the Romans were then delivered. Hence the deeds of Tiberius, though they were felt to have been very harsh, were nevertheless as far superior to those of Gaius as the deeds of Augustus were to those of his successor. For Tiberius always kept the power in his own hands and used others as agents for carrying out his wishes; whereas Gaius was ruled by the charioteers and gladiators, and was the slave of the actors and others connected with the stage. Indeed, he always kept Apelles, the most famous of the

\[ \mu \gamma \theta \, \text{Xiph. cod. Verr., } \mu \eta \delta \, \text{M.} \]
3 καὶ ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ συνόντα οἱ ἄει ἐληχε. καὶκ τούτου χωρίς μὲν αὐτὸς χωρίς δὲ ἐκεῖνοι, πάνθ᾽ ὡσα ἀνθρωποι τουτοῖ του θυμάτες τι τολμήσειν, ἐπ᾽ ἐξοάσιας ἐποίουν. καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπιτίθενσιν αὐτῶν φέροντα αὐτὸς τε πολυτελέστατα ἐπὶ πάση προφάσει καὶ διετίθει καὶ καθίστατο καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τοὺς τε ὑπάτους ποιεῖν ἡμάγκαζεν, ὡστε καθ᾽ ἐκάστην

4 ὀλίγου ἠμέραν πάντως τι τοιοῦτον ἀγεσθαί. καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα θεατής καὶ ἀκροατής ἐγιγνετο, συνεσπούδαξε τε τισι καὶ ἀντιστασίαζεν ὡσπερ τις ἐκ τοῦ ὄμιλου ὧν καὶ ποτε δυσκολάναις τοῖς ἀντικαθεσθηκόσιν ὡς ἀπήρτηθεσιν ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν. προϊόντος δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρώμου καὶ ἐς ζύλωμα καὶ ἐς ἀγώνισμα πολλῶν προῆλθεν.

5 ἀρματά τε γὰρ ἡλασε καὶ ἐμονωμάχησεν ὁρχύσει τε ἐχρήσατο καὶ τραγῳδίαν ὑπεκρίνατο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ποιεῖ, ὡστε καὶ τοὺς πρῶτους τῆς γερονσίας σπουδὴ νυκτὸς ὃς καὶ ἐπὶ ἀναγκαίων τι βούλευμα μεταπεμψάμενος ὁρχύσατο.

6 Ἔν μὲν οὖν τῷ ἔτει ἐν ὧν τοῦ Τυβέριος ἐτελεύτησε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν ἠγομονίαν ἀντικατέστη, πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς βουλευτὰς, παροῦντον ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ ἰππέων τοῦ τέ δήμου τινῶν, πολλὰ ἐκολάκευσε, τὴν τε γὰρ ἐρχὴν κοινωσεῖν σφίσι καὶ πάνθ᾽ ὡσα ἀν καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἀρέσῃ ποιήσειν ὑπέσχετο, καὶ λιῶς καὶ τρόφιμος αὐτῶν λέγων 2 εἶναι. ἦγε δὲ πέμπτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος, ἦμερῶν τετσώρων καὶ μηνῶν πέντε ἑπιδέου. 2 ἔπειτα τοὺς ἐν τῷ δεσμώτηρι ὁ ὡς ἀπέλυσεν, ὅν εἰς ἤν Κύντος Πομπόνιος ἐπτὰ ὦλος ἐτεσίν ἐν τῷ

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tragedians of that day, with him even in public. A.D. 37
Thus he by himself and they by themselves did without let or hindrance all that such persons would naturally dare to do when given power. Everything that pertained to their art he arranged and settled on the slightest pretext in the most lavish manner, and he compelled the praetors and the consuls to do the same, so that almost every day some performance of the kind was sure to be given. At first he was but a spectator and listener at these and would take sides for or against various performers like one of the crowd; and one time, when he was vexed with those of opposing tastes, he did not go to the spectacle. But as time went on, he came to imitate, and to contend in many events, driving chariots, fighting as a gladiator, giving exhibitions of pantomimic dancing, and acting in tragedy. So much for his regular behaviour. And once he sent an urgent summons at night to the leading men of the senate, as if for some important deliberation, and then danced before them.

In the year that Tiberius died and Gains succeeded to the rule, he at first showed great deference to the senators on an occasion when knights and also some of the populace were present at their meeting. He promised to share his power with them and to do whatever would please them, calling himself their son and ward. He was then twenty-five years of age, lacking five months and four days. After this he freed those who were in prison, among them Quintus Pomponius, who for seven whole years after

1 ὁσα ἄν Ζομ., ὁσα Μ.
2 ἐπιδεω Βσ., ἐπιδεω Μ, ἀποδεω Xiph.
The Greek word is "obol," the smallest monetary unit among the Greeks, as the as was among the Romans. Strictly, the obol was the sixth part of a drachma (＝denarius), and so would be more nearly the equivalent of the sestertius.
his consulship had been kept in jail and maltreated. He did away with the complaints for maiestas, which he saw were the commonest cause of the prisoners' present plight, and he heaped up and burned (or so he pretended) the papers pertaining to their cases that Tiberius had left, declaring: "I have done this in order that, no matter how strongly I may some day desire to harbour malice against any one for my mother's and my brothers' sake, I shall nevertheless be unable to punish him." For this he was commended, as it was expected that he would be truthful above all else; for by reason of his youth it was not thought possible that he could be guilty of duplicity in thought or speech. And he increased their hopes still further by ordering that the celebration of the Saturnalia should extend over five days, as well as by accepting from each of those who received the dole of grain only an as instead of the denarius that they were wont to give the emperor for the manufacture of images.2

It was voted that he should become consul at once by the removal of Proculus and Nigrinus, who were then holding the office, and that thereafter he should be consul every year. He did not accept these proposals, however, but instead waited until the actual incumbents had completed the six-months' term for which they had been appointed, and then became consul himself, taking Claudius, his uncle, as colleague. The latter, who had previously belonged to the knights and after the death of Tiberius had been sent as an envoy to Gaius in behalf of that order, now for the first time, though he was forty-

2 Sigillaria, small figures of baked clay given as presents at the Saturnalia.
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kaíper ἡξ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἐτη βεβιωκός, καὶ
7 ὑπάτευσεν ἀμα καὶ ἔβούλευσεν. ὁ δ' οὐν Γάιος
tαῦτα τε ἐπιεικῶς ποιήσαι ἔδοξε, καὶ τοιαῦτα
ἐπιβάς τῆς ὑπατείας ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἐδημη-
γόρησε, τοῦ τε Τιβερίου καθ' ἐκαστον ὄν ἦταξετο
κατατρέχων καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ πολλὰ ἐπαγγελ-
λόμενος, ὦστε τὴν γερουσίαν, φοβηθεῖσαν μὴ
μεταβάληται,1 δόγμα ποιῆσαι κατ' ἐτος αὐτὰ
ἀναγγειώσεσθαι.

7 Ἔκ δὲ τούτου τὸ ἱρών τὸ τοῦ Αὐγοῦστον
ὡσίωσε, τὴν ἐπινίκιον στολὴν ἐνδύσ. καὶ οἱ τε
εὐγενέστατοι παῖδες, ὡσιν γε2 καὶ ἔμφιμαλεῖς
ῆσαν, μετὰ παρθένων ὁμοίων τὸν ὕμιον ἤσαν,
kai ἡ Βουλὴ σὺν ταῖς γαμεταῖς σφων ὦ τε δήμος
2 εἰστιάθη, θέαν τε παντοδαπαῖ ἐγένοντο. τά τε
γὰρ τῆς μονσικῆς ἐχόμενα ἐσῆχθη, καὶ ἵπποι δύο
ημέραις ἡγωνίσαντο, τῇ μὲν πρῶτα ἐκςάκισι,
tῇ δ' ὑπέρερα καὶ τετταρακοντάκις 3 διὰ τὸ τά
3 γενέθλια αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην εἶναιν ἦν γὰρ
ἡ τελευταία τοῦ Αὐγοῦστον. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ
ἐπὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν, ὡς ποῦ καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ,
ἐποίησε πρῶτον γὰρ οὐ πλείω τῶν δεκα ἄθλων
ἐπίθετο, τότε δὲ καὶ ἄρκτους τετρακοσίας μεθ'
4 ἐτέρων Λιβυκῶν θηρίων ἵσων ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ οἱ
τε εὐγενεῖς παῖδες τῆν Τροίαν ἵππευσαν, καὶ τὸ
ἄρμα το πομπικὼν ἐφ' οὐ ἡχθεὶ εξ ἵπποι εἶλκυσαν
ὁ μιπώποτε ἐγεγόνει. οὐ μὲντοι καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς

1 μεταβάληται Xiph., μεταβάλλεται M.
2 γε H. Steph., τε M.
3 τετταρακοντάκις Bs., τετράκις M.

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six years of age, became a consul and a senator—both at the same time. In all this, now, the conduct of Gaius appeared satisfactory, and in harmony with this was the speech which he delivered in the senate on entering upon his consulship. In it he denounced Tiberius for each and every one of the crimes of which he was commonly accused and made many promises regarding his own conduct, with the result that the senate, fearing that he might change his mind, issued a decree that this speech should be read every year.

Soon after this, clad in the triumphal dress, he dedicated the shrine of Augustus. Boys of the noblest families, both of whose parents must be living, together with maidens similarly circumstanced, sang the hymn, the senators with their wives and also the people were banqueted, and there were spectacles of all sorts. For not only all kinds of musical entertainments were given, but also horse-races took place on two days, twenty heats the first day and forty the second, because the latter was the emperor's birthday, being the last day of August. And he exhibited the same number of events on many other occasions, as often as it suited him; previously to this, it should be explained, not more than ten events had been usual. He also caused four hundred bears to be slain on the present occasion together with an equal number of wild beasts from Libya. The boys of noble birth performed the equestrian game of "Troy," and six horses drew the triumphal car on which he rode, something that had never been done before. In the races he did not give the signals himself to the

1 See note on Vol. IV., p. 255.
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ημίκροις ἀπεσήμηνεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ προεδρίας μετά τε τῶν ἄδελφῶν καὶ μετά τῶν συνιερών τῶν Αὔγου-
5 στέων συνθεάσατο. ὅπως τε μηδεμία τινὶ τοῦ μῆ συμφοιτῶν ἐς τά θέατρα πρόφασις εἰῆ (καὶ
γὰρ ἦσαν λαλὶς ἐντός τοῦ αὐτῶν ἀπελεύπτετο ἢ
cαι μεσούσης τῆς θέας ἐξανίστατο), ταῖς τε ὅκας
ἀπάςας ἀνεβάλετο καὶ τὰ πένθη πάντα ἐπέσχεν,
ὡςτε καὶ ταῖς γυναῖξι ταῖς τῶν ἁνδρῶν ἐστερη-
mέναις γαμεῖσθαι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου,
6 ἀν γε μῆ ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχωσὶν, ἐζείναι. καὶ ἵνα μετὰ

βαστώνης βαδίζοιει καὶ μὴ πράγματα ἔχουν
ἀσπαζόμενοι τινὲς αὐτῶν (πρότερον γὰρ καὶ ἐν ταῖς
όδοις τὸν αὐτοκράτορα οἱ συντυγχάνουτές οἱ προσ-
7 ηγόρευον), ἀπείπες μηδένα ἔτι τοῦτο ποιεῖν. καὶ
ἐξῆν καὶ ἀνυποδήτοις τοῖς βουλομένοις θεάσα-

σθαίν, ὁμοζόμενον μὲν ποι ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνω ἀρχαίον
καὶ δικαίειν τινὰς ἐν τῷ θέρει οὕτως, καὶ πολλάκις
καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὔγουστον ἐν ταῖς θεριναῖς πανηγύ-
ρεσι γενόμενον, ἐκλειφθὲν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιβέριου.
8 τά τε προσκεφάλαια τοῖς βουλευταῖς, ὅπως μὴ
ἐπὶ γυμνῶν τῶν σαμίδων καθίζωται, πρῶτον
τότε ὑπετέθη καὶ πίλους σφίσι τῶν Θετταλικῶν
τρόπον ἐς τὰ θέατρα φορεῖν, ἵνα μὴ τῇ ἥλιασει
tαλαιπωρῶσι, ἐπετράπη. καὶ εἰγε ποτὲ ἐς
ὑπερβολὴν ἐπέφλεξεν, τῷ διριβιτωρίῳ ἀντὶ τοῦ
9 θεάτρου ἱκριμένῳ ἐχρόνῳ. ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐν τῇ
ὑπατείᾳ ἐπραξε, δύο τε μησὶ καὶ ἡμέραις δῷδεκα

1 προεδρίας Rk., προεδρας M.
2 μηδεμία R. Steph., μηδε μαί M.
3 ἀνεβάλετο Bk., ἀνεβάλλετο M.
4 τοῖς supplied by Rk.
5 διριβιτωρίφ Bk., διριβετωρίφ M.

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charioteers, but viewed the spectacle from a front seat with his sisters and his fellow-priests of the Augustan order. He was always greatly displeased if any one stayed away from the theatre or left in the middle of the performance, and so, in order that no one should have an excuse for failing to attend, he postponed all law-suits and suspended all mourning. And thus it came about that women who had lost their husbands were allowed to marry before the regular time, unless they were pregnant. Furthermore, in order to enable people to come without formality and to save them the trouble of greeting him (for before this all who met the emperor in the streets always greeted him), he forbade them to greet him thus in the future. Any who wished might come barefoot to the games; in fact, from very ancient times it had been customary for those who held court in the summer to do this, and the practice had been frequently followed by Augustus at the summer festivals, but had been abandoned by Tiberius. It was at this time that the senators first began sitting upon cushions instead of upon the bare boards, and that they were allowed to wear hats at the theatres in the Thessalian fashion, to avoid discomfort from the sun's rays. And at any time that the sun was particularly hot, they used instead of the theatre the Diribitorium, which was furnished with tiers of benches. These were the acts of Gaius during his consulship, which he held

1 The Sodales Augustales.
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αυτὴν σχὼν τὸν γὰρ λοιπὸν τοῦ ei έξαμήνου χρόνον τοῖς προσεποδειγμένοις ἐς αὐτὴν ἀπέδωκε.

8 Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ νοσήσας αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἀπέθανε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Τιβέριον, καίπερ ἐς τοὺς ἑφίβους ἐσγραφέντα καὶ τῆς νεότητος προκριθέντα καὶ τέλος ἐσποιηθέντα, ἀνεχρήσατο, ἡγκλῆμα αὐτῶ ἐπαγαγών ὡς καὶ τελευτῆσαι αὐτὸν καὶ εὔξαμένῳ καὶ προσδοκῆσαντι. ἢφ' οὐ καὶ ἄλλους γε2 συχ-νοῦς ἐφόνευσεν. ὁ γὰρ 'Αντιώχος τε τὸ 'Αντιώχου τὴν Κομμαγηνίν, ἢν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἔσχε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῆς Κιλικίας δοὺς, καὶ 'Αγρίππαν τὸν τοῦ Πρόδου ἐγγονον λύσας τε (υπὸ γὰρ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐδέδετο) καὶ τῇ τοῦ πάππου ἄρχη προστάξας, τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἦ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν οὐκ ὅτι τῶν πατρῴων ἀπεστέρησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατέσφεξε. καὶ οὐδὲ ἐπέστειλε τι περὶ αὐτοῦ τῇ βουλῇ ὅπερ που καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων μετὰ τοῦτο πολλῶν ἐποίησεν. ἔκεινος μὲν οὖν ὃς καὶ τῇ ἀρρωστίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐφεδρεύσας ἀπώλετο, Πούπλιος δὲ 'Αφράνιος Ποτίτος δημότης τε ὅν καὶ ὑπὸ μωρᾶς κολακεῖας οὐ μόνον ἐθελοντῆς ἄλλα καὶ ἐνορκοῖς, ἢν γε ὁ Γάιος σωθῆ, τελευτησεν ύπο-σχόμενος, 'Ατάνιος τε τις Σεκοῦνδος ἵππευς τε ὅν καὶ μονομαχήσειν ἐπαγγειλάμενος ἀντὶ γὰρ τῶν χρημάτων ἡ ἐλπίζον παρ' αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ ἀντίψυχοι οἱ ἀποθανεῖν ἐθελησαντες λήψεσθαι, ἀποδοῦναι

1 τοῦ Bs., τῆς M.
2 γε R. Steph., τε M, om, Xiph.

1 The grandson of the emperor Tiberius.
2 The young Tiberius is called Gaius' "brother" because they were co-heirs of the emperor Tiberius, and his "son" because he had been adopted by Gaius.
for two months and twelve days; for he surrendered the remainder of the six-months' period to the men previously designated for it.

After this he fell sick, but instead of dying himself he caused the death of Tiberius, who had assumed the *toga virilis*, had been given the title of *Princeps Juvventutis*, and finally had been adopted into his family. The complaint made against the lad was that he had prayed and expected that Gaius would die; and he destroyed many others, too, on this same charge. Thus it came about that the same ruler who had given Antiochus, the son of Antiochus, the district of Commagene, which his father had held, and likewise the coast region of Cilicia, and had freed Agrippa, the grandson of Herod, who had been imprisoned by Tiberius, and had put him in charge of his grandfather's domain, not only deprived his own brother, or, in fact, his son, of his paternal inheritance, but actually caused him to be murdered, and that without sending any communication about him to the senate. Later he took similar action in numerous other cases. So Tiberius perished on suspicion of having been watching his chance to profit from the emperor's illness. On the other hand, Publius Afranius Potitus, a plebeian, perished, because in a burst of foolhardy servility he had promised not only of his own free will but also under oath that he would give his life if only Gaius should recover; and likewise a certain Atanius Secundus, a knight, because he had announced that in the same event he would fight as a gladiator. For these men, instead of the money which they hoped to receive from him in return for offering to give their lives in exchange for his, were
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tην ὑπόσχεσιν ἡγαγκάσθησαν, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιορκήσωσι. καὶ τούτοις μὲν αὕτη αἰτία τοῦ θανάτου ἐγένετο· οimiter δὲ δὴ πενθερὸς αὐτοῦ Μάρκος Σιλανὸς οὐθ' ὑποσχόμενος τι οὕτε κατομόσας, ὀμως ἐπειδὴ βαρὺς αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τε τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς συγγενείας ἤν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο περιμβριξετο, ἐαυτὸν

5 κατεχρήσατο. ο μὲν γὰρ Τιβέριος οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐτίμησεν ὡστε μηδὲ ἐκκλητὸν ποτε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δικάσαι ἕθελήσαι, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνῳ πάντα ἀδίκος τὰ τοιαύτα ἐγχειρίσασι· ο δὲ δὴ Γάιος τὰ τε ἄλλα ἱσχύρως προεπηλάκιζε, καταίτοι οὕτως καλῶς περὶ αὐτοῦ φρονῶν ὡστε καὶ χρυσοῦν αὐτὸν πρόβατον ὄνομάζειν, καὶ ὅπως μηκέτι πρῶτος ἐπιψηφίζεται, ἐν ὧν ποὺ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα ὑφ' ἀπάντων τῶν ὑπάτων ἐτιμάτο, κατέλυσε τὸ πρῶτον τινα τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἡ δεύτερον, πρὸς τὸ τοῖς τὴν γνώμην ἐπάγουσι δοκοῦν, ψηφίζεσθαι, καὶ κατεστήσατο ἐκ τοῦ ἱσοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἐκεῖνους ἐν τῇ τάξει τῆς ἀρχῆς ἦν ἱρκαν ἀποφαινεσθαι.

6 τὴν τε θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ ἐκβαλὼν ἔγιμε Κορνηλίαν Ὀρεστίλλαν, 3 ἦν ἱρπασεν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς γάμοις οὖς τῷ ἡγγυμένῳ 4 αὕτην Γαῖω Καλπουρνίῳ Πίσωνι συνεφραταὶ. πρὶν δὲ δύο μῆνας ἐξελθεῖσθαι, ἀμφότεροι σφάς ὡς καὶ συγγνωμοσύνοις ἀλληλο-

7 λοις ἐξώρισε· καὶ τῷ γε Πίσωνι δέκα δούλους ἐπαγαγέσθαι ἐπιτρέψας, εἰτ' ἐπειδὴ πλείονας ἡτήσατο, ἐφ' ἴκεν ὁσίος ἂν ἐθελήσῃ χρήσασθαι,

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1 μηδὲ Xiph., μήτε M.
2 ἱρκαν R. Steph., ἱραταν M.
3 Ὀρεστίλλαν Dind., ὀρεστίναν M Xiph. Zon.
4 ἡγγυμένῳ Dind., ἐγγεγυμένωι M Xiph. Zon.

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compelled to keep their promises, so as not to be guilty of perjury. Such, then, was the cause of these men's deaths. Again, Gaius' father-in-law, Marcus Silanus, though he had made no promise and taken no oath, nevertheless took his own life because his virtue and his relationship made him displeasing to the emperor and subjected him to extreme insult. Tiberius, it seems, had held him in such honour that he always refused to try a case on an appeal from his decision and referred all such cases back to him again; but Gaius heaped all manner of abuse upon him, even though he had such a high opinion of him that he called him a "golden sheep." ¹ Now Silanus on account of his age and his rank had been accorded by all the consuls the honour of casting his vote first; and to prevent his doing so any longer, Gaius abolished the custom whereby some of the ex-consuls vote first or second according to the pleasure of those who put the question, and established the principle that such persons like the rest should cast their votes in the order in which they had held office. He furthermore put away Silanus' daughter and married Cornelia Orestilla, whom he had actually seized during the marriage festival which she was celebrating with her betrothed, Gaius Calpurnius Piso. Before two months had elapsed he banished them both, claiming that they were maintaining illicit relations with each other. He permitted Piso to take with him ten slaves, and then, when he asked for more, allowed him to employ as many as he liked, merely remarking,

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eἰπών ὅτι "καὶ στρατιῶται τοσοῦτοί σοι συνέσονται."

9 Τῶς Δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει ὑπατοὶ Μάρκος τε Ἰουλιανὸς καὶ Πούπλιος Νώνιος ἐκ τῶν προαποδεδειγμένων ἐγένοντο, καὶ οἱ ὄρκοι περὶ μὲν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου πρακτικῶν οὐκ ἐπήχθησαν, καὶ διὰ τούτο οὐδὲ νῦν γίγνονται (οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὅστις αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς αὐταρχήσασιν ἐς τὴν τῆς ὀρκίας

2 νόμισμα 2 καταλέγει) 1 περὶ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ τοῦ τε Γαίου τὰ τε ἀλλὰ ἄσπερ εἰδίστο, καὶ ὅτι καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ προτιμήσουσιν, ὄμοσαν, τὰς τε εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ πάντων αὐτῶν ὀμοίως ἐποιήσαντο.

3 ἐν δ' οὖν τῇ νουμηνίᾳ αὐτῇ Μαχάων τις δούλος ἐπὶ τῇ κλίνῃ τοῦ Δίδο τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ἐπανέβη, καντεῦθεν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἀπομακρυσάμενος κυνίδιον τέ τι δ' ἐσεννυόχει ἀπέκτεινε καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἔσφαξε.

4 Γαίους δὲ καλὰ μὲν ἐπαίνου τε ἀξιὰ τάδε ἐπραξε. τοὺς τε λογισμοὺς τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων, μὴ ἐκτεθειμένους εἰν τῷ χρόνῳ ὧν ὁ Τιβερίου ἐξεδήμησε, πάντας κατὰ τὸν Ἀγαθοῦ προέγραψε 4 καὶ ἐμπρησὼν τινα μετα τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατα-

5 σβέσας ἐπίρρεσε τοὺς ζημιωθέντας. τοῖς τε τέλοις τοῦ τῶν ἱππέων ὀλυγανδρούντως, τοὺς πρῶτους εἰς ἀπάσις καὶ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῖς τε γένεσι καὶ ταῖς περιοσίαις μεταπεμψάμενος κατελέξατο, καὶ ταῖς συν αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ ἐσθήτῃ τῇ βουλευτικῇ, καὶ πρὶν ἄρξαι τινὰ ἀρχὴν δὲ ἢ ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν ἐσερχό-

1 αὐτῶν Petr. Fab., αὐτῶν M.
2 τῆς τῆς ὀρκίας νόμισμα Reim., τῆν τῆς οἰκείας νόμισμα M, τῆν ὀρκυμοσίαν Naber.

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BOOK LIX

"You will have just so many soldiers, too, with you."

The next year, Marcus Julianus and Publius Nonius of those previously designated became consuls. The regular oaths to support the acts of Tiberius were not taken and for this reason are not in use nowadays, either; for no one reckons Tiberius among the emperors in connexion with this custom of the oaths. But as regarded the acts of Augustus and of Gaius, they took all the oaths as usual, as well as others to the effect that they would hold Gaius and his sisters in greater respect than themselves and their children; and they offered prayers for them all alike. On the very first day of the new year one Machaon, a slave, climbed upon the couch of Jupiter Capitolinus, and after uttering from there many dire prophecies, killed a little dog which he had brought in with him and then slew himself.

The following good and praiseworthy acts were performed by Gaius. He published, as Augustus had done, all the accounts of the public funds, which had not been made public during the time that Tiberius was away from the city. He helped the soldiers to extinguish a conflagration and rendered assistance to those who suffered loss by it. As the equestrian order was becoming reduced in numbers, he summoned the foremost men in point of family and wealth from the whole empire, even from outside of Italy, and enrolled them in the order. Some of them he even permitted to wear the senatorial

8 τάς τε Ρκ., καὶ τάς τε Μ.
4 προέγραψε Casaubou, προεγραψε Μ.
meθa, χρήσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς βουλείας ἑπιτίδι ἐδωκε· πρότερον γὰρ μόνοις, ὡς έοικε, τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ φύλου γεγενημένοις τοῦτο ποιεῖν
6 ἕξην. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πᾶσιν ἤρεσεν· ὅτι δὲ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας τῷ τε δήμῳ καὶ τῷ πλῆθει ἀπέδωκε, ἀλλὰς ὁσα περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Τιβέριος ὀρίκει, καὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς ἐκατοστήσας κατέλυσε, γυμνικοὺς τὲ τινα ἀγώνα ποιήσας σύμβολα διέξρυσε καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν
7 πλείστα τοῖς ἀρπάσασιν αὐτὰ διέδωκε, τῷ μὲν φαύλῳ ἔχαρισατο, τοὺς δὲ ἐμφροναὶ ἐλύτησε λογισμένους ὅτι, ἐὰν 5 ἐπὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς αὐτῷ ἀρχαι αὐθις γένονται καὶ τὰ ὅντα ἐξαναλωθή αἱ τε εἰδικαῖ 6 πρόσοδοι παυθώσι,7 πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ συμβήσεται.

10 Ἐπαιτία δὲ δὴ πρὸς πάντων ὑμων τάδε ἐξειργάσατο. πλείστους ὃσους ὀπλομαχίσαι ἐποίησε· καὶ γὰρ καὶ καθ’ ἕνα καὶ ἀθρόους, ὡσπερ ἐν παρατύξει τινὶ, ἀγωνίασθαι σφας ἴμαγκασε, παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς δὴ τοῦτο αἰτήσας,
2 ὡστε 8 καὶ ἐξω τοῦ νενομοθετημένου πάνθ’ ὅσα βούλοιτο δράσαι, καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι τῶν τε ἀλλων πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἄπτεων ἐξ καὶ εἰκοσὶ, τοὺς μὲν τὰς ὄσιὰς κατεδηδοκότας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀλλως ὀπλομαχίαι ἄεκκτοτας. ἢν δὲ οὐ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολλυμένων οὕτω τι δεινόν, καὶ περὶ δεινὸν ὅν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τοῖς τε φόνοις αὐτῶν ὑπερέχαρε καὶ

1 Bouleias Rk., Boulim M.
2 τοῖς Dind., πως M.
3 δὲ supplied by Reim. 4 ἀπέδωκε Pflugk, ἀποδέωκε M.
4 ἐὰν St., καὶν M.
5 εἰδικαί Bk., ἕοικαί M.
6 7 παυθώσι St., παυθώσι M.
7 ὡστε Bk., τὸ δὲ M, τὸ τε Pflugk.
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dress before they had held any office through which we gain admission to the senate, on the strength of their prospects of becoming members later, whereas previously only those, it appears, who had been born into the senatorial order were allowed to do this. These measures gave satisfaction to everybody; but when he put the elections once more in the hands of the people and the plebs, thereby rescinding the arrangements that Tiberius had made regarding them, and abolished the tax of one percent, and when, furthermore, he scattered tickets at a gymnastic contest that he arranged and distributed a great number of gifts to those who had secured them, these actions, though delighting the rabble, grieved the sensible, who stopped to reflect, that if the offices should fall once more into the hands of the many, and the funds on hand should be exhausted and private sources of income fail, many disasters would result.

The following acts of his met with the censure of everybody alike. He caused great numbers of men to fight as gladiators, forcing them to contend both singly and in groups drawn up in a kind of battle array. He had asked permission of the senate to do this, so that he was able to do anything he wished even contrary to what was provided by law, and thus put many people to death, among others twenty-six knights, some of whom had devoured their living, while others had merely practised gladiatorial combat. It was not the large number of those who perished that was so serious, though that was serious enough, but his excessive delight in their death and

1 Cf. lviii. 20, 3-4.  
2 Cf. lviii. 16, 2.
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3 τῆς τοῦ αἵματος θέας ἀπλήστως εἶχεν. ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁμότητος, ἐπιλειπόντων τοῦ τῶν τοῖς θηρίοις ἐκ καταδίκης διδομένων, ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ τοῦ χάλου τοῦ τοῖς ἱκρίσιν προσεστηκότος συναρπασθῆναι τέ τινας καὶ παραβληθῆναι σφίσιν καὶ ὅπως γε μήτε ἐπιβοῶσασθαι μήτε αἰτιάσασθαι τι δυνηθῶσι, τὰς γλῶσσας αὐτῶν

4 προαπέτεμε. τῶν τε ἑπτάνων τινὰ ἐπιφανῶν μονομαχῆσαι τε ὡς καὶ υβρίσαντα τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἀγριππίναν ἧμᾶς καὶ νικήσαντα κατηγόροις παρέδωκε καὶ ἀπέσφαξε. τόν τε πατέρα αὐτοῦ μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντα ἢς τε γαλαύγαραν, ὅσπερ καὶ ἄλλους συνχούς, καθείρξε κανταῦθα

5 διέφθειρεν. ἐποίησε δὲ τοὺς ἁγώνας τούτους τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐν τοῖς Σέπτοις πάν τὸ χωρίον ἑκείνο ἔξορύξας καὶ ὑδατος πληρώσας, ἵνα μίαν ναῦν ἑσαγωγῇ, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐτέρωθι, πλείστα τε καὶ μέγιστα οἰκοδομήματα καθελὼν καὶ ἱκρία τηξαμενος τὸ γαρ τοῦ Ταύρου θέατρου ὑπερεφρόνησε.

6 τούτων τε οὖν ἐνεκα καὶ διὰ τὰς δαπάνας καὶ διὰ τοὺς φῶνους αἰτίαν εἶχε, καὶ ὅτι τὸν Μάκρωνα μετὰ τῆς 'Εννίας, μήπε τοῦ ταύτης ἐρωτος μήτε τῶν ἑκείνου ἐνεργητικῶν, δι' ὅν τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ μόνῳ συγκατέπραξε, μηθείς, ἐς τὸ ἐκοινίων δὴ θανάτων ἑνάγκην, καίπερ καὶ τὴν Λέγεττόν οἱ προστάξας, καὶ ἐς αὐσχύνην, ὡς αὐτὸς τὸ πλείστον μετείχῃ, κατέστησε προαγωγίας γὰρ ἐγκλημα αὐτῶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις

7 ἐπήγαγε. καὶ τούτου καὶ ἑτεροὶ πολλοὶ οἱ μὲν

1 ἐπιλειπόντων Xiph., ἐπιλειπόντων M cod. Peir.
2 ἔξορυξας Bs., διορύξας M Xiph.
3 oi supplied by Rk.
his insatiable desire for the sight of blood. The same trait of cruelty led him once, when there was a shortage of condemned criminals to be given to the wild beasts, to order that some of the mob standing near the benches should be seized and thrown to them; and to prevent the possibility of their making an outcry or uttering any reproaches, he first caused their tongues to be cut out. Moreover he compelled one of the prominent knights to fight in single combat on the charge of having insulted his mother Agrippina, and when the man proved victorious, handed him over to his accusers and caused him to be slain. And the man’s father, though guilty of no crime, he confined in a cage, as, indeed, he had treated many others, and there put an end to him. He held these contests at first in the Saepta, after excavating the whole site and filling it with water, to enable him to bring in a single ship, but later he transferred them to another place, where he had demolished a great many large buildings and erected wooden stands; for he despised the theatre of Taurus. For all this he was censured, because of the expense and also of the bloodshed involved. He was blamed likewise for compelling Macro together with Ennia to take their own lives, remembering neither the affection of the latter nor the benefits of the former, who had, among other things, assisted him to win the throne for himself alone; nor did the fact that he had appointed Macro to govern Egypt have the slightest influence. He even involved him in a scandal, in which he himself had the greatest share, by bringing against him among other charges that of playing the pander. Thereupon many others were executed, some after
καταψηφισθέντες οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἀλῶναι ἐφονεύθησαν, πρόφασιν μὲν διὰ τε τούς γονέας καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἄδελφους αὐτοῦ τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς δὲ ἐκείνους ἀπολομένους, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς διὰ ταῖς οὐσίαις· οἱ τε γὰρ θησαυροὶ ἐξανάλυοντο καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ἐξήρκει. ἦλέγχοντο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν καταμαρτυροῦντων σφῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων ἑν ἑκατεκακανείαν ποτὲ ἔφη. καὶ ἔτερους ἕτε νόσος ἦ τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει οἱ συμβάσα καὶ ὁ τῆς Δρουσίλλης τῆς ἄδελφῆς αὐτοῦ θάνατος ἐφθειρέ· τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα, καὶ εἶ τις εἰστίασεν ἡ ἡσπάσατο τινὰ καὶ ἐλούσατο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, ἐκολάζετο.

11 Τῇ δὲ Δρουσίλλῃ συνώνεικε μὲν Μάρκος Δέπιδος, παιδικά τε ἡμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐραστῆς ὄν, συνὴν δὲ καὶ ὁ Γάιος· καὶ αὐτὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν τότε ἐπῆμεσε μὲν ἐν ὁ ἄνερ, δημοσίας δὲ ταφῆς ὁ ἄδελφος ἡξίωσε· καὶ οἱ τε δορυφόροι μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχινότος σφῶν καὶ χώρὶς οἱ ἱππῆς τὸ τέλος . . . , οἱ τε εὐγενεῖς παιδεῖς τῆς Τροίαν περὶ τῶν τάφων αὐτῆς περίπευσαν, καὶ οἱ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡσα τῇ γε 3 Λιονία ἐδέδοτο ἐπηθήνης, καὶ ὣν ἀθανατισθῇ καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον χρυσῆ ἀνατεθῆ, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Ἀφρόδησιον ἀγαλμα αὐτῆς ἱδωμέτρητον τῇ τῆς θεοῦ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὅμοιαις τιμαῖς ἱερωθη, σηκὸς τε ἱδίος οἰκοδομηθῆ, καὶ ἱερῆς εἰκοσιδ οὐχ ὤτι ἀνδρεῖς ἄλλα καὶ γυναῖκες γένωνται, αἱ τε γυναίκες αὐτῶν, ὅσαις ἄνα μαρτύρωσί τι, ὀμνύσσω, καὶ

1 ἐκείναις supplied by Bs.
2 Lacuna indicated by Bk., who supplied περιέδραμον; Bs. suggests τὴν πυρᾶν περιέδραμον.
3 γε Bs., τε Μ.
4 ἱερῆς (ἱερεῖς) εἰκοσι Bücheler, ἱεραὶς εἰκόσι Μ.
being sentenced and some even before being convicted. Nominally they were punished because of the wrongs done to his parents or to his brothers or the others who had perished on their account, but in reality it was because of their property; for the treasury had become exhausted and he never could have enough. Such persons were convicted on the evidence not only of the witnesses who appeared against them but also of the papers which he once declared he had burned. Others, again, owed their ruin to the emperor’s illness of the preceding year and to the death of his sister Drusilla, since, among other things, any one who had entertained or had greeted another, or even had bathed during those days, incurred punishment.

Drusilla was married to Marcus Lepidus, at once the favourite and lover of the emperor, but Gaius also treated her as a coneubine. When her death occurred at this time, her husband delivered the eulogy and her brother accorded her a public funeral. The Pretorians with their commander and the equestrian order by itself [ran about the pyre] and the boys of noble birth performed the equestrian exercise called “Troy” about her tomb. All the honours that had been bestowed upon Livia were voted to her, and it was further decreed that she should be deified, that a golden effigy of her should be set up in the senate-house, and that in the temple of Venus in the Forum a statue of her should be dedicated of the same size as that of the goddess and honoured by the same rites; also that a shrine of her own should be built for her and that she should have twenty priests, women as well as men; women, whenever they offered testimony, should
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ἐν τοῖς γενεσίοις αὐτῆς ἔορτή τε ὡμοία τοῖς Μεγαλησίοις ἁγγεῖαι καὶ ἡ γερουσία ἢ τε ἱππας ἐστὶν. τότε οὖν Πάνθεα τε ὠνομάζετο καὶ τιμῶν δαιμονίων ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἄξι-

4 οὕτῳ, Δίονυσιός τε τις Γεμάτιος Βουλευτῆς ἐστε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ αὐτὴν ἀναβαίνονσαν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς συγγενομένην ἑορακέναι ἁμοσάειν, ἐξώλειαν καὶ ἐαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς παισίν, εἰ νεῦστῳ, ἐπαρασάμενος τῇ τοῦ ἄλλων θεῶν ἐπιμαρτυρίᾳ καὶ τῇ αὐτῆς ἐκείνης. εἴ' ὃ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυρίάδας

5 ἔλαβε. τούτῳ τε οὖν αὐτήν ὁ Γάιος ἑτέρης, καὶ τῷ ταῖς πανηγύρεις τάς τότε ὀφειλούσας γενέσθαι μίτε ἐν τῷ νεομοσμένῳ χρόνῳ, πλὴν τῆς ὀσίας ἔνεκα, μὴ αὕθις ποτὲ ποιήσαι. αὐτίκαν τε πάντες ὀμοίως εἶχον, εἰτ' ἥχουσθησαν ἐπὶ τινι ὡς λυπούμενοι, εἶτε καὶ ὡς χαιροντες ἐπραξαν. ἤ γὰρ μὴ περιθεῖν αὐτὴν ὡς ἄνθρωπον ἢ θρηνεῖν ὡς

6 θεὸν ἑνεκαλουντο. πάρεστι δὲ ἐξ ἐνὸς πάντα τὰ τότε γενόμενα τεκμήριασθαι τὸν γὰρ πολίσεατα

12 θερμὸν ὕδωρ ἀπεκτείνεις ὡς ἀσεβῆσαι. διαλπών δ' οὖν ὀλίγας ἱμέρας ἐγχημεν Λολλίαν Παυλίναν, αὐτὸν τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς Μέμμιον Ρίχγουλον ἐγγυῆσαι οἱ τὴν γυναῖκα ἀναγκάσας, μή καὶ ἀνέγγυον αὐτὴν παρὰ τούς νόμους λάβῃ, καὶ ἐνθές γε καὶ ἑκείνην 3 ἐξήλασεν.

2 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Σοσαίμῳ μὲν τὴν τῶν Ἰτυραίων τῶν Ἰράβων, Κότυὶ δὲ τὴν τε Ἀρμενίων τὴν σμικρο-

1 αὐτῆς H. Steph., ἑκείνης M.
2 εἰτ' ἥχουσθησαν Cary, εἰτ' ἥσθησαν M.
3 ἑκείνην R. Steph., ἑκείνον M (but corrected by late hand to ἑκείνη).
swear by her name, and on her birthday a festival equal to the Ludi Megalenses should be celebrated, and the senate and the knights should be given a banquet. She accordingly now received the name Panthea, and was declared worthy of divine honours in all the cities. Indeed, a certain Livius Geminius, a senator, declared on oath, invoking destruction upon himself and his children if he spoke falsely, that he had seen her ascending to heaven and holding converse with the gods; and he called all the other gods and Panthea herself to witness. For this declaration he received a million sesterces. Besides honouring her in these ways, Gaius would not permit the festivals which were then due to take place, to be celebrated either at their appointed time, except as mere formalities, or at any later date. All persons incurred censure equally whether they took offence at anything, as being grieved, or behaved as if they were glad; for they were accused either of failing to mourn her as a mortal or of bewailing her as a goddess. One single incident will give the key to all that happened at that time: the emperor charged with maiestas and put to death a man who had sold hot water. After allowing a few days to elapse, however, he married Lollia Paulina, after compelling her husband himself, Memmius Regulus, to betroth her to him, so that he should not break the law by taking her without any betrothal. But he promptly put her away, too. Meanwhile he granted to Sohaemus the land of the Ituraean Arabians, to Cotys Lesser Armenia and

2 See note on lvii. 14.
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tέραν καὶ μετὰ τούτο καὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας τινά, τῷ τε Ῥωμητάλκη τὰ τοῦ Κότνου καὶ Πολέμων τῷ τοῦ Πολέμωνος νίεὶ τὴν πατρώαν ἀρχήν, ψηφισαμένης δὴ τῆς Βουλῆς, ἐχαρίσατο, ἐν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἑπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐν δίφρο μεταξὺ τῶν ὑπάτων καθεξόμενοι, καὶ παραπτάσμασι σημικοίς, ὡς 3 γέ τινές φασί, χρησάμενος. καὶ μετὰ τούτο πηλὸν πολὺν ἐν στενωπῷ τινὶ ἱδων ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ τοῦ ὘εσσαπαιανοῦ τοῦ Φλαονίου ἱμάτιον, ἀγορανομοῦντός τε τότε καὶ τῆς τῶν στενωπῶν καθαρίστητος ἐπιμελουμένου, ἐμβληθῆναι. καὶ τούτῳ ὀυτῷ πραξθὲν παραχρῆμα μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ὡφθη, ὑστερον δὲ τοῦ Ὀεσσα- σιανοῦ τὰ πράγματα τεταραγμένα καὶ πεφυρμένα παραλαβόντος τε καὶ καταστησάμενον ἔδοξεν οὔκ ἅθει γεγονέναι, ἀλλ' ἀντικρινtg αὐτὸ τὴν πόλιν ὁ Γάιος πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἐγκεχειρικέναι.

13 Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ ὑπατεύσας αὕτης τὸν μὲν τοῦ Διὸς ἱερέα ἐκώλυσεν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ὁμόσαι (ἰδίᾳ γὰρ καὶ τότε, ὡστερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου, τὸν ὅρκον ἐποιούντο), αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ ἐνιστάμενος ἐς τὴν ἀρχήν καὶ ἀπαλλαττόμενος ἅπαντῶν τῆς ἔνδοξον ἀλλοις ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, δὴ καὶ μεῖζον τοῦ 2 προτέρου ἐπεποίητο, ὁμοσε. τριάκοντα δὲ ἡ ἡμέρας ἤρξε, καίτοι Δούκιον Ἀπρωνίῳ τῷ συνάρχοντι ἔξ ἀνήσυχας ἐπιτρέψας καὶ αὐτὸν Ῥαγκυνίος 1 Μᾶξιμος πολιαρχῶν διεδέξατο. καὶ ἐν τε ἐκείναις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐπειτα πολλοί μὲν τῶν πρώτων κατα- δικασθέντες (συχνοὶ γὰρ ἔδοξεν καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δισμωτηρίου ἀφειμένων, δ' αὕτη ἐκείνα δ' ἂν 2 ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐδέδεντο, ἐκολάσθησαν) πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ

1 Ραγκυνίος Βα., σακυνίος Μ.

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later parts of Arabia, to Rhoemetalces the possessions of Cotys, and to Polemon, the son of Polemon, his ancestral domain, all upon vote of the senate. The ceremony took place in the Forum, where he sat upon the rostra in a chair between the consuls; some add that he used silken awnings. Later he caught sight of a lot of mud in an alley, and ordered it to be thrown upon the toga of Flavius Vespasian, who was then aedile and had charge of keeping the alleys clean. This action was not regarded as of any special significance at the time, but later, after Vespasian had taken over the management of affairs at a time when everything was in confusion and turmoil and had restored order everywhere, it seemed to have been due to some divine prompting, and to have signified that Gaius had entrusted the city to him outright for its improvement.

Gains now became consul again, and though he prevented the priest of Jupiter from taking the oath in the senate (for at this time they regularly took it individually, as in the days of Tiberius), he himself, both when he entered upon office and when he relinquished it, took the oath like the others from the rostra, which had been enlarged. He held the office for only thirty days, though he allowed his colleague, Lucius Apronius, a term of six months; and he was succeeded by Sanquinius Maximus, who was prefect of the city. During these and the following days many of the foremost men perished in fulfilment of sentences of condemnation (for not a few of those who had been released from prison were punished for the very reasons that had led to their imprisonment by Tiberius) and many others of less
3 τῶν ἄλλων μονομαχήσαντες ἀπώλοντο. καὶ ἦν ἔξω τῶν φόνων οὐδέν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τὸ πλήθει ἐτὶ τι ἐχαρίζετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνω πρὸς πάντα ὡσα ἔβουλετο ἀντέπραττε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάσι τοῖς ἐπιθυμήσαντι αὐτοῦ ἀντέσπευδον, καὶ ἦν καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ ὅραν ὅλα ἄν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ ὁ μὲν ὀργιζόμενος οἴ δ' ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι καὶ εὐποιέν. 

4 καὶ πράξειαν.1 οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔξ ἱσον σφίσι τὸ πράγμα ἐγγίνετο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔξω τοῦ λαλεῖν ἦν καὶ τοῖς σχήμασι τι προσενέκινδυσαν οὐδὲν ἐδύναντο, ὦ δὲ ὅ Γάιος συγχυόμεν μὲν καὶ μεταξὺ θεωμένους κατασπῶν, συγχυόμεν δὲ καὶ ἀπηλάγμενος ἐκ τῶν θεάτρων συλλαμβάνων ἀπώλλυν. 

5 αὐτίακ δὲ ἔσ τὰ μάλιστα τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτῶ ἐγίγνοντο ὅτι τε μὴ σπουδὴ συνεφοίτων (ἀλλοτε γὰρ ἄλλη ὄρα παρὰ τὰ προηγμένα ἄπαντώντος αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοτε μὲν ἔτι νυκτὸς τοτε δὲ καὶ μετὰ μεσημβρίαν ἐς τὰ θέατρα ἐσιόντος, ἀποκνιώμενοι ἑκακοῦντο) καὶ ὅτι μήτη ἀεὶ πάντως τοὺς ἀρέσκοντας αὐτῶ ἐπήνυον καὶ τινας καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων 6 έστιν ὅτε έτίμων. καὶ προσέτει καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ δεινῶ ήγανάκτει ὃτι μεγαλύνοντες αὐτῶν ἐπεβόων "νεανίσκε Λύγουστε." οὐ γὰρ μακαρίζεσθαι ὅτι νέος ὃν ἐμονάρχει, ἀλλ' ἐγκαλείσθαι ὅτι ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τηλικαύτῳ ἄρχην εἴχεν ἤγετο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἄεί ἐποίει, καὶ ποτὲ παντὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἀμα ἀπειλῶν εὕη "εἴθε ἐνα αὐχένα εἴχετε." 7 τότε δὲ ἐπείδη παρωξύνθη τι ὁ οἶον εἰώθη, δυσχε-

1 πράξειαν Dind., πράξαιεν Μ.
prominence in gladiatorial combats. In fact, there was nothing but slaughter; for the emperor no longer showed any favours even to the populace, but opposed absolutely everything they wished, and consequently the people on their part resisted all his desires. The talk and behaviour that might be expected at such a juncture, with an angry ruler on one side, and a hostile people on the other, were plainly in evidence. The contest between them, however, was not an equal one; for the people could do nothing but talk and show something of their feelings by their gestures, whereas Gaius would destroy his opponents, dragging many away even while they were witnessing the games and arresting many more after they had left the theatres. The chief causes of his anger were, first, that they did not show enthusiasm in attending the spectacles (for he himself used to arrive at the theatres now at one hour and now at another, regardless of previous announcement, sometimes coming before dawn and sometimes not until afternoon, so that they became tired and weary waiting for him), and again, that they did not always applaud the performers that pleased him and sometimes even showed honour to those whom he disliked. Furthermore, it vexed him greatly to hear them hail him as "young Augustus" in their efforts to extol him; for he felt that he was not being congratulated upon being emperor while still so young, but was rather being censured for ruling such an empire at his age. He was always doing things of the sort that I have related; and once he said, threatening the whole people: "Would that you had but a single neck." At this time, when he displayed his usual exasperation, the
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rānaν τὸ πλῆθος τῆς τε θέας ἠμέλησε καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς συκοφαντοῦντας ἐτράπετο, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ πολὺ σφοδρῶς βοώντες ἐξῆγον. καὶ ὅσ ἀγανακτήσας ἀπεκρίνατο μὲν σφισιν οὐδὲν, προστάξας δὲ ἐτέρως τις τοὺς ἄγωνας ποιεῖν ἐς Καμπανίαν ᾠνήρε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπανελθὼν πρὸς τὰ τῆς Δρουσίλλης γενέσια ἦγαλμα τε αὐτῆς ὑπ’ ἑλεφάντων ἐν ἀρμαμάξῃ ἔς τὸν ἵπποδρομον ἐσέγγαγε, καὶ θέαν τῷ δήμῳ προῖκα ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας ἀπένειμε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ ἄρκτοι πρὸς ταῖς τῶν ἰππῶν ἀμίλλαις πεντακόσιαι ἐσφαγῆσαν, τῇ δὲ ἐτέρα Λιβυκα θηρία ἵσα ἀναλώθη, καὶ παγκρατισταῖ ἐν πολλοῖς ἁμα τόποις ἦγωνυσαντο. καὶ ὁ δήμος εἰστιάθη, τοῖς τε βουλευταῖς ταῖς τε γυναιξῖν αὐτῶν ἀδρέα ἔδοθη . . . .

14 Ταυτά τε ἀμα ὡς καὶ πάνω πενώμενος ἐφόνευε, καὶ τινα καὶ ἐτερον τοιοῦδε χρηματισμοῦ ἐπεξεύρε. τοὺς γὰρ περιγενομένους τῶν μονομάχων τοῖς τε ὑπάτοις καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τοῖς τε ἄλλοις, οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς ἑθέλουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνω ἁκοιναὶ τινας βιαζόμενοι ἐν ταῖς ἵπποδρομίαις καὶ τα τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τοῦτο κληρομένους ὅτι μάλιστα (δύο γὰρ στρατηγοῦς ἐς τοὺς ὀπλομαχικοὺς ἅγωνας, ὡσπερ ποτὲ ἐγιγνετο, λαγχάνειν ἐκέλευσε) πάντως ἐπιτιμῶν ἀπεδίδοσα, αὐτὸς τε ἐπὶ τοῦ πρατηρίου καθεξόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπερβάλλων. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀλλοθεν ἀφικνούμενοι ἀντωνοῦντο αὐτοὺς, καὶ μάλισθ’ ὅτι ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς βουλομένοις καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων τῷ ἀριθμῷ τῶν μονομαχοῦντων χρήσθαι, καὶ πολ-

1 ὑπ’ Β. Μ. 2 ἐν added by Bs. 3 Lacuna indicated by Xyl.
populace in displeasure ceased to watch the show and turned against the informers, for a long time and with loud cries demanding their surrender. Gaius became angry and gave them no answer, but committing to others the conduct of the games, withdrew into Campania. Later he returned to celebrate the birthday of Drusilla, brought her statue into the Circus on a car drawn by elephants, and gave the people a free exhibition for two days. On the first day, besides the horse-races, five hundred bears were slain, and on the second day as many Libyan beasts were accounted for; also athletes competed in the pancratium in many different places at the same time. The populace was feasted and a present was given to the senators and their wives.

At the same time that he was perpetrating these murders, apparently because he was in urgent need of funds, he devised another scheme for getting money, as follows. He would sell the survivors in the gladiatorial combats at an excessive valuation to the consuls, praetors, and others, not only to willing purchasers, but also to others who were compelled very much against their will to give such exhibitions at the Circensian games, and in particular he sold them to the men specially chosen by lot to have charge of such contests (for he ordered that two praetors should be chosen by lot to have charge of the gladiatorial games, just as had formerly been the custom); and he himself would sit on the auctioneer's platform and keep raising the bids. Many also came from outside to put in rival bids, the more so as he allowed any who so wished to employ a greater number of gladiators than the law permitted and

4 ράνυ Dind., τοὺς ράνυ M.
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λάκις καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπεφοίτα σφίςιν, ὡσθ' οἱ μὲν καὶ
4 δεόμενοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἱ δὲ1 χαριεῖσθαι αὐτῷ
νομίζοντες, καὶ οἳ γε πλείους, ὅσοι ἐν δόξῃ περι-
ουσίας ἦσαν, ἀναλώσαν τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐπὶ
tῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ, ὅπως πενέστεροι γενόμενοι
περισσότεροι, ἐθέλουσαν,2 μεγάλων αὐτοὺς χρημά-
tων ἱγγοράσαν. καίτοι τούτο ποιήσας ἐπειτά
τοὺς τε ἁρίστους καὶ τοὺς ἐνδοξότατους σφῶν
φαρμάκω διέφθειρε. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τούτο καὶ ἐπὶ
tῶν ἵππων τῶν τε ἴμπορών τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν
ἐποίησε. ἦσον δὲ γὰρ τῷ τῆς θάτραχίδα εὐνόμωντε
καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ χρώματος τοῦ πρασίνου
cαλομένου προσέκειτο, ὡστε καὶ νῦν ἐτὶ Γαϊανοῦ
ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ χωρίον ἐν 3 τὰ ἄρματα ἦσκει καλεῖ-
7 σθαί. καὶ ἐνα γε τῶν ἵππων, ὡν 'Ἰγκιτᾶτον
ἄνομαζε, καὶ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐκάλει, χρυσάς τε
αὐτῷ κριθάς παρέβαλλε, καὶ οἰνῷ ἐν χρυσοῖς
ἐκπώμασι προούπινε, τῆν τε σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ3 καὶ
τὴν τύχην ὄμισε, καὶ προσμυσχεῖτο καὶ ἔπατον
αὐτὸν ἀποδείξειν. καὶ πάντως ἄν καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπε-
pοιήσει, εἰ πλείως χρόνον ἑξῆκει.

15 Ἔστὶ δ' οὖν τόσοι πόρους τῶν χρημάτων πρότερον
μὲν ἐγγίστηκεν ὅπως ὅσοι τινὰ τῷ Ἰτηρίῳ κατα-
λυπεῖν ἐθελήσαντες περίτοι, τῷ Πάτρῳ αὐτῷ
tελευτῶντες χαρίσωνται· ἵνα γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρὰ
tοὺς νόμους καὶ κληρονομεῖν καὶ δωρίματα τοι-
αύτα λαμβάνειν, ὅτι μήτε γυναικα τότε γε μήτε
παῖδας εἰς, δύνασθαι δοκῆ, δόγμα τι προέθετο.4

1 οἱ δὲ M, οἱ δὲ καὶ cod. Peir.
2 περισσότως εὐθέλουσας BK, περισσότως Θέλουσας M cod.
Peir.
3 αὐτοῦ Xiph., om. M.
because he frequently visited them himself. So people bought them for large sums, some because they really wanted them, others with the idea of gratifying Gaius, and the majority, consisting of those who had a reputation for wealth, from a desire to take advantage of this excuse to spend some of their substance and thus by becoming poorer save their lives. Yet after doing all this he later put the best and the most famous of these slaves out of the way by poison. He did the same also with the horses and charioteers of the rival factions; for he was strongly attached to the party that wore the frog-green, which from this colour was called also the Party of the Leek. Hence even to-day the place where he used to practise driving the chariots is called the Gaianum after him. One of the horses, which he named Incitatus, he used to invite to dinner, where he would offer him golden barley and drink his health in wine from golden goblets; he swore by the animal’s life and fortune and even promised to appoint him consul, a promise that he would certainly have carried out if he had lived longer.

In order to provide him with funds, it had been voted earlier that all persons still living who had wished to leave anything to Tiberius should at their death bestow the same upon Gaius; for, in order to appear to have the right to accept inheritances and receive such gifts in spite of the laws (inasmuch as he had at this time neither wife nor children), he caused a decree to be issued by the senate. But at the

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1 See chap. 12, 1.

4 προσέβετο Fabr., προσέβετο M cod. Peir.
2 έν δε τω παροντι πάσας ἀπλῶς τὰς τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐκατοντάρχοις ἐστρατευμένων οὐσίας, ὅσοι μετὰ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἢ το πατηρ αυτοῦ ἐπεμψεν ἄλλω τινὶ αὐτάς καὶ μή τῶ αὐτοκράτορι κατελεύτησαν, αὐτὸς ἀειτῷ καὶ ἀνευ ψηφίσματος ἐσέπραξε.  
3 καὶ ἐπειδὴ μηδὲ ταῦτα ἔξικνεῖτο, τρίτην τοιαύτην ἀφορμὴν ἀργυρισμοῦ ἐπενώσε. Γναίος Δομέτιος Κορβούλων 1 βουλευτής, κακῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐχούσας ὅρων, τοῖς τε ἐπιμεληταῖς αὐτῶν ἅπτε ποτὲ ἐνέκειτο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῇ  
4 γεροντία ὁχλήρως ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἔγγραψε. τοῦτον οὖν παραλαβὼν ἐπέθετο δε αὐτοῦ πᾶσιν ὅχι ότι τοῖς χωσιν ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς τεθυμκόσιν, ὅσοι ποτὲ ἐπιστᾶται τῶν ὁδῶν ἐγενότασαν καὶ χρήματα ἐς τὰς ἐπισκευὰς αὐτῶν ἐιλήφησαν, καὶ ἐκείνους τε καὶ τοὺς ἐργαλαβήσαντάς τι παρ’ αὐτῶν  
5 ὡς οὖν δὴ δαπανήσαντας ἐξημίοι. ἐφ’ οὖ δὴ οὐ Κορβούλων τὸτε μὲν ὑπάτευσεν, ύπερευν δὲ ἐπὶ Κλαύδιον αἰτίαν τε ἐσχε καὶ εὐθώνθη ὁ γὰρ Κλαύδιος οὕτε τὰ ἑποφειληθέντα ἀπήτητε, καὶ τὰ δεδομένα, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου τὰ δὲ καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κορβούλωνος ἐσπρόξας,  
6 ἀπεδώκε τοῖς ξημωθεῖσι. τοῦτο μὲν ὑπερον ἐγένετο τότε δ’ οὕτοι τε ὡς ἐκαστοί καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ὡς εἰπέιν οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τρῶπον τινὰ ἀπεσεύζωτο, καὶ ἄξιμος τῶν γέ τι ἐχόντων οὐδείς, οὐκ ἀνήρ οὐ γυνῆ, ἢν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ τινὰ τῶν ἀφηλικεστέρων ζῆν εἴα, ἀλλὰ πατέρας τε καὶ πάππους μητέρας τε καὶ τίθας σφᾶς ὀνομάζων ζῶντάς τε ἐξεκαρποῦτο καὶ τελευτώντας τῶν οὐσίῶν ἐκληρονόμει. 

1 Κορβούλων R. Steph., κορβούλων M cod. Peir.
time of which I am speaking he seized for himself, without any decree, absolutely all the property of those who had served as centurions and had after the triumph which his father celebrated left it to somebody else than the emperor. When not even this sufficed, he hit upon the following third method of raising money. There was a senator, Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo, who had noticed that the roads during the reign of Tiberius were in bad condition, and was always nagging the highway commissioners about it, and furthermore kept making a nuisance of himself to the senate on the subject. Gaius now took him as an accomplice, and through him attacked all those, alive or dead, who had ever been highway commissioners and had received money for repairing the roads; and he fined both them and the men who had secured contracts from them, on the pretence that they had spent nothing. For his assistance in this matter Corbulo was at the time made consul, but later in the reign of Claudius, he was accused and punished; for Claudius not only failed to demand any sums that were still owed, but, on the contrary, took what had been paid in, partly from the public treasury and partly from Corbulo himself, and returned it to those who had been fined. But this took place later. At the time of my narrative not only the various classes already named, but also practically everybody else in the city, was being despoiled in one manner or another, and no one who possessed anything, whether man or woman, got off unscathed. For even if Gaius did permit some of the older people to live, yet by calling them his fathers, grandfathers, mothers, and grandmothers, he not only milked them while they lived but also inherited their property when they died.
16 Μέχρι μὲν οὖν τοῦ χρόνου τούτου αὐτὸς τε τὸν Τιβέριον ἀεὶ καὶ πρὸς πάντας κακῶς ἔλεγε, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς κακογοροφοῦσιν αὐτὸν καὶ ἱδία καὶ δημοσία οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἐπετίμα ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔχαιρεν τότε δὲ ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον πολλὰ μὲν ἐκεῖνον ἐπήγεισε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς γερουσίας τοῦ τε δήμου κατηγορησέν ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς αὐτὸν πσεύδον-2 των. “ἐμοί μὲν γὰρ” ἐφη “αὐτοκράτορὶ ὅπις καὶ τούτῳ ποιεῖν ἐξεστίν, ὡμεῖς δὲ δὴ οὐ μόνον ἅδικος ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσεβεῖτε 1 πρὸς τὸν ἀρξαντά ποτὲ ύμῶν οὐτῶ διακείμενοι.” κἂν τούτοι κἂν ἐκαστὸν τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἐπεξήν ἀπέφαιναν, ὡς γε ἐδόκει, τοὺς βουλευτὰς αἰτίως τοῦ ὀλέθρου τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτῶν γεγονότας, τοὺς μὲν ὅτι κατηγορησάν σφών, τοὺς δὲ ὅτι κατεμαρτύρησαν,
3 πάντας δὲ ὅτι κατεψυχῆσαντο. καὶ ταῦτα τε ὡς ἔξ αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνων τῶν γραμμάτων ἀ καταπετρη-κέναι ποτὲ ἐφὴ ἑπανέγυω διὰ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων, καὶ προσεπείπειν ὅτι “εἰ καὶ τι ὁ Τιβέριος ἣδικήκει, οὐκ ὄφειλετε αὐτὸν ἔφοντα τετιμηκέναι, οὐ μᾶ Δι”, οὖδ’ 2 ἐφ’ οἶς καὶ εἰπάτε πολλάκις καὶ ἐψηφίσασθε μεταβάλλεσθαι. ἀλλ’ ὡμεῖς καὶ ἐκεῖνων ἐμπλήκ-τως μετεχειρίσασθε, καὶ τὸν Σείανον φυσή-σαντες καὶ διαφθείραντες ἀπεκτείνατε, ὡς τε δεῖ καὶ ἐμὲ μηδὲν χρηστὸν παρ’ ύμῶν προσδέχεσθαι.” τοιαῦτα ἀπὸ εἰπῶν αὐτῶν δὴ τὸν Τιβέριον τῶν 5 λόγω παρίγγαγε, λέγονταί ὅτι “καὶ καλῶς καὶ ἀληθῶς πάντα ταῦτα εὐρήκας, καὶ διὰ τούτο μήτε φιλήσῃς τιμῶ αὐτῶν μήτε φείσῃ τινὸς. πάντες τε γὰρ μισοῦσι σε καὶ πάντες ἀποθανεῖν εὐχονται.

1 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσεβεῖτε exc. Vat., om. M.
2 οὖδ’ Bs., οὖν M.

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Up to this time Gaius had not only himself always spoken ill of Tiberius before everybody, but also, far from rebuking others when they denounced him either privately or publicly, had actually taken delight in their remarks. But now he entered the senate-chamber and eulogized his predecessor at length, besides severely rebuking the senate and the people, saying that they did wrong in finding fault with him. "I myself have the right to do even this," he said, "in my capacity as emperor; but you not only do wrong but are guilty of maestus as well, to take such a tone towards one who was once your ruler." Thereupon he took up separately the case of each man who had lost his life, and tried to show, as people thought at least, that the senators had been responsible for the death of most of them, some by accusing them, others by testifying against them, and all by their votes of condemnation. The evidence of this, purporting to be derived from those very documents which he once declared he had burned, he caused to be read to them by the imperial freedmen. And he added: "If Tiberius really did do wrong, you ought not, by Jupiter, to have honoured him while he lived, and then, after repeatedly saying and voting what you did, turn about now. But it was not Tiberius alone that you treated in a fickle manner; Sejanus also you first pulled up with conceit and spoiled, then put him to death. Therefore I, too, ought not to expect any decent treatment from you." After some such remarks as these he represented in his speech Tiberius himself as saying to him: "In all this you have spoken well and truly. Therefore show no affection for any of them and spare none of them. For they all hate you and
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καὶ φονεύσουσί σε, ἀν δυνηθῶσι.¹ μῆτ' οὖν ὁπως τι χαρίσῃ πράξας αὐτοῖς ἐννοεῖ, μῆτ' ἂν
6 τι θρυλῶσι φρόντιζε, ἀλλὰ τὸ τε ἱδο καὶ τὸ ἁσφάλες τὸ σεαυτοῦ μόνον ὡς καὶ δικαιότατον
προσκόπει. οὕτω μὲν γὰρ ούτε τι πεῖσῃ κακῶν καὶ πάντων τῶν ἡδίστων ἀπολαύσεις, καὶ προσέτι
καὶ τιμηθῆσῃ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἂν ἐθέλωσιν ἂν τε καὶ
7 μῆ' ἐκείνως δὲ ἐργο μὲν οὐδὲν ὄνησει,² λόγῳ δὲ
dι' ἰόξαιν κεῖσθαι λαβῶν οὔτε τι πλέον ἔξεις καὶ
ἐπιβουλευθέν τις κλεώς τελευτήσεις. οὔδεις γὰρ
ἀνθρώπων ἐκών ἀρχεται, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν
φοβεῖται, θεραπεύει τὸν ἱσχυρότερον, ὅταν δὲ δὴ
θρασύς, τιμωρεῖται τὸν ἀσθενέστερον." 8
8 Γάμος μὲν ταύτα τ' εἴπον καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας
ἐγκλήματα ἐπαναγαγών, ἐς τε στῆλην αὐτὰ
χαλκῆν εὕθης ἐγγραφήναι ἐκέλευσε, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ
βουλευτηρίου σπουδὴ ἐξετῆσαι, ἐς τε τὸ
προάστειον αὐθημεροῦ ἐξώρμησεν ἢ δὲ δὴ
γερουσία καὶ ὁ δὴμος ἐν δεί ξεγάλῳ ἐγένοντο,
tῶν τε κακηγοροῖ ἄμα ἄσ κατὰ τοῦ Τιβέρίου
πολλάκις ἐπεποίησαν ἀναμμηνήσκομεν, καὶ οἴα
ἀνθ' οὐν ἦκικόσαν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἐκλογιζο-
9 μενον. καὶ τότε μὲν ὑπὸ τε τῆς ἐκπλήξεως καὶ
ὑπὸ τῆς ἁθυμίας οὔτε φθέγξασθαι οὔτε τι χρηµα-
tῖσαι ἡδυνῆσαν τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ αὕτις ἀθροι-
σθέντες ἐπαίνους τε αὐτοῦ πολλοὺς ὡς καὶ
ἀληθεστάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου οὕτως ἑποιή-
σαντο, χάριν οἱ μεγάλην ἔχοντες οτι μὴ προσ-
10 ἀπόλοντο· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ φιλανθρωπίᾳ
 αὐτοῦ βουθυτεῖν κατ' ἔτος ἐν τε ἐκείνη τῇ ἡµέρᾳ

¹ δυνηθῶσι Βκ., δυνηθῶσι σε Μ.
² οὔδεν ὄνησει Δινλ., οὐδέ νομήσει Μ.

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they all pray for your death; and they will murder you if they can. Do not stop to consider, then, what acts of yours will please them nor mind it if they talk, but look solely to your own pleasure and safety, since that has the most just claim. In this way you will suffer no harm and will at the same time enjoy all the greatest pleasures; you will also be honoured by them, whether they wish it or not. If, however, you pursue the opposite course, it will profit you naught in reality; for, though in name you may win an empty reputation, you will gain no advantage, but will become the victim of plots and will perish ingloriously. For no man living is ruled of his own free will; on the contrary, only so long as a person is afraid, does he pay court to the man who is stronger, but when he gains courage, he avenges himself on the man who is weaker.”

At the close of this address Gaius restored the charge of maiestas, ordered his commands to be inscribed at once upon a bronze tablet, and then, rushing hastily out of the senate-house, proceeded the same day to the suburbs. The senate and the people were in great fear as they recalled the denunciations that they had often uttered against Tiberius and at the same time pondered over the contrast between the words they had just heard from Gaius and his previous utterances. For the moment their alarm and dejection prevented them from saying a word or transacting any business; but on the next day they assembled again and bestowed lavish praise upon Gaius as a most sincere and pious ruler, for they felt very grateful to him that they had not perished like the others. Accordingly, they voted to offer annual sacrifices to his Clemency, both on the anniversary
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ἐν ἡ ταύτα ἀνεγνώκει καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῶν παλατίων προσηκούσαι, εἰκόνος τε αὐτοῦ χρυσῆς ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀναγομένης καὶ ὑμνῶν ἐπ’ αὐτῇ διὰ τῶν εὐγενεστάτων παίδων ἀδομένων, ἐγνήσαντο. 11 τὰ τε ἐπινίκια τὰ σμικρότερα ὡς καὶ πολεμίους τινὰς νεικηκότι πέμψαι αὐτῷ ἐδωκαν.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν τότε ταῦτ’ ἐγνώσαν, καὶ μετὰ τούτου κατὰ πᾶσαν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀφορμὴν πάντως τι αὐτῷ προσετίθεσαν. Γάμος δὲ ἐκείνης μὲν τῆς πομπῆς οὐδὲν προετίμησεν (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ μέγα τι ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι ἵππῳ δι’ ἡπείρου διελάσασι), διὰ δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης τρόποι τινὰ διεπεύσαι ἐπεθύμησε, γεφυρώσας τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν τε Πρωτεόλων καὶ τῶν Βαύλων. τὸ γὰρ χαρίων τούτο κατ’ ἀντιπέρα τῆς πόλεως

2 ἔστι, διέχων αὐτῆς στάδιους ἐξ καὶ εἰκοσι, πλοῖα δὲ ἐς τὴν γέφυραν τὰ μὲν ἠθροίσθη τὰ δὲ καὶ κατεσκευάσθην οὐ γὰρ ἐξήρκεσε τὰ συλλέγημα δυνηθέντα ὡς ἐν βραχυτάτῳ, καίτοι πάντα ὁσα ἐνεδέχετο συναχθέντα, ὅψ’ οὕπερ καὶ λιμὸς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη μάλιστα ἰσχυρὸς

3 ἐγένετο. ἐξεύχθη δὲ οὐχ ἀπλῶς διόδος τις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνάπαυλαι ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ καταλύσεις, ὃστε καὶ ὑδωρ αὐτὰς πότιμων ἐπίρρυτον ἐχεῖν, ἐποιήθησαν. ἐπειδὴ τέ ἐστοιμα ἡν, τὸν τε θώρακα τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὡς γε ἐλεγε, καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ χλαμύδα σημικὴν ἀλουργῆ, πολὺ μὲν χρυσίον πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ λίθους ’Ἰνδικοῦς ἔχουσαν, ἐπενεδύν, ξύφος τε

1 Bs. suggests ἐν ταῖς θείαις ταῖς τῶν παλατίων προσηκούσαις.

1 This expression is obscure. Fabricius thought it contained a reference to the Ludi Palatini. Cf. chap. 29, 4, and Ivi. 46, 5. Boissevain, on the other hand, proposes to read “at the spectacles belonging to the palace.”
of the day on which he had read his address and on the days belonging to the palace; on these occasions a golden image of the emperor was to be carried up to the Capitol and hymns sung in its honour by the boys of the noblest birth. They also granted him the right to celebrate an ovation, as if he had defeated some enemies.

These were the honours they decreed on that occasion; and later, on almost any pretext, they were sure to add others. Gaius, however, did not care at all for that kind of triumph, as he did not consider it any great achievement to drive a chariot on dry land; on the other hand, he was eager to drive his chariot through the sea, as it were, by bridging the waters between Puteoli and Bauli. (The latter place lies directly across the bay from the city of Puteoli, at a distance of twenty-six stades.) Of the ships for the bridge some were brought together there from other stations, but others were built on the spot, since the number that could be assembled there in a very brief space of time was insufficient, even though all the vessels possible were got together—with the result that a very severe famine occurred in Italy, and particularly in Rome. In building the bridge not merely a passageway was constructed, but also resting-places and lodging-rooms were built along its course, and these had running water suitable for drinking. When all was ready, he put on the breastplate of Alexander (or so he claimed), and over it a purple silk chlamys, adorned with much gold and many precious stones from India; moreover

2 The modern Pozzuoli.
3 A small place between Baiae and Misenum.
4 About 3½ miles.
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παρεξόσατο καὶ ἀσπίδα ἐλαβε καὶ δρυὶ ἐστεφα-

4 νόσατο, κάκ τούτων τῷ τε Ποσειδώνι καὶ ἄλλως τιοι θεοῖς Φθόνῳ τε θύσας, μὴ καὶ βασκανία τις αὐτῷ, ὡς ἐφασκε, γενήται, ἐς τε τῷ ξεύγμα ἀπὸ τῶν Βαύλων ἐσέβαλε, παμπληθεῖς καὶ ἵππεας καὶ πεζοῦσ ὑπλισμένους ἐπαγόμενος, καὶ σπουδὴ καθάπερ ἐπὶ πολεμίωσ τινᾶς ἐς τὴν πόλιν

5 ἐσέπεσε. κανταύθα τῆς ὑστεραίας ἀναπαυσά-

μενος ὅσπερ ἐκ μάχης, ἀνεκομίσθη διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς γεφύρας ἐφ’ ἀρματος, χιτῶνα χρυσόπαστον ἐνδύσ’ ἵγον δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ ἄθληται ἵπποι οἱ ἡξιονικότατοι. καὶ ἄλλα τε αὐτῷ πόλλα ὡς καὶ λάφυρα συνηκο-

λούθησε, καὶ Δαρείδος ἀνήρ Ἀρσακίδης, ἐν τοῖς

6 ὀμηρεύουσι τότε τῶν Πάρθων ὄν· οἱ τε φίλοι καὶ οἱ ἐταίροι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ ὁχημάτων ἐν ἐσθῆσιν ἀνθιναῖς ἐφείποντο, καὶ ὁ στρατός καὶ ὁ γε λοιπὸς ὁμίλος, ἴδιος πως ἐκαστὸι κεκοσμημένοι. καὶ ἐδει γὰρ αὐτῶν, ὅτα ἐν τε στρατιὰ τοιαύτη καὶ ἐπὶ νίκη τηλικαύτη, καὶ δημηγορήσαι τι, ἀνέβη τε ἐπὶ βῆμα ἐπὶ πλοίων καὶ αὐτὸ κατὰ

7 μέσην ποτν τῆς γέφυραν πεποιημένον, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐαυτὸν ὡς καὶ μεγάλων τινῶν ἑργῶν ἐπιχειρη-

την ἀπεσέμυνεν, ἐπειτα δὲ τοὺς στρατιῶτας ὡς καὶ πεποιηκότας καὶ κεκινδυνευκότας ἐπήρεισεν, ἄλλα τε καὶ αὐτὸ τούτο εἰπὼν, ὅτι πεζῇ διὰ τῆς

8 θαλάσσης διέδραμον. καὶ χρήματα τε διὰ τοῦτ’ αὐτοῖς ἐδώκε, καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ αὐτός τε ἐπὶ τῆς γεφύρας, ὅσπερ ἐν νῆσῳ τινὶ, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐν ἑτέροις πλοίοις περιορμοῦντες, τό τε λοιπόν τῆς ἱμερᾶς καὶ τῆν νύκτα πάσαν εἰςτιάθησαν, πολλοῦ μὲν αὐτόθεν φιοῦς πολλοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν

1 οἱ supplied by Rk. 2 τε Xiph., δὲ M.
he girt on a sword, took a shield, and donned a garland of oak leaves. Then he offered sacrifice to Neptune and some other gods and to Envy (in order, as he put it, that no jealousy should attend him), and entered the bridge from the end at Bauli, taking with him a multitude of armed horsemen and foot-soldiers; and he dashed fiercely into Puteoli as if he were in pursuit of an enemy. There he remained during the following day, as if resting from battle; then, wearing a gold-embroidered tunic, he returned in a chariot over the same bridge, being drawn by race-horses accustomed to win the most victories. A long train of what purported to be spoils followed him, including Darius, a member of the Arsacid family, who was one of the Parthians then living in Rome as hostages. His friends and associates in flowered robes followed in vehicles, and then came the army and the rest of the throng, each man dressed according to his individual taste. Of course, while on such a campaign and after so magnificent a victory he had to deliver a harangue; so he ascended a platform which had likewise been erected on the ships near the centre of the bridge. First he extolled himself as an undertaker of great enterprises, and then he praised the soldiers as men who had undergone great hardships and perils, mentioning in particular this achievement of theirs in crossing through the sea on foot. For this he gave them money, and after that they feasted for the rest of the day and all through the night, he on the bridge, as though on an island, and they on other boats anchored round about. Light in abundance shone down upon them from the place itself, and abundant

3 τε Xiph., γε M.
9 ἐπιλάμψαυτος σφίσι. τοῦ γὰρ χωρίου μηνοειδοὺς οὖντος πῦρ πανταχόθεν, καθάπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ τινί, ἑδείχθη, ὡστε μηδεμίαν αἰσθησιν τοῦ σκότους γενέσθαι· καὶ γὰρ τὴν νύκτα ἥμεραν, ἡσπέρ ποὺ τὴν θάλασσαν γῆν, ποιῆσαι ἢθέλησεν. ἐμπλησθεὶς δὲ δὴ καὶ ὑπερκορῆς καὶ σίτου καὶ μέθης γενόμενος συχνοὺς μὲν τῶν ἑταίρων ἐς τὴν θαλασσαν ἀπὸ τῆς γεφύρας ἐρρίψε, συχνοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν πλοίοις ἐμβόλους ἠχοῦσιν περιπλέουσας κατέδυσεν, ὡστε καὶ ἀπολέσθαι τινάς· οἳ γὰρ πλείους καὶ πέπερ μεθύνουτες ἐσώθησαν. αἰτίων δὲ ὅτι καὶ λειτοτάτη καὶ στασιμωτάτη ἡ θάλασσα, καὶ ἐν ὧν ἡ γέφυρα ἔξευχθη καὶ ἐν ὧν τὰ ἄλλα ἐποιήθη, ἐγένετο. καὶ τι καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ὀγκωθῆ, λέγων ὅτι καὶ ὁ Ποσειδὼν αὐτὸν ἐφοβήθη, ἔπει ἐς γε τὸν Δαρεῖον καὶ τὸν Ξέρξην οὔδεν ὁ τι οὐκ ἀπεσκοπτεν, ὡς καὶ πολλαπλάσιον σφῶν μέτρον τῆς θαλάσσης ζεύξας.

10 Τῆς μὲν δὴ γεφύρας ἐκείνης τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο, καὶ αἰτίαν καὶ αὐτὴν θεατήν πολλῶς παρέσχεν· ἐξαναλωθεὶς γὰρ ἐς αὐτὴν πολλῶ πλείστῳ διὰ τὰς οὐσίας ἐπεβουλευσεν. ἐδίκαζε

11 δὲ καὶ ἱδία καὶ μετὰ πάσης τῆς γερουσίας, καὶ τινὰ καὶ ἐκείνη καθ’ ἐαυτὴν ἐκρίνεν· οὐ μέντοι καὶ αὐτοτελὴς ἦν, ἀλλ’ ἐφέσιμοι δίκαι· αὐτῆς συχνὰ ἐγίγνοντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῇ βουλῆ δόξαται ἄλλως ἐφανεροῦτο, τῶν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαίου καταψηφισθέντων τὰ ὀνόματα ἐξετίθετο, ὡσπερ

12 φοβομένου αὐτοῦ μὴ διαλάθωσα. καὶ οὔτοι τε ἐκολάξοντο, οἱ μὲν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρῷ οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου κατακρημνιζόμενοι, καὶ ἔτεροι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς προαπεκτίννυσαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ

18 Τῆς μὲν δὴ γεφύρας ἐκείνης τούτω τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο, καὶ αἰτίαν καὶ αὐτὴν θεατὴν πολλῶς παρέσχεν· ἐξαναλωθεὶς γὰρ ἐς αὐτὴν πολλῶ πλείστῳ διὰ τὰς οὐσίας ἐπεβουλευσεν. ἐδίκαζε

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light besides from the mountains. For since the place was crescent-shaped, fires were lighted on all sides, as in a theatre, so that the darkness was not noticed at all; indeed, it was his wish to make the night day, as he had made the sea land. When he had become sated and glutted with food and strong drink, he hurled many of his companions off the bridge into the sea and sank many of the others by sailing about and attacking them in boats equipped with beaks. Some perished, but the majority, though drunk, managed to save themselves. This was due to the fact that the sea was extremely smooth and tranquil both while the bridge was being put together and while the other events were taking place. This, too, caused the emperor some elation, and he declared that even Neptune was afraid of him; as for Darius and Xerxes, he made all manner of fun of them, claiming that he had bridged a far greater expanse of sea than they had done.

This was the end of that bridge, but it also proved a source of death to many; for, inasmuch as Gaius had exhausted his funds in constructing it, he fell to plotting against many more persons than ever because of their property. He held trials both alone and together with the entire senate. That body also tried some cases by itself; it did not, however, possess final authority, and there were many appeals from its verdicts. The decisions of the senate were made public in the usual way, but when any persons were condemned by Gaius, their names were published, as if he feared people might not learn of their fate otherwise. So these were punished, some in prison and others by being hurled down from the Capitoline; and still others killed themselves before-
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οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐξελαυνομένοις ἀσφάλεια ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνων πολλοὶ ἤτοι κατὰ τὴν ὀδὸν ἦ καὶ ἐν τῇ φυγῇ διεφθείροντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν δεῖ λεπτολογοῦντα μάτην τοὺς ἀναγνωσμένους 4 διοχλεῖν. Καλονίσιος δὲ δὴ Σάβινος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς Βουλῆς ὅν καὶ τότε ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῷ Παννονίᾳ ἀρχῆς ἀφιγμένοις, ἢ τε γνωρία αὐτοῦ Κορυνήλια γραφέντες (καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνη ὡς φυλακαῖς τε ἐφοδεύσασα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀσκοῦντας ἱδοῦσα αὐτίαν ἔσχεν) οὐχ ὑπὲμειναν τὴν κρίσιν, 5 ἄλλ' ἐαυτοῦς προσανάλωσαν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τούτο καὶ Τίτιος Ῥουφός ἐποίησεν, ἐγκλῆμα λαβὼν εἰρηκέναι ὅτι ἡ γερουσία ἄλλα μὲν φρονεῖ ἄλλα δ' ἀποφαίνεται. Ἰούνιος τὲ τὶς Πρίσκος στρατηγὸς ὑπείδη μὲν ἐπ' ἄλλους τισίν, ἀπέθανε δὲ ὡς πλοῦσιος. καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὁ Γάιος, μαθὼν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄξιον τοῦ θανάτου ἐκέκτητο, θαυμαστῶν λόγον ἐθέβγεζατο, εἰπὼν ὅτι "ἡπάτησέ με καὶ μάτην ἀπώλετο· ξίνη γὰρ ἐδύνατο." 19 Ἐν τούτῳ τοῖς τότε κρίθεισι καὶ ὁ Ἀφρος ὁ Δομίτιος καὶ κινδύνῳ παραδόξῳ καὶ σωτηρίᾳ θαυμασιωτέρα ἐχρήσατο. ἦχθετο μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλος ὁ Γάιος, ὅτι ἔπει τοῦ Τιβερίου γυναικὸς τινος τῷ Ἀγριππίνῃ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ προση- 2 κούσης1 κατηγορίκει. ἐφ' ὧ δὴ ἐκείνη συναντήσασα ποτὲ αὐτῷ, καὶ μαθοῦσα ὅτι ἐξέστη τῆς ὀδοῦ δὴ αἰσχύνην, προσεκαλέσατο τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἔφη "θάρσει, 2 Δομίτιε· οὐ γὰρ σὺ μοι αἰτίος 316
hand. There was no safety even for such as were banished, but many of them, too, lost their lives either on the road or while in exile. There is no need of burdening my readers unnecessarily by going into the details of most of these cases, but one or two of them call for special mention. Thus, Calvisius Sabinus, one of the foremost men in the senate, who had just returned from governing Pannonia, was indicted together with his wife Cornelia. The charge against her was that she had made the rounds of the sentries and had watched the soldiers at drill. These two did not stand trial but despatched themselves before the time fixed. The same course was taken by Titius Rufus, who was charged with having declared that the senate thought one way and voted another. Also one Junius Priscus, a praetor, was accused on various charges, but his death was really due to the supposition that he was wealthy. In this case Gaius, on learning that the man had possessed nothing to make his death worth while, made the remarkable statement: "He fooled me and perished needlessly, when he might just as well have lived."

One of these men tried at this time, Domitius Afer, came near losing his life for an extraordinary reason, and was saved in a still more remarkable manner. Gaius hated him in any case, because in the reign of Tiberius he had accused a woman who was related to his mother Agrippina. Hence Agrippina, when she afterwards met Domitius and perceived that out of embarrassment he stood aside from her path, called to him and said: "Fear not, Domitius;
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εἰ, ἀλλ' Ἀγαμέμνων." τότε δὲ ἐπειδὴ εἰκόνα τινὰ αὐτοῦ στήσας ἐπίγραμμα αὐτῇ ἐπέγραψε δηλών ὅτι ἔβδομον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἅγων

3 δεύτερον ὑπατεύοι, ἡγανάκτησεν ὡς καὶ προφέροντός οἱ αὐτοῦ τὸ τε μειρακιώδες καὶ τὸ παράνομον, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἐφ' ὦ καὶ τιμηθήσεις θαί προσεδόκησεν, ἐς τε τὸ συνέδριον αὐτὸν ἐσήγαγε καὶ λόγον κατ' αὐτοῦ μακρὸν ἀνέγυων· ἀλλως τε γὰρ προέχειν ὑπάντων τῶν ῥήτορών ἥξιον, καὶ ἐκεῖνον δεινότατον εἰπεῖν εἰδώς ὄντα

4 ὑπερβαλεῖν ἐσπούδασε. πάντως τ' ἂν αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν, εἰ καὶ ἐφ' ὁποσοῦν ἀντεπεθεφιλοτε- μητο. νῦν δὲ ἀντεῖπε μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἀπελογη- σατο οὐδέν, θαυμάζειν δὲ δὴ καὶ καταπετῆθαι τὴν δεινότητα τοῦ Γαίου προσποιησάμενος, τὴν τε κατηγορίαν καθ' ἐν ἐκαστὸν ἐπιλέγων, ὁσπερ

5 τις ἀκροατής ἀλλ' οὖχ ὑπεύθυνος ὤν, ἐπηνει, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ λόγος αὐτῷ ἔδοθη, πρὸς ἀντιβολάων καὶ ὁλοφυρμὸν ἐτράπετο, καὶ τέλος ἐς τε τὴν γῆν κατέπεσε καὶ χαμαι κείμενοι ἱκέτευσεν ὡς καὶ τὸν ῥήτορα αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν Καίσαρα φοβούμενος. καὶ οὕτως ἔκεινος, ὅρων τε ταῦτα καὶ ἀκούων, διεχύθη, πιστεύας ὑντως τῇ τῶν λόγων

6 παρασκευῇ κεκρατηκέναι αὐτοῦ· καὶ διὰ τε τοῦτο καὶ διὰ Κάλλιστον τὸν ἀπελευθεροῦν, ὡν αὐτὸς τε ἐτίμα καὶ ὁ Δομίτιος ἐπεθεραπεύκει, ἐπαύσατο

1 ἔτος ἅγων Xiph. exc. Vat., ἅγων M.
2 αὐτοῦ M Xiph., om. Zon. exc. Vat. 318
BOOK LIX

it isn't you that I hold to blame, but Agamemnon." 1

At the time in question, Afer had set up an image of the emperor and had written an inscription for it to the effect that Gaius in his twenty-seventh year was already consul for the second time. This vexed Gaius, who felt that the other was reproaching him for his youth and for his illegal conduct. Hence for this action, for which Afer had looked to be honoured, the emperor brought him at once before the senate and read a long speech against him. For Gaius always claimed to surpass all the orators, and knowing that his adversary was an extremely gifted speaker, he strove on this occasion to excel him. And he would certainly have put Afer to death, if the latter had entered into the least competition with him. As it was, the man made no answer or defence, but pretended to be astonished and overcome by the ability of Gaius, and repeating the accusation point by point, praised it as if he were a mere listener and not himself on trial. When the opportunity was given him to speak, he had recourse to entreaties and lamentations; and finally he threw himself on the ground and lying there prostrate played the suppliant to his accuser, pretending to fear him more as an orator than as Caesar. Gaius, accordingly, when he saw and heard all this, was melted, believing that he had really overwhelmed Domitius by the eloquence of his speech. For this reason, then, as well as for the sake of Callistus, the freedman, whom he was wont to honour and whose favour Domitius

1 Based on the words of Achilles to the heralds of Agamemnon who come to take Briseis from him; see Hom., II. 1, 335. Agrippina saw in Domitius merely the agent of Tiberius.
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... ορμητήρων. καὶ τῷ γε Καλλίστῳ αὐτιασαμένῳ αὐτοῦ ύστερον ὃτι καὶ τῷ ἀρχηγῷ αὐτοῦ κατηγόρησε, ἀπεκρίνατο ὃτι "οὐκ ἐδείχνυ με τοιούτων 7 λόγοιν ἀποκεκρύβθαι." Δομίτιος μὲν δὴ καταγγειώτερος διεισδύει εἰναι λέγειν ἐσώθη ὁ δὲ δὴ Σενέκας ὁ Ἀνναῖος ὁ Δούκιος, ὁ πάντας μὲν τοὺς καθ' ἐαυτὸν Ρωμαίους πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους σοφία ύπεράρας, διεφθάρη πάρ' ὀλίγους μήτ' ἀδικήσας τι μήτε δόξας, ὃτι δίκην τινὰ ἔν 8 τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρῶντος αὐτοῦ καλῶς εἴπε. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἀποθανεῖν κελέύσας ἀφίκε, γυναικὶ τινὶ ὃν ἔχρητο πιστεύσας ὃτι φθόγγος τε ἔχοιτο κακῶς καὶ οὐκ ἔστι μακρὰν τελευτήσοι.

20 Τὸν δὲ Δομίτιον καὶ ὑπατον εὐθὺς ἀπέδειξε, τοὺς τότε ἄρχοντας καταλύσας, ὃτι τε ἐς τὰ γενέθλια αὐτοῦ ἑρωμηνίαιν οὐκ ἐπῆγγελαν, καίτου τῶν στρατηγῶν ἵπποδρομίαν ἐν αὐτοῖς ποιησάντων καὶ θηρία ἀποκτεινώντων, ὅπερ πυν καθ' ἐκαστοῦ ἔτος ἐγγύνετο, καὶ ὃτι ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ Αὐγοῦστου νύκαις ὃς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐνενικήκει ἐνερτήν, ὅπερ εἴδειστο, ἦραγον. ἵνα γὰρ συκοφαντήσῃ αὐτούς, τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ Αὐγοῦστου ἀπόγονος δοκεῖν εἶναι ἤθελησε καὶ προείπε ὃς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀνεκοίνου, ὃτι πάντως ὅπερον ἄν τι ποιήσωσιν ἀμαρτήσουσιν, ἄν τε ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου συμφορᾶ βουθυτήσωσιν, ἄν τε ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Αὐγοῦστου νίκῃ ἄδειτοι.

1 Σενέκας ἐκεῖνος. Vat., οὐκεῖνας Μ. Χιφ., 2 Ἀνναῖος Β.ς., ἄννυκος Μ., ἄννυσ γε Μ., ἄννυς or ἄννεας ἐκεῖνος. Vat. 3 ὁ supplied by Bk. 4 φθόγγος Μ. Χιφ., φθόγιας Μ. 5 ἐν αὐτοῖς Λευκι., ἐν αὐτῷ Μ. Χιφ. 6 προείπε Μ. 7 γε Μ. Χιφ., το Μ.
had courted, he gave up his resentment. And when Callistus later blamed him for having accused the man in the first place, he answered: "It would not have been right for me to keep such a speech to myself." Thus Domitius was saved by being convicted of being no longer a skilful orator. On the other hand, Lucius Annaeus Seneca, who was superior in wisdom to all the Romans of his day and to many others as well, came near being destroyed, though he had neither done any wrong nor had the appearance of doing so, but merely because he pleaded a case well in the senate while the emperor was present. Gaius ordered him to be put to death, but afterwards let him off because he believed the statement of one of his female associates, to the effect that Seneca had consumption in an advanced stage and would die before a great while.

He immediately appointed Domitius consul, after removing those who were then in office because they had failed to proclaim a thanksgiving on his birthday (the praetors, it is true, had held a horse-race and had slaughtered some wild beasts, but this happened every year) and because they had celebrated a festival to commemorate the victories of Augustus over Antony, as was customary; for, in order to invent some ground of complaint against them, he chose to pose as a descendant of Antony rather than of Augustus. Indeed, he had announced beforehand to those with whom he regularly shared his secrets, that whichever course the consuls followed they would certainly make a mistake, whether, that is, they offered sacrifices to celebrate Antony's overthrow or refrained from sacrificing in honour of

*βουθησάσιν Χιφ., βουθησάσιν Μ.*
3 γένωνται. ἐκείνους μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα αὐθημεροῦν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἑπαύσε, τὰς ράβδους σφῶν προσνυ- 
τρίψας, ἐφ' ὧ δὴ ὁ ἕτερος αὐτῶν ἀδημονήσας ἐαυτῶν ἔσφαξε: τὸν δὲ δὴ Δομίτιον τὸν συνάρ- 
χοντα αὐτὸν λόγῳ μὲν ὁ δῆμος ἔργῳ δ' αὐτὸς 
ἐιλέτο. ἀπέδωκε μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἀρχαιεσίας αὐτοῖς.
4 ἀτε δὲ ἐκείνων τε ἀργοτέρων ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ 
χρόνου μιθὲν ἐλευθέρως κεχρηματικέναι εἰς τὸ 
δρᾶν τι τῶν προσηκόντων σφίσων ώντων, καὶ 
tῶν σπουδαρχιώτων μάλιστα μὲν μὴ πλείονον 
ἡ ὅσοις αἱρείσθαι ἔδει ἐπαγγελλόντων, εἰ δὲ 
pοτὲ καὶ ύπὲρ τῶν ἀριθμὸν γένοιτο, διομολο-
γουμένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τὸ μὲν σχῆμα τῆς 
δημοκρατίας ἐσώζετο, ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν αὐτῆς ἐγί- 

5 γενέτ. καὶ διὰ τούτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ αὐθίς τοῦ Παίου 
κατελύθησαν. κάκ τοῦτο τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ 
καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου καθίστατο, στρατηγοὶ δὲ 
tοτὲ μὲν πεντεκαίδεκα, ἐστὶ δ' ὅτε ἐνὶ πλείους ἥ 
kαὶ ἑλάττους, ὅς ποικ. καὶ ἐτύχων, ἡροῦντο.
6 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τὰς ἀρχαιεσίας ταῦτ' ἐπραξεν, 
οὕτω δὲ δὴ τὸ σύμπαυ καὶ βάσκανος καὶ ὑποπτὸς 
πρὸς πάντα ὁμοίως ἦν ὡστε καὶ Καρρίναν 1 
Σεκουνδον ρήτορα φυγαδεύσαί ποτε, ὥτι λόγον 
7 τινά ἐν γυμνασίᾳ κατὰ τυράννων ἔσπεν. ἔπειδή 

τε Δούκιος Πίσιων ὁ τῆς τε Πλαγκίνης καὶ τοῦ 
Γναίου Πίσωνος υἱὸς ἄρξαι 2 τῆς 'Αφρικῆς ἑτυχεν, 
ἑφοβήθη μὴ νεωτερίσθη τι ὑπὸ μεγαλαυχίας, 
ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι δύναμιν πολλῆν καὶ πολιτικὴν 
καὶ εὐνικὴν ἐξειν ἐμελλέ, καὶ διὰ τὸ ἔθνος 
νείμας ἐτέρω το τε στρατιωτικὸν καὶ τοὺς Νομάδας

1 Καρρίναν Περ., καρρίναν Μ, καρρίναν Χιρ.
Augustus' victory. These were the reasons, then, why he summarily dismissed these officials, first breaking in pieces their fasces; whereupon one of them took it so much to heart that he killed himself. As for Domitius, he was chosen as the emperor's colleague, nominally by the people, but actually by Gaius himself. The latter had, to be sure, restored the elections to the people, but they had become rather lax in the performance of their duties because for a long time they had not transacted any business in the manner of freemen; and as a rule no more candidates presented themselves than the number to be chosen, or, if ever there were more than were required, the outcome was arranged among themselves. Thus the democracy was preserved in appearance, but there was no democracy in fact; and this led Gaius himself to abolish the elections once more. After this matters went on in general as in the reign of Tiberius; but as regards the praetors, sometimes fifteen were chosen and sometimes one more or one less, just as it happened. Such was the action he took regarding the elections.

In general his attitude was one of envy and suspicion toward everything alike. Thus he banished Carrinas Secundus, an orator, for delivering a speech against tyrants as a rhetorical exercise. Again, when the lot fell upon Lucius Piso, the son of Plancina and Gnaeus Piso, to become governor of Africa, he feared that arrogance might lead him to revolt, especially as he was to have a large force made up of both citizens and foreigners; hence he divided the province into two parts, assigning the military force together with the Numidians in its vicinity to
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tou's peri autò prosētaže: kai e't ekeinou kai deunro touto gýrretai.

21 Kad ἡδη γὰρ τι τε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀλλη Ἰταλία  χρήματα πῦρτα ὡς εἰπεῖν, ὅθεν τι καὶ ὁπωσοῦν οἰόν τε ἐν αὐτῷ λαβεῖν, ἀναλὼκει, καὶ οὕτε ἐνταῦθα πόρος τις ἄξιοχρείως ἢ καὶ δυνατός εὐρίσκετο, καὶ αἱ δαπάναι ὑπερήπειγον

2 autòn, ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν ἀφόρμησε, πρόφασιν μὲν τοὺς Κελτοὺς τοὺς πολεμίους ὡς καὶ παρακινοῦνται τὰς τὶ ποιησάμενος, ἔργῳ δὲ ὅπως καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνον ἀνθοῦντα τοῖς πλούτοις καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἰβηρῶν ἐκχρηματίσηται. οὐ μὲντοι καὶ ἀντικρὺς τὴν ἔξοδον προσπήγγειλεν, ἀλλ' ἐς προαστείον τὴν ἔλθων εἰτ' ἐξαίφνης ἀπήρη, πολλοὺς μὲν ὀρχηστὰς πολλοὺς δὲ μονομάχους ὑπονούσαν γυναικάς τὴν

3 Ἀλλην τρυφήν ἐπαγόμενος. ἔλθων δὲ ἐκείσε τῶν μὲν πολεμίων οὔδένα ἐκάκωσεν (εὐθὺς τε γὰρ ὅλην ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ῥήμου προχωρήσας ὑπέστρεψε, καὶ μετὰ τούτο ὀρμήσας ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν Βρετανίαν στρατεύσων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὁκεανοῦ ἀνεκομίσθη, καὶ τοῖς ὑποστρατήγοις τοῖς κατορθοῦσι τὶ πάμεν ἦχθετο), τοὺς δ' ὑπηκόουσι τοὺς τε συμμάχους καὶ τοὺς πολίτας πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα ἐκακούργησε. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τοὺς τὴν ἐχοντας ἐπὶ πάση προφάσει ἐσύλα, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ δωρα οἱ τε ἕδωται καὶ αἱ πόλεις ἐκούσας δῆθεν μεγάλα αὐτῶ ἤγον. ἄλλοις ως 2 νεωτερίζοντας, ἄλλοις ως ἐπίβουλευόντας οἱ ἐφόνευσαν καὶ ἦν δημόσιον ἐγκλήματα

4 πᾶσι ςφίσι τὸ πλούτειν. καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ κτήματα

1 προσπήγγειλεν Plugk, προσπήγγειλεν M cod. Peir.
2 ως supplied by Leuncl.
another official, an arrangement that has continued from that time down to the present.

Gaius had now spent practically all the money in Rome and the rest of Italy, gathered from every source from which he could in any way get it, and as no source of revenue in considerable amount or practicable to collect could be found there, and his expenses were pressing him hard, he set out for Gaul, ostensibly because the hostile Germans were stirring up trouble, but in reality with the purpose of exploiting both Gaul with its abounding wealth and Spain also. However, he did not openly announce his expedition beforehand, but went first to one of the suburbs and then suddenly set out on the journey, taking with him many actors, many gladiators, horses, women, and all the other trappings of luxury. When he reached his destination, he did no harm to any of the enemy—in fact, as soon as he had proceeded a short distance beyond the Rhine, he returned, and then set out as if to conduct a campaign against Britain, but turned back from the ocean's edge, showing no little vexation at his lieutenants who won some slight success—but upon the subject peoples, the allies, and the citizens he inflicted vast and innumerable ills. In the first place, he despoiled those who possessed anything, on any and every excuse; and secondly, both private citizens and cities brought him large gifts voluntarily, as it was made to appear. He murdered some men on the ground that they were rebelling, and others on the ground that they were conspiring against him; but the real complaint was one and the same for the whole people—the fact that they were rich. By selling their possessions himself, he realized far
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αὐτὸς πιπράσκων πολλῷ καὶ ἐκ τούτου πλεῖω ἡργυρολόγει: πάντες γὰρ ἡναγκάζοντο παντοῖως τε καὶ πολὺ γε ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν ὁνεῖσθαι, δι' ἀειρήκα. ἀφ' οὖπερ καὶ τὰ τῆς μοναρχίας κείμηλα τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τιμωτάτα μεταπεμψάμενος ἀπεκήρυξε, τὴν δοξᾶν τῶν ποτὲ χρησαμένων αὐτοῖς συμπωλὸν σφισών. ἐπέλεγε γοῦν ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ "τοῦτό μου ὁ πατήρ ἐκτήσατο, τοῦτο ἡ μήτηρ, τοῦτο ὁ πάππος, τοῦτο ὁ πρόπαππος. Ἀντωνίου τοῦτο Λιγύπτιον, Λυγούστου τὸ ὕπερτήριον." καὶ τούτῳ τῇ τα ἀνάγκην ἀμα τῆς πράσεως αὐτῶν ἐνεδείκνυτο, ὡστε μηδένα ὑπομένευν ἀπορεῖν1 δοκεῖν, καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα σφισὶ συναπεδίδοτο.

22 Ὡν μὲντοι καὶ περιεποιεῖτο τι, ἀλλ' ἐσ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐδαπάναι ὁσπερ εἰὼθει (καὶ γὰρ θέας τινὰς ἐν τῷ Δουγδούνῳ ἐπετέλεσε), καὶ ἐσ τὰ στρατεύματα· εἰκοσὶ γὰρ, ὡς δὲ τινὲς φασί, πέντε καὶ εἰκοσὶ 2 μυριάδας στρατιωτῶν ἠθροισέ. καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπτάκις αὐτοκράτωρ, ὡς πον καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ, μήτε μάχην τινὰ νικήσας μήτε πολέμων τινα ἀποκτείνας ἐπωνομάσθη. ἐκείνων μὲν γὰρ ὁλίγους ποτὲ ἀπάτη τινὶ συλλαβῶν ἔδησε, τοῦ δὲ δὴ οἰκείου πολὺ μέρος ἀνάλωσε, τοὺς μὲν καθ' ἐκάστους κατακόπτων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀθρόους ἤμα 3 πάντας φονεύσας. ἦδον γὰρ ποτὲ ὅχλον εἶτε δεσμωτῶν εἶτε καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν, προσέταξε τοῦτο δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον, ἀπὸ τοῦ φαλακροῦ μέχρι τοῦ

1 ἀπορεῖν Bk., εὐπορεῖν M cod. Peir.
greater sums than would otherwise have been the case; for everybody was compelled to buy them at any price and for much more than their value, for the reasons I have mentioned. Accordingly, he sent also for the finest and most precious heirlooms of the monarchy and sold them off by auction, selling with them the fame of the persons who had once used them. Thus he would make some comment on each one, such as, "this belonged to my father," "this to my mother," "this to my grandfather," "this to my great-grandfather," "this Egyptian piece was Antony's, the prize of victory for Augustus." At the same time he also explained the necessity of selling them, so that no one could persist in pretending to be poor; and thus he made them buy the reputation of each article along with the thing itself.

In spite of all this he did not secure any surplus, but kept up his customary expenditures, not only for other objects that interested him—exhibiting, for example, some games at Lugdunum—but especially for the legions. For he had gathered together two hundred thousand troops, or, as some say, two hundred and fifty thousand. He was acclaimed imperator by them seven times, as his whim directed, though he had won no battle and slain no enemy. To be sure, he did once by a ruse seize and bind a few of the foe, whereas he used up a large part of his own force, striking some of them down one at a time and butchering others en masse. Thus, on one occasion, when he saw a crowd of prisoners or some other persons, he gave orders, in the famous phrase, that they should all be slain "from baldhead to bald-

1 In chap. 14.
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φαλακροῦ πάντας αὐτῶν σφαγῆναι. κυβεῦνν
dé ποτε, καὶ μαθῶν ὅτι οὐκ εἶχ οἱ ἀργύριοι, ἦτησε
tε τάς τῶν Γαλατῶν ἀπογραφάς, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν
4 τοὺς πλουσιώτατος θανατωθῆναι κελεύσας, ἐπ-
ανήλθε τε πρὸς τοὺς συγκυβευτὰς καὶ ἔφη ὅτι
"ὑμεῖς περὶ ὀλίγων δραχμῶν ἀγωνίζεσθε, ἐγώ δὲ
ἕσ μυρίας καὶ πεντακισχιλίας μυρίων ἥδροισα."
καὶ οὕτῳ μὲν ἐν 1 οὐδεὶς λόγῳ ἀπώλευτο· ἀμέλει
εἰς τις αὐτῶν Ἰουλίας Σακερδῶς ἄλλως μὲν εὖ
χρημάτων ἥκων, οὐ μὲντοι καὶ ὑπέρπλοντο ὡςτε
καὶ ἐπιβουλεύθηαι δ' αὐτᾶ, ὅμως ἐξ ἐπωνυμίας
5 ἀπεσφάγη. οὕτως ἀκρίτως πάντα ἐγίγνετο. τῶν
δὲ ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς οὐδὲν δέομαι ὅνομαστὶ
καταλέγειν, ὅν δὲ δὴ ἡ ἱστορία τὴν μνήμην
ἀπαίτει, φράσω. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Γαϊτούλικον
Λέντυλου, τὰ τε ἄλλα εὐδόκιμον ὑντα καὶ τῆς
Γερμανίας δέκα ἔτεσιν ἄρξαιτα, ἀπέκτεινεν, ὅτι
6 τοῖς στρατιώταις ὁκεἰότο.; τοῦτο δὲ τὸν Λέπιδον
ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἔραστὴν τὸν ἐρώμενον, τὸν τῆς Δρου-
σίλλης ἄνδρα, τὸν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις αὐτοῦ ἄδελφαις
τῇ τῇ Ἀγριππίνη καὶ τῇ Ἰουλία μετ' αὐτοῦ
ἐκεῖνον συνόντα, ὥ πέντε ἔτεσι θάσσον τὰς ἀρχὰς
7 παρὰ τοὺς νόμους αἰτῆσαι ἐπέτρεψεν, ὅν καὶ διά-
δοχον τῆς ἠγερμονίας καταλείψειν ἐπηγγέλλετο,
κατεφώνεσε. καὶ τοῖς τε στρατιώταις ἀργύριοιν
ἐπὶ τούτω, καθάπερ πολεμίων τινῶν κεκρατηκὼς,
ἐδοκε, καὶ ἔδθεια τρία τῷ Ἀρεί τῷ Τιμωρφῇ ἐς
8 τῇ Ἰρώμην ἐπεμψε. τάς τε ἄδελφας ἐπὶ τῇ
συνουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐς τᾶς Ποντίας νῆσους κατέδεικτο,

1 en supplied by Rk.
2 Γαϊτούλικον R. Steph., γαϊτούλιχον M.
head." At another time he was playing at dice, and finding that he had no money, he called for the census lists of the Gauls and ordered the wealthiest of them to be put to death; then, returning to his fellow-gamesters, he said: "Here you are playing for a few denarii, while I have taken in a good hundred and fifty millions." So these men perished without any consideration. Indeed, one of them, Julius Saeerdos, who was fairly well off, yet not so extremely wealthy as to become the object of attack on that account, was slain simply because of a similarity of names. This shows how carelessly everything was done. As for the others who perished, there is no need of my naming over most of them, but I will mention those of whom history requires some record. In the first place, then, he put to death Lentulus Gaetulicus, who had an excellent reputation in every way and had been governor of Germany for ten years, for the reason that he was endeared to the soldiers. Another of his victims was Lepidus, that lover and favourite of his, the husband of Drusilla, the man who had together with Gaius maintained improper relations with the emperor's other sisters, Agrippina and Julia, the man whom he had allowed to stand for office five years earlier than was permitted by law and whom he kept declaring he would leave as his successor to the throne. To celebrate this man's death he gave the soldiers money, as though he had defeated some enemies, and sent three daggers to Mars Ultor in Rome. He deported his sisters to the Pontian Islands because of their relations with

1 Similarly Sueton., Gai. 27. Presumably there happened to be a bald-headed man at either end of the line.
2 Denarii. 150,000,000 denarii = 600,000,000 sesterces.
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πολλὰ περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἄσεβῆ καὶ ἄσελγῆ τῷ συνεδρίῳ γράφας· καὶ τῇ γε Ἀγριππίνῃ τὰ ὅστα αὐτοῦ ἐν ύδρίᾳ ἐδωκε, κελεύσας οἱ ἐν τοῖς κόλποις αὐτὴν διὰ πάσης τῆς 1 ὄδοι έχουσαν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην 9 ἀνενεγκεῖν. ἐπειδὴ τε συνήν αὐταῖς δὲ ἐκεῖνον δήλον ὅτι προεψῆφιστο, 2 ἀπηγόρευσε μηδενὶ τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτοῦ μηδεμίαν τιμὶν δίδοσθαι.

23 Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, ὡς καὶ μεγάλην τινὰ ἐπι-βουλὴν διαπεφευγός, ἐπέστειλε πάνυ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄλλως προσεποιεῖτο ἐν δεινοῖς τε εἶναι καὶ 2 ταλαίπωρως διάγειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ μαθόντες αὐτὰ οἱ βουλευταὶ ἄλλα τε τινα αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἑπικίες τὰ σμικρότερα ἐψηφίσαντο, πρέσβεις τε ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς ἄλλους κλήρου καὶ τὸν Κλαύδιον αἴρετον ἐπέμψαν, τούτῳ τε ἐδοξάζουσι, ὥστε καὶ άθετος ἀπειπεῖν μήτε ἐπαινοῦ τι μήτε τιμῆς ἐχόμενον τοῖς συγγε-νέσιν αὐτοῦ γίγνεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι μὴ κατ' ἄξιαν 3 τετιμήσθαι ἔδοκε. 3 πάντα τε γὰρ άεὶ τὰ διδό-μενα αὐτῷ παρ' οὐδὲν ἐτίθετο, καὶ ἦχθετο μὲν εἰ μικρὰ τινὰ ψηφισθεῖν, ὡς καταφρονούμενος, ἦχθετο δὲ καὶ έι μείζων, ὡς καὶ τῆς τῶν λοιπῶν ἐξουσίας ἀφαιροῦμενος. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐβούλετο δοκεῖν τι τῶν τιμὴν τινα αὐτῷ φερόντων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ κρείσσων αὐτοῦ οὐσί καὶ χαρί-σασθαι οἱ 4 ὡς καὶ ἤττουι σφῶν τις δυναμένοις 4 εἶναι καὶ διὰ τούτῳ πολλάκις τινὰ οὐχ ὡς καὶ αὐξῆσιν τῆς λαμπρότητος ἀλλ' ὡς καθαιρεσιν τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτῶ φέροντα διέβαλλε. καὶ μεντοί

1 τῆς supplied by Bk.
2 προεψῆφιστο Reim., προεψῆφιστο M cod. Peir.
3 ἔδοκε Reim., δόκει M cod. Peir.
4 χαρίσασθαι οἱ Oddey, χαρίσασθαι σφῶν οἱ M.

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Lepidus, having first accused them in a communication to the senate of many impious and immoral actions. Agrippina was given Lepidus' bones in an urn and bidden to carry it back to Rome, keeping it in her bosom during the whole journey. Also, since many honours had been voted earlier to his sisters manifestly on his account, he forbade the awarding of any distinction to any of his relatives.

He sent a report about these matters to the senate at the time, just as if he had escaped some great plot; for he was always pretending to be in danger and to be leading a miserable existence. The senators, on being apprised of it, voted him an ovation among other things, and they sent envoys to announce their action, choosing some of them by lot, but directly appointing Claudius. This also displeased Gaius, to such an extent that he again forbade the bestowing of anything involving praise or honour upon his relatives; and he felt, besides, that he had not been honoured as he deserved. For that matter, he always counted as naught all the honours that were granted to him. It irritated him to have small distinctions voted, since that implied a slight, and greater distinctions irritated him also, since thus the possibility of further honours seemed to be taken from him. For he did not for a moment wish it to appear that anything that brought him honour was in the power of the senators, since that would imply that they were his superiors and could grant him favours as if he were their inferior. For this reason he frequently found fault with various honours conferred upon him, on the ground that they did not increase his splendour but rather destroyed his power. And yet, though he felt thus, he used to
καὶ ταῦθ’ οὕτω φρονοῦν ὡργίζετο αὐτοῖς, εἰ ποτε ἐλάπτω σφᾶς τῆς ἄξιας ἐψηφίσθαι οἱ ἔδοξεν. οὕτω πον ἐμπλήκτος ἦν, καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτοῦ ῥαδίως τυχεῖν ἐδύνατο. ἐκεῖνοις μὲν οὖν τοὺς πρέσβεις διὰ ταῦθ’ ὡς καὶ κατασκόπους ὑπιδόμενος, οὕτε πάντας προσεδέξατο, ἀλλ’ ὄλιγοις ἐπιλεξάμενος τοὺς λοιποὺς, πρὶν ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν ἐλθεῖν, ἀπεπέμψατο, οὐθ’ οὗς ἐγεροῦσημένοις σεμνοῦ τινος ἡξίωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Κλαύδιον ἀπέκτεινεν ἃν, εἰ μὴ κατεφρόνησεν αὐτοῦ τὰ μὲν τῇ φύσει τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ προνοιᾶς πολλὴν νοθείαν προσποιούμενον. ἔτεροι δὲ αὐθίς πλείους τε πεμφθέντας (πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς ἄλλους τὴν ὀλυγότητα τῶν προτέρων ἥτιτα) καὶ πολλά τινα ἐψηφίσθαι οἱ ἀγγέλλοντας ἤδεως ὑπεδέξατο, καὶ προαπήνησης τε αὐτοῖς, ὥστ’ ὁν καὶ αὐτῶν αὐθίς ἐτιμήθη.

7 Καὶ τούτῳ μὲν ὅστε ἐγένετο. τούτῳ δὲ ἐκβαλὼν τὴν Παυλίναν, προφάσει μὲν ὡς μὴ τίκτουσαν, τὸ δ’ ἀληθὲς ὅτι διακορῆς αὐτῆς ἐγεγόνει, Μιλωνίαν Καισωνιάν ἐγήμεν, ἦν πρότερον μὲν ἐμοίχευε, τούτῳ δὲ καὶ γαμετὴν ποιήσασθαι ἤθελησεν, ἐπειδὴ ἐὰν γαστρὰ ἔσχεν, ἐὰν αὐτῶ παῖ-δίων τριακούμης τέκνη. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐταράττοτοι μὲν καὶ ἐκ τούτων, ἐταράττοντο δὲ καὶ ὅτι δίκαι σφίσιν ἐπὶ τε τῇ πρὸς τὰς ἀδελφὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς τοὺς πεφονεμένους φιλία πολλαὶ ἐπήγγεντο, ὡς καὶ ἄγορανόμους στρατηγοὺς τὲ τινας ἄναγκασθῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπειπότας κρατῆναι. καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ὑπὸ καυμάτων ἐταλαιπώρησαν τοσαύτη ἡμᾶς ὑπερβολὴ αὐτῶν ἐγέ-

1 καὶ cod. Peir., om. M.
2 τινα Leuncl., τι M.
become angry with them if it ever seemed that they had voted to him less than he deserved. So capricious was he; and no one could easily suit him. Accordingly, he would not, for these reasons, receive all the above-mentioned envoys, affecting to mistrust them as spies, but chose a few, and sent the rest back before they reached Gaul. And even those whom he admitted to his presence he did not deign to treat with any respect; indeed, he would have killed Claudius, had he not felt contempt for him, inasmuch as the latter, partly by his nature and partly by deliberate intent, gave the impression of great stupidity. But when another embassy was sent out larger than before (for he had complained among other things of the small size of the first) and brought word that many marks of distinction had been voted to him, he received them gladly, even going forth to meet them, and for this very action he received fresh honours at their hands; but this happened later.

Gains now divorced Paulina, on the pretext that she was barren, but really because he had got tired of her, and married Milonia Caesonia. This woman had formerly been his mistress, but now, since she was pregnant, he desired to make her his wife, so that she should bear him a one-month's child. The people of Rome were disturbed by this behaviour, and disturbed also because many trials were being brought against them, as a result of the friendship they had shown toward his sisters and toward the men who had been murdered; even some aediles and praetors were compelled to resign their offices and stand trial. Meanwhile they also suffered from the hot weather, which became so extremely severe
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...ōste καὶ παραπετάσματα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑπερταθῆναι. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τότε φεύγουσι καὶ ὁ Τιγελλίνως ὁ 'Οφώνιος, ὡς καὶ τὴν 'Αγριππώναμ 

24 Οὐ μέντοι ταῦθ' οὕτως αὐτοὺς ἐλύπει ὡς τὸ προσδοκάν ἐπὶ πλεῖον τὴν τῇ ὁμότητα τῆς τοῦ Γαίου καὶ τῆς ἀσέλγειαν αὐξήσειν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι ἐπυνθάνοντο τὸν τῇ 'Αγριππᾶν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον τοὺς Βασιλέας ὡσπερ τινὰς τυραννοῦν... 

2 δασκάλους συνεῖναι. καὶ διὰ ταῦθ' ὑπατεύοντος αὐτοῦ τὸ τρίτον οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν δημόρχων οὔτε τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀθροίσαι τὴν γερουσίαν ἐτὸλμησε: συνάρχοντα γὰρ, οὔτε καὶ ἐπιτηδεύσας, ὡσπερ οὐντα τινὲς, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν προαποδεδειγμένου τελευτῆσαντος, ἑτέρου δὲ μηδενὸς δὴ ὀλίγου οὕτως ἐν τῇ ἐκδημίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀντικαταστῖναι.

3 στήναι διδυμίαν, οὐδένα ἠσχεῖ. καὶ ἔδει μὲν ποι τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, οἷς τὰ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐργά ὁπόταν ἀποδημήσωσι μέλει, πάντα αὐτὰ ἐπιτετελεκέναι ὅπως δὲ δὴ μὴ καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος δόξωσι τι πεποιηκέναι, οὐδὲν τῶν καθηκόντων ἐπράξαν, 

4 ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀθρόοι οἱ βουλευταὶ ἀναβάντες τὰς τὴν ἑξεισαν καὶ τὸν τοῦ Γαίου δίφρον τὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ κεῖμενον προσεκύνησαν, καὶ ἔτι καὶ ἀργύριον κατὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀντιοχοῦ ἐθος ἱσχύσαν, ὡς καὶ αὐτῷ ἑκείνῳ διδώτες, κατέθεσαν. καὶ τούτο μὲν καὶ τῷ ἕξῆς ἐτεί νομίως ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ συνήλθον μὲν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὸ συνέδριον μηδενὸς σφας ἀθροίσαντος, ἐπράξαν

1 ὁ Ὅφώνιος Βς., σοφώνιος Μ.
2 οὕτι H. Steph., οὕτοι Μ.
that awnings were stretched across the Forum. A.D. 39

Among the men exiled at this time Ofonius Tigrillus was banished on the charge of having had improper relations with Agrippina.

All this, however, did not distress the people so much as did their expectation that Gaius' cruelty and licentiousness would go to still greater lengths. And they were particularly troubled on ascertaining that King Agrippa and King Antiochus were with him, like two tyrant-trainers. Consequently, while he was consul for the third time none of the tribunes or praetors ventured to convene the senate. (He had no colleague, though this was not, as some think, intentional, but rather due to the fact that the consul designate died and no one else could be appointed in his stead on such short notice in the emperor's absence.) Of course the praetors, whose office it is to perform the duties of the consuls in their absence from the city, ought to have attended to all the necessary business; but, fearing it might appear that they had acted in the emperor's place, they performed none of those duties. The senators, nevertheless, went up to the Capitol in a body, offered the regular sacrifices, and did obeisance to the chair of Gaius that was in the temple; furthermore, in accordance with the custom prevailing in the time of Augustus, they left money, acting as though they were giving it to the emperor himself. The same course was followed the next year also; but at the time of the events just narrated they assembled in the senate-house after these ceremonies, though

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3 ἐκδήλωσις R., ἐκκλησία M.
4 ἐπραξάν R. Steph., ἐπραξέν M.
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dê oúdeν, ἀλλ' ὄλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τε τοῖς ἑπαίνοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ εὐχαῖς κατέ-6 τριψαν ἑπειδῇ γὰρ οὕτ' ἐφίλουν αὐτὸν οὕτε σώζεσθαι ἐβούλουτο, ἐπὶ πλείον ἠμφώτερα, ὡς καὶ τὸ συνειδὸς σφῶν διὰ τούτο ἐπηλυγασόμενοι, προσεποιήσαντο. καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τὰς εὐχὰς ἐχούση συνήλθον μέν, πάντων τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκ κοινοῦ προγράμματος τὴν σύνοδον σφίσιν ἐπαγγειλάντων, ἔχρημάτισαν δὲ οὕτε τότε οὕτε ἀνθ' οὐδέν, μέχρις οὗ ὁ Γαίος δωδεκάτη7 ἡμέρα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπειπὸν ἥγγελθη. τότε γὰρ παραλαβόντες αὐτὴν οἱ ἐς τὸ ἐπειτὶ κεχειροτονη-6 μένοι διώκοντα τὰ προσήκοντα σφίσι, καὶ ἔση-φάσθη ἄλλα τε καὶ ἕνα τὸς τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ τοῖς τῆς Δρουσίλλης γενεσίοις τὰ αὐτὰ ἀπέρ καὶ τοῖς τοῦ Λυγοῦστον ἥγγηται. καὶ τινα καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ὀρχήστρας ἄνδρες πανήγυριν τε ἔπετε-λεσαν καὶ θέαν παρέσχοντο, καὶ1 εἰκόνα τοῦ τε Γαίου καὶ τῆς Δρουσίλλης στήσαντες ὁσίωσαν. 8 ταῦτα δὲ ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς που τῆς τοῦ Γαίου ἐπιράχθη καὶ γὰρ τὰλλα ὅσα χρηματίζεσθαι ἐβούλετο, ὅλιγα μὲν πάσι τοῖς βουλευταῖς, τὰ δὲ δὴ πλεῖο τοῖς ὑπάτους ἐγγραφε,2 καὶ ἐκείνα ἐστίν ὅτε ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἀναγινώσκεσθαι ἐκέλευε.

25 Καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐπραττοῦν, Γαίος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τόν τε Πτολεμαίου τόν τοῦ Ἰουβα παῖδα μετα-6 πέμψας, καὶ μαθῶν ὅτι πλούτει, ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ . . . 3

1 καὶ supplied by R. Steph. 2 ἐγγραφε Ἰς., γράφων Μ. 3 At this point a quaternion has been lost from Μ; the MS. resumes at lx. 2, 1.

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no one had convened them, and yet transacted no business, but merely wasted the whole day in
laudations of Gaius and prayers in his behalf. For since they had no love for him nor any wish that
he should survive, they went to greater lengths in simulating both these feelings, as if hoping in this
way to disguise their real sentiments. On the third day, which was the day devoted to prayers, they
came together in response to an announcement of a meeting made by all the praetors in a joint notice;
nevertheless, they transacted no business on this occasion or later, until, on the twelfth day, word
was brought that Gaius had resigned his office.¹ Then the men who had been elected for the second
portion of the year succeeded to the position and administered the duties of their office. Among
other votes passed was one providing that the birthdays of Tiberius and Drusilla should be cele-
brated in the same manner as that of Augustus. The people connected with the stage also exhibited
a festival, furnished a spectacle, and set up and dedicated images of Gaius and Drusilla. All this
was done, of course, in response to a message from Gaius; for whenever he wished any business brought
up, he communicated a small portion of it in writing to all the senators, but most of it to the consuls, and
then sometimes ordered this to be read in the senate.

While the senators were passing these decrees, Gaius sent for Ptolemy, the son of Juba, and on
learning that he was wealthy put him to death and . . .

¹ The consulship.
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("Ως αἱ Μαυριτανίαι ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχεσθαί ἤρξαντο.—Index Lib. LIX.)

Ἐς δὲ τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐλθὼν ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ στρατεύσων, καὶ πάντας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐν τῇ ἱόνι παρατάξας, τριήρους τε ἐπέβη καὶ ὁλίγον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀπάρασ ἀνέπλευσε, καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ ἐπὶ βῆματος ψηλοῦ ἱζήσας καὶ σύνθημα τοῖς στρατιώταις ὡς ἐσ μάχην δοῦσ, τοῖς τε σαλπικταῖς ¹ ἐξοτρύνας αὐτοὺς, εἰτ ῥ" ἐξαίφνης ἐκέλευσε σφισὶ τὰ κογχύλια συλλέξαι. ³ ἦσσθαι. λαβὼν τε τὰ σκῦλα τάῦτα (καὶ γὰρ λαφύρων δήλου ὑτι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐπιυκίων πομπῆς ἔδειτο) μέγα τε ἐφρόνησεν ὡς καὶ τὸν ὠκεανὸν αὐτῶν δεδυσλομένος, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις πολλὰ ἐδωρῆσατο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν Ῥόμην τὰ κογχύλια ἀνεκόμισεν, ἵνα καὶ ἔκεινος τὰ λάφυρα δείξῃ; ἢ δὲ βουλὴ οὐθ' ὡς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἰσυχαζότω εἰχεν, ὅτι μεγαλοφρονούμενοι αὐτῶν ἐπιυθάνετο, οὐθ' ὡς αὐτῶν ἐπαινέσεις ἂν γὰρ τις ἐπὶ μηδεμία ἡ μικρὰ τινὶ ἀνδραγαθίᾳ ἦτοι ἐπαίνους μεγάλους ἡ καὶ τιμὰς ἐξαισίους ποιήται, διαμωκασθαί τε καὶ διασιλλοῦν ³ αὕτην ⁵ ύποπτεύεται. ὡμος ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὴν μὲν βουλὴν ὁλίγον ἐδέσσεται ἄπολέσαι πάσαν, ὅτι μὴ τὰ ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωποῦ αὐτῶ ἐψηφίσατο, ⁴ τὸν δὲ δήμου ἀθροίσας πολὺ μὲν ἀργύριον ἐκ μετεωρῶν τινὸς πολὺ δὲ χρυσίον ἐρρίψε, καὶ πολλοὶ ἀπὸλοντο διαρπάζοντες. σιδήρια γὰρ μικρὰ ἄττα

¹ σαλπικταῖς Dind., σαλπιγκταῖς VCL'.
² εἰτ' VL', οὕτ' C.
³ διασιλλοῦν I', διασιλλοῦν C, διασιλλοῦν (with second A added above) V.

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BOOK LIx

(How the Mauretanias began to be governed by Romans.)

And when he reached the ocean, as if he were going to conduct a campaign in Britain, and had drawn up all the soldiers on the beach, he embarked on a trireme, and then, after putting out a little from the land, sailed back again. Next he took his seat on a lofty platform and gave the soldiers the signal as if for battle, bidding the trumpeters urge them on; then of a sudden he ordered them to gather up the shells. Having secured these spoils (for he needed booty, of course, for his triumphal procession), he became greatly elated, as if he had enslaved the very ocean; and he gave his soldiers many presents. The shells he took back to Rome for the purpose of exhibiting the booty to the people there as well. The senate knew not how it could remain indifferent to these doings, since it learned that he was in an exalted frame of mind, nor yet again how it could praise him. For, if anybody bestows great praise or extraordinary honours for some trivial exploit or none at all, he is suspected of making a hissing and a mockery of the affair. Nevertheless, when Gaius entered the city, he came very near destroying the whole senate because it had not voted him divine honours. He assembled the populace, however, and showered quantities of silver and gold upon them from a lofty station, and many perished in their efforts to

1 ἐψηφίσατο VL, ἐψηφίσθη C (corr. to ἐψηφίσατο).
2 πολλοὶ VC, πολλοὶ δὲ L.
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autōis, ὸς φασί τινες, ἀνεμέμικτο.—Xiph. 166, 30–167, 22.

5a Ἐκ δὲ τῶν μοιχειῶν ὡς καὶ τὴν πάσαν Κελτικὴν καὶ Βρεττανικὴν κεχειρωμένος, αὐτοκράτωρ τε πολλάκις καὶ Γερμανικὸς καὶ Βρεττανικὸς ἐπεκλήθη.—Joann. Antioch. fr. 82 M. (v. 30–33).

5b Τούτων δὲ τῶν τρόπων βιούς πάντως ἐπιβουλευθήσεσθαι ἐμελλε. καὶ ἐφώρασε τὴν ἐπίθεσιν, καὶ συλλαβῶν Ἀνίκιον Κερεάλιον καὶ τὸν νῦν αὐτόν Σέξτον Παπίνιον ἐβασάνισε· καὶ ἔπει μηδὲν ἐξελάλησεν, ἀνέπεισε τὸν Παπίνιον, σωτηρίαν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀδειαν ὑποσχόμενος, κατεπείν τινὸν ἢ ἀληθῶς ἢ ψευδῶς, καὶ ἐκείνον αὐτίκα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀπέκτεινεν.

—Zon. 11, 6 (p. 19, 12–19 D.).

6 Βετιλίνου δὲ Βάσσου ἀποσφαγῆναι κελεύσας, καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Καπίτωνα παρεῖναι φονευμένοιν αὐτῷ κατηγάκασε μήτ' ἀδικούντα τι μήτ' ἐσηγελμένον. πυθομένου τε αὐτοῦ εἴ μῦσαί γέ οἱ ἐπιτρέπει, προσέταξε καὶ ἐκείνον σφαγῆναι. [Xiph. 167, 22–27.] 4 ὁ δὲ κυιδωνεύων προσεποιήσατο ἐκ τῶν ἐπιθετευλεκτῶν εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας ἐκφίνει ὑπέσχετο, καὶ ὁνόμασε τοὺς τε ἑταίρους τοὺς τοῦ Γαίου καὶ τοὺς συνεργοὺς τής ἀσέλεγειας καὶ τῆς ὀμόστητος.

1 Ἀνίκιον Pinder, νίκιον ABCEc.
2 ἀληθῶς ABCE, ὡς ἀληθῶς E.
3 βετιλίνου δὲ κάσσου (C, μετιλίνου δὲ κάσσιον L, βάσσου exc. Vat.

4 Zonaras has in place of these two sentences: ἐνὸς δὲ τῶν κτεινομένων καὶ τὸν πατέρα παρείναι κατηγάκασε τοῦ νῦν φονευμένων πυθόμενον τε εἰ μῦσαι αὐτῷ ἐπιτ, ἔπει, καὶ ἐκείνον σφαγῆναι προσέταξεν.

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grab it; for, as some say, he had mixed small pieces of iron in with the coins.

Because of his adulteries he was frequently styled imperator as well as Germanicus and Britannicus, as if he had subdued the whole of Germany and Britain.¹

Living in this manner, he was bound to become the object of a plot. He discovered the conspiracy and arrested Anicius Cerealis and his son, Sextus Papinius, whom he put to the torture. And inasmuch as the former would not utter a word, he persuaded Papinius, by promising him his life and impunity, to denounce certain others, whether truly or falsely; he then straightway put to death both Cerealis and the others before his very eyes.

When he had ordered Betilinus to be slain, he compelled Capito, the man's father, to be present at his son's execution, though Capito was not guilty of any crime and had received no court summons. When the father inquired if he would permit him to close his eyes, Gaius ordered him to be slain, too. Then Capito, finding his life in danger, pretended to have been one of the conspirators and promised to disclose the names of all the rest; and he named the companions of Gaius and those who abetted his licentiousness and cruelty. Indeed, he

¹ Compare for the jest Sueton., Ind. 49, 4. It turns on the double meaning of Κελτική and Βρεταννική.
² The first two sentences of this paragraph are taken from the fuller account of Xiphilinus. Zonaras' version reads: He ordered the father of one of the men who was to be slain to be present at his son's execution. When the father inquired if he would permit him to close his eyes, Gaius ordered him to be slain, too.
³ Probably an error for Betilicus.
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καὶ πολλοὺς ἂν ἀπώλεσεν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς ὑπάρχους καὶ τὸν Κάλλιστον καὶ τὴν Καισοφίαν προσδιαβαλὼν ἥπιοτήθη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπέθανεν, τῷ δὲ Γαϊῳ τὸν ὀλέθρον αὐτὸ τοῦτο παρεσκεύασεν.

8 ἵδια ἃ γὰρ τοὺς ὑπάρχους τε καὶ τὸν Κάλλιστον προσκαλεσάμενος "eus eimi" ἔφη, "τρεῖς δὲ ύμεῖς, καὶ γυμνὸς μὲν ἐγώ, ὡπλισμένοι δ᾽ ύμεῖς· εἰ οὖν μισεῖτε με καὶ ἀποκτείνειν θέλετε, φονεύσατε." εὖ ἐκείνου δὲ μισεθαί νομίσας καὶ ἀχθεσθαί τοῖς πραττομένοις ἐκείνους, ύπώπτευε σφας, καὶ ξίφος καὶ τῇ πόλει παρεξώνυμτο, καὶ συνέβαλλεν αὐτοῖς ἀλλήλοις, ὡπως μὴ συμφρονώσι,2 κατὰ μόνας ἐκάστῳ ὡς πιστοτάτῳ διαλεγόμενος περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, μέχρις οὔ συνέτες τὸ ἐπιχείρημα προήκαντο αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύοντοις.—Ζον. 11, 6 (p. 19, 22–20, 11 D.).

9 "Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς ἐκέλευσε τὴν σύγκλητον συναχθῆναι, καὶ δῆθεν ἀμυνστίαν αὐτοῖς δέδωκεν, εἰπὼν ὀλίγους πάνω ἔχειν οἷς ἔτη ὁργίζετο. καὶ πάσι τοῦτοις3 διπλὴν ἐδίδοι τὴν φροντίδα· ἐκαστος γὰρ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἐνενόει.—Πετρ. Πατρ. exc. Vat. 31 (p. 205 Mai = p. 188, 3–7 D.).

1 Cf., for the rest of the paragraph, Patricius: ὧτι ὁ αὐτὸς Γαίος τοὺς τε ὑπάρχους καλέσας καὶ ἄλλους δύο εἰσῆλθεν ἐν χιτωνισκῷ (κωτωνίσκῳ cod.), καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς "Ἰδοὺ ὑμεῖς τρεῖς ἐστε ἀπλισμένοι, εγώ δὲ μόνος καὶ γυμνὸς· εάν μισητέ με, φονεύσατε με." ὥσ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι εἰς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ προσέπεσον καὶ παρεκάλουν μηδέν τοιοῦτον περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐννοεῖν, ἀνεχώρησεν δὴθεν πεπεισμένος· πλὴν καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπόπτος περὶ τὴν φιλίαν αὐτῶν διέκειτο, κάκειοι ἐδεδείεναν· ἐκεῖνος δὲ συνέκρουν αὐτοῖς ἀλλήλοις (exc. Vat. 30, p. 205 Mai = p. 187, 26–188, 2 D.).

2 συμφρονώσι ΑΕ, συμφωνώσαι ΒCc.
3 τοῦτοι Mai, τοῦτοις Μ.
would have brought many to destruction, had he not gone on to accuse the prefects and Callistus and Caesonia, and so aroused distrust. He was accordingly put to death, but this very deed paved the way for Gaius' own destruction. For the emperor privately summoned the prefects and Callistus and said to them: "I am but one, and you are three; and I am defenceless, whereas you are armed. If, therefore, you hate me and desire to kill me, slay me." As a result of this affair, he believed that he was hated and that they were vexed at his behaviour, and so he suspected them and wore a sword at his side when in the city; and to forestall any harmony of action on their part he attempted to embroil them with one another, by pretending to make a confidant of each one separately and talking to him about the others, until they understood his purpose and abandoned him to the conspirators.

He also ordered the senate to meet and pretended to grant its members amnesty, saying that there were only a very few against whom he still retained his anger. This statement doubled the anxiety of every one of them, for each was thinking of himself.

1 Patricius' account from this point is as follows: The same Gaius, after summoning the prefects and two others, entered, wearing a tunic, and said to them: "See! You are three men armed, whereas I am alone and defenceless. If you hate me, slay me." When they fell at his feet and besought him, claiming that they had no such intention regarding him, he withdrew, pretending to be convinced; yet not only was he suspicious of their friendship, but they, also, on their side, were filled with fear. And he tried to set them at variance with one another.
26 Ἡνὶ δὲ τις Πρωτογένης πρὸς πάντα αὐτῷ τὰ χαλεπῶτατα ὑπηρετῶν, ὡστε καὶ βιβλία λεῖ δῦο περιφέρειν καὶ αὐτῶν τὸ μὲν εἴφος τὸ δὲ ἐγχειρίδιον ὅνομαζεν. οὕτως ἐσῆλθε ποτὲ ἐς τὸ συνεδριόν ὡς καὶ κατ’ ἀλλο τι, καὶ πάντων, οἵα εἰκός, προσεπόντων τε αὐτῶν καὶ δεξιομένων δριμὺ τέ τι Σκριβωνίων. Πρόκλη κὲνείδε καὶ ἐφη "καὶ σὺ με ἄσπαξῃ, μισῶν οὕτω τὸν αὐτοκράτορα;" ἀκούσατες δὲ τούτο οἱ παρόντες περιέσχον τε τὸν συμβουλευτὴν καὶ διέσπασαν.


3 Ἡσθέντος τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοῦ Γαίου καὶ φίλος αὐτῶς κατημιλάχθαι παίνηγορεῖς τὲ τινὰς ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ ὅπως καὶ βήματι ψηλῶ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ πο ὑποθεσμοὶ, ὡστε μηδένα ἐξικνεῖσθαι, καὶ φρουρὰ στρατιωτικὴ καὶ τὰ ἀνδριάντας αὐτοῦ φρουρεῖσθαι ἐγγυωσαν. ἐπ’ οὖν τούτοις ὁ Γαίες τὴν ὅργην σφίσων ἀφῆκε καὶ χρηστά ποὺ προσεπαγιεύσατο. Πομπώνιον γὰρ ἐπιβουλευσαί λεξέθέντα οἱ ἀπελύσεν, ἐπειδὴ ὑπὸ φίλου προεδόθη, καὶ τὴν ἐταίραν αὐτῶν, ὅτι βασανισθέσα αὐδὲν ἐξεύθεν, ὡστε τι κακὸν ἔδρασε καὶ προσέτι καὶ χρήμασιν στίμησεν. ἐπαινοῦμεν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα τὰ μὲν φύσιν τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπ’ ἀληθεῖας, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἡρωα τῶν δὲ θεῶν αὐτῶν ἀνακαλοῦντων, δεινῶς ἐξεφρόνησεν. ἥξιον μὲν

1 Cf. Zonaras: τῶν ὑπὸ Βουλευτῶν, ὅτι μὴ κατεψυχίσαντο τινῶν, περιφόρων ὑπίτων, Πρωτογένης τίς κ.τ.λ.
2 σκριβωνίω Λ', σκριβωνίω VC. 3 καὶ om. cod. Peir.
4 χρηστά Βk., χρηματα cod. Peir. (Χιφ. omits § 4).
5 ἐπιβουλευσαί λεξέθέντα Ρk., ἐπιβουλευθέντα λεξέθειαι cod. Peir.
6 προεδοθή Val., προσεδοθή cod. Peir.
7 δεινῶς om. cod. Peir.
BOOK LIX

Now there was a certain Protogenes, who assisted the emperor in all his harshest measures, and was always carrying around two books, one of which he called his sword and the other his dagger. This Protogenes entered the senate one day as if on some other business, and when all the members, as was natural, saluted him, and were extending their greetings, he darted a sinister glance at Scribonius Proculus and said: "Do you, too, greet me, when you hate the emperor so?" On hearing this, all who were present surrounded their fellow-senator and tore him to pieces.

When Gaius showed pleasure at this and declared that he had become reconciled with them, they voted various festivals and also decreed that the emperor should sit on a high platform even in the very senate-house, to prevent any one from approaching him, and should have a military guard even there; they likewise voted that his statues should be guarded. Because of these decrees Gaius put aside his anger against them, and with youthful impetuosity did a few excellent things. For instance, he released Pomponius, who was said to have plotted against him, inasmuch as he had been betrayed by a friend; and when the man's mistress, upon being tortured, would not utter a word, he not only did her no harm but even honoured her with a gift of money. Gaius was praised for this, partly out of fear and partly with sincerity, and when some called him a demigod and others a god, he fairly lost his head. Indeed, even before this he had been

1 Zonaras begins: While the senators were in great fear because they had failed to condemn certain people, a certain Protogenes, etc.
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γὰρ καὶ πρῶτον ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων νομίζεσθαι, καὶ τῇ Σελήνῃ συγγένεσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Νίκης στεφανοῦσθαι ἐλεγεῖ, 1 Ζεύς τε εἶναι ἐπλάττετο, καὶ κατὰ τούτο καὶ γυναιξὶν ἄλλας τε πολλαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς μᾶλιστα συνεῖναι προεφασί-6 σατο, καὶ Ποσειδών αὐθίς, ὅτι τοσοῦτον βαλάσσης μέτρον ἔξευξε, τὸν τε Ἡρακλέα τὸν τε Διόνυσον τὸν τε Ἀπόλλω τοὺς τε ἄλλους, οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς ἀρρενας ἄλλα καὶ τὰς θηλείας, ὑπεκρίνετο, "Ἡρα
tε καὶ Ἀρτεμίς καὶ Ἀφροδίτη πολλάκις ἐγήγνετο. πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τὴν τῶν ὄνομάτων μετάθεσιν καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σχῆμα πάν τὸ προσήκον σφισιν ἐλάμβανεν, 7 ὡστε ἐοικέναι αὐτοῖς δοκεῖν. τοτὲ 3 μὲν γὰρ βηλυδρώδης ἔωρατο καὶ κρατήρα καὶ θύρσον εἴχε, τοτὲ 3 δὲ ἀρρενωπός, καὶ ῥόπαλον καὶ λεοντινὴ καὶ κράνος ἄσπίδα τε ἐφόρει. λειογένειος αὖ καὶ μετὰ τούτο πωγωνίας ἐφαυτίζετο, τρίαιναν τε ἐστιν ὅτε ἐκράτει, καὶ κεραυνὸν αὐθίς ἀνέτεινε. παρθένῳ τε κυνηγητικῇ καὶ πολεμικῇ ὀμοίῳ, 8 καὶ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ ἐγυναικίζειν. οὕτω ποι ν καὶ τῷ ὑπὸ τῆς στολῆς καὶ τοῖς προσθέτοις τοῖς τε περιθέτοις ἀκριβῶς ἐποικίλλετο, καὶ πάντα μᾶλ-
λον ἡ ἀνθρώπως αὐτοκράτωρ τε δοκεῖν εἶναι ἤθελε. 4 καὶ ποτὲ τις ἀνὴρ Γαλάτης ἰδὼν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ βῆματος ψηλοῦ ἐν Δίος εἶδε χρηματίζοντα 9 ἐγέλασεν ὁ δὲ Γαῖος ἐκάλεσε τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνήρετο "τὶ σοι δοκῶ εἶναι;" καὶ ὃς ἀπεκρίνατο (ἐρῶ γὰρ

1 ἐλεγεῖ om. Xiph.
2 αὐτοῖς Bs., ἐν exc. Vat. (Xiph. omits ὡστε ... δοκεῖν).
4 πάντα μᾶλλον ἡ ἀνθρώπως αὐτοκράτωρ τε δοκεῖν εἶναι ἤθελε cod. Peir., καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον δοκεῖν ἡ ἀνθρώπως εἶναι ἤθελε

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demanding that he be regarded as more than a human being, and was wont to claim that he had intercourse with the Moon, that Victory put a crown upon him, and to pretend that he was Jupiter, and he made this a pretext for seducing numerous women, particularly his sisters; again, he would pose as Neptune, because he had bridged so great an expanse of sea; he also impersonated Hercules, Bacchus, Apollo, and all the other divinities, not merely males but also females, often taking the rôle of Juno, Diana, or Venus. Indeed, to match the change of name he would assume all the rest of the attributes that belonged to the various gods, so that he might seem really to resemble them. Now he would be seen as a woman, holding a wine-bowl and thyrsus, and again he would appear as a man equipped with a club and lion's skin or perhaps a helmet and shield. He would be seen at one time with a smooth chin and later with a full beard. Sometimes he wielded a trident and again he brandished a thunderbolt. Now he would impersonate a maiden equipped for hunting or for war, and a little later would play the married woman. Thus by varying the style of his dress, and by the use of accessories and wigs, he achieved accuracy in many diverse parts; and he was eager to appear to be anything rather than a human being and an emperor. Once a Gaul, seeing him uttering oracles from a lofty platform in the guise of Jupiter, was moved to laughter, whereupon Gaius summoned him and inquired, "What do I seem to you to be?" And the other answered (I give his exact words):

Xiph., καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἡ ἄνθρωπος δοκείν αὐτοκράταρ ἐβούλετο Ζων.
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αὐτῷ τὸ λεχθὲν) ὃτι "μέγα παραλήρημα," καὶ οὐδὲν μέντοι δεινὸν ἕπαθε· σκυτοτόμος γὰρ ἦν. οὕτω που βάλων τὰς τῶν τυχόντων ἢ τὰς τῶν ἐν αξίωσε τινὶ ὄντων παρρησίας οἱ τοιούτοι φέρουσι.

10 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ σχῆματα, ὅποτε τις θεός ἐπλάττετο εἶναι, ἐλάμβανε, καὶ αὐτῷ ἕκατεῖα καὶ εὖχαι θυσίαν τε κατὰ τὸ πρόσφορον προσήγουσον· ἀλλὰς δὲ δὴ ἐν τῇ σηρικῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ νικητηρίᾳ

27 σκεύη ὡς πλήθει εἴδημοσίευεν. ἐφίλει τε ὀλιγύγειος· τοῖς γὰρ πλείστοις καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἡ τῆς χείρα ἡ τῶν πόδα προσκυνεῖν ὥρεγε, καὶ διὰ τούθ᾽ ὁι φιληθέντες ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ χάριν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἐγγύμωσκον, καίτοι τοὺς ὀρχηστάς καθ᾽

2 ἡμέραν φιλοῦντι πάντων ὀρώντων. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι, ὡς θεὸς αὐτῷ ἐγίγνετο, οὖν ὅτι οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἄει τινα κολακεύειν εἰωθότες ἐποίουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πάνω δοκοῦντές τι εἶναι. — Xiph. 168, 4–169, 11, Exc. Val. 211 (p. 669 sq.).

Ο ὁδὸν ὁ Οὐπέλλιος ὁ Λούκιος οὔτ' ἀγεννῆσεν οὔτ' ἀφρὼν ὅν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ἀρχῆς οὐνομαστὸς γενόμενος (τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα

3 λαμπρῶς ἠγεμόνευσε, καὶ τὸν Ἀρτάβανον καὶ ἐκεῖνη ἐπὶ βουλεύουσα, ἐπειδὴ μηδεμίαν τιμωρίαν ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ ἐδεδοκεῖ, κατέπληκε τε ἀπαντήσας αὐτῷ ἐξαπιναίως περὶ τῶν Ἐφραίμην ἠδὴ ὄντι, καὶ ἔσ τε λόγους αὐτὸν ὑπηγάγετο καὶ

1 αὐτῷ cod. Peir., αὐτῶν Xiph.
2 δὴ om. cod. Peir.
3 εἴδημοσίευεν R. Steph., εἴδημοσίευεν Xiph. cod. Peir.
4 ὀλιγύγειος cod. Peir. Xiph. VL, ὀλίγος Xiph. C.
5 δ' οὖν VC, γοῦν L'.
6 Οὐπέλλιος Bk., Βιτέλλιος Xiph., Βιτέλλιος cod. Peir.
"A big humbug." Yet the man met with no harm, for he was only a shoemaker. Thus it is, apparently, that persons of such rank as Gaius can bear the frankness of the common herd more easily than that of those who hold high position. The attire, now, that I have described was what he would assume whenever he pretended to be a god; and suitable supplications, prayers, and sacrifices would then be offered to him. At other times he usually appeared in public in silk or in triumphal dress. He used to kiss very few; for to most of the senators, even, he merely extended his hand or foot for homage. Consequently the men who were kissed by him thanked him for it even in the senate, and this in spite of the fact that he kissed actors every day in plain sight of everybody. And yet these honours paid to him as a god came not only from the multitude, accustomed at all times to flattering somebody, but from those also who stood in high repute.

The case of Lucius Vitellius is in point. This man was neither of low birth nor lacking in intelligence, but, on the contrary, had made a name for himself by his governorship of Syria. For, in addition to his other brilliant achievements during his term of office, he forestalled Artabanus, who was planning an attack on that province also, since he had suffered no punishment for his invasion of Armenia. He terrified the Parthian by coming upon him suddenly when he was already close to the Euphrates, and then induced him to come to a conference, compelled...
θύσαι ταῖς τοῦ Ἀγούστου τοῦ τε Γαίου εἰκόσιν ἡμάγκασε, σπονδάς τε αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων σύμφορον δόος καὶ προσέτι καὶ παῖδας αὐτοῦ
4 ὀμῆρους λαβὼν)—οὗτος όυν ὁ Οὐτέλλιος μετεπέμφθη μὲν ὕπο τοῦ Γαίου ὡς καὶ ἀπολούμενος (ἐφ’ ὦς γὰρ οἱ Πάρθοι τὸν βασιλέα σφῶν ἔξηλασαν, ἐπὶ τούτως ἐκεῖνος αὐτῖαν ἔσχε, μισηθεὶς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνον καὶ ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου τῷ τε γὰρ κρέαττοι τῷ ἐαυτοῦ ὁ Γαίος ἡχθετο, καὶ τὸ εὑρεόμενον ὡς καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσαι
5 μενὸς ἐν ὑπόπτευει), ἐσώθη δὲ σχηματίσας πως ἐαυτὸν ὡστε καὶ ἐλάττων αὐτῶ τῆς δόξης φανήναι, καὶ πρὸς τε τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ προσπεσὼν καὶ δάκρυσι κλάυσας, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ θεώσας αὐτὸν πολλὰ καὶ προσκυνῆσας, καὶ τέλος εὑρίσκων, ἐν περισσῳ, θύσειν αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνῳ. ἐκ γὰρ τούτων οὗτος αὐτὸν ἐπιθάσευσε καὶ ἰλεώσατο ὡστε μὴ μόνον περιγενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πάνω φίλοις αὐτοῦ νομισθῇναι. καὶ ποτὲ τοῦ Γαίου συγγίγνεσθαι τε τῇ Σελήνῃ λέγοντος, καὶ ἐρωτήσαντο αὐτὸν εἰ ὅρφη τὴν θεοῦ συνοδεύσαν αὐτό, κατὸ τε ὡς καὶ τεθητὼς ἐβλέπεν ὑποτρέμων, καὶ σμικρὸν τι φθεγξάμενος “.gamma” ἐφὶ “τοῖς θεοῖς, δέσποτα, μόνοις ἀλλήλους ὁρᾶν ἔξεστιν.” Οὐτέλλιος μὲν οὖν ἐκείθεν ἀρξάμενος πάντας καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ τοὺς ἄλλους κολακεία ὑπερεβάλετο.—Χιφ. 169, 11–170, 6, Exc. Val. 212 (p. 670).

28 Γαίος δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῷ ἔθνει τέμενός τι ἐαυτῷ ἐν Μιλήτῳ τεμενίσαι ἐκέλευσεν ταύτην γὰρ τὴν

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1 καὶ Xiph., καὶ cod. Peir.
2 τέλος om. cod. Peir.
him to sacrifice to the images of Augustus and Gaius, and made a peace with him that was advantageous to the Romans, even securing his sons as hostages. This Vitellius, now, was summoned by Gaius to be put to death. The complaint against him was the same as the Parthians had against their king when they expelled him; for jealousy made him the object of hatred, and fear the object of plots. Gaius, of course, hated all who were stronger than himself, and he was suspicious of all who were successful, feeling that they would attack him. Yet Vitellius managed to save his life. He arrayed himself in a manner beneath his rank, then fell at the emperor’s feet with tears and lamentations, all the while calling him many divine names and paying him worship; and at last he vowed that if he were allowed to live he would offer sacrifice to him. By this behaviour he so mollified and soothed Gaius, that he not only managed to survive but even came to be regarded as one of Gaius’ most intimate friends. On one occasion, when Gaius claimed to be enjoying converse with the Moon, and asked Vitellius if he could see the goddess with him, the other, trembling as in awe, kept his eyes fixed on the ground and answered in a half whisper: “Only you gods, master, may behold one another.” So Vitellius, from this beginning, came later to surpass all others in adulation.

Gaius ordered that a sacred precinct should be set apart for his worship at Miletus in the province of Asia. The reason he gave for choosing this city

3 ὁσ ἐπ᾿ Ἑρυθραῖ, ὅπο ὦ Ἰωακειασίαν.
4 πάντας ... τοὺς ἄλλους Ὁ, τοὺς ἄλλους ... πάντας Ἐ.
πόλιν ἐπελέξατο, λόγῳ μὲν εἰπὼν ὅτι τὴν μὲν Ἕφεσον ἡ Ἀρτέμις τὴν δὲ Πέργαμον ὁ Ἀλκικος τὴν δὲ Σμύρναν ὁ Τιβέριος προκατειλήφασι, τὸ δὲ ἀλήθεις ὅτι τὸν νεῶν διὸ οἱ Μιλήσιοι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ μέγαν καὶ ὑπερκαλλῆ ἐποίουν

2 ἰδιώσασθαι ἐπεθύμησε. τότε δὲ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐξήχθη, ὡστε καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ναὸν ἑαυτοῦ τὸν μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισθέντα τὸν δὲ ἵδια ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ, ποιήσασθαι. ἐτεκτήματο μὲν γάρ καὶ ἐν τῷ Καπιτώλιῳ κατάλυσιν τινα, ἵνα;

3 ὡς ἔλεγε, τῷ Δίῳ συνοικοίναι ἀπαξίωσας δὲ δὴ τὰ δευτερεῖα ἐν τῇ συνοικίᾳ εἶναι αὐτοῦ φέρεσθαι, καὶ προσεγκαλέσας 1 οἱ 2 ὅτι τὸ Καπιτώλιον προκατέλαβεν, 3 οὕτω δὴ ἔτερον τῇ 4 νεῶν ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ σπουδὴ φιλοδομήσατο, 5 καὶ ἀγαλμα ἐς αὐτὸν ἡθέλησε τὸ τοῦ Δίως τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου 6 ἐς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ 1 εἴδος μεταρρυθμίσαι. 7 μὴ δυνήθεις δὲ (τὸ τε γὰρ πλοίον τὸ πρὸς τὴν κομιδὴν αὐτοῦ ναυπηγηθέν ἐκεραυνώθη, 8 καὶ γέλωσ, ὀσκίς τινὲς ὡς καὶ τοῦ ἐδοὺς ἐφαψόμενοι προσῆλθον, πολὺς ἐξηκούσας) ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἐπιτίθελε, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔτερον ἐνέστησε. 5 τὸ τε Διοσκόρειον 9 τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ Ῥώμαιᾳ ὅτι διατεμῶν διὰ μέσου τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἐσόδον διὰ αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ παλάτιον ἐπούσατο, ὁπῶς καὶ πυλωροὺς τοὺς Διοσκόρους, ὡς γε καὶ ἔλεγεν,

1 προσεγκαλέσας Xiph. L' cod. Peir., προσεγκαλέσαι Xiph. VC.
2 οἱ cod. Peir., αὐτῷ Xiph.
3 προκατέλαβεν cod. Peir., κατέλαβεν Xiph.
4 το Rk., γε Xiph. cod. Peir.
5 φιλοδομήσας Xiph., φιλοδομήσεν cod. Peir.
6 τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου om. cod. Peir.

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was that Diana had pre-empted Ephesus, Augustus A.D. 10.

Pergamum, and Tiberius Smyrna; but the truth of
the matter was that he desired to appropriate to his
own use the large and exceedingly beautiful temple
which the Milesians were building to Apollo. There-
upon he went to still greater lengths, and actually
built in Rome itself two temples of his own, one that
had been granted him by vote of the senate and
another at his own expense on the Palatine. It
seems that he had constructed a sort of lodge on the
Capitoline, in order, as he said, that he might dwell
with Jupiter; but disdaining to take second place in
this union of households, and blaming the god for occu-
pying the Capitoline ahead of him, he hastened to
erect another temple on the Palatine, and wished to
transfer to it the statue of the Olympian Zeus after re-
modelling it to resemble himself. But he found this
to be impossible, for the ship built to bring it was
shattered by thunderbolts, and loud laughter was
heard every time that anybody approached as if to
take hold of the pedestal; accordingly, after uttering
threats against the statue, he set up a new one of
himself.¹ He cut in two the temple of Castor and
Pollux in the Roman Forum and made through it an
approach to the palace running directly between the
two statues, in order, as he was wont to say, that he
might have the Dioscuri for gate-keepers. Styling

¹ Compare the accounts in Suet., Gai. 22, 57 and Josephus,
Ant. xix. 1.

² μεταρρυθμίσας is corrupt; μεταρρυθμίσας ιδρύσασθαι was
proposed by Oddey, μεταρρυθμίσας μεθιδρύσασθαι by Bk.
³ έκειάνωθη cod. Peir., κεραυνος έφθάρη Xiph.
⁴ Διοσκόρειον Bk., διοσκουρειον Xiph., διοσκόρον cod. Peir.
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εὐχη. Δία τε Δατιάριον ἐαυτὸν ὑπομάσας, τὴν τε Κασσωνίαν τὴν γυναικα καὶ τὸν Κλαύδιον ἄλλοις τε τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους ἱερέας προσέθετο, πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ παρ’ ἐκά-στου μυριάδας λαβὼν. καὶ προσέτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ἱεράτο, τόν τε ἵππουν συνιερέα ἀπέφηνε. καὶ ὄρνθες αὐτῷ ἄπαλοι τε τίνες καὶ πολυτιμητοί καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἕθυντο. ταῖς τε βρονταῖς ἐκ μυχανης τίνος ἀντεβρόντα καὶ ταῖς ἀστραπαῖς ἀντίςτραπτε: καὶ ὅποτε κεραυνός καταπέσοι, λίθον ἀντικόντιζεν, ἐπιλέγων ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ τοῦ Ὀμήρου “ἡ μ’ ἀνάειρ’ ἡ ἐγὼ σὲ.” ἐπειδή τε ἡ Κασσωνία θυγάτριοι μετὰ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας τῶν γάμων ἔτεκε, τούτῳ τε αὐτῷ δαιμονίως προσεποιεῖτο, σεμυνόμενος ὅτι ἐν τοσαύταις ἡμέραις καὶ ἀνήρ καὶ πατὴρ ἐγεγόνει, καὶ Δρουσίλλαν αὐτὴν ὑπομόσας ἐς τοῦ Καπιτώλιον ἀνήγαγε καὶ ἐς τὰ τοῦ Δίου γόνατα ὡς καὶ παῖδα αὐτοῦ οὖσαν ἀνέθηκε, καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τιθηνεῖσθαι παρηγγύησεν.

Οὗτος οὖν ὁ θεὸς καὶ οὕτως ὁ Ζεὺς (καὶ γὰρ ἐκαλεῖτο τὰ τελευταῖα οὕτως, ὡστε καὶ ἐς γράμματα φέρεσθαι) ταῦτα τε ἁμα ἐπράπτε καὶ χρήματα αἰσχιστα καὶ δεινότατα συνελέγετο. ἦνα γὰρ τίς τὰ τε ὁνία καὶ τὰ κατηλεία τάς τε

1 Δία τε Δατιάριον Bs., following Casaubon (Δ. τε Δατιάλιον); διάλιον τε M.
3 ἐαυτῷ Xiph., ἐναυτῷ cod. Peir.
himself. Jupiter Latiaris, he attached to his service as priests his wife Caesonia, Claudius, and other persons who were wealthy, receiving ten million sesterces from each of them in return for this honour. He also consecrated himself to his own service and appointed his horse a fellow-priest; and dainty and expensive birds were sacrificed to him daily. He had a contrivance by which he gave answering peals when it thundered and sent return flashes when it lightened. Likewise, whenever a bolt fell, he would in turn hurl a javelin at a rock, repeating each time the words of Homer, "Either lift me or I will thee." When Caesonia bore a daughter only a month after her marriage, he pretended that this had come about through supernatural means, and gave himself airs over the fact that in so few days after becoming a husband he was now a father. He named the girl Drusilla, and taking her up to the Capitol placed her on the knees of Jupiter, thereby hinting that she was his child, and put her in charge of Minerva to be suckled.

This god, now, this Jupiter (for he was called by these names so much at the last that they even found their way into documents) at the same time that he was doing all this was also collecting money in most shameful and dreadful ways. One might, indeed, pass over in silence the wares and the

1 II. 23. 724. Ajax is addressing Odysseus in the course of their wrestling match.

6 ἐκάστῳ cod. Peir. Xiph. CL' Zon., ἐκάστου Xiph. C.
7 θυγάτριαν Val., θυγάτρια cod. Peir.
8 καὶ ἀνήρ καὶ πατήρ εἰςrc. Val., καὶ πατὴρ καὶ ἀνήρ cod. Peir.
9 ταῦτα Val., ταῦ cod. Peir.
10 ἄνια Val., ἀνεία cod. Peir.

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πόρνας 1 καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια τοὺς τε χειροτέχνας καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ μισθοφοροῦντα τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα, εξ ὀνόματι τῷ τι όνομα ἔχον ἡγηγοῦντο, 9 παραλείπει ἡ, ἄλλα τὰ γε οἰκήματα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ παλατίῳ ἀποδεχθέντα, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τὰς τῶν πρώτων τούς τε παῖδας τοὺς τῶν σεμνοτάτων, οὗς ἐς αὐτὰ καθιέρως ὑβρίζεν, ἐκκαρποῦμενος ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς πάντας ἄπλως, τοὺς μὲν ἐθέλοντάς τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀκούσας, ὅπως καὶ δυσχεραίνειν τι νομισθῶσι, πῶς ἂν τις σιωπήσειεν; οὐ μὴν ἄλλα τούτων μὲν οὐ σφόδρα τὸ πλῆθος ὑχθεῖτο, ἄλλα καὶ ἔχαρον ὅμοι οἱ τῇ τε ἁσελγεία αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι ἔσ τε τὸ χρυσίον καὶ ἐσ τὸ ἱργύριον τὸ συλλεγόμενον ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐμβάλλον ἐκάστοτε ἐαυτὸν ἐκαλινδέστο, ὁς μέρτοι καὶ περὶ τῶν τελῶν πικρῶς τινα διανομοθετήσας ἐς λεύκωμα αὐτὰ βραχυτάτους γράμμασιν ἐσέγραψε καὶ ἀφ' υψηλοῦ τινος ἀπέκρεμασεν, ὅπως ὡς ἡκίστα ἄναγγελος κοιτο, κακό τούτον πολλοῦ τοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις, ἀγνοοῦντες τὸ κεκωλυμένον ἢ κεκελευσμένον, περιπτύτωσιν, ἐς τε τῶν ἱππόδρομων εὐθὺς σπουδὴ συνέδραμον καὶ δεινὰ συνεβόησαν.—Χιφ. 170, 6–171, 13, Exc. Val. 213, 214 (p. 670–674).

"Ὅτι ποτὲ τῶν δήμων συνελθόντα ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρομῷ καὶ τούτων ἐλέγχουτα ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν διέφθειρεν ἐξ ὁπερ πάντες ἐσιώπησαν.—Ιοάνν. Ἀντιόχ. fr. 81 M. (v. 1–3)."

29 Ὡς οὖν πάντα τρόπον ἐξεμαίνετο, ἐπεβούλευσαν αὐτῷ Κάσσιος τε Χαίρεας καὶ Κορνήλιος Σαβίνος, καῖτοι χιλιαρχίας ἐν τῷ δορυφορικῷ ἔχοντες. συνόμοσαν μὲν γὰρ πλείονες καὶ συνή-
BOOK LIX

taverns, the prostitutes and the courts, the artisans and the wage-earning slaves, and other such sources, from which he collected every conceivable tribute; but how could one keep silent about the rooms set apart in the very palace, and the wives of the foremost men as well as the children of the most aristocratic families that he shut up in those rooms and subjected to outrage, using them as a means of milking everybody alike? Some of those who thus contributed to his need did so willingly, but others very much against their will, lest they should be thought to be vexed. The multitude, however, was not greatly displeased by these proceedings, but actually rejoiced with him in his licentiousness and in the fact that he used to throw himself each time on the gold and silver collected from these sources and roll in it. But when, after enacting severe laws in regard to the taxes, he inscribed them in exceedingly small letters on a tablet which he then hung up in a high place, so that it should be read by as few as possible and that many through ignorance of what was hidden or forbidden should lay themselves liable to the penalties provided, they straightway rushed together excitedly into the Circus and raised a terrible outcry.

Once when the people had come together in the Circus and were objecting to his conduct, he had them slain by the soldiers; after this all kept quiet.

As he continued to play the madman in every way, a plot was formed against him by Cassius Chaerea and Cornelius Sabinus, though they were tribunes in the pretorian guard. There were a good many, of

1 πόριας Ρκ., ἀρνον cod. Peir.
2 παραλείπῃ cod. Peir., παραλίπῃ Xiph.
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desav to prattomevou, ev ois yin o te Kalllistor
kai te evparhios.—Xiph. 171, 13–18, Zon. 11, 7 (p. 22,

1a Pantes te os eitein oi peri auton uper te sfan
kai twn koinwn ekivthev. kai osou de ou
synomosan, gnontes ous' eixeian kai ousmenoi
eidon auton eptibouleumon.—Joann. Antioch.
fr. 84 M (v. 6–7), Zon. 11, 7 (p. 22, 22–23 D.).

2 Oi de autochromeies auton genomenei ekeinov ysan.
allwos te gar arxaiotropos tis anhro Xairi'm
yn, kai tina kai ivedan tis orhys astian esche:
gunin to gar auton kaiaper erohmeneastaton
andron oina o Gaios epiekilei, kai to synghma
autof, opto ekeinou kathkoi, Pithon o 'Lphro-

3 ditin e teron to toin eido. theoprion
de te tw Gaio olgouv empomoseuen egegome
fylat-
tesai Kassion kai o men eis Gaiou Kassion toin
tote tis 'Asias arxonta, epieido to genvos apd
tou Kassion ekeinou tou tou Ka'sara upoktei-
nastos eixeun, upopetwiasa metepempsato auton
dedemien, proelege d' ara autof to daimon

4 toinou toin Kassion toin Xairiav. 'Apollonios
te tis Aoguptios oskoi te to sumbaiv autow proeipe,
ka peimtheis dia tout 'es toin 'Pwmen prosikhthe
ke autof ev authe ekein 2 tis hymera ev 'i
telenv-
tisein emelle, ka anaiblithheis os kai met'
oligon kolaqthmosen eswth.

'Eprrxth de oide. eorhtin tina ev tw palatia

5 yge kai thean epetelei, kain toin kai autou kai
ysie kai epine kai touz allous eistia, ote dh

1 ti om. V.
2 authe ekein VC, ekein L'.
course, in the conspiracy and privy to what was being done, among them Callistus and the prefect.¹

Practically all his courtiers were won over, both on their own account and for the common good. And those who did not take part in the conspiracy did not reveal it when they knew of it, and were glad to see a plot formed against him.

But the men who actually killed Gaius were those I have named. Chaerea was an old-fashioned sort of man to begin with, and he had his own special cause for resentment. For Gaius was in the habit of calling him a wench, though he was the hardiest of men, and whenever it was Chaerea’s turn to command the guard, would give him some such watch-word as “Love” or “Venus.” Now an oracle had come to Gaius a short time before warning him to beware of Cassius, and, supposing that it had reference to Gaius Cassius, governor of Asia at the time, because he was a descendant of the Gaius Cassius who had slain Caesar, he caused him to be brought back as a prisoner; but the man whom Heaven was really indicating to Gaius was this Cassius Chaerea. Likewise an Egyptian, Apollonius, foretold in his native land the actual fate of Gaius; for this he was sent to Rome and was brought before the emperor the very day on which the latter was destined to die, but his punishment was postponed until a little later, and in this way his life was saved.

The deed was done on this wise. Gaius was celebrating a festival ² in the palace and was producing a spectacle. In the course of this he was both eating

¹ The prefect of the pretorian guard.
² He was murdered on January 24, the last day of the Ludi Palatini. Cf. Suet., Gai. 56, 58; Josephus, Ant. xix. 1, 11.
καὶ Πομπώνιος Σεκουνδος ὁ τότε ὑπατεύων ἐνεφορεῖτό τε ἀμα τῶν σιτίων, παρὰ τοῖς ποσίν αὐτοῦ καθήμενος, καὶ ἐπικύπτων συνεχῶς αὐτοὺς κατεφίλει.—Xiph. 171, 18–172, 8.

Ὁ γὰρ Χαίρεας καὶ ὁ Σαβίνος ἐπὶ τοῖς γινομένοις αἰσχροῖς ἀλγοῦντες, ὅμως ἐκαρτέρουν ἐπὶ 6 πέντε ἡμέρας. ὡς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Γάιος καὶ ὀρχήσασθαί καὶ τραγῳδίαι ὑποκρίνασθαι ἠθέλησεν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐτέρας τρεῖς ἡμέρας προήγγειλε, οὐκετέροις ὦν περὶ τῶν Χαίρεαν ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ τηρήσαντες αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου ἐξελθόντα 1 ἢνα τοὺς παῖδας θεάσηται, οὕς ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίας τῶν πάνω εὐγενῶν ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν ὕμνων τῶν ἐς ἐαυτόν πεποιμένον ἄσαι μετεπεπεμπτο 2 δῆθεν, ἀπέκτειναν ἐν στενωπῷ τινι ἀπολαβόντες. 7 καὶ αὐτοῦ πεσόντος οὐδεὶς τῶν παρόντων ἀπέσχετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ νεκρῶν αὐτοῦ ὧν τὰ ὄμοι ἐπίτρωσκον 3 καὶ τινὲς καὶ τῶν σαρκῶν αὐτοῦ ἐγεύσαντο. τῇ τέ γυναικι καὶ τῆς θυγατέρα εὐθὺς ἔσφαξαν.—Xiph. 172, 8–19, Zon. 11, 7 (p. 22, 21–23, 5 D.), Joann. Antioch. fr. 84 M. (v. 7–11).

30 Γάιος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐν ἔτεσι τρισὶ καὶ μησίων ἐννέα ἡμέραις τε ὀκτὼ καὶ εἰκοσὶ πράξας τοῖς ἐργοῖς αὐτοῖς 4 ὡς οὐκ ἦν θεὸς ἐμαθεν. 5—Xiph. 172, 20–22, Zon. 11, 7 (p. 23, 6–8 D.), Joann. Antioch. fr. 84 M. (v. 11–14).

1 ἐξελθόντα Xiph., ἐξερχόμενον Zon., ἐρχόμενον Joann. Antioch.

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and drinking himself and was feasting the rest of the company. Even Pomponius Secundus, consul at the time, was taking his fill of food as he sat by the emperor’s feet, and at the same time kept bending over continually to shower kisses upon them.

For Chaerea and Sabinus, pained as they were by the disgraceful proceedings, nevertheless restrained themselves for five days. But when Gaius himself wished to dance and act a tragedy and for this purpose announced three more days of the entertainment, the followers of Chaerea could endure it no longer, but waiting merely till he went out of the theatre to see the boys of exalted birth whom he had summoned from Greece and Ionia ostensibly to sing the hymn composed in his honour, they intercepted him in a narrow passage and killed him. When he had fallen, none of the men present kept hands off him, but all fell to stabbing him savagely, even though he was dead; and some even tasted of his flesh. His wife and daughter were also promptly slain.

Thus Gaius, after doing in three years, nine months, and twenty-eight days all that has been related, learned by actual experience that he was not a god.

Now he was spat upon by those who had been accustomed to do him reverence even when he was absent; and he became a sacrificial victim at the hands of those who were wont to speak and write of him as

2 μετεπέμπτο Be., μετάπεμπτον VC, μετεπίμφατο Λ', μετεπέμπτο Joann. Antioch.
3 ὑμὸς εὐτρώσκων Xiph., κατετρώσκων Zou.
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ζητό τε καὶ ἐγράφετο, σφάγιον ἐγύνετο· ἀνδριάντες τε αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνες ἐσύροντο, μεμημένου μάλιστα τοῦ δήμου ὃν ἐπεπόθθει δεινών.

1b Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οὕσω μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ μέρους ἦσαν, ἐθορύβουν τε καὶ ἐστασίαζον ὡστε καὶ σφαγὰς ποιεῖν.—Joann. Antioch. fr. 84 M. (v. 14–20).

1c Ἔμμημόνευνόν 1 τε οἱ παρόντες τοῦ λεχθέντος ποτὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν δήμου “εἴθε ἑνα αὐχένα εἴχετε,” ἐπιδεικνύσετε αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι μὲν αὐχένα 2 ἑνα σφεῖς δὲ δὴ χείρας πολλὰς ἔχοιεν. ἐπεὶ 2 δὲ τὸ δορυφορικὸν ἑταρώττετο καὶ διαθέοντες ἐπυνθάριον τὸς Γαίου ἐσφαξεί, Οὐαλέριος Ἀσιατικὸς ἀνὴρ ὑπατευκός θαυμαστὸν δὴ τινα τρόπον αὐτοῦς ἱσύχασεν, ἀνελθὼν ὡς περιφανεῖς τι χωρίον καὶ ἐκβοήσας “εἴθε ἑγὼ αὐτὸν ἅπεκτόνειν.” καταπλαγέντες γὰρ ἐπαύσαντο τοῦ θορύβου.—Xiph. 172, 22–31.

3 Οὗσοι δὲ ἄλλως πως ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἐποιήσαντο, πεισθέντες τοῖς ὅρκοις ἱσύχασαν, τούτων δὲ περὶ τὸν Γαίου πραττομένων, Σέντιός τε καὶ Σεκούνδος οἱ ύπατοι εὐθὺς ἐκ τῶν θησαυρῶν τὰ χρήματα ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον μετεκόμισαν. φύλακας

1 Cf. Zonaras: ὡς δὲ ὁ θίνατος αὐτοῦ διηγεῖθη, πλῆν ολίγων τῶν συνησιληγκότων αὐτῷ πάντες ἔχαιρον, μεμημένων καὶ τοῦ λεχθέντος ποτὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὅτε ὄργανθες τῷ δήμῳ ἔφη “εἴθε ἑνα αὐχένα εἴχετε,” καὶ ἐπιλέγοντες ὅτι “οὐ μὲν ἑνα ἐχεῖς αὐχένα, ἥμεις δὲ χεῖρας πολλὰς.”

2 Cf. Patricius: ὅτι πολλαὶ τῶν συνασιληγκόντων καὶ συνεξημαρτησοῦντων αὐτῷ ἤχθοντο καὶ ἑταρῶττον καὶ τοῦς στρατιῶτας πολλὰ πειραθέντες καταστῆσαι οὐκ ἡδύναντο, Βαλέριος δὲ Ἀσιατικός, κ.τ.λ.

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“Jupiter” and “god.” His statues and his images were dragged from their pedestals, for the people in particular remembered the distress they had endured.

All the soldiers of the Germanic corps fell to rioting and quarrelling, with the result that there was some bloodshed.

The bystanders recalled the words once addressed by him to the populace, “Would that you had but one neck,” and they showed him that it was he who had but one neck, whereas they had many hands. And when the pretorian guard became excited and began running about and inquiring who had slain Gaius, Valerius Asiaticus, an ex-consul, quieted them in a remarkable manner; he climbed up to a conspicuous place and cried: “Would that I had killed him!” This alarmed them so much that they stopped their outcry.

All those who in any way acknowledged the authority of the senate, were true to their oaths and became quiet. While the scenes just described were being enacted around Gaius, the consuls, Sentius and Secundus, immediately transferred the funds from the treasuries to the Capitol. They

1 Compare Zonaras: When his death was announced, everybody except a few of his former companions in lewdness rejoiced. They recalled the remark he had once made when in his anger he exclaimed to the people, “Would that you had but one neck,” and they now retorted, “You have but one neck, while we have many hands.”

2 Compare Patricius: Many of his companions in lewdness and crime were angry and excited, and in spite of many attempts could not quiet the soldiers; but Valerius Asiaticus, etc.
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te touς πλείους τής γερουσίας ἐπέστησαν, καὶ στρατιῶτας ἴκανούς, ἵνα μὴ διαρραγῇ ὕπο τοῦ πλήθους γένηται. οὕτω τε ἄμα τοῖς ἑπάρχοις καὶ τοῖς περὶ Σαβίνου καὶ Χαρέαν1 τὸ πρακτέον ἐσκοποῦντο.—Joann. Antioch. fr. 84 M. v. 20–28.

1 Χαρέαν Cramer, χερέαν cod. (and so χερέας sup.).
stationed most of the senators and plenty of soldiers A.D. 41 as guards over it to prevent any plundering from being done by the populace. So these men together with the prefects and the followers of Sabinus and Chaerea were deliberating what should be done.
BOOK LX

Κλαύδιος δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ὁδὲ ἐγένετο. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τοῦ Γαίου φύλακας ἐκασταχόσε τῆς πόλεως οἱ υπατοὶ διαπέμψαντες τὴν τε Βουλήν εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἦθροισαν, καὶ πολλαὶ καὶ ποικίλαι γνώμαι ἐλέχθησαν· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ δημοκρατεῖσθαι τοῖς δὲ μοναρχεῖσθαι ἔδοκει, καὶ οἱ 2 μὲν τὸν οἱ δὲ τὸν ἰπροϊντο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν λοιπὴν καὶ τὴν νῦκτα πᾶσαν κατέτριψαν μηδὲν τελειώσαντες. καὶ τούτῳ στρατιώται τίνες ἐς τὸ παλάτιον, ὅπως τι συνήλθοσιν, ἐσελθόντες ἐδροῦν τὸν Κλαύδιον ἐν γυνίᾳ ποι 3 σκοτεινῇ κατακεκρυμμένον (συνῆν τε γὰρ τῷ Γαίῳ τοῦ θεάτρου ἔξερχομένῳ καὶ τότε τὴν ταραχὴν φοβηθεὶς ὑπέπτηξε), καὶ αὐτὸν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς καὶ ἀλλον τινὰ ἄντι τῆς ἐξονιώκυσαν, ἔπειτα δὲ γνωφίσαντες αὐτοκράτορά τε 3 προσηγορεύσαν καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸν ἠγαγον, καὶ τούτῳ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, οίᾳ τοῦ τε βασιλικοῦ γένους ὅτι καὶ ἐπειδῆ πασίγομένω, 3α πᾶν τὸ κράτος αὐτῷ ἔδωκαν. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἀνεδύετο καὶ ἀντέλεγεν, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἄγνιστατο καὶ ἀντέκειτο τοσοῦτον μᾶλλον ἀντεφιλονεῖκον οἱ στρατιώται μὴ παρ' ἐτέρων λαβεῖν αὐτοκράτορα, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ δοῦναι πᾶσι. διὸ καὶ ἄκων, ὡς ἔδοκει, ὑπέκυψε.

1 τοῦ θεάτρου ἔξερχομένῳ Ζον., om. Xiph.
2 γνωφίσαντες VL, γνώσαντες C. 3 τε Ζον., om. Xiph.

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Claudius became emperor on this wise. After the murder of Gaius the consuls despatched guards to every part of the city and convened the senate on the Capitol, where many and diverse opinions were expressed: for some favoured a democracy, some a monarchy, and some were for choosing one man, and some another. In consequence they spent the rest of the day and the whole night without accomplishing anything. Meanwhile some soldiers who had entered the palace for the purpose of plundering found Claudius hidden away in a dark corner somewhere. He had been with Gaius when he came out of the theatre, and now, fearing the tumult, was crouching down out of the way. At first the soldiers, supposing that he was some one else or perhaps had something worth taking, dragged him forth; and then, on recognizing him, they hailed him emperor and conducted him to the camp. Afterwards they together with their comrades entrusted to him the supreme power, inasmuch as he was of the imperial family and was regarded as suitable. In vain he drew back and remonstrated; for the more he attempted to avoid the honour and to resist, the more strongly did the soldiers in their turn insist upon not accepting an emperor appointed by others but upon giving one themselves to the whole world. Hence he yielded, albeit with apparent reluctance.
4 Οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ τέως μὲν ἄλλους τε ἡμέρας πέμποντες ἀπηγόρευον αὐτῷ μηδὲν τοιούτον ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ δῆμον καὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς νόμους γενέσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῦς οἱ συνόντες σφίσι στρατιώται ἐγκατέλιπον, τότε δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογήσαν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὅσα ἐς τὴν αὐταρχίαν αὐτοῦ ἡκοντα ἢν αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσαντο.

2 Οὕτω μὲν Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Νέρων Γερμανικός, ὁ τοῦ Δρούσου τοῦ τῆς Λιουίας παιδὸς νίος, τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἄρχην ἔλαβε, μὴ πρὶν ἐν ἑγεμονίᾳ τινὶ τὸ παράπαν ἐξητασμένος, πλὴν ὦτι μόνον ὑπάτευσεν· ἤγε δὲ πενηκοστὸν ἔτος τῆς ἡλικίας.—Xiph. 173, 8–174, 4, Zon. 11, 8 (p. 23, 19–24, 13 D.).

'Εγένετο δὲ τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν οὐ φαῦλοι ἀλλὰ ἀεὶ καὶ ἐν παιδείᾳ ἱσκήτο, ὡστε καὶ συγγράφα τινά, τὸ δὲ δὴ σῶμα νοσῶδης, ὡστε καὶ τῇ 2 κεφαλῇ καὶ ταῖς χερσίν ὑποτρέμειν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ φωνῆματι ἐσφάλλετο, καὶ οὐ πάντα ὅσα ἐς τὸ συνεδρίον ἐσέφερεν αὐτὸς ἀνεγίγνωσκεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ταμίᾳ, τὴν γε πρώτην καὶ παρὼν ὡς γε πλήθει, ἀναλέγεσθαι ἐδίδουν. ὥσα δ' οὖν αὐτὸς ἀνεγίγνωσκε, καθήμενος ὅς τὸ 3 πολὺ ἐπελεύγετο. καὶ μέντοι καὶ δίφθρῳ καταστέγῳ πρῶτοι Ῥωμαίων ἐχρῆσατο, καὶ έξ' ἐκείνον καὶ νῦν οὖν ὅτι οἱ αὐτοκράτορες ἀλλὰ καὶ ἴμενες οἱ ὑπατευκότες διφροφορούμεθα: πρότερον δὲ ἀρα ὦ τε Λύγουστος καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος ἄλλοι τέ τινες ἐν σκιμποδίοις, ὁποίοις αἱ γυναῖκες ἔτι καὶ νῦν 4 νομίζουσιν, ἔστων ἤτε ἐφεροντο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ

1 μὲν ἄλλους τε Bk., ἄλλους μὲν Xiph.
2 αὐτοῦ om. L'.

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The consuls for a time sent tribunes and others forbidding him to do anything of the sort, but to submit to the authority of the people and of the senate and of the laws; when, however, the soldiers who were with them deserted them, then at last they, too, yielded and voted him all the remaining prerogatives pertaining to the sovereignty.

Thus it was that Tiberius Claudius Nero Germanicus, the son of Drusus the son of Livia, obtained the imperial power without having been previously tested at all in any position of authority, except for the fact that he had been consul. He was in his fiftieth year.

In mental ability he was by no means inferior, as his faculties had been in constant training (in fact, he had actually written some historical treatises); but he was sickly in body, so that his head and hands shook slightly. Because of this his voice was also faltering, and he did not himself read all the measures that he introduced before the senate, but would give them to the quaestor to read, though at first, at least, he was generally present. Whatever he did read himself, he usually delivered sitting down. Furthermore, he was the first of the Romans to use a covered chair, and it is due to his example that to-day not only the emperors but we ex-consuls as well are carried in chairs; of course, even before his time Augustus, Tiberius, and some others had been carried in litters such as women still affect even at the present day. It was not these in-

3 ἐγένετο δε... φαῦλος εὐεχρ. Val. Zon., οὕτως τίνι μὲν ψυχὴν όφ πονήρος ἐγένετο Χιρθ.; M resumes with ἀλλὰ
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diā taυθ' ούτως, ὅσον ὑπὸ τὲ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν αἰς συνῆν, ἐκακύνετο. περιφανεστάτα γὰρ τῶν ὁμοίων ἐδουλοκρατήθη τε ἀμα καὶ ἐγυναικοκρατήθη· ἀτε γὰρ ἐκ παιδῶν ἐν τε νοσηλείᾳ καὶ ἐν φόβῳ πολλῷ τραφεῖς,1 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πλείων τῆς ἀληθείας εὐθείαν προσποιήσιμον, ὅπερ ποι ὑπὸ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ 5 ὁμολόγησε, καὶ πολλὺν μὲν χρόνον τῇ τίθῃ τῇ Διονία πολὺν δὲ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ Ἀιτωνίᾳ τοῖς τὸ ἀπελευθέρως συνδιαιτηθεῖς, καὶ προσέτη καὶ ἐν συνουσίαις γυναικῶν πλεῖσι γενόμενος, οὐδὲν ἐλευθεροπρεπέσες ἐκεκτητο, ἀλλὰ καὶπερ καὶ τῶν Ὀχυραίων ἀπαίτων καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων αὐτῶν κρατῶν ἐκδεδούλωτο. ἐπετίθεντο δ' αὐτῷ ἐν τε τοῖς 6 πότοις μάλιστα καὶ εν ταῖς μίξεσι' πάνυ γὰρ ἀπλήστως ἀμφοτέρως σφίσε προσέκειτο, καὶ ἦν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ εὐαλωτότατος. πρὸς δὲ καὶ δειλίαν εἶχεν, υφ' ἢς πολλάκις ἐκπληττόμενος οὐδὲν τῶν προσηκόντων ἐξελογίζετο. καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦτο προσλαμβάνοντες οὐκ ἐλάχιστα κατ- 7 ειργάζομεν· ἐκεῖνον τε2 γὰρ ἐκφοβοῦντες ἐξεκαρποῦστο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοσοῦτον δέος ἐνεβάλλον ωςθ', ἵνα συλλαβῶν εὑπώ, πολλοὶ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Κλαυδίου καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καλούμενοι τὸν μὲν ὡς καὶ κατ' ἄλλο τι παρίεντο, πρὸς δὲ ἐκεῖνους ἐφοίτων.

3 Τοιούτους όν ὑν δὴ τις, ὡς ἑ συνελόντι εἰπέων, ὅν, οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ δεύτερας ἐπιταττεν, ὀσάκις ἐξω

1 τραφεῖς cod. Peir. Xiph. Zon., στραφεῖς M.
2 ἐκεῖνον τε Bk., καὶ ἐκεῖνον τε M.
Hrmities, however, that caused the deterioration in Claudius so much as it was the freedmen and the women with whom he associated; for he, more conspicuously than any of his peers, was ruled by slaves and by women. From a child he had been reared a constant prey to illness and great terror, and for that reason had feigned a stupidity greater than was really the case (a fact that he himself admitted in the senate); and he had lived for a long time with his grandmother Livia and for another long period with his mother Antonia and with the freedmen, and moreover he had had many amours with women. Hence he had acquired none of the qualities befitting a freeman, but, though ruler of all the Romans and their subjects, had become himself a slave. They would take advantage of him particularly when he was inclined to drink or to sexual intercourse, since he applied himself to both these vices insatiably and when so employed was exceedingly easy to master. Moreover, he was afflicted by cowardice, which often so overpowered him that he could not reason out anything as he ought. They seized upon this failing of his, too, to accomplish many of their purposes; for by frightening him they could use him fully for their own ends, and could at the same time inspire the rest with great terror. To give but a single example, once, when a large number of persons were invited to dinner on the same day by Claudius and by these associates, the guests neglected Claudius on one pretence or another, and flocked around the others.

Though, generally speaking, he was such as I have described, still he did not a few things in a proper manner whenever he was free from the afore-
Τα μὲν ψηφισθέντα οἱ εὐθὺς πάντα, πλὴν τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπωνυμίας, ἐδέξατο (ταύτην γὰρ μετὰ ταύτα προσέβετο), οὗ μέντοι καὶ παρατίκα ἄλλη ὄψε καὶ τριακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς τὴν βουλήν ἐσήλθε. τὸν τε γὰρ Γάιον οὖν ὀρῶν ἀπολωλότα, καὶ πυθανόμενός τινας ὡς καὶ Βελτίωνας ἐαυτοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπ' αὐτῆς προβεβλήσθαι, οὐκ ἔθάρσει, ἄλλα τά τε ἄλλα ἀκριβῶς ἐφυλάττετο, καὶ πάντας τοὺς προσίόντας οἱ καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας ἐρευνάσθαι ἐποίει μῆτι ξιφίδιον ἔχωσιν, ἐν τε τοῖς συμποσίοις πάντως τινάς στρατιώτας συνόντας εἰχέ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐξ ἐκείνου κατα- δειχθὲν καὶ δεύο ἄει γίγνεται, ἢ δὲ δὴ ἔρευνα ἢ διὰ πάντων ἐπὶ 1 Οὐδεσπασιανοῦ 2 ἐπαύσατο. τὸν μὲν οὖν Χαίρεαν καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους, καίπερ πάνω ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Γαίου θανάτῳ ἡσθείς, ὅρως ἀπέκτεινεν· οὗ γὰρ ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου πρᾶξιν εἰλήφει χάριν αὐτῷ ὑδει, ἄλλῳ οτι ἐτόλμησεν αὐτοκράτορα ἀποσφάξατε ἐδυσχέρασθεν, πόρρωθεν τὸ καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἐς ἀσφαλείαν προφορώμενος. ἔπραξε δὲ τοῦτο οὖν ὡς καὶ τῷ Γαίῳ τιμωρῶν, ἄλλῳ ὡς εἰαυτῷ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα αὐτὸν λαβὼν. καὶ οἱ οἱ Σαβίνος ἔκων ἐπαπέθανεν, 3 μὴ ἀξιώσας κολασθέντος αὐτοῦ περειέται.

Τοῖς γε μὴν ἄλλοις, οἱ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐκφαπε- νός ἐσπούδασαν ἤ καὶ ἐπίδοξι λήψεσθαι τὸ κράτος ἐγένοντο, οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἐμνησικάκησεν, ἄλλα καὶ τιμᾶς καὶ ἀρχᾶς ἔδωκεν ἐκδηλῶτατα

1 ἐπὶ Ρκ., διὰ Μ Ζον.
2 Οὐδεσπασιανοῦ R. Steph., οὐδεσπασιανοῦ M.
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BOOK LX

said weaknesses and was master of himself. I shall now take up his acts in detail.

He promptly accepted all the honours that were voted to him, except the title of Father, and this he afterwards took; however, he did not enter the senate at once, but waited until the thirtieth day. For, seeing how Gaius had perished and learning that some others had been proposed by that body for the throne as being better men than he, he was disposed to be timid. Therefore he exercised great caution in everything; he caused all who came near him, men and women alike, to be searched, for fear they might have a dagger, and at banquets he was sure to have some soldiers present. The latter practice, thus established by him, continues to this day; but the indiscriminate searching of everybody came to an end under Vespasian. He put Chaerea and some others to death, in spite of his pleasure at the death of Gaius. For he was looking far ahead to insure his own safety, and so, instead of feeling grateful toward the man through whose deed he had gained the throne, he was displeased with him for having dared to slay an emperor. He acted in this matter, not as the avenger of Gaius, but as though he had caught Chaerea plotting against himself. And soon after Chaerea's death Sabinus took his own life, not desiring to live after his comrade had been executed.

As for the others, however, who had openly shown their eagerness for a democracy or had been regarded as eligible for the throne, Claudius, far from bearing malice toward them, actually gave them honours and offices. In plainer terms than any

3 ταπειναὶ δινὰ ταπειναὶ τοῦ Ζων. συναπειναὶ τοῦ Ἐ.
γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πάντων πῶςτε οὐ τῷ λόγῳ μόνον τὴν ἀδειάν σφισὶ, κατὰ τὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ζῆλον, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ὑπέσχετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ 6 παρέσχε. τὸ τε ἐγκλῆμα τῆς ἀσεβείας ἀμοίως οὐκ ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι μόνοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἔπαισε, καὶ οὐδένα διὰ τοιοῦτό τι οὔτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις οὔτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπείτα ἐκόλασε.

7 τοὺς γε μὴν ἀδικήσαντάς τι ἢ καὶ προπηλακίσαντας αὐτὸν ἱδιότην οὖντα (πολλοὶ δὲ ταύτα ἄλλως τε ὡς μηδείνον λόγου ἄξιον, καὶ οἱ μὲν τῷ Τιβερίῳ οἱ δὲ τῷ Γαίῳ χαριζόμενοι, ἐπεποίηκεσαν) πλαστῶ μὲν ἐγκλήματι οὐδενὶ μετῆι, εἰ μὲντοι τι ἄλλο κακουργοῦντας εὑρίσκε, καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνα ἐτιμωρεῖτο.

4 τὰ τε τέλη τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαίου ἐσαξέντα, καὶ τὰλλα ὦσα ἐπηγοροῖαν τινὰ τῶν πραχθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰρή, κατέλυσε μέν, οὐκ ἄθροὰ δὲ, ἁλλ' ὡς ἐκάστωρ πῃ προσέτυχε. καὶ τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας ἀδίκως υπ' αὐτοῦ, τοὺς τε ἄλλους καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς, τὴν τε Ἀγριππίναν καὶ τὴν Ἰουλίαν,

2 καταγαγὼν τὰς οὐσίας σφίσιν ἀπέδωκεν. τῶν τε ἐκ τοῦ οἰκήματος (πλείστοι δὲ ἐδέδωκαν) τοὺς μὲν ἐπ' ἀσεβεία τοιούτοις τέ τισιν ἐτέροις ἐγκλήμασιν ἐμπεπτωκότας ἀπηλλαξέ, τοὺς δ' ὄντως ἀδικοῦντας ἐκόλασε. σφόδρα γὰρ ἀκριβῶς σφας ἐξήτασεν, ὡς ὑπὲρ ὑπὸ ὁι κακουργήσαντές τι διὰ τοὺς συκοφαντομένους ἢφεθῶσι, μὴδ' ὄντοι δὴ

3 ἐκείνος παραπόλωνται. καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην γε ὡς εἰπεῖν ἤμέραν, ἦτοι μετὰ πᾶσας τῆς γερουσίας ἤ καὶ ἰδία, τὸ μὲν πλείστον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ἢδή δὲ

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ruler that ever lived he promised them immunity, therein imitating the example of the Athenians, as he said, and it was no mere promise, but he afforded it in actual fact. He abolished the charge of maiestas not only in the case of writings but in the case of overt acts as well, and punished no one on this ground for offenses committed either before this time or later. As for those who had wronged or insulted him when he was a private citizen,—and there were many who had behaved thus toward him, both because he had been held in no esteem, and also, more especially, in order to please either Tiberius or Gaius,—he did not prosecute them on any fictitious charge, but if he found them guilty of some other crime, he would take vengeance on them at the same time for their former abuse. The taxes introduced in the reign of Gaius and any other measures that had led to denunciation of that ruler's acts were abolished by Claudius,—not all at once, to be sure, but as opportunity offered in each case. He also brought back those whom Gaius had unjustly exiled, including the latter's sisters Agrippina and Julia, and restored to them their property. Of the persons in prison—and a very large number were thus confined—he liberated those who had been put there for maiestas and similar charges, but punished those who were guilty of actual wrongdoing. For he investigated all the cases very carefully, in order that those who had committed crimes should not be released along with those who had been falsely accused, nor the latter, on the other hand, perish along with the former. Almost every day, either in company with the whole senate or alone, he would sit on a tribunal trying cases, usually
καὶ ἄλλωθι, ἐπὶ βῆματος ἐδίκαζε· καὶ γὰρ τὸ κατὰ τοὺς συνέδρους, ἐκλειφθὲν ἔξ ὦ ὁ Τιβέριος

1 ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἐξεχώρησεν, ἀνενεῶσατο. πολλάκις
dὲ καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους τοῖς τε στρατηγοῖς, καὶ
μάλιστα τοῖς τὴν διοίκησιν ἔχουσι, συνεξητά-
ζετο, καὶ ὅλη σαντελὼς τοῖς ἄλλοις δίκα

5 στηρίοις ἐπέτρεπε. τὰ τε φάρμακα ἀ πολλὰ ἐν
τοῦ Γαίου εὐρέθη, καὶ τὰ βιβλία τὰ τοῦ Πρωτο-
γένους, ὃν καὶ ἀπέκτεινε, τὰ τε γράμματα ἃ ἐπλάσσετο μὲν ὁ Γάιος κεκαυκέναι εὐρέθη δὲ ἐν
tῷ βασιλικῷ οὖντα, τοῖς τε βουλευταῖς ἐπέδειξε,
καὶ ἐδοκει καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις τοῖς τε γράφασιν ἀυτὰ καὶ καθ’ ὄν ἐγέγραπτο ἀναγρώνα, καὶ μετὰ
tοῦτο κατέβλεξε. τῆς τε γερουσίας ἀτιμῶσαι
τοῦ Γαίου ἑθελησάσης ψηφισθῆναι μὲν αὐτὸς
ἐκώλυσεν, ὅδια δὲ τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς

6 ἀπάσας ἤφανσε. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τὸ μὲν ὄνομα
αὐτοῦ ὕπτι γίνεται ἐν τῷ κατάλογῳ τῶν αὐτοκρα-
tόρων ὄν μνῆμην ἐπὶ τε τοῖς ὁρκοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς
ἐνχαῖς ποιούμεθα, ὥσπερ ὅπδὲ τοῦ τοῦ Τιβερίου,
οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκ δόγματος ἀτιμίαν οὐδέτερος ¹
σφον ὁφλε. ¹

5 ἃ μὲν ὅ ον ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαίου καὶ υφ’ ἑτέρων
dι’ ἐκείνου ὄνκ ὅρθῳς γενόμενα ἀνέτρεψε, τῷ δὲ δὴ
Δρούσω τῷ πατρὶ τῇ τε Ἀὐτωνίᾳ τῇ μητρὶ
ἐπιποδρομίας ἐς τὰ γενέσια ἐδοκε, ταῖς πανηγυ-
ρεῖσι τάς ἐς ταύτων αὐταῖς συμβαίνουσασ μεταθείς

2 ἡ ἑτέρας ἡμέρας, ὅπως μὴ ἁμα ποιῶνται. τὴν
tε τῇ ἡμερῶν τὴν Λιουίαν οὐ μόνον ἱππῶν ἀγοσίν

1 οὐδέτερος R. Steph., οὐδέτερος M.
in the Forum, but sometimes elsewhere; for he renewed the practice of having advisers sit with him, a practice that had been abandoned from the time that Tiberius withdrew to his island. He also frequently joined the consuls and the praetors, especially those who had the oversight of the finances, in their investigations, and very few, indeed, were the cases that he turned over to the other courts. He destroyed the poisons which were found in abundance in the residence of Gaius; and the books of Protogenes (who was put to death), together with the papers which Gaius pretended he had burned, but which were actually found in the palace, he first showed to the senators and then gave them to the very men most concerned, both those who had written them and those against whom they had been written, to be read by them, after which he burned them up. And yet, when the senate desired to dishonour Gaius, he personally prevented the passage of the measure, but on his own responsibility caused all his predecessor's images to disappear by night. Hence the name of Gaius does not occur in the list of emperors whom we mention in our oaths and prayers any more than does that of Tiberius; and yet neither one of them suffered disgrace by official decree.

Claudius, accordingly, undid the unjust acts performed by Gaius and by others at his instigation. To his father Drusus and to his mother Antonia he granted games in the Circus on their birthdays, postponing to different days the festivals which normally occurred at the same time, in order that there should not be two celebrations at once. His grandmother Livia he not only honoured with
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ētīmēsēn ēllā kai āpθηθανατίσεν, āγαλμά tē tī aūtīs ēn tō Ἀὐγουστεῖω ἱδρύσας kai tās θυσίας tāīs āeiπαρθένοις ἱεροποιεῖν προστάξας, tāīs te γυναιξίν ὀρκοῦν τὸ ὄνομα aūtīs ποιεῖσθαι κελεύ.

3 σας. οὖτω δὲ δὴ τοὺς πατέρας ἀποσεμνύνας aūtōs οὐδὲν ἔξω τῶν ὁνομάτων τῶν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν χερόντων ἐδέξατο· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῇ τοῦ Ἀὐγοῦστου νομομηνίᾳ, ἐν ἧ κενεγέννητο, ἡγουνίζων μὲν ἦπποι, οὐ δι’ ἐκεῖνον δὲ ἀλλ’ ὅτι ὁ τοῦ Ἀρεως ναὸς ἐν ταύτῃ καθιέρωτο καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐτησίως ἀγῶσιν

4 ἐτετίμητο. ἐν τῇ οὖν τούτους ἐμετρίαξε, καὶ προσαπηγόρευσε μῆτε προσκυνεῖν τινα aūtōn μῆτε θυσίαν οἱ μιθεμβίαν ποιεῖν. τὰ τὰ ἐπτιβο-

ήματα τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ὑπέρογκα ἑπαύσε· καὶ εἰκόνα μίαν, καὶ ταύτην ἀρχυράν, ἀνδριάντας τὰ δύο χαλκὸν τε καὶ λίθου ψηφισθέντας aūtō τὰ

5 πρῶτα ἐλαβε. μάταια γὰρ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀναλώματα εἶναι, καὶ προσέτι πολλὴν μὲν ἔχουσαν πολὺν δὲ καὶ όχλον τῇ γε 1 πόλει παρέχειν ἐλέγε· πάντες μὲν γὰρ οἱ ναὸι πάντα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀλλὰ ἔργα καὶ ἄνδριάντων καὶ ἀναθημάτων ἑπεπλη-

ροτο, ὡστε καὶ περὶ ἐκεῖνων βουλεύσεσθαι 2 ἐφη

6 ἃ χρή πραξαι. τοῖς τε στρατηγοῖς τοὺς ἀγῶνας τους ὀπλομαχικοὺς ἀπηγόρευσε μὴ ποιεῖν, καὶ εἰ

dὴ τὶς ἄλλος αὐτοὺς ὄπουδῆποτε ἐπιτελοῦτ, ἄλλα

μῆτι ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ σωτηρίας γυγομένων σφῶν ἢ γράφεσθαι ἢ καὶ ἱερός ἐκέλευσε. καὶ οὖτω γε πάντα ταῦτα κρίσει καὶ

1 γε R. Steph., τε M.

2 βουλεύσεσθαι R. Steph., βουλεύσεσθαι M.

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equestrian contests but also deified; and he set up a statue to her in the temple of Augustus, charging the Vestal Virgins with the duty of offering the proper sacrifices, and he ordered that women should use her name in taking oaths. But, though he paid such reverence to his ancestors, he would accept nothing for himself beyond the titles belonging to his office. It is true that on the first day of August, which was his birthday, there were equestrian contests, but they were not given on his account; it was rather because the temple of Mars had been dedicated on that day and this event had been celebrated thereafter by annual contests. Besides his moderation in this respect, he further forbade any one to worship him or to offer him any sacrifice; he checked the many excessive acclamations accorded him; and he accepted, at first, only one image, and that a silver one, and two statues, of bronze and marble, that had been voted to him. All such expenditures, he declared, were useless and furthermore caused great loss and embarrassment to the city. In fact, all the temples and all the other public buildings had become filled with statues and votive offerings, so that he said he would consider what to do even with them. He ordered the praetors not to give the customary gladiatorial exhibitions, and also commanded that if any one else gave them in any place whatsoever, it should at least not be recorded or reported that they were being given for the emperor’s preservation. He became so used to settling all these matters by his judgment, and not by precedent, that he arranged other affairs in

\[\text{\textsuperscript{3}} \mu\nu\tau \iota \text{Dund., } \mu\nu\tau \iota \iota \text{M.}\]
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7 ἐνεμε. τὰς γοῦν θυγατέρας ἐν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ τὴν μὲν ἐγγυηθᾶσας Λουκίῳ Ἰοννίῳ Σιλαῦῳ τὴν δὲ ἐκδοὺς Γναῖῳ Πομπηίῳ Μάγνῳ οὐδὲν ἔξαθετον ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ημέραις ἐκεῖναις ἐδίκασε καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ἡθορισθη. τοὺς τε γαμ-βροὺς τότε τε ἐν τοῖς εἴκοσιν ἀνδράσιν ἄρξαι καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πολιαρχῆσαι ἐν ταῖς ἀνοχαῖς ἐκέλευσεν ὡς τε ποτὲ πέντε ἔτει θάσσον τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς αὐτῆς σφῖσιν ἐπέτρεψε. τούτον δὲ δὴ τοῦ Πομπηίου ὁ Γαῖος τὴν τοῦ Μάγνου ἐπίκλησιν περιέκουσεν. ὦ λίγοι μὲν ἡρὰ καὶ ἀπέ-σφαξεν αὐτὸν ὡς ὑπὸτος ὠνομάζετο. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν καταφρονῆσας ὡς καὶ παιδίου ἐτ’ αὐτοῦ ὀντὸς οὐκ ἐποίησε, τὴν δὲ δὴ πρόσρησιν κατέ-λυσεν, εἰπὼν μὴ εἶναι οἱ ἀσφαλεὶς Μάγνον τινὰ προσαγορεύεσθαι. δ’ ἐγε μὴν Κλαύδιος καὶ έκεῖνοι αὐτῶ τὸ πρόσρημα ἀπέδωκε καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα προσυνώκισε.

6 Ῥᾳ ὑπάτω τε οὖν ἐπεικὸς ἐπράττε, καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καταβάντων ποτὲ ἀπὸ τῶν διάφορων ἦν διαλεγθὸς ὡς αὐτό, προσεξανέστη τε καὶ ἀντιπροσῆθε σφίσιν, ἔτει ἐν γε τῇ Νέα πόλει 2 καὶ παντιπάσιν ἰδιωτικός ἐξι τα τε ἡρὰ ἀλλὰ ἑλληνικὸς καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ συνόντες οἱ διητάτο, καὶ ἐν μὲν ταῖς τῆς μουσικῆς θεωρίαις ἰμάτιον καὶ κρηπίδιας, ἐν δὲ δὴ τὸ γυμνικὸ ἄγων πορφυρίδα καὶ στέφανον χρυσὸν ἐλάμβανε. καὶ μέντοι καὶ περὶ τὰ χρήματα θαυμαστός ἐγενετο. ἀπηγορευσε μὲν ἡρὰ ἀργυρίων οἱ, 3 ὡς ὀπερ ἐπὶ τέ τοῦ Αὐγοῦστου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαῖου ἐγήγετο, προσφέρειν, ἀπείπε

1 ἐκεῖνο R. Steph., ἐκεῖνοι M.
2 Νές πόλει Bk., νεάπολει M.
3 oi supplied by Bk.
the same manner. For example, when in this same year he betrothed one of his daughters to Lucius Junius Silanus and gave the other in marriage to Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, he did nothing out of the ordinary to celebrate either event; on the contrary, he himself held court on those days and the senate met as usual. He ordered his sons-in-law to hold office for the time being among the Vigintiviri and later to act as prefects of the city at the Feriae; and it was not until much later that he gave them permission to stand for the other offices five years earlier than was customary. Gaius had taken away from this Pompeius his title of Magnus and, indeed, had come very near killing him because he was so named; yet out of contempt for him, since he was still but a boy, he did not go to that length, but merely abolished his cognomen, saying that it was not safe for him that any one should be called Magnus. Claudius now not only restored to him his former title but also gave him his daughter to wife.

In all this, then, his course was satisfactory. Furthermore, when in the senate the consuls once came down from their seats to talk with him, he rose in his turn and went to meet them. And, for that matter, in Neapolis he lived altogether like an ordinary citizen; for both he and his associates adopted the Greek manner of life in all respects, wearing a cloak and high boots, for example, at the musical exhibitions, and a purple mantle and golden crown at the gymnastic contest. Moreover, his attitude toward money was remarkable. For he forbade any one to bring him contributions, as had been the practice under Augustus and Gaius, and ordered that no one who had any
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δὲ μηδὲ κληρονόμον αὐτὸν, ὅστις ἂν συγγενεῖς ὄποιον σῆμεντο αὐτὸς ἔχῃ, καταλείπειν, καὶ ¹ τῶν προδημευθέντων ² ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαίου τὰ μὲν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἔτι περιοῦσι τὰ δὲ τοῖς τέκναις αὐτῶν ἀπέδωκεν.

4. Εἰθισμένου τε, εἰ καὶ ὅτι οὖν περὶ τὰς πανηγύρεις ἔξω τοῦ νεομισμένου πραξθείη, ⁴ αὐθίς αὐτάς, καθάπερ εἰρητὰί μοι, γίγνεσθαι, καὶ πολλάκις τοῦτον ⁵ καὶ τρίτον καὶ τέταρτον πέμπτον τε, καὶ δέκατον ἔστιν οὕτω, τὸ μὲν τι κατὰ τύχην τὸ δὲ ὑπ' ἡπλείστων ἐκ παρασκευῆς τῶν ὑφελουμένων ἀπ' ⁵ αὐτοῦ, συμβαίνοντος, νόμω μὲν ἐτάζε μίαν ἠμέραν τοὺς ἀγώνας τῶν ἕπτῶν δεύτερον γίγνεσθαι, ἔργο δὲ καὶ τούτο ὡς πλήθει ἐπεσχεν· οὐδὲν γὰρ τι ράδιον, ἀτε μηδὲν μέγα ἀποκερδάινοντες, οἱ τεχνώνειοι αὐτὸ ἐπηλημέλουν.

6. Τοῦς τε ᾽Ιουδαίους πλεονίσαντας αὐθίς, ὡστε χαλέπισας ἃν ἀνευ παραχής ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου σφῶν τῆς πόλεως εἰρηθῆναι, οὐκ ἔξηλασε μὲν, τῷ δὲ ὑπ' ἐκ πατρίῳ βίῳ χρωμένους ἐκέλευσε μὴ συμαθροίζεσθαι. τὰς τε ἐταιρείας ἐπαναχθείσας ὑπὸ τοῦ ⁷ Γαίου διέλυσε. καὶ όρῶν μηδὲν ὕφελος ὃν ἀπαγορεύσατο τινα τῷ πλήθει μὴ ποιεῖν, ἄν μὴ καὶ ὁ καθ' ἠμέραν αὐτῶν βίος μεταρρυθμισθῇ, τὰ τε καπηλεία ἐς ἄ συμπωτες ἐπινοι κατέλυσε, καὶ προσέταξε μὴ τέ κρέας που ἐφθον μὴ ὑδωρ

¹ αὐτὸς ἔχῃ καταλείπειν καὶ Bs. (comparing Zon.: ἀπείπε δὲ μηδὲ κληρονόμος παρά τίνος συγγενεῖς ἔχοντος καταλιμπάνεσθαι), αὐτὰ καταλείπειν M.
² προδημευθέντων Zon., προμυθευθέντων M.
³ εἰθισμένου τε Canter, οἷς μὲν οὕτε M.
⁴ πραξθείη Leuncl., πραχθὲν M.

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relatives at all should name him as his heir; he a.d. 41 furthermore gave back the sums that had previously been confiscated under Tiberius and Gaius, either to the victims themselves, if they still survived, or otherwise to their children.

It had been the custom that if any detail whatsoever in connexion with the festivals was carried out contrary to precedent, they should be given over again, as I have stated. But since such repetitions were frequent, occurring a third, fourth, fifth, and sometimes a tenth time, partly, to be sure, as the result of accident, but generally by deliberate intent on the part of those who were benefited by these repetitions, Claudius enacted a law that the equestrian contests in case of a second exhibition should occupy only one day; and in actual practice he usually prevented any repetition at all. For the schemers were not so ready to commit irregularities now that they gained very little by doing so.

As for the Jews, who had again increased so greatly that by reason of their multitude it would have been hard without raising a tumult to bar them from the city, he did not drive them out, but ordered them, while continuing their traditional mode of life, not to hold meetings. He also disbanded the clubs, which had been reintroduced by Gaius. Moreover, seeing that there was no use in forbidding the populace to do certain things unless their daily life should be reformed, he abolished the taverns where they were wont to gather and drink, and commanded that

1 In Lvi. 27, 4.

2 τούτου Lemel., τούτο M.
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θερμὸν πιπράσκεσθαι, καὶ τινὰς ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ μὴ πειθαρχήσαντας ἐκόλασεν.

8 'Ἀπέδωκε μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι τοὺς ἄνδρι-άντας οὓς ὁ Γαίος ἐξ αὐτῶν μετεπέπεμπτο, ἀπέδωκε δὲ καὶ τοῖς Διοσκόροις 1 τὸν νεόν τῷ τε Πομπηίῳ τὴν τοῦ θεάτρου μνήμην καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ τοῦ Τιβερίου ὄνομα ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ προσθεὶς ἐγραψεν, ἐπειδὴ καυθείσαν αὐτὴν ἀνφικοδομήκει.

9 τὸ γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ ἐκείνη μὲν, οὐχ οτι κατεσκεύασεν ἀλλ' ὅτι 2 καθιέρωσεν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐνεκόλασεν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῇ στολῇ τῇ ἐπισκίῳ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πανόρμωσιν, καίτοι ψηφιοθέν, ἐχρήσατο, ἀλλ' ἐθυσεν 3 ἐν αὐτῇ μόνον, τά δὲ ἄλλα ἐν τῷ περιπορφύρῳ ἰματίῳ διώκησεν.

7 Ἐσήγαγε δὲ ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν ἄλλους τε καὶ ἐπτέοις καὶ γυναῖκας τῶν ὴμών, οὔπερ που καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαίου τοῦτο ποιεῖν εἰώθεσαν, οὐχ οτι καὶ ἐχαιρέ σφισιν, ἀλλ' ἐς ἐλεγχον τῶν γεγονότων· αὕτης γοῦν οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ἐπὶ γε τοῦ.

2 Κλαυδίου ἐξητάσθη. τὴν τε πυρρίχην ἣν οἱ παΐδες οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαίου μεταπεμφθέντες ἠςκοῦν, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἅπαξ ὀρχήσαντο, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο πολιτείας τιμηθέντες ἀπεπέμφθησαν, ἀλλοι δὲ αὕτης

3 ἐκ τῆς θεραπείας ἐπεδείχθησαν. ἐν μὲν δὴ τῷ θεάτρῳ ταύτ' ἐγένετο, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ καμήλῳ τε ἅπαξ καὶ ἰπποῖ δωδεκάκις ἣγωνίσαντο, ἀρκοῦ τε τριακόσιαι καὶ Λιβυκὰ θηρία ἦσα αὐταῖς ἐσφάγη. καὶ ἐώρων

1 Διοσκόροις Bk., διοσκόροις M.
2 ὅτι Rk., ὅτι καὶ M.
3 ἐθυσεν Bk., εὕθυς M.
no boiled meat or hot water\textsuperscript{1} should be sold; and he punished some who disobeyed in this matter.

He restored to the various cities the statues which Gaius had ordered them to send to Rome, and he also restored to Castor and Pollux their temple, and placed Pompey's name once more upon his theatre. On the stage of the latter he inscribed also the name of Tiberius, because that emperor had rebuilt the structure after it had been burned. His own name also he carved on the stage (not because he had built it, but because he had dedicated it), but on no other building. Furthermore, he did not wear the triumphal dress throughout the entire festival, though permission to do so had been voted, but appeared in it merely when offering the sacrifice; the rest of the festival he superintended clad in the purple-bordered toga.

He forced to appear on the stage any knights and others, together with women of similar rank, who had been accustomed to do so in the reign of Gaius, but he did this, not because he took any pleasure in their performance, but to expose and reprove their conduct in the past; certain it is at least that none of them appeared again on the stage during the reign of Claudius. The Pyrrhic dance, which the boys sent for by Gaius were practising, was performed by them once, after which they were rewarded with citizenship for it and then sent back home; but others, chosen from among his retinue, later gave exhibitions. So much for what took place in the theatre. In the Circus there was one contest with camels and twelve with horses, and three hundred bears and the same number of Libyan beasts were

\textsuperscript{1} See note on lvii. 14.
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μέν ποι πρότερον ἐν αὐτῷ ἰδία καὶ κατὰ σφάς ὡς ἐκαστοι, τὸ τε βουλευοῦν καὶ τὸ ἰππεῦον καὶ ὁ ὀμίλος, ἀφ' οὗπερ τούτ', ἐνομίσθη, οὐ μεῖντοι καὶ
tetanyména σφίςι χωρίᾳ ἀπεδέδεικτο. ἀλλὰ τότε ὁ
Κλαύδιος τὴν τε ἐδραν τὴν νῦν οὕσαν τοῖς βουλευ-
tαίς ἀπέκρινε, καὶ προσέτοις ἐδέλουσὶ σφών ἐπέτρωθι που καὶ ἐν γε ἰδιωτικῇ ἐσθῆτι θεάσασθαι ἐπέτρεψε.
ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα τῇ τε γερουσίᾳ μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας τὰς τε φυλὰς εἰστίασε.

8 Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῷ τῇ Ἀντίοχῳ τὴν Κομμα-
γηνήν ἀπέδωκεν (ὁ γὰρ Γάιος, καίπερ αὐτός οἱ δοὺς
αὐτὴν, ἀφ᾽ ἱριτῶ), καὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην τὸν Ἰβηρα,
ὅν ὁ Γάιος μεταπεμψάμενος ἐδέδεκε, οἶκαδε πρὸς

2 ἀναλήψει τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπέπεμψεν. ἄλλω τῇ τῷ
Μιθριδάτῃ, τὸ γένος ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου τοῦ πάνω ἔχουτί,
tὸν Βόσπορον ἐχαρίσατο, καὶ τῷ Πολέμωνι
χώραν τινὰ ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ Κλικίας ἀντέδωκε. τῷ
γὰρ Ἀγρίππα τῷ Παλαιστίνῳ συμπράξαντι οἱ
τὴν ἡγεμονίαν έτυχε γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη ὠν) τὴν τε
ἀρχὴν προσεπτημόζησε καὶ τιμὰς ὑπατικὰς ἐνείμε.

3 τῷ τε ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Ἡρώδη τῷ τε στρατηγικῶν
ἀξίωμα καὶ δυναστείαν τινὰ ἐδώκε, καὶ ἐς τῷ
tὸ κυνέδριον ἐσελθέιν σφίσι καὶ χάριν οἱ ἐλληνιστὶ

γνώσαν ἐπέτρεψεν.

4 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Κλαύδιον ἔργα ἦν
καὶ ύφ’ ἀπάντων ἐπηνεῖτο ἐπιράχθη δὲ καὶ ἄλλα
ἀττα τότε, οὐχ ὀμοιοτροπα, ὑπὸ τῷ τῶν ἐξελευθέ-

4

ρομ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Οὐαλερίας

5 Μεσσαλίνης, αὐτῇ μὲν γὰρ τῇ Ἰουλίαν τὴν
ιδελφίδὴν αὐτοῦ, ὄργισθείσα τε ἀμα ὤντι μῆτη
ἐτιμᾶτο ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς μῆτε ἐκολακεύστο, καὶ ξηλο-
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slain. Previously to this each of the three classes, senatorial, equestrian, and the populace, had sat apart by itself while watching the games; this had long been the practice, and yet no definite positions had been assigned to them. But Claudius now set apart for the senators the section which still belongs to them, and he furthermore permitted any members who so desired to sit elsewhere and even to appear in citizen's dress. After this he banqueted the senators and their wives, the knights, and also the tribes.

Next he restored Commagene to Antiochus, since Gaius, though he had himself given him the district, had taken it away again; and Mithridates the Iberian, whom Gaius had summoned and imprisoned, was sent home again to resume his throne. To another Mithridates, a lineal descendant of Mithridates the Great, he granted Bosporus, giving to Polemon some land in Cilicia in place of it. He enlarged the domain of Agrippa of Palestine, who, happening to be in Rome, had helped him to become emperor, and bestowed on him the rank of consul; and to his brother Herod he gave the rank of praetor and a principality. And he permitted them to enter the senate and to express their thanks to him in Greek.

The acts I have named, now, were the acts of Claudius himself, and they were praised by everybody; but certain other things were done at this time of quite a different nature by his freedmen and by his wife Valeria Messalina. The latter became enraged at her niece Julia because she neither paid her honour nor flattered her; and she was also jealous because
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tυπήσασα ὅτι περικαλλὴς τε ἦν καὶ μόνη τῷ Κλαυδίῳ πολλάκις συνεχύμενο, ἐξώρισεν, ἐγκλήματα αὐτῆς ἄλλα τε καὶ μοιχείας παρα-σκευάσασα, ἐφ' ἦ καὶ ὁ Σενέκας ὁ Ἀνναῖος ἐφυγε, καὶ ὡστερὸν γε οὐ πολλῷ καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν ᾧ αὐτήν. ἐκείνω δὲ καὶ τὰς τιμὰς αὐτῶν τὰς ἐπινικίους ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Μαυριτανίᾳ πραγματεύων δέξασθαι ἐπεισάγα, οὕτω ὅτι τι κατορθώσαντα, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ πώ ὁντα ὀτε δεισολεμήσῃ. 7 καὶ τοῦτο τῷ ἔτει ὁ τε Γάλβας ὁ Σουλπίκιος Χάπτως ἐκράτησε, καὶ Πούπλιος Γαβίνιος ἐν ἀλλὰ εὐδο-κίμησε καὶ ἀμείωσεν ἀποκαταστάσιν ὅσα μόνος ἐπὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς Οὐάρου συμφορᾶς ἢ ἐκομίσατο, ὡς καὶ ἀληθεῖς ὀνόμα αὐτοκράτορος ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων σφῶν τὸν Κλαυδίουν λαβεῖν. 9 Τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ οἱ αὐτοὶ αὖθις Μαυροὶ πολεμήσαντες κατεστράφησαν. Σουητώνιος μὲν γὰρ Παυλῖνος, ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστρηγμένων ὅν, τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν μέχρι τοῦ Ἀτλαντοῦ ἀντικατέ-δραμε, Ιναιοὶ δὲ Ὀσίδιος Γέτας ἐκ τῶν ὁμιλῶν μετ' ἐκείνου στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τῶν Σάλαβουν τῶν στρατηγῶν σφῶν εὐθὺς ὁρμήσει, καὶ ἐνίκησεν 2 αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀπαξ καὶ δεύτερον. ἐπειδῆ τε ἐκείνου, καταληκτών τινας πρὸς τοὺς μεθορίοις εἰργεῖν τοὺς ἐπιδώξωντας, πρὸς τὰ ψαμμάδι αἴνευς, ἐτόλμησεν ἐπιστέπεσθαι οἱ, καὶ ἀντικαταστήσας πρὸς τοὺς ἐφεδρεύοντας μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ προῆι, συσκευασμένοιν ὑδωρ ὅσον ἐνεδέχετο. 3 ὡς δὲ τοῦτο τε ἐπέλειπε καὶ ἄλλο ὀνλυ ἑυρίσκετο,
the girl was extremely beautiful and was often alone with Claudius. Accordingly, she secured her banishment by trumping up various charges against her, including that of adultery (for which Annaeus Seneca was also exiled), and not long afterward even compassed her death. The freedmen, on their part, persuaded Claudius to accept the *ornamenta triumphalia* for his exploits in Mauretania, though he had not gained any success and had not yet come to the throne when the war was finished. This same year, however, Sulpicius Galba overcame the Chatti, and Publius Gabinius conquered the Canchi and as a crowning achievement recovered a military eagle, the only one that still remained in the hands of the enemy from Varus' disaster. Thanks to the exploits of these two men Claudius now received the well-merited title of *imperator*.

The next year the same Moors again made war and were subdued. Suetonius Paulinus, one of the ex-praetors, overran their country in turn as far as Mount Atlas, and after him Gnaeus Hosidius Geta, a man of the same rank, made a campaign, marching at once against their general Salabus and defeating him on two different occasions. When Salabus thereupon left a few soldiers near the frontier to hold back any pursuers and took refuge himself in the desert, Geta ventured to follow him. First stationing a part of his army opposite the detachment that was lying in wait, he pushed forward after providing himself with all the water possible. But when this began to give out and no more was to be had, he

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2 Παύλινος Βκ., γαύλινος Μ.
3 Καύγιαντα Λευκ. Μαυρουσίως Μ.
4 Σούπιτόριος Ρειμ., σούπιτόριος Μ.
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ἐν παντὶ κακοῦ ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν γὰρ βάρβαροι ἄλλως τε ἐπὶ μακρότατον πρὸς τὸ δέψος ύπὸ τῶν ἔθους ἀντέχοντες, καὶ πάντως τι ύδωρ ἐμπειρία τῶν χωρίων ποριζόμενοι, διεγέργυντο, τοῖς δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ τῶν ἐναυτῶν ἀδύνατον μὲν προχωρῆσαι χαλεπῶν δὲ καὶ ὑποστρέφειν ἦν. 4 ἀποροῦντα οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ τι χρῆ πράξαι, ἀνέπεισε τις τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τῶν ἐνσπόνδῳ ἐπισωταῖς τῇ τισί καὶ μαγγανείαις χρῆσασθαι, λέγων πολλάκις σφίσιν ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτον πολὺ ύδωρ δεδόσθαι καὶ αὐτῶ παραξρῆμα τοσοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔρρη ὡστε καὶ τὸ δέψος ἐξακέσασθαι καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους προσκαταπλῆξαι, νομίσαντας τὸ θεῖὸν 5 οἱ ἐπικουρεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ τοῦτον ἐθελοῦν τε ὁμολόγησαι καὶ κατελύσαντο πραξάντων δὲ τούτων ὁ Κλαύδιος διῆ ὁς Μαύρους τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἔνειμεν, ἐς τε τὰ περὶ Τέγγην καὶ ἐς τὰ περὶ Καισάρειαν, ἄφ’ ὄντος καὶ ὀνομάζουνται, 6 καὶ δύο ἀρχουσιν ἐπεπεύσι πρὸστασία. καὶ τῷ αὐτῶ τούτῳ χρόνῳ καὶ τῆς Νομοθησίας τινὰ ἐπολεμήθη τε ἕπο τῶν προσοίκων βαρβάρων, καὶ ἔπειτα κρατήσαντων αὐτῶν μάχαις κατέστη. 10 ὑπάτευε δὲ ὁ Κλαύδιος μετὰ Γαίου Δάργου, καὶ ἐκεῖνος μὲν δ’ ἐτοὺς ἀρξαί ἐφήκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ δύο μηδὲ καὶ τότε τὴν ἁρχὴν ἐσχέ. καὶ περὶ τε τῶν τοῦ Ἀγγούστου πράξεων τοὺς τε ἄλλους ὀρκωσε καὶ αὐτός ἐπιστόθη (περὶ γὰρ τῶν

1 Mauretania Tingitana and Mauretania Caesariensis.

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found himself in the direst straits. For the barbarians, on their part, could hold out a long time anyway against thirst as the result of habit, and moreover could always get at least some water by reason of their familiarity with the country, and so they managed to get along; whereas the Romans, for the opposite reasons, found it impossible to advance and difficult even to retreat. While Geta, then, was in a quandary as to what he should do, one of the natives who were at peace with the invaders persuaded him to try some incantations and enchantments, telling him that as the result of such rites abundant water had often been given to his people. No sooner had Geta followed this advice than so much rain fell from the sky as to allay the soldiers' thirst completely and at the same time to alarm the enemy, who thought that Heaven was coming to the assistance of the Roman general. Consequently they came to terms voluntarily and ended their warfare. After these events Claudius divided the subject Moors into two districts, the first embracing the region around Tingis and the other that around Caesarea, from which cities the districts are named; and he appointed two knights as governors over them. At this same period certain parts of Numidia also were attacked by the neighbouring barbarians, and then, when the latter had been defeated in battle, became quiet once more.

Claudius was now consul with Caius Largus. He allowed his colleague to serve for the whole year, but he himself retained the office for only two months at this time also. He made the others swear to uphold the acts of Augustus and took the oath himself, but with respect to his own acts he
ΔΙΟΣ ΡΟΜΑΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ

εαυτοῦ οὖνεν τὸ παράπαν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ἐπέτρεψε), καὶ ἔξιδον ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐθίς ὄμοσεν
2 ὧσπερ οἱ ἅλλοι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἢ ὡσάκις ὑπάτευσεν ἐγένετο· τότε δὲ λόγους τινὰς ἐν τῇ
νουμηρίᾳ τοῦ τε Ἀγροῦστον καὶ τοῦ Τιβέριον κατὰ δόγμα ἀναγεγραμμένους, ὅστε καὶ μέχρι
tῆς ἐσπέρας τοὺς θουλεύτας παρατείνεσθαι, ἔπαινεν, ἠρκῶν ἐναὶ φήσας ἐν ταῖς στήλαις
3 αὐτοὺς ἐγεγραφθαί. ἐπεί τε τινὲς τῶν στρατηγῶν
tῶν τῆν διοίκησιν ἐγκεχειρισμένων αὐτίαν ἠλαβοῦν,
οὔκ ἐπεξῆλθε μὲν σφίς, πιπράσκουσι δὲ τινα
cαὶ μισθοῦσιν ἐπίφοιτήσας πάνθ᾽ ὅσα ἐνόμιζε μὴ
cαλῶς ἠγνεσθαι διώρθωσε· καὶ τοῦτο καὶ αὐθίς
4 πολλάκις ἐποίησεν. ἀνωμάλως δὲ δὴ οἱ στρατη-
gοὶ ἄπεδείκνυτο· καὶ γὰρ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα καὶ
ὀκτωκαίδεκα, διὰ μέσου τε, ὡς ποῦ καὶ συνέπεσεν,
ἐνίγμωντο. τοῦτό τε οὖν περὶ τὴν διοίκησιν
ἐπράξε, καὶ τρεῖς ἄνδρας τῶν ἑστρατηγηκότων
πράκτορας τῶν τῷ δημοσίῳ ὁφειλομένων
cατέστησε, καὶ ῥαβδούχους καὶ τὴν ἄλλην
ὑπηρεσίαν αὐτοῖς δούσ.
11 Διμοῦ τε ἵσχυρον γενομένου, οὐ μόνον τῆς ἐν
τῷ τότε παρώντι ἀφθονίας τῶν τροφῶν ἅλλα καὶ
tῆς ἐς πάντα τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα αἴῶνα πρόνοιαν
2 ἐποίησατο. ἐπεσάκτου γὰρ παντὸς ὡς ἐπείν
τοῦ σιτοῦ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὄντος, ἢ χώρα ἢ πρὸς
tαῖς 1 τοῦ Τιβέριου ἐκβολαίς, οὔτε κατάρσεις
ἀσφαλείς οὔτε λιμένας ἐπιτιθείους ἔχουσα,
ἀνωφελεῖς σφίσι τὸ κράτος τῆς θαλάσσης ἐποίει:
ἐξὼ τε γὰρ τῶν τῆς ῥαφίας 2 ἐσκομισθέντων καὶ

1 ταῖς R. Steph., τοῖς M.
permitted nothing of the sort on the part of any of them; and on leaving office he again took the oath after the manner of the rest. This was always his practice every time that he was consul. He now abolished the custom, established by decree, of reading certain speeches of Augustus and Tiberius on New Year's day; for this procedure had kept the senators occupied until evening, and he declared that it was enough that the speeches were engraved on tablets. When some of the praetors who were entrusted with the financial administration incurred charges, he did not prosecute them, but visited them when they were making sales and executing leases and corrected whatever he regarded as an abuse; and he also took the same course in numerous other instances. The number of praetors appointed was not uniform; for now there would be fourteen and now eighteen, and again some number in between, just as it happened. Besides his action in the matter of the finances, he established a board of three ex-praetors to collect debts owed to the government, granting them lictors and the other customary assistants.

On the occasion of a severe famine he considered the problem of providing an abundant food-supply, not only for that particular crisis but for all future time. For practically all the grain used by the Romans was imported, and yet the region near the mouth of the Tiber had no safe landing-places or suitable harbours, so that their mastery of the sea was rendered useless to them. Except for the cargoes brought in during the summer season

2 ἡπατ v. Herw., ἡπατ M Xiph.
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ες τας ἀποθήκας ἀναχθέντων οὐδὲν τὴν χειμερινὴν ἐσεφοίτα, ἀλλ' εἰ τις παρεκινδύνευσε, κακῶς
3 ἀπήλλασσε. τούτῳ οὖν συνιδὼν λιμέα τε κατασκευάσας ἐπεχείρησεν, οὐδ' ἀπετράπῃ καίπερ τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων εἰπόντων αὐτῷ, πυθομένῳ πόσον τὸ ἀνάλογο ἔσοιτο, ὡς "οὐ θέλεις αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι:" οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους τοῦ δαπανήματος ἀναχαιτισθήναι αὐτόν, εἰ προπύθοιτο αὐτό, ἡλπίσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνεθυμήθη πράγμα καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ τῆς Ρώμης
4 ἄξιον καὶ ἐπετέλεσε. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔξορύξας τῆς ἡπείρου χωρίον ὅπως συκρόν, τὸ πέριξ πάν ἐκρηπίδωσε καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσεδέξατο· τούτῳ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πελάγει χώρατα ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτοῦ μεγάλα χώσας θάλασσαν ἐνταῦθα πολλῆν περιέβαλε, καὶ νήσον ἐν¹ αὐτῇ πῦργον τε ἐπ' 5 ἐκείνην φρυκτωρίαν ἔχοντα κατεστήσατο. ὁ μὲν οὖν λιμήν ὁ καὶ νῦν οὕτω κατὰ γε τὸ ἐπιχώριον ὅνομαζόμενον ὑπ' ἐκείνου τότε ἐποιήθη.² τήν δὲ δὴ λίμνην τὴν Φοικίνην τὴν τῶν Μαρσῶν ἔθελης μὲν ἐς τὸν Λέριν ἐξαγαγεῖν, ὡπως ἢ τε χώρα ἢ περὶ αὐτὴν γεωργήται καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ναυσίπορος μᾶλλον γενήται, μάτην δὲ δὴ ἐδαπανήθη.
6 Ἐνομοθέτησε μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα τινά, δὲν ὀνεδείμα μοι ἄλλως ἐπικαθέναι κατεδέξετε δὲ καὶ τάδε, τοὺς τε κληρωτὸς ἄρχοντας πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀπριλίον νομοθείας, ἐπείδθερ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἐνεχρόνιζον,

¹ ἐν Ἐκθ., ἐπὶ Μ Χιρβ.
² τότε ἐποιήθη Βκ., τε ἐποιήθη Μ.
³ ἄλλως Βκ., ἄλλη Μ.

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and stored in warehouses, they had no supplies for the winter; for if any one ever risked a voyage at that season, he was sure to meet with disaster. In view of this situation, Claudius undertook to construct a harbour, and would not be deterred even when the architects, upon his enquiring how great the cost would be, answered, “You don’t want to do it!” so confident were they that the huge expenditures necessary would shake him from his purpose, if he should learn the cost beforehand. He, however, conceived an undertaking worthy of the dignity and greatness of Rome, and he brought it to accomplishment. In the first place, he excavated a very considerable tract of land, built retaining walls on every side of the excavation, and then let the sea into it; secondly, in the sea itself he constructed huge mole walls on both sides of the entrance and thus enclosed a large body of water, in the midst of which he reared an island and placed on it a tower with a beacon light. This harbour, then, as it is still called in local parlance, 1 was created by him at this time. He furthermore desired to make an outlet into the Liris for the Fucine Lake in the Marsian country, in order not only that the land around it might be tilled but also that the river might be made more navigable. But the money was expended in vain.

He introduced a number of laws, most of which I need not mention; but I will record the following. The governors who were chosen by lot were to set out before the first day of April; for they had been in the habit of tarrying a long time in the city.

1 Portus Romanus, Portus Augusti, or simply Portus.
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ἀφορμᾶσθαι, καὶ τοὺς αἰρετοὺς μηδεμίαν οἱ χάριν

7 ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ γιγνώσκειν, ὅπερ κατά τι ἔθος ἐποίουν, εἴπων ὅτι "οὐχ οὔτοι ἔμοι χάριν ἔχειν ὥσπερ ἑσπονδαρχηκότες, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τούτοις ὅτι μοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν προθύμως συνδιά-

8 φέρονσι· καὶ ἂν γε καὶ καλῶς ἀρξωσι, πολὺ

мάλλον αὐτοὺς ἐπαίνεσον." τοῖς μὲν οὖν ὑπ' ἀνθενείας βίον μὴ δυναμένους βουλεύειν ἔφει 

παρίσθαι, ἕκ τε τῶν ἱπτέων τινὰς ἐς τὰς 

dημαρχίας ἐσεδέχετο· τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους καὶ πάντας ἑπηνάγκαζεν ἐς τὸ 

βουλευτήριον, ὀσάκις ἄν ἐπαγγελθῇ σφισι, συμφοιτᾶν. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν 

τούτῳ οὖτως ἱσχυρῶς τοῖς μὴ πειθαρχοῦσιν 

12 ἐπετίμα ὥστε τινὰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀναχρήσασθαι, ἐς 

dὲ δὴ τὰ ἄλλα κοινὸς καὶ ἐπιεικὴς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἢν, κάμνοντάς 

τε ἐπεσκέπτετο, καὶ ἐφορτάζουσί 

2 σφισι συνεγίμνετο. δημαρχεὶ τέ τινος πληγὰς 

doύλῳ αὐτοῦ δημοσία δόντος αὐτὸν μὲν οὖν ὅν 

κακὸν εἰργάσατο, τοὺς δ’ ὑπηρέτας αὐτοῦ ἀφελόμενος ἐπείτα καὶ ἐκείνους ὥν πολλῷ ὑπερικε 

νὰ ἀπέδωκε. δούλων τε ἐπερον αὐτοῦ, ὅτι τινὰ τῶν 

ἐπιφανῶν ὑβρίσεων ἐς τὴν ἁγορὰν πέμψα 

3 ἀπεμαστίγωσε. καὶ τῷ συνεδρίῳ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐξανιστάτο, εἰ ποτε ἐπὶ πολὺ οἱ ἄλλοι εἰστή-

κεσαν. 3 καθήμενος γὰρ, ὥσπερ εἰπον, ὑπὸ τὴς 

ἀρρωστίας πολλὰς ἀνεγιγνωσκέ τινα αἰτού-

μενος. Λουκίῳ δὲ δή Σύλλα καὶ ἐς τὸ τῶν 

στρατηγῶν βάθρων, ὅτι μὴ δυνηθείς ποτε ὑπὸ 

γῆρως ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἑδρας ἐπακούσαι τινα 

1 αὐτοῦ M, αὐτοῦ cod. Peir.
2 καὶ Leuncl. (καὶ ἐν), καὶ M cod. Peir.

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BOOK LX

And he would not permit those who were directly appointed to express any thanks to him in the senate, as it was their custom to do, for he declared: "These men ought not to thank me, as if they had been seeking office, but I should rather thank them, because they cheerfully help me to bear the burden of government; and if they acquit themselves well in office, I shall praise them much more still." Those who by reason of insufficient means were unable to be senators he permitted to resign, and he admitted some of the knights to the tribuneship; all the rest without exception he compelled to appear in the senate-chamber as often as notice should be given them. And he was so severe against those who were remiss in this regard that some killed themselves. In other respects, however, he was sociable and considerate in his dealings with them; he would visit them in sickness and would share in their festivities. When a tribune beat a slave of the emperor in public, Claudius did the offender no harm, merely depriving him of his attendants, and these he restored not long afterward. He sent another of his slaves to the Forum and caused him to be severely flogged because he had insulted a prominent man. In the senate the emperor would rise himself in case the others had been standing a long time; for by reason of his ill health he frequently remained seated, as I have related, and read his advice, if asked for it. He even permitted Lucius Sulla to sit on the praetors' bench because this man, being unable at one time by reason of his age to

\[1 \text{ In chap. 2, 2.} \]

\[2 \text{ εἰστήκεσαν St., εἰστήκεσαν M cod. Petr.} \]
4 ἀνέστη, καθισσθαι ἐπέτρεψεν. ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔν ἢ αὐτοκράτωρ τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει ἀπεδείχθη, αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον ἐπραξεν, πλὴν ὅτι τοῖς δορυφόροις πέντε καὶ εἰκοσι δραχμὰς ἔδωκεν, καὶ τούτῳ ἐπειτὰ κατ’ ἐτοὺς ἐποίησε τῶν μέντοι στρατηγῶν τινὰς ἐθελοῦνταί καὶ ἀπ’ οὐδενὸς ψήφισματος ἐκεῖνην τῇ ημέρᾳ καὶ τὰ γενέθλια τὰ τῆς Μεσσαλίνης δημοσία ἐτίμων.

5 οὐ γὰρ ποὺ καὶ πάντες αὐτὰ ἐποίουν, ἀλλ’ ὅσοι ἐβούλοντο τοσαύτην ἄδειαν εἰχὸν. οὔτω τε ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐς πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐμετράζειν ὡστε γεννηθέντος αὐτῶν νίεως, ὃς τότε μὲν Κλαύδιος Τιβέριος Γερμανίκος ὑστερον δὲ καὶ Βρεττανίκος ἐπωνυμάσθη, οὔτ’ ἀλλο τι ἐπιφανεῖς ἐπραξεν οὔτ’ Ἀὐγουστον αὐτὸν ἢ τὴν γε Μεσσαλίναν Ἀὐγουσταν ἐπικληθῆναι ἐφίκεν.

13 Ἐτίθει μὲν οὖν συνεχῶς μονομαχίας ἄγωνας· πάνυ γὰρ σφισίν ἔχαρεν, ὡστε καὶ αἰτιαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ σχεῖν ἀπώλλυντο δὲ θηρία μὲν ἐλάχιστα ἀνθρώποι δὲ πολλοί, οἱ μὲν ἀλλήλοις μαχόμενοι 2 οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπ’ ἐκείνων ἀναλούμενοι. τοὺς γὰρ δούλους τοὺς τ’ ἀπελευθέρωσεν τοὺς ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Παύου τοῖς δεσπόταις σφῶν ἐπιβουλεύσατες, τοὺς τε τῇ ἄλλῳ συκοφαντησαντάς τινας καὶ καταψευδομαρτυρήσαντάς τινων, δεινῶς ἐμύσει, καὶ αὐτών τοὺς μὲν πλείους οὕτως ἀνήλθοσκε, τοὺς δὲ ἐπερῶν τινα τρόπουν ἐκόλαξε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τοὺς δεσπότας αὐτοῖς 3 ἐπὶ τιμωρία παρεδίδου. τοσοῦτον δ’ οὖν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ θυνσκόντων ἐγίγνετο ὡστε καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀὐγουστον ἀνδριάντα τῶν ἐν τῷ

1 t' supplied by Oddey.
hear something from his regular seat, had stood up. On the first anniversary of the day on which he had been declared emperor he did nothing out of the ordinary, except to give the Pretorians a hundred sesterces, a thing that he did every year thereafter. Some of the praetors, however, of their own free will and not because of any decree, publicly celebrated not only that day but also the birthday of Messalina. Not all of them did this, but only such as saw fit; so great freedom of action did they enjoy. Indeed, Claudius showed so great moderation in all such matters that when a son was born to him (called at that time Claudius Tiberius Germaniens, but later also Britannicus), he did not make the occasion in any way conspicuous and would permit neither the title of Augustus to be given to the boy nor that of Augusta to Messalina.

He was constantly giving gladiatorial contests; for he took great pleasure in them, so that he even aroused criticism on this score. Very few wild beasts perished, but a great many human beings did, some of them fighting with one another and others being devoured by the animals. For the emperor cordially detested the slaves and freedmen who in the reigns of Tiberius and Gaius had conspired against their masters, as well as those who had laid information against others without cause or had borne false witness against them, and he accordingly got rid of most of them in the manner related, though he punished some in another way, and handed many over to their masters themselves for punishment. So great, indeed, was the number becoming of those who were publicly executed, that the statue of Augustus which stood on the spot was
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χωρίω ἐκείνῳ ἱδρυμένον ἔτερωσέν ποι μετενεχθήναι τοῦ δὴ μῆτε ἐφορᾶν αὐτοῦ τοὺς φόνους νομίζεσθαι μῆτε ἀεὶ κατακαλύπτεσθαι. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τούτῳ γέλωτα ὄφλισκανεν, εἰ δὴ ὁσα μηδὲ 1 τῶν χαλκῶν τῶν ἀναίσθητον δοκεῖν ὅραν ἥξιον, τοῦτον αὐτὸς διεπιμπλατο. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς διὰ μέσον τῆς θέας παρὰ τὸν αἱρόστον καὶ ἀντακοπτο-

5 τοιοῦτο τι θέαμα ὅραν 'Ρωμαίους· ὅτι δὲ δὴ σφαι κοινῶς τε ἐν τῇ θείᾳ συνήν καὶ παρεῖχεν ὡς ἐβούλοντο, καὶ κηρυξεί μὲν ἐλάχιστα ἐχρήτο, τὰ δὲ δὴ πλεῖον ἔς σανίδας γράφων διεδήλου, σφόδρα ἐπημεῖτο.

14 Ἐθισθεὶς δ' οὖν αἵματος καὶ φόνων ἀναπίμ-

πλασθαὶ προσπετέστερον καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις σφαγαῖς ἐχρῆστα. αὐτίοι δὲ τοῦτον οὗ τε Καισάρειοι 2 καὶ ἡ Μεσσαλίνα ἐγένοντο· ὅποτε γὰρ ἀποκτεῖναι τινὰ ἐθελήσειαν, ἐξεφόβουν αὐτὸν, κὰκ τοῦτον πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλοντο ποιεῖν ἔπετρε- 2 ποντό. καὶ πολλάκις γε 3 ἐξαπατιῶς ἐκπλαγεῖ

καὶ κελεύσας τινὰ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα περιδεοῦς ἀπολέσθαι, ἐπεῖτα ἀνενεγκών καὶ ἀναφοριβάς ἐπεξήριετε τε αὐτὸν, καὶ μαθὼν τὸ γεγονός ἐλυπεῖτό τε καὶ μετεγύρισκεν. ἥρξατο δὲ τῶν φῶνων 3 τοῦτων ἀπὸ Γαίου Ἀππίου Σιλανοῦ. τοῦτον γὰρ εὐγενέστατον τε ὄντα καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας τότε ἄρχοντα μεταπεμψάμενος ὡς τι αὐτοῦ δεόμενος, καὶ τὴν τε μητέρα οἱ τὴν τῆς Μεσσαλίνης

1 μηδὲ cod. Peir., om. M.
2 Καισάρειοι cod. Peir., καισάριοι M. 3 γε Xiph., τε M.
taken elsewhere, so that it should not either seem to be witnessing the bloodshed or else be always covered up. By this action Claudius brought ridicule upon himself, as he was gorging himself upon the very sights that he did not think it fitting for even the inanimate bronze to seem to behold. He used to delight especially in watching those who were cut down during the intermission in the spectacle at lunch time; and yet he had put to death a lion that had been trained to eat men and therefore greatly pleased the crowd, claiming that it was not fitting for Romans to gaze on such a sight. But for certain acts he was loudly praised—for mingling freely with the people at the spectacles, for providing them with all they wanted, and also because he made very little use of heralds but instead announced most events by means of notices written on boards.

After he had become accustomed, then, to feast his fill on blood and carnage, he had recourse more readily to other kinds of murder. The imperial freedmen and Messalina were responsible for this; for whenever they desired to obtain any one's death, they would terrify Claudius and as a result would be allowed to do everything they chose. Often, when in a moment of sudden alarm his immediate terror had led him to order some one's death, he afterwards, when he recovered and came to his senses, would search for the man and on learning what had happened would be grieved and repentant. He began this series of murders with Gaius Appius Silanus. He had sent for this man, who was of very noble family, and governor of Spain at the time, pretending that he required a service of him, had married him to Messalina's mother, and had for some time held
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συνοικίσας, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τε τοῖς φιλτάτοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς συγγενεστάτοις χρόνον τινὰ τιμήσας, ἔπειτ᾽ ἐξαίφνης ἐσφαζεν, ὅτι τῇ τε Μεσσαλίνῃ προσέκρουσεν οὐκ ἔθελήσας αὐτῇ συγγενέσθαι πορικωτάτη τε καὶ ἀσελγεστάτη οὕση, καὶ τῷ Ναρκίσσῳ τῷ ἀπελευθέρω αὐτοῦ δι᾽ ἐκείνην.

καὶ οὔ γὰρ ἔχον οὐτ' ἀληθεῖς οὔτε πιθανὸν τι κατ' αὐτὸν εἶπεν, συνεπλασεν ὅναρ ὁ Ναρκίσσος ὃς σφαττόμενον τὸν Κλαύδιον ὑπὸ τοῦ Σιλανοῦ αὐτοχειρία ἱδὼν, καὶ αὐτὸς τε εὐθὺς ὑπὸ τὴν ἐω ἐν τῇ εὐνή οἱ ἔτ᾽ ὄντι ὑπότρομος διηγήσατο, καὶ η Μεσσαλίνα παραλαβοῦσα ἐδείνωσε.

15 Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως εὖ ἐνυπνίον παραπόλετο, τελευτήσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ οὐκέτι χρηστὴν ἐλπίδα οἱ Ἐρωμαῖοι τοῦ Κλαύδιον ἑσχον, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς αὐτὸ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀννίς Ὀὐνικιανὸς ἐπεθρύλευσεν. οὕτως τε γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Γαίου θανατον προβληθέντων ἦν, καὶ τι καὶ ἐκ τούτου δεδίως ἐνεωτέρισεν ἐπειδ' ἂν ὀυδέμιαν ἰσχύν ἐκέκτητο, ἐπεμψε πρὸς Φούριου Κάμιλλον Σκριβωνιανὸν τής τε Δελματίας ἄρχοντα καὶ δύναμιν συχνὴν πολιτικὴν καὶ ξενικὴν ἔχοντα, καὶ προσανεπείσεν αὐτὸν καὶ καθ' ἐαυτὸν διανοούμενον ἐπαναστήματι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι ἐπίδοξος ἀυταρχήσειν ἐγεγόνει. πράξαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν συχνὸν μὲν καὶ βούλευταί καὶ ἰππῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄρμησα τὶς τίς τού Καμίλλου τὸ τε τοῦ δήμου σφίσιν ὅνομα

1 οἴ Xiph. Zon., om. M.
2 Οὐνικιανὸς Xyl., οὐνικιανὸς M (but οὐνικιανὸς § 5) Xiph., βινικιανὸς Zon.

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him in honour among those nearest and dearest to him. Then he suddenly killed him. The reason was that Silanus had offended Messalina, the most abandoned and lustful of women, in refusing to lie with her, and by this slight shown to her had alienated Narcissus, the emperor's freedman. As they had no true or even plausible charge to bring against him, Narcissus invented a dream in which he declared he had seen Claudius murdered by the hand of Silanus; then at early dawn, while the emperor was still in bed, trembling all over he related to him the dream, and Messalina, taking up the matter, exaggerated its significance.

Thus Silanus perished because of a mere vision. After his death the Romans no longer cherished fair hopes of Claudius, and Annius Vinicianus with some others straightway formed a plot against him. Annius was one of those who had been proposed for the throne after the death of Gaius, and it was partly fear inspired by this circumstance that caused him to rebel. As he possessed no military force, however, he sent to Furius Camillus Scribonianus, the governor of Dalmatia, who had a large body of citizen and foreign troops, and enlisted his support; for Camillus was already making his own plans for an uprising, more especially because he had been spoken of for emperor. When Annius had got thus far, many senators and knights flocked to him; [but they were of no avail], for the soldiers, when Camillus held out to them the hope of seeing the

3 φούριον R, Steph., φρούριον M Χιρ. Ζων.
4 πολιτική supplied by Xyl.
5 Lacuna recognized by Xyl., τούτων δ' οὐκ ἄπώρατο supplied by Oddey.
προτείνοντος καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐλευθερίαν ἀποδώσειν ὑπισχυμένου, ὑπώπτευσαν πράγματα ἀνθίσει καὶ στάσεις ἐξειν, καὶ οὔκετι αὐτῷ ἐπείσθησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τούτου φοβηθεὶς σφας ἔφυγε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ὀσαν τὴν νήσου ἔλθων ἐνταῦθα ἐκούσιος ἀπέθανε. Κλαύδιος δὲ τέως μὲν πάνω κατέδεισεν, ὡστε καὶ ἐθελοντὴς ἐτοίμως ἐξειν τὸν κράτος αὐτῷ ἐκστήναι, τότε δὲ ἀναθαρσήσας τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας ἄλλους τὲ πιστὶς ἡμείσφατο καὶ τῷ τὰ πολιτικὰ αὐτῶν στρατόπεδα, τὸ τε ἐβδομον καὶ τὸ ἐνδέκατον, καὶ Κλαύδιεια καὶ πιστὰ καὶ ἐυσεβῆ καὶ πρὸς τῆς Βουλῆς ἐπονομασθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ συνεπιβουλεύσαντας αὐτῷ ἄνεξῆτησε, καὶ πολλοὺς ἑπὶ τούτῳ ἄλλους τε καὶ στρατηγῶν τινα, προσπειπόντα τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀπέκτεινε. συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ έαυτοὺς, ἄλλου τε καὶ ὁ Οὐσαλιανός, κατεχρήσαντο. τῆς γὰρ ἀφορμῆς ταύτης ἢ τε 1 Μεσσαλίνα καὶ ὁ Νάρκισσος, ὅσοι τε συνεξελεύθεροι αὐτῶν, λαβόμενοι οὐδὲν ὁ τι τῶν δεινοτάτων οὐκ ἐποίησαν. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς δούλοις τοῖς τε ἀπελευθέρωσις μηνυταὶς κατὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν αὐτῶν ἔχρωτο. καὶ 2 τούτως τε καὶ ἔτερους καὶ πάνω εὐγενεῖς, οὐχ ότι ξένους ἄλλα καὶ πολίτας, οὐχ ότι δημότας ἄλλα καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἰππέων τῶν τε Βουλευτῶν τινας, ἐβασάνιζον, καίτοι τοῦ Κλαύδιον κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς εὐθὺς τῆς ἱγεμονίας ὁμόσαυτος μυθένα μεισανεῖν ἐλευθερον. 16 ἄνδρες τε οὖν ἐν τούτῳ πολλοὶ καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ γε εὐσίν αἰ τῶ δεσμωτηρίῳ, ἐκοιλάσθησαν. μέλλουσαι τε ἀποθνῄσκειν ἐπὶ βῆμα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνήγουτο δεδεμέναι ὡσπερ αἰχμάλωτοι, καὶ τὰ

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republic restored and promised to give back to them their ancient freedom, suspected that they should have trouble and strife once more, and would therefore no longer listen to him. At this he became frightened and fled from them, and coming to the island of Issa he there took his life. Claudius for a time had been in great terror, and had been ready to abdicate his power voluntarily in Camillus' favour; but he now recovered courage. He first rewarded the soldiers in various ways, especially by causing the legions composed of citizens (the seventh and the eleventh) to be named Claudian and Loyal and Patriotic by the senate. Then he sought out those who had plotted against him, and on this charge put many to death, among others a praetor, who first was made to resign his office. Several, indeed, including Viniciannus, committed suicide. For Messalina and Narcissus and all the latter's fellow-freedmen seized this opportunity to wreak their direst vengeance. They employed slaves and freedmen, for instance, as informers against their own masters. These masters and others of the highest birth, foreigners and citizens alike, and not only plebeians, but some of the knights and senators as well, were put to the torture, in spite of the fact that Claudius at the very beginning of his reign had sworn not to torture any freeman. Many men, therefore, and women, too, were executed at this time, some of the latter even meeting their fate in the very prison itself. And when they were to die, the women, too, were led in chains upon a scaffold,

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1 τε Βk., γε M.  
2 ηδι supplied by Βk.
Σώματα καὶ ἐκείνων ἐς τοὺς ἀναβαςμοὺς ἐρρυπτεῖτο· τῶν γὰρ ἔξω ποιν θανατωθέντων αἱ 2 κεφαλαὶ μόναι ἐνταῦθα προετίθεντο. ἦδη δ' οὖν τινες καὶ τῶν πάνω υπαιτίων, οἱ μὲν χάρισιν οἱ ἀκεῖ καὶ χρήμασιν, ὑπὸ τε τῆς Μεσσαλίνης καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τῶν Νάρκισσον Καισαρείων 1 περιεγένοντο. καὶ οἱ γε παιδεῖς τῶν ἀπολλυμένων την μὲν ἀδειαν πάντες, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ χρήματα 3 ἐλάμβανον. ἐκρίνοντο δὲ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ, τοῦ της Κλαυδίου καὶ τῶν ἐπάρχων τῶν τε ἐξελευθέρων αὐτοῦ παρόντων· τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐσήγησιν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπὶ δίφρου ἀρχικοῦ ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ βάθρου καθήμενος ἐποιεῖτο, μετὰ δὲ τούτο αὐτὸς τε ἐπὶ τὴν συνήθη ἔδραν μετήρχετο, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι οἱ δίφροι ἐτίθεντο.

4 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν μεγίστων ὀμοίως ἐγένετο· τότε δὲ Γάλαισος τις ἀπελεύθερος τοῦ Καμίλλου πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἔσαξθεις ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐπαρρησιάσατο, ἐν 5 δὲ δὴ καὶ τόδε μνήμης ἄξιον. τοῦ γὰρ Νάρκισσον παρελθόντος ἐς τὸ μέσον καὶ εἰπόντος αὐτῷ "τί ἂν ἐποίησας, Γάλαισε, εἰ Κάμιλλος ἐμεμοναρχή-κει;" ἀπεκρίνατο ὁτι "εἰστήκειν 2 ἂν ὀπισθεν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσιώπων." αὐτὸς τε οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ Ἀρρία αὐ ἐφ' ἐτέρῳ ὄνομαστοι ἐγένοντο.

6 αὕτη γὰρ γυνὴ Καικίνου Παιτοῦ 3 οὖθα οὔτ' ἤθελησε θανατωθέντος αὐτοῦ ξῆσαι, καὶ περὶ καὶ ἐν τιμῇ τινι εἶναι δυναμένη (τῇ γὰρ Μεσσαλίνῃ σφόδρα ωκείωτο), καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῶν ἄνδρα ἀποδειλιώντα ἐπέρρωσε· τὸ γὰρ ἔσθεν λαβοῦσα

1 Καισαρείων R. Steph., καίσαριῶν M.
like captives, and their bodies, also, were thrown out upon the Stairway; for in the case of those who were executed anywhere outside the city, only the heads were exhibited there. Some of the most guilty, nevertheless, by means of favours or bribes saved their lives with the help of Messalina and the imperial freedmen in the following of Narcissus. All the sons of those who were put to death were granted immunity and some also received money. The accused were tried in the senate in the presence of Claudius, the prefects and the freedmen. He would read the charge seated between the consuls on a chair of state or on a bench; then he would go to his accustomed seat and chairs would be placed for the consuls. This same procedure was followed on other occasions of great importance.

It was at this time that Galaesus, a freedman of Camillus, upon being brought before the senate, indulged in great freedom of speech generally, and made one remark in particular that is worth reporting. Narcissus had taken the floor and said to him: "What would you have done, Galaesus, if Camillus had become emperor?" He replied: "I would have stood behind him and kept my mouth shut." So he became famous for this remark, as did Arria for another. This woman, who was the wife of Caecina Paetus, refused to live after he had been put to death, although, being on very intimate terms with Messalina, she might have occupied a position of some honour. Moreover, when her husband displayed cowardice, she strengthened his resolution; for she took the sword and wounded herself, then

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2 εἰστήκων Ζων., εἰστήκων Μ exc. Vat.
3 Παίτων Catanensis, υπάτων Μ Ζων.
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

έαυτήν τε ἔτρωσε, καὶ ἐκεῖνω ὄρεξεν εἰποῦσα
7 Ἰδοὺ, Παῦτε, ὅν καὶ ἀλγὼ.” καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπηροοῦντο· ἤδη γὰρ ὕπο τῆς συνεχείας τῶν κακῶν ἐς τοῦτο ἐς τά πράγματα προελθήθει ὡστ’ ἀρετὴν μηκέτ’ ἀλλ’ ἑδὲν ἢ τὸ γενναῖος ἀποθανεῖν νομίζεσθαι. Κλαύδιος δὲ οὕτω ποι ἔτος τὴν τιμωρίαν τῇ τε ἐκείνων καὶ τῇ τῶν ἄλλων ἔσχεν ὡστε καὶ σύνθημα τοῖς στρατιώταις τὸ ἔπος τοῦτο συνεχὸς διδόμα, τὸ ὡς κρη “ἄνδρα ἀπαμώνασθαι” ἢτο τις 8 πρότερος χαλεπῆς.” καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους καὶ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν τοιούτῳτροπα ἐλληνιστὶ παρεφθέγγετο, ὡστε καὶ γέλωτα παρὰ τοῖς δυναμένοις ἔστων ἀυτῶν συνεῖν ὁφλισκών, τότε μὲν δὴ ταυτά τε ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι τελευτήσαντός σφῶν ἐνὸς αὐτῶν τὴν γερουσίαν ἐς τὸ τὸν δημαρχήσατο αὐτικατάστησαι, κατ’ οἱ τῶν ὕπατων παροίται, ἥθροισαν.

17 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Κλαύδιος ὑπατεύσασα αὐθίς τὸ τρίτων πολλὰς μὲν θυσίας πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἱερομηνίας ἔπαυσε· τὸ τε γὰρ πλείστων τοῦ ἔτους ἐς αὐτῶς ἀνηλίκεσκετο, καὶ τὸ δημοσίως ξημία ὁμίχ. 2 ἐλαχίστη ἐγέρετο. ταυτάς τε οὐν συνετείμε, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐνεδέχετο συνεστείλε. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαϊοῦ μῆτε ἐν δίκη μῆτε ἐν λόγῳ τινὶ δοθέντα τισθο ἀπήτησε, τοῖς δὲ ὀδοποιοῖς ἀπέδωκεν ὅσα ἐπ’ αὐτῶν διὰ τὸν Κορβούλωνα ἐς 3 μίωτο. πρὸς δὲ ἐτὶ τοῖς ἀρχοντοῖς κληρωτοῖς, βραδεῖς ἐτὶ καὶ τότε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξουρμομένοις, προείπε πρὶν μεσοῦ τοῦ ’Απρίλιου ἀπαίρειν.

1 Παῦτε Perizonius, παῦε M Zon.
2 ἀπαμώνασθαι Xiph. Zon. exc. Vat., ἀπαμώνεσθαι M.

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handed it to him, saying: "See, Paetus, I feel no pain." These two persons, then, were accorded praise; for by reason of the long succession of woes matters had now come to such a pass, that excellence no longer meant anything else than dying nobly. But as for Claudius, he was so intent upon punishing those mentioned and others that he constantly gave to the soldiers as a watchword that verse about its being necessary "to avenge yourself upon one who first has injured you." ¹ He kept throwing out many other hints of that sort in Greek both to them and to the senate, with the result that those who could understand any of them laughed at him. These were some of the events of that period. Also the tribunes upon the death of one of their number convened the senate themselves for the purpose of appointing his successor, even though the consuls were at hand.

When Claudius now became consul again, for the third time, he abolished many days of thanksgiving and many holidays. For the greater part of the year was being given up to them, with no small detriment to the public business. Besides thus curtailing the holidays, he retrenched in all other ways that he could. What had been given away by Gaius without any justice or reason he demanded back from the recipients; but he gave back to the highway commissioners the amount of the fines they had paid in the reign of Gaius at the instigation of Corbulo. Moreover, he gave notice to the governors chosen by the lot, since they were slow even now about leaving the city, that they must begin their journey before the middle of April. He reduced

¹ Hom. Il. 24, 369; Odys. 16, 72; 21, 133.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

toûς τε Δυκίους στασιάσαντας, ὡστε καὶ Ῥω-

μαίους τινὰς ἀποκτείνας, ἐδούλωσατό τε καὶ ἐς
4 τὸν τῆς Παμφυλίας νομὸν ἐσέγραψεν. ἐν δὲ δὴ

τῇ διαγράφει ταύτῃ (ἐποιεῖτο δὲ αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ

βουλευτηρίῳ) ἐπώθετο τῇ Δατίνων γλώσσῃ τῶν

πρεσβευτῶν τινός, Δυκίου μὲν τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντος

Ῥωμαίου δὲ γεγονότος καὶ αὐτὸν, ἐπείδη μὴ

συνήκε τὸ λεχθὲν, τὴν πολιτείαν ωφείλετο, εἰπὼν

μὴ δεῖν Ῥωμαίον εἶναι τῶν μὴ καὶ τὴν διάλεξιν

5 σφών ἐπιστάμενον. συνχως δὲ δὴ καὶ ἄλλους

καὶ ἀναξίους 1 ὑπῆκλασε, καὶ ἐτέροις

αὐτὴν καὶ πάνω ἀνέδην, 2 τοῖς μὲν κατ’ ἄνδρα τοῖς

dὲ καὶ αὐθρόοις, ἐδίδουν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐν πᾶσιν ὡς

eἰπεῖν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν ἔξων προετέριμητο,

πολλοὶ αὐτὴν παρὰ τε αὐτοῦ ἔκεινον ἄτοῦντο

καὶ παρὰ τῆς Μεσσαλίνης τῶν τε Καισαρείων 3

6 ὄνομντο: καὶ διὰ τούτο μεγάλων τὸ πρῶτον

χρημάτων πραδείσα, ἐπειθ’ οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆς εὐχε-

ρείας ἐπευνώνυσθη ὡστε καὶ λογοποιηθῆναι ὅτι

cαὶ δύσινα 4 τις σκεύη συντετριμμένα δῷ τωι

7 πολίτης ἐσταί. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τούτῳ διεσκόπτετο,

ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνῳ ἐπηνείτο ὅτι πολλῶν συκοφαντο-

μένων, τῶν μὲν ὅτι τῇ τοῦ Κλαυδίου προσφησεὶ

οὐκ ἐχρῶντο, τῶν δὲ ὅτι μηδὲν αὐτῶ τελευτῶντες

1 van Herwerden proposes ἧς καὶ ἀναξίους (“on the
ground that they were unworthy”).
2 ἀνέδην Leuncl., ἀναίδην M.
3 Καισαρείων R. Steph., καῖσαρλος M.
4 δύσινα Xiph., δύσια M.

1 See critical note.
the Lycians to servitude because they had revolted and slain some Romans, and he incorporated them in the prefecture of Pamphylia. During the investigation of this affair, which was conducted in the senate, he put a question in Latin to one of the envoys who had originally been a Lycian, but had been made a Roman citizen; and when the man failed to understand what was said, he took away his citizenship, saying that it was not proper for a man to be a Roman who had no knowledge of the Romans' language. A great many other persons unworthy of citizenship were also deprived of it, whereas he granted citizenship to others quite indiscriminately, sometimes to individuals and sometimes to whole groups. For inasmuch as Romans had the advantage over foreigners in practically all respects, many sought the franchise by personal application to the emperor, and many bought it from Messalina and the imperial freedmen. For this reason, though the privilege was at first sold only for large sums, it later became so cheapened by the facility with which it could be obtained that it came to be a common saying, that a man could become a citizen by giving the right person some bits of broken glass. For his course in this matter, therefore, Claudius brought ridicule upon himself; but he was praised for his conduct in another direction. It seems that information was being laid against many of the new citizens, in some instances to the effect that they were not adopting Claudius' name, and in others that they were not leaving him anything at

2 That is, they were not adding the name Claudius or Claudianus to their original names, after the manner of manumitted slaves.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

κατέλειπτον, ώς καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ὅν τοῖς τῆς πολιτείας παρ' αὐτοῦ τυχοῦσιν ἐκάτερον ποιεῖν, 8 ἀπηγόρευσε μηδένα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εὐθύνεσθαι. ἢ δ' οὖν Μεσσαλίνα οἱ τε ἀπελεύθεροι αὐτοῦ οὕτως οὐ τὴν πολιτείαν μόνον οὐδὲ τὰς στρατείας καὶ τὰς ἐπιτροπεῖας τάς τε ἱγεμονίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τᾶλα πάντα ἀφειδῶς ἐπώλουν καὶ ἐκατηλευσαν ὅστε σπανίσαι πάντα τὰ όντα, κἂν τοῦτον καὶ τὸν Κλαύδιον ἀναγκασθήναι ἐς τὸ Ἀρείου πεδίου συμαγαγεῖν τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ βήματος τὰς τιμὰς αὐτῶν διατάξας. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὁπλομαχίας ἀγώνα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, χλαμῦδα ἐνδύσα, ἔθηκε· τὰ δὲ δὴ γενέθλια τὰ τοῦ νίεσ αὐτοῦ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐθέλονταί θέας τέ τινος ποιήσει καὶ δείπνων ἑώρτασαν. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ αὐθις, ὅσοις γε καὶ ἐδοξίζην αὐτῶν, ἐπράξατο.

18 Μεσσαλίνα δὲ ἐν τούτῳ αὐτῇ τε ἰσέλυανε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας γυναῖκας ἀκολαστάνειν ὁμοίως ἱμάγκαξε, καὶ πολλάς γε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ παλατίῳ, τῶν ἀνδρῶν παρόντων καὶ ὀρόντων, μοιχεύσεθαι ἐποίει. καὶ ἐκείνους μὲν καὶ ἐφίλει καὶ ἡγάπα, τιμαῖς τε καὶ ἄρχαις ἡγαλλε, τους δ' ἄλλους τοὺς μὴ συγκαθιεύνας σφᾶς ἐς τοῦτο καὶ ἐμίσει καὶ πάντα τρόπου ἀπωλλυε. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι τοιαύτα τε ὄντα καὶ ἀναφανδὸν οὕτω γιγνόμενα

3 τὸν Κλαύδιον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐλαθεν· ἐκείνῳ τε γὰρ θεραπανιδία 4 τινα συμπαρακατέκλινε, καὶ

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1 κατέλειπτον Η. Steph., κατέλειπον M.
2 After ἐκάτερον a leaf is lost from M. Its place is taken by L' (see Introd., Vol. I., p. xxv).
3 πάντα τρόπον Xiph., om. L'.
4 θεραπανιδία Xiph., θεραπανιδα L', θεραπανιδί cod. Peir.

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their death—it being incumbent, they said, upon those who obtained citizenship from him to do both these things. Claudius now forbade that any one should be called to account on these grounds. Messalina and his freedmen kept offering for sale and peddling out not merely the franchise and military commands, procuratorships, and governorships, but also everything in general, to such an extent that there was a scarcity of all wares; and as a result Claudius was compelled to muster the populace in the Campus Martius, and there from a raised platform to fix the prices of the various articles. Claudius also gave a gladiatorial contest at the camp, on which occasion he wore a military cloak. His son's birthday was observed by the praetors on their own initiative with a spectacle and dinners. This was also done on later occasions, at least by such of them as chose to do so.

In the meantime Messalina was not only exhibiting her own licentiousness but was also compelling the other women to show themselves equally unchaste. She made many of them commit adultery in the very palace itself while their husbands were present and looked on. Such men she loved and cherished and rewarded them with honours and offices; but others, who would not offer their wives for such business, she hated and brought to destruction in every possible way. These deeds, however, though of such a nature and carried on so openly, for a long time escaped the notice of Claudius; for Messalina took care of him by giving him sundry house-

1 Because monopolies of selling them had been granted for huge sums to avaricious tradesmen.
2 The camp of the Pretorians is meant.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

toûς τι δυναμένους οἱ μηνύσαι τοὺς μὲν εὐεργεσίαις
toûς δὲ καὶ τιμωρίαις προκατελάμβανεν, ὦσπερ καὶ
tότε καὶ Κατώνιου Ἰούστου τοῦ τε δορυφορικοῦ
ἀρχοντα καὶ δηλώσαι τι αὐτῶ περὶ τούτων ἐθέ-
4 λήσαντα προδιέφθειρε. τήν τε Ἰουλίαν τήν τοῦ
Δρούσου μὲν τοῦ Τιβερίου παιδὸς θυγατέρα, τοῦ
dὲ δὴ Νέρωνος τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ γυναικα γενομένης,
ζηλοτυπήσασα ώσπερ καὶ τήν ἐτέραν, ὑπέσφαξε.
καὶ τις ἐν τούτω τῶν ἱππέων, ὦς καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσας
τῷ Κλαυδίῳ, κατὰ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ὕπο τε τῶν
dημάρχων καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων κατεκρημύσθη.

19 Ἔν μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει ταύτ' ἐγίγνετο, κατὰ δὲ τῶν
αὐτῶν τούτων χρόνων Αἰλὸς Πλαύτιος βουλευτῆς
λογιμωτάτος ἐς τὴν Βρετανίαν ἐστράτευσε: Βέρικος
γάρ τις ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ τῆς νῆσου κατὰ
στάσιν ἐπείσε τὸν Κλαυδίου δύναμιν ἐς αὐτῇν
2 πέμψας. καὶ οὕτως ο Πλαύτιος στρατηγήσας
τὸ μὲν στράτευμα χαλεπῶς ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας
ἐξήγαγεν ὡς γὰρ ἐξὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης στρατεύ-
σοντες ἡγανάκτουν, καὶ οὐ προτέρον ἡς αὐτῶ
ἐπείσθησαν πρὶν τὸν Νάρκισσον ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλαυ-
δίου πεμφθέντα ἀναβήναι τε ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Πλαύτιον
3 βῆμα καὶ δημηγορήσας τι ἐθελήσαι τότε γὰρ
πολλῷ ποὺ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ αὐτῶ ἄχθεσθέντες οὔτε
τι ἐκεῖνω εἰπεῖν ἐπέτρεψαν, συμβοηθήσαντες ἐξαι-
φυς τοῦτο δὴ τὸ θρυλούμενον "ἀδ σατουρνάλιαν,
ἐπειδήπερ ἐν τοῖς Κροῖνιοι οἱ δούλοι τὸ τῶν
dεσποτῶν σχῆμα μεταλαμβάνοντες ἐρωτάζοντον,
kai τῷ Πλαύτῳ ἐυθὺς ἐκούσιοι συνέσποντο.1

1 συνέσποντο R. Steph., συνέσποντο L'.

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maids to lie with, and took care of those who could give him any information by either showing them favours or inflicting punishment upon them. For example, she put out of the way at this time Catonius Justus, commander of the pretorian guard, before he could carry out his intention of telling the emperor something about these doings. And becoming jealous of Julia, the daughter of Drusus, Tiberius' son, and later the wife of Nero Germanicus, just as she had been jealous of the other Julia, she caused her to be slain. Also at this time one of the knights, who was charged with having conspired against Claudius, was hurled down from the Capitoline by the tribunes and the consuls.

While these events were happening in the city, Aulus Plautius, a senator of great renown, made a campaign against Britain; for a certain Bericus, who had been driven out of the island as the result of an uprising, had persuaded Claudius to send a force thither. Thus it came about that Plautius undertook this campaign; but he had difficulty in inducing his army to advance beyond Gaul. For the soldiers were indignant at the thought of carrying on a campaign outside the limits of the known world, and would not yield him obedience until Narcissus, who had been sent out by Claudius, mounted the tribunal of Plautius and attempted to address them. Then they became much angrier at this and would not allow Narcissus to say a word, but suddenly shouted with one accord the well-known cry, "Io Saturnalia" (for at the festival of Saturn the slaves don their masters' dress and hold festival), and at once right willingly followed Plautius. Their delay, however, had

1 The sister of Caligula; see chap. 8, 5.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τὴν μὲν οὖν ὁρμὴν χρονίαν διὰ ταύτ' ἐποιήσαντο,
4 τριχῇ δὲ δὴ νεμηθέντες ὅπως μὴ καθ' ἐν περαιοῦ-
μενοι κωλυθῶσι ποι προσσχεῖν,1 καὶ τῷ διάπλῳ
τὸ μὲν τὶ δυσφορίσαντες ἔπειδὴ ἐπαλινδρόμησαν,
τὸ δὲ ἀναθαρσήσαντες ὅτι λαμπὰς ἀπὸ τῶν
ἀνατολῶν ἀρθείσα πρὸς τάς δυσμᾶς ἤπερ ἔπλεον
dιέδραμε, κατήραν ἐς τὴν νῆσον μηδενὸς σφισσὶν
5 ἐναντιωθέντος οἱ γὰρ Βρεττανοὶ μὴ προσδοκη-
σαντες αὐτοὺς δι᾽ ἄπερ ἐπυθάνοντο ἦξειν, οὐ
Pροσυνελέγησαν. οὐ μὴν οὖδε τότε ἐς χεῖρας
αὐτοῖς ἦλθοιν, ἀλλ' ἐς τα ἐξή καὶ ἐς τὰς ὑλάς
κατέφυγον, ἑπτάσαντες σφας ἄλλως κατατρίψειν,
ὡσθ', ὅπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Καῖσαρος τοῦ Ἰουλίου ἐγεγόνει,
dιὰ κενῆς αὐτοῦς ἀναπλεῦσαν.

20 ὃ οὖν Πλαύτιος πολλὰ μὲν πράγματα ἀναζη-
tῶν σφας ἔσχεν, ἔπει δὲ εὐρέ ποτε (悍αν δὲ οὐκ
ἀυτόνομοι ἄλλ' ἄλλοι ἄλλοις 2 βασιλεύσι προσ-
tεταγμένοι), πρῶτον μὲν Καράτακον 3 ἔπειτα
Τογόδουμον, Κυνοβελλίνου 4 παῖδας, ἐνίκησεν: 2
αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐτεθηκεὶ. ψυγνώτων δὲ ἐκεῖνων προσ-
ἐποιήσατο ὀμολογία μέρος τι τῶν Βοδούνων, διὸ
ἐπὶ ἵππον Κατουελλαιοῖς ὄντες, κανταῦθα φρουρῶν
καταλπῶν πρόσω ἤει. ὡς δ' ἐπὶ ποταμῷ τινὶ 5
ἐγένοντο ὅπως οὐκ ὕστο ὁι βάρβαροι δυνῆσεσθαι
tοὺς 'Ρωμαίους ἄνευ γεφύρας διαβῆσαι, καὶ διὰ
tοῦτο ἀμελέστερον πως ἐπὶ τῆς ὅχθης αὐτοῦ τῆς
κατ' ἀνιπέραν 6 ἡπὶ ἱππότου, διαπεμπτεὶ 7 Κελτοῦς,

1 προσσχεῖν Bk., προσχεῖν L'.
2 ἄλλ· ἄλλοι ἄλλοις Bk., following Leuncl. (ἄλλ· ἄλλοις
ἄλλοι), ἄλλ· ἄλλοις L'.
3 Καράτακον Bs., καταράτακον L'.
4 Κυνοβελλίνου R. Steph., κυνοβελλίνου L'.
5 M resumes with τιν.
6 Κελτούς.

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made their departure late in the season. They were sent over in three divisions, in order that they should not be hindered in landing,—as might happen to a single force,—and in their voyage across they first became discouraged because they were driven back in their course, and then plucked up courage because a flash of light rising in the east shot across to the west, the direction in which they were sailing. So they put in to the island and found none to oppose them. For the Britons as a result of their inquiries had not expected that they would come, and had therefore not assembled beforehand. And even when they did assemble, they would not come to close quarters with the Romans, but took refuge in the swamps and the forests, hoping to wear out the invaders in fruitless effort, so that, just as in the days of Julius Caesar, they should sail back with nothing accomplished.

Plautius, accordingly, had a deal of trouble in searching them out; but when at last he did find them, he first defeated Caratacus and then Togodumnus, the sons of Cynobellinus, who was dead. (The Britons were not free and independent, but were divided into groups under various kings.) After the flight of these kings he gained by capitulation a part of the Bodunni, who were ruled by a tribe of the Catuellani; and leaving a garrison there, he advanced farther and came to a river. The barbarians thought that the Romans would not be able to cross it without a bridge, and consequently bivouacked in rather careless fashion on the opposite bank; but he sent across a detachment of Germans, who were

6 κατ' άντιπέραν R. Steph., κατ' άντιπέρα M.
7 διαπέμπει Capps, πέμπει M.
ois ἔθος ἦν καὶ διὰ τῶν ῥωδεστάτων ῥαδίως αὐτοῖς
3 ὁπλοῖς διανήχεσθαι. καὶ ἐπείδη ἐκεῖνοι παρὰ
dόξαν τοῖς ἐναντίοις προσπεσόντες τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν
οὐδένα ἐβαλλον, τοὺς δ' ἵππους τοὺς τὰ ἄρματα
ἀυτῶν ἀγοντας ἐπὶ τρωσκον, καὶ τοῦτον ταρατ-
tομένων σφῶν οὐδ' οἱ ἐπιβάται ἄσφαλεῖς εἶναι
ἐδώματο, ἐπιδείκνυον τὸν τε Οὐσπασιανὸν τὸν
Φλάωμινον ἕν τὸν καὶ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα μετὰ ταῦτα
ἀρχὴν λαβόντα, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Ῥαβίνον
4 ὑποστρατηγοῦντι οὐ καὶ οὕτω διελθόντες πη καὶ
ἐκεῖνοι τὸν ποταμὸν συχνοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ
προσδεχομένους ἀπέκτειναν. οὐ μέντοι οἱ λοιποὶ
ἔφυγον, ἀλλὰ τῆς ὑστεραίας αὐτῆς συμβαλόντες
σφίζων ἀγγώμαλα ἡγομένατο, πρὶν δὴ Γναῖος 2
'Οσίδιος Ἐκας κινδυνεύσας ἀλώνιω, ἐπείθ' οὕτως
αὐτῶν ἐκράτησεν ὡστε καὶ τιμᾶς ἐπινικίων,
5 καίπερ οὐχ ὑπατευκός, λαβείν. ἀναχωρησάντων
δὲ ἐντεῦθεν τῶν Βρεττανῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ταμέσαν
ποταμὸν, καθ' ο' ἐς τὸν ἀκεινὸν ἐκβάλλει
πλημμύροντός τε αὐτοῦ λιμνάζει, καὶ ῥαδίως
αὐτῶν διαβάντων ἄτε καὶ τὰ στέρμα τὰ τε
6 εὐτέρα τοῦ χώριον ἀκριβῶς εἰδότων, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι
ἐπακολουθήσαντές σφίζει ταύτη μὲν ἐσφάλησαν,
διανηχαμένων δ' αὐτῆς τῶν Κελτῶν, καὶ τινῶν
ἐπέρων διὰ γεφύρας ὀλίγον ἄνω διελθόντων, πολ-
λαχόθεν τοῖς οὐκ ἀκριβῶς προσεμίζει καὶ πολλοὺς
αὐτῶν κατέκοψεν, τοὺς τε λοιποὺς ἀπερισκέπτως
ἐπιδιώκοντες ἐς τε ἐλη δυσδιέξοδα ἐσέπεσον καὶ
συχνοὺς ἀπέβαλον.

1 Φλάωμιν Βκ., φλαωμίνον Μ.
2 Γναῖος Reim., γάῖος Μ.
accustomed to swim easily in full armour across the most turbulent streams. These fell unexpectedly upon the enemy, but instead of shooting at any of the men they confined themselves to wounding the horses that drew their chariots; and in the confusion that followed not even the enemy's mounted warriors could save themselves. Plautius thereupon sent across Flavius Vespasian also (the man who afterwards became emperor) and his brother Sabinus, who was acting as his lieutenant. So they, too, got across the river in some way and killed many of the foe, taking them by surprise. The survivors, however, did not take to flight, but on the next day joined issue with them again. The struggle was indecisive until Gnaeus Hosidius Geta, after narrowly missing being captured, finally managed to defeat the barbarians so soundly that he received the *ornamenta triumphalia*, though he had not been consul. Thence the Britons retired to the river Thames at a point near where it empties into the ocean and at flood-tide forms a lake. This they easily crossed because they knew where the firm ground and the easy passages in this region were to be found; but the Romans in attempting to follow them were not so successful. However, the Germans swam across again and some others got over by a bridge a little way up-stream, after which they assailed the barbarians from several sides at once and cut down many of them. In pursuing the remainder incautiously, they got into swamps from which it was difficult to make their way out, and so lost a number of men.

Shortly afterwards Togodumnus perished, but the
 kristatos ois Brettanowi oux osoun enedosas, alla kaiv mallon prois thn timwrian auton episyvne-
sthsai, foivtheis o Ploutios oukete peraiterw proechyroshen, alla autous te ta paronta dia
fylakih epoimata kai ton Klaudioi metepem-
2 yato: eirhito yar autow, eip tis betaoteron ygnwuto,
touto poimai, kai paraaskeni ge epi th strate-
tea.1 pollh ton te allon kai elefantiw pro-
synveilekto.

'Elewouldhs de ths vychelias o Klaudioi ta men
oulou to Oiuteiellio2 to Loukio to synvarounti
ta te alla kai tous stratiotas enekeirise (kai
yarp ezi isoun auton eaunti ezimmyon oloun upateusai
3 epoisen), autous de eixestrateusato. kai kata-
pleusas es ta 'Ostia ekdeven es Massalians
parakomiasi, kanteithei ta men peihi ta de kai
dia thn potamw horeumenvos pros te ton wkeanw
afiketo, kai paraiwthei es thn Brettaniani
svneimexi tois stratophedous pros to Tameisa
4 anamenvusiw auton. kai paralabwvn sfaes ekwein
te epiideibhi, kai tois barbharois pros thn efodo
autou synestrammenois es cheiras elthen mawh te
enikhsei kai to Kymouloudouno to tou Kynobbelti-
nou basilieion eile.
kak tou tou synkous tou mou
omologia tois de kai bia prosagagomevos 3 auton-
5 kratwv pollikis epwvomwsth parapata patria (ou
yarp esstiv eiv1 oudei plwv h ata ek tou autou
polemov thn epiklhshen taunti labein), kai ta
opla auton afelomevos ekheinw mou tou Plouturo

1 tis strateias Rk., tis stratiwos M.
2 Oiuteiellia R. Steph., iourettliw M.
3 prosagagomevos Bk., prosagagomevos M.

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Britons, so far from yielding, united all the more firmly to avenge his death. Because of this fact and because of the difficulties he had encountered at the Thames, Plautius became afraid, and instead of advancing any farther, proceeded to guard what he had already won, and sent for Claudius. For he had been instructed to do this in case he met with any particularly stubborn resistance, and, in fact, extensive equipment, including elephants, had already been got together for the expedition.

When the message reached him, Claudius entrusted affairs at home, including the command of the troops, to his colleague Lucius Vitellius, whom he had caused to remain in office like himself for a whole half-year; and he himself then set out for the front. He sailed down the river to Ostia, and from there followed the coast to Massilia; thence, advancing partly by land and partly along the rivers, he came to the ocean and crossed over to Britain, where he joined the legions that were waiting for him near the Thames. Taking over the command of these, he crossed the stream, and engaging the barbarians, who had gathered at his approach, he defeated them in battle and captured Camulodunum,¹ the capital of Cunobellinus. Thereupon he won over numerous tribes, in some cases by capitulation, in others by force, and was saluted as imperator several times, contrary to precedent; for no one man may receive this title more than once for one and the same war. He deprived the conquered of their arms and handed them over to Plautius, bidding him also subjugate

¹ The modern Colchester.

⁴ évi Kuiper, év M.
προσέταξεν, ἐντειλάμενος οἱ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσ-
καταστρέψασθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐσὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἥπειρχθη, τὴν ἄγγελιαν τῆς νίκης διὰ τῶν γαμβρῶν, τοῦ τε
22 Μάγνου καὶ τοῦ Σιλανοῦ, προπέμψας. μαθοῦσα
d’ ἡ γερουσία τὰ κατειργασμένα Βρεττανικῶν τε
αὐτῶν ἐπεκάλεσε καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτὸ πέμψα
ἔδωκε. πανήγυρίν τε ἐτησίαν καὶ ἀψίδας τρο-
παιοφόρους, τὴν μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὴν δὲ ἐν τῇ
Γαλατίᾳ, οὔτε ἐν τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ ἐξαναχθεῖς
2 ἐπεραιώθη, γενέσθαι ἐψ ἡφίσαντο: τῷ τε νεῖ ἀυτοῦ
τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπωνύμιαν ἐπέθεσαν, ὡστε καὶ κυρίως
τρόπον τινὰ Βρεττανικῶν αὐτῶν ὄνομασθῆναι, καὶ
τῇ Μεσσαλίᾳ τὴν προεδρίαν ἢ καὶ ἡ Διονία
ἐσχήκει καὶ τὸ 1 καρπέντω χρήσθαι ἐδοσαν.2
3 Ἐκείνους μὲν δὴ τούτωις ἐτίμησαν, τῇ δὲ δὴ τοῦ
Γαίου μνήμη ἀχθόμενοι τὸ νόμισμα τὸ χαλκοῦν
πᾶν, ὅσον τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ ἐντετυπωμένη εἶχε,
συγχωνευθῆναι ἐγγρασαν. καὶ ἐπράξθη μὲν τούτῳ,
οὐ μεῖνοι καὶ ἐς βέλτιον τι ὁ χαλκὸς ἐχώρησεν,
ἀλλὰ ἀνδριάντας ἢτὼ αὐτοῦ ἡ Μεσσαλία τοῦ
4 Μνηστήρος τοῦ ὀρχηστοῦ ἐποιήσατο. ἔπει γὰρ
τῷ Γαίῳ ποτὲ εἰκείνους ἐκέχριτο, χάριν τινὰ αὐτῷ
ταύτην τῆς πρὸς ἐαυτὴν συνουσίας κατέθετο.
σφόδρα γὰρ ἤρα, καὶ ἐπεί γε μηδὲν τρόπον μὴθ’
ὑπισχυομένη τι μῆτε ἐκφοβοῦσα αὐτὸν συγγενε-
σθαι αὐτῇ ἀναπείσαι εὐνύσατο, διελέχθη τῷ ἀνδρί,

1 τὸ Rk., τῶι M.
2 At this point two leaves have been lost from M; its
place is taken by L’ (see Introd., Vol. I., p. xxv).

1 The carpentum was a two-wheeled covered carriage, the
use of which inside the walls of Rome was permitted only as
the remaining districts. Claudius himself now a.d. 43 hastened back to Rome, sending ahead the news of his victory by his sons-in-law Magnus and Silanus. The senate on learning of his achievement gave him the title of Britannicus and granted him permission to celebrate a triumph. They voted also that there should be an annual festival, to commemorate the event and that two triumphal arches should be erected, one in the city and the other in Gaul, because it was from that country that he had set sail when he crossed over to Britain. They bestowed upon his son the same title as upon him, and, in fact, Britannicus came to be in a way the boy's regular name. Messalina was granted the same privilege of occupying front seats that Livia had enjoyed and also that of using the carpentum.¹

These were the honours the senate bestowed upon the reigning family; but they hated the memory of Gaius so much that they decreed that all the bronze coinage which had his likeness stamped upon it should be melted down. And yet, though this was done, the bronze was converted to no better use, for Messalina made statues of Minster, the actor, out of it. For inasmuch as he had once been on intimate terms with Gaius, she made this offering as a mark of gratitude for his consenting to lie with her. For she was desperately enamoured of him, and when she found herself unable in any way either by making him promises or by frightening him to persuade him to have intercourse with her, she had a talk with her husband and asked him that the man should be a special mark of distinction. The privilege was conferred only upon certain matrons, the Vestals, and the priests, and their use of the vehicle was limited to festal occasions.

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ἀξιοῦσα αὐτὸν πειθαρχεῖν οἱ ἀναγκασθῆναι ὡς 5 καὶ ἔπ άλλο τι αὐτοῦ δεομένη καὶ οὕτως εἰπόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Κλαυδίου πάνθ' ὀσα ἂν προστάττηται ὑπὸ τῆς Μισσαλίνης ποιεῖν, συνῆν αὐτῇ ὡς καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπ' ἐκείνου κεκελευσμένος. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τούτο καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους συνήν έπραττεν, ὡς γὰρ εἰδῶτος τε τοῦ Κλαυδίου τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ συγχροοῦντός οἱ ἀκολούθηνειν ἐμοίχευεν. 23 Τῆς μεν οὖν Βρεττανίας οὕτω τότε ἐάλω τινά· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Γαίον τε Κρίσπου τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Τίτου Στατιλίου ὑπατεύοντων, ἤλθε τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ο Κλαύδιος εξ μήνας ἀποδημήσας, ἄφ' ὅν ἐκκαίδεκα μόνας ἐν τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ ἡμέρας ἔποιήσατε, καὶ τὰ υἱὲτηρία ἔστηπαν, τὰ τε ἄλλα κατὰ τὸ νομίζομεν πράξας καὶ τοὺς ἀναβασμοὺς τοὺς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ τοῖς γόνασιν ἀναβάς, ἀναφερότων αὐτῷ τῶν γαμβρῶν ἐκατέρωθεν. ἔνειμε δὲ τοῖς μὲν βουλευταῖς τοῖς συνεξετασθείσιν οἱ τὰς ἑπικιών τιμάς, οὗ τοῖς ὑπατεύοντις, . . . 1 ὁπερ καὶ ἄλλως ἀφθονώτατα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλαχίστοις ἐποίει, Ῥουφρίῳ δὲ δὴ Πωλίνῳ τῷ ἐπάρχῳ εἰκόνα καὶ ἐδραν ἐν τῷ βουλευτικῷ, ὅσακε ἄν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον αὐτῷ συνεσίγη καὶ ἔνα γε μὴ καυνοτομεῖν τι δόξη, ἐφι καὶ τῶν Ἀὔγουστον ἐπὶ Οὐαλερίου τινός Λίγνος τοῦτο πεποιηκών, τὸν τε Λάωνα τοῦ πρώτου μὲν τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων ἀρξαντα, τότε δὲ τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐπιτροπεύοντα, τῷ τε αὐτῷ τούτῳ καὶ προσέτι ταῖς τῶν ὑπατευ- 4 κόσων τιμαῖς ἐςέμινυν. διατελέσας δὲ ταῦτα τὴν

1 Lacuna recognized by Bs., who suggests as the missing words ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις.
compelled to obey her, pretending that she wanted his help for some different purpose. Claudius accordingly told Mnester to do whatever he should be ordered to do by Messalina; and thus it came about that he lay with her, in the belief that this was the thing he had been commanded to do by her husband. Messalina also adopted this same method with various other men and committed adultery, feigning that Claudius knew what was going on and countenanced her unchastity.

Portions of Britain, then, were captured at this time in the manner described. Later, when Gaius Crispus and Titus Statilius were consuls (the former for the second time), Claudius came to Rome after an absence of six months, of which he had spent only sixteen days in Britain, and celebrated his triumph. In this he followed precedent, even ascending the steps of the Capitol on his knees, with his sons-in-law supporting him on either side. To the senators who had taken part in the campaign with him he granted the *ornamenta triumphalia*, and this not alone to the ex-consuls but to the rest as well, a thing he was accustomed to do most lavishly on other occasions on the slightest excuse. To Rufrius Pollio, the prefect, he granted an image and a seat in the senate as often as he should go in to that body with the emperor; and lest he should appear to be making an innovation in this respect, he declared that Augustus had done the same thing in the case of a certain Valerius, a Ligurian. He also distinguished Laco, the former prefect of the night-watch and now procurator of the Gauls, in this same manner and also by giving him the rank of an ex-consul. Having

1 The prefect of the pretorian guard.
papignov n tev twv ukektrivwv eipoisew, upatoj
tva e'xousian es autew lavbvn. egynveto de ev
tovs dyn aima theatroi kai polllakis autwes me
apeleipteto1 teis theas, e'teroi de ant autov
5 epetelovn autew. tew de de ypwpov epyggeile2
men amillian osas an hemara3 endexhtai, ou men
kai pleious twv deka egenontov arketoi te gavr
metaexi tov drimov autovn esphagyasan kai athlitai
ygonistanto, pyrrhein te 'Asianoi pai'des meta-
6 periptoe aorkhsanto. kai allerhn de tina papin-
ghymi, epiv te niki kai autew, ou peri tivn skynh
thetaitai, synychrethien sfiosin upo teis boulihs,
epoisian. taunta men de dia ta Breetanika
etprakhth, kai ina ge kai allhj midon es omoilogian
wswin, epsiphisth tais symbasies aptasis, osas
an o Klautios h kai oi antistrefhtai autow pros
thias poi'sswntai, kuriias os kai pro tivn boulihn
ton te di'mon einai.

24 Tivn te 'Achaian kai tivn Makedonian airesotow
arxousin, ev oupeter o Tiberios hrexe, didomewa
apetekevn o Klautios totte to ikhrw kai tovs
strathtrois tovs epiv teis dioikisews katalwseas
2 tamiais autew4 kata to arxaiow epetrefen, oux
oste kai etthioues sfai, oupet epiv te ek einw
proteron kai epiv twv strathtrow metata taunta
egynveto, arxewn, all'oi dyn o autov tria ola
eti autew diokoun, kai oi me strathtrias ethws
elambedan, oj de kai misxhon epheron opwos pote
3 kai edoxan arxai. tois men ouj tamiais tivn

1 apleipteto R. Steph., apleipteto L'.
2 ep'gyggeile R. Steph., ep'gyggeile L'.
3 hemara Fabr., hemeras L'.
4 autew Leuncl., autas L'.

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attended to these matters, he held the triumphal festival, assuming a kind of consular power for the occasion. The festival was celebrated in both theatres at the same time; and in the course of the spectacles he often absented himself while others took charge in his place. He had announced as many horse-races as could take place in a day, yet there were not more than ten of them. For between the different races bears were slain, athletes contested, and boys summoned from Asia performed the Pyrrhic dance. Another festival, likewise in honour of his victory, was given by the artists of the stage with the consent of the senate. All this was done on account of the successes in Britain; and in order that other peoples should more readily come to terms, it was voted that all the agreements that Claudius or his lieutenants should make with any peoples should be binding, the same as if made by the senate and people.

Achaia and Macedonia, which ever since the reign of Tiberius had been assigned to governors directly appointed, Claudius now made to depend upon the lot once more. He also did away with the praetors in charge of the finances, putting the business in the hands of quaestors, as it had been of old; these quaestors, however, were not annual magistrates, as had been the case with them previously and with the praetors subsequently, but the same two men attended to the business for three whole years. Some of these quaestors secured the praetorship immediately afterward and others drew a salary according to the estimate placed upon their administration of the office. The quaestors, then, were given charge of

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1 See note on Ivi. 25, 5.
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dioīkēsion αυτῷ τῶν ἀρχῶν τῶν ἔν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἀντέδωκε (πάσας γὰρ αὐτάς ἐπαυσε), τοῖς δὲ δὴ στρατηγοῖς δίκας τινάς, ἂς πρότερον οἱ ὑπατοὶ διεδίκαζον, ἀντενεχείρισε. τοῖς τε στρατευομένοις, ἐπειδὴ γνωάκας οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐκ γε τῶν νόμων ἔχειν, τὰ τῶν γεγα- 

4 μηκότων δικαίωματα ἐδωκε. καὶ Μάρκω Ιουλίῳ Κοττίῳ τῷ πατρῷ τὰρχήν, ἢν ἔπλ τῶν Ἀλπέων τῶν ὀμωνύμων εἰχέ, προσεπνύξησε, βασιλέα αὐτόν τότε πρώτον ὑνομίας. τῶν τε 'Ροδίων τὴν ἐλευ-

θερίαν ἀφείλετο, ὃτι 'Ῥωμαίους τινὰς ἀνεσκο-

5 λόπισαν. καὶ Οὐμβώνιον Σιλίωνα ἀρχοντα 

Βατικῆς μεταπέμψας ἐξέσωσεν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ὡς καὶ σίτων οἶλον τοῖς ἐν τῇ Μαυριτανίᾳ στρατευομένοις ἀποστείλαντα· τοῦτο γὰρ κατη-

γορίθη, ἐπεὶ τὸ γε ἀληθὲς σὺν υἱῶν εἶχεν, ἀλλ' 

6 ὅτι τισὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων προσέκρουσε. καὶ ὅσ 

συνήνεγκε μὲν ἐς τὸ πρατήριον πάντα τὰ εἰαύτοῦ ἐπιπλα, πολλά τε καὶ περικαλλή ὑντα, ὡς καὶ 

πάντα αὐτὰ ἀποκηρύξαν, μόνην δὲ δὴ τὴν βου-

λευτικῆν ἐσθήτα ἐπώλησεν, ἐνδεικνύμενος σφισι 

διὰ τούτου ὅτι οὔτε τὶ δειτὸν πεπονθὼς εἶχα 

καὶ 

7 δύνατο ἱδίωτευών ἤδεως βιοτεύειν. τότε μὲν δὴ 

ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν διὰ τῶν ἐννέ-

ῃμερῶν ἀγομένην ἐς ἐτέραν ἡμέραν ἱερῶν τινῶν ἐνεκὰ μετέθεσαν καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἄλλοτε πολλάκις 

ἐγέιετο.

25 Τῷ δ' ἐπιώντι ἔτει ὑπατοὶ μὲν Μάρκος τε 

Οὐμβίκιος δεύτερον καὶ Στατίλιος Κορούνιος ἡρξαν, Κλαύδιος δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν πάντα τὰ εἰθισμένα

1 ἀρχ. ἐν τῶν Reim., ἀρχ. ὑπ. τ. 1.

2 Σιλίωνα Ρ. Steph., σιλίωνα 1.

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the finances in place of governorships in Italy \(^1\) outside of the city (for Claudius abolished all the latter positions); and to the praetors in place of their former duties were entrusted various judicial cases which the consuls had previously tried. The men serving in the army, since they could not legally have wives, were granted the privileges of married men. Marcus Julius Cottius received an addition to his ancestral domain, which lay in that part of the Alps that bears his family name, and he was now for the first time called king. The Rhodians were deprived of their liberty because they had impaled some Romans. Umbonius Silio, governor of Baetica, was summoned and expelled from the senate because he had sent too little grain to the soldiers then serving in Mauretania. At any rate, that was the accusation made against him; but it was not the true reason, for his treatment was really due to his having offended some of the freedmen. He accordingly brought all his furniture, which was considerable in amount and very beautiful, to the auction place, as if he were going to call for bids on all of it; but he sold only his senatorial dress, thereby indicating to them that he had suffered no great loss and could enjoy life as a private citizen. Besides these events of that year, the weekly market was transferred to a different day because of some religious rites; and this also happened on many other occasions.

The next year Marcus Vinicius and Statilius \(^2\) Corvinus became consuls, the former for a second time. Claudius himself took all the customary

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\(^1\) Cf. lv. 4, 4

\(^2\) Κορωνίως Λεγέω, κορωνίως Λ'.
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dио́моше, τούς δ' ἄλλους ἐκώλυσε κατ' άνδρα
2 ὀμόσαι· καὶ οὕτως εἰς τις τῶν στρατηγοῦντων, ὥσπερ ποτέ, καὶ ἐτερος τῶν δημαρχοῦντων, ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἄλλων ὡς ἐκάστων εἰς, ἐξήρξε τῶν ὄρκων τοῖς ὀμοίοις. καὶ τούτο καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω ἐτη ἐπτράχθη. ἐπειδῆ τε ἡ πόλις πολλῶν εἰκόνων ἐπληροῦτο (ἐξήν γὰρ ἀνέδην 2 τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐν γραφῇ καὶ ἐν χαλκῷ λίθῳ τε δημοσιεύσθαι),
3 τὰς τε πλείους αὐτῶν ἐτέρωσε ποι μετέθηκε, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐπειτὰ ἀπηγόρευσε 3 μηδενὶ ἰδιώτῃ, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἡ βουλὴ ἐπιτρέψῃ, τούτῳ ποιεῖν ἐξεύθει, πλὴν εἴ τις ἔργον τι φώκο δομηκὼς εἴη ἡ καὶ κατασκευάσαι τούτους γὰρ δὴ, τοῖς τε συγγενέσιν αὐτῶν,
4 ἵστασθαι ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις ἐκεῖνοις ἐφήκε. καὶ τινα ἐπὶ δόροις τῶν ἀρχαίων τινὸς ἔθνους φυγα- δεύσας, πάνθ' ὁσα ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐπεκτήσατο ἐδή- μενσεν. ὅπως τε μὴ διακρούντο οἱ τοιούτοι τούς ἐθέλοντάς σφισι δικάξεσθαι, οὐδενὶ ἀρχῇν
5 ἐπ' ἀρχῇ παραχρῆμα ἐδίδον. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐνενό- μιστο μὲν καὶ πρῶτον, ὡς ἀπροφασίστως τις αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ λαγχάνῃ (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῖς παριμένοις ταῖς ἐκδημίας ποι 4 ἐπετρέ- πετο ἐπαλλήλας 5 ποιεῖσθαι, ὅπως εἰ δὴ τι πλημ- μελήσειαν, μὴ προσλαμβάνοιεν, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀρχῶν οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀποδημῶν, τὸ ἀνεύθυνον), ὡς ἐξελελοίπει δὲ. καὶ οὕτω γε ἀκριβῶς ἐκάτερον

1 εἰς H. Steph., εἰ L'.
2 ἀνέδην Leunel., ἀναίδην L'.
3 ἀπηγόρευσε R. Steph., ἀπηγόρευσε L'.
4 τοι Leunel., οῖς τοι L'.
5 ἐπαλλήλας Reim., ἐπ' ἀλλήλαις L'.

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oaths, but prevented the rest from taking oath individually. Accordingly, as in earlier times, one of the praetors, one of the tribunes, and one from each of the other groups of officials recited the oaths for their colleagues. This practice was followed for several years. In view of the fact that the city was becoming filled with a great multitude of images (for any who wished were free to have their likenesses appear in public in a painting or in bronze or marble), Claudius removed most of them elsewhere and for the future forbade that any private citizen should be allowed to follow the practice, except by permission of the senate or unless he should have built or repaired some public work; for he permitted such persons and their relatives to have their images set up in the places in question. After banishing the governor of one of the provinces for venality, the emperor confiscated to public uses all the profits which the man had made while in office. And in order to prevent such officials from eluding those who wished to bring them to trial, he would not give anybody an office immediately after his retirement from another. This, in fact, had been the custom in earlier days also, in order that anybody might freely institute suit against such officials in the intervening period; indeed, after their terms had expired, they were not even permitted to make trips away from the city in immediate succession, since it was intended that if they were guilty of any irregularity, they should not gain the further benefit of escaping investigation either by holding new offices or by absence from the city. This custom, however, had fallen into disuse. So carefully, now, did Claudius guard against both possibilities that he
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αὐτῶν ἐφύλαττεν ὡστε μηδὲ παρεδρεύσαντά τιν ἐπιτρέψαι ἐς ἡγεμονίαν εὐθὺς ἑθνοὺς ἐπιβάλλονσάν ὦ κληρονόμοι, καίτοι καὶ ἐπὶ δύο ἐτη τινὰς ἐὼν αὐτῶν ἄρχειν, αἱρετοὺς τε ἐστὶν οὓς πέμπον. τοὺς δ' οὖν αἰτουμένοις ὡστε ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀποδημῆσαι ἐφίει μὲν καὶ καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἀνευ τῆς Βουλής, τοῦ γε μὴν καὶ νόμῳ τινὶ αὐτὸ. 7 δοκεῖν ποιεῖν δόγμα γενέσθαι ἐκέλευσε. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ τῷ υστέρῳ έτει ἐψηφίσθη. τότε δὲ τήν τε πανηγύριν τήν εὐκταίαν, Ἦν τής στρατείας αὐτοῦ 3 ἐνεκα προούτως καὶ διέθηκε καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ σιτοδοτουμένῳ πέντε μὲν καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα δραχμὰς ἀπασι διέδωκεν, ἐστὶ δ' οἷς καὶ πλέον, ὡστε καὶ ἐς τριακοσίας καὶ δώδεκα 8 καὶ ἡμίσειαν τωσι γενέσθαι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πάντα αὐτὸς διένεμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ γαμβροὶ αὐτοῦ, ἐπειδὴ πρέπει πλείους ἡμέρας ἡ διάδοσις ἐγένετο καὶ ἡθέλησαν καὶ δικᾶσαν ἐν ταύταις. τοὺς τε Κρονίοις τήν πέμπτην ἡμέραν τήν καταιχθείσαν τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαίου καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καταλυθέσαν ἀπέδωκε.

26 Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἠλίος ἐν τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ ἐκλείψειν ἔμελλεν, ἐφοβήθη τε μὴ τις ἐκ τούτου ταραχὴ γένηται, ἐπεὶ ἄλλα ἀττα τερατα συνέβηκεν, καὶ προέγραψεν οὐ μόνον ὅτι τε ἐκλείψει καὶ ὁπότε καὶ ἐφ᾽ ὁπόσον, ἄλλα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας δι᾽ ὧς ἀναγκαίως γενήσεσθαι τοῦτ' ἔμελλεν. 2 εἰς δὲ αἰδε. ἡ σελήνη τήν κάτω τοῦ ἠλίου περιφοράν, ὡσπερ που πεπίστευται (εἰτ' οὖν

1 αὐτὸ R. Steph., αὐτὸν L'.
2 στρατείας H. Steph., στρατιάς L'.
3 αὐτοῦ Reim, αὐτοῦ L'.
would not even permit one who had acted as assessor to a governor to draw lots at once for the governorship of a province that would naturally fall to him; nevertheless, he allowed some of them to govern for two years, and in some cases he sent out men appointed by himself. Those who requested the privilege of leaving Italy were given permission by Claudius on his own responsibility without action on the part of the senate; yet, in order to appear to be doing this under some form of law, he ordered that a decree should be passed sanctioning this procedure; and a similar vote was passed the next year also. He now celebrated the festival of thanksgiving which he had vowed for the success of his campaign. To the populace supported by public dole he gave three hundred sesterces apiece, and in some instances more, so that a few received as much as twelve hundred and fifty sesterces. He did not, however, distribute it all in person, but his sons-in-law assisted him, because the distribution lasted several days and he desired to hold court during this time. In the case of the Saturnalia he restored the fifth day, which had been designated by Gaius but later abolished.

Since there was to be an eclipse of the sun on his birthday, he feared that there might be some disturbance in consequence, inasmuch as some other portents had already occurred; he therefore issued a proclamation in which he stated not only the fact that there was to be an eclipse, and when, and for how long, but also the reasons for which this was bound to happen. These reasons I will now give. The moon, which revolves in its orbit below the sun (or so it is believed), either directly below it or
εfecha αυτου ειτε και μετα των Εφεσην, αυτην την τη Αφροδιτην. εχει, κινηθείσα, κινείται μεν κατα μηκος, ωσπερ και εκεινος, κινείται δε και κατα βαθος, ωσπερ ισως και εκεινος, κινείται δε και εν πλατει, ωσπερ ουδαμη ουδαμως τω ηλιω 3 υπαρχει. οταν ουν κατα την αυτην αυτη ευθυνωριαν υπερ την ημετεραν ων γενηται και υπο την φλογα αυτου υποδραμη, τοτε την αυγην αυτου την εσ την γην καθηκουσαν τοις μεν επι πλειον τοις δε επ έλαττου διεσκεπσεν, εστι δε 4 οις ουδε επι βραχυτατον αποκρυπτεν ουδον γαρ αει φως ο ηλιος εχων ουκ εστιν οτε αυτου απαλ- λαττεται, και δια τουθ οις αν η σεληνη μη επιπροσθεν, ωστε αυτου συσκιαις ισοι, γενηται, ολοκληρος αει φαινεται, περι μεν δη των ηλιων ταυτα τε συμβαινει και τοτε υπο του Κλαυδιου 5 εδημοσιευθη δε σεληνη (ου γαρ εστιν απο τροπου και το κατ' εκεινην ειπειν, επειδηπερ ἀπαξ του λογου τουτου προσηψαμην) οσαικες αν καταντικρυ τω ηλιω γενομενη (εν γαρ ταις πανσεληνοις μονοις αυτη τουτο, ωσπερ και εκεινοι εν ταις νυμφαις, συμβαινει), εσ το της γης σκιασμα κωνοειδες ον εμπεση (γινεται δε τοτο οταν δια των μεσων ου τη του πλατους κινησει περιφερηται), στερεται τε ε6 του ηλιοειδους φωτος, και αυτη καθ εαυτην, οποιαπερ εστι, φανταζεται. 27 Γαυτα μεν δη τοιαυτα εστι, του δ' εναυτου εκεινου εξελθοντος Ουαλεριος τε Ασιατικος το

1 M resumes with αυτου.  
2 αυτην Kuiper, αυτου M, αυτην Xiph.  
3 έχει M (but corr. in marg. to εχουσα) Xiph.  
4 κινήθεισα Kuiper, κινηθεις M Xiph.
perhaps with Mercury and Venus intervening, has a longitudinal motion, just as the sun has, and a vertical motion, as the other perhaps likewise has, but it has also a latitudinal motion such as the sun never shows under any conditions. When, therefore, the moon gets in a direct line with the sun over our heads and passes under its blazing orb, it obscures the rays from that body that extend toward the earth. To some of the earth's inhabitants this obscuration lasts for a longer and to others for a shorter time, whereas to still others it does not occur for even the briefest moment. For since the sun always has a light of its own, it is never deprived of it, and consequently to all those between whom and the sun the moon does not pass, so as to throw a shadow over it, it always appears entire. This, then, is what happens to the sun, and it was made public by Claudius at that time. But now that I have once touched upon this subject, it will not be out of place to give the explanation of a lunar eclipse also. Whenever, then, the moon gets directly opposite the sun (for it is eclipsed only at full moon, just as the sun is eclipsed at the time of new moon) and runs into the cone-shaped shadow of the earth, a thing that happens whenever it passes through the mean point in its latitudinal motion, it is then deprived of the sun's light and appears by itself just as it really is. Such is the explanation of these phenomena.

At the close of that year Valerius Asiaticus and Marcus Silanus became consuls, the former for a
DEUTERON KAI MA'RKOΣ ΣΙΛΑΝΩΣ ὑΠΑΤΕΥΣΑΝ. KAI ὁУΤΟΣ ΜΕΝ ἘΦ' ὈΣΟΝ ᾿ΗΡΕΘΗ ᾿ΗΡΕΣ, 'ΑΣΙΑΤΙΚΟΣ ΔΕ ἈΠΕΔΕΙΧΘΗ ΜΕΝ ὌΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙ' ἘΤΟΥΣ ὝΠΑΤΕΥΣΩΝ, Ὄ ΚΑΙ ἜΠ' ἈΛΛΩΝ ἘΓΓΥΕΣ, ΟΥ ΜΕΝΤΟΙ ΚΑΙ ἘΠΟΪΗΣΕ ΤΟΥΤΟ,
2 ἈΛΛ' ἈΦΗΚΕ ΤΗΝ ἈΡΧΗΝ ἘΘΕΛΟΥΣΙΟΣ. ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟ ΚΑΙ ἘΤΕΡΟΙ ΤΙΝΕΣ ἘΠΡΑΞΑΝ ἈΛΛ' ἘΚΕΙΝΟΙ ΜΕΝ ὙΠΌ ΠΕΝΙΑΣ (ΤΑ ΓΑΡ ἈΝΑΛΩΜΑΤΑ ΤΑ ἘΝ ΤΑΙΣ ἸΠΠΟΔΡΟΜΙΩΝ ΓΙΓΝΟΜΕΝΑ ἙΠΙ ΠΟΛΥ ἘΚΕΧΩΡΗΚΕΝ. ΤΕΤΡΑΚΙΣ ΓΑΡ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΚΟΣΑΚΙΣ ὍΣ ΠΛΗΘΕΙ ἩΜΙΛΛΩΝΤΟ), Ὄ Δ ΄ 'ΑΣΙΑΤΙΚΟΣ ὙΠ' ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΛΟΥΤΟΥ, Ψ' ΟΥΠΕΡ ΚΑΙ ἈΠΕΘΑΝΕΝ.
3 ἘΤΕΙ ΓΑΡ ἘΝ ΤΕ ΠΟΛΛΗ ΠΕΡΙΟΥΣΙΑ ὍΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ ὝΠΑΤΕΥΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ἘΠΑΧΘΗΣ ΚΑΙ ἘΠΙΘΘΟΝΟΣ ΠΟΛΛΟΪς ἘΓΕΝΟΝΕΙ, ΚΑΤΑΛΥΣΑΙ ΤΡΟΠΟΝ ΤΙΝΑ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ ἩΘΕΛΕΣΕΝ ὍΣ ΚΑΙ ἩΤΤΟΝ ΤΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΚΙΝΔΥΝΕΥΣΟΥΝ. ΚΑΙ Ὁ ΜΕΝ ἘΞΙΠΑΤΗΘΗ, Ὄ ΔΕ ΟὐΙΝΙΚΙΟΣ ὙΠΌ ΜΕΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ ΟΥΔΕΝ ἘΠΑΘΕΝ (ὙΝ ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΔΙΑΠΡΕΠΗΣ ΑΝΙΜΡ, ΤΗΝ ΔΕ ΔΗ ἩΣΥΧΙΑΝ ἩΓΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΡΑΤΤΩΝ ΕΣΩΖΕΤΟ), ὩΠΌ ΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΜΕΣΣΑΙΛΙΝΗΣ, ὩΠΟΙΔΑ ΤΕ ὙΠΙ ΤΗΝ 2 ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΗΝ ἸΟΥΛΙΑΝ ἈΠΕΚΤΟΝΕΙ, ΚΑΙ ὈΡΓΗ 3 ὙΠΙ ΟΥΚ ἩΘΕΛΕΣΕΝ ΟΙ ΣΥΝΥΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ, ΦΑΡΜΑΚΙΟΝ ΔΙΕΦΘΑΡΗ. ΚΑΙ ΟΥΤΩ ΤΑΦΗΣ ΤΕ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ἘΠΑΙΝΟΥΝ ἩΞΙΩΘΗ ΠΟΛΛΟΙΣ ΓΑΡ ΔΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΥΤ' ἘΘΙΔΟΤΟ. 'ΑΣΙΝΙΟΣ 4 ΔΕ ΔΗ ΓΑΛΛΟΣ Ὁ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΟΥΣΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΣ ἈΔΕΛΦΟΣ ἘΠΕΒΟΥΛΕΥΣΕ ΜΕΝ Τῂ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΩ, ΟΥΚ ἈΠΕΘΑΝΕ ΔΕ ἈΛΛ' ὩΠΕΡΩΡΙΘΗ. ΑΙΤΙΟΝ ΔΕ ἰΣΩΣ ΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ἘΚΕΙΝΟ ὙΓΙ ΜΗΤΕ ΣΤΡΑΤΕΥΜΑ ΠΡΟΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΣ ΜΗΤΕ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΑ ΠΡΟΑΘΡΟΙΣΑΣ, ἈΛΛ' ὩΠ' ἩΝΟΙΑΣ ΠΟΛΛΗΣ, ὩΣ ΚΑΙ ἘΚΟΥΣΙΩΝ ΤῂΝ ῬΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ἘΝΟΣ ἈΡΞΩΝ,

1 πολλοῖς R. Steph., πόλις Μ. 2 τήν Rk., τῇν τε Μ. 3 ὀργῇ R. Steph., ὀργῆς Μ. 436
second time. Silanus held office for the period for which he had been elected; but Asiaticus, though chosen to serve for the whole year (as happened in the case of others, too) failed to finish his term, but resigned the office voluntarily. Some others, indeed, had done this also, but only by reason of poverty; for the expenses connected with the Circean games had greatly increased, since there were usually twenty-four races. Asiaticus, however, resigned because of his very wealth, which also proved his destruction. For inasmuch as he was extremely well-to-do and by being consul a second time had aroused the dislike and jealousy of many, he desired to overthrow himself, so to speak, feeling that by so doing he would incur less danger; but in this he was deceived. Vinicius, on the other hand, though he suffered no harm from Claudius (for though a distinguished man, he was contriving to save his life by keeping quiet and minding his own business), did perish at the hands of Messalina, who suspected that he had killed his wife Julia and was angry because he refused to have intercourse with her, and therefore poisoned him. And yet even so he was held to deserve a public funeral and eulogies; for these honours were granted to many. Asinius Gallus, half-brother of Drusus by the same mother, conspired against Claudius, but instead of being put to death was banished. One reason for this, perhaps, was the fact that he had not got ready an army or collected any funds beforehand but was emboldened merely by his extreme folly, which led him to think that the Romans would submit to his ruling them on

1 'Asinus R. Steph., àσινος Δ.
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έθρασώντο· τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον ὅτι καὶ σμικρότατος καὶ δυσειδέστατος ὦν, κὰκ τοῦτον καταφρονηθείς, γέλωτα μᾶλλον ἡ κίνδυνον ὄφλεν.

28 Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα ταύτα μὲν καὶ πάντα τοῦ Κλαύδιον ἐπήνυν, καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ ἐκεῖνο ὅτι ἐντυχόντος τινὸς τοῖς δημάρχοις κατὰ τοῦ ἐξελευθερώσαντος αὐτὸν, καὶ ὑπηρέτην ἐπ' αὐτὸν αὐτήσαντος καὶ λαβόντος, ἔγανάκτησε, καὶ ἐκεῖνον τε καὶ τοὺς συνεξεισθέντας αὐτῷ ἔκολασε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀπηγόρευσε μηδένα τοῖς τοιούτοις 1 κατὰ τῶν δεσποτευσάντων αὐτῶν βοηθεῖν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, στέρεσθαι τοῦ δίκην αὐτῶς ἐτέρους λαγχάνειν.

2 δουλεύοντα μέντοι αὐτὸν τῇ τε γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀπελευθέρωσι όρθοτες ἡσχάλλων, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπείδη σπουδασάντων ποτὲ τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κλαύδιον τὸν Σαβῖνον τὸν τῶν Κελτῶν ἑπὶ τοῦ Γαίου ἀρξαντα ἐν μονομαχίᾳ τινὶ ἀποκτείναι, ἡ Μεσσαλίνα ἐσώσει καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνῳ ἐπλη-3 σίαζε. τούτῳ τε οὖν αὐτῶς ἦνια, καὶ ὅτι τὸν Μινηστήρα ὑποστάσασα ἀπὸ τοῦ θεάτρου ἐξῆ, καὶ ὡς τὸν γε λόγος τος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ 2 περί αὐτοῦ ὅτι μὴ ὀρχεῖτο γίγνοντο, θαῦμα τε ὁ Κλάυδιος ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ἀπελογεῖτο τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ὅμιλος

4 ὅτι μὴ συνείη αὐτῷ. πιστεύοντες γὰρ ὅτις ἀναζοεῖν αὐτὸν τὰ γιγνόμενα, ἐλυποῦντο μὲν ὅτι μόνος οὐκ ἦπιστατο τὰ ἐν τῷ βασιλεῖο δρόμενα, ὅσα καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἦδη διεπεφοίτηκε, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἔξελεγχειν αὐτὰ ζηθεῖν, τὸ μὲν τι τὴν Μεσσαλίναν αἰδούμενοι, τὸ δὲ καὶ τοῦ Μινηστήρος

1 μηδένα τοῖς τοιούτοις Ἰς., μηδὲ τοῖς οὐτω M.
2 Here M ends (with δῆ).
BOOK LX

account of his family; but the chief reason was that he was a very small and ugly man and so, being held in contempt, incurred ridicule rather than peril.

People were loud in their praise of Claudius for his moderation in this matter; and especially did they praise his action in showing displeasure when a certain freedman appealed to the tribunes against the man who had freed him, thus asking and securing an assistant against his former master. Claudius punished not only this fellow but also his associates, and at the same time he forbade anyone in future to render assistance to persons of this sort against their former masters, on pain of being deprived of the right to bring suit against others. But people were vexed at seeing him the slave of his wife and the freedmen. This feeling was especially strong on an occasion when Claudius himself and all the rest were eager to see Sabinus, the former prefect of the German bodyguard in the time of Gains, killed in a gladiatorial combat, and Messalina saved him; for he had been one of her paramours. They were also vexed because she had taken Mnester away from the theatre and was keeping him with her; but whenever there was any talk among the people about Mnester's failure to dance, Claudius would appear surprised and would make various apologies, swearing that he was not at his house. The people, believing that he was really ignorant of what was taking place, were grieved to think that he alone failed to realize what was going on in the palace—behaviour so notorious, in fact, that news of it had already travelled to the enemy. They were unwilling, however, to reveal to him the true state of affairs, partly through awe of Messalina and partly to spare
5 ἕφεδόμενοι· ὅσον γὰρ ἑκεῖνη διὰ τὸ κάλλος, τοσοῦτον τῷ δήμῳ διὰ τὴν τέχνην ἤρεσκεν. οὕτω γὰρ ποιν δεινὸς σοφιστῆς ἐν τῇ ὁρχήσει ἢν ὡστε τοῦ ὄμιλου μεγᾶλη ποτὲ σπουδὴ δράματι τι αὐτῶν ἐπιβόητον ὁρχήσασθαι δεομένου, παρακυψαί τε ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ εἴπειν ὅτι "οὐ δύναμαι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι τῷ γὰρ Ὄρέστη συγκεκοίμημαν."

6 Ὅ δ' οὖν Κλαύδιος ταύτα τε οὕτως ἐπραττε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλῆθος τε δικών ἀμύθητον ἢν καὶ οὐκ ἀπίηντων ἐπ' αὐτὰς 1 οὔ τι 2 προσδοκώντες ἐλαττωθήσεσθαι, προεῖπε διὰ προγράμματος ὅτι καὶ κατὰ ἀπόντων αὐτῶν ἐντὸς ῥήτης τινος ἡμέρας δικάσει, καὶ ἐνεπέδωσε τοῦτο.

7 "Ὅτι Μιθριδάτης ὁ τῶν Ἰβηρῶν βασιλεὺς ἐνεωτέρισε, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο εἰς τὸν κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον. τῆς δὲ μητρὸς ἀντιλεγούσης καὶ φυγεῖν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ πείθειν αὐτῶν ἱδύνατο, βουληθεῖσης, βουλόμενος ἐπικαλύψαι τὸ σπουδαζόμενον, αὐτὸς μὲν παρεσκευάζετο, πέμπτε δὲ Κότυν τῶν ἄδελφῶν εἰς πρεσβείαν, φιλίους λόγους τῷ Κλαύδῳ κομίζοντα. οʿ δὲ παραπρεσβεύσας πάντα αὐτῶν κατεμῆρυσε, καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰβηρίας ἀντὶ Μιθριδάτου γίνεται.—Petr. Patr. civ. de leg. 2 (Hoesch. p. 15 = fr. 3 Muell. Fragm. hist. gr. 4 p. 184 sq.).

1 ἐπ' αὐτὰς Bk., ἐπ' αὑταῖς L', ἐπ' αὐτής cod. Peir.
2 οὐ τι Casaubon, ἐτι L' cod. Peir.
Mnesther. For the latter pleased them as much by his skill as he did the empress by his good looks. Indeed, he was such a clever actor that once, when the crowd with great enthusiasm begged him to perform a famous pantomime, he put his head out from behind the stage and said: “I cannot comply, for I am abed with Orestes.” This was the way Claudius dealt with these matters.

As the number of law-suits was now beyond all reckoning and those who expected to lose their cases would no longer put in an appearance, he issued a proclamation announcing that he would decide the cases against them by a given day even in their absence; and he strictly enforced this rule.

Mithridates, king of the Iberians, undertook to rebel and was making his preparations for war against the Romans. His mother, however, opposed him, and when she could not persuade him to desist, determined to take flight. He then desired to conceal his project and accordingly, while still continuing his preparations himself, he sent his brother Cotys as an envoy to convey a friendly message to Claudius. But Cotys proved a treacherous ambassador and told the emperor everything; thus he was made king of Iberia in place of Mithridates.

1 This is an error. Mithridates of Bosporus is the person actually meant.
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