(Dio's) Romans History

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On the basis of the version of Herbert Baldwin Foster, Ph.D.

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MCMXXV
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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

VOL. VIII.
LX 29 'Εν δὲ τῷ ἐξῆς ἐτεί ὦ τε Κλαύδιος τὸ τέταρτον καὶ Ὀὐστέλλιος Ἀλκίας τὸ τρίτον, ὀκτακοσιοστοῦ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἔτους ὄντος, ὑπάτευσαν. καὶ ἐξῆλασε μὲν ὁ Ὀὐστέλλιος τίνας καὶ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς, ὥν οἱ πλείονες οὐκ ἀκοντες ἐξέπεσον ἄλλ' ἔθελονταί διὰ πενίαν παρέμενοι,3 ἀντεσήγαγε δὲ 2 ὁμοίως πολλοὺς. ἐπειδὴ τε Σούρδινίος τις Γάλλος βουλεύσαι δυνάμενος ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἑξώκησε, σπουδὴ τε αὐτὸν μετεπέμψατο, καὶ ἐφ' ὦτι "Χρυσαίῳ σε πέδαις δήσω." καὶ ὦ μὲν οὕτω τῷ ἄξιώματι πεθηθεῖς κατὰ χώραν ἑμείνει, τοὺς μέντοι ἄλλοτρίους ἀπελευθέρους ὁ Κλαύδιος, εἴ 3 ποιν κακουργοῦντας λάβοι, δεινώς τιμωρῶν, τοῖς ἱδίοις οὕτω προσέκειτο ὡς θ' ὑποκριτοῦ τινος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ποτὲ τότε δὴ τὸ τρυπλούμενον εἰπόντος ὅτι "ἀφόρητός ἐστιν εὕτυχισ ὑπομνήσιμος," καὶ τοῦ τε δήμου παντὸς ἐς Πολὺβῖον τὸν ἀπελεύθερον αὐτοῦ ἀποβλέψαντος, καὶ ἱκένου ἐκβοηθήσαντος ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς μέντοι ποιητὴς εἶπεν ὅτι "Βασίλειος ἐγένοντο χοί ἀπὶ πρὶν ὄντες αἰπόλοι;" 4 οὕτεν δεινὸν αὐτὸν εἰργάσατο. μηνυθέντων δὲ

2 Ὀυστέλλιος Bk., βιτέλλιος VCL regularly
3 παρέμενοι Reim., παρέμενον MSS.
4 χοί Leuncl., όι MSS.
In the following year, which was the eight A.D. 47 hundredth year of Rome, Claudius became consul for the fourth and Lucius Vitellius for the third time. Claudius now expelled from the senate certain of its members, most of whom were not sorry to drop out, but willingly resigned on account of their poverty; and he likewise introduced many new men in their place. And when a certain Surdinius Gallus, who was eligible to serve as a senator, emigrated to Carthage, Claudius summoned him back in haste, declaring he would bind him with golden fetters; thus Gallus, fettered by his rank, remained at home. Although Claudius visited dire punishment upon the freedmen of others, in case he caught them in any wrong-doing, he was very lenient with his own, as the following incident will show. Once when an actor in the theatre recited the well-known line,

"A prosperous whipstock scarce can be endured,"

and the whole assemblage thereupon looked at Polybius, the emperor's freedman, the latter shouted out:

"Yes, but the same poet said:

'Who once were goatherds now have royal power.'"

Yet Claudius did him no harm. Information was

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1 Menander, *Epitrepontes*, v. 116. The other line (Adespota 487 Kock) is not found in any extant play.
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τινών ως ἐπιβουλεύοιεν αὐτῷ, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποίησατο, εἰπὼν ὅτι "οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν χρῆ τρόπον ψύλλαν τε καὶ θηρίον ἀμύνεσθαι," ὁ δὲ Ἀσιατικὸς ἐκρίθη μὲν παρ’ αὐτῷ 5 ὀλίγου ἰδεῖν ἀπέφυγεν. ἀρνούμενοι γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ λέγοντος ὅτι "οὐκ οἶδα οὔδε γνωρίζω τῶν καταμαρτυρούντων μου τούτων οὐδένα," ἑρωτηθεὶς ὁ στρατιώτης ὁ φάσκων αὐτῷ συγγεγονέναι ὡστὶς ὁ Ἀσιατικὸς εἶη, φαλακρόν τινα προσεστῶτα κατὰ τύχην ἐδείξε τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸ τὸ σύμβολον 6 μόνον ἦπίστατο. γέλωτος οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλοῦ γενομένου, καὶ τοῦ Κλαύδιον ἀπολύειν αὐτὸν μέλλοντος, ὁ Οὐσίαλλος τῇ Μεσσαλίνη χαριζόμενος παρακεκλήθησαι ἐφ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἣν ὁπως ἀν βουληθῇ ἀποθάνῃ. ἀκούσας δὲ τούτ' ἐκεῖνος ἐπίστευσε τε αὐτὸν ὑπνὸς ἐαυτοῦ διὰ τὸ συνειδός κατεγνωκέναι, καὶ κατεχρῆσατο.—Xiph. 141, 30–142, 25 R. St.

6a Ἀλλοις δὲ πολλοῖς διαβληθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς Μεσσαλίνης καὶ τὸν Ἀσιατικὸν καὶ τὸν γαμβρὸν τὸν Μάγγον ἀπέκτεινε, τὸν μὲν Ἀσιατικὸν διὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, τὸν δὲ Μάγγον διὰ τὸ γένος καὶ τὸ κῆδος. ἐιλικρινώς μέντοι ὡς ἐπ’ ἄλλοις τισίν.—Zon. 11, 9, p. 30, 1–6 D.

7 Ἀνεφάνη δὲ καὶ νησίδων τι ἐν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ παρὰ τῇ Ἡρά τῇ νήσῳ, οὐκ οὖν πρότερον.—Xiph. 142, 25. 26 R. St.

7a Ὅτι Κλαύδιος ὁ βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων νόμον προύθηκε, μὴ δύνασθαι βουλευτὴν ὑπὲρ ἐπτά

1 ὀλίγου Bk., καὶ ὀλίγου MSS.
given that some persons were plotting against A.D. 47 Claudius, but he paid no attention to most of them, saying: "It doesn't do to take the same measures against a flea as against a wild beast." Asiaticus, however, was tried before him and came very near being acquitted. For he entered a general denial, declaring, "I have no knowledge of nor acquaintance with any of these persons who are testifying against me;" and when the soldier who declared that he had been associated with him, upon being asked to identify Asiaticus, pointed out a baldheaded man who chanced to be standing near him,—for baldness was the only distinguishing mark about Asiaticus of which he was sure,—and a great burst of laughter arose at this, and Claudius was on the point of freeing Asiaticus, Vitellius made the statement, as a favour to Messalina, that the prisoner had sent for him in order to choose the manner of his death. Upon hearing this Claudius believed that Asiaticus had really condemned himself by reason of a guilty conscience, and he accordingly put him out of the way.

Among many others whom he put to death upon false charges brought by Messalina were Asiaticus and also Magnus, his own son-in-law. The former lost his life because of his property, and the latter because of his family and his relationship to the emperor.¹ Nominally, however, they were convicted on other charges.

This year a small islet, hitherto unknown, made its appearance close to the island of Thera.

Claudius, the king of the Romans, promulgated a law to the effect that no senator might travel more

¹ See lx. 5.
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σημείων τῆς πόλεως ὀδεύειν χωρίς τῆς τοῦ ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ κελεύσεως.—Suid. s.v. Κλαύδιος gl. 2.

2 Ἐπειδὴ τε πολλοὶ δουλούσιν ἀρραστοῦντας οὕδε-μίας θεραπείας ἦξιον ἅλλα καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἐξέβαλλον, ἐνομοθέτησε πάντας τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτον περιγενομένους ἐλευθέρους εἶναι.—Xiph. 142, 26–29 R. St. (Zon., Suid.).

2 Απηγόρευσε δὲ καὶ τὸ καθήμενον τών ἅματος διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἑλαύνειν.—Suid. s.v. Κλαύδιος gl. 2.

30 Ἐν δὲ τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ περιστοιχισθέντος τοῦ Οὐσπασιανοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ποτὲ καὶ κυνδυνεύοντος φθαρῆναι, ὁ Τίτος ὁ νῖος αὐτοῦ περὶ τῷ πατρὶ δέος τήν τε περίσχεσιν αὐτῶν παραλόγῳ τόλμῃ διέρρηξε, καὶ τοῦτον φεύγοντάς σφας ἐπιδιώξας ἐφθείρεν. ὁ δὲ Πλαύτιος ἀπὸ τοῦ Βρεττανικοῦ πολέμου, ὡς καὶ καλὸς αὐτὸν χειρίσας καὶ κατορθώσας, καὶ ἐπηνέθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλαύδιου καὶ ἐθριάμβευσε.—Xiph. 142, 29–143, 3 R. St.

3 Οτι κατὰ τήν ὀπλομαχίαν πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἐξόνων ἀπελευθέρων καὶ οἱ αἰχμαλωτοὶ οἱ Βρεττα-νοὶ ἐμαχέσαντο, καὶ πολλοὶ ὅσοι καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἐἴδει τῆς θέας ἀνήλισκε, καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ ἐσεμύνυ-νετο.—Exe. Val. 224 (p. 674).

4 Γναῖος δὲ Δομίτιος Κορβούλων ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ στρατηγῶν τά τε στρατεύματα συνεκρότησε, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄλλους τε καὶ οὓς ἐκάλουν Καύχους ἐκάκωσε, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ

1 περιγενομένου L' Zon. Suid., περιγενομένου VC.
2 περιστοιχισθέντος Bk., περιστοιχισθέντος MSS.
3 τῷ supplied by Rk.
than seven "markers" from the City without the A.D. 47 king's orders.

Since many masters refused to care for their slaves when sick, and even drove them out of their houses, he enacted a law that all slaves who survived such treatment should be free.

He also forbade anybody to drive through the City seated in a vehicle.

In Britain Vespasian had on a certain occasion been hemmed in by the barbarians and been in danger of destruction, but his son Titus, becoming alarmed for his father, managed by unusual daring to break through their enclosing lines and then pursued and destroyed the fleeing enemy. Plautius for his skilful and successful conduct of the war in Britain not only was praised by Claudius but also obtained an ovation.

In the gladiatorial combats many persons took part, not only of the foreign freedmen but also the British captives. He used up ever so many men in this part of the spectacle and took pride in the fact.

Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo while commanding in Germany concentrated his legions and harassed among other barbarians the Cauchi, as they were called. While in the midst of the enemy's territory

1 A mile, according to Mommsen (Staatsrecht, III. p. 912, n. 1), though the use of σμείειν for στάδιον is not paralleled elsewhere. Another interpretation is "more than seven miles," taking σμείειν in the sense of milestone.

2 A comparison of Suet. Claud. 25 makes it probable that Dio wrote "cities," referring to all the Italian towns.

3 As Titus was born in the year 39 (cf. lxvi. 18, 4), there is manifestly some error here, probably on Xiphilinus' part. Boissevain suggests that Dio in his fuller narrative may have inserted at this point the statement that in the Judaean campaign his life was once saved by Titus.
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όντα ὁ Κλαύδιος ἀνεκάλεσε· τὴν τε γὰρ ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἁσκησιν μαθὼν οὐκ ἔπετρεψεν ἢ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ πλέον αὐξηθῆναι. πυθόμενος δὲ τούτῳ ὁ Κορβοῦλων ἐπανῆλθε, τοσοῦτον μόνον ἀναβοήσας "ὅ μακάριοι οἱ πάλαι ποτὲ στρατηγήσαντες," ἐς δῆλωσιν ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἀκινδύνως ἀνδραγαθίζοντα εἴξην, αὐτὸς δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος διὰ τὸν φθόνον ἐνεποδίσθη. τιμῶν μέντοι 6 ἐπινικίων 1 καὶ ὃς ἔτυχε. πιστευθέντας δὲ πάλιν τὸ στράτευμα καὶ οὕδεν Ἰττον ἥσκει αὐτό, καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε εἰρήνου, διετάφρευσε δ' αὐτῶν πάν τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε 'Ρήμου καὶ τοῦ Μόσου, 2 σταδίους ἐβδομῆκοντα καὶ ἐκατον μάλιστα, ἵνα μὴ οἱ ποταμοὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ πλημμυρίδι ἀναρρέωντες πελαγίζωσιν.—Χιρ. 143, 3–16 R. St.

6a Γεννηθέντος δὲ οἱ ἐγγόνοιν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντωνίας τῆς θυγατρός, ἤν Κορνηλίων Φαύστῳ Σύλλα ἀδελφῷ τῆς Μεσσαλίνης ὄντι μετὰ τὸν του 3 Μάγρου συνώκισε θάνατον, οὐδὲν ἐφήκε 4 ψηφισθῆναι μετριοφροῦν.

6b Ἄν δὲ Μεσσαλίνα καὶ οἱ ἐξελεύθεροι αὐτοῦ ἐξώγκωστο. ἦσαν δὲ τρεῖς οἱ μάλιστα τὸ κράτος διειληφότες· ὁ τε Κάλλιστος, δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς βίβλοις τῶν ἀξιώσεων ἑπτάκτα, καὶ ὁ Νάρκισσος, δὲ τῶν ἑπιστολῶν ἑπεστάτει, διὸ καὶ ἐγχειρίδιον παρεξώστω, καὶ ὁ Πάλλας, ὃς ἡ τῶν χρημάτων διοίκησις ἐμπεπίστευτο.—Ζον. 11, 9, p. 30, 10–19 D.

31 Ὅτι ἡ Μεσσαλίνα ὁσπερ ὁκεκαθνυν οἱ ὃτι καὶ ἐμοιχεύετο καὶ ἐπορνεύετο (τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα

1 τιμῶν μέντοι ἐπινικίων Xyl., τῶν μέντοι ἐπινικίων MSS.
2 Μόσου Xyl., μέσου MSS.
he was recalled by Claudius; for the emperor, learning of his valour and the discipline of his army, would not permit him to become more powerful. Corbulo, when informed of this, turned back, merely exclaiming: "How happy those who led our armies in olden times." By this he meant that the generals of other days had been permitted to exhibit their prowess without danger, whereas he himself had been blocked by the emperor by reason of jealousy. Yet even so he obtained the triumphal honours. Upon being placed once more in command of the army he drilled it no less thoroughly, and as the native tribes were at peace, he caused his men to dig a canal all the way across from the Rhine to the Maas, a distance of about twenty-three miles, in order to prevent the rivers from flowing back and causing inundations at the flood-tide of the Ocean.

When a grandson was born to Claudius by his daughter Antonia (after the death of Magnus he had given her in marriage to Cornelius Faustus Sulla, Messalina’s brother), he had the good sense not to allow any decree to be passed in honour of the occasion.

Messalina and his freedmen were puffed up with conceit. There were three of the latter in particular who divided the power among themselves: Callistus, who had charge of Petitions; Narcissus, who was chief Secretary, and hence wore a dagger at his side; and Pallas, who was entrusted with the administration of the Finances.

Messalina, as if it were not enough for her to play the adulteress and harlot,—for in addition to her

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3 τοῦ A, om. BCEρ. 4 ἐφῆκε Bs., ἄφηκε MSS.
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αἰσχρὸς ἔπραττε, καὶ ἐπ' οἰκήματος ἔστιν ὅτε ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ αὐτῇ τε ἐκαθεξέτο καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς πρώτας ἐκάθιζε), καὶ ἐπεθύμησε καὶ ἄνδρας,
2 τοῦτο δὴ τῷ τοῦ λόγου, πολλοὺς ἔχειν. καὶ σύμπασιν ἀν τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτῇ κατὰ συμβό-
λαία συνώκησεν, εἰ μὴ περ εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ
φωραθείσα ἀπώλετο. τέως μὲν γὰρ οἱ Και-
σάρειοι πάντες ὀμολογοῦν αὐτῇ, καὶ οὐδὲν ὁ
ti οὐκ ἀπὸ κοινῆς γνώμης ἐποίουν· ἔτει δὲ τῶν
Πολύβιων, καίτοι καὶ ἐκεῖνῳ πλησιάζουσα, καὶ
dίεβαλε καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν, οὐκέτι αὐτῇ ἐπίστευον,
κὰκ τοῦτον ἐρημωθείσα τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν εὐνοίας
3 ἐφθαρη. τὸν τε γὰρ Σίλιου τὸν Γάιον, τὸν τοῦ
Σίλιου τοῦ ὑπὸ Τιβερίου σφαγέντος ύιόν, ἀνδρὰ
ἐπεγράψατο, καὶ τοὺς τε γάμους πολυτελῶς
eἰστιάσε καὶ οἰκίαν αὐτῷ βασιλικὴν ἔχαριστο,
pάντα τὰ τιμώτατα τῶν τοῦ Κλαυδίου κει-
mηλίων συμφορήσασα ἐς αὐτὴν, καὶ τέλος
4 ύπατον αὐτῶν ἀπέφηνε. ταῦτ' οὖν πρότερον
μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀκούομενα καὶ
όρῳμενα τὸν γοῦν Κλαυδίου ἐλάνθανεν· ὡς δ' 
ovtos te ἐς τὰ "Ωστία πρὸς ἐπίσκεψιν σιτον
κατέβη, καὶ ἐκείνη ἐν τῇ ᾠρίᾳ, πρόφασιν ὡς
καὶ νοσοῦσα, ὑπελείφθη, συμπόσιον τέ τι περι-
βόητον συνεκρύτησε καὶ κώμον ἀσελγέστατον
ἐκόμασεν, ἐνταῦθα ὁ Νάρκισσος μουθένετι τῷ
Κλαυδίῳ μηνύει διὰ τῶν παλλακῶν αὐτοῦ πάντα

1 αἰσχρός Bk., ἵσχυρός cod. Peir.
3 αὐτῇ Zon., αὐτὴν cod. Peir.
shameless behaviour in general she at times sat as a prostitute in the palace herself and compelled the other women of the highest rank to do the same,—now conceived a desire to have many husbands, that is, men really bearing that title. And she would have been married by a legal contract to all those who enjoyed her favours, had she not been detected and destroyed in her very first attempt. For a time, indeed, all the imperial freedmen had been hand in glove with her and would do nothing except in agreement with her; but when she falsely accused Polybius and caused his death, even while she was maintaining improper relations with him, they no longer trusted her; and thus, having lost their goodwill, she perished. It came about on this wise. She caused Gaius Silius, son of the Silius slain by Tiberius, to be registered as her husband, celebrated the marriage in costly fashion, bestowed a royal residence upon him, in which she had already brought together the most valuable of Claudius' heirlooms; and finally she appointed him consul. Now all these doings, though for some time they had been either heard about or witnessed by everybody else, continued to escape the notice of Claudius. But finally, when he went down to Ostia to inspect the grain supply and she was left behind in Rome on the pretext of being ill, she got up a banquet of no little renown and carried on a most licentious revel. Then Narcissus, having got Claudius by himself, informed him through his concubines of all that was

4 τοῦ τοῦ Σιλίου τοῦ ὑπὸ Τιβερίου σφαγέντος ύιὸν Ζον., τοῦ Τιβερίου τοῦ σφαγέντος ὕιν cod. Peir.
5 αὐτῶν Ζον., om. Xiph. cod. Peir.
6 οὗτός τε Χιφ., οὗ τότε cod. Peir.
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5 τα γυνόμενα. καὶ ἑκφοβήσας αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ τῆς Μεσσαλίνης ἐκεῖνὸν τε ἀποκτενεῖν καὶ τὸν Σίλιον ἐς τὴν ἁρχὴν ἀντικαθιστάναι μελλοῦσης, ἀνέπεισε συλλαβεῖν τινας καὶ βασανίσαι. ἀμα τε τοῦτ' ἐγίγνετο καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἡπείχθη, καὶ ὅσπερ εἰχεν ἐσελθὼν ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν Μνηστήρα ἐθανάτωσε, καὶ μετὰ τούτο καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Μεσσαλίναν 1 ἐς τοὺς τοῦ 'Ασιατικοῦ κῆπους, δι' οὕσπερ οὕχ ἦκιστα ἀπωλῶλει, ἀναχωρήσασαν ἀπέσφαξεν.—Exc. Val. 225, Xiph. 143, 16–31 R. St., Zon. 11, 10, p. 30, 20–31, 14 D.

5a Μεθ' ἦν [Μεσσαλίναν] καὶ τὸν ἐαυτοῦ δοῦλον ὁ Κλαύδιος ὑβρίσαντα τινα τῶν ἐν ἀξιωσει διεφθείρειν.—Joann. Antioch. fr. 88 M. v. 34, 35.

6 Καὶ μετ' ὅλιγον τὴν ἀδελφίδὴν Ἀγριππίναν ἐγήμη, τὴν τοῦ Δομιτίου τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐπονομασθέντος μητέραν, καὶ γὰρ καλὴ ἦν καὶ συνεχῶς αὐτὸς 2 προσεφοίτα, μόνη τε ὡς καὶ θεῖω συνεγίμνητο, καὶ τρυφερώτερον ἦ κατ' ἀδελφίδην 3 προσεφέρετο.—Xiph. 143, 31–144, 3 R. St.

7 "Ὅτι ὁ Σιλανὸς ἀνήρ ἀγαθὸς ἐνομίζετο, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλαύδιον οὕτως ἐτιμᾶτο ὡστε καὶ ἑπικίνους τιμᾶς ἐν παῖσι λαβεῖν, τὴν τε θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ Ὀκταούνιάν ἐγγυήσασθαι, καὶ πολὺ πρὸ τοῦ καθίκνουσαν χρόνον στρατηγήσαι, 4 τὴν τε πανήγυρι τὴν προσήκουσαν αὐτῶ τοῖς ἐκεῖνου τέλεσιν ποιῆσαι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν Κλαύδιον καὶ αὐτῆςαί τινα παρ' αὐτοῦ ὅσπερ τινὰ στασιάρχην, καὶ ἐκβοήσαι πάνθ' ὅσα τοὺς ἄλλους βουλομένους ἑώρα.—Exc. Val. 226 (p. 677).

1 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Μεσσαλίναν Zon., καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Μεσσαλίναν Xiph., αὐτὴν τε τὴν Μεσσαλίναν cod. Peir. 12
taking place. And by frightening him with the idea that Messalina was going to kill him and set up Silius as ruler in his stead, he persuaded him to arrest and torture a number of persons. While this was going on, the emperor himself hastened back to the city; and immediately upon his arrival he put to death Mnester together with many others, and then slew Messalina herself after she had retreated into the gardens of Asiaticus, which more than anything else were the cause of her ruin.

After her Claudius destroyed also his own slave for insulting one of the prominent men.

After a little he married his niece Agrippina, the mother of Domitius, who was surnamed Nero. For she was beautiful and was in the habit of consulting him constantly; and she was much in his company unattended, seeing that he was her uncle, and in fact she was rather more familiar in her conduct toward him than became a niece.

Silanus was regarded as an upright man and was honoured by Claudius to the extent of receiving the triumphal honours while still a boy, of being betrothed to the emperor's daughter Octavia, and of becoming praetor long before the customary age. He was, furthermore, allowed to give, at the expense of Claudius, the festival that fell to his lot, and during it the emperor asked some favours of him as if he were himself the mere head of one of the factions, and uttered any shouts that he saw other people wished him to utter.

2 αὐτῷ Xyl. (in vers.), αὐτῇ MSS
3 καὶ ἀδελφίδην Baumgarten-Crusius, καὶ ἀδελφίδη MSS.
4 στρατηγησαὶ Val., ἐστρατήγησε cod. Peir.
"Оτι ούτω ταῖς γυναιξίν ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐδεδούλωτο ὡστ' ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς γαμβροὺς δι' αὐτὰς ἀποκτεῖναι.—Exc. Val. 227 (p. 677).

'Εκείνης δ' ούτω διαφθαρείσης τὴν 'Αγριππίναν τὴν ἀδελφίδην ἐγγεμει σπονδῆ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων, οτι τὸν Δομιτίου ἐς προσήβους ἦδη τελοῦντα εἰχὲν νῦν, ὅπως ἐφεδρὸν αὐτὸν τῇ ἀρχῇ 1 τρέφοντες μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Βρέττητικοῦ δεινῶν πάθωσιν, ὡς τὴν αὐτοῦ μητέρα τὴν Μεσσαλίναν ἀναιρεθήναι ποιῆσαντες. δεδογμένου δὲ ἦδη τοῦ γάμου δεῖσαντες τὸν Σιλανὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλαύδιου τιμώμενον ὡς ἀνδρὰ ἁγαθὸν, ἀμα δὲ καὶ τὴν 'Οκταούνιαν τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ τῷ τῆς 'Αγριππίνης νῦν τῷ Δομιτίου προμνώμενοι, ἐναγγυγυμένην τῷ Σιλανῷ, πείθουσι τὸν Κλαύδιον ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντα οἱ τὸν Σιλανὸν ἀποκτεῖναι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου λόγους ἐν τῇ θεότητι ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος ἐποίησατο ὅτι συμφέρει τῷ κοινῷ γῆμα τὸν Κλαύδιον καὶ τὴν 'Αγριππίναν ἐπιτηδείαν εἰς τούτο ἀπέφανε, καὶ βιάσασθαι σφισιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν γάμον συνεβούλευσεν. ἐντεῦθεν ὁμιθέντες οἱ Βουλευταὶ πρὸς τὸν Κλαύδιον ἤλθον καὶ ἡμάγκασαν δῆθεν αὐτὸν γῆμα, καὶ ψῆφισμα ἐποίησαντο ἐξεῖναι Ἔμαηος ἀδελφιδᾶς ἀγγεθαι πρῶτον γὰρ ἐκεκὼλυτο.—Zon. 11, 10, p. 31, 15—32, 4 D.

32 Ὁς δ' ἀπαξ ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ ἡ 'Αγριππίνα ἐγένετο, τὸν τὴν Κλαύδιον ἑσφετερίσατο, δεινοτάτη ποιοῦ ὁπλα πράγματι χρῆσθαι, καὶ τοὺς τῶν αὐτοῦ εὐνοιαν ἔχοντας τὰ μὲν φόβῳ τὰ δὲ ἐνεργε-

1 τῇ ἀρχῇ BCε, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ AE.
Claudius had become such a slave to his wives A.D. that on their account he killed both his sons-in-law. When she\(^1\) had thus been put out of the way, Claudius married Agrippina, his niece. The freedmen zealously aided in bringing about this marriage, since Agrippina had a son, Domitius, who was already nearing man's estate, and they wished to bring him up as Claudius' successor in the imperial office so that they might suffer no harm at the hands of Britannicus for having caused the death of his mother, Messalina. When, now, the marriage had been decided upon, they feared Silanus, who was honoured as an upright man by Claudius, and at the same time they wished to secure Octavia, the emperor's daughter, already betrothed to Silanus, as wife for Agrippina's son, Domitius. So they persuaded Claudius to put Silanus to death, claiming that he was plotting against him. When this had been accomplished, Vitellius made a speech in the senate, declaring that the good of the State required that Claudius should marry; and he kept indicating Agrippina as a suitable woman for this purpose and advised them to force him into this marriage. Thus prompted, the senators came to Claudius and made a show of compelling him to marry. They also passed a decree permitting Romans to wed their nieces, a union previously prohibited.

As soon as Agrippina had come to live in the palace she gained complete control over Claudius. Indeed, she was very clever in making the most of opportunities, and, partly by fear and partly by favours, she won the devotion of all those who were

\(^1\) Messalina.
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σίαις ὕκειμόσατο. καὶ τέλος τὸν Βρεττανικῶν τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ ὃς καὶ τῶν τυχόντων τινὰ τρέφεσθαι ἐποίει: ὃ γὰρ ἔτερος, ὃ καὶ τῗν τοῦ τὸν Δομήτιον τότε μὲν γαμβρὸν τῷ Κλαυδίῳ ἀπέδειξεν, ὅστερον δὲ καὶ ἐσπευσθὲν. ἔπραξεν δὲ ταῦτα τὸ μὲν τι διὰ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἀναπείσασα τὸν Κλαυδίου, τὸ δὲ καὶ τὴν γεροσίαν καὶ τὸν δήμον τοὺς τε στρατιώτας ἐπιτήδειον τι αἰεὶ ποτε ἐστα ὑμβοῦν παρασκευάσασα.—Exc. Val. 228 (p. 677), Xiph. 144, 3–7 R. St., Zon. 11, 10, p. 32, 5–13 D.

3 "Ὅτι ἡ Ἀγριππίνα τὸν νῦν ἐς τὸ κράτος ἐξῆκει καὶ παρὰ τῷ Σενέκα ἐξεπάϊδευε, πλοῦτόν τε ἀμύθητον αὐτῷ συνέλεγεν, οὐδὲν οὖτε τῶν σμικρότατων οὔτε τῶν ἀτιμοτάτων ἐπ᾿ ἀργυρισμῷ παραλείπουσα, ἀλλὰ πάντα μὲν καὶ τὸν ὀπωσοῦν εὐποροῦντα θεραπεύουσα, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ δι᾿ αὐτὸ

4 τοῦτο φονεύουσα. ἦδη δὲ τινας καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν γυναικῶν ζηλοτυπήσασα ἐφθειρε, καὶ τὴν γε Παυλιάνα τὴν Δολλίαν, ἐπειδὴ τῷ Γαίῳ συνωκήκει καὶ ἐλπίδα τινὰ ἐς τὴν τοῦ Κλαυδίου συνωκήσων ἐσχήκει, ἀπέκτεινε. τὴν τε κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς κομψθείσαν αὐτῇ μὴ γυωρίσασα τὸ τε στόμα αὐτῆς αὐτοχειρὶ ἀνέφει καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας ἐπεσκέψατο ἰδίως πως ἔχοντας.—Exc. Val. 229, Xiph. 144, 7–16 R. St. (Ζον.).

4a "Ὅτι Μιθριδάτης ὁ τῶν Ἰβηρῶν βασιλεὺς συμβαλὼν Ἑρωμαίκῳ στρατεύματι καὶ ἤπτηθεὶς ἀπογούς τε ἐαυτοῦ ἐδεήθη λόγον αὐτῷ δοθῆναι,

1 τέλος Zon., om. cod. Peir.
2 Σειανοῦ (Σηιανοῦ) Val., Ἀσιανοῦ cod. Peir.
at all friendly toward him. At length she caused his son Britannicus to be brought up as if he were a mere nobody. (The other son, who had betrothed the daughter of Sejanus, was dead.) She made Domitius the son-in-law of Claudius at this time and later brought about his adoption also. She accomplished these ends partly by getting the freed-men to persuade Claudius and partly by arranging beforehand that the senate, the populace, and the soldiers should join together in shouting their approval of her demands on every occasion.

Agrippina was training her son for the throne and was entrusting his education to Seneca. She was amassing untold wealth for him, overlooking no possible source of revenue, not even the most humble or despised, but paying court to everyone who was in the least degree well-to-do and murdering many for this very reason. Indeed, she even destroyed some of the foremost women out of jealousy; thus she slew Lollia Paulina because she had been the wife of Gaius and had cherished some hope of becoming Claudius' wife. As she did not recognize the woman's head when it was brought to her, she opened the mouth with her own hand and inspected the teeth, which had certain peculiarities.

Mithridates, king of the Iberians, having been defeated in a conflict with a Roman army and despairing of his life, begged that a hearing should be granted him in order that he might not
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33, 2

\[\text{Kai ἡ μὲν ταχύ καὶ αὐτὴ Μεσσαλίνα ἐγένετο, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι καὶ τιμᾶς ἄλλας τε καὶ τὸ καρπέντρον ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι χρήσθαι παρὰ τῆς Βουλῆς ἐλαβεν.—Xiph. 144, 16–18 R. St.}

2a

\[\text{Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Ἀγριππίναν τὴν Ἀγριππίναν ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐπεκάλεσε.—Zon. 11, 10, p. 32, 22–23 D.}

2b

\[\text{"Οπότε δὲ ὁ Κλαύδιος τὸν Νέρωνα τὸν ὑδν αὐτῆς ἐσεποιήσατο τε καὶ γαμβρὸν ἐποιήσατο, τὴν θυγατέρα ἐς ἑτερῶν τη γένος ἐκποιήσας ἦνα μὴ ἀδελφοὺς συνοικίζειν δοκῆ, τέρας οὐ μικρὸν ἐγένετο· καίεσθαι γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἐδοξεί. —Xiph. 144, 19–22 R. St.}

2c

\[\text{Ἀγριππίνα δὲ καὶ Καλπουρνίαν ἂν γυναῖκα τῶν πρῶτων ἐφυγάδευσεν, ἢ ὡς λέγεται καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐθαύμασε καὶ ἐπήνευε.}

2e

\[\text{Τοῦ δὲ Νέρωνος (τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα ἐπ' αὐτῷ}]

1 \text{καρπέντρῳ Xyl., καρπεντίῳ, MSS.}

2 \text{Cf. Zon. (11, 10, p. 32, 23–29 D): καὶ τὸν ὑδν αὐτῆς εἰσποιηθέντους μετωόμασε Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Νέρωνα Δροῦν Αἰγυπτικὸν Κάλαμα, μηδὲν φροντίθαν ὅτι καίεσθαι ὁ οὐρανὸς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἐδοξε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν "Οκτα-}

18
be summarily executed or led in the triumphal procession. When his request had been granted, Claudius received him in Rome, seated on a tribunal, and addressed threatening words to him. But the king answered him boldly, and ended by saying: “I was not brought to you; I came. If you doubt it, release me and try to find me.”

She [Agrippina] quickly became a second Messalina, the more so as she obtained from the senate the right to use the carpentum at festivals, as well as other honours.

After that Claudius gave Agrippina the title of Augusta.

When Claudius had adopted her son Nero and had made him his son-in-law, after having first caused his daughter to be adopted into another family, in order to avoid the appearance of uniting in marriage brother and sister, a mighty portent occurred. The sky seemed to be on fire that day.

Agrippina also banished Calpurnia, one of the most prominent women,—or even put her to death, according to one report,—because Claudius had admired and commended her beauty.

When Nero (to use the one of his names that has

1 Cf. lx. 22.
2 Cf. Zonaras: And adopting her son, he changed his name to Tiberius Claudius Nero Drusus Germanicus Caesar, paying no heed to the fact that the sky seemed to be on fire that day. Afterwards, having introduced his daughter Octavia into another family, in order to avoid the appearance of uniting in marriage brother and sister, he betrothed her to him.

[Epitome of Book LXI]

1 CaIpoupylan Hier. Wolf, kalpoupylan ABCE.
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εξενίκησεν) ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐγγραφέντος, κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἡ ἐνεγράφη τὸ δαιμόνιον τὴν τε γῆν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐσείσε καὶ φόβον νυκτὸς πᾶσιν ὦμοιος ἐνέβαλε.—Zon. 11, 10, p. 32, 29–33, 7 D.

32, 5 "Οτι ὁ μὲν Νέρων ἡξετο, Βρεττανικὸς δὲ οὐτε τινὰ τιμὴν οὐτε ἐπιμέλειαν εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἡ Ἀγριππίνα τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς περείπτωτος αὐτὸν τοὺς μὲν ἐξέβαλε τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὸν Σωσίβιον, ὃ ἦ τε τροφή καὶ ἡ παιδεία αὐτοῦ προσετέακτο, κατέσφαξεν ὦς καὶ τῷ Νέρων ἐπιβουλεύοντα. κακὸ τούτου παραδοῦσα αὐτὸν οἰς ἦθελεν, ἐκάκιον ὅσον ἔδυνατο, καὶ οὔτε τῷ πατρὶ συνείδην οὔτε ἐς τὸ δημόσιον προϊέναι εἰα, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀδέσμῳ τρόπῳ τινὰ φυλακῆ εἰχεν.—Exc. Val. 230 (p. 678), Zon. 11, 10, p. 33, 7–14 D.

6a Δίων ξα' βιβλίῳ "ἐπειδή τε οἱ ἐπαρχοι, ὁ τε Κριστίνος καὶ Δούσιος Γέτας, μὴ πάντα αὐτή ύπείκον, ἐκείνους κατέλυσεν."—Bekk. Anecd. 178, 4.

33, 1 "Οτι τῆς Ἀγριππίνης οὐδεὶς τὸ παράπαν ἤπτετο, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὸν Κλαύδιον ἔδυνατο, καὶ ἐν κοινῷ τοὺς βουλομένους ἦσπάζετο· καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐσ τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐσεγράφητο.—Exc. Val. 231 (p. 678).

3a Ἡδυνατο δὲ πάντα, τοῦ Κλαύδιον κρατοῦσα καὶ τὸν Νάρκισσον καὶ τὸν Πάλλαντα ὀικειώσα-μένῃ: ὁ γὰρ Κάλλιστος ἐπὶ πολὺ προχωρήσας δυνάμεως ἐτελεύτησεν.

3b Οἱ ἀστρολόγοι δὲ ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἰταλίας ἠλάθησαν, καὶ οἱ αὐτοὶς συγγενόμενοι ἐκολά- σθησαν.—Zon. 11, 10 (p. 33, 14–19 D.).
prevailed) assumed the *toga virilis*, the Divine Power A.D. 51 shook the earth for a long time on the very day of the ceremony and by night struck terror to the hearts of all alike.

While Nero was being advanced, Britannicus received neither honour nor care. On the contrary, Agrippina removed or even put to death those who were devoted to him; Sosibius, who had been entrusted with his rearing and education, she slew on the pretext that he was plotting against Nero. After that she handed Britannicus over to those who suited her purpose and did him all the harm she could. She would allow him neither to be with his father nor to appear in public, but kept him in a kind of imprisonment, though without bonds.

Dio, Book LXI: "When the prefects Crispinus and Lusius Geta would not yield to her in everything, she removed them from office."

No one attempted in any way to check Agrippina; indeed, she had more power than Claudius himself and used to greet in public all who desired it, a fact that was entered in the records.

She possessed all power, since she dominated Claudius and had won over Narcissus and Pallas. (Callistus had died, after rising to a position of great influence.)

The astrologers were banished from all Italy and A.D. 52 their associates were punished.

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1 ὅτι—ἡβέτο cod. Peir., Νέρων μὲν αὖν ἡβέτο Ζών.  
2 φυλακὴ ἐξευ supplied by Val.
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3° Καράτακος δὲ τις βαρβαρών ἀρχηγός ἀλώς καὶ εἰς τὴν Ρώμην ἀχθεὶς, καὶ συγγνώμης παρὰ τοῦ Κλαυδίου τυχὼν, εἶτα περινοστήσας τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τὴν ἀφεσιν, καὶ ἰδών αὐτῆς τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος, "εἶτα ἡφ "ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κεκτημένοι τῶν σκηνιδίων ἥμων ἐπιθυμεῖτε;" 1—Zon. 11, 10 (p. 33, 19–25 D.).

3 Ἔν τινι δὲ λίμνῃ ναυμαχίαν ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐπεθύμησε ποιῆσαι, τεῖχος τε ἡύλων περὶ αὐτῆς κατεσκεύασε καὶ ἱκρία ἐπηξε, πλήθος τε ἀναρίθμητον ἤθροισε. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ὦς που καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κλαύδιος ὁ τε Νέρων στρατιωτικῶς ἐστάλησαν, ἢ τε 'Αγριππίνα χλαμύδι διαχύσω ἐκοσμήθη. τοί δὲ δὴ ναυμαχίσουσες θανάτῳ τε 2 καταδεδικασμένοι ἦσαν καὶ πεντήκοντα ναὸς ἐκάτεροι εἴχον, οἱ μὲν

4 'Ρόδιοι οἱ δὲ Σικελοὶ ὀνομασθέντες. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον συστραφέντες καὶ καθ’ ἐν γενόμενοι Κλαύδιον ἀμα προσηγόρευσαν σύτω "χαῖρε, αὐτοκράτορ· οἱ ἀπολούμενοι σε ἀσπαζόμεθα!" ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδέν σωτήριον εὑρόντο, ἀλλὰ ναυμαχεῖν καὶ ὡς ἐκελεύθησαν, διέκπλοις τε ἀπλοῖς ἐχρήσαντο καὶ ἥκιστα ἀλλήλων ἥψαντο, μέχρις οὐ καὶ ἀνάγκη κατεκόπησεν.—Xiph. 144, 22–145, 2 R. St.

Caratacus, a barbarian chieftain who was captured and brought to Rome and later pardoned by Claudius, wandered about the city after his liberation; and after beholding its splendour and its magnitude he exclaimed: "And can you, then, who have got such possessions and so many of them, covet our poor tents?" ¹

Claudius conceived the desire to exhibit a naval battle on a certain lake; ² so, after building a wooden wall around it and erecting stands, he assembled an enormous multitude. Claudius and Nero were arrayed in military garb, while Agrippina wore a beautiful chlamys woven with threads of gold, and the rest of the spectators whatever pleased their fancy. Those who were to take part in the sea-fight were condemned criminals, and each side had fifty ships, one party being styled "Rhodians" and the other "Sicilians." First they assembled in a single body and all together addressed Claudius in this fashion: "Hail, Emperor! We who are about to die salute thee." And when this in no wise availed to save them and they were ordered to fight just the same, they simply sailed through their opponents' lines, injuring each other as little as possible. This continued until they were forced to destroy one another.

¹ Cf. Petrus Patricius: The ruler of the Britons, Cartaces, was captured and sent to Rome. He was tried by Claudius, who wore a chlamys and sat on a tribunal; but he obtained pardon and lived in Italy with his wife and children. On wandering about the city once and beholding its magnitude and the splendour of the houses, he exclaimed: "Why do you, who have got so many and so fine possessions, covet our tents?"

² The Fucine Lake, mentioned in the next paragraph.

¹ τε Rk., δὲ δὴ MSS.

2
5 "Οτι ο Νάρκισσος τής λίμνης τής Φουκίνης ¹ συμπεσούσης αιτίαν ἐπ' αυτή μεγάλην ἐλαβεν· ἐπεστάτει γὰρ τοῦ ἑργοῦ, καὶ ἐδοξε πολὺ ἐλάττω ὡν εἰλήφει ² δαπανήσας εἰτα ἐξεπίτηδες τὸ σύμπτωμα, ὅπως ἀνεξέλεγκτον τὸ κακοῦργημα αὐτοῦ γένηται, μηχανήσασθαι.—Exc. Val. 232 (p. 678).

6 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Νάρκισσος οὖτως ἐνετρύφα τῷ Κλαυδίῳ ὥστε λέγεται, ἐπειδὴ ποτὲ οἱ Βιθυνοὶ, δικάζοντος τοῦ Κλαυδίου, Ἰουνίῳ Κλίωνος τοῦ ἄρξαντός σφων πολλὰ κατεβόησαν ὡς οὐ μετρίως δωροδοκήσαντος, καὶ ἢρετο ἐκεῖνος τοὺς παρεστηκότας ὁ τι καὶ λέγουσιν (οὐ γὰρ συνίει διὰ τὸν θόρυβον αὐτῶν), εἰπὲ τε ὁ Νάρκισσος ψευσάμενος ὅτι χάριν τῷ Ἰουνίῳ γιγνώσκονσι, πιστεῦσαί τε αὐτῷ καὶ εἴπειν "οὐκοῦν ἐπὶ διετές ἐτὶ ἐπιτροπεύσει."

7 Ἡ δὲ Αγριππίνα καὶ δημοσία πολλάκις αὐτῷ καὶ χρηματίζοντι καὶ προσβείας ἀκρωμένω παρήν, ἐπὶ βήματος ἰδίου καθήμενη. καὶ ἦν καὶ τοῦτο οὐδενὸς ἐλαττὸν θέαμα.—Xiph. 145, 2–11 R. St.

8 Ἰουλίῳ ³ δὲ των Γαλλίκων ⁴ ῥήτορι δίκην ποτὲ λέγοντι ὁ Κλαυδίος ἄχθεσθεῖς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν Τίβεριν ἐμβληθήναι· ἐτυχε γὰρ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ⁵ δικάζων. ἐφ’ ὦ δὴ ὁ Δομιτίος ὁ Ἀφρος, πλείστον τῶν καθ’ ἐαυτὸν ἐν τῷ συναγορεύειν τισίν ἱσχύσας, κάλλιστα ἀπέσκωψε· δειθέντος γάρ τινος ἀνθρώπου τῆς παρ’ αὐτοῦ βοηθείας,

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¹ Φουκίνης Val., φουκιανῆς cod.
² εἰλήφει Bk. (?), ἡλπιε cod.
³ Ἰουλίῳ Zon., ιουδαίω Xiph., om. exc. Vat.

24
When the Fucine Lake caved in, Narcissus was A.D. 52 severely blamed for it. For he had been in charge of the undertaking, and it was thought that after spending a great deal less than he had received he had then purposely contrived the collapse, in order that his wrong-doing might not be detected.

Narcissus used to make sport openly of Claudius. A.D. 52-53 Indeed, the report has it that on a certain occasion when Claudius was holding court and the Bithynians raised a great outcry against Junius Cilo, who had been their governor, claiming that he had taken enormous bribes, and the emperor, not understanding them by reason of the noise they made, asked the bystanders what they were saying, Narcissus, instead of telling him the truth, said that they were expressing their gratitude to Junius. And Claudius, believing him, said: “Well, then, he shall be procurator two years longer.”

Agrippina often attended the emperor in public, when he was transacting ordinary business or when he was giving an audience to ambassadors, though she sat upon a separate tribunal. This, too, was one of the most remarkable sights of the time.

On one occasion, when a certain orator, Julius Gallicus, was pleading a case, Claudius became vexed and ordered him to be cast into the Tiber, near which he chanced to be holding court. This incident gave occasion for a very neat jest on the part of Domitius Afer, the most able advocate of his day. When a man who had been left in the

4 Γαλλίκη Leuncl., γαλλίκω Xiph. Zon. (γαλλίκανδν exc. Vat.).
5 αὐτοῦ L', τοῦ αὐτοῦ VC.
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9 Νοσήσαντος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ Κλαύδιου εἰς ἧλθεν ὁ Νέρων εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, καὶ εἰ ἀναρρωσθεὶς ὁ Κλαύδιος ἵπποδρομίαν ὑπέσχετο. πάντα γὰρ τρόπον ἡ Ἀγριππίνα ἐκίνηε ὑπὸ τῶν τε πλῆθει χαρίζοιτο καὶ μόνος ἔσεσθαι νομίζοιτο τῆς αὐταρχίας διάδοχος. διὸ τὸν τε ἵππικὸν ἄγωνα, ὃ προσέκεντο μάλιστα, ἔποψε τῶν Νέρωνών ὑποσχέσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Κλαύδιου ὑγείᾳ,

10 ἢν καὶ πάνυ ἀπηχέτευκεν καὶ πρὸς τὴν πρᾶσιν τῶν ἄρτων θόρυβον τινα γενόσθαι παρασκευάσασα ἀνέπεισε τὸν Κλαύδιον τῷ τε δῆμῳ ἐκ προγραφῆς δηλώσαι καὶ τῇ γεροντία ἐπιστεῦλαι ὅτι, κἂν αὐτὸς ἀποθάνω, ὁ Νέρων τὰ κοινά ἰκανὸς ἦδη ἐστὶ διοικεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν πολὺς τε ἐκ τούτου ἢν καὶ διὰ στόματος ἥγετο ἀπασι, τὸν δὲ Βρεττανικόν συχνοὶ μὲν οὐδεὶς εἰ ἐξῆ ἐγώνωσκον, οἷς λοιποὶ δὲ παραπλήγια καὶ ἐπίληπτων, ταῦτα κηρυττούσης τῆς Ἀγριππίνης, θὸντο. ῥᾳδάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Κλαύδιου τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν ὁ Νέρων μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐπετέλεσε, καὶ τὴν Ὀκταβίαν δὲ τὸτε ἐγήμεν, ὡστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἀνὴρ ἦδη δοκεῖν.

11 Ὄπως ὃς ἐδώκει τῇ Ἀγριππίνη ἐδώκει· καὶ τοι ὡσα τῇ Ἀλβίαι ἐσχε κακείη ἐδέδοτο καὶ ἀλλ' ἀτα πλεώς ἐψῆφιστο. ἢ δὲ καὶ ἱσοκρατῆς τῷ Κλαύδιῳ ἀντικροὺς ὀνομάζεσθαι ἦθελε, καὶ ποτὲ
lurch by Gallicus came to Domitius for assistance, A.D. 52-53 he said to him: "And who told you that I am a better swimmer than he?"

Later, when Claudius fell sick, Nero entered the senate and promised a horse-race in case the emperor should recover. For Agrippina was leaving no stone unturned in order to make Nero popular with the masses and to cause him to be regarded as the only successor to the imperial power. Hence it was that she selected the equestrian contest, to which the Romans were especially devoted, for Nero to promise in the event of Claudius' recovery—which she earnestly prayed might not come to pass. Again, after instigating a riot over the sale of bread, she persuaded Claudius to make known to the populace by proclamation and to the senate by letter that, if he should die, Nero was already capable of administering the business of the State. In consequence of this he became a person of importance and his name was on everybody's lips, whereas in the case of Britannicus many did not know even whether he was living, and the rest regarded him as insane and an epileptic; for this was the report that Agrippina gave out. When, A.D. 53 now, Claudius recovered, Nero conducted the horse-race in a magnificent manner; and he married Octavia at this time—another circumstance that caused him to be regarded as having at length come to manhood.

Nothing seemed to satisfy Agrippina, though all A.D. 53-54 the privileges that Livia had enjoyed had been bestowed upon her also, and a number of additional honours had been voted. But, although she exercised the same power as Claudius, she desired to
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πολλοῦ τήν πόλιν ἐπινεμομένου πυρὸς πρὸς τὴν ἐπικούριαν ἐκείνῳ συμπαρεγένετο.—Zon. 11, 11, p. 34, 4–28 D.

34 Ὅς δὲ Κλαύδιος τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀγριππίνης δρωμένοις, ὥν γε καὶ ἂσθάνετο ἡδη, ἀχθόμενος, καὶ τῶν ὑδὸν αὐτοῦ τῶν Βρεττανικῶν ἐπιζητῶν, ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶ ἐπίτηδες ὑπ’ ἐκείνης τὰ πολλὰ γυνιόμενον, Νέρωνι, ὁι τῷ ἔαυτῆς παιδὶ ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου ἅνδρὸς αὐτῆς Δομιτίου, πάντα τρόπον περιποιουμένης τὸ κράτος, καὶ ὅπότε ἐντύχοι φιλοφρόνως συγγνώμενος, ὥς ἠγκαλίζε τὸ γυνιόμενον, ἀλλ’ ἐκείνην τε καταλύσαι καὶ τὸν ὑδὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐφίβους ἐσπαγαγεῖν καὶ διάδοχον τῆς ἑρξής ἂποδείξας παρεσκευάζετο. μαθοῦσα δὲ ταύτα ἰ' Ἀγριππίνα ἐφοβήθη, καὶ αὐτὸν προκαταλαβέειν φαρμάκων πρὸς τοιούτων πραξθῆναι ἐσπούδασεν. ὡς δὲ ἐκείνος οὖδέν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ὑδοῦ, ὅν πολὺν ἣν ποτὲ ἐπινε, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης διαίτης, πάντες ἐπίπαν πρὸς ἐνακοράσεως τοῦ οἴουν, ὅτι κακοῦσθαι ἓδυνατο, Δουκούσταν τινα φαρμακίδα περιβόητον ἐπ’ αὐτὸ τούτω νέον ἐκείνος μετεπέμψει, καὶ φάρμακον τὸ ἀφυκτὸν προκατασκευάσασα δι’ αὐτῆς ἐς τινὰ τῶν καλομενῶν μυκήτων ἐνέβαλε. καὶ αὐτὴ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἠσθίεν, ἐκείνον δὲ ἐκ τοῦ τὸ φάρμακον ἔχοντος (καὶ γὰρ μέγιστος καὶ κάλλιστος ἦν)

1 προτέρου Leunel., πρότερον MSS.
2 ὅπότε—ἀνυγνώμενον Zon., om. Xiph.; καὶ supplied by Bs.
3 ἐς τοὺς—καὶ Zon., om. Xiph.
4 πρὶ—πραξθῆναι Zon., om. Xiph.
5 ἐσπούδασε Zon., ἡθέλησε Xiph.
7 πάντες ἐπίπαν Zon., om. Xiph.

28
have his title outright; and once, when a great A.D. 53–54 conflagration was consuming the city, she accompanied him as he lent his assistance.

Claudius was angered by Agrippina’s actions, of A.D. 51 which he was now becoming aware, and sought for his son Britannicus, who had purposely been kept out of his sight by her most of the time (for she was doing everything she could to secure the throne for Nero, inasmuch as he was her own son by her former husband Domitius); and he displayed his affection whenever he met the boy. He would not endure her behaviour, but was preparing to put an end to her power, to cause his son to assume the *loga virilis*, and to declare him heir to the throne. Agrippina, learning of this, became alarmed and made haste to forestall anything of the sort by poisoning Claudius. But since, owing to the great quantity of wine he was forever drinking and his general habits of life, such as all emperors as a rule adopt for their protection, he could not easily be harmed, she sent for a famous dealer in poisons, a woman named Lucusta, who had recently been convicted on this very charge; and preparing with her aid a poison whose effect was sure, she put it in one of the vegetables called mushrooms. Then she herself ate of the others, but made her husband eat of the one which contained the poison; for it was the

2 Dio probably says “called” here because the Greek word he uses for “mushrooms” has many other meanings, such as the snuff of a wick, a scab, a knob, etc.
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φαγεὶν ἐποίησε. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐτως ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἐκ μὲν τοῦ συμποσίου ὡς καὶ ὑπερκορίσθης μέθης σφόδρα ὄν ἐξεκομίσθη, ὅπερ ποιν καὶ ἄλλοτε πολλάκις ἐγεγόνει, κατεργασθεὶς δὲ τῷ φαρμάκῳ διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν οὔτ’ εἰπεῖν οὔτ’ ἀκοῦσαι δυνηθεὶς μετήλλαξε, τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τοῦ Ὀκτωβρίου, ξῆσας ἐξήκοντα καὶ τρία ἐτη καὶ μήνας δύο καὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ δέκα, αὐτάρχησας δὲ ἐτη τρία καὶ δέκα καὶ μήνας ὀκτὼ καὶ ἡμέρας εἰκοσὶ.—Xiph. 145, 17-146, 5 R. St., Zon. 11, 11, p. 35, 1-25 D.

4 Ταῦτα δὲ δὴ ἡ Ἀγριππίνα ποιήσαι ήδυνήθη ὅτι τῶν Νάρκισσον ἐς Καμπανίαν, προφάσει ὡς καὶ τοῖς ὑδασὶ τοῖς ἐκεί πρὸς τὴν ποδάγραν χρησόμενον, προαπέπεμψεν, ἐπεὶ παρόντος γε αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἂν ποτε αὐτὸ ἐδεδράκει· τοιοῦτος τις φύλαξ τοῦ δεσπότου ἦν. ἐπαπώλετο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τῷ Κλαύδῳ, μέγιστον τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων δυνηθείς· μυριάδας τε γὰρ πλείους μυρίων εἶχε, καὶ προσέχον αὐτῷ καὶ πόλεις καὶ

5 βασιλεῖς· καὶ δὴ τα καὶ τότε ἀποσφαγησθεὶς μέλλων λαμπρὸν ἔρχον διεπράξατο· τὰ γὰρ γράμματα τοῦ Κλαύδου, ὃσα ἀπόρρητα κατὰ τε τῆς Ἀγριππίνης καὶ κατὰ ἄλλων τινῶν, οἰα τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ διοικῶν, εἶχε, πάντα προκατέκαυσεν.—Xiph. 146, 5-15 R. St.

6 Ἑσφάγη δὲ παρὰ τῷ τῆς Ἑσσαλίνης μνημείῳ, ὅπερ ἐκ συντυχίας συνενεχθὲν ἐδοξέων εἰς τὴν ἐκείνης ἡμερίαν γενέσθαι.—Zon. 11, 11, p. 36, 4-6 D.

35 Οὔτω μὲν ὁ Κλαύδιος μετήλλαξεν, ἐς τούτῳ τε

1 κατεργασθεὶς—φαρμάκῳ Zon., om. Xiph.
largest and finest of them. And so the victim of A.D. 54 the plot was carried from the banquet apparently quite overcome by strong drink, a thing that had happened many times before; but during the night the poison took effect and he passed away, without having been able to say or hear a word. It was the thirteenth of October, and he had lived sixty-three years, two months, and thirteen days, having been emperor thirteen years, eight months and twenty days.

Agrippina was able to do this deed owing to the fact that she had previously sent Narcissus off to Campania, feigning that he needed to take the waters there for his gout. For had he been present, she would never have accomplished it, so carefully did he guard his master. As it was, however, his death followed hard upon that of Claudius. He had wielded the greatest power of any man of his time, for he had possessed more than 400,000,000 sesterces, and cities and kings had paid court to him. Indeed, even at this time, when he was on the point of being slain, he managed to perform a brilliant deed. Being in charge of the correspondence of Claudius, he had in his possession letters containing secret information against Agrippina and others; all of these he burned before his death.

He was slain beside the tomb of Messalina, a circumstance due to mere chance, though it seemed to be in fulfilment of her vengeance.

In such a manner did Claudius meet his end. It

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2 διά ... νυκτὸς Zon., Joann. Ant., τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς Xiph.
4 τότε Leuncl., πάτε MSS.
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ō te ἀστὴρ ὁ κομῆτης ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὀψθεὶς, καὶ ἡ ψεκάς ἡ αἰματάδης, ὦ τε σκηνττὸς ὦ ἐς τὰ δορυ-
φορικά σημεῖα ἐμπεσὼν, καὶ ἡ αὐτόματος τοῦ
νασῶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Νικαίου ἄνοιξις, τὸ τε σμῆνος
τὸ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ συστραφέν, καὶ ὅτι ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν ἀρχῶν ἔστὶν ὕφ᾽ ἐκάστης ἐτελεύτησεν,

2 ἐδοξεῖ σημῆναι. ἐτυχεὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς ταφῆς καὶ τῶν
ἀλλῶν ὁσῶν ὁ Αὔγουστος. Ἀγριππίνα δὲ καὶ ὁ
Νέρων πενθεὶν προσεποίησε ὑπὸ ἀπεκτόνεσαν,2
ἐς τε τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀνήγαγον δὲ ἐκ τοῦ συμποσίου
φοράδην ἐξευθύνομεν. ὅθεντερ Δούκιος Ἰούνιος3
Γαλλίων 4 ὁ τοῦ Σενέκα ἀδελφὸς ἀστείοτάτον τι
3 ἀπεφθέγξατο. συνεδήκε μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὁ Σενέκας
σύγγραμμα, ἀποκολοκύντωσιν 5 ἀυτὸ ὄσπερ πᾶν
ἀθανάτισιν 6 ὄνομάσας· ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐν βραχυτάτῳ
4 πολλὰ εἰπὼν ἀπομνημονεύεται. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοὺς
ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ θανατουμένους ἀγκώστροις τίσι
μεγάλοις οἱ δήμοι ἐς τε τὴν ἄγορὰν ἀνείλκον
καντεῦθεν 7 ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἔσυρον, ἐφ᾽ τὸν
Κλαύδιον ἀγκώστρῳ ἐς τὸν οὐρανόν ἀνενεχθήναι.
—Xiph. 146, 15–30 R. St.

Καὶ ὁ Νέρων δὲ οὐκ ἀπάξιον μνήμης ἔποιε
κατέλυσε· τοὺς γὰρ μύκητας θεῶν βρωμα ἐλεγε
εῖναι, ὅτι καὶ ἐκεῖνος διὰ τοῦ μύκητος θεῶς ἐγε
γόνει. 8—Xiph. 146, 30–32 R. St.

1 ὤ τε supplied by Rk.
2 ἀπεκτόνεσαν St., ἀπεκτόνεσαν MSS.
3 Ἰούνιος Fabr., Ἰούλιος MSS.
4 Γαλλίων R. Steph., λακίων MSS.
5 ἀποκολοκύντωσιν L1,corr., ἀποκολοκόντωσιν VC.
6 ἀθανάτισιν VC, ἀπαθανάτισιν.
7 καντεῦθεν Rk., κανταῦθα MSS.
Dind.) : ῆτι ὁ Νέρων περὶ Κλαύδιον ἀστείως ἐφθέγξατο· ἐν τινὶ γὰρ

32
seemed as if this event had been indicated by the comet, which was seen for a very long time, by the shower of blood, by the thunder-bolt that fell upon the standards of the Praetorians, by the opening of its own accord of the temple of Jupiter Victor, by the swarming of bees in the camp, and by the fact that one incumbent of each political office died. The emperor received the state burial and all the other honours that had been accorded to Augustus. Agrippina and Nero pretended to grieve for the man whom they had killed, and elevated to heaven him whom they had carried out on a litter from the banquet. On this point Lucius Junius Gallio, the brother of Seneca, was the author of a very witty remark. Seneca himself had composed a work that he called "Pumpkinification"—a word formed on the analogy of "deification"; and his brother is credited with saying a great deal in one short sentence. Inasmuch as the public executioners were accustomed to drag the bodies of those executed in the prison to the Forum with large hooks, and from there hauled them to the river, he remarked that Claudius had been raised to heaven with a hook.

Nero, too, has left us a remark not unworthy of record. He declared mushrooms to be the food of the gods, since Claudius by means of the mushroom had become a god.1

1 Cf. Petrus Patricius: Nero uttered a witty remark about Claudius. At a certain banquet mushrooms were brought in, and when some one remarked that mushrooms were the food of the gods, he replied: "True enough: my father was made a god as the result of eating a mushroom."

συσσιτίῳ εἰςκομισθέντων μυκήτων, εἰπόντος τινὸς ὡς οἱ μυκῆται θεῶν βρῶμα εἰσίν, ἐκεῖνος ἔφη ἃληθές· καὶ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ μου μυκήτων φαγὼν ἀπεθεάθη."
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LXI Ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ Κλαυδίου κατὰ μὲν τὸ 1, 1 δικαιότατον ἡ ἡγεμονία τοῦ Βρέττανικοῦ ἦν (γνήσιος γὰρ τοῦ Κλαυδίου παῖς ἐπεφύκει, καὶ τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἀκμῇ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τῶν ἑτῶν ἀριθμοῦ ἤνθει), ἐκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῷ Νέρωνι διὰ τὴν ποίησιν ἐπέβαλλεν. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν γὰρ 2 δικαίωμα τῶν ὁπλῶν ἵππυροτέρον ἐστι· πᾶς γὰρ ὁ δυνάμει προύχων δικαίοτέρα 1 ἀεὶ καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν δοκεῖ. Νέρων οὖν τὰς τε διαθήκας τοῦ Κλαυδίου ἡφάνισε καὶ τὴν ἄρχην πᾶσαν διεδάγατο, τὸν τε Βρέττανικον καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς αὐτοῦ διεχρήσατο· τι γὰρ ἂν τις καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων παθήματα κατοδύρατο;—Xiph. 147, 6–19 R. St.; cf. Zon. 11, 12, p. 37, 22–28 D., Suid. s.v. dikaúoma.

2 Σημεία δ' αὐτῶ τῆς αὐταρχίας τάδε ἐγένετο. ἀκτίνες γὰρ τικτόμενον αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐω εἶξ οὐδεμίας τοῦ ἡλίου φανερὰς προσβολής περιέσχον· καὶ τις ἀστρολόγος ἐκ τε τούτων καὶ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀστέρων φορᾶς τῆς ἐν ἑκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὀμίλιας δύο ἁμα περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐμαντεύσατο, ὅτι τα βασιλεύετε καὶ ὅτι τὴν 2 μητέρα φονεύσει. ἀκούσασα δὲ ταύθ' ἦ Ἀγριπ- πίνα παραυτικά μὲν οὗτος ἐξεφρόνησεν ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἁναβοήσαι, "ἂποκτενάτῳ μὲν, μόνον βασιλευσάτω," ύστερον δὲ καὶ πάνω μετανοήσειν ἐπὶ τῇ εὐχῇ ἐμελλεν. ἐς γὰρ τούτῳ μωρίας ἀφικνοῦντα τίνες ὡστε, ἂν τι προσδοκήσωσιν ἀγαθὸν κακόμεμμένου λήψεθαι, εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπιθυμίᾳ τοῦ κρείττονος καταφρονέων τοῦ χείρονος, ἐπειδὰν δὲ καὶ εἰκεῖνον ὁ καιρὸς ἔλθῃ, δυσκολαίνειν καὶ μὴ ἄν μηδὲ τὸ βέλτιστον

34
At the death of Claudius the rule in strict justice A.D. 54 belonged to Britannicus, who was a legitimate son of Claudius and in physical development was in advance of his years; yet by law the power fell also to Nero because of his adoption. But no claim is stronger than that of arms; for everyone who possesses superior force always appears to have the greater right on his side, whatever he says or does. And thus Nero, having first destroyed the will of Claudius and having succeeded him as master of the whole empire, put Britannicus and his sisters out of the way. Why, then, should one lament the misfortunes of the other victims?

The following signs had occurred indicating that Nero should one day be sovereign. At his birth just before dawn rays not cast by any visible beam of the sun enveloped him. And a certain astrologer, from this fact and from the motion of the stars at that time and their relation to one another, prophesied two things at once concerning him—that he should rule and that he should murder his mother. Agrippina, on hearing this, became for the moment so bereft of sense as actually to cry out: "Let him kill me, only let him rule!" but later she was destined to repent bitterly of her prayer. For some people carry their folly to such a length that, if they expect to obtain some good thing mingled with evil, they are heedless for the moment of the drawback, in their eagerness for the advantage; but when the time for the evil comes, they are vexed and would prefer never to have secured even

1 δικαιότερα Suid., δικαίωτερος VC.
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3 εἶληφέναι βεβουληθῆσαι. καίτοι καὶ τὴν πονη-ρίαν καὶ τὴν ἀσέλγειαν τῆν τοῦ Νέρωνος καὶ ὁ Δομίτιος ὁ πατήρ ἰκανῶς, οὐκ ἐκ μαντείας ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν τρόπων τῶν τὲ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν τῆς Ἀγριππίνης, προείδετο, καὶ εἴπεν 1 ὅτι "ἀδύνα-τόν ἐστιν ἀνδρὰ τινὰ ἀγαθὸν ἐκ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ 4 ταύτης γεννηθῆναι." προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου λεβηρίας περὶ τὸν αὐχένα τοῦ Νέρωνος παιδίου ἔτ', ὄντος εὑρεθείσα παρέδωκε τοὺς μάντευς λέγειν ὅτι ἰσχύν παρὰ τοῦ 2 γέροντος μεγάλην λήφηται, ἐπειδὴ τὸ γῆρας διὰ ταῦθ' οἱ ὀφεῖς ἐκδύνεσθαι νομίζονται.

3 'Επτὰ δὲ καὶ δέκα ἔτη ἤγειν ὅτ' ἠρξεν, ἔς τε τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσῆλθε, καὶ ἀναγνωρὸς ὡςα ὁ Σενέκας ἐγεγράφη, ὑπέσχυτο αὐτοῖς ὡςα ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐδεδωκεὶ. τοσαῦτα δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν βουλήν, πρὸς τοῦ Σενέκου καὶ αὐτὰ γραφέντα, ἀνέγιν ὡςτε καὶ ἐς ἀργυρᾶν στήλην ἐγγραφῆναι καὶ ἐν ταῖς νέαις τῶν ἀεὶ ὑπάτων ἀρχαῖς ἀναγινώσκεσθαι ψηφισθῆναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ τούτων ὡς καὶ κατὰ συγγραφήν τινα καλῶς ἀρχιθησόμενοι παρεσκευ- 2 ἀξιοντο. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡ Ἀγριππίνα πάντα αὐτῶν 3 τὰ τῇ ἄρχῃ προσήκοντα διάκει, 4 καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους ἀμα ἐποιοῦντο, πολλάκις μὲν καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ φορεῖον κατακείμενοι· τὸ δὲ δὴ πλείον ἡ μὲν ἐφέρετο, ὃ δὲ συμπαρεῖπτε. ταῖς τε πρεσ-

1 καὶ εἰπεν R. Steph., καὶ εἰπὲ τε VC, εἰπὲ τε Bk.
2 του Leunel., τοῦ C, om. V.
3 αὐτῷ R. Steph., αὕτη V, αὐτὸ C.
4 Cf. Zonaras (11, 12, p. 37, 29-38, 3 D.): τοῦ Νέρωνος δὲ αὐτοκράτορος καὶ Αὐγούστου ὑπὸ τε τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῆς στρατιάς ἀναγορευθέντος ἡ Ἀγριππίνα πάντα τὰ τῇ ἄρχῃ προσήκοντα διάκει τῷ ἐκείνου ὑνόματι καπηλεύουσα πάντα.
the greatest good on such terms. Yet Domitius, a.d. 54
the father of Nero, foresaw clearly enough his son's
future depravity and licentiousness, and this not
as the result of any oracle but by his knowledge
of his own and Agrippina's character; for he
declared: "It is impossible for any good man to
be sprung from me and this woman." As time
went on, the finding of a serpent's skin around
Nero's neck while he was still a child caused the
seers to declare that he should receive great power
from an old man; for serpents are supposed to
slough off their old age by discarding their old
skin.

He was seventeen years of age when he began to
rule. He first entered the camp,¹ and after reading
to the soldiers the speech that Seneca had written
for him he promised them all that Claudius had
given them. Before the senate, too, he read a
similar speech,—this one also written by Seneca,—
with the result that it was voted that his address
should be inscribed on a silver tablet and should be
read every time the new consuls entered upon their
office. The senators, accordingly, were getting ready
to enjoy a good reign as much as if they had a
written guarantee of it. At first Agrippina managed
for him all the business of the empire;² and she and
her son went forth together, often reclining in the
same litter, though more commonly she would be
carried and he would walk beside her. She also

¹ The camp of the Praetorians.
² Cf. Zonaras: When now Nero had been proclaimed
emperor and Augustus by the senate and the army, Agrippina
at first managed all the business of the empire in his
name, making everything a matter of barter.
βείαις ἐχρημάτιζε καὶ ἐπιστολάς καὶ δήμοις καὶ ἄρχουσι καὶ ἐμπλεῦσιν ἐπέστελλεν.\(^1\)—Xiph. 147, 77–148, 18 R. St.

"Οτι ο Πάλλας συνών τῇ 'Αγριππίνῃ πάντα φορτικὸς καὶ ἐπαχθῆς ἦν.—Exc. U\(^g\) 37.

3 'Ως δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ τούτ' ἐγίνετο, ἐδυσχέρανεν ὁ τε Σενέκας καὶ ὁ Βοῦρρος, φρουμώτατοι τε ἄμα καὶ δυνατώτατοι τῶν περὶ τὸν Νέρωνα ἀνδρῶν ὄντες (ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπαρχὸς τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ ἦν, ὁ δὲ διδᾶσκαλὸς αὐτοῦ), καὶ ἔπαυσαν τὸ γινόμενον τοιάσδε ἀφορμῆς λαβόμενοι. πρεσβείας Ἀρμενίων ἐλθούσης καὶ ἡ 'Αγριππίνα ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, ἂφ' οὖν σφίσαν ὁ Νέρων διελέγετο, ἀναβήναι ἡθέλησεν. ἰδόντες οὖν αὐτὴν ἐκεῖνοι πλησίαζον- σαν ἐπείσαν τὸν νεανίσκον προκαταβήναι καὶ προαπαντήσαι τῇ μητρί ὦς καὶ ἐπὶ δεξιώσει τινί. πραξθέντος τε τούτου οὔτε τότε ἐπανήλθον, ἐμβαλόντες τίνα αἰτίαν, ὡστε μὴ καὶ ἐσ τοὺς μαθητὰς τὸ νόσημα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκφανῆναι,\(^2\) καὶ μετὰ τούτ' ἐπράττον ὅπως μηδεν ἐτ' αὐτῇ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιτρέπτηται.

4 Κατεργασάμενοι δὲ τούτῳ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπασάν παρέλαβον, καὶ διόκησαν ἐφ' ὅσον ἂδυνηθήσαν ἄριστα καὶ δικαιότατα, ὡς ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὁμοίως ἐπανεθήναι. ὦ τε γὰρ Νέρων ὦτ' ἄλλως φιλοπραγματίας ἦν καὶ ἔχαρεν ἐν ῥάστῳν διάγων, καὶ διὰ τάυτα τῇ τε μητρὶ πρότερον ὑπεπεπτώκει,\(^3\) καὶ τότε ἡγάμα ὦτι

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\(^2\) ἐκφανῆναι U\(^g\) (ἐμφανῆναι and in marg. γρ. ἐκφανῆναι A), ἐκφηναί VC.

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received the various embassies and sent letters to a.d. 54 peoples and governors and kings.¹

Pallas in his association with Agrippina was altogether vulgar and objectionable.

When this had been going on for a considerable time, it aroused the displeasure of Seneca and Burrus, who were at once the most sensible and the most influential of the men at Nero's court (the former was his teacher and the latter was prefect of the Praetorian Guard), and they seized the following occasion to put a stop to it. An embassy of Armenians had arrived and Agrippina wished to mount the tribunal from which Nero was talking with them. The two men, seeing her approach, persuaded the young man to descend and meet his mother before she could get there, as if to extend some special greeting to her. Then, having brought this about, they did not re-ascent the tribunal, but made some excuse, so that the weakness in the empire should not become apparent to the foreigners; and thereafter they laboured to prevent any public business from being again committed to her hands.

When they had accomplished this, they took the rule entirely into their own hands and administered affairs in the very best and fairest manner they could, with the result that they won the approval of everybody alike. As for Nero, he was not fond of business in any case, and was glad to live in idleness; indeed, it was for this reason that he had previously yielded the upper hand to his mother, and was now quite content to be indulging in

¹ Cf. Joann. Antioch: Agrippina used to attend the meetings of the senate, receive the embassies, etc.

³ ὑπεπτώκει St., ὑπεπτάκει cod. Peir.
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αυτός τε ἐν ἡδοναῖς ἦν καὶ η ἡγεμονία οὐδὲν

2 ἦττον δυνητεύον καὶ ἐκείνου συμφρονήσαντες αὐτοὶ

μὲν πολλὰ τὰ μὲν μετερρύθμισαν τῶν ¹ καθε-

στηκότων, τὰ δὲ καὶ παντελῶς κατέλυσαν,

ἀλλὰ τε καὶνὰ προσενομοθέτησαν, τῶν δὲ δὴ

Νέρωνα τρυφαν εἰσὶ, ὅπως διακορῆς, ἀνέγάλου τις

τῶν κοινῶν πάντων κακοῦ, δὲν ἐπε-

θύμει γενόμενος μεταβάλλεται, ὥσπερ οὐκ εἴδότες

ὅτι ψυχὴ νέα τε καὶ αὐθάδης ἐν τε τρυφή

ἀνεπιπλήκτω καὶ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ αὐτοτελεῖ τραφεῖσα

οὖχ ὅσον οὐ κόρον αὐτῶν ἱσχει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ

3 αὐτῶν τούτων προσδιαφθείρεται. ἀμέλει καὶ ὁ

Νέρων τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀπλῶς πως δεῖπνά τε

ἐποίει καὶ κόμως ² ἐκκόμαζε καὶ ἐμέθυκεν καὶ ἥρα,

ἐπείτε δὲ ὡς οὔτε ἐκεῖνο τῶν ἐπέπληττεν οὔτε

τὰ κοινὰ χείρον παρὰ τούτῳ διεχειρίζετο, ἐπι-

στενεύον ὅτι καὶ καλῶς αὐτὰ ποιεῖ καὶ δύναται

4 καὶ ἐπὶ πλειόν σφισι χρῆσθαι, κακὸ τούτου ταυτά

tε ὡς ³ ἐκαστα ἐκφανέστερον καὶ προπετέστερον

πράττειν ἥρξατο, καὶ εἰ δὴ τὶ ἐκείνο παραι-

νοῦντες ἢ ἢ μῆτηρ νουθετοῦσα αὐτῶν ἔληγε,

παρόντας μὲν σφας ἱδεῖτο καὶ ὑπισχυέτο μετα-

θήσεσθαι, ἀπελθόντων δὲ τῆς τε ἐπιθυμίας ἐγή-

γμενο καὶ τοῖς πρὸς τὰναντία αὐτῶν ἄγονσιν,

5 ἅτε καὶ ἐπὶ πρανεῖς ἐλκούσιν, ἐπειθετο. καὶ μετὰ

tοῦτο τὰ μὲν καταφρονήσας, οὐ ποιν συνεχώς

παρὰ τῶν συνώντων ἀκούσων “σὺ δὲ τούτων

ἀνέχῃ; σὺ δὲ τούτους φοβῇ; οὐκ οὔσθα ὅτι

Καίσαρ εἰ καὶ σὺ ἐκείνων ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλ' οὖκ

¹ τῶν Val., τῶν δὲ cod. Peir.
² κόμως cod. Peir., περὶ κόμως VC.
³ ὡς Val., aís cod. Peir.
pleasures while the government was carried on as A.D. 54 well as before. His two advisers, then, after coming to a common understanding, made many changes in existing regulations, abolished some altogether, and enacted many new laws, meanwhile allowing Nero to indulge himself, in the expectation that when he had sated his desires without any great injury to the public interests at large, he would experience a change of heart; as though they did not realize that a young and self-willed spirit, when reared in unrebuked licence and absolute authority, so far from becoming sated by the indulgence of its passions, is ruined more and more by these very agencies. At all events, whereas at first Nero was comparatively moderate in the dinners he gave, in the revels he conducted, and in his drinking and his amours, yet later, as no one reproved him for this conduct and the public business was handled none the worse for it, he came to believe that such conduct was really not bad and that he could carry it even farther. Consequently he began to indulge in each of these pursuits in a more open and precipitate fashion. And in case his guardians ever said anything to him by way of advice or his mother by way of admonition, he would appear abashed while they were present, and would promise to reform; but as soon as they were gone, he would again become the slave of his desire and yield to those who were leading him in the other direction, since they were dragging him downhill. Next, he came to despise the good advice, since he was always hearing from his associates: "And do you submit to them?" "Do you fear them?" "Do you not know that you are Caesar, and that you have
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ἐκεῖνοι σοῦ ἔχουσιν;" τὰ δὲ καὶ φιλονεικῶν μήτε
τῆς μητρὸς ὡς καὶ κρείττονος ἐλαττοῦσθαι μήτε
τοῦ Ἱερόκου τοῦ τε Βούρρου ὡς καὶ φρονιμωτέρων

5 ἡττᾶσθαι, τέλος ἀπηρυθρίασε, καὶ πάντα τὰ
παραγγέλματα αὐτῶν συγχέας καὶ καταπατήσας
πρὸς τὸν Γαύον ἔτεινεν. ὡς δὲ ἄπαξ ἤτλοσαι
αὐτῶν ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ ὑπερβάλετο, νομίζων τῆς
αὐτοκρατορικῆς ἕκατον ἵσχυος ἐργον εἶναι,
τὸ μηδὲ ἐν τοῖς κακίστοις μηδενὸς ὑστερίζειν.

2 ἐπαινούμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀμίλου, καὶ
πολλὰ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἤδεα ἄκοινοι, οὐδ’ ἑαυτοῦ
ἐφείσατο, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἴκοι καὶ παρὰ
τοῖς συνοισίν οἱ ἐχειρούργησεν αὐτά, ἔπειτα καὶ
ἐδημοσίευσεν, ὡστε πολλὴν μὲν αἰσχύνην παντὶ
τῷ Ῥωμαίοις γένει προσθείναι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ

3 δεινὰ αὐτοῦς ἐργάσασθαι, καὶ γὰρ βλέπω καὶ
ὕβρεις ἄρτα γαί τε καὶ φόνου καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ
ἐκεῖνον καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄει τι παρ’ αὐτῶ δυναμένων
ἀμύθητοι ἐγίγνοντο. καὶ δ’ δὴ πάντως ἔξ ἀνάγ-
κης πᾶσι τοῖς τουούτοις ἐπεται, πολλὰ μὲν, ὡς
εἰκὸς, χρήματα ἀνηλίσκετο, πολλὰ δὲ ἀδικῶς
ἐπορίζετο, πολλὰ δὲ βιαίως ἡρπάζετο.2 ἂν μὲν

4 γὰρ οὐδ’ ἄλλως 3 μικρόφρων· τεκμήριον δὲ,
Δορυφόρῳ τὸ τὰ τῆς ἄρχῆς αὐτοῦ βιβλία
dιέποντι πεντήκοντα ἄμα καὶ διακοσίας μυ-
ριάδας δοθῆμαι κελεύσας, εἰτ’ ἐπειδὴ ἡ Ἀγγει-
πῶν ἐσώρευσεν αὐτὰς ἦν ἀθρόον τὸ ἄργυρον
ιδῶν μεταβάληται, ἣρετο πόσον εἰ ἐκ τοῦ κείμε-

1 αὐτοκρατορικῆς VC, αὐτοκράταρος cod. Peir.

2 πολλὰ μὲν ὡς εἰκὸς—ἡρπάζετο Xiph., χρήματα πολλὰ μὲν
ἀδίκως ἐπορίζετο, πολλὰ δὲ βιαίως ἡρπάζετο cod. Peir.

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authority over them rather than they over you?" A.D. 54

and he was resolved not to acknowledge that his
mother was superior to him or to submit to Seneca
and Burrus as wiser. Finally he lost all shame,
dashed to the ground and trampled underfoot all
their precepts, and began to follow in the steps of
Gaius. And when he had once conceived a desire
to emulate him, he quite surpassed him; for he held
it to be one of the obligations of the imperial power
not to fall behind anybody else even in the basest
deeds. And as he was applauded for this by the
crowd and received many pleasant compliments from
them, he devoted himself to this course unspar-
ingly. At first he practised his vices at home and
among his associates, but afterwards even indulged
them publicly. Thus he brought great disgrace
upon the whole Roman race and committed many
outrages against the Romans themselves. Innumer-
able acts of violence and outrage, of robbery and
murder, were committed by the emperor himself
and by those who at one time or another had influ-
ence with him. And, as certainly and inevitably
follows in all such cases, great sums of money
naturally were spent, great sums unjustly procured,
and great sums seized by force. For Nero never
was niggardly, as the following incident will show.
He once ordered 10,000,000 sesterces to be given at
one time to Doryphorus, who was in charge of
Petitions during his reign, and when Agrippina caused
the money to be piled in a heap, hoping that when
he should see it all together he would change his
mind, he asked how much the mass before him

3 ἦλλως cod. Peir., ἦλως VC.
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νον, καὶ μαθὼν ἐδιπλασίασεν αὐτό, εἰπὼν ὅτι
5 "ἡγίσομαι ὁλίγον οὕτω κεχαρισμένος." πολλῷ
δὲ δῆλον 1 καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν δαπανωμένων
tαχὺ μὲν 2 τοὺς ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ θησαυρῷ
ἐξηνυτῆσε, ταχὺ δὲ πόρων καινῶν ἐδείχθη, καὶ
tέλη τε οὐκ εἰδισμένα ἐξελεγέτο καὶ αἱ οὐσίαι
τῶν ἔχοντων τι ἐπολυπραγμονοῦντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν
ἐκεῖνας ἐξ ἐπηρείας ἀπέβαλλον, οὐ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ
6 προσαπώλλυντο. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἄλλος, εἰ καὶ
μηδὲν μέγα ἐκέκτητο, ἀλλ᾽ ἀρετὴν γέ τινα ἢ
καὶ γένος εἰχον, ὑποπτεύων ἀχθεσθαί οἱ καὶ
ἐμίσει καὶ διεφθειρε.—Xiph. 148, 18–149, 30 R.
St., Exc. U 37, p. 390 (p. 21, 13–22, 11), Exc.
Val. 233, p. 678–682 (p. 21, 15–24, 16), Exc. Val.
234, p. 682 (p. 24, 17–25, 6).
6 Τοιοῦτος μὲν τὸ σύμπαν ὁ Νέρων ἐγένετο,
λέξῳ δὲ καὶ καθ᾽ ἐκαστον. περὶ μὲν οὖν τὰς
 ἱπποδρομίας τοσαύτη σπουδὴ ὁ Νέρων ἐκέχρητο
 ὡστε καὶ τοὺς ἱπποὺς τῶν ἄγωνιστάς τους ἔπι-
φανείς τοὺς παρηθηκότας στολή τε ἄγοραι ὡς
ἀνδρὰς τινὰς κοσμήσαι καὶ χρήμασιν ὑπὲρ σι-
τηρεσίον τιμῆσαι. ἐπαιρομένων δὲ δὴ καὶ τῶν
ἱπποτρόφων καὶ τῶν ἡμιόχων τῇ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ
σπουδῆ, καὶ δεινῶς τοὺς τε στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς
ὑπάτους ὑβριζόντων, Αὔλος Φαβρίκιος στρα-
τηγῶν ἐκείνως μὲν μὴ βουληθεῖσιν ἐπὶ μετρίοις
τισὶν ἄγωνισασθαί οὐκ ἐχρήσατο, κύνας δὲ
dιδάξας ἐλκείν ἄρματα ἀντὶ ἤππων ἐσήγαγε.
3 γενομένων δὲ τούτων οἱ μὲν τῇ λευκῇ τῇ τε πυρρᾷ
σκευῇ χρώμενοι τὰ ἄρματα εὐθὺς καθῆκαν, τῶν
dὲ δὴ πρασίων τῶν τε οὐνεντίων 3 μὴ δ᾽ ὅσ ἐσελ-
amounted to, and upon being informed, doubled it, A.D 54 saying: "I did not realize that I had given him so little." It can clearly be seen, then, that as a result of the magnitude of his expenditures he soon exhausted the funds in the imperial treasury, and soon found himself in need of new revenues. Hence unusual taxes were imposed, and the estates of those who possessed property were pried into; some of the owners lost their possessions by violence and others lost their lives as well. In like manner he hated and brought about the ruin of others who had no great wealth but possessed some special distinction or were of good family; for he suspected them of disliking him.

Such was Nero’s general character. I shall now proceed to details. He had such enthusiasm for the horse-races that he actually decorated the famous race-horses that had passed their prime with the regular street costume for men and honoured them with gifts of money for their feed. Thereupon the horsebreeders and charioteers, encouraged by this enthusiasm on his part, proceeded to treat both the praetors and the consuls with great insolence; and Aulus Fabricius, when praetor, finding them unwilling to take part in the contests on reasonable terms, dispensed with their services, and training dogs to draw chariots, introduced them in place of horses. At this, the wearers of the White and of the Red immediately entered their chariots for the races; but as the Greens and the Blues would not participate

1 πολλῷ δὲ δὴ λου VC (corrupt).
2 ταχύ μὲν cod. Peir. Zon., τοὺς μὲν V, . . . χὰ μὲν C.
3 οὐενετέων R. Steph., οὐενετέων VC.
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θόντων, ὃ Νέρων τὰ ἄθλα τοῖς ὦπτοις αὐτὸς ἐδηκε, καὶ ἡ ὀποδρομία ἐτελέσθη.—Χιφ. 149, 30–150, 10 R. St.

4 "Οτι ἡ 'Αγριππίνα οὕτω καὶ τὰ μέγιστα πρά- 
τευ ἐπεχείρη ὡστε Μάρκον 'Ιούνιον Σιλαυν 
ἀπέκτεινε, πέμψασα αὐτῷ τοῦ φαρμάκου ὃ τὸν 
ἀνδρα ἐδεδολοφονήκει.—Exc. Val. 235 (p. 682).

5 "Οτι ἦρχε τῆς 'Ασίας Σιλαυνός, καὶ ἦν οὐδὲ ἐν 1 
toῖς ἥθεσι τοῦ γένους ἐνδεέστερος. ἂφ' οὔπερ 
καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἔλεγεν αὐτῶν ἀποκτείναι, 2 ἧνα 
μὴ καὶ τοῦ Νέρωνος οὐτω ζῶντο σκορπιθεῖ ἐ 
καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐκατῆλευσε πάυτα, καὶ ἐκ τῶν 
βραχυτάτων τῶν τε αἰσχίστων ἠγνυρολογεί.— 
Exc. Val. 236 (p. 682).

6 "Οτι Δαιλιανός ὃ ἀποσταλεῖς ἐς τήν 'Αρμενίαν 
ἀντὶ τοῦ Πωλίωνος τῆς τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων ἄρχὴν 
προσετέτακτο, καὶ ἦν οὐδέν τοῦ Πωλίωνος βελ 
τίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς τῇ ἄξιώσει αὐτοῦ προείχε, 
τόσο καὶ ἀπληστότερος ἐπὶ τοῖς κέρδεσιν ἐπε 
φύκει.—Exc. Val. 237 (p. 682).

7 Ἐλυπεῖτο δὲ καὶ ἡ 'Αγριππίνα μηκέτι τῶν 
ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ διὰ τὴν Ἀκτὴν μάλιστα κυρι 
εύνουσα. ἡ δὲ ἡ Ἀκτὴ ἐπέτρατο μὲν ἐκ τῆς 
'Ασίας, ἁγαπηθεῖσα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐς τ 
τοῦ Αττάλου γένους ἐσῆχθη καὶ πολὺ καὶ 
ὑπὲρ τῆς Ὀκταούναί τῆς γυναίκα τα 
πίθη. ἡ οὖν 'Αγριππίνα διὰ τε ταλάλα καὶ διὰ 
ταύτ', ἁγανακτοῦσα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον νουθετεῖν 
αὐτὸν ἐπειράτο, καὶ τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ τοὺ 
μὲν πληγαίς ἥκιζε τοὺς δὲ ἐκποδῶν ἐποιεῖτο, 
3 ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέραινεν, ὑπερήληγε καὶ ἐπεν

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even then, Nero himself furnished the prizes for the A.D. 54 horses and the horse-race took place.

Agrippina was ever ready to attempt the most daring undertakings; for example, she caused the death of Marcus Junius Silanus, sending him some of the poison with which she had treacherously murdered her husband.

Silanus was governor of Asia, and was in no respect inferior in character to the rest of his family. It was for this reason more than any other, she said, that she killed him, as she did not wish him to be preferred to Nero because of her son's manner of life. Moreover, she made traffic of everything and raised money from the most trivial and the basest sources.

Laelianus, who was sent to Armenia in place of Pollio, had formerly been in command of the night-watch. And he was no better than Pollio, for although surpassing him in rank, he was all the more insatiate of gain.

Agrippina was distressed because she was no longer A.D. 55 mistress of affairs in the palace, chiefly because of Acte. This Acte had been bought as a slave in Asia, but winning the affections of Nero, was adopted into the family of Attalus and was loved by the emperor much more than was his wife Octavia. Agrippina, indignant at this and other things, first attempted to admonish him, and administered a beating to some of his associates and got rid of others. But when she found herself accomplishing nothing, she took it

1 οὐδὲ ἐν Val., οὐδὲ ἐν cod. Peir.
2 αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι Val. (ἐπικτεῖναι), αὐτὸν ἐπιχθήναι cod. Peir.
3 γυναῖκα C, om. V (but space left blank).
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4 Tὸν δὲ Βρεττανικὸν φαρμάκῳ δολοφονήσας ὁ Νέρων, ἐπειδὴ πελείδους ὑπὸ τοῦ φαρμάκου ἐγενήθη, γύψῳ ἔχρισεν. ὑπὸ δὲ διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς αὐτοῦ διαγομένου πολὺς, ὑγρᾶς ἐτὶ οὐσίας τῆς γύψου, ἐπιπεσόν πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἀπέκλυσεν, ὡστε τὸ δείνον μὴ μόνον ἀκούεσθαι ἄλλα καὶ ὀρᾶσθαι.¹

—Xiph. 150, 11–22 R. St.

5 "Οτι τοῦ Βρεττανικοῦ τελευτήσαντος οὐκέθ’ ² ὁ Σενέκας καὶ ὁ Βοῦρρος ἐπιμέλειαν τινὰ ἀκριβῆ τῶν κοινῶν ἐποιοῦντο, ἀλλ' ἡγότων εἰ καὶ μετρίως πως διάγοντες αὐτὰ περισσοθείειν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὁ Νέρων λαμπρῶς ἤδη πάντων ὄν θελεν

¹ Cf. Zonaras (11, 12, p. 38, 23–32 D.): Τῇς δὲ Αγριππίνης, ὧτι μὴ ἁργυρολογεῖν ἤδυνατο φιλαργυρωτάτη οὐδα περιθόμως ὀργισθεῖσα, καὶ ἀπειλησαμένης τὸν Βρεττανικὸν αὐτοκράτορα καταστήσειν, φοβθησθεὶς ὁ Νέρων ἀπέκτεινε φαρμάκῳ αὐτὸν. καὶ ὁ μὲν παραχρῆμα ἀπέψυξε καὶ φοβάθην ὡς ἐπιλήπτος ἐκκεκόμιστο· ἐν δὲ γε τῇ ἐκφορᾷ ἐπεὶ πελείδους ὑπὸ τοῦ φαρμάκου γέγονε, γύψῳ χρισθεὶς διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἤγετο· κτέ.


² οὐκέθ’ Bk., οὐθ’ cod. Peir.
greatly to heart and said to him, "It was I who A.D. 55 made you emperor"—just as if she had the power to take away the sovereignty from him again. She did not realize that any absolute power given to anybody by a private citizen immediately ceases to be the property of the giver and becomes an additional weapon in the hands of the recipient for war against the giver.

Nero now treacherously murdered Britannicus by means of poison and then, as the skin became livid through the action of the poison, he smeared the body with gypsum. But as it was being carried through the Forum, a heavy rain that fell while the gypsum was still moist washed it all off, so that the crime was known not only by what people heard but also by what they saw.¹

After the death of Britannicus, Seneca and Burrus no longer gave any careful attention to the public business, but were satisfied if they might manage it with moderation and still preserve their lives. Consequently Nero now openly and without fear of

¹ Cf. Zonaras: When Agrippina, who was most avaricious, became very angry because she could not levy money, and threatened to make Britannicus emperor, Nero took fright and put him to death by poison. Britannicus, accordingly, straightway breathed his last and was carried out on a stretcher as if he were in an epileptic fit; but at the funeral, in view of the fact that his body had become livid, it was smeared with gypsum and thus borne through the Forum, etc.

Joann. Antioch.: Britannicus, who was regarded as Nero’s brother, was first shamelessly debauched by him and then killed by a powerful poison while at dinner, so that the crime was known by what people saw as well as by what they heard. For he became livid all over and his eyes were wide open, calling upon the rulers for vengeance.
6 ἐπ' ἀδείας ἐνεπίμπλατο. καὶ οὕτω γὰρ ἐκφρο-
νεῖν ἀντικρυς ἦρξατο ὡστε καὶ Ἀντώνιον τινα
ἰππέα αὐτίκα ὡς καὶ φαρμακεά κολάσαι, καὶ
προσέτι καὶ τὰ φάρμακα δημοσία καταφλέξαι,
αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ δια-
θήκας τινὰς κακούργησαί 2 τισιν ἐπεξελθεῖν
ἐσεμνύνετο, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις γέλωτα ἱσχυρὸν
παρέσχεν, ὦτι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἔργα δι' ἑτέρων ἐκό-
λασεν.

8 Καὶ πολλά μὲν οἴκοι πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ
πόλει, 3 νῦκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν, ἔπικρυπτόμενος
πη ἡσέλυγαινεν, καὶ ἔσ τε καπηλεία ἐσῆσεν, καὶ
πανταχόσε ὡς καὶ ἱδιώτης ἐπιλανάτο. πληγαὶ
τε ἐκ τοῦτον καὶ ἤβρεις συχνὰ ἐγήγοντο, ὡστε
καὶ μέχρι τῶν θεάτρων τὸ δεινὸν προχωρῆσαι.

2 οἱ γὰρ τοι περί τὴν ὀρχήστραν καὶ περί τοὺς
ἴππους ἔχοντες οὔτε τῶν στρατηγῶν 4 οὔτε τῶν
ὑπάτων ἐφρόντιζον, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ τε ἐστασίαζον
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσεπεσπῶντο, οὐχ ὦτι κωλύ-
οντὸς σφας τοῦ Νέρωνος, ὃσον 5 ἀπὸ βοής, ἀλλὰ
καὶ προσεκτάρσσοντος· καὶ γὰρ ἐχαιρε τοῖς
δρωμένοις, ἐν τε φορεῖν τιν αὐθάρα ἐς τὰ θεάτρα
ἔσκομιζομενος, καὶ τὸν ἀφανοῦς τοῖς ἄλλοις
3 ἑφορῶν τὰ γηγομένα. ἀμέλει καὶ τους στρα-
τιῶτας τοὺς ἄεὶ ποτε ταῖς τοῦ δήμου συνόδοις
παραίνειν εἰσώθοτας ἀπηγορευσε μὴ φοιτάν ἐς
αὐτίς, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς καὶ τὰ στρατιωτικά
αὐτοὺς μόνα, διὰ χειρὸς ποιείσθαι δέον, τὸ δὲ
ἀλήθες ἦν ὧτι πλείστῃ τοῖς τι βουλομένοις

1 Rk. rejected either kal or γὰρ, but some words may
have been omitted by the epitomist.
2 κακούργησαί Val., κακούργησαντι cod. Peir.
punishment proceeded to gratify all his desires. A.D. 55
His behaviour began to be absolutely insensate, as was shown by his punishing immediately a certain knight, Antonius, as a dealer in poisons, and furthermore by his burning the poisons publicly. He took great credit to himself for this action as well as for prosecuting some persons who had tampered with wills; but people in general were vastly amused to see him punishing his own deeds in the persons of others.

He indulged in many licentious deeds both at home and throughout the city, by night and by day alike, though he made some attempt at concealment. He used to frequent the taverns and wandered about everywhere like a private citizen. In consequence, frequent blows and violence occurred, and the evil even spread to the theatres, so that the people connected with the stage and the horse-races paid no heed either to the praetors or to the consuls, but were both disorderly themselves and led others to act likewise. And Nero not only failed to restrain them, even by words, but actually incited them the more; for he delighted in their behaviour and used to be secretly conveyed in a litter into the theatre, where, unseen by the rest, he could watch what was going on. Indeed he forbade the soldiers who hitherto had always been present at all public gatherings to attend them any longer. The reason he assigned was that they ought not to perform any but military duties; but his real purpose was to afford those who

3 τῆς πόλεις cod. Peir., τῆς Ἰωνιᾶς πόλεις VC.
4 στρατηγῶν Madvig, στρα cod. Peir.
5 ὑσον Reim., ὑσα cod. Peir.
4 ταράσσειν ἐξονυσία εἶν. τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ σκίψει καὶ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα ἔχρησατο· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνὴ συνεῖναι στρατιώτην τινὰ ἐπέτρεψε, λέγων μηδένα ἂλλον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν πλὴν τοῦ αὐτοκρατόρος φρονείσθαι χρήναι. καὶ τοῦτο γε καὶ έσ τοὺς πολ- λοὺς τὴν ἐχθραν αὐτοῦ 1 ἔξεφηνεν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἂλλα ὤσα καθ’ ἐκάστην ὡς εἰπεῖν ἤμεραν καὶ ἠλεγόν ἐς ἂλλήλους καὶ ἐπραττόν, ἐξῆι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ παλατίου, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πάντα ἐθημοσιεύετο, ἂλλα κατείκαζον αὐτά καὶ ἐλογοποίουν ἂλλοι 2 ἂλλως· πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τὴν πονηρίαν τὴν τε ἀσέλ- γειαν σφών τὰ τε ἐνδεχόμενα γενέσθαι 3 ὡς γεγονότα διεθροεῖτο καὶ τὰ πιθανότητα τινὰ 4

6 λεχθήναι ἐχοντα ὡς καὶ ἀληθὴ ἐπιστεύετο· τότε δὲ πρῶτον ἵδοντες αὐτὴν ἀνευ δορυφόρων οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἐφυλάττοντο μηδ’ ἐκ συντυχίας αὐτῇ συμμεβαίνει εἰ δὲ που τις καὶ συνέτυχε, διὰ ταχέων ἂν, μηδὲν εἰπών, ἀπηλλάγη.—Exc. Val. 238 (p. 682), Xiph. 150, 26–151, 8 R. St.

9 Ἔν δὲ τινι θέα ἀνδρες ταύρους ἀπὸ ἦπτων, συμπαραβέοντες σφισι, κατέστρεφον, τετρακοσίας τε ἀρκτους καὶ τριακοσίων λέοντας οἱ ἰππεῖς οἱ σωματοφύλακες τοῦ Νέρωνος καθηκότισαν, οτὲ καὶ ἰππεῖς ἐκ τοῦ τέλους τριάκοντα ἐμονομά- χισαν. ἐν μὲν δὴ οὖν τὸ φανερὸ ταῦτ’ ἐποίει, 2 κρύφα δὲ νύκτωρ ἐκώμαζε κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν, ὑβρίζων ἐς τὰς γυναίκας καὶ ἀσελγαίνων ἐς τὰ μειράκια, ἀποδύνων τε 5 τοὺς ἀπαντώντας, παῖων τιτρώσκων φονεύων. καὶ ἐδόκει μὲν πῶς λαν-

1 καὶ τοῦτό γε—αὐτῶν Bs., καὶ τούτῳ γε—αὐτὸς cod. Peir.
2 ἂλλοι H. Steph., ἂλλα VC.
3 γενέσθαι R. Steph., γενεσίν... CV.
wished to create a disturbance the fullest scope. A.D. 55

He also used the same excuse in the case of his mother; for he would not allow any soldier to attend her, declaring that no one except the emperor ought to be guarded by them. This revealed even to the masses his hatred of her. Nearly everything, to be sure, that he and his mother said to each other or that they did each day was reported outside the palace, yet it did not all reach the public, and hence various conjectures were made and various stories circulated. For, in view of the depravity and lewdness of the pair, everything that could conceivably happen was noised abroad as having actually taken place, and reports possessing any credibility were believed as true. But when the people now saw Agrippina unaccompanied for the first time by the Praetorians, most of them took care not to fall in with her even by accident; and if any one did chance to meet her, he would hastily get out of the way without saying a word.

At one spectacle men on horseback overcame bulls while riding along beside them, and the knights who served as Nero's bodyguard brought down with their javelins four hundred bears and three hundred lions. On the same occasion thirty members of the equestrian order fought as gladiators. Such were the proceedings which the emperor sanctioned openly; secretly, however, he carried on nocturnal revels throughout the entire city, insulting women, practising lewdness on boys, stripping the people whom he encountered, beating, wounding and murdering. He had an idea that his identity

4 πιθανότητά τινα C², πιθανώτατα τινα C¹, πιθανώτατα ίνα V.
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θάνειν (καὶ γὰρ ἐσθήσι ποικίλαις καὶ κόμαις περιθέτοις ἄλλοτε ἄλλαις ἔχρητο), ἠλέγχετο δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀκουλουθίας καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀν τοσαῦτα καὶ τηλικαύτα ἀδεῶς οὕτως ποιῆσαι.

3 ἑτόλμησεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτοι οἱκοὶ μένειν ἀσφαλές οὐδενὶ ἐγίγνετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς ἐργαστηρία καὶ ἐς οἰκίας ἐσεπήδα. Ἰουλίος οὖν τις Μοντανός Βουλευτής, ἀγανακτήσας ὑπὲρ τῆς γυναικὸς, προσέπεσέ τε αὐτῷ καὶ πληγὰς πολλὰς ἐνεφόρησεν, ὡς ὤπο τῶν ὑψωτίων συχναίς αὐτῶν.

4 ἡμέραις κρυφθῆναι. καὶ ἐπαθεῖν ἂν ἔπι τούτῳ δεινὸν οὐδέν (ὁ γὰρ Νέρων ἐκ συντυχίας ἄλλως ὑβοῦσθαι νομίσας οὐδεμίαν ὄργην ἐποιεῖτο), εἰ μὴ ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ συγγνώμην αἰτούμενος. ὥσ γὰρ ἀναγνώσθη ὁ Νέρων τὰ γράμματα ἐφῆ “οὐκοῦν ὑδεῖ Νέρωνα τύπτων,” αὐτὸν 2 κατεχρήσατο.

5 Ἔν δὲ τινι θεάτρῳ θέας ἐπιτελῶν, εἶτα πληρώσας ἔξαίφης τὸ θέατρον ὕδατος θαλασσίου ὡστε καὶ ἰχθύας καὶ κήτη 3 ἐν αὐτῷ νῆχεσθαι, ναυμαχίαν τε ἑποίησε Περσῶν δὴ τινῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν τὸ τε ὑδωρ εὐθὺς ἐξήγαγε, καὶ ἡράνας τὸ δάπεδον πεζοὺς πάλιν οὐχ ὅπως ἔνα πρὸς ἔνα ἄλλα καὶ πολλοὺς ἀμα πρὸς ἐσος συνέβαλεν. ἐγένοντο δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ δικαίως ἀγώνες, ἔξ ὅν καὶ αὐτῶν συχνοὶ καὶ ἐφυγον καὶ ἀπέθανον.

“Ὅτι ὁ Σενέκας αἰτίαν ἔσχε, καὶ ἐνεκλήθη 4 ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι τῇ Ἀγριππίνῃ συνεγίγνετο: οὐ

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1 ἢν Reisk., οὖν V, erasure in C, om. cod. Peir.
2 αὐτὸν Xyl., αὐτὸν VC.
3 κήτη Sylb., κτήνη VC.
4 ὅτι ὁ Σενέκας αἰτίαν ἔσχε καὶ ἐνεκλήθη cod. Peir., ἐνεκλήθη δὲ καὶ ὁ σενέκας VC.
was not known, for he used various costumes and A.D. 55 different wigs at different times; but he would be recognized both by his retinue and by his deeds, since no one else would have dared commit so many and so serious outrages in such a reckless manner. In A.D. 56 indeed, it was becoming unsafe even for a person to remain at home, since Nero would break into shops and houses. Now a certain Julius Montanus, a senator, enraged on his wife’s account, fell upon him and inflicted many blows upon him, so that he had to remain in concealment several days by reason of the black eyes he had received. And yet Montanus would have suffered no harm for this, since Nero thought the violence had been all an accident and so was not disposed to be angry at the occurrence, had not the other sent him a note begging his pardon. Nero on reading the letter remarked: “So he knew that he was striking Nero.” Thereupon Montanus committed suicide.

In the course of producing a spectacle at one of A.D. 57 the theatres he suddenly filled the place with sea water so that fishes and sea monsters swam about in it, and he exhibited a naval battle between men representing Persians and Athenians. After this he immediately drew off the water, dried the ground, and once more exhibited contests between land forces, who fought not only in single combat but also in large groups equally matched. On a later A.D. 58 occasion some judicial contests were held, and even these brought exile or death to many.

Seneca now found himself under accusation, one of the charges against him being that he was intimate with Agrippina. It had not been enough for him,
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γὰρ ἀπέχρησεν αὐτῶν τὴν Ἰουλίαν μοιχεύσαι, οὐδὲ βελτίων ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ Ἀγριππίνῃ τοιαύτῃ τε οὕση καὶ τοιούτων οὐδὲ ἐξουσίαξεν. οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἀλλοις πάντα τὰ ἐναντιώτατα ὅσ' ἐφιλοσόφει ποιῶν ἡλέγχθη, καὶ γὰρ τυραννίδος κατηγορῶν τυραννοδιδάσκαλος ἐγίνετο, καὶ τῶν συνόντων τοῖς δυνάσταις κατατρέχων οὐκ ἀφίστατο τοῦ παλατίου, τοὺς τε κολακεύοντάς τινα διαβᾶλλων αὐτὸς οὕτω τὴν Μεσσαλίαν καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Κλαυδίου ἐξελευθέρωσις ἐθώπευν ὡστε καὶ βιβλίον σφίσιν ἐκ τῆς νῆσου πέμψαι ἐπαίνους αὐτῶν ἐχόν, ὁ μετα ταύτα ὑπ' αἰσχύνης ἀπήλειψε.

3 τοῖς τε πλουτοῦσιν ἕγκαλῶν οὕσιν ἐπτακισχελίων καὶ πεντακοσίων μυριάδων ἐκτήσατο, καὶ τὰς πολυτελείας τῶν ἄλλων αἰτιόμενος πεντακοσίους τρίποδας κιτρίνου ἤξυλον ἐλεφαντόποδας ἴσους καὶ ὁμοίους εἴχε, καὶ ἔπτακισχελίων ἐστία.

4 ἑχαίρε, καὶ τούτῳ καὶ τὸν Νέρωνα ποιεῖν ἐδίδαξε, καὶ προσήκοντός ἐστιν αὐστηρότητι τῶν τρόπων χρώμενος ὡστε καὶ αἰτίσασθαι παρ' αὐτῶν

1 αὐτῷ Val., αὐτῇ cod. Peir.
2 πάντα VC, καὶ πάντα cod. Peir.
3 ἐγένετο VC, ἐγένετο cod. Peir.
4 ἐθώπευν VC, ἐθώπευσεν cod. Peir.
5 πλουτοῦσιν VC, πλουσίοις cod. Peir.
6 κιτρίνου Ciacconi, κεδρίνου VC, κεδρίνον cod. Peir.
7 εἰστία cod. Peir., εἰστίατο VC.

1 See lx. 8, 5. Dio was disposed to take the worst view of Seneca's character. The charges here made seem like an echo.
it seems, to commit adultery with Julia,¹ nor had he A.D. 58 become wiser as a result of his banishment, but he must establish improper relations with Agrippina, in spite of the kind of woman she was and the kind of son she had. Nor was this the only instance in which his conduct was seen to be diametrically opposed to the teachings of his philosophy. For while denouncing tyranny, he was making himself the teacher of a tyrant; while inveighing against the associates of the powerful, he did not hold aloof from the palace himself; and though he had nothing good to say of flatterers, he himself had constantly fawned upon Messalina and the freedmen of Claudius, to such an extent, in fact, as actually to send them from the island of his exile a book containing their praises—a book that he afterwards suppressed out of shame.² Though finding fault with the rich, he himself acquired a fortune of 300,000,000 sesterces; and though he censured the extravagances of others, he had five hundred tables of citrus wood with legs of ivory, all identically alike, and he served banquets on them. In stating thus much I have also made clear what naturally went with it—the licentiousness in which he indulged at the very time that he contracted a most brilliant marriage, and the delight that he took in boys past their prime, a practice which he also taught Nero to follow. And yet earlier he had been of such austere habits that he had asked his pupil to excuse him from kissing of the attack of Publius Suilius, recorded by Tacitus (Ann. xiii, 42).

¹ The Consolatio ad Polybius, still extant, was written during his exile in Corsica. It contains altogether too much adulation of the emperor and of Polybius.
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5 μήτε φιλεῖν αὐτὸν μήτε συσσιτεῖν αὐτῷ. καὶ τούτων μὲν καὶ πρόφασιν τινα ἐσχεν, ἵνα δή καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπὶ σχολῆς δύνηται, μηδὲν ύπὸ τῶν δείπνων αὐτοῦ ἐμποδίζομενος, τὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ φιλήματος οὐκ ἔχω συννοῆσαι διότι ἔξεστῃ δὲ γὰρ τοι καὶ μόνον ἂν τις ὑποπτεύσειν, ὅτι οὐκ ἠθελε τοιοῦτο στόμα φιλεῖν, ἐλέγχεται ἐκ τῶν παιδικῶν αὐτοῦ ψεῦδος οὖν. ἐκ τε οὖν τούτων καὶ ἐκ τῆς μοιχείας ἐγκληθεὶς τινα τότε μὲν αὐτὸς τε μηδὲ κατηγορηθεὶς ἀφείθη καὶ τὸν Πάλλαντα τὸν τὸ Βοῦρρον ἔξητήσατο, ύπερον δὲ οὐ καλῶς ἀπηλλαξεν.—Xiph. 151, 8–152, 15 R. St., Exc. Val. 239 p. 685 sq. (p. 29, 17–30, 8; p. 30, 17–32, 6).

1 δῆ Ῥκ., ἤδη cod. Peir.
2 τε supplied by Bk.
3 οὐ καλῶς Val., οὐκάλλως (ou by correction) cod. Peir.
him or eating at the same table with him. For the A.D. 58
latter request he had a fairly good excuse, namely, that he wished to carry on his philosophical studies
at leisure without being interrupted by the young
man's dinners. As for the kiss, however, I cannot
conceive how he came to decline it; for the only
explanation that one could think of, namely, his
unwillingness to kiss that sort of lips, is shown to
be false by the facts concerning his favourites.
Because of this and because of his adultery some
complaints were lodged against him; but at the
time in question he not only got off himself without
even being formally accused, but succeeded in beg-
ging off Pallas and Burrus besides. Later on
however, he did not fare so well.
EPITOME OF BOOK LXII

LXI  Ἡν δὲ τις Μάρκος Σάλωνιος Ὀθων, δι' οὕτως
11, 2 ἐκ τῆς ὁμοιότητος τῶν τρόπων καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων τῷ Νέρωνι φικείωτο ὡστε καὶ εἰπὼν ποτε πρὸς αὐτόν "οὕτω με Καίσαρα ἰδοὺς" οὐδὲν διὰ τούτῳ κακὸν ἐπαθεν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον μόνον ἀντήκουσεν ὅτι "οὐδὲ ὑπατόν σε ὅψομαι." τούτῳ τῇ Σαβίναι, ἐξ εὐπατριῶν οὕσαν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποστάσας ἔδωκε, καὶ
3 αὐτῆ ἀμφότεροι ἀμα ἔχρωντο. φοβηθείσα οὖν ἡ Ἀγριππίνα μὴ γημήται τῷ Νέρωνι (δεινὸς γὰρ ἡδὴ αὐτῆς ἐράν ἡρξατο), ἐργον ἀνοσιώτατον ἐτόλμησεν· ὦστερ γὰρ οὐχ ἰκανὸν ὑν1 ἐς μυθολογίαν ὅτι τὸν θείον τὸν Κλαύδιον ἐς ἐρωτα αὐτῆς2 ταῖς τε γοητείαις ταῖς τε ἀκολασίαις καὶ τῶν βλεμμάτων καὶ τῶν φιλημάτων ὑπηγάγετο, ἐπεχείρησε, καὶ
4 τὸν Νέρωνα ὁμοίως καταδουλώσασθαί. ἀλλ' έκείνο μὲν εὑτ' ἀληθῶς ἐγένετο εἴτε πρὸς τὸν τρόπον αὐτῶν ἐπιλάβη οὐκ οἶδα· ἀ δὲ δὴ πρὸς πάντων ὄμολογηται λέγω, ὅτι ἐταίρων τινα τῇ Ἀγριππίνῃ ὁμοίαιν ὁ Νέρων δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἠγάπησε, καὶ αὐτῇ τε ἔκεινη προσπαίζον καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐδεικτύμενος ἐλεγεν ὅτι καὶ τῇ μητρὶ ὁμιλοῖν.

12 Μαθοῦσα δὲ ταῦθ' ἡ Σαβίνα ἀνέπεισε τὸν

1 ὑν supplied by H. Steph.
2 αὐτῆς H. Steph., αὐτῆς VC.
There was a certain Marcus Salvius Otho, who a.d. 58 had become so intimate with Nero through the similarity of their character and their companionship in crime that he was not even punished for saying to him one day, "As truly as you may expect to see me Caesar!" All that he got for it was the response: "I shall not see you even consul." It was to him that the emperor gave Sabina, a woman of patrician family, after separating her from her husband, and they both enjoyed her together. Agrippina, therefore, fearing that Nero would marry the woman (for he was now beginning to entertain a mad passion for her), ventured upon a most unholy course. As if it were not notoriety enough for her that she had used her blandishments and immodest looks and kisses to seduce her uncle Claudius, she undertook to enslave even Nero in similar fashion. Whether this actually occurred, now, or whether it was invented to fit their character, I am not sure; but I state as a fact what is admitted by all, that Nero had a mistress resembling Agrippina of whom he was especially fond because of this very resemblance, and when he toyed with the girl herself or displayed her charms to others, he would say that he was wont to have intercourse with his mother.

Sabina on learning of this persuaded Nero to get a.d. 59

1 Rufius (or Rufrius) Crispinus; see Tac. Ann. xiii. 45; xv. 71; Suet. Nero 35.
Νέρωνα ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ Βουλεύουσάν οἱ αὐτὴν διολέ-σαι. καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ Σενέκας, ὡς πολλοὶ καὶ ἀξιοπίστοις ἀνδράσιν εἰρηταί, παρώξυνεν, εἰτ' ὁν τὸ ἐγκλημα τὸ καθ' εαυτοῦ ἐπηλυγνάσσαθαι βουληθεῖς, εἰτε καὶ τὸν Νέρωνα ἐς μαίφονιαν ἀνόσιον προσαγαγεῖν ἡθελήσας, ὡς τὰ χάριστα καὶ πρὸς 2 θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀπόληται. ἔπει δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς ὅκνουν τὸ ἐργον καὶ κρύφα διὰ φαρμάκων οὔκ εἶχον αὐτὴν ἀνελεῖν (πάντα γὰρ ἐκείνη ἱσχυρῶς ἐφυλάσσετο), ναῦν ἱδόντες ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ διαλυμένην τε αὐτὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς καὶ τινα θηρία ἁφείσαν, καὶ συνισταμένην αὐτὰ πάλιν ὡστε καὶ ἔρρωσθαι, τοιαύτῃ ἔτέραν ταχέως ἡ ἐναυπηγήσαντο. ὡς δὲ ἡ τε ναῦς ἐγεγονεί καὶ ἡ Ἀγριππίνα ἐτεθεράπευτο (πάντα γὰρ τρόπον ἐκολακευεν αὐτὴν, ἕνα μὴ τὶ ὑποτοπήσασα φυλάξηται), ἐν μὲν τῇ Ῥώμῃ οὐδὲν ἐτολμήσε ποιήσαι, μὴ καὶ ἐκδημοσιευθῇ τὸ μίασμα, πόρρῳ δὲ ἔς τὴν Καμπανίαν ἀπάρας καὶ παραλαβὼν τὴν μητέρα ἐπιλευσεν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἐκείνης τῆς νεώς λαμπρότατα κεκοσμημένης, ὡς καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτῆ ἐμβαλεῖν αἰε ποτὲ τῇ νη ἥρμθαί. 13 Ἐλθὼν τε ἐς Βαύλους δείπνα τε πολυτελέος τατα ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐποίησε καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἐν αὐτοῖς φιλοφρόνως ἐιστίησεν, ἀποῦσαν τε πάνυ ποθεῖν ἐπιλάττετο καὶ παροῦσαν ἀπεριστά-ξετο, αἰτεῖν τε ἐκέλευεν ὁ τι Βούλοιτο, καὶ μὴ 2 αἰτουσή πολλὰ ἐχαρίζετο. ἔπει δὲ ἐνταῦθα

1 προσαγαγεῖν Bk., προσαγαγεῖν VC.
2 ἐναυπηγήσαντο Rk., ἐναυπηγήσαντο VC.
3 ἐκδημοσιευθῇ Rk., ἐκδημοσιευθῆναι VC.
EPITOME OF BOOK LXII

rid of his mother, alleging that she was plotting A.D. 59 against him. He was incited likewise by Seneca (or so many trustworthy men have stated), whether from a desire to hush the complaint against his own name, or from his willingness to lead Nero on to a career of unholy bloodguiltiness that should bring about most speedily his destruction by gods and men alike. But they shrank from doing the deed openly and, on the other hand, were unable to put her out of the way secretly by means of poison, since she took extreme precautions against any such possibility. One day they saw in the theatre a ship that automatically parted asunder, let out some beasts, and then came together again so as to be once more seaworthy; and they at once caused another to be built like it. By the time the ship was finished Agrippina had been quite won over by Nero's attentions, for he exhibited devotion to her in every way, to make sure that she should suspect nothing and be off her guard. He did not dare to do anything in Rome, however, for fear the crime should become generally known. Hence he went off to a distance, even to Campania, accompanied by his mother, making the voyage on this very ship, which was adorned in most brilliant fashion, in the hope of inspiring in her a desire to use the vessel constantly.

When they reached Bauli, he gave for several days most costly dinners, at which he entertained his mother with every show of friendliness. If she were absent he feigned to miss her sorely, and if she were present he was lavish of caresses. He bade her ask whatever she desired and bestowed many gifts without her asking. When matters had
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...

1 ἐν τῇ ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου περὶ μέσας νύκτας περιλαμβάνει τε αὐτήν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ στέρνων προσαγαγών, καὶ φιλήσας καὶ τὰ άθματα καὶ τὰς χειρὰς, "μήτερ" τε εἰπὼν, "ἐρρωσό μοι καὶ υγίαινε" ἐν γὰρ σοὶ καὶ ἐγὼ ζῶ καὶ διὰ σὲ βασιλεῦν," παρέδωκεν αὐτὴν Ἀνικήτῳ ἀπελευθέρω ὡς καὶ κομιοῦντι οὐκάδε ἐπὶ τοῦ 3 πλοίου οὐ κατεσκεύακεν. ἀλλ' οὗ γὰρ ἤγεγκεν ἡ θάλασσα τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐπ' αὐτῇ τραγῳδίαν ἔσεσθαι, οὐδ' ὑπὲρεινε τὴν ψευδολογίαν τῆς ἀνοι- σιουργίας ἀναδέξασθαι, διελύθη μὲν ἡ νάυς καὶ ἡ 'Ἀγριππίνα ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ ἔξετέσσει, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλὰ καίτοι καὶ ἐν σκότῳ καὶ διακορῆς μέθες οὐσα, τῶν τε ναυτῶν ταῖς κόπταις ἐπ' αὐτὴν χρωμένων οἴστε καὶ Ἀκερρωνίαν 2 Πῶλλαν 4 τὴν συμπλούν αὐτῆς ἀποκτεῖναι, διεσώθη. καὶ ἑλθοῦσα οἰκάδε οὕτε προσεποίησατο οὕτ' ἔξεφηνε τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν νῦν ἔπεμψε κατὰ τάχος, καὶ τὸ τε συμβεβηκός αὐτῇ ὡς κατὰ τύχην συμπεπτωκὸς ἔλεγε, καὶ ὅτι σώζοτο εὐηγγελίζετο 3 δήθεν αὐτῷ. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ Νέρων οὐκ ἐκαρτέρησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν πεμφθέντα ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ 4 σφαγῇ ἱκουτα ἐκόλασε, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν μητέρα τὸν Ἀνικήτου εὐθὺς μετὰ τῶν ναυτῶν 5 ἀπέστειλεν τοῖς γὰρ δορυφόροις οὐκ ἐπίστευσε τῶν θάνατον αὐτῆς. ἱδοῦσα δὲ σφας ἐκείνη ἔγνω τε ἐφ' ἀ ἱκουσί, καὶ ἀναπηδήσασα ἐκ τῆς κοίτης τὴν τε ἐσθήτα περιερρήξατο, καὶ τὴν

1 ἐνταῦθα ἢ Rk., ἐνταῦθ' . . . V, ἐνταῦθ . . . C.
2 Ἀκερρωνίαν Ryckius, ἀκερρωνίαν VC.
3 εὐηγγελίζετο Bs., εὐηγγέλιζε H. Steph., εὐηγγελίκει VC.
reached this stage, he embraced her at the close of A.D. 59 dinner about midnight, and straining her to his breast, kissed her eyes and hands, exclaiming: “Strength and good health to you, ¹ mother. For you I live and because of you I rule.” He then gave her in charge of Anicetus, a freedman, ostensibly to convey her home on the ship that he had prepared. But the sea would not endure the tragedy that was to be enacted on it, nor would it submit to be liable to the false charge of having committed the abominable deed; and so, though the ship parted asunder and Agrippina fell into the water, she did not perish. Notwithstanding that it was dark and that she was glutted with strong drink and that the sailors used their oars against her with such force that they killed Acerronia Polla, her companion on the trip, she nevertheless got safely to shore. When she reached home, she affected not to realize that it was a plot and kept it quiet, but speedily sent to her son a report of the occurrence, calling it an accident, and conveyed to him the good news (as she assumed it to be) that she was safe. Upon hearing this Nero could not restrain himself, but punished the messenger as if he had come to assassinate him and at once despatched Anicetus with the sailors against his mother; for he would not trust the Praetorians to slay her. When she saw them, she knew for what they had come, and leaping up from her bed she tore open her clothing,

¹ Both verbs used in the Greek were common formulas of leave-taking.
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gastéra ἀπογυμνώσασα "παῖε," ἔφη, "ταύτην, Ἀνίκητε, παῖε, ὦτι Νέρωνα ἔτεκεν."

14 Οὗτο μὲν ἢ Ὄγηππίνα ἢ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
θυγάτηρ, ἢ τοῦ Ἀγρεύσπου ἔγγονος, ἢ τοῦ Λύγον-
στου ἀπόγονος, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ υἱός, ὦ το κράτος
ἐδεδώκει, δὲ ὄν ἄλλοις τε καὶ τῶν θείων ἀπεκτόνει,

2 κατεσφάγη. μαθὼν δὲ ὦ Νέρων ὦτι τέθυκεν,
οὐκ ἐπιστευσεν ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ τολμή-
ματος ἀπιστία αὐτῷ ὑπεχύθη· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
ἀυτόπτης ἐπεθύμησε τοῦ πάθους γενέσθαι. καὶ
αὐτὴν τε πᾶσαν εἰδε γυμνώσασα καὶ τὰ τραύματα
αὐτῆς ἐπεσκέψατο, καὶ τέλος πολὺ καὶ τοῦ
φόνου ἀνοσιότερον ἔπος ἐφθέγξατο· εἶπε γὰρ ὦτι

3 "οὖν ἦδεν ὦτι οὐτώ καλὴν μητέρα εἶχον." καὶ
τοῖς τε δορυφόροις ἀργύριον ἔδωκεν, ἵνα δῆλον
ὅτι πολλὰ τοιαύτα γίνεσθαι εὑρήσατε, καὶ τῇ
gερουσίᾳ ἐπέστειλεν, ἀλλὰ τε ὃσα συνήδει αὐτῇ
cαταριθμῶν, καὶ ὦτι ἐπεβούλευσέ τε αὐτῷ καὶ

4 φωραθεῖσα ἐαυτὴν διεχρῆσατο.1 καὶ τῇ μὲν
βουλῇ ταῦτα ἐπέστειλεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ταῖς τε νυξὶν
ἐξεταράττετο ὡστε καὶ ἐκ τῆς εὐνής ἐξαπιναύως
ἀναπηδᾶν, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων δῆ
τινων πολεμικῶν τι καὶ θροβῶδες ἐκ τοῦ χωρίον
ἐν ὦ τὰ τῆς Ἀγριππίνης ὡστά ἐκείτο ἡχουσῶν
ἐδειματούτο. διὸ καὶ ἄλλος ἦς, καὶ ἐπείδη
κανταῦθα τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτῷ συνέβαινεν, ἄλλος ἐμπλήκτως
μεθίστατο. — Χιφ. 152, 15—154, 27 R. St.

11, 1 "Ὅτι ὦ Νέρων, οἷα ἔληθες μὲν μηδὲν παρὰ
μηδενὸς ἀκούων, πάντας δὲ ἐπαινοῦντας τὰ πεπραγ-

1 διεχρῆσατο VC2, κατεχρῆσατο C1.

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exposing her abdomen, and cried out; "Strike here, A.D. 59
Anicetus, strike here, for this bore Nero."

Thus was Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus,
grand-daughter of Agrippa, and descendant of
Augustus, slain by the very son to whom she had
given the sovereignty and for whose sake she had
killed her uncle and others. Nero, when informed
that she was dead, would not believe it, since the
deed was so monstrous that he was overwhelmed
by incredulity; he therefore desired to behold the
victim of his crime with his own eyes. So he laid
bare her body, looked her all over and inspected
her wounds, finally uttering a remark far more
abominable even than the murder. His words
were: "I did not know I had so beautiful a
mother." To the Praetorians he gave money,
evidently to inspire in them the hope that many
such crimes would be committed; and to the senate
he sent a letter in which he enumerated the offences
of which he knew she was guilty, and charged also
that she had plotted against him and on being
detected had committed suicide. Yet in spite of
what he told the senate his own conscience was so
disturbed at night that he would leap suddenly from
his bed, and by day, when he merely heard the
blare of trumpets sounding forth some stirring
martial strain from the region where lay Agrippina's
bones,1 he would be terror-stricken. He therefore
kept changing his residence; and when he had the
same experience in the new place also, he would
move in utter fright elsewhere.

Since Nero did not hear a word of truth from
anybody and saw none but those who approved of his

1 Near her villa at Bauli.
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ména órōn, launthánein te ἑφ', òís ēdědrákei ή kai órthōs autá pεποικέναι ἐνόμισε, kák tou'tou polú χείρων kai ēs tā āllā ἐγένετο. πάντα te γάρ ὅσα ἐξῆν αὐτῶ ποιεῖν, kai kαλά ἤγειτο εἶναι, kai toîs fóβω ti ἡ κολακεί̂ a αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν ὡς kai πάνυ ἀληθεύουσι προσείχεν. τέως μὲν γάρ fóbois kai ὑβόβοις συνείχετο· ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ πρέσβεις πολλὰ kai 1 kεχαρίσμενα αὐτῶ εἶπον, ἀνεθάρση—Exc. Val. 240 (p. 686).

15 Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ ἀνθρωποὶ ἀκόουσαντες ταῦτα, καίτερ ἀκόμηνοι, ἔχαιρον νομίζοντες αὐτῶν ἐκ τούτου γε πάντως ἀπολείσθαι. τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες προσπεοινυ̃ντο χαίρειν ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσι, καὶ συνήδοντο δὴθεν τῷ Νέρωνι, καὶ ἐφησίζοντο πολλὰ οἰς φῶντο αὐτῶ χαρεῖ̂ 2 σθαι· ὁ Πούπλιος δὲ δὴ Ὑρασέας Παῖτὸς ἤλθε μὲν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἐπίκουσεν, ἀναγνωσθεί̂ σης δὲ αὐτῆς ἔκαστῇ τε εὐθὺς πρὶν καὶ ότιοῦ ἀποφήμασθαι καὶ ἐξῆλθε, διότι ἀ μὲν ἠθελεν 3 εἴπειν οὖκ ἐδύνατο, ἀ δὲ ἐδύνατο 2 οὖκ ἠθελεν. ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῶ τρόπῳ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα διῆγεν· ἔλεγε γάρ ὅτι "ἐι μὲν ἐμὲ μόνον ὁ Νέρων φοινεύ̃σεν ἐμελλε, πολλὴν ἂν εἶχον τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερκολακεύ̃σιν αὐτῶν 3 συγγνώμην· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν σφόδρα αὐτῶν ἐπαινοῦντων πολλοῖς τοὺς μὲν ἀνάλωκε τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπολέσει, τὴ χρῆ μάτην ἀσχημονοῦντα δουλοπρεπῶς φθαρῆναι, ἐξον ἔλευ̃ 4 θερίως ἀποδοῦναι τῇ φύσει τὸ ὀφειλόμενον; ἔμοι

1 kal supplied by Bk.
2 ἐδύνατο Bk., ἡδύνατο VC.
3 αὐτῶν Sylb., αὐτῶ VC.

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actions, he thought that his past deeds had not been found out, or even, perhaps, that there was nothing wrong in them. Hence he became much worse in other respects also. He came to believe that anything that it was in his power to do was right, and gave heed to those whose words were inspired by fear or flattery, as if they were utterly sincere in what they said. So, although for a time he was subject to fears and disturbances, yet after the envoys had made to him a number of pleasing speeches he regained his courage.

The people of Rome, on hearing of these occurrences, rejoiced in spite of their disapproval of them, thinking that now at last his destruction was assured. As for the senators, all but Publius Thrasea Paetus pretended to rejoice at what had taken place and ostensibly shared in Nero's satisfaction therein, voting many measures by which they thought to win his favour. Thrasea, like the rest, attended the meeting of the senate and listened to the letter, but when the reading was ended, he at once rose from his seat and without a word left the chamber, inasmuch as he could not say what he would and would not say what he could. And indeed this was always his way of acting on other occasions. He used to say, for example: "If I were the only one that Nero was going to put to death, I could easily pardon the rest who load him with flatteries. But since even among those who praise him to excess there are many whom he has either already disposed of or will yet destroy, why should one degrade oneself to no purpose and then perish like a slave, when one may pay the debt to nature like a freeman? As for me, men will talk

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μὲν γὰρ πέρι καὶ ἐπείτα λόγος τις ἐσται, τούτων δὲ, πλὴν καὶ’ αὐτὸ τούτο ὅτι ἐσφάγησαν, οὔδείς.”

τοιούτοι μὲν ὁ Θρασέας ἐγένετο, καὶ τοῦτο ἀεὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγεν “ἐμὲ Νέρων ἀποκτείνῃ μὲν δύναται, βλάψαι δὲ οὐ.”

16 Νέρωνα δὲ μετὰ τὸν τῆς μητρὸς φόνον ἐστίντα ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην δημοσία μὲν ἔθεράπευν, ίδία δὲ, ἐν δὲ γε καὶ παρρησιάσασθαι τινες ἀσφαλῶς ἐδύναντο, καὶ μάλα αὐτὸν ἐσπάραττον. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ μολὼν τέ τινα ἀπ’ ἀνδριάντος αὐτοῦ νῦκτωρ ἀπεκρέμασαν, ἐνδεκυνύμενοι ὅτι ἐς ἔκεινον


2b Καὶ ἦν μὲν καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν πολλαχόθι ὁμοίως γεγραμμένων

“Νέρων Ῥωστῆς Ἀλκμέων μητροκτόνοι,”

ἡν δὲ καὶ ἀκούὲιν αὐτὸ τοῦτο λεγόντων ὅτι Νέρων

3 τὴν μητέρα ἀνεχρήσατο· συχνοὶ γὰρ ὡς καὶ λελαληκότας τινὰς αὐτὸ ἐσήγγελον, οὐχ οὔτως

1 νέρωνα C2, νέρων VC1.
2 καθεῖλον Mai, καθείλεν codd.
3 μητροκτόνοι VC Zon., μητροκτόνοι exc. Vat.
of me hereafter, but of them never, except only A.D. 59 to record the fact that they were put to death." Such was the man that Thrasea showed himself to be; and he was always saying to himself: "Nero can kill me, but he cannot harm me."

When Nero entered Rome after the murder of his mother, people paid him reverence in public, but in private, so long at least as any could speak their minds with safety, they tore his character to shreds. For one thing, they hung a leathern bag by night on one of his statues to signify that he himself ought to be thrown into one. Again, they cast into the Forum a baby to which was fastened a tag bearing the words: "I will not rear you up, lest you slay your mother."

At Nero's entrance into Rome they pulled down the statues of Agrippina. But there was one that they did not cut loose soon enough, and so they threw over it a garment which gave it the appearance of being veiled. Thereupon somebody at once composed and affixed to the statue this inscription: "I am abashed and thou art unashamed."

In many places alike one could read the inscription:

"Orestes, Nero, Alcmeon, all matricides."

And people could even be heard saying in so many words that Nero had put his mother out of the way; for information that certain persons had talked to this effect was lodged by many men whose

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1 A reference to the well-known punishment prescribed for parricides. The criminal was sewn up in a leather bag together with a dog, a cock, a viper and an ape, and thrown into the water to drown.
In έκείνους ἀπολέσωσιν, ώς ᾿ϊνα τὸν Νέρωνα διαβάλωσιν. οὖθεν οὐδεμιάν τοιαύτην δίκην προσήκατο, ἢτοι μὴ βουλόμενος ἐπὶ πλεῖον δι’ αὐτής τὴν φήμην ἐπαυξῆσαι, ἢ καὶ καταφρονῶν ἦδη 4 τῶν λεγομένων. οἱ μὲντοι ᾧλιος σύμπας ἐν μέσαις ταῖς θυσίαις ταῖς ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀγριππίνῃ κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα γενομέναις ἐξέλιπεν, ὡστε καὶ ἀστέρας ἐκφανήναι 1 καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες οἱ τὴν τοῦ Λουγο- στοῦ ἀρμᾶμαξαν ἄγοντες ἐς μὲν τὸν ῥπό- δρομον ἔσθησον καὶ μέχρι τῆς τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐδρας ἀφίκοντο, γενομένου δὲ ἐντάθα ἔστησαν 5 καὶ περαιτέρω οὐ προεχρήσαν. καὶ ὁ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἄν τις ἐτεκμήριστο ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου γεγονέναι, σκηπτός ποτε τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτοῦ πάν ἐσφερόμενον οἱ κατέβλεψεν, ὡσπερ τις ἄρπνια τὰ σιτία αὐτοῦ ἀφελόμενος.—Χιφ. 155, 19–156, 2 R. St.

17 "Ὅτι καὶ τὴν Δομιτίαν τὴν τηθίδα, ἢν καὶ αὐτὴν ὡς μητέρα τιμᾶν ἔλεγεν, ἐπαπέκτεινεν φαρμάκῳ, οὖδ’ ἀνέμεινεν οὕλιας ἡμέρας ἵν’ ἄλλως ὑπὸ τοῦ γῆρως ἀποθάνη, ἀλλ’ ἐπεθῆμησε καὶ 2 ἐκείνην ἀπολέσασαι καὶ ἔσπευσε γε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι διὰ τὰ κτήματα αὐτῆς τὰ ἐν ταῖς Βαϊλίσι καὶ ἐν τῇ 2 Ῥαββενίδι 3 ὄντα, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἦβητηρία 4 εὐθὺς μεγαλοπρεπὴ κατεσκέυασεν, ἄ κα δεύρῳ ἀνθεῖ.—

Exc. Val. 241 (p. 686), Xiph. 156, 2–6 R. St.

Ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ ἑορτῆν μεγίστην δὴ καὶ πολυτελεστάτην ἐποίησεν, ὡστε ἐν πέντε ἦ καὶ 5 ἐξ ἀμα θεάτρους ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας πανηγυρίσαει, ὡστε δὴ καὶ ἐλέφας ἀνήχθη ἐς τὴν ἀνωτάτῳ τοῦ

1 ἐκφανηναι Leuncl., ἐκφήναι VC.
2 καὶ ἐν τῇ cod. Peir., τῇ τε VC.
purpose was not so much to destroy the others as A.D. 59 to bring reproach on Nero. Hence he would admit no suit brought on such a charge, either because he did not wish that the rumour should thereby gain greater currency, or because he by this time felt contempt for anything people said. Nevertheless, in the midst of the sacrifices that were offered in Agrippina’s honour in pursuance of a decree, the sun suffered a total eclipse and the stars could be seen. Also the elephants which drew the chariot of Augustus, when they had entered the Circus and proceeded as far as the senators’ seats, stopped at that point and refused to go any farther. And there was another incident in which one might surely have recognized the hand of Heaven. I refer to the thunderbolt that descended upon Nero’s dinner and consumed it all as it was being brought to him, like some harpy snatching away his food.

He also poisoned his aunt Domitia, whom he likewise claimed to revere like a mother. He would not even wait a few days for her to die a natural death of old age, but was eager to destroy her also. His haste to do this was inspired by her estates at Baiae and in the neighbourhood of Ravenna, on which he promptly erected magnificent gymnasias that are flourishing still.

In honour of his mother he celebrated a most magnificent and costly festival, the events taking place for several days in five or six theatres at once. It was on this occasion that an elephant was led up

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3 ἡραβενίδη cod. Peir., ἡραβενίδη θαλάσση VC.
5 ἡ καὶ V, καὶ C.
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θεάτρου ἀφίδα, καὶ ἐκείθεν ἐπὶ σχοινίων κατέ-
3 δραμεν ἀναβάτην φέρων. ἐκείνο δὲ δὴ 1 καὶ
αἴσχυστον καὶ δεινότατον ἀμα ἐγένετο, ὅτι καὶ
Ἀνδρεὶς καὶ γυναῖκες οὐχ ὅπως τοῦ ἐπικοῦ ἄλλα
καὶ τοῦ Βουλευτικοῦ ἀξίωματος ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν
καὶ ἐς τὸν ἱππόδρομον τὸ τὸ θεάτρον τὸ κυνηγετι-
κὸν ἐσῆθον ὅσπερ οἱ ἀτιμότατοι, καὶ ηὐλησάν
τινες αὐτῶν καὶ ὀρχήσαντο τραγῳδίας τε καὶ
κωμῳδίας ὑπεκρίναντο καὶ ἐκιθαρώδησαν, ὅπως
τε ἡλασαν καὶ θηρία ἀπέκτειναν καὶ ἔμονομα-
χῆσαν, οἱ μὲν ἔθελονται οἱ δὲ καὶ πᾶν ἄκουσιν.
4 καὶ εἴδον οἱ τότε ἀνθρωποὶ τὰ γένη τὰ μεγάλα,
touς Φουρίους τοὺς Ὀρατίους 2 τοὺς Φαβίους
toὺς Πορκίους τοὺς Οὐαλερίους, τᾶλλα πάντα ὡν
τα τρόπαια ὅν οἱ ναοὶ ἔωρὼντο, κάτω τε ἐστήκότας
καὶ τοιαύτα δρόντας ὅν ἐναὶ οὐδ' ὑπ' ἄλλων
5 γινόμενα ἐθεώρονν. καὶ ἑδακτυλοδείκτουν γε
αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἔπελεγον Μακεδόνες μὲν
"οὗτος ἔστιν ὁ τοῦ Παύλου ἐγγόνος," "Ἐλληνες
dὲ "οὗτος τοῦ Μομμίων," 3 Σικελίωται "Ἴδετε τὸν
Κλαύδιον," Ἡπειρωταί "Ἴδετε τὸν Ἀππιον,
'Ασιανοὶ τὸν Δούκιον, 'Ἰβηρες τὸν Πούπλιον,
Καρχηδόνιοι 'Ἀφρικανον, 'Ρωμαῖοι δὲ πάντας.
tοιαύτα γὰρ πον προτέλεια τῆς αὐτοῦ 4 ἀσχημο-
σύνης ποιῆσαι ἤθελησεν.
18 Ὡλοφύρωντο δὲ πάντες οἱ νοῦν ἔχουσίν καὶ ἐπὶ
tῷ πλῆθεὶ τῶν ἀναλισκομένων. πάντα μὲν γὰρ
tὰ πολυτελέστατα ἀ ἀνθρωποὶ ἐσθίουσιν, πάντα δὲ
cαὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ τιμώτατα, ὅπως ἀνδράποδα

1 δὲ δὴ Reim., δὴ V, δειξαι C.
2 τοὺς Ὀρατίους Antioch., om. VC.
3 Μομμίου Reim., μεμμίου VC.

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to the highest gallery of the theatre and walked A.D. 59 down from that point on ropes, carrying a rider. There was another exhibition that was at once most disgraceful and most shocking, when men and women not only of the equestrian but even of the senatorial order appeared as performers in the orchestra, in the Circus, and in the hunting-theatre, like those who are held in lowest esteem. Some of them played the flute and danced in pantomimes or acted in tragedies and comedies or sang to the lyre; they drove horses, killed wild beasts and fought as gladiators, some willingly and some sore against their will. So the men of that day beheld the great families—the Furii, the Horatii, the Fabii, the Porcii, the Valerii, and all the rest whose trophies and whose temples were to be seen—standing down there below them and doing things some of which they formerly would not even watch when performed by others. So they would point them out to one another and make their comments, Macedonians saying: "There is the descendant of Paulus"; Greeks, "There is Mummius' descendant"; Sicilians, "Look at Claudius"; Epirots, "Look at Appius"; Asiatics naming Lucius, Iberians Publius, Carthaginians Africanus, and Romans naming them all. For such, apparently, were the introductory rites by which Nero desired to usher in his own career of disgrace.

All who had any sense lamented likewise the huge outlays of money. For all the costliest viands that men eat and everything else of the highest value—horses, slaves, teams, gold, silver, and raiment

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4 ἀφτὸν H. Steph., ἀφτὸν VC.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ζεύγη χρυσίων ἀργύριον ἐσθήτα ποικίλην, ἐδίδουν 2 διὰ συμβόλων σφαιρία γὰρ μικρὰ, γεγραμμένα ὡς ἐκαστα αὐτῶν ἔχοντα, ἐς τὸν ὄμιλον ἐρρίπτει, καὶ ἐδίδοτο ὑ τι τις δι’ ἐκείνων ἦρπασεν. ἔνενόουν γὰρ ὅτι, ὅποτε τοσαύτα ἀνήλισκεν ὅνα ἀσχημο-νήση, οὐδὲνος τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων ἀφέξεται ὅνα τι κερδάνῃ. τεράτων δὲ τιων γεγονότων τότε οἱ μάντεις ὀλεθρον αὐτῷ ταῦτα φέρειν εἶπον, καὶ συνεβούλευσαν ὑπ’ ἐτέρους τὸ δεινὸν ἀποτρέψα-3 σθαί. καὶ συνχυον εὐθὺς κατεχρήσατο, εἰ μὴ ὁ Σενέκας ἔφη αὐτῷ ὅτι "ὅσους ἃν ἀποσφάξης, οὐ δύνασαι τόν διάδοχον σου ἀποκτεῖναι."—Xiph. 156, 6–157, 5 R. St.

Τότε μὲν δὴ τοσαύτα σωτήρια, ὡς δὲ ἔλεγεν, ἐώρτασε, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τῶν ὄψων, τὸ μάκελλον 19 ὀνομασμένον, καθιέρωσε· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐτερον αὐτῶν ὑδὸς ἐρτῆς ἦγαγεν, ἐπεκλήθη δὲ Ἰουυνε-νάλια ὑσπερ τινὰ νεανισκεύματα, καὶ ἐτελέσθη ἐπὶ τῷ γενειῶ ἀυτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τότε πρῶτον ἐξύρατο, καὶ τὰς γε τρίχας ἐς σφαιρίον τι χρυσοῦν ἐμβαλὼν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Διὶ τῷ Καπι-τωλίῳ· καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐορτήν οἱ τε ἀλλοι καὶ οἱ 2 εὐγενέστατοι πάντως τι ἐπεδείξαυτο. τεκμήριον δὲ, Αἰλία Κατέλλα τοῦτο μὲν γένει καὶ πλούτῳ προήκουσα, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἡλικίας προφέρουσα (ὀγδοηκοντούτις γὰρ ἦν) ἀρχήσατο, οἱ τε λοιποὶ οἱ διὰ γῆρας ἦ νόσουν ἰδία μιθὲν ποιήσαι δυνάμενοι ἐχορφήδησαν. ἦσκουν μὲν γὰρ πάντες ὅ τι τις

1 Ἰουυνενάλια Bk., Ιουβενάλια VC.
of divers hues—was given away by means of tokens, A.D. 59 as follows. Nero would throw among the crowd tiny balls, each one appropriately inscribed, and the articles called for by the balls would be presented to those who had seized them. Sensible people, I say, were grieved, reflecting that when he was spending so much in order that he might disgrace himself, he would not be likely to abstain from any of the most terrible crimes, in order that he might gain money. When some portents took place at this time, the seers declared that they meant destruction for him and they advised him to divert the evil upon others. He would accordingly have put numerous persons out of the way immediately, had not Seneca said to him: "No matter how many you may slay, you cannot kill your successor."

It was at this time that he celebrated so many sacrifices for his preservation, as he expressed it, and dedicated the provision market called the Macellum. Later he instituted a new kind of festival called Juvenalia, or Games of Youth. It was celebrated in honour of his beard, which he now shaved for the first time; the hairs he placed in a small golden globe and offered to Jupiter Capitolinus. For this festival members of the noblest families as well as all others were bound to give exhibitions of some sort. For example, Aelia Catella, a woman not only prominent by reason of her family and her wealth but also advanced in years (she was an octogenarian), danced in a pantomime. Others, who on account of old age or illness could not do anything by themselves, sang in choruses. All devoted themselves to practising any
καὶ ὁπωσοῦν οἶχος τε ἦν, καὶ ἦς διδασκαλεῖα ἀποδεδειγμένα συνεφοίτων οἱ ἐλλογιμώτατοι, ἄνδρες, γυναῖκες, κόραι, μειράκια, γραίαι, γέ-3 ροτες· εἰ δὲ τις μὴ ἐδύνατο ἐν ἑτέρῳ τῷ θέαν παρασχεῖν, ἐς τοὺς χροῖς κατεχωρίζετο. καὶ ἔπειθε γέ τινες αὐτῶν προσώπεια ὑπ' αἰσχύνης, ἵνα μὴ γνωρίζωνται, περεύθεντο, περιείλεν αὐτὰ τοῦ δήμου δῆθεν ἄξιόσαντος, καὶ ἐπέδειξε καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἐμπροσθεν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἄρχεισιν.

4 ἀνθρώπων. καὶ τότε δὴ μάλιστα καὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τοὺς τεθυγκότας ἐμακάριζον· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἄνδρες τῶν πρώτων ἐν τῷ ἑτερῳ ἐτε- λεύτησαν, ὅν ἐνίους καὶ τῷ Νέρωνι ἐπιβουλεύειν αἰτιαθέντας οἱ στρατιῶται περιστάντες ἐκλιθοβό- λησαν.

20 Καὶ ἐδει γὰρ καὶ τὸν κολοφῶνα ἀξίον τῶν πραττομένων ἐπενεχθῆναι, παρῆλθε τε καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Νέρων ἐς τὸ θέατρον, ὄνυμαστὶ πρὸς τοῦ Γαλλίωνος ἐσκηρυχθεῖς, καὶ ἐστη τε ἐπὶ τής σκηνῆς ὁ Καίσαρ τὴν κιθαρῳδικὴν σκευὴν ἐνδε- δυκώς, καὶ "κύριοι μου, εὐμενῶς μου ἀκούσατε"

2 εἶπεν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, ἐκιθαρῳδησὲ τε Ἀττιν τινὰ ἢ Βάκχας ὁ Λύγουστος, πολλῶν μὲν στρατιωτῶν παρεστηκότων, παντὸς δὲ τοῦ δήμου, ὅσον αἱ ἐδραὶ ἐχώρησαν, καθημένου, καίτοι καὶ βραχύν καὶ μέλαιν, ὡς γε παραδέδοται, φώνημα ἔχων, ὡστε καὶ γέλωτα ἀμα καὶ δάκρυα πᾶσι κινήσατι.

3 καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ Βούρρος καὶ ὁ Σενέκας, καθάπερ τινὲς διδάσκαλοι, ὑποβάλλοντες τι παρειστήκε- σαι, καὶ αὐτὸν τάς τε χείρας καὶ τά ἱμάτια, ὅποτε φθεγξαῖτό 1 τι, ἀνέσειον, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους

1 φθεγξαῖτο Reim., φθέγξειτο VC.
talent that they possessed as best they could, and A.D. 59 all the most distinguished people, men and women, girls and lads, old women and old men, attended schools designated for the purpose. And in case anyone was unable to furnish entertainment in any other fashion, he would be assigned to the choruses. And when some of them out of shame put on masks, to avoid being recognized, Nero caused the masks to be taken off, pretending that this was demanded by the populace, and exhibited the performers to a rabble whose magistrates they had been but a short time before. Now, more than ever, not only these performers but the rest as well regarded the dead as fortunate. For many of the foremost men had perished in the course of that year; some of them, in fact, charged with conspiring against Nero, had been surrounded by the soldiers and stoned to death.

As a fitting climax to these performances, Nero himself made his appearance in the theatre, being announced under his own name by Gallio. So there stood this Caesar on the stage wearing the garb of a lyre-player. This emperor uttered the words: "My lords, of your kindness give me ear," and this Augustus sang to the lyre some piece called "Attis" or "The Bacchantes,"¹ while many soldiers stood by and all the people that the seats would hold sat watching. Yet he had, according to report, but a slight and indistinct voice, so that he moved his whole audience to laughter and tears at once. Beside him stood Burrus and Seneca, like teachers, prompting him; and they would wave their arms and togas at every utterance of his and lead others

¹ These are actual titles of poems by Nero.
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προσεπεσπώντο. ἦν μὲν γὰρ τι καὶ ἰδιον αὐτῷ σύστημα ἐσ πεντακισχιλίους στρατιώτας παρε-4 σκευασμένον, Ἀὐγοῦστειοι τε ὄνομαζοντο καὶ ἐξήρχον τῶν ἐπαίνων ἡναγκάζοντο δὲ σφικι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες καὶ ἄκοντες, πλὴν τοῦ Θρασέα, ἐκβοάν. οὕτως μὲν γὰρ οὐδέποτε αὐτῶ συγκαθήκεν, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι, καὶ μάλισθ' οἱ ἐπιφανεῖς, σπουδὴ καὶ ὀδυρόμενοι συνελέγοντο, καὶ πάνθ' ὀσαπερ οἱ Αὐγοῦστειοι, ὡς καὶ χαίροντες, συνε-5 βῶν· καὶ ἦν ἀκούειν πως αὐτῶν λεγόντων "ὁ καλὸς Καῖσαρ, ὁ Ἀπόλλων, ὁ Αὐγοῦστος, εἷς ὡς Πύθιος. μά σε, Καῖσαρ, οὐδείς σε νικά." ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐδείπνισε τὸν δήμον ἐπὶ πλοίων ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐνῷ ἡ ναυμαχία ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγοῦστου ἐγεγόνει· καὶ εἰς αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς μεσούσης ἐς τὸν Τίβεριν διὰ τάφρων κατέπλευσε.—Xiph. 157, 5–158, 16 R. St., Exc. Val. 242.

21 Ταῦτα μὲν ἔπλ τὸ τὸ γένειον ψυλισθήματι ἔπραξεν· ὑπέρ δὲ δὴ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς τε δια-μονῆς τοῦ κράτους αὐτοῦ (οὕτω γὰρ ποὺ προεγρα-ψεν) ἄγωνα πενταετηρικὸν κατεστήσατο, Νε-ρώνεια αὐτοῦ ὄνομαζας, καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον φύκεδομησεν, ἐλαιόν τε ἐν τῇ καθερώσει αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς καὶ τοῖς ἰππεῦσι

2 προῖκα ἐνείμε. τοὺς μεντοι στέφανου τῶν τῶν κιθαρωδῶν ἄνικεὶ ἐλάβε, πάντων ὡς καὶ ἀναξίων τῆς νίκης ἐκβληθέντων, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ γυμνάσιον ἐν τῇ στολῇ σφων ἐσεγράφη. κἀκε τούτοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι αὐτῶ στέφανοι οἱ τῆς κιθα-ρωδίας ἔξ ἀπάντων τῶν ἀγώνων ὡς καὶ μόνῳ ἀξιοικω ἐπέμποντο.—Xiph. 158, 16–24 R. St., Exc. Val. 243 (p. 689).

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to do the same. Indeed, Nero had got ready a.d. 59 special corps of about five thousand soldiers, called Augustans; these would lead the applause, and all the rest, however loath, were obliged to shout with them. Thrasea was the single exception, since he would never help Nero in these matters; but all the rest, and especially the prominent men, assembled with alacrity, grieved though they were, and joined in all the shouts of the Augustans, as if they were delighted. And one might have heard them exclaiming: “Glorious Caesar! Our Apollo, our Augustus, another Pythian! By thyself we swear, O Caesar, none surpasses thee.” After this performance he entertained the people at a feast on boats on the site of the naval battle given by Augustus; thence at midnight he sailed through a canal into the Tiber.

These things, then, he did to celebrate the shaving of his beard; and in behalf of his preservation and the continuance of his power, as his proclamation put it, he instituted some quadrennial games, which he called Neronia. In honour of this event he also erected the gymnasion,¹ and at its dedication made a free distribution of olive oil to the senators and knights. The crown for lyre-playing he took without a contest; for all others were debarred, on the assumption that they were unworthy of being victors. And immediately, wearing the garb of this guild, he entered the gymnasion itself to be enrolled as victor. Thereafter all other crowns awarded as prizes for lyre-playing in all the contests were sent to him as the only artist worthy of victory.

¹ Gymnasion here means a school of music.

¹ ψιλιαθήναι Reim., ψιληθήναι VC.
² ἐκβληθέντων cod. Peir., ἐκκληθέντων VC.
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LXII 1 'Εν ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Ὄρμη ἔπαίζετο, πάθος ἐν τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ δεινὸν συνηνέχθη: δύο τε γὰρ πόλεις ἐπορθήθησαν, καὶ μυριάδες ὀκτὼ τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτῶν ἔφθαρσαν, ή τε νῆσος ἠλλοτριώθη. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα ὑπὸ γνωκὸς αὐτοῖς συνηνέχθη, ὡστε καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο πλείστην αὐτοῖς αἰσχύνην συμβῆναι, ὡς ποι καὶ τὸ θείον τὴν συμφορὰν αὐτοῖς 2 προσέγκλησεν ἐκ τε γὰρ τοῦ Βουλευτηρίου θροὺς νυκτὸς βαρβαρικὸς μετὰ γέλωτος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θεατροῦ θάρυσος μετ’ οἰμογῆς ἐξηκούσε, μηδὲν ἀνθρώπων μήτε φθεγγόμενον μήτε στένοντος, οἷκιαί τε τίνες 1 ἐν τῷ Ταμέσα ποταμῷ ὕψοροι ἑῳράντο, καὶ ὁ ὦκεανὸς ὁ μεταξὺ τῆς τε νῆσου καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας αἱματώδης ποτὲ ἐν τῇ πλημμυρίδι ηὐξήθη.

2 Πρόφασις δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ἐγένετο ἢ δήμευσις τῶν χρημάτων ἃ Κλαύδιος τοῖς πρῶτοι αὐτῶν ἐδεδώκει· καὶ ἐδει καὶ ἕκεινα, ὡς γε Δεκίανὸς Κάτως ὁ τῆς νῆσου ἐπιτροπεύων ἔλεγεν, ἀναπόμπιμα γενέσθαι. διὰ τε ὅν τοῦτο, καὶ ὅτι ὁ Σενέκας χιλίας σφίσι μυριάδας ἄκουσιν 3 ἐπὶ χρηστὰς ἔλπισι τὸκὼν δανείσας ἐπειτ' ἀθρόας τε ἀμα αὐτὰς καὶ βιαίως ἐσέπτας, ἐπα- 2 νέστησαν. 4 ἦ δὲ μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἐρεθίσασα καὶ ἐναντία Ῥωμαίων πολεμεῖν ἀναπείσασα, τῆς τε προστατείας αὐτῶν ἄξιωθείσα καὶ τοῦ πολέμου

1 τίνες C (?), τίνος V.
2 ὕψοροι Blancus (in transl.), ἐφύδροι VC.
3 ἄκουσιν VC, probably corrupt. Naber proposed αἰ-
 τοῦσιν.
4 ἐπανέστησαν supplied by Rk.

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While this sort of child's play was going on at A.D. 61 Rome, a terrible disaster occurred in Britain. Two cities were sacked, eighty thousand of the Romans and of their allies perished, and the island was lost to Rome. Moreover, all this ruin was brought upon the Romans by a woman, a fact which in itself caused them the greatest shame. Indeed, Heaven gave them indications of the catastrophe beforehand. For at night there was heard to issue from the senate-house foreign jargon mingled with laughter, and from the theatre outcries and lamentations, though no mortal man had uttered the words or the groans; houses were seen under the water in the river Thames, and the ocean between the island and Gaul once grew blood-red at flood-tide.

An excuse for the war was found in the confiscation of the sums of money that Claudius had given to the foremost Britons; for these sums, as Decianus Catus, the procurator of the island, maintained, were to be paid back. This was one reason for the uprising; another was found in the fact that Seneca, in the hope of receiving a good rate of interest, had lent to the islanders 40,000,000 sesterces that they did not want, and had afterwards called in this loan all at once and had resorted to severe measures in exacting it. But the person who was chiefly instrumental in rousing the natives and persuading them to fight the Romans, the person who was thought worthy to be their leader and who

1 The text, ἄκουσιν, does not give a very satisfactory meaning; Naber would read αἰτοῦσιν, "at their request."
παντὸς στρατηγήσασα, Βουδούκικα ἢν, γυνὴ Βρεττανίας γένους τοῦ βασιλείου, μεῖζον ἡ κατὰ 3 γυναῖκα φρόνημα ἔχουσα. αὕτη γὰρ συνήγαγε τε τὸ στράτευμα ἀμφὶ δῶδεκα μυριάδας ὄν, καὶ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ βῆμα ἐξ ἐδάφους ἐς τὸν Ἡρωμαϊκὸν τρόπον πεποιημένον. ἢν δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα μεγίστη καὶ τὸ εἴδος βλοσυρωτάτη τὸ τε βλέμμα δριμυ- 4 τάτη, καὶ τὸ φθέγμα τραχὺ εἶχε, τὴν τε κόμην πλείστην τε καὶ ξανθοτάτην οὔσαν μέχρι τῶν γλυκῶν καθεῖτο, καὶ στρεπτόν μέγαν χρυσοῦν ἐφόρει, χιτώνα τε παμποίκιλον ὑπεκεκόλπωτο, καὶ χλαμύδα ἐπ’ 3 αὐτὸ παχείαν ἐνέπεπτρητο. οὕτω μὲν ἀεὶ ἐνεσκενάζετο· τότε δὲ καὶ λόγχην λαβοῦσα, ὅστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου πάντας ἐκπλήττειν, ἔλεξεν ὁδε.

3 "Πέπεισθε μὲν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῖς ὅσον ἐλευθε- ρία τῆς δουλείας διαφέρει, ὥστ’ εἰ καὶ πρότερον τις ὕμων ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ κρείττονος ἀπειρίας. ἐπα- γωγοῖς ἐπαγγέλμασι τῶν Ἡρωμαϊών ἡπάτητο, ἄλλα γὰρ ὡς ἐκατέρον πεπειραμένοι μεμαθήκατε μὲν ὅσον ἥμαρτήκατε δεσποτείαν ἐπισπαστὸν πρὸ τῆς πατρίου διαίτης προτιμήσαντες, ἐγνώκατε δὲ ὅσῳ καὶ πενία ὑδέσποτος πλούτου δουλεύοντος 2 προφέρει. τί μὲν γὰρ ὃ τῶν αἰσχίστων, τί δ’ ὃ τῶν ἁλγίστων, ἐξ ὁπερ ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν ὧτοι παρέκυψαν, πεπόνθαμεν; οὗ τῶν μὲν πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων κτημάτων ὅλων ἐστε- 3 ρήμεθα, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τέλη καταβάλλομεν; ο┅ πρὸς τὸ τάλλα πάντα καὶ νέμειν καὶ γεωργεῖν

1 Βουδούκικα Bs., βουδούκικα VC (βουδούκικα ch. 7, 1; 8, 2; 12, 6, βοδονίκα ch. 6, 1).
2 ἐξ ἐδάφους Bs., ἐκ γῆς ἐλάδους VC.

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directed the conduct of the entire war, was Buduica, a Briton woman of the royal family and possessed of greater intelligence than often belongs to women. This woman assembled her army, to the number of some 120,000, and then ascended a tribunal which had been constructed of earth in the Roman fashion. In stature she was very tall, in appearance most terrifying, in the glance of her eye most fierce, and her voice was harsh; a great mass of the tawniest hair fell to her hips; around her neck was a large golden necklace; and she wore a tunic of divers colours over which a thick mantle was fastened with a brooch. This was her invariable attire. She now grasped a spear to aid her in terrifying all beholders and spoke as follows:

"You have learned by actual experience how different freedom is from slavery. Hence, although some among you may previously, through ignorance of which was better, have been deceived by the alluring promises of the Romans, yet now that you have tried both, you have learned how great a mistake you made in preferring an imported despotism to your ancestral mode of life, and you have come to realize how much better is poverty with no master than wealth with slavery. For what treatment is there of the most shameful or grievous sort that we have not suffered ever since these men made their appearance in Britain? Have we not been robbed entirely of most of our possessions, and those the greatest, while for those that remain we pay taxes? Besides pasturing and tilling for them

1 Commonly known as Boadicea.
καὶ τῶν σωμάτων αὐτῶν δασμὸν ἐτήσιον φέρομεν; καὶ πόσῳ κρείττον ἦν ἀπαξ τισὶν πεπράσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ κενῶν ἐλευθερίας οὐνομάτων κατ’ ἐτος λυτροῦσθαι; πόσῳ δὲ ἐσφάξθαι καὶ ἀπολωλέναι μᾶλλον ἢ κεφαλὰς ὑποτελεῖσαι περιφέρειν; καὶ τοῖ τοῦτο εἰπον;

4 οὔδε γὰρ τὸ τελευτῆσαι παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἀξιὰμίον ἐστιν, ἀλλ’ ἵστε ὅσον καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν τελοῦμεν παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ τοὺς δουλεύοντας τισιν ὁ θάνατος ἐλευθεροὶ, Ὀρμαίοις δὲ δὴ μόνοις καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ζῶσι πρὸς τὰ λήμματα. τί δ’ ὅτι, κἂν μὴ ἔχῃ τις ἡμῶν ἀργύριον (πῶς γὰρ ἡ πόθεν), ἀποδούμεθα καὶ σκυλευόμεθα ὡςπερ οἱ φονευόμενοι; τί δ’ ἄν προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου μετριάσαμεν, οὕτως ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν πρώτην εὐθύς, ὅτε 1 πάντες καὶ τὰ θηρία τὰ νεάλωτα θεραπεύουσι, προσευθήκαμενοί;

5 Ἡμεῖς δὲ δὴ πάντων τῶν κακῶν τούτων αὐτῶν, ὡς γε τάληθες εἰπεῖν, γεγόναμεν, οἵτινες αὐτοῖς ἐπιβήναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς νήσου ἐπετρέψαμεν, καὶ οὐ παραχρῆμα αὐτοῖς, ὡςπερ καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν Ἰουλίον ἑκείνου, ἐξηλάσαμεν, οἵτινες οὐ πόρρωθεν σφισίν, ὡςπερ καὶ τῷ Ἀγούστῳ καὶ τῷ Γαίῳ τῷ Καλιγόλα, φοβερὸν τὸ καὶ πειρᾶσαι τῶν πλούν ἐποιήσαμεν. τουγαροῦν νῆσον τηλικαύτην, μᾶλλον δὲ ἤπειρον τρόπον τινὰ περίρρυτον νεμόμενοι καὶ ἰδίαν οἰκουμένην ἔχοντες, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὕπο τοῦ ὥκεανοῦ ἄφ’ ἀπάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἀφωρισμένοι ὡστε καὶ γῆν ἄλλην καὶ

1 ὅτε Sylb., ὅτι VC.
all our other possessions, do we not pay a yearly A.D. 61 tribute for our very bodies? How much better it would be to have been sold to masters once for all, possessing empty titles of freedom, to have to ransom ourselves every year! How much better to have been slain and to have perished than to go about with a tax on our heads! Yet why do I mention death? For even dying is not free of cost with them; nay, you know what fees we deposit even for our dead. Among the rest of mankind death frees even those who are in slavery to others; only in the case of the Romans do the very dead remain alive for their profit. Why is it that, though none of us has any money (how, indeed, could we, or where could we get it?), we are stripped and despoiled like a murderer’s victims? And why should the Romans be expected to display moderation as time goes on, when they have behaved toward us in this fashion at the very outset, when all men show consideration even for the beasts they have newly captured?

“But, to speak the plain truth, it is we who have made ourselves responsible for all these evils, in that we allowed them to set foot on the island in the first place instead of expelling them at once as we did their famous Julius Caesar,—yes, and in that we did not deal with them while they were still far away as we dealt with Augustus and with Gaius Caligula and make even the attempt to sail hither a formidable thing. As a consequence, although we inhabit so large an island, or rather a continent, one might say, that is encircled by the sea, and although we possess a veritable world of our own and are so separated by the ocean from all the rest of mankind
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όρασιν ἄλλον οἰκεῖν πεπιστεῦσθαι καὶ τινάς αὐτῶν καὶ τούς σοφωτάτους γέ ἡ μηδε τὸ ὄνομα ἡμῶν ἀκριβῶς πρότερον ἐγνωκέναι, κατεφρο-νήθημεν καὶ κατεπατήθημεν ὑπ’ ἄνθρωπων μηδέν
3 ἄλλο ἡ πλεονεκτεῖν εἰδότων. ἄλλη εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον, νῦν ἔτι, ὁ πολίται καὶ φίλοι καὶ συγγενεῖς (πάντας γὰρ ύμᾶς συγγενεῖς, ἀτε καὶ μᾶς νῆσου οἰκήτορας ὄντας καὶ ἐν ὄνομα κοινῶν κεκλημένους,2 νομίζω), τὰ προσήκοντα πράξομεν, ἔως ἔτι τῆς ἔλευθερίας μημονεύομεν, ἢν καὶ τὸ πρόσρημα καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς τοῖς παισὶ κατα-λίπωμεν. ἄν γὰρ ἡμεῖς τῆς συντρόφου εὐδαιμονίας παντελῶς ἐκλαθόμεθα, τί ποτε ἐκεῖνοι ποιήσουσιν ἐν δουλεία τραφέντες;

5 Δέγα δὲ ταῦτα οὐχ ἦνα μισήσητε τὰ παρόντα (μεμισήκατε γὰρ), οὗδ’ ἦνα φοβηθῆτε τὰ μέλλοντα (πεφόβησθε γὰρ), ἄλλα ἦνα ἑπαίνεσω τε ύμᾶς ὅτι καὶ καθ’ ἐαυτοὺς πάνθ’ ὁσα δεί προαιρείσθε, καὶ χάριν ύμῶν ὡς ὅτι καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐαυτοὺς ἐτοίμως συναίρεσθε. φοβείσθε δὲ μηδαμῶς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους,

2 οὔτε γὰρ πλείους ἡμῶν εἰσίν οὐτ’ ἄνδρειότεροι. τεκμήριοι δὲ ὅτι καὶ κράνεσι καὶ θώραξι καὶ κυνηγός ἐσκέπασθε καὶ προσέτι καὶ σταυρώμασι καὶ τείχεσι καὶ τάφροις ἐσκεύασθε3 πρὸς τὸ μῆτι4 πάσχειν εὖ ἐπιδρομῆς τῶν πολεμίων. τοῦτο γὰρ

1 γε R. Steph., τε VC.
2 κεκλημένους v. Herw. (cf. Thuc. 4, 64, 3), κεκτημένους VC.
3 A corrupt passage. ἄστερ ἐκεῖνοι οὐκ ἐσκέπασθε . . . ὃντος ἐσκευάσθη H. Stephanus; τεκμήριον δὲ τό τέ ὁτ’ . . . ἐσκευάσθαι . . . ἐσκευάσθαι Reiske; τεκμήριοι δὲ τό . . .

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that we have been believed to dwell on a different A.D. 61 earth and under a different sky, and that some of the outside world, aye, even their wisest men, have not hitherto known for a certainty even by what name we are called, we have, notwithstanding all this, been despised and trampled underfoot by men who know nothing else than how to secure gain. However, even at this late day, though we have not done so before, let us, my countrymen and friends and kinsmen,—for I consider you all kinsmen, seeing that you inhabit a single island and are called by one common name,—let us, I say, do our duty while we still remember what freedom is, that we may leave to our children not only its appellation but also its reality. For, if we utterly forget the happy state in which we were born and bred, what, pray, will they do, reared in bondage?

"All this I say, not with the purpose of inspiring you with a hatred of present conditions,—that hatred you already have,—nor with fear for the future,—that fear you already have,—but of commending you because you now of your own accord choose the requisite course of action, and of thanking you for so readily co-operating with me and with each other. Have no fear whatever of the Romans; for they are superior to us neither in numbers nor in bravery. And here is the proof: they have protected themselves with helmets and breastplates and greaves and yet further provided themselves with palisades and walls and trenches to make sure of suffering no harm by an incursion of their enemies. For they are

\[ \text{The translation follows Reiske and Boissevain.} \]

\[ \text{μὴτι } V, \text{ μηκέτι } C. \]
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αἴρονται μᾶλλον ύπό τῶν φόβων ἡ το καὶ
3 δράσαι τι προχείρως ὡσπερ ἡμεῖς. τοσαύτη
gὰρ περιουσία ἀνδρίας χρώμεθα ὡστε καὶ τὰς
σκηνὰς ἀσφάλεστέρας τῶν τειχῶν καὶ τὰς
ἀσπίδας πολυγρακεστέρας τῆς ἐκείνων πανοπλίας
νομίζειν. ἐξ οὔτε ἡμεῖς μὲν καὶ κρατοῦντες
αἴρομεν αὐτοὺς καὶ βιασθέντες ἐκφεύγομεν, καὶ
ἀρα καὶ ἀναχωρήσατι ποι προελώμεθα, ἐς τοιαῦτα
ἔλη καὶ ὅρη καταδυνόμεθα ὡστε μήτε εὑρέθηναι
4 μήτε λιπθήναι· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οὔτε διώξαι τίνα ὑπὸ
tοῦ βίαρους οὔτε φυγεῖν ἱ δύνανται, καὶ ἄρα καὶ
ἐκδράμωσό ποτε, ἐς τε χωρία ἀποδεδειγμένα
καταφεύγουσι,2 κάνταθ' ὡσπερ ἐς γαλεάγρας
5 κατακλείονται. ἐν τε οὖν τούτοις παρὰ πολὺ
ἡμῶν ἐλαττοῦνται, καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις, ὅτι οὔτε λιμῶν
οὔτε δίψος, οὐ ψύχοις οὐ καύμα ὑποφέρουσιν
ὡσπερ ἡμεῖς, ἀλλ' ὁι μὲν καὶ σκιάς καὶ σκέπης
σίτου τε μεμαγμένου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου
dέονται, καὶ ἄρα τι τούτων αὐτοὺς ἐπιλύπη
διαφθείρονται, ἡμῖν δὲ δὴ πᾶσα μὲν πόα καὶ
ῥίζα σῖτος ἐστὶ, πᾶς δὲ χυμὸς ἐλαίου, πάν δὲ
6 ύδωρ οἶνος, πᾶν δὲ δένδρου οἰκία. καὶ μὴν καὶ
τὰ χωρία τάυτα ἡμῖν μὲν συνήθη καὶ σύμμαχα,
ἐκείνοις δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀγνωστα καὶ πολέμια· καὶ
tοὺς ποταμοὺς ἡμεῖς μὲν γυμνοί διανέομεν, ἐκεί-
νοι δὲ οὐδὲ πλοῖοι ῥαδίως περαιοῦνται. ἀλλ'
ἵωμεν ἐπί αὐτοὺς ἀγαθή τύχῃ θαρροῦντες.
δεῖξομεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι λαγών καὶ ἀλώπεκες ὀντες
κυνὼν καὶ λύκων ἄρχειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν.”
6 Ταῦτα εἰποῦσα λαγῶν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου

1 φυγεῖν R. Steph., φυγῆς VC.
influenced by their fears when they adopt this kind of fighting in preference to the plan we follow of rough and ready action. Indeed, we enjoy such a surplus of bravery, that we regard our tents as safer than their walls and our shields as affording greater protection than their whole suits of mail. As a consequence, we when victorious capture them, and when overpowered elude them; and if we ever choose to retreat anywhere, we conceal ourselves in swamps and mountains so inaccessible that we can be neither discovered nor taken. Our opponents, however, can neither pursue anybody, by reason of their heavy armour, nor yet flee; and if they ever do slip away from us, they take refuge in certain appointed spots, where they shut themselves up as in a trap. But these are not the only respects in which they are vastly inferior to us: there is also the fact that they cannot bear up under hunger, thirst, cold, or heat, as we can. They require shade and covering, they require kneaded bread and wine and oil, and if any of these things fails them, they perish; for us, on the other hand, any grass or root serves as bread, the juice of any plant as oil, any water as wine, any tree as a house. Furthermore, this region is familiar to us and is our ally, but to them it is unknown and hostile. As for the rivers, we swim them naked, whereas they do not get across them easily even with boats. Let us, therefore, go against them trusting boldly to good fortune. Let us show them that they are hares and foxes trying to rule over dogs and wolves."

When she had finished speaking, she employed a

*καταφεύγουσι* Sylb., *καταφεύγωσι* VC.
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προήκατο μαντεία τινὶ χρωμένη, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν αἰσιώ σφίσιν ἔδραμε, τὸ τε πλῆθος πάν ἢσθεν ἀνεβόησε, καὶ ἡ Βουδοῦικα τὴν χεῖρα ἐς τὸν 2 οὐρανὸν ἀνατείνασα εἶπε "χάριν τέ σοι ἔχω, ὃ Ἀνδράστῃ,¹ καὶ προσεπικαλούμαι σε γυνὴ γυναῖκα, οὐκ Ἀγιοτῆτι ἀχθοφόρων ἀρχοῦσα ὡς Νίτωκρις, οὐδ' Ἀσσυρίων τῶν ἐμπόρων ὡς Σεμίραμισ (καὶ γὰρ ταῦτ' ἦδη παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων 3 μεμαθήκαμεν), οὐ μὴν οὖδὲ Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν ὡς πρότερον μὲν Μεσσαλίνα ἔπειτ' Ἀγριππίνα νῦν δὲ καὶ Νέρων (ὦνομα μὲν γὰρ ἄνδρός ἔχει, ἔργῳ δὲ γυνὴ ἐστὶ σημείων δὲ, ᾧτε καὶ κιθαρίζει καὶ καλλωπίζεται), άλλα ἄνδρῶν Βρεττανῶν, γεωργεῖν μὲν ἡ δημιουργεῖν οὐκ εἰδότων, πολεμεῖν δὲ ἀκριβῶς μεμαθηκότων, καὶ τά τε ἅλλα πάντα κοινὰ καὶ παίδας καὶ γυναίκας κοινὰς νομίζοντων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνων τὴν αὐτὴν³ τοῖς 4 ἄρρεσιν ἁρετὴν ἐχουσῶν. τοιούτων οὖν ἄνδρῶν καὶ τοιούτων γυναικῶν βασιλεύσουσα⁴ προσεύχομαι τέ σοι καὶ αἰτῶν ⁵ νίκην καὶ σωτηρίαν καὶ ἐλευθερίαν κατ' ἄνδρῶν ὑβριστῶν ἀδίκων ἀπλῆστων ἀνοιῶν, εἰ γε καὶ ἄνδρας χρῆ καλεῖν ἄνθρωπος ὕδατι θερμὰ λουμένους,⁶ ὥσα σκευαστὰ ἐσθίοντας, οἶνον ἄκρατον πίνοντας, μῦρον ἀλειφόμενος, μαλθακῶς κοιμώμενος, μετὰ μειράκιον, καὶ τούτων ἐξώρων, καθεύδοντας, κιθαρίζοντας, καὶ τούτω ροδᾶ, καὶ τούτῳ κακῷ, δουλεύοντας. μὴ γάρ

¹ ἄνδραστη C cor., ἄδραστη VC.
² γάρ supplied by Bs.
species of divination, letting a hare escape from the fold of her dress; and since it ran on what they considered the auspicious side, the whole multitude shouted with pleasure, and Buduica, raising her hand toward heaven, said: "I thank thee, Andraste, and call upon thee as woman speaking to woman; for I rule over no burden-bearing Egyptians as did Nitocris, nor over trafficking Assyrians as did Semiramis (for we have by now gained thus much learning from the Romans!), much less over the Romans themselves as did Messalina once and afterwards Agrippina and now Nero (who, though in name a man, is in fact a woman, as is proved by his singing, lyre-playing and beautification of his person); nay, those over whom I rule are Britons, men that know not how to till the soil or ply a trade, but are thoroughly versed in the art of war and hold all things in common, even children and wives, so that the latter possess the same valour as the men. As the queen, then, of such men and of such women, I supplicate and pray thee for victory, preservation of life, and liberty against men insolent, unjust, insatiable, impious,—if, indeed, we ought to term those people men who bathe in warm water, eat artificial dainties, drink unmixed wine, anoint themselves with myrrh, sleep on soft couches with boys for bedfellows,—boys past their prime at that,—and are slaves to a lyre-player and a poor one too.

1 A goddess of the Britons.
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toi μήτ', 1 ἐμοῦ μήθ' ὑμῶν ἐτὶ βασιλεύσειεν ἡ Νερωνίς ἡ Δομιτία, ἄλλ' ἐκείνη μὲν Ἦρωμαίων ἄδουσα δεσποζέτω (καὶ γὰρ ἄξιοι τοιαύτη γυναικὲς δουλεῦειν, ἡς τοσοῦτον ἣδη χρόνον ἀνέχονται τυραννούσης), ὑμῶν δὲ σῦ, ὦ δέσποινα, ἂει μόνη προστατοῖς. 2

7 Τοιαύτ' ἄττα ἡ Βουδούκια δημηγορήσασα ἐπήγαγε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τὴν στρατιάν· ἐτυχον γὰρ ἄναρχοι ὄντες διὰ τὸ Παυλίνον τὸν ἡγεμόνα σφῶν εἰς νησίον τινα Μῶνναν ἄγχος τῆς Βρεττανίας κειμένην ἐπιστρατεύσαι. διὰ τούτο πόλεις τε δύο Ῥωμαϊκὰς ἐξεπόρθησε καὶ διήρπασε καὶ φόνων ἀμύθητον, ως ἐφήν, εἰργάσατο· τοίς τε ἄλισκομένοις ἀνθρώποις ὑπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲν τῶν δεινοτάτων ἐστιν ὡ τι οὐκ ἐγίνετο. καὶ ὅ δὴ δεινότατον καὶ θηριωδέστατον ἐπραξαν· τὰς γὰρ γυναῖκας τὰς εὐγενεστάτας καὶ εὐπρεπεστάτας γυμνὰς ἐκρέμασαν, καὶ τοὺς τε μαστοὺς αὐτῶν περιέτεμον καὶ τοῖς στόμασί σφῶν προσέρρασαν, ὅπως ὡς καὶ ἐσθίουσαν αὐτοὺς ὀρφυτο, καὶ μετὰ τούτο πασσάλοις ὄξεσι διὰ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος 3 κατὰ μῆκος ἀνέπειραν. καὶ ταῦτα πάντα, θύντες τε ἅμα καὶ ἐστιώμενοι καὶ 3 υβρίζοντες, ἐν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις σφῶν ἰεροῖς καὶ ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀνδάτης μάλιστα ἄλσει ἐποίουν. οὕτω τε 4 γὰρ τὴν Νίκην ὑνόμαξον, καὶ ἔσεβον αὐτὴν περιττότατα.

8 Ο δὲ Παυλίνος ἐτυχε μὲν ἦδη τὴν Μῶνναν παραστήσαμενος, πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν Βρετανικὴν συμφορὰν ἀπέπελευσεν εὐθύς ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς Μῶννης. καὶ διακινδύνευσαι μὲν αὐτικα πρὸς

1 μήτ' Bk., μή VC.
2 προστατοῖς Sylb., παρπαπατοῖς VC.

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Wherefore may this Mistress Domitia-Nero reign no longer over me or over you men; let the wench sing and lord it over Romans, for they surely deserve to be the slaves of such a woman after having submitted to her so long. But for us, Mistress, be thou alone ever our leader."

Having finished an appeal to her people of this general tenor, Buduica led her army against the Romans; for these chanced to be without a leader, inasmuch as Paulinus, their commander, had gone on an expedition to Mona, an island near Britain. This enabled her to sack and plunder two Roman cities, and, as I have said, to wreak indescribable slaughter. Those who were taken captive by the Britons were subjected to every known form of outrage. The worst and most bestial atrocity committed by their captors was the following. They hung up naked the noblest and most distinguished women and then cut off their breasts and sewed them to their mouths, in order to make the victims appear to be eating them; afterwards they impaled the women on sharp skewers run lengthwise through the entire body. All this they did to the accompaniment of sacrifices, banquets and wanton behaviour, not only in all their other sacred places, but particularly in the grove of Andate. This was their name for Victory, and they regarded her with most exceptional reverence.

Now it chanced that Paulinus had already brought Mona to terms, and so on learning of the disaster in Britain he at once set sail thither from Mona. However, he was not willing to risk a conflict with the

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3 kal V, om. C. 4 τε V, καλ C.
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tous barbarous ouc hèele, to te plēthos autôn kai tihn āpónoian phoeboumenos, all' ēs ēpiti-
deióteron kairow tihn máxhνn ēpēretíthēto. ēpei de σitou te ēspánnıže kai oi bárbaroi ēgkeímevoi ouc ānístan, ἡμαγκάσθη kai parά gnṓmēn autouíς

2 sumbalein. ἦ μὲν 1 ouv Boudounika ēs treis kai ēikosai μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν στράτευμα ἐχουσα αυτή μὲν ἐφ' ἁρματος ωχείτο, 2 tous de allous ὡς ēkastos diētageν. o de ðη Pauλίνωs mète ἀντί-
paráteinai oì tihn fálαγγα δυνηθείς (ούδε γαρ οὔδε εἰ ἐφ' ἕνα ἐτάχθησαν ἐξικνουντο: τοσοῦ-
3 toun ἡλαττοῦντο τῷ πλήθεί) μῆτ' αὐν καθ' ἐν3 sumbalein, μῆ καὶ περιστοιχισθείς 4 katakoπῆ, τολμῆςα, τριχῆ τε ἐνειμε τὸν στρατὸν ὅπως πολλαχόθεν ἀμα μάχωντο, καὶ ἐπύκνωσεν ἐκα-
στον τῶν μερῶν ώστε δύσρηκτον εἶναι.

Συντάττων δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ καθιστάτας προσπαρ-
9 ἧμει, λέγων: "ἀγετε, ἀνδρες συστατιωτατι, ἃγετε, ἄνδρες Ρωμαιοι, ὀείσατε τοῖς ὀλέθρως τούτωι ὅσον καὶ δυστυχοῦντες αὐτῶν προφέ-
ρομεν: αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ἐστιν ὑμῶν, ἃ µικρῶ πρόσθεν ὑπ' ἀρετῆς ἐκτήσασθε, νῦν ἀκλεως ἀπολέσας. πολλάκις τοι τῶν νῦν παρόντων ἔλαττους ὄντες πολύ πλείονας ἀντιπάλους καὶ ἣμεις αὐτοί καὶ
2 οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐτίκηται. μῆτ' οὔν τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν φοβηθήτε καὶ 5 τὴν νεωτεροποιαν (ἐκ ἡμὰρ ἀόπλου καὶ ἀμελετήτου προπετειας θρασύ-
νονται), μῆθ' ὅτι πόλεις τινας ἐμπεπρήκασιν οὐ

1 ἦ μὲν C2, ἡμᾶς VC1.
2 ωχείτο R. Steph., ὀχείτο VC.
3 ἐν Bk., ἐνα VC.
4 περιστοιχισθείς Reim., περιστοιχισθείς VC.

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barbarians immediately, as he feared their numbers A.D. 61 and their desperation, but was inclined to postpone battle to a more convenient season. But as he grew short of food and the barbarians pressed relentlessly upon him, he was compelled, contrary to his judgement, to engage them. Buduica, at the head of an army of about 230,000 men, rode in a chariot herself and assigned the others to their several stations. Paulinus could not extend his line the whole length of hers, for, even if the men had been drawn up only one deep, they would not have reached far enough, so inferior were they in numbers; nor, on the other hand, did he dare join battle in a single compact force, for fear of being surrounded and cut to pieces. He therefore separated his army into three divisions, in order to fight at several points at one and the same time, and he made each of the divisions so strong that it could not easily be broken through.

While ordering and arranging his men he also exhorted them, saying: "Up, fellow-soldiers! Up, Romans! Show these accursed wretches how far we surpass them even in the midst of evil fortune. It would be shameful, indeed, for you to lose ingloriously now what but a short time ago you won by your valour. Many a time, assuredly, have both we ourselves and our fathers, with far fewer numbers than we have at present, conquered far more numerous antagonists. Fear not, then, their numbers or their spirit of rebellion; for their boldness rests on nothing more than headlong rashness unaided by arms or training. Neither fear them because they have burned a couple of cities; for they did not capture
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γὰρ κατὰ κράτος οὐδὲ ἐκ μάχης, ἄλλα τῆς μὲν προδοθείσαν τὴν δὲ ἐκλειψθείσαν εἶλον· ἀνθ' ὃν νῦν τὴν προσήκουσαν παρ' αὐτῶν δίκην λάβετε, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς ἐργοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐκμάθωσιν οίους ὄντας ἦμας οὗτοι ὄντες ἡδικήκασι.

10 Ταῦτα τισιν εἰπὼν ἐφ' ἐτέρους ἠλθε, καὶ ἔφη· "νῦν καίρος, ὅ συστρατιώται, προθυμίας, νῦν τόλμησ. ἃν τήμερον ἀνδρεῖς ἁγαθοὶ γένησθε, καὶ τὰ προειμένα ἀναλήψεσθε· ἂν τούτων κρατήσητε, οὐκέτ' οὐδεὶς ἦμαῖν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀντιστήσεται. διὰ μᾶς τοιαύτης μάχης καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα βεβαιώσεσθε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσκαταστρέψεσθε· πάντες γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ποι ὄντες στρατιώται ξηλώσουσιν ἴμας καὶ ἔχθροι φοβηθήσονται. ὡστε ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχοντες ἡ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀδεως ἄρχειν ὧν καὶ οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν κατέλιπον καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς προσεπεκτήσασθε, ἡ πάντως αὐτῶν στερηθήναι, ἔλεσθε ἐλεύθεροι· εἶναι, ἄρχειν πλουτεῖν εὐδαιμονεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τάναντία αὐτῶν ῥαθυμήσαντες παθεῖν.

11 Τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ τούτοις εἰπὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς τρίτους ἐπιταρῆλθε, καὶ ἔλεγε καὶ ἐκείνοις· "ἡκούσατε, μὲν οία ἦμας οἱ κατάρατοι οὕτω δεδράκασι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐνια αὐτῶν καὶ εἶδετε· ἡ ὥσθ' ἔλεσθε πότερον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκείνοις παθεῖν καὶ προσέτε καὶ ἐκπεσεῖν παντελῶς

1 ἐλεύθεροι lat. corr. in C, ἔλεθροι VC.
2 πότερον C, πότεροι V.
them by force nor after a battle, but one was betrayed a.d. 61 and the other abandoned to them. Exact from them now, therefore, the proper penalty for these deeds, and let them learn by actual experience the difference between us, whom they have wronged, and themselves."

After addressing these words to one division he came to another and said: "'Now is the time, fellow-soldiers, for zeal, now is the time for daring. For if you show yourselves brave men to-day, you will recover all that you have lost; if you overcome these foes, no one else will any longer withstand us. By one such battle you will both make your present possessions secure and subdue whatever remains; for everywhere our soldiers, even though they are in other lands, will emulate you and foes will be terror-stricken. Therefore, since you have it within your power either to rule all mankind without a fear, both the nations that your fathers left to you and those that you yourselves have gained in addition, or else to be deprived of them altogether, choose to be free, to rule, to live in wealth, and to enjoy prosperity, rather than, by avoiding the effort, to suffer the opposite of all this."

After making an address of this sort to these men, he went on to the third division, and to them he said: "'You have heard what outrages these damnable men have committed against us, nay more, you have even witnessed some of them. Choose, then, whether you wish to suffer the same treatment yourselves as our comrades have suffered and to be driven

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3 H. Steph. supplied βούλεσθε or ἐθέλετε after πότερον. Such a word is required either there or after παθεῖν.
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ἔκ τῆς Βραττάνιας, ἡ κρατησαντες καὶ τοῖς ἀπολογοσίᾳ τιμωρήσαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἀπασί παράδειγμα ποιῆσαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ πειθαρ-χοῦν εὑμενοὺς ἐπιεικεῖας καὶ πρὸς τὸ νεωτεριζον

3 ἀναγκαίας τραχύνητος.1 μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε νικήσειν ἡμᾶς ἐλπίζω καὶ τῇ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν συμμαχία (τοῖς γὰρ ἀδικουμένοις ὡς τὸ πολὺ συναίρουται) καὶ τῇ πατρῷᾳ ἡμῶν ἀνδρία,
Ρωμαίους τε ὄντας καὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων κεκρατηκότας, καὶ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις (καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς τούτους τοὺς νῦν ἀντικαθεστῶτας ἡττήσαστε κεχειρόμεθα), τῷ τε ἀξιώματι (οὐ γὰρ ἀντιπάλους τισὶν ἄλλα δούλους ἥμετέρους συμβαλοῦμεν, ὅς καὶ ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτοῦ-

4 μους ὁντας ἐνυκήσαμεν 3): ἤν δὲ ὅ ταρ’ ἐλπίδα τι συμβῆ (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὕδε4 τοῦτ’ ἐπεῖν ὀκνήσω), ἀμεινόν ἐστι μαχομένους ἡμᾶς ἀνδρείως πεσεῖν ἢ ἄλωντας ἀνασκολοπισθῆναι, τὰ σπλάγχνα τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐκτιμηθέντα ἱδείν, πασσάλους διαπύρους ἀναπαρίηναι καὶ ὕδατι ξένου τηκομένους ἀπο-
λέσθαι, καθάπερ ἐς θηρία τινὰ ἀγρία ἁνομα

5 ἀνύσια ἐμπεπτωκότας. ἢ οὖν περιγενώμεθα αὐτῶν, ἢ ἐνταύθα ἀποθάνωμεν. καλὸν τὸ μνη-
μείον τὴν Βραττάνιαν ἔζωμεν, καὶ πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ Ρωμαίοι ἔξ αὐτῆς ἐκπέσωσι· τοῖς γὰρ σώμασι τοῖς ἥμετέροις πάντως αὐτὴν ὧν καθε-
ξομεν."

12 Τοιαῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις εἰπὼν ἦρε τὸ σημεῖον τῆς μάχης· κακὸ τοῦτο συνήλθον,

1 τραχύτητος C, ταχύτητος V.
2 αὐτοῦμους R. Steph., αὐτοῦμοις VC.
3 ἐνυκήσαμεν Reim., εἰάσαμεν VC.

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out of Britain entirely, besides, or else by conquering A.D. 61
to avenge those that have perished and at the same
time furnish to the rest of mankind an example, not
only of benevolent clemency toward the obedient,
but also of inevitable severity toward the rebellious.
For my part, I hope, above all, that victory will be
ours; first, because the gods are our allies (for
they almost always side with those who have been
wronged); second, because of the courage that is
our heritage, since we are Romans and have
triumphed over all mankind by our valour; next,
because of our experience (for we have defeated and
subdued these very men who are now arrayed
against us); and lastly, because of our prestige (for
those with whom we are about to engage are not
antagonists, but our slaves, whom we conquered
even when they were free and independent). Yet
if the outcome should prove contrary to our hope,
—for I will not shrink from mentioning even this
possibility,—it would be better for us to fall fighting
bravely than to be captured and impaled, to look
upon our own entrails cut from our bodies, to be
spitted on red-hot skewers, to perish by being
melted in boiling water—in a word, to suffer as
though we had been thrown to lawless and impious
wild beasts. Let us, therefore, either conquer them
or die on the spot. Britain will be a noble monument
for us, even though all the other Romans here
should be driven out; for in any case our bodies
shall for ever possess this land.''

After addressing these and like words to them he
raised the signal for battle. Thereupon the armies

4. oūδέ supplied by Bs.
οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι κραυγῇ τε πολλῇ καὶ φῶδαις ἀπειλητικάις χρώμενοι, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίοι σιγῇ καὶ κόσμῳ, μέχρις οὔ εἰς ἀκοντίῳ βολήν ἀφίκοντο. 2 ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἦδη βάδην τῶν¹ πολεμῶν προσι-όντων σφίσιν ἐξάζαντες² ἀμα ἀπὸ συνθῆματος ἐπέδραμον αὐτοῖς ἀνὰ κράτος, καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ προσμιξεὶ βαδίως τὴν ἀντίταξιν σφων διέρρηξαν, περισχεθέντες δὲ τῷ πλήθει πανταχόθεν ἀμα
3 ἐμάχοντο. καὶ ἦν ὁ ἀγωνισμὸς αὐτῶν πολυ-τροπος: τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ οἱ ψιλοὶ τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἀντέβαλλον, τοῦτο δὲ οἱ ὀπλῖται τοῖς ὀπλίταις ἀνθίσταντο, οὐ τε ἵππεις τοῖς ἵππευσι συνεφέροντο, καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀρματα τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ τοξόται τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀντηγηνύζοντο. τούς τε γὰρ Ῥωμαίους οἱ βάρβαροι ρύμη τοῖς ἀρμασι προσπίπτοντες ἀνέτρεπον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων, ἀτε καὶ δίχα θωράκων μαχόμενοι, ἀνεστέλλοντο· ἵππευς τε πεζῶν ἀνέτρεπε, καὶ
4 πεζός ἵππεα κατέβαλλε· πρὸς τε τὰ ἀρματα συμφραζόμενοι τινὲς ἐχώρουν, καὶ ἄλλοι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐσκεδάωνυντο· τοὺς τε τοξότας οἱ μὲν ὀμόσε σφίσιν ἱόντες ἐτρεπον, οἱ δὲ πόρρωθεν ἐφυλάσσοντο. καὶ ταῦτα οὐ καθ’ ἐν ἀλλὰ τριχὴ
5 πάνθ’ ὀμοίως ἐγένετο. ἡγωνίσαντο δὲ ἐτί πολὺ ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀμφότεροι προθυμίαι καὶ τόλμης. τέλος δὲ ὑψε ποτε οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἐνίκησαν, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ πρὸς ταῖς ἀμάξαις τῇ τε ὑλῇ κατεφόνευσαν, πολλοὺς δὲ
6 καὶ ξόντας εἴλον, συχνοὶ δ’ οὖν καὶ διέφυγον, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο μὲν ὡς καὶ αὐθίς μαχοῦ-

¹ βάδην τῶν Συλβ., βα... τῶν Κ.,... τῶν Β.
² ἐξάζαντες Βκ., εξάραντες Κ., επάραντες Β.
approached each other, the barbarians with much shouting mingled with menacing battle-songs, but the Romans silently and in order until they came within a javelin’s throw of the enemy. Then, while their foes were still advancing against them at a walk, the Romans rushed forward at a signal and charged them at full speed, and when the clash came, easily broke through the opposing ranks; but, as they were surrounded by the great numbers of the enemy, they had to be fighting everywhere at once. Their struggle took many forms. Light-armed troops exchanged missiles with light-armed, heavy-armed were opposed to heavy-armed, cavalry clashed with cavalry, and against the chariots of the barbarians the Roman archers contended. The barbarians would assail the Romans with a rush of their chariots, knocking them helter-skelter, but, since they fought without breastplates, would themselves be repulsed by the arrows. Horseman would overthrow foot-soldier and foot-soldier strike down horseman; a group of Romans, forming in close order, would advance to meet the chariots, and others would be scattered by them; a band of Britons would come to close quarters with the archers and rout them, while others were content to dodge their shafts at a distance; and all this was going on not at one spot only, but in all three divisions at once. They contended for a long time, both parties being animated by the same zeal and daring. But finally, late in the day, the Romans prevailed; and they slew many in battle beside the wagons and the forest, and captured many alive. Nevertheless, not a few made their escape and were preparing to fight again. In the meantime, however,
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μενοι, ἀποθανοῦσας δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῆς Βουδουίκης νόσῳ ἐκείνην μὲν δεινῶς ἐπένθησαν καὶ πολυ
τελῶς ἔθαψαν, αὐτοὶ δ’ ὡς καὶ τότε ὄντως ἤττη-
θέντες διεσκεδάσθησαν.—Xiph. 158, 24–165, 20
R. St.

13 Καὶ τὰ μὲν Βρεττανικὰ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμη ὁ Νέρων Ὀκταβίαν τὴν Ἀὐγουσταν
ἀπεπέμψατο μὲν πρότερον διὰ Σαβίναν τὴν
πάλλακίδα, ύποτερον δὲ καὶ ἀπέκτεινε,1 καίτοι
τοῦ Βούρρου ἐναντιομένου αὐτῷ καὶ κωλύοντος
2 ἀποσπευμάθειαν, καὶ ποτε εἰπόντος "οὐκοῦν καὶ
τὴν προίκα αὐτῇ" τοῦτ’ ἔστι τὴν ἥγεμονίαν
"ἀπόδος." οὕτω γάρ πως ἐρρωμένος αὐτῇ2 ἔχρητο
ὡστε ποτὲ δεύτερον ἔρωτηθείς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γνώμην
περὶ δὲν ἄπεφήνατο, εἴπεν ἀντικρο ὡτὶ "περὶ
δὲν αὐξά τι εἴπω, μηκέτι μου αὖθις πῦθη.”—
Xiph. 165, 20–28 R. St.

3 Τούτον μὲν οὖν φαρμάκῳ διώλεσε, Τιγελλίνων
dε τινα Σωφρόνιον, ἀσελγείᾳ τε καὶ μαυρονία
πάντας τοὺς καθ’ ἐαυτὸν ἀνθρώπους ὑπεράραντα,
σὺν ἔτερῳ τινὶ3 ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν δορυφόρων ἀρχήν
κατέστησεν.—Xiph. 165, 28–31 R. St.

1 Cf. Zonaras (11, 12, p. 39, 12–20 D.): καὶ τὴν Ἀὐγουσταν
’Ὀκταυλιαν τὴν τοῦ Κλαυδίου θυγατέρα τὴν ἐαυτὸν γυναῖκα ἀπε-
πέμψατο τῇ γὰρ Σαβίνῃ ἐρών ἔθελεν αὐτῇ συνεῖναι ὡς γαμετή.
δείσατα δὲ ἡ Σαβίνα μῆποτε ἡ Ὀκταυλια μετακληθῇ, κατηγόρους
ἐπ’ αὐτῇ καὶ μοιχείας καὶ γοητείας ψευδοὺς παρεσκευάσατο.
καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον φυγαδευθῆναι αὐτὴν, ἔπειτα καὶ σφαγήναι
ἐποίησεν.

Joann. Antioch. (fr. 90 M. v. 93–96): καὶ τὴν ἐαυτὸν γαμε-
τὴν Ὀκταβίαν τὴν τοῦ Κλαυδίου θυγατέρα, δι’ ἥν εἰς τὴν ἄρχην
οὖν ἥκιστα παρεληλύθει, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπεπέμψατο ἔπειτα καὶ
ἀπέκτεινεν.

2 αὐτῇ, ἢ τῇ παρησίᾳ. Dio had probably used this word
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Buduica fell sick and died. The Britons mourned her deeply and gave her a costly burial; but, feeling that now at last they were really defeated, they scattered to their homes. So much for affairs in Britain.

In Rome Nero first divorced Octavia Augusta, on account of his concubine Sabina, and later he put her to death. He did this in spite of the opposition of Burrus, who endeavoured to prevent him from divorcing her, and once said to him, "Well, then, give her back her dowry," by which he meant the sovereignty. Indeed, frankness of speech was characteristic of Burrus and he employed it with such boldness that once, for example, when he was asked by the emperor a second time for his opinion on matters regarding which he had already declared himself, he answered bluntly: "When I have once spoken about anything, don't ask me again."

So Nero disposed of him [Burrus] by poison; and he appointed as one of two men to command the Praetorians a certain Sophronius Tigellinus, who had outstripped all his contemporaries in licentiousness and bloodthirstiness.

1 Cf. Zonaras: And he divorced his wife, Octavia Augusta, the daughter of Claudius; for being enamoured of Sabina, he wished to live with her as his wife. And Sabina, fearing that Octavia might be recalled some day, suborned persons to accuse her falsely of adultery and witchcraft; she thus brought about her exile at first and later her murder.

Joann. Antioch.: He first divorced and afterwards put to death his wife Octavia, the daughter of Claudius, who had been of no slight assistance to him in gaining the throne.

2 A mistake for Ofonius.
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"Οτι ο Τιγελλίνος διεδέχατο τὸν Βούρρον, ασελγεία καὶ μιαφονία πάντας τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπους ὑπεράρας. τὸν τε Νέρωνα ἀπ' αὐτὸν προσεποιήσατο, καὶ τὸν συνάρχοντα 'Ῥούφον παρ' οὔδεν εἵτετο.—Exc. Val. 244 (p. 689).

Πρὸς τούτον ἕκατον καὶ τὸ τῆς Πυθιάδος ἀπόφθεγμα γενέσθαι λέγεται. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τῶν περὶ τὴν "Οκταούνιαν οὗτον οἱ ἄλλοι δικά πάντες πλὴν Πυθιάδος συνεπέθεντο μετὰ τῆς Σαβίνης αὐτῆς, τῆς μὲν, ὅτι ἐδυστύχει, καταφρονήσαντες, τὴν δὲ, ὅτι ἵσχυε, κολακεύοντες, μόνη 3 ἡ Πυθίας οὔτε τι κατεψεύσατο αὐτῆς, καίπερ πικρότατα βασανισθείσα, καὶ τέλος ὡς ο Τιγελλίνος εὐκέκειτο αὐτῇ, προσεπτυσάτε τε αὐτὸ καὶ εἴπε "καθαρῶτερον, ὁ Τιγελλίνε, τὸ αἰδοῖον ἡ δεσποινώμον τοῦ σοῦ στόματος ἔχει."—Xiph. 165, 31–166, 6 R. St.

14 Ὅ δὲ δὴ Νέρων καὶ γέλωτα καὶ σκόμματα τὰ τῶν συγγενῶν ἕκαστα εἴποιετο. τὸν γοῦν Πλαῦτον ἀποκτείνας, ἔπειτα τὴν κεφαλήν αὐτοῦ προσεπεισθείσαν οἱ ίδιων, "οὐκ ἔδειν" ἐφη "οὐτὸ ἡμῖν μεγάλην ῥίνα εἴχεν," ὡσπερ φεισάμενος ἄν αὐτοῦ εἰ τούτῳ προησίστατο. 2 πάντα δὲ ὡς εἰπέων τὸν βίον ἐν καπηλικῇ διάτῃ ποιούμενος ἀπείπε τοῖς ἄλλοις μηδὲν ἔφθος ἐν καπηλείῳ, πλὴν λαχάνων καὶ ἔτνους, πιτρόσκειν. τὸν δὲ Πάλλαντα διεχρίσατο, ὅτι καὶ πλοῦτον πολλῶν ἐκέκτητο, ὡστε καὶ ἐς μυρίας μυρίάδας αὐτὸν ἀριθμεῖσθαι. καὶ δυσκολίᾳ τρόπων πολλὴ ἐχρήτο, ὡστε μήτε τοῖς οἰκέταις μήτε τοῖς ἐξελευθέροις διαλέγεσθαι τι

1 τούτον R. Steph., τούτο VC.

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Tigellinus, who had outstripped all his contemporaries in licentiousness and bloodthirstiness, succeeded Burrus. He won Nero away from the others and made light of his colleague Rufus.

It was to him that the famous retort is said to have been made by Pythias. When all the other attendants of Octavia, with the exception of Pythias, had taken sides with Sabina in her attack upon the empress, despising Octavia because she was in misfortune and toadyng to Sabina because she had great influence, Pythias alone had refused, though cruelly tortured, to utter lies against her mistress, and finally, as Tigellinus continued to urge her, she spat in his face, saying: “My mistress’s privy parts are cleaner, Tigellinus, than your mouth.”

Nero made the misfortunes of his relatives a subject for laughter and jests. For example, after killing Plautus he took a look at his head when it was brought to him and remarked: “I didn’t know he had such a big nose”—as much as to say that he would have spared him, had he been aware of this fact beforehand! And though he spent practically his whole existence amid tavern life, he forbade others to sell in taverns anything boiled save vegetables and pea-soup. He put Pallas out of the way because he had amassed a great fortune that was estimated at 400,000,000 sesterces. He would often give way to peevishness; for instance, he would refuse to talk with his servants or freed-

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2 ἄλλοι V, ἄγγελοι C.
3 μόνη Bk. (?), μόνη δ’ VC.
4 συγγενών cod. Peir. exc. Vat., γνασικών VC.
5 οὕτω supplied by v. Herwerden.
6 προηπιστάτο St., προπιστάτο VC.
15, 7 "Οτι ἐκ τῶν συναγθέντων ἐς τὸ 'Ἀντιον πολλῶν ἀπολομένων ὁ Νέρων ἐν ἔορτής μέρει τοῦτο ἐποιεῖτο.—Exc. Val. 246 (p. 689).

1α "Οτι Θρασέας τις γυνώμην ἀπεφίηματο ἀνδρὶ βουλευτῇ ἐσχάτην εἶναι τιμωρίαν τὴν φυγήν.—Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 58 (p. 212 Mai. = p. 194, 16, 17 Dind.).

1 Τοσαύτη δ' ἢ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἀκολασία ὡστε καὶ ἀρματα δημοσίᾳ ἤλανε. καὶ ποτε θηρία ἀποκτέινας ύδωρ τε εὐθὺς ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐπωχέ- τευσε καὶ ναυμαχίαν ἐπετέλεσε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ υδωρ ἀφεὶς μονομαχίαν ἐπιδιέθηκε, καὶ τέλος ἐσαγαγὼν αὐτὸ αὐθίς δείπνου δημοσία πολυτελές
2 ἐδείπνισεν. ἔστιάτωρ μὲν ὁ Τὐγελλίνος ἀπεδέ- δεικτο, καὶ παρασκευὴ πάσα πολλή ἐπεπόριστο· ἐσκευάσθη δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. ἐν μὲν τῷ μέσῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ύδατι τά τε σκεύη τὰ οἰνηρὰ τὰ ξύλινα τὰ μεγάλα προκαθείτο, καὶ ἔπι αὐτῶν σανίδες
3 ἐπετήγγεσαν, πέριξ δὲ περὶ αὐτὸ κατηλεία καὶ οἰκήματα ἐπεποίητο, ὡστε τὸν Νέρωνα καὶ τὸν Τὐγελλίνον τοὺς τε συσσίτους αὐτῶν τὸ μέσον ἔχοντας ἐπὶ τε ταπήτων πορφυρῶν καὶ ἐπὶ στρω- μάτων ἀπαλῶν ἐπενωχείσθαι, τούς δὲ δὴ ἄλλους
4 πάντας ἐν τοῖς κατηλείοις εὐθυμείσθαι. ἦς τε τὰ πορνεῖα ἐσήσαν, καὶ συνεγίγνοντο πάσαις ἀνέδην ἀπλῶς ταῖς ἐνταῦθα καθημέναις. ἦσαν δὲ αἰ τε

1 ἐδείπνισεν Rk., ἐδείπνησεν VC.

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men, but instead would jot down all his wishes and A.D. 62 commands on tablets.

When many of those who had assembled at A.D. 63 Antium perished, \(^1\) Nero made this an occasion for a festival.

A certain Thrasea expressed the opinion that for a senator the extreme penalty should be exile.

To such lengths did Nero's licence go that he A.D. 64 actually drove chariots in public. And on one occasion after exhibiting a wild-beast hunt he immediately piped water into the theatre and produced a sea-fight; then he let the water out again and arranged a gladiatorial combat. Last of all, he flooded the place once more and gave a costly public banquet. Tigellinus had been appointed director of the banquet and everything had been provided on a lavish scale. The arrangements made were as follows. In the centre of the lake there had first been lowered the great wooden casks used for holding wine, and on top of these, planks had been fastened, while round about this platform taverns and booths had been erected. Thus Nero and Tigellinus and their fellow-banqueters occupied the centre, where they held their feast on purple rugs and soft cushions, while all the rest made merry in the taverns. They would also enter the brothels and without let or hindrance have intercourse with any of the women who were seated there, among whom were the most beautiful and

\(^1\) On the occasion of the birth of Nero's daughter at Antium, the entire senate hastened thither to congratulate him (Tac. Ann. xv. 23); and many others no doubt did the same. In what manner so many perished we can only conjecture.
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perika llenstatatai kai ekenestatatai,1 doilai te kai eleutherai, etairai, parthenoi, gametai twn, oux opow demotides alla kai autai ai evgenet-5 statatai kai korai kai gynaikes. kai hine exousia panti taw boulotemewn schein hine thelen ou gar egn autais oudeva aparneiasathai. oiste, oia surfe-todhjemoulos, aplistom se ama etpion kai aselhydous ubrion, kai tis kai doilos tis deespoinh parontos tou despotou kai monomakos evgenel 6 korh orwntos tou patros synegjounto. wthismoi te kai plhgiai kai thorvboi, touto mev ap' autwn twn eisintwn, touto de kai ektwn exwthen perieostikotwn, aixhroi syn evbainov, kai andres te ek toutwn svxhov epharhshen kai gynaikes, ai mev apotinugiesai ai de diarpanegiesai.

16 Meta de tauta epeithmthsen oppe pnu allegedly. kai, tin te polein olhn kai tin basileian xon anomhatan. ton goyn Primaun kai autos2 than- mastos emakariyen3 oti kai tin patrida ama 2 kai tin arxhun apololmenas eidein. laibra gar tinas os kai mevynontas h kai kakourgovntas te allws diapempo, to mev proton en pnu kai duv kai pleiona allla alllobi upetimpra,4 ooste tous anbropous en panti uporias genehtai, mht' arxhun tou kakh evnein mh te telos epagagein dunamvnoi allla poleia mev orwntas poleia de

1 perika llenstatatai kai ekenestatatai Sylb., perika llenstatatoi kai ekenestatatoi VC.
2 kai autos VC, probably corrupt; kar' aut to touto Polak.
3 emakariyen H. Steph., emakariyen VC.
4 upetimpra Dind., upetimpra VC.

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distinguished in the city, both slaves and free, A.D. 64 courtesans and virgins and married women; and these were not merely of the common people but also of the very noblest families, both girls and grown women. Every man had the privilege of enjoying whichever one he wished, as the women were not allowed to refuse anyone. Consequently, indiscriminate rabble as the throng was, they not only drank greedily but also wantoned riotously; and now a slave would debauch his mistress in the presence of his master, and now a gladiator would debauch a girl of noble family before the eyes of her father. The pushing and fighting and general uproar that took place, both on the part of those who were actually going in and on the part of those who were standing round outside, were disgraceful. Many men met their death in these encounters, and many women, too, some of the latter being suffocated and some being seized and carried off.

After this Nero set his heart on accomplishing what had doubtless always been his desire, namely to make an end of the whole city and realm during his lifetime. At all events, he; like others before him,\(^1\) used to call Priam wonderfully fortunate in that he had seen his country and his throne destroyed together. Accordingly he secretly sent out men who pretended to be drunk or engaged in other kinds of mischief, and caused them at first to set fire to one or two or even several buildings in different parts of the city, so that the people were at their wits' end, not being able to find any beginning of the trouble nor to put an end to it, though they constantly were aware of many strange

\(^1\) The text is probably corrupt; see critical note.
3 ἀκούοντας ἄτοπα. οὔτε γὰρ θεώσασθαι ἄλλο τι ἢν ἢ πυρὰ πολλὰ ὠσπερ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ, οὔτε ἀκούσαι λεγόντων τινῶν ἢ ὅτι "τὸ καὶ τὸ καίεται." "ποῦ?;" "πῶς?;" "ὑπὸ τίνος?;" "βοηθεῖτε." θόρυβός τε οὖν ἐξαισιος πανταχοῦ πάντας κατελάμβανε, καὶ διέτρεχον οἱ μὲν τῇ οἱ δὲ τῇ ὠσπερ ἐμπληκτοί. καὶ ἄλλοις τινὲς ἑπαμύνοντες ἐπυνθάνοντο τὰ οίκοι καλόμενα· καὶ έτεροι πρὶν καὶ ἀκούσαι ὅτι τῶν σφετέρων τι ἐμπέρησται, ἐμάνθανον ὅτι ἀπόλολεν. οἱ τε ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἐς τοὺς στενωποὺς ἤστρεχον ὡς καὶ ἤσαθεν αὐταῖς βοηθήσοντες, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν ὅδων εἴσω 5 ἐσέθεον ὡς καὶ ἔνδον τι ἄνυσσοντες. καὶ ἢν ἢ τε κραυγὴ καὶ ὀλολυγὴ παίδων ὦμοι γυναικῶν ἀνδρῶν γερόντων ἀπλετος, ὥστε μήτε συνιδεῖν μήτε συνεῖναι τι ὑπὸ τοῦ καπνοῦ καὶ τῆς κραυγῆς δύνασθαι· καὶ διὰ ταῦθ' ὅραν ἢν τινας 6 ἀφώνουσ' ἐστῶτας ὠσπερ ἐνεύοσ' ὄντας. καὶ τούτω πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἐκκομιζόμενοι, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια ἄρπάζοντες ἀλλήλοις τε ἐνεπλάζοντο καὶ περὶ τοὺς σκεύεσιν ἐσφάλοντο, καὶ οὔτε προϊέναι ποι οὔθ' ἐστάναι εἴχον, 7 ἀλλ' ὀθονίνι ὀθονόντο, ἀνέτρεπον ἀνετρέποντο. καὶ συχνὸι μὲν ἀπεπνίκοντο συχνοὶ δὲ συνετρίβοντο, ὥστε σφίσι μηδὲν ὅ τι τῶν δυναμένων ἀνθρώποις ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ πάθει κακῶν συμβῆναι μή συνε- νεχθήναι. οὔδὲ γὰρ οὔδ' 1 ἀποφυγεῖν ποι ῥάδιως

1 οὔδ' Bk., οὔτ' VC.
sights and sounds. For there was naught to be A.D. 64
seen but many fires, as in a camp, and naught to
be heard from the talk of the people except such
exclamations as "This or that is afire," "Where?"
"How did it happen?" "Who kindled it?" "Help!"
Extraordinary excitement laid hold on
all the citizens in all parts of the city, and they ran
about, some in one direction and some in another,
as if distracted. Here men while assisting their
neighbours would learn that their own premises were
afire; there others, before word reached them that
their own houses had caught fire, would be told
that they were destroyed. Those who were inside
their houses would run out into the narrow streets
thinking that they could save them from the out-
side, while people in the streets would rush into
the dwellings in the hope of accomplishing some-
thing inside. There was shouting and wailing
without end, of children, women, men, and the
aged all together, so that no one could see anything
or understand what was said by reason of the
smoke and the shouting; and for this reason some
might be seen standing speechless, as if they
were dumb. Meanwhile many who were carrying
out their goods and many, too, who were stealing
the property of others, kept running into one
another and falling over their burdens. It was not
possible to go forward nor yet to stand still, but
people pushed and were pushed in turn, upset
others and were themselves upset. Many were
suffocated, many were trampled underfoot; in a
word, no evil that can possibly happen to people
in such a crisis failed to befall them. They could
not even escape anywhere easily; and if anybody
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17 Καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἔν μιᾷ μόνον ἄλλ’ ἐπὶ πλείουσαν καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ὀμοίως ἐγίνετο. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν οἶκοι ἔρημοι τοῦ βοηθήσοντός σφισιν ἀπώλοντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπικονρούντων προσκατεπρήθησαν οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται, οἳ τε ἄλλοι καὶ οἱ υπερφύλακες, πρὸς τὰς ἀρπαγάς ἀφορῶντες οὐχ ὀσον οὐ κατεσβέννυσάν 2 τινα ἄλλα καὶ προσέξκειαυν. τοιούτων δὲ δὴ ἄλλων ἀλλοθι συμβαίνοντων, ὑπέλαβε ποτέ τὸ πῦρ ἀνέμος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὀμοῦ 3 πάντα ἤγαγεν, ὡστε σκευῶν μὲν πέρι ἡ οἰκίων μηδέν ἦν, ἂν φρονίσαι, πάντας δὲ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἑστάτας που ἐν ἀφάλει τινι ὀρᾶν ὤσπερ νῆσους 3 τινας καὶ πόλεις ἀμα πολλάς φλεγομένας, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς σφετέροις μηδὲν ἦν, ἀπείσθαι, τὸ δὲ δημόσιον ὀδυρομένους ἀναμμήσκεσθαι οτι καὶ πρότερον ποτε οὔτως ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλατῶν τὸ πλείον 18 τῆς πόλεως διεφθάρη. πάντων δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων οὔτω διακειμένων, καὶ πολλῶν καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ πῦρ ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους ἐμπηδώντων, ο Νέρων ἔσ τε το τὸ ἀκρον τοῦ παλατίου, 4 οθὲν μάλιστα σύνοπτα τὰ πολλὰ τῶν καιμένων ἦν, ἀνύλθε, καὶ τὴν σκευὴν τὴν κιθαροδίκην λαβὼν ἦσεν ἄλωσιν, ὡς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐλεγεν, Ἰλίου, ὡς δὲ ἑωράτο, ῾Ρώμης. 2 Τοιούτω μὲν δὴ πάθει τοτε ή πόλις ἐχρήσατο οἰῳ οὔτε πρότερον ποτε οὔθ' ύστερον, πλὴν τοῦ Γαλατικοῦ. τὸ τε γὰρ Παλάτιον τὸ ὀρος σύμπαν

1 έδόναντο Bk., ἡδόναντο VC.
2 τοιούτων V, τὰν C.
3 ὀμοῦ C, ἡμῶν V.
did save himself from the immediate danger, he A.D. 64 would fall into another and perish.

Now this did not all take place on a single day, but it lasted for several days and nights alike. Many houses were destroyed for want of anyone to help save them, and many others were set on fire by the very men who came to lend assistance; for the soldiers, including the night watch, having an eye to plunder, instead of putting out fires, kindled new ones. While such scenes were occurring at various points, a wind caught up the flames and carried them indiscriminately against all the buildings that were left. Consequently no one concerned himself any longer about goods or houses, but all the survivors, standing where they thought they were safe, gazed upon what appeared to be a number of scattered islands on fire or many cities all burning at the same time. There was no longer any grieving over personal losses, but they lamented the public calamity, recalling how once before most of the city had been thus laid waste by the Gauls. While the whole population was in this state of mind and many, crazed by the disaster, were leaping into the very flames, Nero ascended to the roof of the palace, from which there was the best general view of the greater part of the conflagration, and assuming the lyre-player's garb, he sang the "Capture of Troy," as he styled the song himself, though to the eyes of the spectators it was the Capture of Rome.

The calamity which the city then experienced has no parallel before or since, except in the Gallic invasion. The whole Palatine hill, the theatre of

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καὶ τὸ θέατρον τοῦ Ταύρου τῆς τε λοιπῆς πόλεως τὰ δύο που μέρη ἐκαύθη, καὶ ἀνθρωποὶ ἀπαρίθμητοι διεφθάρσαν. ὁ μέντοι δήμος οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ τι 1 οὐκ κατὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἦρατο, τὸ μὲν ὄνομα αὐτοῦ μὴ ὑπολέγον, ἀλλὰς δὲ δὴ τοῖς τὴν πόλιν ἐμπρήσασι καταρώμενοι, καὶ μάλιστ' ὅτι αὐτοὺς ἡ μνήμη τοῦ λογίου τοῦ 2 κατὰ τὸν Τιβέριον ποτε ἀσθενοῦσα ἐθερύβει. ἦν δὲ τούτο

"τρίς δὲ 3 τριηκοσίων 4 περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν Ρωμαίοις ἐμφυλος 5 ὀλεὶ στάσις."  

4 ἔπειδῆ τε ὁ Νέρων παραμυθουμένος αὐτοὺς οὐδαμοῦ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη εὐρέσθαι 6 ἔλεγε, μεταβαλόντες ἔτερον λόγιον ὡς καὶ Σιβύλλειοι ὄντως ὁν ἕδον· ἔστι δὲ τούτο

"ἐσχατος Αἰνεαδῶν μητροκτόνος ἱγμονεύσει."  

καὶ ἐσχεν ὀὕτως, εἴτε καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς θεομαντεῖα τινὶ προλεχθέν, εἴτε καὶ τότε ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀμίλου πρὸς τὰ παρόντα θειασθέν· τελευταίος γὰρ τῶν Ἰουλίων τῶν ἀπὸ Λινεῖον γενομένων ἐμονάρχησε. 5 χρήματα δὲ ὁ Νέρων παιμπληθῆ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἱδιωτῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν δήμων, τὰ μὲν βία ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει τοῦ ἐμπρήσμου, τὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' ἐκόντων δῆθεν ἱργυρολόγησεν, καὶ τῶν Ρωμαίων αὐτῶν τὸ σιτηρέσιον παρεσπάσατο.—Xiph. 166, 17–169, 10 R. St.

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1 τὶ Reim., δὲ VC.  
2 τοῦ supplied by H. Steph.  
3 δὲ R. Steph., δὲ δὴ V, δὲ καὶ C.  
4 τριηκοσίων C, τριακόσιων V.  
5 ἐμφυλος R. Steph., ἐμφύλιος VC.  
6 εὐρέσθαι Bs., εὑρεσθαί VC.
Taurus, and nearly two-thirds of the remainder of A.D. 64 the city were burned, and countless persons perished. There was no curse that the populace did not invoke upon Nero, though they did not mention his name, but simply cursed in general terms those who had set the city on fire. And they were disturbed above all by recalling the oracle which once in the time of Tiberius had been on everybody's lips. It ran thus:

"Thrice three hundred years having run their course of fulfilment,

Rome by the strife of her people shall perish."

And when Nero, by way of encouraging them, reported that these verses could not be found anywhere, they dropped them and proceeded to repeat another oracle, which they averred to be a genuine Sibylline prophecy, namely:

"Last of the sons of Aeneas, a mother-slayer shall govern."

And so it proved, whether this verse was actually spoken beforehand by some divine prophecy, or the populace was now for the first time inspired, in view of the present situation, to utter it. For Nero was indeed the last emperor of the Julian line, the line descended from Aeneas. He now began to collect vast sums from private citizens as well as from whole communities, sometimes using compulsion, taking the conflagration as his pretext, and sometimes obtaining it by voluntary contributions, as they were made to appear. As for the Romans themselves, he deprived them of the free dole of grain.

1 Cf. lvii. 18.
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19 Πράσσοντι δὲ αὐτῷ ταῦτα ἀγγελία ἐξ' Ἀρμενίας καὶ δέφη ἐπὶ τῇ ὑκῇ αὐθῆς ἤλθεν. ὁ γὰρ τοι ὂρσούλων 1 συστῆσας τε τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἐσκεδασμένα 2 καὶ ἄσκησας ἡμελημένα, τὸν τε Ὀὐσολόγαιον τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Πάρθων καὶ τὸν Τιριδάτην 3 τὸν τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἡγούμενον καὶ
2 ἀγγελθεὶς μόνον ἐξεφόβησεν. ὡμοια γὰρ δὴ τοῖς πρώτοις Ὀρσαῖοι, οὐχ ὅτι τῷ γενεί λαμπρῶς ἢ τῷ σώματι ἴσχυρός, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ἀρτίφρων ἢν, καὶ πολὺ μὲν τὸ ἀνδρεῖον πολὺ δὲ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον τὸ τε πιστὸν ἐς πάντας καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους
3 καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξέχει. ᾿υφ’ οὖτε καὶ τὸ Νέρων ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτὸν ἀνθ’ ἔαντον ἀπέστειλε, καὶ δύναμιν αὐτῷ ὧν οὖθεν οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἐπέτρεψε, πιστεύσας ὡμοίως καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους αὐτὸν κατεργάσεσθαι 4 καὶ αὐτῷ 5 μὴ ἐπανα-
στήσεσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐδέτερον τούτων ἐγεύθη, 4 τοὺς μέντοι ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους καθ’ ἐν τούτῳ μόνον ὁ ὂρσούλων ἐλύπησεν, ὅτι τὴν πρὸς τὸν Νέρωνα πίστιν ἐτήρησεν οὖτο γὰρ αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀντ’ ἐκεῖνον λαβεῖν ἥθελον ὡστε καὶ κακὸν τὸ μέρος τοῦτο γενέσθαι μόνον ἡξίουν.—Xiph. 169, 10–25 R. St., Exc. Val. 247 (p. 689).

Οὗτος οὖν ὁ ὀρσούλων 6 ἀκονίτῃ τὰ Ἀρτάξατα
20 λαβῶν τὴν πόλιν κατέσκαψε. πράξας δὲ τούτῳ πρὸς τὸν Ἰγγανόκερτα ἤλασε, πάσης μὲν τῆς τῶν ἐνδιδόντων σφᾶς χώρας φειδόμενος, πάντα δὲ τὰ τῶν ἀνθισταμένων πορθῶν, καὶ ἐλαβε καὶ

1 ὂρσούλων R. Steph., ὂρσούλων V, ὀρσούλων C.
2 ἐσκεδασμένα Sylb., ἐσκεδασμένα VC.
3 Τιριδάτην Dind., τιριδάτην VC.

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While he was thus engaged he received tidings A.D. 64 from Armenia accompanied by a laurel crown in honour of another victory there. For Corbulo, after uniting the bodies of soldiers that had been scattered and training them after a period of neglect, had then by the very report of his approach terrified both Vologaesus, the king of Parthia, and Tiridates, the Armenian leader. He resembled the early Romans in that, besides coming of a brilliant family and possessing great strength of body, he was still further gifted with a shrewd intelligence; and he displayed great bravery and great fairness and good faith towards all, both friends and enemies. For these reasons Nero had sent him to the war in his own stead and had entrusted to him a larger force than to anybody else, feeling equal confidence that this leader would subdue the barbarians and would not revolt against him. And Corbulo belied neither of these expectations, though he grieved everybody else in this one particular, that he kept faith with Nero; for people were so anxious to secure him as emperor in place of Nero that his conduct in this respect seemed to them his only defect.

Corbulo, accordingly, had taken Artaxata without a struggle and had razed the city to the ground. This exploit finished, he marched in the direction of Tigranocerta, sparing all the districts that yielded but devastating the lands of all such as resisted him. Tigranocerta submitted to him voluntarily. He

4 κατεργάσεσθαι R. Steph., κατεργάσαται VC cod. Peir.
5 αὐτῷ Bk., αὐτῷ VC cod. Peir.
6 Ἑκρεβοῦλαν R. Steph., ἑκρεβοῦλαν V (so below), κοivirus C (so below).
"Ωτι ο Ουρολόγαιος ὁ Νέρων ἀλλοις διένειμε καὶ τὴν Ἀδιαβηνήν ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιγράνου πορθομένην, αὐτὸς μὲν ὡς ἐς τὴν Συριαν ἐπὶ τὸν Κορβούλωνα στρατεύσων ἦτοιμάζετο, τὸν δὲ τῶν Ἀδιαβηνῶν Βασίλεα Μονόβαζον καὶ Μοναίσην Πάρθου ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐπεμψεν. οὕτω δὲ τὸν Τιγράνην ἐς τὰ Τιγρανόκερτα καθείρξαν. καὶ ἐπεί ἐν τῇ προσδρέιᾳ οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἐλύσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσαις προσμίξεις οἱ ἁπεκρούντο καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν συνόντων αὐτῶ, καὶ ὁ Κορβούλων ἀκριβῆ φρουρὰν τῆς Συριας ἐποίησατο, ἐγνωσιμάχησε καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν ἀφῆκε, καὶ πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Κορβούλωνα ἀνοχής ἔτυχεν ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς τιν Νέρωνα αὐθίς πρεσβεύσασθαι καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν λύσαι καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἔξαγαγείν. Νέρων δὲ ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐδὲ τότε οὐδὲ ταχὺ οὐδὲ σαφῆς ἁπεκρίνατο, Δούκιον δὲ Καισένιον Παῖτον ἐς τὴν Καππαδοκίαν, ὅπως μηδὲν περὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν νεοχμωθῇ, ἀπέστειλεν.—Exc. U 6 38 (p. 391).
also performed other brilliant and glorious deeds, A.D. 64
crowning them all by inducing the formidable
Vologaesus to accept terms that accorded with the
dignity of the Romans.

Vologaesus, on hearing that Nero had assigned
Armenia to others and that Adiabene was being
ravaged by Tigranes, made preparations to take
the field himself against Corbulo, in Syria, and
sent into Armenia Monobazus, king of Adiabene,
and Monaesus, a Parthian. These two shut up
Tigranes in Tigranocerta. But since they found
that they could not harm him at all by their siege,
but, on the contrary, as often as they tried con-
clusions with him, were repulsed by both the native
troops and the Romans that were in his army, and
since Corbulo guarded Syria with extreme care,
Vologaesus swallowed his pride and abandoned the
expedition. Then he sent to Corbulo and obtained
a truce on condition that he should send a new
embassy to Nero, raise the siege, and withdraw his
soldiers from Armenia. Nero did not give him even
then either a speedy or a definite reply, but despatched
Lucius Caesennius Paetus to Cappadocia to see to it
that there should be no uprising in the region of
Armenia.

Vologaesus attacked Tigranocerta and drove back
Paetus, who had come to its aid. When the
latter fled, he pursued him, cut down the garrison
left by Paetus at the Taurus, and shut him up in
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2 τὸ Ἀρσανία ποταμῷ οὕσαν κατέκλεισε. καὶ ἀπανέστη μηδὲν περάνας (οὔτε γὰρ πελάσαι πη 2 τῷ ἐρύματι ἢτε χωρὶς ὀπλιτῶν ὁν ἐδύνατο, οὔτε τῆς τροφῆς, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ πλῆθεi πολλῶν ἀνεύ παρασκευῆς σιτίων ἀφεγμένος, εὐπόρει), εἰ μή ὁ Παῖτος τὴν τε τοξείαν αὐτοῦ 3 καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικνομένην καὶ τὴν ἀπον πανταχόν φαινομένην δείσας λόγους τε ὑπὲρ σπουδῶν αὐτῷ ἔπεμψε καὶ ὠμολογήσε, καὶ ὠμοσεν αὐτός 4 τε τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀπασαν ἐκλείψειν καὶ τὸν Νέρωνα τῷ Τιριδάτῃ αὐτὴν δῶσεν. 3 ἀγαπήσας γὰρ ἔπι τούτοις ὁ Πάρθος ὡς καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀπονερήληφον καὶ εὐφρενίστας ἐς τοὺς Ρωμαίους μεγάλης καταθησόμενος, καὶ ἀμα καὶ τὸν Κορμβούλωνα, ὅποι ὁ Παῖτος πρῶν περιστοίχισθηῆαι μετεπέμπτε πλησιάζειν πυθόμενος, 4 ἀφῆκεν αὐτοὺς, προδιομολογησάμενος ἵνα τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτῶν Ἀρσανίαν ζεύξωσιν, οὐκ ὅτι γεφύρας ἐδεῖτο (πεξῇ γὰρ αὐτῶν διελθεῖτε), ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐνδείξηται σφισιν ὅτι κρείττων αὐτῶν ἡν. ἀμέλει οὐδὲ τὸτε διὰ τοῦ ζεύγματος ἀνεχώρησεν, ἀλλ' αὕτως μὲν ἐπ' ἐλέφαντος, οἱ δὲ ἀλλοι ὡστιρ καὶ πρότερον. 22 Ἀρτι τε ἡ ὠμολογία ἐγεγονεί, καὶ ὁ Κορμβούλων ἀμηχάνῳ τάχει πρὸς τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐλθὼν ἐνταῦθ' ὑπέμεινεν. οὔτε δ' οὐν συνεγένοντο 5 ἀλλήλοις, πλείστον ἄν τις τὸ διάφορον τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν, τῶν μὲν χαιρόντων τε καὶ 

1 οὔτε Bk., ἡττε MSS. 2 πη VB, ἐπὶ M. 3 αὐτῶ Urs., αὐτῶ MSS. 4 αὕτως Urs., αὕτως MSS. 5 συνεγένοντο Reim., συνείγνυντο V, συνείγνυντο B, συνε- 

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Rhandea, near the river Arsania. Then he was on A.D. 64 the point of retiring without accomplishing anything; for, destitute as he was of heavy-armed soldiers, he could not approach close to the wall, and he had no large stock of provisions, particularly as he had come at the head of a vast host without making arrangements for his food supply. But Paetus stood in fear of his archery, which took effect in the very camp itself, as well as of his cavalry, which kept appearing at all points, and accordingly sent to him proposals for a truce, accepted his terms, and took an oath that he would himself abandon the whole of Armenia and that Nero should give it to Tiridates. The Parthian was glad enough to make this agreement, seeing that he was to obtain control of the country without a contest and would be making the Romans his debtors for a very considerable kindness. And, as he also learned that Corbulo (whom Paetus had repeatedly sent for before he was surrounded) was drawing near, he dismissed the beleaguered Romans, having first made them agree to build a bridge over the river Arsania for him. He did not really need a bridge, for he had crossed on foot, but he wished to show them that he was their superior. At any rate, he did not retire by way of the bridge even on this occasion, but rode across on an elephant, while the rest got over as before.

The capitulation had scarcely been made when Corbulo with inconceivable swiftness reached the Euphrates and there waited for the retreating force. When the two forces met, the vast difference between the troops and their generals would have struck the attention of anybody: the former were
λαμπρυνομένων ἐπὶ τῇ σπουδῇ, τῶν δὲ λυπουμένων τε καὶ αἰσχυνομένων ἐπὶ τῇ συνθήκῃ, 2 κατενόησεν. ὃ δὲ Ὀὐολόγαισος Μονάίσην πρὸς Κορβούλωνα πέμψας ἦξιωσεν αὐτὸν τὸ ἔρμια τὸ ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ ἐκλειπεὶν· καὶ διελέχθησαν ἐκεῖνοι πολλὰ ἀλλήλοις ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Εὐφράτου 3 γεφύρα, τὸ μέσον αὐτῆς λύσαντες. ὕποσχομένον δὲ τοῦ Κορβούλωνος ἀπαλλαγήσεθαι ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ἂν καὶ ὁ Πάρθος τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐκλείπῃ, ἐκάτερον ἐγένετο, μέχρι ὅτι ὁ Νέρων τὰ πραξάντα πυθόμενος, καὶ τὸσα πρέσβεις τοῦ Οὐολογάισου, οὔς αὕτης ἔπεμψε, χρηματίσας, τούτοις 1 μὲν ἀπεκρίνατο τὴν Ἀρμενίαν δώσειν 2 τῷ Τιριδάτῃ, 4 ἂν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνέλθῃ, τὸν δὲ δὴ Παῦτον τῆς ἀρχῆς παύσας, τοὺς τε στρατιώτας τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ γενομένους ἀλλοσὲ ποι πέμψας, τὸν Κορβούλωνα αὕτης τῷ κατ' αὐτῶν 3 πολέμῳ προσέταξεν. ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς συστρατεύσας, 4 ἐπεῖ δὲ θύων ἔπεσεν, οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ἐξορμῆσαι, ἄλλα κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐμείνειν.—

Exc. Ur 12 (p. 392).

23 Ὁτι ὁ Κορβούλων ἐν μὲν τῷ φανερῷ τὸν πρὸς Οὐολόγαισον πόλεμον παρεσκευάζετο, καὶ πέμψας ἐκατοντάρχην ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀπαλλαγήν τῆς χώρας, ἱδίᾳ δὲ συνεβούλευσέν οἱ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην πέμψαι, καὶ ἔπεσεν, ἐπειδὴ κρείττων 2 αὐτοῦ τῇ δυνάμει ἐδόκει εἶναι. συνῆλθον οὖν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥανδεία ὁ τε Κορβούλων καὶ ὁ Τιριδάτης· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ χώριον ἀμφοτέροις ἔρεσε, τῷ μὲν ὦτι ἀπολαβόντες ἐς αὐτὸ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὕποσπόνδους

1 τούτοις Urs., τούτοις MSS.
rejoicing and exulting in their speed, the latter A.D. 64 were grieved and ashamed of the compact that had been made. Vologaesus sent Monaeses to Corbulo with the demand that he abandon the fort in Mesopotamia. So these two held a prolonged conference together on the very bridge over the Euphrates, after first destroying the centre of the structure. Corbulo agreed to quit the country if the Parthian would also abandon Armenia, and both of these stipulations were carried out provisionally, until Nero could learn of the engagements made and receive the second embassy that Vologaesus sent. The answer given them by the emperor was that he would bestow Armenia upon Tiridates if that prince would come to Rome. Paetus was deposed from his command and the soldiers that had been with him were sent elsewhere, but Corbulo was again assigned to the war against the same foes. Nero had intended to accompany the expedition in person, but he fell while performing a sacrifice, so that he did not venture to set out, but remained at home.

Corbulo, therefore, was officially preparing for war upon Vologaesus and sent a centurion bidding him depart from the country; but privately he was advising the king to send his brother to Rome, a suggestion that the other followed, since Corbulo seemed to have the stronger force. Accordingly, Corbulo and Tiridates held a conference at Rhandea, a place satisfactory to both—to the king because his troops had there cut off the Romans and had sent

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2 δῶσεων supplied by Urs.
3 αὐτῶν Urs., αὐτῆς MSS.
4 συστρατεύσαι Urs., εἰ στρατεύσαι MSS.
ΔΙΟ'S ROMAN HISTORY

αφήκαν, πρὸς ἐνδείξεων δὲν εὐηργήτηντο, τῷ δὲ ὀτι τὴν δύσκλειαν τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ πρότερον συμβασάν
3 σφισιν ἀποτρίψεσθαι ἐμελλον. οὖδὲ γὰρ ἀπλῶς λόγους τινὰς ἐποιήσαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ βῆμα υψηλὸν ἡγέρθη καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ εἰκόνες τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐστάθησαν, ὦ τε Τιριδάτης πολλῶν μὲν Ἀρμενίων πολλῶν δὲ Πάρθων καὶ Ῥωμαίων παρόντων προσήλθε τε αὐταῖς καὶ προσεκύνησεν, θύσας τε καὶ ἐπευφημήσας τὸ διάδημα ἀπὸ τε τῆς κεφαλῆς
4 ἀφεὶλε καὶ παρέθηκεν αὐταῖς· καὶ ὁ Μονόβαζος καὶ ὁ Οὐσιώδας πρὸς τὸν Κορβούλωνα ἦλθον καὶ ὁμήρους αὐτῷ ἐδωκαν. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Νέρων αὐτοκράτωρ τε πολλάκις ἐπεκλήθη, καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἐπεμψε παρὰ τὸ νεομισμένον.—Exc. Ug 39 (p. 391).

5 Κορβούλων μὲν οὖν, καίτοι καὶ ἰσχύν μεγάλην καὶ δύσαν οὐκ ἐλαχίστην ἔχων, καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἀν ρᾶστα καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ, ἀτε καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ τοῦ Νέρων δεινῶς ἀχθομένων καὶ ἑκεῖνον ἐς πάντα δὴ πάντως θαναμαζόντων, ἀποδειχθήναι,
6 οὐτε ἐνεωτέρισε τι οὔτε ἑτίαθη. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἐτὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐμετράζει, καὶ τὸν γαμβρὸν Ἀννιου ὑποστρατηγοῦντα οἱ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς τὸν Τιριδάτην ἀνάξοντα, τὸ δ᾿ ἀληθὲς ἐφ’ ὀμηρείᾳ τῶ Νέρων ἐκὼν ἐπεμψεν. οὕτω γὰρ ποι ἐπεπίστευτο μηδὲν νεοχώμοιτων ὄστε καὶ τὸν γαμβρὸν, καὶ πρὶν στρατηγῆσαι, ὑπαρχοῦν 2 λαβεὶν.—Xiph. 169, 32–170, 4 R. St., Exc. Val. 248 (p. 689 f.).

27, 2 Ὅτι Ἰουνίους Τορκουάτος, ἀπόγονος τοῦ

1 τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα cod. Peir., ἄλλ᾽ VC.
them away under a capitulation, a visible proof of the favour that had been done them, and to Corbulo because he expected his men to wipe out the ill repute that had attached to them there before. Indeed, the proceedings of the conference were not limited to mere conversations, but a lofty platform had been erected on which were set images of Nero, and in the presence of crowds of Armenians, Parthians, and Romans Tiridates approached and paid them reverence; then, after sacrificing to them and calling them by laudatory names, he took off the diadem from his head and set it upon them. Mono-bazus and Vologaesus also came to Corbulo and gave him hostages. In honour of this event Nero was saluted as imperator a number of times and held a triumph, contrary to precedent.

Corbulo, then, though he had a large force under him and enjoyed no small reputation, so that he might easily have been made emperor (since men thoroughly detested Nero, but all admired him in every way), neither headed any rebellion nor was accused of doing so. In fact, he now conducted himself more prudently than ever. For example, he voluntarily sent to Rome his son-in-law Annius, who was acting as his lieutenant; this was done with the ostensible purpose that Annius might escort Tiridates thither, but actually in order to put a hostage in Nero's hands. To be sure, the emperor had been so firmly persuaded that his general would not revolt, that Corbulo had obtained his son-in-law, even before he had been praetor, as lieutenant.

Junius Torquatus, a descendant of Augustus, was

\[ \text{\footnotesize \ref{footnote}} \]

\[ 2 \text{ \footnotesize \( \varepsilon \pi \alpha \rho \chi \nu \varepsilon \), \( \varepsilon \pi \alpha \tau \omicron \nu \), cod. Peir.} \]

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Αυγουστοῦ ὄν, ἐπὶ 1 θαυμαστῷ δὴ 2 τιν ἐγκλήματι παρεδόθη. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀσωτότερον τῇ οὐσίᾳ, εἶτε ἐκ φύσεως εἶτε καὶ ἐξ ἐπιτηδεύσεως, ὅπως μὴ πάνυ πλούτοις, κατεχρήσατο, τῶν τε ἀλλοτρίων αὐτοῦ ἐπιθυμεῖν ἀτε καὶ πολλῶν δεόμενον ὁ Νέρων ἔφη, καὶ τούτον ὡς καὶ 3 τῆς αὐτοκράτορος ἀρχῆς ἐφιέμενον συκοφαντήθηναι ἐποίησεν.—Ἐξ. Val. 249 (p. 690).

24 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Σενέκας καὶ ὁ Ῥοῦφος ὁ ἔπαρχος ἄλλοι τε τινες τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἔτη. Βούλευσαν τῷ Νέρωνι· οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην οὔτε τὴν ἀσέλγειαν οὔτε τὴν ἁμώτητα αὐτοῦ ἐτι φέρειν ἐδύναντο. αὐτοὶ τε οὖν ἁμα τῶν κακῶν τούτων ἀπαλλαγῆναι κάκεινον ἐλευθερώσαι ἡθέλησαν, ὥσπερ ἀντικρυ Σουλπίκιος τε Ἀστρος 4 ἐκατόνταρχος καὶ Σουβριός Φλάουιος 5 χιλιάρχος, ἐκ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ὄντες, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν Νέρωνα ὑμολόγησαν. ἐκεῖνὸς τε γὰρ ἐρωτηθεὶς ὡς ἀυτοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἐπιθέσεως εἶπεν ὅτι "ἄλλως σοι βοηθήσαι οὐκ ἐδυνάμην," καὶ ὁ Φλάουιος "καὶ ἐφίλησά σε" εἶπε "παντὸς μάλλον καὶ ἐμίσησα. ἐφίλησα μὲν ἐλπίσας ἀγαθὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἑσεθαί, ἐμίσησα δὲ ὅτι τά καὶ τὰ ποιεῖς· οὔτε γὰρ ἀρματηλάτη ὄντε κιθαρῳδῷ δουλεύειν δύναμαι." μηνύσεως οὖν γενομένης οὔτοι τε 3 ἐκολάσθησαν καὶ ἄλλοι δι' αὐτοῦς πολλοί. τὰν γὰρ ὁ τι τις ἐγκαλέσαι τω ἐκ περιχαρείας καὶ λύπης ρημάτων τε καὶ νευμάτων οίδος τε ἦν, καὶ ἐπεφέρετο καὶ ἐπιστεύετο· οὐδ' ἐστιν ὁ τι τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, εἰ καὶ ἐπέπλαστο, ἀπιστεῖσθαι διὰ

1 ἐπὶ supplied by Bs. 2 δὴ Val., δὲ cod. Peir.
handed over for punishment on a remarkable charge. A.D. 64
He had squandered his property rather prodigally, whether following his native bent or with the deliberate intention of not being very rich. Nero therefore declared that, as he lacked many things, he must be covetous of the goods of others, and consequently caused a fictitious charge to be brought against him of aspiring to the imperial power.

Seneca, however, and Rufus, the prefect, and some other prominent men formed a plot against Nero; for they could no longer endure his disgraceful behaviour, his licentiousness, and his cruelty. They desired, therefore, to rid themselves of these evils and at the same time to free Nero from them—as, indeed, Sulpicius Asper, a centurion, and Subrius Flavius, a military tribune, both belonging to the body-guards, admitted outright to Nero himself. Asper, when asked by the emperor the reason for his attempt, replied: “I could help you in no other way.” And the response of Flavius was: “I have both loved and hated you above all men. I loved you, hoping that you would prove a good emperor; I have hated you because you do so-and-so. I can not be slave to a charioteer or lyre-player.” Information was lodged against these men, then, and they were punished, and many others likewise on their account. For everything in the nature of a complaint that could be entertained against anyone for excessive joy or grief, for words or gestures, was brought forward and was believed; and not one of these complaints, even if fictitious, could be refused

3 ως καὶ Dind., ως Bk., καὶ VC.
4 Ἀσπρος exc. Vat., ἀπρως VC.
5 Φλάδιος Bk., φλάβιος VC exc. Vat.
IO’S ROMAN HISTORY

τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν τοῦ Νέρωνος ἔργων ἐδύνατο. 1
4 καὶ διὰ τούτ’ ἐσ τὰ μάλιστα οὗ τε φίλοι οί πονηροὶ καὶ οϊκέται τινῶν ἡνήσαν τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀλλοτρίους τοὺς τε ἐχθροὺς ὑποπτεύοντες ἐφυλάσσοντο, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τοὺς συνόντας καὶ ἀκοντες ἐγγυμνὸντο.

25 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀπολολότων πολὺ ἔργον εἰπεῖν’ ὁ δὲ δὴ Σενέκας ἡθέλησε μὲν καὶ τὴν γυναικὰ Παυλίναν ἀποκτείναν, λέγων πεπεικέναι αὐτὴν τοῦ τε θανάτου καταφρονῆσαι καὶ τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ μεταλαγῆς ἐπιθυμῆσαι, καὶ ἡ Παυλίνα περιεγένετο, οὐ μέντοι πρότερον ἐαυτοῦ 4 ἡψατο πρὶν τὸ τε βιβλίον ὁ συν-έγραφεν ἐπανορθῶσαι καὶ τάλλα (ἐδεδίει γὰρ μὴ καὶ ἐς τὸν Νέρωνα ἐλθόντα φθαρῆ) παρακατα-

3 θέσθαι τισίν. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὖτως ἐπελεύθησε, καίτερ τὴν τε συνουσίαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ ἀσθενῶν προειμένως,5 καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν οἰκοδομουμένων προφάσει κεχαρισ-

μένος, καὶ οἱ ἄδελφοι ὑστερον ἐπαπῶλοντο.

26 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἡραδέας καὶ ὁ Σωρανός, καὶ γένοντι καὶ πλούτου τῆς τε συμπάσχης ἀρετῆς ἐς 6 τὰ πρῶτα ἀνήκοντες, ἐπιβουλῆς μὲν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔσχον,

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1 ἐδύνατο H. Steph. (ἐδύνατο), ἐδύναντο VC.
2 ἐσχασε Bk., ἐσχασε VC.
3 έκείνης Sylb., ἐκείνου VC.
4 ἐαυτοῦ Rk., ἐαυτῆς VC.
5 προειμένως Bk., προ...ιομ...V1, προφερόμενος V2, προ...C.
6 ἦς supplied by H. Steph.
credence in view of Nero's actual deeds. Hence A.D. 65 faithless friends and house servants of some men flourished exceedingly; for, whereas persons were naturally on their guard against strangers and foes, by reason of their suspicions, they were bound to lay bare their thoughts to their associates whether they would or not.

It would be no small task to speak of all the others that perished, but the fate of Seneca calls for a few words. It was his wish to end the life of his wife Paulina at the same time with his own, for he declared that he had taught her both to despise death and to desire to leave the world in company with him. So he opened her veins as well as his own. But as he died hard, his end was hastened by the soldiers; and she was still alive when he passed away, and thus survived. He did not lay hands upon himself, however, until he had revised the book which he was writing ¹ and had deposited his other books with some friends, fearing that they would otherwise fall into Nero's hands and be destroyed. Thus died Seneca, notwithstanding that he had on the pretext of illness abandoned the society of the emperor and had bestowed upon him his entire property, ostensibly to help to pay for the buildings he was constructing. His brothers, too, perished after him.

Likewise Thrasea and Soranus, who were among the foremost in family, wealth, and every virtue, met their death, not because they were accused of

¹ Tacitus (Ann. xv. 63) describes Seneca as dictating in his very last moments words that were later published, but he does not identify them.
Dio's Roman History

άπέθανον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸι τότε, ὃτι τοιοῦτοι ἦσαν. καὶ τοῦ γε Σωρανοῦ Πούπλιος Ἐγνάτιος Ἐκέλερ
2 φιλόσοφος κατεψυχουμένης. δύο γὰρ ἄνδρων
συνόντων αὐτῶ. Κασσίου 3 τε Ἀσκληπιοδότου
Νικαέως καὶ ἑκείνου Βηρυτίου, ὁ μὲν Ἀσκληπιό-
δοτος ὁμώς ὅπως κατείτε τι αὐτοῦ, ἄλλα καὶ τοῦ-
νατικὸν καλοκάγαθιαν οἱ προσεμάρτυρησε, καὶ
διὰ τοῦτο τότε μὲν ἔφυγεν, ὕστερον δὲ ἐπὶ
Γάλβου κατῆ. ὁ δὲ δὴ Πούπλιος ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ
συκοφαντίᾳ καὶ χρήματα καὶ τιμᾶς ἔλαβε καθάπερ
όι ἄλλοι οἱ τοιοῦτοι τι ποιήσαντες, μετὰ δὲ
3 τοῦτο ἔξωρίσθη. Σωρανὸς μὲν οὐν ως καὶ μαγεῦ-
ματί τινι διὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς κεχρημένος, ἐπειδὴ
νοσήσαντος αὐτοῦ θυσίαν τινὰ ἐδύσαντο, ἐσφάγη.

Θρασέας δὲ ὅτι οὐτέ ἔσ τὸ βουλευτήριον συνεχῶς
ὡς οὐκ ἄρεσκόμενος τοῖς ψηφιζομένοις ἀπῆτα,
οὔτ' ἥκουσέ ποτε αὐτοῦ κιθαριστοῦτος, οὔτε
ἔθυσε τῇ ἱερᾷ αὐτοῦ φωνῇ ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι,
4 οὔτε ἐπεδείξατο οὖν, καίτοι ἐν Παταοῦφ 4 τῇ
πατρίδι τραγῳδίαν κατὰ τι πάτριον ἐν ἐορτῇ
τινι τριακονταετηρίδι ὑποκρινόμενος, εντεμῶν
οὖν τὴν φλέβα ἄνεσεν τὴν χεῖρα, καὶ ἔφη "σοὶ
τοῦτο τὸ αἶμα, ὁ Ζεὺς Ἑλευθερίε, σπένδω." 5

27, 1 Καὶ τί ἄν τις θαυμάσειν 5 εἰ τοιαῦτα ἔτη
χθῆ, ὅποτε τις, ὅτι πρὸς τῇ ἄγορᾳ ὕκει 7 καὶ
ἐργαστηρία ἔξεμισθοι ἥ καὶ φίλους τινὰς εἰς

1 τότε Reim., πότε V, ποτε C.
2 Ἐγνάτιος R. Steph., ἄγνατίος C, αἰγνάτιος V.
3 Κασσίου Reim., κασπίου VC.
4 Παταοῦφ Xyl. (παταβίφ), ποταμία VC.
5 θαυμάσειν St., θαυμάσιοι VC.
6 Space of about 7 letters left in V, of about 10 in C;
αὐτοὶ supplied by Reim., αὐτοῖς ἑγκλήματα Bs.

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conspiracy, but because they were what they were. A.D. 65
Against Soranus, Publius Egnatius Celer, a philo-
sopher, gave false evidence. The accused had had two
associates, Cassius Asclepiodotus of Nicaea and this
Egnatius of Berytus. Now Asclepiodotus, so far from
speaking against Soranus, actually bore witness to his
noble qualities; and for this he was exiled at the
time, though later restored under Galba. Publius,
in return for his false charges, received money and
honours, as did others of the same profession; but sub-
sequently he was banished. Soranus, then, was slain
on the charge of having practised a kind of magic
through the agency of his daughter, the foundation
for this story being that when Nero was sick they
had offered a certain sacrifice. Thrasea was executed
because he failed to appear regularly in the senate,—
thus showing that he did not like the measures passed,
—and because he never would listen to the emperor's
singing and lyre-playing, nor sacrifice to Nero's
Divine Voice as did the rest, nor give any public
exhibitions; yet it was remarked that at Patavium,
his native place, he had acted in a tragedy given
in pursuance of some old custom at a festival held
every thirty years. As he made the incision in his
artery, he raised his hand, exclaiming: "To thee,
Jupiter, Patron of Freedom, I pour this libation of
blood."

And why should one be surprised that such [com-
plaints] were brought [against them], seeing that one
man¹ was brought to trial and slain for living near

¹ Salvidienus Orfitus (according to Suetonius, Nero, 37).

7 ζεκεν C, space of 4 letters left in V.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

αὕτα ὑπεδέχετο, καὶ ἀλλος, ὅτι τοῦ Κασσίου τοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρα ἀποκτείναντος εἰκόνα εἶχε, καὶ ἐκρίθησαν καὶ ἐφονεύθησαν;

3 Ἀξιον δὲ μιμηθήναι καὶ γυναικὸς τίνος 'Επιχάριτος· αὕτη γὰρ ἐν τῇ συνωμοσίᾳ ἔξετασθείσα καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἀκρίβως πιστεύθείσα οὖν δὲν ἔδειν τὸ παράπαν, καὶ περ πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῆς Τιγελ-

4 λίνου δεινότητος βασανισθείσα, ἐξέφηνε. τί δ' ἂν τις καταλέγοι ὅσα ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ταύτῃ ἢ τοῖς δορυφόροις ἐδόθη ἢ τῷ τοῦ Νέρωνι καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ φίλοις ὑπέρογκα ἐψηφίσθη; Ὄρούφος μέν-

τοι Μουσώνιος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐφυγα- 

deύθη.—Xiph. 170, 4–172, 1 R. St.

Καὶ ἡ Σαβίνα ὑπὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος τὸτε ἀπέδανεν; κυνοῦσῃ γὰρ αὐτῇ λάξει, εἶτε ἐκὼν εἴτε καὶ ἀκών, 28 ἐνεθορευ. ἡ δὲ δὴ Σαβίνα αὐτὴ οὕτως ὑπερτρύ-

φήσεν (ἐκ γὰρ τῶν βραχυτάτων πᾶν δηλώ-

θήσεται) ὡστε τᾶς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὰς ἁγούσας αὐτὴν ἐπίχρυσα σπαρτία ὑποδεῖσθαι, καὶ ὅνους πεντακοσίας ἀρτιτόκους καθ' ἡμέρας ἀμέλγεσθαι, ἵν' ἐν τῷ γάλακτι αὐτῶν λούηται τῆς τῷ γὰρ ὄραν καὶ τῆν λαμπρότητα τοῦ σώματος ἴσχυρός ἐσπουδαίκει, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ εὐπρεπὴ ποτὲ αὐτῇ ἐν κατοπτρῷ ἠδοὺσα ἥξισε τελευτήσαι 2 πρὶν παρηβήσαι. καὶ οὕτως γε αὐτὴν ὁ Νέρων ἐπόθησεν ὡστε μετὰ τοῦ ἰδίων αὐτῆς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα γυναικὰ τίνα προσφέρῃ οἱ μαθῶν οὕτως μετεπέμψατο καὶ ἐσχεν, ἐπεῖτα καὶ παίδα ἀπε-

1 οὖν δὲν H. Steph., οὖν δὲ VC.
2 Σαβίνα Reim., σαβίνη VC.
3 καὶ V., om. C.
4 ἐνεθορευ Zon., ἐνεθορευ VC.
the Forum, and letting out some shops or for receiving a few friends in them; and another because he possessed an image of Cassius, the slayer of Caesar?

The conduct of a woman named Epicharis also deserves mention. She had been included in the conspiracy and all its details had been entrusted to her without reserve; yet she revealed none of them, though often tortured in all the ways that the skill of Tigellinus could devise. And why should one enumerate the sums given to the Praetorians on the occasion of this conspiracy or the excessive honours voted to Nero and his friends? Suffice it to say that Rufus Musonius, the philosopher, was banished for his connexion with these events.

Sabina also perished at this time through an act of Nero's; either accidentally or intentionally he had leaped upon her with his feet while she was pregnant. The extremes of luxury indulged in by this Sabina I will indicate in the briefest terms. She caused gilded shoes to be put on the mules that drew her and caused five hundred asses that had recently foaled to be milked daily that she might bathe in their milk. For she bestowed the greatest pains on the beauty and brilliancy of her person, and this is why, when she noticed in a mirror one day that her appearance was not comely, she prayed that she might die before she passed her prime. Nero missed her so greatly after her death that on learning of a woman who resembled her he at first sent for her and kept her; but later he caused a boy

1 C. Cassius Longinus (ibid.).

5 ἵσχυρὸς Reim., λαμπρῶς VC.
6 τῶν supplied by Bk. (?).
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λεύθερον, διὸν Σπόρον ὄνομαζεν, ἐκτεμὼν, ἔπειδη
3 καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ Σαβίνῃ προσεφεκε, τά τε ἄλλα ὡς
γυναικὶ αὐτῷ ἔχρητο καὶ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου
καὶ ἐγήμεν αὐτὸν, καίπερ Πυθαγόρα τινὶ ἐξε-
λευθέρω 1 γεγαμημένοις, καὶ προῖκα αὐτῷ κατὰ
συγγραφὴν ἐνειμε,2 καὶ τοὺς γάμους σφῶν δημοσίᾳ
οί τε ἄλλοι καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἐώρτασαν.
—Xiph. 172, 1–15 R. St., Exc. Val. 250a (p. 690).

3a "Ὅτι τὸν Σπόρον τὸν ἐκτομίαν ἐχοντος τοῦ
Νέρωνος ὡς γυναίκα εἶς τις τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ συνό
των αὐτῷ, καὶ πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν παρεσκευασμένος,
ἐρωτηθεῖς εἰ ἀρέσκεται τοῖς γάμοις καὶ τῷ συνοι-
κεσίῳ, "ἐν γε" ἐφή "ποιεῖς, ὁ Καῖσαρ, τοιαύταις
συνωικόν. αἰθε καὶ ὁ σὸς πατὴρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ζήλων
ἐσχεν καὶ τοιαύτη συνφύκησε γαμετῇ," δεικνύς ὡς
εἰ τοῦτο ἐγεγόνει, οὐκ ἂν οὕτως ἔτέχθη καὶ μεγά-
λων κακῶν ἑλευθεροῦτο ἡ πολιτεία.—Petr. Patr.
corc. Vat. 63 (p. 213 Mai. = p. 195, 1–9 Dind.).

4 Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑστερον ἐγένετο· τότε δὲ
πολλοὶ μὲν, ὅσπερ εἶπον, ἔθανατωθήσαν, πολλοὶ
dὲ καὶ μεγάλων χρημάτων τὴν σωτηρίαν παρὰ
tοῦ Τιγελλάνου ἐκτριαμενοὶ ἀπελύθησαν.—Xiph.
172, 15–18 R. St., Exc. Val. 250b (p. 690).

29 'Ο δὲ Νέρων ἄλλα τε γελοία ἔπραττε, καὶ ποτε
καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ θεάτρου ὀρχήστραν ἐν πανθήμω
τινὶ θέα κατέβη καὶ ἀνέγρω Τρωϊκά τινα ἐαντοῦ
ποιήματα· καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς θυσίαν πολλαί, ὅσπερ
καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄπασιν οἷς ἐπραττεν, ἐγένοντο.

2 παρεσκευάζετο δὲ ὡς καὶ τὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων
πράξεις ἀπάσας συγγράψων ἐν ἐπεσιν, καὶ περὶ 3
γε τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν βιβλίων, πρὶν καὶ ὁτιοῦν
αὐτῶν συνθείναι, ἐσκέψατο, παραλαβὼν ἄλλους

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of the freedmen, whom he used to call Sporus, to be A.D. 65 castrated, since he, too, resembled Sabina, and he used him in every way like a wife. In due time, though already "married" to Pythagoras, a freedman, he formally "married" Sporus, and assigned the boy a regular dowry according to contract; and the Romans as well as others publicly celebrated their wedding.

While Nero had Sporus, the eunuch, as a wife, one of his associates in Rome, who had made a study of philosophy, on being asked whether the marriage and cohabitation in question met with his approval, replied: "You do well, Caesar, to seek the company of such wives. Would that your father had had the same ambition and had lived with a similar consort!" —indicating that if this had been the case, Nero would not have been born, and the state would now be free of great evils.

This, however, was later. At the time with which we are concerned many, as I stated, were put to death, and many others, purchasing their lives from Tigellinus for a great price, were released.

Nero continued to do many ridiculous things. Thus, on the occasion of a certain popular festival, he descended to the orchestra of the theatre, where he read some Trojan lays of his own; and in honour of these, numerous sacrifices were offered, as was the case with everything else that he did. He was now making preparations to write an epic narrating all the achievements of the Romans; and even before composing a line of it he began to consider the proper number of books, consulting among others

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1 ἐξελευθέρω VC Zon., ἐξελευθέρων cod. Peir.
2 ἐνειμε VC, ἐδωκε cod. Peir.
3 καὶ περὶ H. Steph., καὶ περὶ VC.
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τε καὶ Ἀνναίον ὁ Κορνύτων εὐδοκιμοῦντα τότε τὸν παιδείαν καὶ αὐτῶν ὅλιγον μὲν καὶ ἀπεκτείνεν, ἐς νήσον δ᾽ οὖν ἐνέβαλεν, ὅτι τινῶν τετρακόσια ἀξιοῦντων αὐτὸν βιβλία γράψας, πολλὰ τε αὐτὰ εἶναι ἐφ᾿ αὐτὸ καὶ μηδένα αὐτὰ ἀναγνώσεσθαι, καὶ τινὸς εἰπόντος "καὶ μὴν Χρύσιππος, διὰ ἐπαινεῖς καὶ ξηλοῖς, πολὺ πλείω συνεθήκεν" ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι "ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνα χρήσιμα τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίῳ ἑστίν." ο μὲν οὖν Κορνύτος φυγὴν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὄφλεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Λουκανὸς εἰκωλύθη ποιεῖν, ἐπειδή ἵσχυρός ἐπὶ τῇ ποιήσει ἐπηρεῖτο.

LXIII Ἦπι δὲ Γαίου Τελεσίνου καὶ ἐπὶ Σουητωνίου

1, 1 Παυλίνου ὑπάτων εὐδοξότατον τε ἁμα ἔργων καὶ ἐτερον αὐξηστὸν ἐγένετο. τοῦ γὰρ Νέρων ἐν τοῖς κιθαρῳδοῖς ἡγούμενοι, καὶ νικητήρια αὐτῷ Μενεκράτους τοῦ τῆς κιθαρῳδίας διδασκάλου ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ ποιήσαντος ἡμιόχησε. καὶ ὁ Τιριδάτης ἐς τὴν Ἱώμην, οὖχ ὅτι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παίδας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Οὐσολογαίου τοῦ τε Πακόρου καὶ τοῦ Μονοβάζου ἄγων, ἀνήχθη, καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῶν πομπὴ διὰ πάσης τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ

2 Ἐυφράτου γῆς ὄσπερ ἐν ἐπινικίοις. αὐτός τε γὰρ ὁ Τιριδάτης καὶ ἤλικία καὶ κάλλει καὶ γένει καὶ φρονύματι ἤνθει, καὶ ἡ θεραπεία ἡ παρασκευὴ ἡ βασιλικὴ πᾶσα αὐτῷ συνηκολούθη, τρισχίλιοι τε ἱππεῖς τῶν Πάρθων καὶ χωρίς ἐτεροι Ἀρμαίων συνχρόι συνείποντο. καὶ αὐτοὺς αἱ τε πόλεις λαμπρῶς κεκοσμήμεναι καὶ οἱ δῆμοι

1 Ἀνναίον H. Steph., Ἰναίον VC, ἰννέας exc. Vat.
2 τετρακόσια—Βιβλία Sylb., τετρακόσιαν—Βιβλίων VC.
3 Λουκανὸς R. Steph., λουκιανὸς VC.
Annaeus Cornutus, who at this time was famed for A.D. 65 his learning. This man he came very near putting to death and did deport to an island, because, while some were urging him to write four hundred books, Cornutus said that this was too many and nobody would read them. And when someone objected, "Yet Chrysippus, whom you praise and imitate, composed many more," the other retorted: "But they are a help to the conduct of men's lives." So Cornutus incurred banishment for this. Lucan, on the other hand, was debarred from writing poetry because he was receiving high praise for his work.

In the consulship of Gaius Telesinus and Suetonius A.D. 66 Paulinus one event of great glory and another of deep disgrace took place. For one thing, Nero contended among the lyre-players, and after Menecrates, the teacher of this art, had celebrated a triumph for him in the Circus, he appeared as a charioteer. On the other hand, Tiridates presented himself in Rome, bringing with him not only his own sons but also those of Vologaesus, of Pacorus, and of Monobazus. Their progress all the way from the Euphrates was like a triumphal procession. Tiridates himself was at the height of his reputation by reason of his age, beauty, family and intelligence; and his whole retinue of servants together with all his royal paraphernalia accompanied him. Three thousand Parthian horsemen and numerous Romans besides followed in his train. They were received by gaily decorated cities and by peoples who shouted

4 ἐπὶ H. Steph. ὑπὸ VC.
5 Σουτωνίου Bk., σουτωνίου V, σουτωνίου or σουτωνίου C.
6 Μενεκράτους Reim., μὲν ἐκρότουν VC.
Το Φιλόληθρον του Υπαγόμενου της Αθηναίας και της Σύγχρονης Αθηναίας

3 ωδούπος στις ίδιες αγάπης. Αυτοί τέσσερα, μετά τις Ιταλίες, και οι γυνίς, συμπαράπνευσαν, μετά της Αφρικής, και καταβάλειν, και περισσότερα, έχουν, ώστε μηδένες μήνας, οι

4 πόλεις προς αυτούς ύπαρξε, ού μέντοι και τόν άκινήτην, ώστε προσήη αυτού, καταβάλει και υποστεί ήθελεσεν, άλλ' ήλιος αυτού τον κολέον προσέπηξε, και τίς γινότεν καθεῖς και τάς χειράς έπαλλάξας, δεσπότην τέ αυτῶν όνομάς και προσκυνήσας. ο ούν Νέρων και έπι τούτω αυτού θαυμάσας τόσα τε αλλοίς εδεξιώσατο και μονομαχίας εν Ποντέλοιος κατοντεύλοις έπετο. ήγωνοθέτησε δή Πατρόβιος εξελύθερος αυτού, και τοσαύτη γε τή λαμπρότητι και τή δαπάνη εχρήσατο ώστε εν μία ήμέρα μηδένα αλλον πλην Αιθιόπων, και άνδρών και γυναικών και παιδών,

2 εάς το θέατρον εσελθεσι. και έδει γὰρ τῷ Πατροβίῳ τιμήν τινα δια ταύτα γενέθαι, έτοξευσεν ο Τιμιάτης άνωθεν εκ τῆς έδρας θηρία, και δύο γε ταύρους μιά έμα Βολή, εί γέ τῷ πιστόν, διέτρωσε καί άπεκτενε.

4 Μετά δέ τούτο εάς τε τήν 'Ρώμην αυτόν ο Νέρων άνηγάγε καί το διάθημα αυτῷ επέθηκε, καί πάσα μεν 'ή πόλεις εκεκόσμητο καί φωσι καί στεφανώμασιν, ού τέ ανθρωποι πολλοὶ πανταχούν

1 Ποντέλοιος R. Steph., ποτέλοιος VC.
many compliments. Provisions were furnished A.D. 66 them free of cost, a daily expenditure of 800,000 sesterces for their support being thus charged to the public treasury. This went on without change for the nine months occupied in their journey. The prince covered the whole distance to the confines of Italy on horseback, and beside him rode his wife, wearing a golden helmet in place of a veil, so as not to defy the traditions of her country by letting her face be seen. In Italy he was conveyed in a two-horse carriage sent by Nero, and met the emperor at Neapolis, which he reached by way of Picenum. He refused, however, to obey the order to lay aside his dagger when he approached the emperor, but fastened it to the scabbard with nails. Yet he knelt upon the ground, and with arms crossed called him master and did obeisance. Nero admired him for this action and entertained him in many ways, especially by giving a gladiatorial exhibition at Puteoli. It was under the direction of Patrobius, one of his freedmen, who managed to make it a most brilliant and costly affair, as may be seen from the fact that on one of the days not a person but Ethiopians—men, women, and children—appeared in the theatre. By way of showing Patrobius some fitting honour Tiridates shot at wild beasts from his elevated seat, and—if one can believe it—transfixed and killed two bulls with a single arrow.

After this event Nero took him up to Rome and set the diadem upon his head. The entire city had been decorated with lights and garlands, and great crowds of people were to be seen everywhere, the

1 Cf. ch. 7, 1 inf.
2 έωρώντο, μάλιστα δὲ ἡ ἄγορα ἐπεπλήρωτο· το μὲν γὰρ μέσον αὐτῆς ὁ δὴμος λευχειμονῶν καὶ δαφνηφόρων κατὰ τέλη εἶχε, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα οἱ στρατιώται λαμπρότατα ὀπλισμένοι, ὡστε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν καὶ τα σημεία ἀστράπτειν. οἱ τε κέραμοι καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντων τῶν τῆδε οἰκο- 

domήματων ἐκρύπτοντο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναβεβηκότων.

3 τούτων δ’ οὕτως ἐκ νυκτὸς προπαρασκευασθέντων ἐσῆλθεν ἐς τὴν ἄγοραν ὁ Νέρων ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, 


tὴν ἐσθήτα τὴν ἐπινίκιον ἐνδεδυκώς, σὺν τε τῇ 


βουλῇ καὶ σὺν 1 τοῖς δορυφόροις, καὶ ἐπὶ τε τὸ 


βῆμα ἀνέβη καὶ ἐπὶ δίφρου ἀρχικοῦ ἐκαθέζετο, 


καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ τε Τιμιδάτης καὶ οἱ μετ’ αὐτοῦ 


diὰ τε στοιχῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐκατέρωθεν παρατε- 


tαμένων διῆλθον καὶ πρὸς τῷ βῆματι προσ- 


στάντες 2 προσεκύνησαν αὐτόν, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότε- 


ρον. κραυγῆς τε ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ πολλῆς συμβάσεως 3 


ἐξεπλάγη τε ὁ Τιμιδάτης, καὶ ἄφωνοι χρόνοι 


τινὰ ὡς καὶ ἀπολούμενος ἐγένετο. ἔπειτα σιωπῆς 


κηρυχθείσης ἐπεθάρρησε τε, καὶ ἐκβιασάμενος τὸ 


φρόνημα τῷ τε καιρῷ καὶ τῇ χρείᾳ ἐδούλευε, 


μηδὲν φροντίσας εἰ τι ταπεινῶν φθέγξαιτο, πρὸς 


τὴν ἐλπίδα δὲν τεῦξοιτο. 4 εἰπε γὰρ οὕτως: “ἐγὼ, 


dέσποτα, Ἀρσάκου μὲν ἐκγονος, Ὄουλογαίσον οὗ 


καὶ Πακόρου τῶν βασιλέων ἀδελφός, σὸς δὲ 


doῦλος εἰμι. καὶ ἤλθον τε πρὸς σὲ τὸν ἐμὸν 


θεὸν, προσκυνήσων σὲ ὡς καὶ τὸν Μίθραν, καὶ 


ἐσομαι τούτο ὁ τι ἄν σὺ ἐπικλώσης: σὺ γὰρ μοι 


3 καὶ μοίρα εἰ καὶ τύχη.” ὁ δὲ Νέρων ἥμεισαι 


αὐτὸν ὅδε: “ἀλλ’ εὐ τοι ἐποίησας αὐτὸς δεύρο


1 σὺν C, om. V.


2 προστάντες R. Steph., προστάντες VC.
Forum, however, being especially full. The centre a.d. 66 was occupied by the civilians, arranged according to rank, clad in white and carrying laurel branches; everywhere else were the soldiers, arrayed in shining armour, their weapons and standards flashing like the lightning. The very roof-tiles of all the buildings in the vicinity were completely hidden from view by the spectators who had climbed to the roofs. Everything had been thus got ready during the night; and at daybreak Nero, wearing the triumphal garb and accompanied by the senate and the Praetorians, entered the Forum. He ascended the rostra and seated himself upon a chair of state. Next Tiridates and his suite passed between lines of heavy-armed troops drawn up on either side, took their stand close to the rostra, and did obeisance to the emperor as they had done before. At this a great roar went up, which so alarmed Tiridates that for some moments he stood speechless, in terror of his life. Then, silence having been proclaimed, he recovered courage and quelling his pride made himself subservient to the occasion and to his need, caring little how humbly he spoke, in view of the prize he hoped to obtain. These were his words: “Master, I am the descendant of Arsaces, brother of the kings Vologaesus and Pacorus, and thy slave. And I have come to thee, my god, to worship thee as I do Mithras. The destiny thou spinnest for me shall be mine; for thou art my Fortune and my Fate.” Nero replied to him as follows: “Well hast thou done to come hither in person, that meeting me

3 συμβάσης Dind., ξυμβάσης VC.
4 τευξαίτο Sylb., τευξαίτο VC.
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έλθον, ἵνα καὶ παρὼν παρόντος μου ἀπολαύσῃς·
ἀ γὰρ σοι οὔτε ὁ πατήρ κατέλυπεν οὔτε οἱ ἀδελφοὶ δόντες ἐτήρησαν, ταῦτα ἐγὼ χαρίζομαι καὶ βασιλέα τῆς Ἀρμενίας ποιῶ, ἵνα καὶ σὺ καὶ ἐκείνοι μάθωσιν ὅτι καὶ ἀφαιρέσθαι βασιλείας.

καὶ δωρεῖσθαι δύναμαι.” ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀνελθεὶν
tε αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν ἀνοδον τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἐμπροσθεὶν τοῦ βήματος πεποιημένην ἐκέλευσε, καὶ καθίζησέντι αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τόν πόδα τὸ διάδημα ἐπέθηκε. 

βοᾷ τε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλαὶ καὶ

6 παντοδαπαῖ ἐγένοντο. ἐγένετο δὲ κατὰ ἴψήφισμα καὶ πανήγυρις θεατρικῆς. καὶ τὸ θέατρον, οὐχ ὃτι ἡ σκηνὴ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ περιφέρεια αὐτοῦ πάσα ἐνδοθεὶς ἐκεχρύσωτο, καὶ τάλλα ὅσα ἔσχει χρυσῷ ἐκεκόσμητο· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτὴν χρυσὴν

2 ἐπωνόμασαν. τά γε μὴν παραπετάσματα τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος διαταθέντα, ὅπως τὸν ἠλιον ἀπερύκοι, ἀλουργὰ ἢν, καὶ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν ἄρμα ἐλαύνων ὁ Νέρων ἐνέστικτο, περίξ δὲ ἀστέρες χρυσοῖ ἐπέλαμπον.

3 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐγένετο, καὶ δήλον ὅτι καὶ

συμποσίων πολυτελεῖ ἐξορίσαντο· ὅ δε Νέρων ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ἐκιθαρίσθησε δημοσία καὶ ἡμουζιάτησε, τὴν τε στολὴν τὴν πρᾶσινον ἐνδεδυμένος

καὶ τὸ κράνος τὸ ἱμωχικὸν περικείμενος. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Τιριδάτης αὐτῶν μὲν δυσχεραίνων τὸν δὲ Κορβούλωνα ἔπαινῳ ἐν αὐτῶ τούτῳ μόνον ἦτίατο, ὅτι τοιούτων δεσπότην ἔχων ἐφερεν.

οὕκουν οὐδὲ πρὸς αὐτῶν τὸν Νέρωνα ἀπεκρύψατο, ἀλλ' εἰπέ ποτε αὐτῷ "ἀγαθόν, ὁ δεσποτα, ἀνδράποδον Κορβούλωνα ἔχεις." ταῦτα μὲν

1 καθίζησέντι V, καθίζεντι C.

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face to face thou mightest enjoy my grace. For what A.D. 66
neither thy father left thee nor thy brothers gave
and preserved for thee, this do I grant thee. King
of Armenia I now declare thee, that both thou
and they may understand that I have power to
take away kingdoms and to bestow them." At the
close of these words he bade him ascend by the
approach which had been built in front of the rostra
expressly for this occasion, and when Tiridates had
been made to sit beneath his feet, he placed the
diadem upon his head. At this, too, there were many
shouts of all sorts. By special decree there was also
a celebration in the theatre. Not merely the stage
but the whole interior of the theatre round about
had been gilded, and all the properties that were
brought in had been adorned with gold, so that
people gave to the day itself the epithet of "golden."
The curtains stretched overhead to keep off the sun
were of purple and in the centre of them was an
embroidered figure of Nero driving a chariot, with
golden stars gleaming all about him.

Such, then, was this occasion; and of course they
had a costly banquet. Afterwards Nero publicly sang
to the lyre, and also drove a chariot, clad in the
costume of the Greens and wearing a charioteer's
helmet. This made Tiridates disgusted with him;
but he praised Corbulo, in whom he found only this
one fault, that he would put up with such a master.
Indeed, he made no concealment of his views even
to Nero himself, but said to him one day: "Master,
you have in Corbulo a good slave." But this remark

2 διατάθέντα R. Steph., διατεθέντα VC.
3 ἀπερήκου Xyl., ἀπερήκει VC.
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Οὐδὲ συνιέντι αὐτῷ ἔλεγεν, ἐν δὲ ὅτι τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἐκολάκευσεν αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπέδραμε δεινότατα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δώρα τε παντοδατὰ πεπτακισχίλιων μυριάδων ἄξια, ὡς φασίν, ἔλαβε, καὶ Ἀρτάξατα 6 ἀνοικοδομῆσαι ἐπετράπη· δημιουργοὺς τε πρὸς τούτους πολλοὺς, τοὺς μὲν παρ' ἐκείνου λαβὼν τοὺς δὲ καὶ χρήμασι πέσας, ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξήγαγεν. οὐ μεντοί καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ Κορβούλων ἔστε τὴν Ἀρμενίαν διαβῆναι ἐφήκεν, ἀλλὰ μόνοις τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος αὐτῷ δοθέοις· ὅθεν καὶ ἔτη μᾶλλον ὁ Τιριδάτης τούτων τε ἑδαύ-7 μασε καὶ ἐκείνου κατέγνω. ἀνεκομίσθη δὲ ὅνα ἦπερ ἠλθε διὰ τοῦ Ἡλυρικοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰόνιου, ἀλλ’ ἐστὶν τὸ Δυρράχιον ἐκ τοῦ Βρεστεσίου πλεύσας· καὶ εἰδε καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις, ὡστε καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνων τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν καταπλαγήναι καὶ ἰσχύος ἐνεκα καὶ κάλλους.—

Xiph. 172, 18–175, 26 R. St.

1a Ὁς θεῶμεν οἱ Τιριδάτης ποτὲ παγκράτιον, ἐπειδὴ εἰδεν θάτερον τῶν παγκρατιαστῶν πε- σόντα καὶ τυπτόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου, ἔφη "ἀδικος ἢ μάχης· οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον τὸν πεσόντα τύπτεσθαι."—Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 68 (p. 214 Mai. = p. 196, 6–9 Dind.).

2 Ὁ μὲν δὴ Τιριδάτης τὰ Ἀρτάξατα ἀνοικοδο- μῆσαι Νερώνεα προσηγόρευσεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Ὅυολο- γαίσως οὔτε ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὸν Νέρωνα, καὶ τοῖς πολλάκις μεταπεμφθείς, ἠθέλησε, καὶ τέλος, ὡς ὕστηρος αὐτῷ ἐγίνετο, ἀντεπέστειλεν οἱ ὅτι πολύ σοι ὅλων ἦ ἐμοί ἐστι τοσαύτην θάλασσαν πλεύσαι. ἂν οὖν ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀσίαν ἔλθης, τότε συνῆθομεθα

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fell on uncomprehending ears. In all other matters he flattered the emperor and ingratiated himself most skilfully, with the result that he received all kinds of gifts, said to have been worth 200,000,000 sesterces, and obtained permission to rebuild Artaxata. Moreover, he took with him from Rome many artisans, some of whom he got from Nero, and some of whom he persuaded by offers of high wages. Corbulo, however, would not let them all cross into Armenia, but only those whom Nero had given him. This caused Tiridates both to admire him and to despise the emperor more than ever. The king did not return by the route that he had followed in coming,—through Illyricum and north of the Ionian Sea,—but instead he sailed from Brundisium to Dyrrachium. He viewed also the cities of Asia, which served to increase his amazement at the strength and beauty of the Roman empire.

Tiridates one day viewed an exhibition of the pankratium, at which one of the contestants after falling to the ground was being struck by his opponent. When the king saw this, he exclaimed: "The fight is unfair. It is not fair that a man who has fallen should be struck."

Tiridates rebuilt Artaxata and named it Neronia.

But Vologaesus, though often summoned, refused to come to Nero, and finally, when the latter's invitations became burdensome to him, sent back a despatch to this effect: "It is far easier for you than for me to traverse so great a body of water. Therefore, if you will come to Asia, we can then arrange where we

1 eiδε Mai, eiδευν cod.
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ποὺ δυνησόμεθα συμβαλεῖν ἀλλήλοις. τοιαύτα τὸ τελευταῖον ο ῾Πάρθος ἐγραψεν.—R. St. 175, 26—31 R. St., Exc. U'r 13.

8 Νέρων δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν ἐκεῖνον οὐκ ἐπλευσε, καὶ περ ὀργήν αὐτῷ ἔχουν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας ἡ τὰς πύλας τὰς Κασπίας, ὡσπερ ἐνενόει τὰ τε γὰρ ἅλλα καὶ κατασκόπους ἑκατέρωσε ἑπεμψεν, ἅλλα ταῦτα μὲν καὶ χρόνου καὶ πόνου ὅρων δεόμενα ἥλπιζεν αὐτοματὰ οἱ προσχωρήσειν, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπεραιώθη, οὕτι ἐσ καὶ Ὡς Φλαμινίος οὐδ' ως Μόμμιος ἢ καὶ Ἀγρίππας καὶ Αὔγουστος οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτοῦ, ἅλλ' ἐπὶ τε ἦνοιχῆσει καὶ κιθαρῳδήσει κηρύξει 'τε καὶ 3 τραγῳδίας ὑποκρίσει. οὐ γὰρ ἦρκει αὐτῷ ἦ 'Ῥώμη, οὐδὲ τὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου θεάτρον, οὔτ' ὁ μέγας ἱππόδρομος, ἅλλ' ἐδεήθη καὶ ἐκστρατείας τινός, ἃν καὶ περιοδονίκης, ως ἔλεγη, γένηται. καὶ τοσοῦτον γε πλῆθος οὐχ ὅτι τῶν Αὔγουστεῖων ἅλλα καὶ τῶν ἅλλων ἀνθρώπων ἐπηγάγετο ὅσον, εἰπερ ἐμπολέμιον ἧν, καὶ Πάρθους ἄν καὶ τὰ 4 ἅλλα ἔθνη ἐχειρώσατο. ἅλλ' ἦσαν οἶοι Νερώνειοι ἂν στρατιώται γένουσι, καὶ ὅπλα κιθάρας τε καὶ πλήκτρα προσωπείας καὶ ἐμβάτας ἐφερον. καὶ ἐνίκησε νίκας οίας στρατοπέδω τοιούτω ἔπρεπε, καὶ κατέλυσε Τέρπνον καὶ Διόδωρον καὶ Παμμένην 5 ὡς Φίλιππον ἢ Περσέα ἢ ἀντίδοχον. καὶ διὰ τούτο γε, ως ἐσικε, καὶ τὸν Παμμένην ἐκείνον ἐπὶ

1 ἐνενόει VC, ἐνοῦει cod. Peir.
2 Φλαμινίος Sylb., φλαμίνιος VC cod. Peir.
3 Μόμμιος cod. Peir., μέμμιος VC.
4 ἦνοιχῆσε VC cod. Peir., ὄρχησε Zon.
5 προσωπεία Rk., πρόσωπα VC cod. Peir.

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shall be able to meet each other.” Such was the A.D. 66
message which the Parthian wrote at last.

Nero, though angry at him, did not sail against him,
nor yet against the Ethiopians or the Caspian Gates,
as he had intended. He did, indeed, among other
things, send spies to both places, but seeing that the
subjugation of these regions demanded time and
labour, he hoped that they would submit to him of
their own accord. But he crossed over into Greece,
not at all as Flamininus or Mummius or as Agrippa
and Augustus, his ancestors, had done, but for the
purpose of driving chariots, playing the lyre, making
proclamations, and acting in tragedies. Rome, it
seems, was not enough for him, nor Pompey’s theatre,
nor the great Circus, but he desired also a foreign
campaign, in order to become, as he said, victor in
the Grand Tour.¹ And a multitude not only of the
Augustans² but of other persons as well were taken
with him, large enough, if it had been a hostile host,
to have subdued both Parthians and all other nations.
But they were the kind you would have expected
Nero’s soldiers to be, and the arms they carried were
lyres and plectra, masks and buskins. The victories
Nero won were such as befitted that sort of army,
and he overcame Terpnus and Diodorus and Pam-
menes, instead of Philip or Perseus or Antiochus. It
is probable that his purpose in forcing this Pammenes
to compete also, in spite of his age (he had been in

¹ Literally “victor of the periodos.” This was a term
applied to an athlete who had conquered in the Pythian,
Isthmian, Nemean and Olympian games.
² See Ixii (lxii), 20.

6 ἦ—η VC, ὡς—ὡς cod. Peir.
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toû Gaïon ἀκμάσαντα κατηγώγασε, καίτοι1 γέροντα ὄντα, ἀγωνίσασθαι, ἵνα αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας κρατήσας αἰκίσηται.

9 Καὶ εἰ μὲν μόνα ταῦτα ἔπεπράξει, γέλωτα ἀν ὁφλήκειι, καίτοι πῶς ἂν 2 τις καὶ ἀκούσαι, μὴ ὅτι ἰδεῖν, ὑπομείνειεν ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίον Βουλευτὴν ἐὐπατρίδην ἀρχιερᾶ Ὀισάρα αὐτοκράτορα Ἀὐγουστον ἄς ἄν τὸ λεύκωμα ἐν τοῖς ἀγωνισταῖς ἐγγραφόμενον καὶ τὴν φωνήν ἀσκοῦντα, μελετῶντα τέ τινας ὕδας, καὶ τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν κο-

2 μῶντα τὸ δὲ γένειον ψυλιζόμενον, ἴματιον ἀναβαλλόμενον ἐν τοῖς δρόμους, μεθ' ἐνὸς ἢ δύο ἀκολούθων βαδίζοντα, τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ὑποβλέποντα καὶ ἀεί τι πρὸς αὐτοὺς μεθ' ἀψιμαχίας λέγοντα, τοὺς ἀγωνισθέας τοὺς τε μαστιγοφόρους φοβούμενον, καὶ χρῆματα αὐτοῖς κρύφα ἀπασιν ἀναλίσκοντα μὴ καὶ ἐλεγξθεὶς μαστιγωθῆ, καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα ποιοῦντα ἵνα τὸν τῶν κιθαρωδῶν καὶ τῶν τραγωδῶν καὶ τῶν κηρύκων

3 ἀγώνα νικήσας ἠττηθῆ τὸν τῶν Καϊσάρων; τίς γὰρ ἂν προγραφῇ 3 ταῦτας χαλεπωτέρα γένειοτο, ἐν ἡ οὖ 4 Σύλλας μὲν ἄλλους Νέρων δὲ ἔαυτον προέγραψεν; τίς δὲ νίκη ἀτοπωτέρα, ἐν ἡ τὸν κότινον ἢ τὴν δάφνην ἢ τὸ σέλινον ἢ τὴν πίτνων 5

4 λαβῶν ἀπόλλεσε τοῦ πολιτικοῦ; καὶ τι ἄν τις ταῦτα αὐτοῦ μόνα ὀδύρατο, ὅποτε καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμβάτας ἀναβαίνων κατέπιπτεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κράτους, καὶ τὸ προσωπεῖον ὑποδύων ἀπέβαλλε τὸ τῆς

1 καίτοι VC, καίπερ cod. Peir.
2 καίτοι πῶς ἂν VC, πῶς γὰρ ἄν cod. Peir.
3 προγραφῇ Val., ἀπογραφῇ cod. Peir.
4 οὐ supplied by Rk.

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his prime in the reign of Gaius), was that he might A.D. 66 overcome him and vent his dislike by mutilating the statues that had been erected to him.

Had he merely done this, he would have been the A.D. 67 subject of ridicule. Yet how could one endure even to hear about, let alone behold, a Roman, a senator, a patrician, a high priest, a Caesar, an emperor, an Augustus, named on the programme among the contestants, training his voice, practising various songs, wearing long hair on his head while his chin was smooth-shaven, throwing his toga over his shoulder in the races, walking about with one or two attendants, looking askance at his opponents, and constantly uttering taunting remarks to them, standing in dread of the directors of the games and the wielders of the whip and lavishing money on them all secretly to avoid being brought to book and scourged? And all this he did, though by winning the contests of the lyre-players and tragedians and heralds he would make certain his defeat in the contest of the Caesars. What harsher proscription could there ever be than this, in which it was not Sulla that posted the names of others, but Nero that posted his own name? What stranger victory than one for which he received the crown of wild olive, bay, parsley or pine and lost the political crown? Yet why should one lament these acts of his alone, seeing that he also elevated himself on the high-soled buskins only to fall from the throne, and in putting on the mask threw off the dignity of his sovereignty to beg in the guise of a runaway slave, to be led about as a blind man, to be

5 πιτων Val., πυτην cod. Peir.
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ἡγεμονίας ἡξίωμα, ἐδείτο ὡς ὅραπτῆς, ἐποδηγεῖτο ὡς τυφλὸς, ἐκύει ἔτικτεν ἐμαίνετο ἡλάτο, τὸν τε Οἰδίποδα καὶ τὸν Θυέστην τὸν τε Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὸν ’Αλκμέωνα τὸν τε Ὀρέστην ὡς 5 πλήθει ὑποκρινόμενος. καὶ τὰ γε προσωπεῖα τοτὲ μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις τοτὲ δὲ καὶ ἑαυτῷ εἰκασμένα ἔφερε· τὰ γὰρ τὸν ἵππαιναν ἐσκεύαστο, ὅπως κάκειν καὶ 6 τεθυκυία πομπεύῃ. καὶ πάντα ὅσα οἱ τυχόντες ὑποκρίνονται, κάκεινας καὶ ἔλεγε καὶ ἔπραττε καὶ ἐπασχε, πλὴν καθ’ ὅσον χρυσαῖς ἀλύσειν ἐδεσμεύτο· καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἔπρεπεν, ὡς ἐσεικεν, αὐτοκράτορι Ῥωμαίων σιδηραίς δεῖσθαι.

10 Καὶ τὰῦτα μέντοι πάντα οὐ τε ἄλλοι πάντες καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ὁρῶντες ἔφερον ἐπήγουν, Πυθιονίκην τε αὐτὸν καὶ Ἐλυμπιονίκην καὶ περιοδονίκην παντονίκην, πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις οῖς εἰώθεσαν, ἀπέκαλουν, συμμυγνύοντες δῆλον ὅτι αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄνοματα, ὡστε ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ τὸν τε Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Ἁὐγούστον ἀκροτελεύτιον εἶναι.—Xiph. 175, 31–177, 10 R. St., Exc. Val. 251 (p. 690 f.).

1a "Ὅτι ἀγανακτήσαντοι αὐτοῦ πρὸς τινὰ ὅτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ ἑσκυθρώπασε καὶ οὐ σφόδρα ὑπερ-

1 ἐκύει cod. Peir., ἐκυευ VC.
2 ἡλάτο cod. Peir., om. VC.
3 τὸν τε VC, καὶ cod. Peir.
4 προσωπεῖα Rk., πρόσωπα VC cod. Peir.
5 τοτὲ—τοτὲ cod. Peir., ποτὲ—ποτὲ V, ποτὲ—ποτὲ C.
heavy with child, to be in labour, to be a madman, or to wander an outcast, his favourite rôles being those of Oedipus, Thyestes, Heracles, Alcmeon and Orestes? The masks that he wore were sometimes made to resemble the characters he was portraying and sometimes bore his own likeness; but the women’s masks were all fashioned after the features of Sabina, in order that, though dead, she might still take part in the spectacle. All the situations that ordinary actors simulate in their acting he, too, would portray in speech or action or in submitting to the action of others—save only that golden chains were used to bind him; for apparently it was not thought proper for a Roman emperor to be bound in iron shackles.

All this behaviour, nevertheless, was witnessed, endured, and approved, not only by the crowd in general, but also by the soldiers. They acclaimed him Pythian Victor, Olympian Victor, Victor in the Grand Tour, Universal Victor, besides all the usual expressions, and of course joined to these names the titles belonging to his imperial office, so that every one of them had “Caesar” and “Augustus” as a tag.

He conceived a dislike for a certain man because while he was speaking the man frowned and was not over-lavish of his praises; and so he drove him

1 With the addition of Canace (from the Aeolus) from ch. 10, the characters here named may possibly suffice for all the situations just described. For Thyestes as a beggar see Aristophanes Ach. 433; yet little is known of this play, and it is more natural to think of the famous Telephus. Alcmeon and Orestes could each serve for both the madman and the outcast. It is to be noted that all the plays, except the Oedipus Coloneus, are by Euripides.

2 See ch. 8.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

epίνεσεν, ἀπεδώξεν αὐτὸν ἐπιτρέψας μή ἐλθεῖν 
αὐτὸν εἰς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἐδεχετο 
αὐτὸν, ἐκεῖνον εἰπόντος "καὶ ποῦ ἀπέλθως;" οὐ 
Φοῖβος ὁ ἀπελεύθερος τοῦ Νέρωνος ἀπεκρίνατο 
αὐτῷ "εἰς κόρακας."—Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 71 

2 οὐδὲ ἐτόλμησεν οὔδεις αὐτῶν οὔτε ἔλεησαι 
tὸν κακοδαίμονα οὔτε μισῆσαι, ἀλλ' εἰς μὲν τις 
στρατιώτης ἱδόν αὐτὸν δεδεμένου ἡγανάκτησε καὶ 
προσδραμών ἔλυσεν, ἔτερος δὲ ἐρομένου τινὸς 
"τί ποιεῖ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ" ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι 
"τίκτει" καὶ γὰρ τὴν Κανάκην ὑπεκρίνετο.

3 ἔργων δ' οὐδὲν ἄξιον Ἐρωμαῖοι οὔδεις σφω 
ἐποίησε: τοσαῦτα γὰρ που χρήματα διελάγ-
χανον οὔστε καὶ εὐχεσθαι αὐτόν πολλὰ τοιαῦτα 
δρᾶν, ἵνα ἐτί πλείονα λαμβανόσιν.—Xiph. 177, 
10–177, 16 R. St.

11 Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ταῦτα μόνα οὔτως ἐγεγόνει, 
αισχύνη τε ἂν καὶ χλευασία τὸ πράγμα ἀκίνδυ-
νος ἐνενόμισε: νῦν δ' ὡς ἀλῆθως, ὡσπερ ἐπὶ 
πολέμῳ σταλεῖς, πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλεη-
lάτησε, καίπερ ἐλευθέραν ἀφεῖς, παμπληθεῖς δὲ 
2 ἐφόνευσεν ἄνδρας γυναῖκας παῖδας, καὶ πρό-
tερον μὲν τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς οὕσιας ἐκέλευσεν οἱ 
cαὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τοὺς ἀπελευθέρους τῶν θανα-
tουμένων ἀποδυνάκουτας καταλείπειν, αὐτοῖς τε 
ἐκεῖνοις διαθήκας γράφειν ἐπέτρεπεν, ὅπως μὴ 
tῶν χρημάτων ἐνεκα αὐτοὺς ἀποκτείνειν δοκή 
πάντως δὲ πάντα ἢ τὰ γε πλείω αὐτῶν ἐλάμ-
βανεν· εἰ γοῦν 6 τις ἔλαττὸν τι αὐτῷ ἢ τῷ

1 o urb Sylb., οὐδὲν VC.
2 τὴν exc. Vat., τὸν VC.

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away and would not let him come into his presence. A.D. 67
He persisted in his refusal to grant him audience, and when the man asked, “Where shall I go, then?” Phoebus, Nero’s freedman, replied, “To the deuce!”

None of them ventured either to pity or to hate the wretched man. One of the soldiers, to be sure, on seeing him in chains, grew indignant, ran up, and set him free. Another in reply to a question, “What is the emperor doing?” replied, “He is in labour”; for Nero was then acting the part of Canace. Not one of them conducted himself in a way at all worthy of a Roman. Instead, because so much money fell to their share, they offered prayers that he might give many such performances, so that they might receive still more.

Now if this had been all that he did, the affair, while being a source of shame and of ridicule, would still have been thought harmless. But, as it was, he devastated the whole of Greece precisely as if he had been sent out to wage war, notwithstanding that he had left the country free; and he slew great numbers of men, women and children. At first he commanded the children and freedmen of those who were executed to leave him half their property at their death, and allowed the victims themselves to make wills, in order that he might not appear to be killing them for their money. He invariably took all that was bequeathed

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3 ἐτι Sylb., ἐτι VC.
4 ἄν Bk. (?), ἄμα VC.
5 ἀκίνδυνος (changed to ἀκίνδυνον) C, ἀκίνδυνον V.
6 εἰ γοῦν Bk., εἰτ’ οὖν cod. Peir., εἰ δ’ οὖν Rk.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Τιγελλάνων ὄν ἥλπιξον κατέλειπεν, οὐδὲ τῶν δια-
3 θηκῶν ὁνύνατο 1) ὑστεροῦ δὲ καὶ ὄλας τὰς οὕσιας
ἀφηρεῖτο, τοὺς τε παιδάς σφων πάντας ἀμα δὶ ἔνδο
δόγματος ἐξήλασεν. οὐδὲ τοῦτο αὐτῷ ἐξήρκεσεν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ συνξοῦσ τῶν φευγόντων ἐφθειρεν.
ἐπεὶ τάς γε οὕσιας ὅσας καὶ ζωντων τινῶν 2
edήμευσε, καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα ὅσα καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν
τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη ναιών ἐσύλησεν, οὐδὲ ἐξαριθμή-
σειεν ἀν τις. διέτρεχον γὰρ γραμματοφόροι
μηδὲν ἀλλο διαγγέλλοντες ἢ ὅτι “τόνδε ἀπόκτει-
νου,” 3 “οἶδε τέθυκεν” ἐξω γὰρ δὴ τῶν βασι-
λικῶν γραμμάτων οὐδὲν ἰδιωτικὸν διεπέμπτεο.
συνξοῦσ γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῶν πρῶτων ἐξήγα-
γεν ὡς τι αὐτῶν δεόμενος, ἵν’ ἐκεῖ ἀποθάνωσιν.

12 τοὺς μέντοι ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη καὶ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ
πάντας Ῥήλὼ τινὶ Καίσαρείφ ἐκδότους παρέδωκεν
πάντα γὰρ ἀπλῶς αὐτῷ ἐπετέτραπτο, ὡστε καὶ
δημεειν καὶ φυγαδεύειν καὶ ἀποκτείνουναι, καὶ
πρὶν δηλώσαι τῷ Νέρωνι, καὶ ἰδιώτας ὁμοῖος
καὶ ἐπτέας καὶ βουλευτάς.—Χιφ. 177, 17–26
R. St., Exc. Val. 252, 253 (p. 693).

2 Οὗτῳ μὲν δὴ τότε ἢ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ δύο
αὐτοκράτοροι ἀμα ἐδούλευσε, Νέρωνι καὶ Ηλίῳ,
οὐδὲ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὄπότεροι αὐτῶν χείρων ἦν. τὰ
μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου πάντα ἐπραττόν, ἐν ἐνι
δὲ τοῦτῳ διήλλασσον, ὅτι ὁ μὲν τοῦ Αὐγοῦστον
ἀπόγονος κιθαρῳδοῦς καὶ τραγῳδοῦς, ὁ δὲ τοῦ
3 Κλαύδιον ἀπελεύθερος Καίσαρας ἐξῆλην. τὸν γὰρ

1 ὁνύνατο Bk., ὁνύνετο cod. Peir.
2 καὶ ζωντων τινῶν VC, τῶν ζωντῶν cod. Peir.
3 ἀπόκτεινον VC, ἀπέκτεινεν cod. Peir.

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to him, or at least the greater part, and in case A.D. 67 anyone left to him or to Tigellinus less than they were expecting, his will was of no avail. Later he took away the entire property of those who were executed, and banished all their children at one time by a single decree. Nor was he content with even this, but he also destroyed not a few of those who were living in exile. As for the possessions that he confiscated from people while they were living and the votive offerings that he stole from the very temples in Rome, no one could ever enumerate them all. Indeed, despatch-bearers hurried back and forth bearing no other communications than “Put this man to death!” or “So-and-so is dead”; for no private messages, only royal communications, were carried to and fro. Nero, it seems, had taken away many of the foremost men to Greece, under the pretence of needing some assistance from them, merely in order that they might perish there. As for the people in Rome and Italy, he had handed them all over to the tender mercies of a certain Helius, an imperial freedman. This man had been given absolutely complete authority, so that he could confiscate, banish or put to death ordinary citizens, knights, and senators alike, even before notifying Nero.

Thus the Roman empire was at that time a slave to two emperors at once—Nero and Helius; and I am unable to say which of them was the worse. In most respects they behaved entirely alike, and the one point of difference was that the descendant of Augustus was emulating lyre-players and tragedians, whereas the freedman of Claudius was emulating Caesars. As regards Tigellinus, I con-
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Τιγελλάνων 1 εν προσθήκης μέρει τοῦ Νέρωνος, ὦτι σὺν αὐτῷ ἦν, τίθημι. χωρὶς δὲ ὁ τε Πολύκλειτος καὶ Καλουνία Κριστινίλλα 2 ἦγον ἐπόρθουν ἐσύλων πάνθρος ὧσα ἐνεδέχετο, ἐκεῖνος μὲν μετὰ τοῦ Ἱλίου ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, αὐτὴ δὲ μετὰ τε τοῦ 4 Νέρωνος καὶ μετὰ τῆς Σαβίνης τοῦ Σπόρου. τῆν τε γὰρ φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπιτροπείαν τῆν περὶ ἐσθῆτα, καίπερ γυνὴ καὶ ἐπιφανῆς οὐσα, ἐπέπιστευτο, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς πάντες ἀπεδύνοτο.

13 Ὁνόμασε δὲ Σαβίναν τὸν Σπόρον οὐ κατὰ τοῦτο μόνον ὅτι διὰ τὴν ὁμοίότητα αὐτῆς ἔξετέ- τμητο, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐγήματο αὐτῷ, ὦσπερ καὶ ἐκείνην, ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι κατὰ συμβολαίον, ἐκδόντος αὐτὸν τὸν Τιγελλάνων, ὦσπερ ὁ νόμος ἐκέλευε. καὶ τοὺς 3 γάμους αὐτῶν πάντες οἱ Ἐλληνες ἐώρτασαν, τά τε ἄλλα οἷα εἰκὸς ἦν ἐπιλέγοντες, καὶ γνησίους σφίσι παίδας γεννηθῆναι εὐχόμενοι.

2 καὶ τοῦτον συνεγίνοντο ἀμα τῷ Νέρωνι Πυθα- γόρας μὲν ὡς ἁνήρ, Σπόρος δὲ ὡς γυνὴ' πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ κυρία καὶ βασιλίας καὶ δέσποινα ἀνωμάζετο. καὶ τι τούτον θαυμάσειν ἄν τις, ὅποτε καὶ μειράκια καὶ κόρας σταυροῖς γυμνὰς προσδέων θηρίον τε τίνος δορὰν ἀνελάμβανε καὶ προσπί- 3 πτων σφίσιν ἕσέλθαινεν ὦσπερ τι τιθίων. τοι- αὐτὰ μὲν ὁ Νέρων ἡσχυμόνει.

Τοὺς δὲ βουλευτάς χιτώνιον τι ἐνδεδυκὼς ἀνθινον καὶ συνδονιον περὶ τὸν αὐχένα ἐξων ἑσπάσατο· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἦδη παρηνομεί, ὡστε καὶ ἄξωστοις χιτώνιοις ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ εὐδύ- εσθαί. λέγεται δ' ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς οἱ ἐκ τοῦ

1 Τιγελλάνων R. Steph., τιγελλάνων VC.
2 Κριστινίλλα Bk., κριστινίλα VC. 3 τοὺς Bk., τοὺς τε VC.

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sider him a mere appendage of Nero, because he A.D. 67 was constantly with him; but Polycleitus and Calvia Crispinilla, apart from Nero, plundered, sacked and despoiled everything that it was possible to pillage. The former was associated with Helius at Rome, and the latter with the "Sabina" who was known as Sporus. Calvia had been entrusted with the care of the boy and with the oversight of the wardrobe, though a woman and of high rank; and through her all were stripped of their possessions.

Now Nero called Sporus "Sabina" not merely because, owing to his resemblance to her he had been made a eunuch, but because the boy, like the mistress, had been solemnly married to him in Greece, Tigellinus giving the bride away, as the law ordained. All the Greeks held a celebration in honour of their marriage, uttering all the customary good wishes, even to the extent of praying that legitimate children might be born to them. After that Nero had two bedfellows at once, Pythagoras to play the rôle of husband to him, and Sporus that of wife. The latter, in addition to other forms of address, was termed "lady," "queen," and "mistress." Yet why should one wonder at this, seeing that Nero would fasten naked boys and girls to stakes, and then putting on the hide of a wild beast would attack them and satisfy his brutal lust under the appearance of devouring parts of their bodies? Such were the indecencies of Nero.

When he received the senators, he wore a short flowered tunic and a muslin neck-cloth; for in matters of dress, also, he was already transgressing custom, even going so far as to wear ungirded tunics in public. It is reported also that the members of
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télous èpì aútov prōtov efipitpíous 1 èn tì etìsia sφwv efetásei exhρhσanto.

14 'Ev de tois 'Olymptios 2 árma elάsas kai pesòw ex aútov kai ó lýgou deìn suntrpēseis dìmos éstefan-vóθh, kai diá toúto kai tois 'Ellanodikais tas pénte kai eìkosì muρiάdas, ãs ústeron Gálbas par' aútov òpìthσen, ędwke.—Xiph. 177, 26–178, 25 R. St.

2 "Oti o aútòs tì Püthía déka muρiάdas ędwkev, òti tiνà kátà γυνώμìn aútòv òdésπιsev ãs o Gálbas ekóμisato. toú de di 'Apoλλównos, eìt' oûn anaganktìsas òti l补贴rà tìna προείπεν aútò, eîte kai állos μανεìs, tìn te χώραν tìn Kiprraìan afèlìeto kai straτiùttais ędwke, kai to manteidìn kàtelusen, ánтрòptōn ës tò stòmìon ëx oû tò íeròn πνεύμα ἀνήεi σφάξas.

3 ἡγωνίσατο de én pásìs oμoìws πόλεi ἀγώνα ἔχουση, κήρυκι πρòs πάντα tà kηρύξewes deòmeva Klounuió 3 'Ρoûfho ántrí ὑπατευκότι χρησά- muevos, πλὴν 'Αθηνών kai Lákeđaìmònos. 4 tautàs γαρ μόναις οûde ἐπεφοίτησε tìn ἀρχìn, tì μèn diá tòus Lákoùργου νόμoùs ὃs énaτìous tò προαιρέσει aútòv óntas, tì de dià tòν περὶ tòν

4 'Ερμυνών 5 λόγον. to de di κήρυγμα hìn "Νέρων Καἰσαρ νικά τόνδε tòn ἀγώνα, kai στεφανοί tòν te tòn 'Ρωμαίων δήμον kai tìn ídìan oìkouμένìn." ἔχων γάρ, ὡς ἑλεγεν, oìkouμένìn, éκιθαρφìdei te kai ἐκήρυττε kai ἐτραγφìdei.—Xiph. 178, 25–179, 5 R. St., Exc. Val. 254 (p. 694).

1 efipitpíous Leuncl., ef' tspois VC.
2 'Olymptios H. Steph., olumpntníois VC.
3 Klounuió Bk., kloubíio VC.
4 Lákeđaìmònos Rk., láke dámoníoi VC.
the equestrian order used saddle-cloths in his reign A.D. 67 for the first time at their annual review.

At the Olympic games he fell from the chariot he was driving and came very near being crushed to death; yet he was crowned victor. In acknowledgment of this favour he gave to the Hellanodikai  

This same emperor gave 400,000 sesterces to the Pythia for uttering some oracles that suited him; this money Galba recovered. But from Apollo, on the other hand, whether from vexation at the god for making some unpleasant predictions to him or because he was merely crazy, he took away the territory of Cirrha and gave it to the soldiers. He also abolished the oracle, after slaying some people and throwing them into the fissure from which the sacred vapour arose. He contended in every city alike that held any contest, always employing Cluvius Rufus, an ex-consul, as herald whenever the services of a herald were required. Athens and Sparta were two exceptions, being the only places that he did not visit at all. He avoided the latter city because of the laws of Lycurgus, which stood in the way of his designs, and the former because of the story about the Furies. The proclamation always ran: “Nero Caesar wins this contest and crowns the Roman people and the inhabited world that is his own.” Thus, though possessing a world, according to his own statement, he nevertheless went on playing the lyre, making proclamations, and acting tragedies.

1 The chief judges at the Olympic games.

5 'Ερινύων Bk., ἔρινύων VC.
Τὴν δὲ γερούσιαν οὕτως δεινῶς ἐμίσει ὡστε καὶ τὸ Οὐατινίῳ 1 ὡς μάλιστα χαίρειν, ὅτι ἔλεγεν ἀεὶ ποτε πρὸς αὐτὸν "μισῶ σε, Καίσαρ, ὅτι συγκλητικὸς εἶ." χρῆσομαι γὰρ αὐτῷ τῷ λεχέντι ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ῥήματι. ἐτηροῦντο δὲ ἀκριβῶς καὶ τοῦτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀεὶ ποτε καὶ αἱ ἔσοδοι καὶ αἱ ἔξοδοι: τὰ τε σχῆματα καὶ τὰ νεύματα καὶ τὰ ἐπιβοήματα, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀεὶ συνόντες αὐτῷ καὶ σπουδαίως ἀκρωμένοι τορῶς τε ἐκβοῶντες ἐτηροῦντο καὶ ἐτιμῶντο, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ καὶ ἡτίμαζοντο καὶ ἐκολάζοντο, ὡστε τινὰς μὴ δυναμένους ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντέχειν (πολλάκις γὰρ καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἐσ- πέρας ἐξ έωθινοῦ παρετέινοντο) προσποιεῖσθαι τε ἐκθηνήσκειν καὶ νεκρῶν δίκην ἐκ τῶν θεάτρων ἐκφέρεσθαι.

Πάρεργον δὲ δὴ τῆς ἐπιθημίας τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐποιήσατο τὸν ἱσθμὸν τῆς Πελοποννήσου διορύξαι ἐπιθυμήσας, καὶ ἢρξατο τοῦ ἔργου καίτερ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁκνοῦντων: αἰμὰ τε γὰρ τοῖς πρῶτοι ἄψαμένους τῆς γῆς ἀνέβλυσεν, καὶ οίμωγαὶ μυκηθοὶ τέ τινες ἐξηκούοντο, καὶ εἴδωλα 2 πολλὰ ἐφαντάζετο. Λαβὼν δὲ αὐτὸς δίκελλαν καὶ τι καὶ ἀνασκάψας ἐπείσε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνάγκη αὐτῶν μιμήσασθαι, καὶ πολὺ πλήθους ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν μετεπέμψατο.

16 Ἔστε οὖν τάλλα καὶ εἰς ταῦτα χρημάτων πολλῶν δεόμενος, καὶ μεγαλοπράγμων καὶ μεγα- λόδωρος ὄμοιως ὦν, καὶ ἀμα φοβούμενος τοὺς δυνατωτάτους μὴ ἐπίθωνται οἱ τοιαῦτα ποιοῦντι, 2 πολλοὺς τε καὶ ἁγαθοὺς ἀνδρὰς ἐφθειρεν. ὃν

1 Οὐατινίῳ Lipsius, οὐατωνίῳ VC.
His hatred for the senate was so fierce that he took particular pleasure in Vatinius, who was always saying to him: "I hate you, Caesar, for being of senatorial rank." (I give his very words.) Both the senators and all others were constantly subjected to the closest scrutiny in their entrances, their exits, their attitudes, their gestures, and their shouts. The men that were always in Nero's company, listened attentively and loudly cheered him, were commended and honoured; the rest were both dishonoured and punished. Some, therefore, being unable to hold out until the end of his performances (for often the spectators would be kept on a strain from early morning until evening), would pretend to swoon and would be carried out of the theatres as if dead.

As a secondary achievement connected with his sojourn in Greece he conceived a desire to dig a canal across the isthmus of the Peloponnesus, and actually began the task. Men shrank from it, however, because, when the first workers touched the earth, blood spouted from it, groans and bellowings were heard, and many phantoms appeared. Nero himself thereupon grasped a mattock and by throwing up some of the soil fairly compelled the rest to imitate him. For this work he sent for a great multitude of men from other nations as well.

For this and other purposes he needed great sums of money; and as he was at once a promoter of great enterprises and a giver of great gifts, and at the same time feared an attack from the persons of most influence while he was thus engaged, he made away with many excellent men. Of most of
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eγὼ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐάσω (πάσι τε γὰρ παρ’ αὐτῷ δημόσιον ἐγκλήμα ἤν ἄρετῇ τε καὶ πλοῦτος καὶ γένος, καὶ πάντες ἦ έαυτούς ἀπεκτίνυσαν ἤ ὑπ’ ἄλλων ἐφονεύοντο), τοῦ δὲ δὴ Κορβούλωνος 1 καὶ Σουλπτικίων Σκρίβωνών, Ρούφου τε καὶ Προ-κλου, μνημονεύσω, τούτων μὲν ὅτι ἀδελφοὶ τε καὶ ἀλλικιώται τρόπου τινὰ ὄντες, καὶ μηδὲν μηδέποτε ἀνεύ ἄλληλων πράξαντες, ἀλλ’ ὀσπερ τῷ γένει ὄντω καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει τῇ τε οὐσίᾳ συμπεφυκότες, καὶ τὰς Γερμανίας δὲ ἀμφοτέρας ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀμα διφ-κησαν, ἥλθον τε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μετάπεμπτοι ὅστε
4 αὐτῶν τοῦ Νέρωνος δεομένου, καὶ ἐγκλήματα οὗ ὁ καίρος ἐκείνος ἐφερε λαβόντες, καὶ μήτε λόγου τυγχάνοντες μήτε ἐς ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ Νέρωνος ἀφικνούμενοι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ’ υφ’ ἀπάντων ὁμοίως ἀτιμαζόμενοι, ἀποθανεῖν τε ἐπεθύμησαν καὶ
5 ἐτελεύτησαν τὰς φλέβας αὐτῶν 2 σχάσαντες, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Κορβούλωνος ὅτι καὶ ἐκείνον ἐντιμότατα μετατεμψάμενος, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ πατέρα καὶ εὐεργέτην αὐτὸν ἀεὶ ὀνομάζων, ἔπειτ’ ἐπειδὴ τῇ Κεγχρείᾳ 3 προσέσχε, σφαγὴν, πτών καὶ ἐς ὅψιν αὐτῷ ἐλθὲιν, προσέταξε’ κιθαρῳδήσεις γὰρ ἠμελλέν, ὡς τινας λέγουσι, καὶ ὅντι ὑπέμεινεν
6 αὐτῷ τὸ ὀρθοστάσιον ἔχων ὁφθηναι. καὶ ὅσ’ ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τὸ προστατευμένον ἐγνώ, ξίφος τε ἔλαβε, καὶ ἐαυτὸν ἐρρωμένοις παῖδιν ἐλέγεν “ἄξιος,” τότε γὰρ δὴ, τότε πρώτον ἐσπέστευσεν ὅτι κακῶς ἐπεποιήκει καὶ φεισάμενος τοῦ κιθαρῳ-

1 Κορβούλωνος R. Steph., κουρβούλλωνος VC (so below).
2 αὐτῶν Sylb., αὐτῶν VC.
3 Κεγχρείᾳ Sylb., κεγχρεία VO.

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these I shall omit any account, inasmuch as the a.d. 67 stock complaint under which all of them were brought before him was excellence, wealth, or family; and all of them either killed themselves or were slain by others. I shall, however, mention Corbulo and the two Sulpicii Scribonii, Rufus and Procillus. The latter two were brothers of about the same age, and had never done anything separately but had remained united in purpose and in property as they were in family; they had for a long time administered the two Germanics together, and now came to Greece at the summons of Nero, who pretended to want them for something. Complaints of the kind in which that period abounded were lodged against them, but they could neither obtain a hearing nor get within sight of Nero; and as this caused them to be slighted by everybody alike, they began to long for death and so met their end by opening their veins. I mention Corbulo, because the emperor, after sending him also a most courteous summons and invariably calling him, among other names, "father" and "benefactor," then, when this general landed at Cenchreae, commanded that he should be slain before he had even entered his presence. Some explain this by saying that Nero was about to appear as a lyre-player and could not endure the idea of being seen by Corbulo while he wore the long ungirded tunic. The condemned man, as soon as be understood the order, seized a sword, and dealing himself a lusty blow exclaimed: "Your due!" Then, indeed, for the first time he was convinced that he had done wrong both in

1 Generally used in acclaiming a hero: "Thou art worthy."
18 δοῦ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθὼν ἀνοπλὸς. ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ταῦτ' ἐπράπτετο· τί γὰρ δεῖ λέγειν ὅτι καὶ τοῦ Πάρνον τὸν ὀρχηστὴν ἀποθανεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, ὅτι ὀρχεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτῷ μαθεῖν θελήσας οὐκ ἔδυνηθη· τί δ' ὅτι Καϊκίναν

Τοῦσκον ὑπερώρισεν, ὅτι τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἄρχων ἐλούσατο ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ δ' ἐκείνῳ ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἦξοντι ἐποίηθη;  

2 Ἔν δὲ τῇ Ρώμῃ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ὁ Ἡλίος ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ εἰργάσατο, καὶ Σουλπίκιον Καμερίνου ἄνδρα τῶν πρώτων μετὰ τοῦ νεός ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐγκαλέσας σφίσιν ὅτι Πυθικὸν ἐκ προγόνων ἐπικαλούμενοι οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο τὸ πρόσρημα τούτ' ἐχοντες, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰς τοῦ Νέρωνος γίκας τάς Πυθικᾶς ἐκ τῆς ὁμονυμίας ἔσέβουν.

3 τῶν δὲ Αὐγουστείων ἁγαλμα αὐτοῦ χιλίων λιτρῶν ποιήσειν ὑποσχομένων, πάν τὸ ἱππικὸν ἡγαγκάσθη συντελέσαι σφίσι τὸ ἀνάλωμα. τὰ δὲ δὴ τῆς γερουσίας ἔργων καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἐπεξελθεῖν· τοσαῦτα γὰρ αὖ τε θυσίαι καὶ ἱερομνύμαι ἐπηγελθήσαν ὡστε μὴ ὁλὸν τὸν ἐναυτὸν ἐξαρκέσαι.

19 Ὅ δὲ Ἡλίος πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον ἐπιστείλας αὐτῷ, παραινών ὅτι τάχιστα ἀνακομισθήματι, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐπείθετο, ἤθεν αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐβδομῆ ἡμέρα, καὶ ἐξεφόβησεν αὐτὸν εἰπὼν μεγάλην τινὰ ἐπιβολὴν ἐν τῇ 'Ρώμῃ παρασκευάζοντι κατ' αὐτοῦ, ὡστε παρευθύς ἐς 2 τῆν Ἰταλίαν ἀποπλεῦσαι. καὶ ἐγένετο μὲν τὸς

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1 Καϊκίναν Lipsius, καὶ κινναν VC.

1 i.e. without his army.
2 See lxi (lxii), 20.
sparing the lyre-player and in going to him un-
armed. This was what was going on in Greece. Is it worth while adding that Nero ordered Paris, the pantomimic dancer, to be slain because the emperor had wished to learn dancing from him but had not the capacity? Or that he banished Caecina Tuscus, the governor of Egypt, for bathing in the bath that had been specially constructed for the emperor's intended visit to Alexandria?

In Rome during this same period Helius committed many terrible deeds. Among other things he put to death one of the foremost men, Sulpicius Camerinus, together with his son, the complaint against them being that they would not give up their title of Pythicus, received from some of their ancestors, but showed irreverence toward Nero's Pythian victories by their use of this same title. And when the Augustans proposed to make a statue of the emperor weighing a thousand pounds, the whole equestrian order was compelled to help to defray the expense they had undertaken. As for the doings of the senate, it would be a task to describe them all in detail; for so many sacrifices and days of thanksgiving were announced that the whole year would not hold them all.

Helius had for some time been sending to Nero many messages urging him to return as quickly as possible, but when he found that no attention was paid to them, he went himself to Greece in seven days and frightened him by reporting that a great conspiracy against him was on foot in Rome. This report caused Nero to embark for Italy at once.

The statue was probably of gold, as was the case with a similar statue erected to Commodus (cf. lxxii. 15, 3).
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ἐλπὶς ὑπὸ χειρῶνος αὐτὸν φθαρῆσθε θα, μάτην δὲ πολλοὶ ἔσθησαν ἐσῶθη γῆρ. καὶ τισι καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὀλέθρου αὐτίνοι ἐγένετο, ὅτι καὶ εὐ-

20 ἕαντο καὶ ἦλπισαν αὐτὸν ἀπολεῖσθαι. ἔπει δ' ὡν ἐς τὴν Ρώμην ἐσήλασε, τοῦ τε τείχους τι καθηρέθη καὶ τῶν πυλῶν περιερράγη, νεομίσθαι τινῶν λεγόντων έκάτερον τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων

2 στεφανηφόροις γίνεσθαι. καὶ ἐσεφοίτησαν πρώ-
tοι μὲν οἰ τοὺς στεφάνους οὐς ἀνήρητο 1 κομίζοντες, καὶ μετ' αὐτούς έτεροι σανίδια 2 ἐπὶ δοράτων ἀνατείνοντες, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπεγέγραπτο τὸ τε ὀνόμα τοῦ ἀγώνος καὶ τὸ εἴδος τοῦ ἀγωνίσματος, ὅτι τε Νέρων Καίσαρ πρῶτος πάντων τῶν ἀπὸ 3 τοῦ αἰὼν τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἔνικησεν αὐτό, ἔπειτα αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἀρματος ἐπισκίου, ἐν ὡ ποτε ὁ Αὔγουστος τὰ πολλὰ ἔκεινα νικητήρια ἐπεπόμφει, ἀλουργίδα χρυσόπαστον ἔχων καὶ κότινον ἐστεφανωμένους, τὴν Πυθικήν δάφνην προτείνων καὶ αὐτῶ

4 ὁ Διόδωρος ὁ κιθαρῳδὸς παρωχεῖτο. καὶ οὕτω διὰ τε τοῦ ἱπποδρόμου καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μετά τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων τῆς τε βουλῆς διελθὼν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνέβη, καὶ ἐκείθεν ἐς τὸ Παλάτιον, πάσης μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἐστεφανωμένης καὶ λυχνοκαυτούσης καὶ θυμιώ-

5 σης, πάντων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ αὐτῶν βουλευτῶν ὃτι μάλιστα, συμβούντων "Ολυμ-
pιονίκα οὐ, Πυθιονίκα οὐ, Αὔγουστε Αὔγουστε. Νέρων τῷ Ἡρακλεί, Νέρων τῷ Ἀπόλλων. ὡς εἰς περισσοτέρης, εἰς ἀπ' αἰώνος, Αὔγουστε

1 ἀνήρητο Rk., ἀνήρουν VC.
2 σανίδια Bk., σανίδια τε VC.
There was, indeed, some hope of his perishing in a storm and many rejoiced, but to no purpose, as he came safely to land; and for certain men the very fact that they had prayed and hoped that he might perish furnished a motive for their destruction. When he entered Rome, a portion of the wall was torn down and a section of the gates broken in, because some asserted that each of these ceremonies was customary upon the return of crowned victors from the games. First entered men bearing the crowns which he had won, and after them others with wooden panels borne aloft on spears, upon which were inscribed the name of the games, the kind of contest, and a statement that Nero Caesar first of all the Romans from the beginning of the world had won it. Next came the victor himself on a triumphal car, the one in which Augustus had once celebrated his many victories; he was clad in a vestment of purple covered with spangles of gold, was crowned with a garland of wild olive, and held in his hand the Pythian laurel. By his side in the vehicle rode Diodorus the lyre-player. After passing in this manner through the Circus and through the Forum in company with the soldiers and the knights and the senate he ascended the Capitol and proceeded thence to the palace. The city was all decked with garlands, was ablaze with lights and reeking with incense, and the whole population, the senators themselves most of all, kept shouting in chorus: "Hail, Olympian Victor! Hail, Pythian Victor! Augustus! Augustus! Hail to Nero, our Hercules! Hail to Nero, our Apollo! The only Victor of the Grand Tour, the only one from the beginning of
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Λύγουστε. Ιερὰ φωνή μακάριοι ο̊ι σου ἀκού-6 οντες." τί γὰρ δεῖ περιπλέκειν καὶ οὐκ αὐτὰ τὰ λεχθέντα δηλοῦν; οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ’ αἰσχύνην τιμὰ τῇ συγγραφῇ τὰ ῥηθέντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ κόσμον τὸ μηδὲν αὐτῶν ἀποκρυφθῆναι φέρει.

21 Ἐκτελέσας δὲ ταύτα ἑπιποδρομίας ἐπῆγγειλε, καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους, τούτους τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ὀσοὺς ἀρμασὶ νικῆσας εἰλήφει, ἐς τὸν ἑπιπόδρομον ἐσήνεγκε καὶ τῷ ὀβελίσκῳ τῷ Αὐγουστίῳ περιέθηκε καὶ ἦσαν ὁκτὼ καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι.1 ποιήσας δὲ ταύτα ἤμισχησε.

2 Λάρκιος δὲ τις Λυδὸς προσήλθεν αὐτῷ πέντε καὶ εἰκοσὶ μυριάδας προσφέρων ἵνα κιθαρῳδήσῃ καὶ ὅσ τὸ μὲν ἀργύριον οὐκ ἔλαβεν, ἀπαξιώσας μισθοῦ τι ποιήσαι (καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Τυγελλίνος αὐτὸ ἔσεπραξεν, ἵνα μὴ αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνῃ), ἐς μέντοι τὸ θέατρον καὶ ὃς ἐσελθὼν καὶ ἐκθαρρύσεσαι καὶ ἐτραγῳδῆσεν, ἐπει τοὺς γε ἱπποὺς οὐκ ἔστιν ὃτε οὐχ ἡμιλλάτο. ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ ἐκών ἤττᾶτο, ὃπως τὰ γε ἀλλὰ τὰ πλεῖοι πιστεύηται 2 ἐπ’ ἀληθείας κρατεῖν.—Xiph. 179, 5–182, 6 R. St.


1 ὀκτάκόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι Sylb., ὀκτάκόσια καὶ χίλια VC.
2 πιστεύηται St., πιστεύσηται VC.
time! Augustus! Augustus! O, Divine Voice! A.D. 68
Blessed are they that hear thee.” I might, to be sure, have used circumlocutions, but why not declare their very words? The expressions that they used do not disgrace my history; rather, the fact that I have not concealed any of them lends it distinction.

When he had finished these ceremonies, he announced a series of horse-races, and carrying into the Circus these crowns as well as all the others that he had secured by his victories in chariot-racing, he placed them round the Egyptian obelisk. The number of them was one thousand eight hundred and eight. And after doing this he appeared as a charioteer. Now a certain Larcius, a Lydian, approached him with an offer of a million sesterces if he would play the lyre for them. Nero, however, would not take the money, disdaining to do anything for pay (albeit Tigellinus collected it, as the price of not putting Larcius to death), but he did appear in the theatre, nevertheless, and not only played the lyre but also acted in a tragedy. (As for the equestrian contests, he never failed to take part in them.) Sometimes he would voluntarily let himself be defeated, in order to make it more credible that he really won on most occasions.

Dio, Book LXII: “And he inflicted countless woes upon many cities.”
22, 11 'Ο μὲν οὖν Νέρων οὔτω τε ἔξη καὶ οὖτως ἐμονάρχει, λέξω δὲ καὶ ὅπως κατελύθη καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξέπεσεν.—Χιφ. 182, 6–8 R. St.

1α "Ετὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὁντός τοῦ Νέρωνος Ἰουδαίοι εἰς προύπτον ἀπέστησαν, καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς τὸν Ὀὐεσπασιανὸν ἔπεμψε. καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ δὲ καὶ οἱ Γαλάται βαρυνόμενοι ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς ἄχαλλον ἐκ πλείονος καὶ ἐφλέγμαινον.
---Ζον. 11, 13, p. 41, 5–9 D.

12 Ην τις 1 Γαλάτης ἄνηρ Γάιος Ἰουλίος Οὐίνδιξ, 2 εκ μὲν προγόνων Ἀκυτανῶς τοῦ βασιλικοῦ φύλου, 3 κατὰ δὲ τῶν πατέρα βουλευτῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τό τε σῶμα ἰσχυρὸς καὶ τήν ψυχήν συνετός, τῶν τε πολεμικῶν ἐμπειρὸς καὶ πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον μέγα εὔτολμος· τό τε φιλελεύθερον καὶ τὸ φιλότιμον πλεῖστον εἶχεν· ὁ δὲ προέστη τῶν Γαλατῶν.—Χιφ. 182, 8–11 R. St., Exc. Val. 256 (p. 694).

2 Οὔτος ο Οὐίνδιξ συναθροίσας τοὺς Γαλάτας 4 πολλὰ πεπονθότας τε ἐν ταῖς συχναῖς ἑσπράζεσι τῶν χρημάτων καὶ ἐτέ πᾶσχοντας ὑπὸ Νέρωνος, καὶ ἀναβας ἐπὶ βῆμα μακρὰν διεξήλθε κατὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος ρήσιν λέγων δεῖν ἀποστῆναι τε 3 αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀμα οἱ ἑπιστήναι αὐτῷ, "ὅτι" φησίν "πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἰκουμένην σεσύληκεν,

1 ἧν τὶς V 2, space left in VC.
3 φύλου cod. Peir., γένους VC.

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Such was the life led by Nero and such was the way he ruled. I shall now relate how he was put down and driven from his throne.

While Nero was still in Greece, the Jews revolted openly, and he sent Vespasian against them. Also the inhabitants of Britain and of Gaul, oppressed by the taxes, were becoming more vexed and inflamed than ever.

There was a Gaul named Gaius Julius Vindex, an Aquitanian, descended from the royal race and by virtue of his father’s status a Roman senator. He was powerful in body and of shrewd intelligence, was skilled in warfare and full of daring for any great enterprise; and he had a passionate love of freedom and a vast ambition. This was the man who stood at the head of the Gauls.

This Vindex called together the Gauls, who had suffered much by the numerous forced levies of money and were still suffering at Nero’s hands. And ascending a tribunal he delivered a long and detailed speech against Nero, saying that they ought to revolt from the emperor and join the speaker in an attack upon him, “because,” as he said, “he has despoiled the whole Roman world, because he

1 Cf. Zonaras: (Vindex,) seeing his fellow-Gauls eager for rebellion, aroused them by an harangue that he delivered.

4 Cf. Zonaras (11, 13, p. 41, 10-12 D.): (Οὐδὲς) ὁ ἄνθρωπος δυνατός ἀδικεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ ἀδικοῦ ἀπορριφθεὶς ἢ λέγει τὸν ἀνθρώπον τοῦ ἀδικοῦ.
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"ότι πᾶν τὸ ἄνθος τῆς βουλής αὐτῶν ἀπολώλεκεν, ὅτι τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἤσχυνε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ οὐδ’ αὐτὸ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ἰγεμονίας ἄρα σφαιρα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀρπαγαί καὶ ὑθρεῖς καὶ ὑπ’ ἀλλων πολλαὶ πολλάκις ἐγένετο· τὰ δὲ δὴ λοιπὰ πῶς ἂν τις κατ’ ἀβίαν εἰπεῖν δυνηθεῖν; εἶδον, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι, πιστεύσατε μοι, εἶδον τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκεῖνον, εὔχε 

«Άνηρ ὁ Στόρον γεγαμμένος, ο Πυθαγόρα γεγα-

μένος, ἐν τῷ τοῦ θείατρον κύκλῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ὁρχήστρᾳ ποτὲ μὲν κιθάραν ἔχουτα καὶ ὀρθο-

στίδιον καὶ κοθόρνους, ποτὲ δὲ ἐμβάτας καὶ 

προσωπείων. ἦκουσα αὐτὸν πολλάκις ἄδοντος,

ηκούσα κηρύττοντος, ἦκούσα τραγῳδοῦντος.

eἰδον αὐτὸν δεδεμένον, εἶδον συρόμενον, κύνοντα 

dή, τίκτοντα δή, πάντα ὅσα μυθολογεῖται καὶ 

λέγοντα καὶ ἀκούοντα καὶ πάσχοντα καὶ ἰράντα. 

eἰτά τὶς 1 τὸν τοιοῦτον Καίσαρα καὶ αὐτοκράτορα 

καὶ Λύγανοςτον ὀνομάσει; μηδαμῶς· μηδεὶς 

ὑβριζέτω τὰ ἱερὰ ἐκεῖνα ὁνόματα. ταῦτα μὲν 

γὰρ Λύγανοτος καὶ Κλαύδιος ἔσχον, οὕτος δὲ 

ἡ Θενέστης τε καὶ Οἶδίπος Αλκμέων 2 τε καὶ 

Ἔρεστης δικαιότατ’ ἂν καλοῖτο τοῦτοις γὰρ 

ὑποκλοῦμετα, καὶ ταῦτα ἀντ’ ἐκείνων τὰς ἐπωνυ-

μίας 3 ἀντεπιτέθεται. ἀνάστητε οὐν· ἢδη ποτὲ, 

καὶ ἐπικουρήσατε μὲν ὑμῖν 4 αὐτοῖς, ἐπικουρήσατε 

dὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ἐλευθερώσατε δὲ 5 πᾶσαν τὴν 

οἰκουμένην.”—Xiph. 182, 11–183, 3 R. St. 

1 εἰτά τὶς H. Steph., εἰτά τὶς VC. 

2 'Αλκμέων Bs., ἄλκμαίων VC. 

3 ἐπωνυμίας Sylb., ἐπιθυμίας VC. 

4 ὑμῖν R. Steph., ἡμῖν VC. 

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has destroyed all the flower of their senate, because A.D. 68 he debauched and then killed his mother, and does not preserve even the semblance of sovereignty. Many murders, robberies and outrages, it is true, have often been committed by others; but as for the other deeds committed by Nero, how could one find words fittingly to describe them? I have seen him, my friends and allies,—believe me,—I have seen that man (if man he is who has married Sporus and been given in marriage to Pythagoras), in the circle of the theatre, that is, in the orchestra, sometimes holding the lyre and dressed in loose tunic and buskins, and again wearing high-soled shoes and mask.¹ I have often heard him sing, play the herald, and act in tragedies. I have seen him in chains, hustled about as a miscreant, heavy with child, aye, in the travail of childbirth—in short, imitating all the situations of mythology by what he said and by what was said to him, by what he submitted to and by what he did.² Will anyone, then, style such a person Caesar and emperor and Augustus? Never! Let no one abuse those sacred titles. They were held by Augustus and by Claudius, whereas this fellow might most properly be termed Thyestes, Oedipus, Alemeon, or Orestes; for these are the characters that he represents on the stage and it is these titles that he has assumed in place of the others. Therefore rise now at length against him; succour yourselves and succour the Romans; liberate the entire world!"

¹ The κόθρωσ φερομενα seems to have been worn by Nero only when singing, the ἐμβάτης while acting.
² See lxii (lxiii), 9 and note.

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⁵ δέ supplied by Bk.
23 Τοιαύτα τινα τοῦ Οὐίνδικος εἰπόντος ἀπαντεὶ συνεφρώνησαν. οὐχ έαυτῷ δὲ τήν ἀρχήν πράττων ὁ Οὐίνδιξ τὸν Γάλβαν τὸν Σέρωνιον τὸν Σουλτίκιον ἐπιεικεῖα τε καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ πολέμων διαπρέποντα καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἄρχοντα, δύναμίν τε οὐ μικρὰν ἤχοντα, ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν προεχειρίσατο· κάκεινος ύπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοκράτωρ ἀνηγορεύθη.—Xiph. 183, 3–9 R. St.

24 Ροῦφος δὲ ἄρχου τῆς Γερμανίας ὀρμησε μὲν ὡς καὶ τῷ Οὐίνδικι πολεμήσων, γενομένος δὲ ἐν Οὐεσοντίων ταύτην ἐπολιόρκης, πρόφασιν ἐπιδέξατο αὐτοῦ. τοῦ δὲ Οὐίνδικος πρὸς βοήθειαν τῆς πόλεως ἀντεπίστατο αὐτῷ καὶ οὐ πόρρω στρατοπεδεύσαντος ἀντιπέστειλαν μὲν ἀλλήλοις τινά, καὶ τέλος καὶ ἡς λόγους ἥλθον μόνιοι καὶ μηδενὸς σφισε τῶν ἄλλων παρόντος, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος, ὡς εἰκάζετο, συνέθεντο 3 πρὸς ἀλλήλους. μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ ὁ Οὐίνδιξ ὀρμησε

1 Cf. Zonaras (11, 13, p. 41, 12–19 D.): καὶ ἀρκωςε πάντα υπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων ποιήσεν, καὶ ἐαυτῶν, ἀν τι παρὰ ταύτα πράξῃ, φονεύσειν. αὐτοκράτορα δὲ Γάλβαν τὸν Σέρωνιον τὸν Σουλτίκιον προεχειρίσατο, γενόμενον ἐς εὐπτριδίων, καὶ τότε τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἄρχοντα· καὶ ὡς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐδέξατο, οὐκ ἠθέλησε δὲ τᾶς τῆς αὐταρχίας ἐπικληθῆς προσλαβεῖν τότε.


2 Cf. Joann. Antioch. (fr. 91 Muell. v. 10–22): Ὁ γραῦν Νέρων, οὗ μετρίως ἐπὶ τούτῳ ταραχθεῖς, στρατηγὸν τοῦ πολέμου 'Ροῦφον Γάλλον ἐκπέμπει· ὡς οὐδὲ ἐς χειράς ἐλθεῖν ἀναχώμενος πρὸς τὸν Γάλβαν, ὤμολογεὶς τε καὶ σπεύδεται πρὸς τὸν Οὐίνδικα, αὐτὸς μὲν τῶν Γαλλιῶν ἄρχειν ἐπιλεξάμενος, Οὐίνδικι δὲ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν προσήκειν καὶ τῷ Γάλβῳ πᾶσαν ὅμοι τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ

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Such\(^1\) words falling from the lips of Vindex met A.D. 68 with the approval of all. Now Vindex was not working to get the imperial office for himself but selected Servius Sulpicius Galba for that position; this man was distinguished for his upright behaviour and skill in warfare, was governor of Spain, and had a military force of no small size. And he was proclaimed emperor by the soldiers.

Rufus\(^2\), the governor of Germany, set out to make war on Vindex; but when he reached Vesontio, he proceeded to besiege the city, for the alleged reason that it had not received him. But Vindex came to the aid of the city against him and encamped not far off, whereupon they sent messages back and forth to each other and finally held a conference by themselves at which no one else was present and came to a mutual agreement against Nero, as was conjectured. After this Vindex set out with his

\(^1\) Cf. Zonaras: And he made them swear to do everything in the interest of the senate and the Roman people and to slay him in case he should do anything contrary to this purpose. For emperor he chose Servius Sulpicius Galba, who came of a patrician family and was at the time governor of Spain. This man accepted the power but declined to assume the imperial titles at that time.

Joann. Antioch.: And having associated with himself many of the senate who were in exile, he appointed Galba king. This man immediately armed the forces and made all his preparations for war, after which he marched upon Rome.

\(^2\) Cf. Joann. Antioch.: At any rate, Nero, being greatly alarmed at this, sent out Rufus Gallus to conduct the war. But Rufus, not venturing even to engage in battle with Galba, came to terms and made a compact with Vindex, in which he chose to rule the Gauls himself and agreed that Spain should belong to Vindex and that Galba should receive all Italy together with the remaining provinces that owed allegiance to the Roman empire. After these terms had been
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μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ ὡς τὴν πόλιν καταληψόμενος· καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ τοῦ Ῥούφου στρατιῶται προσκόντας αὐσθήμενοι, καὶ νομίσαντες ἐφ’ ἑαυτοὺς ἀντικρυς χωρεῖν, ἀντεξώρμησαν αὐτοκελευστοί, καὶ προσπεόντες σφίσιν ἄπροσδοκήτοις τε καὶ ἄσων·

41 τάκτοις οὐσὶ παμπόλλους κατέκοψαν. ἵδιον δὲ τούτο καὶ περιαληγήσας ὁ Οὐίνδιξ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔσφαξε.—Xiph. 183, 12–25 R. St.

4a Τῆς δ’ ἀποστασίας παρατεινομένης ὁ Οὐίνδιξ ἑαυτὸν ἀπέσφαξε, τῶν μετ’ αὐτοῦ στρατιῶτῶν κινδυνευσάντων ὑπεραλγήσας καὶ πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀγανακτήσας ὅτι τοσοῦτον πράγματος ὀργηθεῖς, τοῦ τὸν Νέρωνα καθελεῖν 1 καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐλευθερώσαι, οὐκ ἔξετέλεσεν αὐτὸ.—Zon. 11, 13 (p. 41, 19–24 D.).

4 καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς οὐτως ἔχει, πολλοὶ δὲ δὴ μετὰ ταῦτα, τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ κατατρώσαντες, δόξαν τισὶ μάτην ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπεκτούσατε αὐτὸν παρέσχον.

25 Ῥούφος 2 δὲ τούτου μὲν ἰσχυρώς ἐπένθησε, τὴν

1 καθελεῖν BCε, καταλίσαι AE.

ὅσα τῷ Ῥωμαίῳ ἄρχῃ προσπυκαύειν (πρὸς ὑπακοῆν cod. Par., πρὸς ὑπακοῆν cod. Esc.) ἐγενεῖ τυχάναι. τοιοῦτοι αὐτοῖς διομολογηθέντων, τινὲς τῶν τοῦ Ῥούφου στρατιωτῶν ἐπιβουλεύουσι τῷ Ῥωμαίῳ, ἀγνοίᾳ μὲν τῶν ὁμιληθέντων, ζῆλῳ δὲ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν δυναστεῖας. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν Οὐίνδιξ καίτοι ραδίως δυνάμενος σωθήσαι, ἀγανακτήσαι καὶ ὀλοφυρόμενος, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν ὁμοφωνοῦντων ἕκακηθ, καὶ ὅτι τὰ ἔναντι ἀμφότεροι τῷ Νέρωνι πράττοντες ἐαυτοὺς ἀπώλησαν, καὶ προσέτι τοῦ ἀνθρωπελοῦ βίου καταγγέου, καὶ τι πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον εἰπάν, ὅτι τοιοῦτον πράγματος ἀρξάμενος οὖκ ἐπλήρωσεν, ἑαυτὸν προσκατειργάσατο.

3 Οὐίνδικι R. Steph. (Βινδίκι), Βινδίκον VC.
4 Οὐεσοντίωνι Bk., βεσοντίωνi VC.
5 μηδενός V corr., space left in VC.

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army ostensibly to occupy the town; and the soldiers A.D. 68 of Rufus, becoming aware of their approach and thinking the force was marching straight against them, marched out in their turn, on their own initiative, and falling upon them while they were off their guard and in disarray, cut down great numbers of them. Vindex on seeing this was so overcome by grief that he slew himself.

As the revolt continued, Vindex slew himself; for he felt exceedingly grieved because of the peril of his soldiers and was vexed at Fate because he had not been able to attain his goal in an undertaking of so great magnitude, namely the overthrow of Nero and the liberation of the Romans.

This is the truth of the matter; but many afterwards inflicted wounds on his body, and so gave rise to the false impression that they themselves had killed him.

Rufus\(^1\) mourned his death greatly, but refused to

\(^1\) Cf. Joann. Antioch.: Rufus at any rate grieved terribly over this disaster and punished some of the troops, after which he fell to brooding in silence.

agreed upon by them, some of Rufus' troops plotted against Vindex, being ignorant of the agreement their leaders had made and eager to secure the supreme power for their general. Vindex, now, might easily have saved his life; but he was indignant and bewailed the fact that he had been injured by those who were of the same mind as he and that, although both Rufus and he were working against Nero, they were destroying each other, and he was disgusted, moreover, with this mortal life and even had something to say against Fate because, having put his hand to so great an undertaking, he had not been able to carry it through; and so he made away with himself.
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dé autokrátora ἄρχην, καίτοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν πολλάκις αὐτῷ ἐγκειμένων, οὐκ ἤθελησε δέξασθαι, δυνηθεὶς ἄν ραδίως ἐπιτυχής αὐτῆς γενέσθαι: δραστήριός τε γὰρ ἀνήρ ἦν καὶ ἱσχύν μεγάλην καὶ πρόθυμον εἰκή, καὶ οἱ στρατιώται τὰς μὲν τοῦ Νέρωνος εἰκόνας καθείλουν καὶ συνέτρυψαν, αὐτὸν δὲ Καίσαρα καὶ Αὐγουστον 2 ἀνόμαζον. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐπείθετο, ἐνταῦθα τῶν στρατιωτῶν τίς ἐνι τῶν σημείων αὐτοῦ ταῦτα διὰ ταχέων ἐπέγραψε· καὶ θ' ἐκεῖνα τε ἀπῆλειψε, καὶ μόλις ποτὲ αὐτοὺς καταστήσας ἐπείσε τὴν ἄρχην 1 ἔπι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ποιήσασθαι, 3 εἴτ' οὖν ὅτι οὐκ ἦξιον τοὺς στρατιώτας τυι τὸ κράτος διδόναι (τῇ τε γὰρ γερουσία καὶ τῷ δήμῳ προσήκειν τούτ' ἐλεγεν), εἴτε καὶ παντελῶς μεγαλογνωμονών, 2 ὡς οὖν τῆς αὐτοκρατορικῆς ἄρχης ὑπὲρ ἢς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντα 3 ἐπραττον, καὶ αὐτὸς δεόμενος. 4—Xiph. 183, 25–184, 8 R. St.

26 "Οτι ο Νέρων μαθὼν τά κατά τόν Οὐίνδικα ἐν Νέα πόλει τῶν γυμνικῶν ἄγωνα ἀπ' ἀρίστου θεωροῦν, οὐκ ἐλυπήθη, ἀλλὰ καταπηθήσας εκ τῆς ἐδρας ἀθλητὴ τινι συνεστούδασεν· οὐδὲ 5 ἐς τὴν Ρώμην ᾑπείχθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ γράμματα ἀπλῶς τῇ βουλῇ πέμψας παρητήσατο ὅτι οὐκ ἀφίκετο, λέγων βραγχαν, καθάπερ τί ἄσαι καὶ τότε αὐτοῖς 2 δεόμενοι. καὶ τὴν γε αὐτὴν φροντίδα καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς τε φωνῆς καὶ τῶν ἄσμάτων τῶν τε κιθαρισμάτων, οὐχ ὅτι ἐν τῷ τότε παρόντι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐποιεῖτο· καὶ οὐτε τι εἲς ἐκεῖνων

1 τὴν ἄρχην supplied by Reim.
2 μεγαλογνωμονῶν Reim., μεγαλογνωμῶν VC.
3 πάντα Sylb., πάντες VC.
accept the office of emperor, although his soldiers A.D. 68
frequently urged it upon him and he might easily
have obtained it. For he was an energetic man and
had a large and zealous military force, and his soldiers
threw down and shattered the images of Nero and
called Rufus by the titles of Caesar and Augustus.
When he would not heed them, one of the soldiers
thereupon quickly inscribed these words on one of his
standards. He erased the words, however, and after
a deal of trouble brought the men to order and per-
suaded them to submit the question of the throne
to the senate and the people. It is hard to say
whether this was merely because he did not deem
it right for the soldiers to bestow the supreme power
upon anyone (for he declared this to be the pre-
rogative of the senate and the people), or because
he was entirely high-minded and felt no desire him-
self for the imperial office, to secure which others
were willing to do anything and everything.

Nero was informed of the uprising of Vindex as
he was viewing the gymnastic contest in Neapolis
just after luncheon; but, far from showing any grief,
he leaped down from his seat and vied in prowess
with some athlete. Nor did he hurry back to Rome,
but merely sent a letter to the senate, in which he
asked them to excuse him for not coming, pleading
a sore throat, implying that he would like, even at
this crisis, to sing to them. And he continued to
devote the same care and attention to his voice, to
his songs, and to his lyre-playing, not only at that
juncture but also later. Because of this he would

4 καὶ αὐτὸς δεμένος V corr. (δεμένος), . . . μενός VC.
5 οὐδὲ Bk., οὔτε cod. Peir.
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εξέκραζεν, εἰ τε καὶ ἡναγκάσθη τι οία ἐν τοιούτοις ὅν ἐκβοήσαι, εὐθὺς τις αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ κιθαρῳδήσεις μέλλοντα ἀνεχαίτιζεν καὶ ἀνελάμβανεν.— Exc. Val. 257a (p. 694).

23, 2 Λέγεται 1 δὲ ὅτι τοῦ Νέρωνος διακοσίας καὶ πεντήκοντα μυριάδας ἐπικηρύξαντος τὸ Οὐίνδικι 2 ἀκούσας ὁ Οὐίνδιξ ἐφή ὅτι “ὁ Νέρωνα ἀποκτείνας τὴν τε κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ κομίσας μοι τὴν ἐμὴν ἀντιλήψεται.” τοιοῦτος μὲν τις ὁ Οὐίνδιξ ἐγένετο.— Xiph. 183, 9–12 R. St.

26, 3 Τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα εἰώθει ὁμοίως ἐποίει, χαίρων τοῖς ἡγεμένοις ὅτι ἄλλως τε κατακρατήσειν τοῦ Οὐίνδικος ἤλπιζεν καὶ ὑπόθεσιν ἀργυρισμοῦ καὶ φῶνων εἰληφέραι εἴδοκεν. καὶ ἐτρύφα, καὶ τὸ τῆς Σαβίνης ἤρθον ἐκποιηθεν καὶ κοσμηθεν λαμπρῶς ὡσίωσεν, ἐπηγράψας αὐτῷ ὅτι Σαβίνη

4 αὐτὸ θεᾶ Ἀφροδίτη αἱ γυναικὲς ἐποίησαν. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν ἠλήθεν αὐτὸν, ἐκ γὰρ τῶν χρημάτων τὰ πολλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐσευλυθρὸ ἐξεργάσθη συχνὰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἦθυρεν, ὅπερ ἕπε καὶ μὲν ἄλλα παραλείψω, ἐν δὲ εἰπὼ. νῦκτορ ποτὲ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἰππεῶν ἔσαπτίνης σπουδή, ὡς καὶ περὶ τῶν παρόντων τι κοι


2 τῷ Οὐίνδικι Ρκ., τῷ Βίνδικον VC, τῷ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῷ κομίζοντι τοῦ Οὐίνδικος Ζον.
not utter a word in a loud voice, and if he was at A.D. 68 any time compelled by the circumstances in which he now found himself to shout out anything, yet somebody would promptly remind him that he was to sing to the lyre and would thus curb and control him.

It is stated that when Nero set a price of ten million sesterces upon the head of Vindex, the latter upon hearing it remarked: "The one who kills Nero and brings his head to me shall get mine in return." That was the sort of man Vindex was.

In general, Nero still behaved in his accustomed manner and he was pleased with the news brought him, because he was expecting in any event to overcome Vindex and thought he had now secured a ground for levies of money and murders. He continued his luxurious practices; and upon the completion and adornment of the shrine of Sabina he gave it a brilliant dedication, having first inscribed upon it the statement that the women had built it to the deified Sabina, Venus. Now in this matter he told the truth, since the building had been constructed with money of which a great part had been stolen from the women; but he also had his numerous little jokes, of which I will mention only one, omitting the rest. One night he suddenly summoned in haste the foremost senators and knights, as if to make some communication to

1 Cf. Petrus Patricius: The senate, learning of the course of Vindex and Galba, passed against Vindex all the usual decrees against rebels, and Nero offered a reward of ten million sesterces to the one who should slay Vindex and bring his head to him. Vindex, on learning of this, replied to his informants: "And for my part, to the one who brings the head of Domitius I offer my own in exchange for it."
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νώσων σφίσι, μεταπέμψας "ἐξεύρηκα" ἐφή "πῶς ἡ ύπαρξεῖν" (αὐτὸ γάρ τὸ ῥηθὲν γραφήσεται).
5 "καὶ μείζον καὶ ἐμμελέστερον φθέγξεται." του-αὐτὰ μὲν καὶ τότε ἐπαιζεῖν, 1 οὐδὲ ἐμελεῖν 2 αὐτῷ ὅτι αἱ θύραι ἀμφότεραι, αἱ τε τοῦ μυημείου τοῦ Ἀγούστείου καὶ αἱ τοῦ κοιτῶνος τοῦ ἔκεινου, αὐτόμαται ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ ἀνεφόρησαν, οὖν ὅτι ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ τοσοῦτῳ δὴ τίνι αἰματὶ ὦσεν ὥστε καὶ ποταμοὺς ῥυήσαι, οὐδʼ ὅτι ἐκ τῆς Ἀγύπτου ὑπαναχωρήσασα ἐπὶ πολὺ ἡ θάλασσα
27 μέρος μέγα τῆς Δυκίας κατέλαβεν ἐπεὶ δὲ περί τε τοῦ Γάλβα ἡκουσεν ὅτι αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνερρήθη, 3 περὶ τε τοῦ Ρούφου ὅτι αὐτοῦ ἀπέστη, ἐν δὲι τε μεγάλῳ ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτὸς τε ἐν Ρώμῃ παρεσκευάζετο καὶ ἐπʼ ἐκεῖνους Ρούβριον Γάλλου καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἐπεμψεν.—Exc. Val. 257b, Xiph. 184, 8–23 R. St.

1a 'Ὁ δὲ Νέρων μαθὼν καὶ τοῦ Πετρώνιου, ὅπειρά τῶν ἐπαναστάντων μετὰ τοῦ πλείονος προεπεπομφεὶ στρατεύματος, τὰ τοῦ Γάλβου φρονήσαντα, οὐκέτι οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα τῶν ὅπλων ἐσχέν.—Zon. 11, 13, p. 42, 1–4 D.

2 ἆπο πάντων δὲ ὀμοίων ἐγκαταλειφθεὶς ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν 4 τοὺς τε βουλευτὰς ἀποκτείναι καὶ τὴν πόλιν καταπρῆσαι 5 ἐς τε τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πλεύσαι, ὑπειπῶν ὃτι "ἀν καὶ 6 ἐκ 7 τῆς ἀρχῆς

1 ἐπαιζεῖν cod. Peir., ηθυρε VC.
2 ἐμελεῖν R. Steph., ἐμελλεῖν VC.
3 ἀνερρήθη Bk., ἀνηρέθη VC.
4 ὑπὸ πάντων—μὲν VC, ὅτι ἄλλων ἄλλα λεγόντων ὁ Νέρων ἐγὼ cod. Peir., καὶ ἄλλων ἄλλα λεγόντων τέλος ἐγὼ Joann. Ant.

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them regarding the political situation, and then said A.D. 68 to them (I quote his exact words): "I have discovered a way by which the water-organ will produce louder and more musical tones." In such jests did he indulge even at this crisis. And little did he reck that both sets of doors, those of the mausoleum of Augustus and those of his own bedchamber, opened of their own accord on one and the same night, or that in the Alban territory it rained so much blood that rivers of it flowed over the land, or that the sea retreated a long distance from Egypt and covered a great portion of Lycia. But when he heard about Galba having been proclaimed emperor by the soldiers and about the desertion of Rufus, he fell into great fear, and not only made preparations himself at Rome, but also sent against the rebels Rubrius Gallus and some others.

On learning that Petronius,1 whom he had sent ahead against the rebels with the larger portion of the army, had also espoused the cause of Galba, Nero reposed no further hope in arms.

Now that he had been abandoned by everybody alike,2 he began forming plans to kill the senators, burn down the city,3 and sail to Alexandria. He dropped this hint in regard to his future course: "Even though we be driven from our empire, yet

1 P. Petronius Turpilianus.
2 Cf. Joann. Antioch. and Exc. Val.: When one advised one thing and another another, Nero finally decided to kill, etc.
3 Joann. Antioch. adds "by night."

\[\text{5 \(\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\iota\)} \text{ cod. Peir. Xiph. Zon.,} \ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\iota \ \nu\kappa\tau\omega\rho \ \text{Joann. Antioch.} \]

\[\text{6 \(\acute{\alpha}\nu \ \kappa\alpha\i\)} \text{ Xiph. cod. Peir. Zon.,} \ \kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu \ \text{exc. Vat. Antioch.} \]

\[\text{7 \(\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\)} \text{ cod. Peir. exc. Vat., om. Xiph. Zon.} \]
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ἐκπέσωμεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ γε τέχνιον ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖ δια-θρέψειν" ἐς τοῦτο γὰρ ἀνοίας ἐληλύθει ὡστε καὶ πιστεύσαι ὅτι ἄλλως τε ἵδιωτέσσαι καὶ προσέτι καὶ κιθαρώθειν δυνήσεται.—Xiph. 184, 23–28 R. St., Exc. Val. 258 (p. 696).

2b Μέλλοντος1 δὲ ταῦτα πράσσειν ἡ βουλὴ τὴν περὶ τὸν Νέρωνα φρουρὰν ἀποκαλέσασα εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ τὸν μὲν πολέμιον ἀπέ-φυνε, τὸν δὲ Γάλβαν ἀνθείλετο αὐτοκράτορα.—Zon. 11, 13, p. 42, 8–11 D.

3 Ἑπεὶ2 δὲ ἡσθέτο ὅτι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν σωματο-φυλάκων ἐγκαταλέλειπται (ἐν κήποις δὲ τισιν3 ἐτύγχανε καθεύδων), φυγεῖν ἐπεχείρησεν. ἐσθήτα τε ὁ σδιοι φαύλην ἐλαβε4 καὶ ἔπι ὑπὸν οὐδὲν βελτίων ἄνεβη, καὶ ἔπτ αὐτοῦ κατακεκαλυμμένος πρὸς χωρίον τι Φάωνος Καίσαρείου, μετά τε αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ μετὰ Ἐπαφροδίτου τοῦ τε

28 Σπόρου, νυκτὸς ἔτι οὕσης5 ἡλασε. καὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα πράσσοντος στειρῶς ἐξάισιος ἐγένετο, ὡστε καὶ δόκησιν παρασχεῖν ὅτι ἢ τε γῇ πᾶσα διαρρήγνυται καὶ αἱ τῶν πεφονευμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ψυχαὶ πᾶσαι ἡμᾶ ἐτ' αὐτοῦ ἀναθορ-


3 τισιν Sylb., τίς VC.

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this little talent shall support us there." To such a A.D. 68 pitch of folly, indeed, had he come as to believe that he could live for a moment as a private citizen and especially as a lyre-player.

He¹ was on the point of putting these measures into effect when the senate withdrew the guard that surrounded him and then, entering the camp, declared him an enemy and chose Galba as emperor in his place.

But² when he perceived that he had been deserted also by his body-guards (he happened to be sleeping in a certain garden), he undertook to flee. Accordingly, he put on shabby clothing, mounted a horse no better than his attire, and with his head covered he rode while it was yet night towards an estate of Phaon, an imperial freedman, in company with Phaon himself, Epaphroditus and Sporus. While he was on the way a terrible earthquake occurred, so that one might have thought the whole world was bursting asunder and all the spirits of those murdered by him were leaping up to assail him.

¹ Cf. Joann. Antioch.: The members of the senate upon hearing this held conversations with the Praetorians and the other troops that guard the royal court and persuaded them to join with them and lay claim to the Roman dominion. And when these troops also fell in with the plan of the senators, they straightway slew Scipulus, the prefect of the camp, and deserted their post as guardians of the king.

² Cf. Joann. Antioch.: Nero, when he was deserted also by his body-guards, did not have the courage to kill himself, so that he might avoid the shame, but undertook to flee, after his table had been struck by a thunderbolt.

⁴ ἔλαβε VC, ἐνέδυ Zon. (cf. ἐνδυσάμενος Joann Ant.).
⁵ ἄτι οὐσὶς Bs., ἐπιούσις VC.
nousi. γυνωρισθείς οὖν καὶ ὃς ὑπὸ τινος, ὃς φασί, τῶν ἀπαντησάντων καὶ ἀυτοκράτωρ προσ- 
αγορευθέας, ἐκ τε τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀπετράπη καὶ ἐσ 
2 καλαμώδη τόπον τινα κατεκρύφθη. καὶ ἐνταύθα 
μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπέμεινεν ἐρριμένος, ὅπως 
włς ἤκιστα διορώτο. καὶ πάντα μὲν τὸν παρ- 
ιόντα1 ὡς καὶ ἔφ’ ἑαυτὸν ἤκουνα ὑποπτεύων, 
πάσαν δὲ φώνην ὡς καὶ ἀναζητοῦσαν αὐτὸν2 
ὑποτέμων, εἰ τέ που κυνίδιον ὠλαξένη καὶ ὄρνιθιον ἐφθείγξατο ῥωπίον τε καὶ κλάδος ὑπ’ 
3 αὐρας ἑσείσθη, δεινῶς ἑταρράττετο, καὶ οὐθ’ ἱσυ- 
χάζεν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἔδύνατο, οὐτ’ αὐ λαλεῖν τιν 
τῶν παρόντων, μῆ καὶ ἔτερός τις ἀκούσῃ, ἔτόλμα, 
ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς καθ’ ἑαυτὸν τὴν τύχην3 καὶ ἔθρηνε 
καὶ ὥλοφύρετο. ἐλογίζετο γὰρ τά τε ἄλλα, καὶ 
προσέτι ὅτι πολυανθρωποτάτη ποτὲ θεραπεία 
γαυρωθεὶς μετὰ τριῶν ἔξελευθέρων ἐκύπταξε. 
4 τοιοῦτον γὰρ δράμα τύτε τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτῷ 
παρεσκεύασαν, ἦνα μηκὲτι τῶν ἄλλων μητρο- 
φόνων καὶ ἄλλης ἅλλ’ ἂν, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑπο- 
κρίνηται· καὶ τότε μετεγινώσκεν ἐφ’ οἷς ἔτε- 
τολμῆκεν, καθάπερ ἀπρακτόν τι αὐτῶν ποιήσαι 
5 δυνάμενος. Νέρων μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα ἑταγὼδεῖ, 
καὶ τὸ ἐπὸς ἐκεῖνο συνεχῶς ἐνενόει, 

"οἰκτρῶς θανεῖν μ’ ἄνωγε σύγγαμον πατήρ." 

1 παρόντα Sylb., παρόντα VC. 
2 αὐτὸν Bk., αὐτὸν VC.
Being recognized, they say, in spite of his disguise, A.D. 68 and saluted as emperor by someone who met him, he turned aside from the road and hid himself in a place full of reeds. There he waited till daylight, lying flat on the ground so as to run the least risk of being seen. Everyone who passed he suspected had come for him; he started at every voice, thinking it to be that of someone searching for him; if a dog barked anywhere or a bird chirped, or a bush or branch was shaken by the breeze, he was greatly excited. These sounds permitted him no rest, and he dared not speak a word to any one of those that were with him for fear someone else might hear; but to himself he lamented and bewailed his fate, considering among other things how he had once prided himself on so vast a retinue and was now skulking out of sight in company with three freedmen. Such was the drama that Fate now prepared for him, so that he should no longer play the rôles of other matricides and beggars, but only his own at last, and he now repented of his past deeds of outrage, as if he could undo any of them. Such was the tragic part that Nero now played, and this verse constantly ran through his mind:

"Both spouse and father bid me cruelly die." 2

After a long time, as no one was seen to be searching for him, he went over into the cave, where in his hunger he ate bread such as he had never before tasted and in his thirst drank water such as he

1 From an unknown tragedy, the speaker being Oedipus; cf. Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag., p. 839, Adesp. 8.

2 τὴν τὸ χνῦν Rk., τὴν ψῦχην VC.
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ποτε ἐπεπώκει. ἑφ τοῦ δυσανασχετήσας εἶπε "τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ποτὸν τὸ ἐμὸν τὸ ἀπεφθον." —Xiph. 184, 28–185, 26 R. St.

29 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦν, ὁ δὲ δήμος τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐβοηθῦτε καὶ ὑπερέχαυρε καὶ τίνες καὶ πιλία ὡς ἥλευθερωμένοι ἐφερον. καὶ τῷ Γάλβῳ τὰ τῇ αὐτοκράτορι ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα ἐψηφίσαντο.

Παρὰ πάντα δὲ ξήτησιν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἤπόρησαν ὅπου ποτὲ ἀπεληλυθὼς εἰη, ἐπειτα μαθόντες ἐπεμψάν 2 ἔπ' αὐτὸν ἵππεας. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνος προσίστασα

1 ἐπεπώκει H. Steph., πεπώκει C, πέπωκεν V.
2 ἀπεφθον Reim. following Sylb. (ἐφέστον), ἀφθονον VC.


5 Zonaras supplies the subject ὁι στρατιῶται καὶ ἄλλοι.
had never drunk before. This gave him such a qualm that he said: "So this is my famous cold drink!"¹

While he was in this plight the Roman people were offering sacrifices and going wild with delight. Some even wore liberty caps, signifying that they had now become free. And they voted to Galba the prerogatives pertaining to the imperial office.²

For Nero himself they³ instituted a search in all directions and for some time were at a loss to know where he could have betaken himself. When they finally learned, they sent horsemen against him. He, then, perceiving that they were drawing

¹ Called *decocla*. It was water that had first been boiled, then cooled by being placed in a glass vessel and plunged into snow. Pliny (*N.H.* xxxvi. 40) states that Nero was the first to cool the water in this manner.

² Cf. Zonaras: But the people in Rome, when day came, were wild with delight and filled the city with garlands, and some even wore liberty caps, signifying that they had now become free. And the senate voted to Galba the prerogatives belonging to the throne. The populace jeered at Nero and slew and dragged away the bodies of many of those who had been powerful with him.

Joann. Antioch.: And the city was gay with garlands and torches and the people were offering prayers and holding celebrations of genuine thanksgiving. They proceeded to kill those who had been powerful under the tyrant and to pull down his images and statues, as if they were thereby mishandling the despot himself. The Roman senate declared him an enemy and decreed that he should pay the penalty imposed on those who have committed high crimes while in office, which was of the following nature. It is prescribed that the culprit shall be led to the prison naked with a forked stick fastened about his neck, and then, after his body has been soundly flogged, he shall be hurled down from a rock.

³ Zonaras says "the soldiers and others."
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αὐτοῦς αἰσθόμενος ¹ προσέταξε τοῖς παροῦσιν ἔαυτόν ² ἀποκτεῖναι. ἔπει τε οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν, ἀνεστέναξε τε καὶ ἔφη "ἐγὼ μόνος οὔτε φίλον οὔτε ἔχθρον ἔχω." ³ κἂν τούτῳ πελασάντων αὐτῷ τῶν ἱππέων αὐτὸς ἔαυτόν ἀπέκτεινε, τὸ θρυλομενον ἕκεινῳ εἴπὼν, "ὁ Ζεῦ, οἷς τεχνίτης παραπόλλυμαι," καὶ αὐτῶν δυσθανατοῦντα ὁ Ἐπαφρόδιτος προσκατειργάσατο.

3 Ἐβίῳ δὲ ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ μήνας ἐννέα, ἀφ' ὄν ἤρξεν ἔτη δεκατρία καὶ μήνας ὀκτώ, ⁴ ἐσχατὸς τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰνείου καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀνθοῦστον γεγονότων, καθάπερ ⁵ ποιοῦν εἰςφως καὶ αἱ δάφναι

²  ἔαυτὸν εἰς Χιφ., καὶ ἐαυτὸν καὶ σφᾶς Ζωι., καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐαυτὸς Ἰοανν. Ἀντ.

⁵ καθάπερ Συλβ., εἴπερ V, καίπερ C.
near,\(^1\) commanded his companions to kill him.\(^2\) And \textit{a.d. 68} when they refused, he uttered a groan and said \(^3\): "I alone have neither friend nor foe." By this time the horsemen were close at hand, and so he killed himself, after uttering that oft-quoted remark: "Jupiter, what an artist perishes in me!" And as he lingered in his agony, Epaphroditus dealt him the finishing stroke.

He \(^4\) had lived thirty years and nine months,\(^5\) out of which he had ruled thirteen years and eight months. Of the descendants of Aeneas and of Augustus he was the last, as was plainly indicated

\(^1\) Cf. Joann. Antioch.: Nero, becoming aware of this [the punishment decreed by the senate] beforehand and fearing those who were against him, commanded, etc.

\(^2\) Zonaras and Joann. Antioch. have "both him and themselves."

\(^3\) Zonaras: And when they refused, he uttered a loud groan. Then, wishing to destroy Sporus and being unable to do so, he said, Joann. Antioch.: And when they refused, both lacking the courage and also urging as an excuse the duty of burying him, he was greatly distressed and groaned because he was unable to do anything. Afterwards he desired to kill Sporus, but failing of his purpose, owing to the other's flight, he then said.

\(^4\) Zonaras: So he died in this manner in the month of July [an error for June], having lived thirty years, five months and twenty days, out of which he had ruled thirteen years and eight months, lacking two days.

Joann. Antioch.: Nero, then, who was born to the highest station but was reared in the basest manner, was thus driven from the throne, having lived thirty years from the date of his birth and having signed fourteen years lacking two months.

\(^5\) Thirty years, five months and twenty-five (or twenty-six) days was probably Dio's reading. Nero was born Dec. 15, \textit{a.d. 37}, and perished apparently on the 9th of June, 68. Zonaras' estimate of the length of his reign will then be correct, counting (inclusively) from Oct. 13, 54.

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ai ὑπὸ τῆς Διονίας φυτευθεῖσαι τὸ τε γένος τῶν λευκῶν ὀρνίθων προδιαφθαρέντα αὐτοῦ ἐσήμανεν. —Xiph. 185, 27–186, 10 R. St.

4 "Ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀνέλπιστος ἦν ἡ ἐγχείρησις τῆς βασιλείας ἐν τηλικαύτῃ γενομένῃ ἱπατῇ.—Petr. Patr. exc. Val. 79 (p. 216 Mai. = p. 197, 22, 23 Dind.).

5 "Ὅτι ο’Ῥοῦφος πρὸς Γάλβαν ἦλθε, καὶ παρὰ μὲν ἐκεῖ ἤκουσεν ὅ τι ἄξιον εἶπεῖν εὔρετο, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτὸ τοῦτ’ ἐκλογίσατο ὅτι πολλάκις αὐτοκράτωρ ὀνομασθεὶς ἔξησε παρὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ὠνόμα μέγα, καὶ μεῖζον ἢ εἰπερ ὑπεδέδεκτο τὴν ἠγεμονίαν, ἐκτός τοῦ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν αὐτὴν λαβεῖν.—Exc. Val. 259 (p. 697).

6 Γάλβας δ’, ἔπει ὅ τε Νέρων διέφθαρτο καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν οἱ ἐψήφισαν καὶ ὁ Ροῦφος αὐτῷ προσεχωρήσεν, ἀνεθάρσησεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ Καίσαρος ἀνέλαβεν ὄνομα πρὶν τοὺς τῆς βουλῆς πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐλθεῖν. ἄλλ’ οὐδὲ τὸ του αὐτοκράτορος πρότερον εἰς οὐδὲν γράμμα ἐνεγεγράφει.—Zon. 11, 14, p. 43, 10–15 D.

LXIV 1 Οὔτω μὲν οὖν ὁ Γάλβας αὐτοκράτωρ ἀπεδείχθη, ὃσπερ ποὺ προεῖπτε μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος, φῆσας ὅτι καὶ αὐτῶς τῆς ἠγεμονίας παραγεύσεται, προεῖπτε δὲ καὶ σημεῖα ἐναργεῖ-

2 στατα. τὴν τε γὰρ Τύχην ἔξε· ἐξ.· αὐτῷ 2 λέγειν ὅτι χρόνον ἦδη συχνὸν αὐτῷ πάρμενοι καὶ ὅτι οὐδεὶς αὐτὴν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἐσδέχοιτο, καὶ δὴ ἦν ἐπὶ πλειόν εἰρχθῇ, πρὸς ἐτερον τῶν μετα-

στήσεται καὶ πλοῦτα ὁπλῶν μεστὰ πρὸς Ἰβηρίαν ὕπ’ αὐτὰς ἐκείνας τὰς ἡμέρας αὐτόματα, μηδενὸς 194
by the fact that the laurels planted by Livia and the breed of white chickens perished shortly before his death.

There was no one who might not hope to lay hands on the sovereignty in a time of so great confusion.

Rufus came to Galba and could obtain from him no favour of any importance, unless one reckons it as such that a man who had frequently been hailed as emperor was allowed to live. Among the rest of mankind, however, he had acquired a great name, greater, in fact, than if he had accepted the sovereignty, for refusing to receive it.

Galba, now that Nero had been destroyed and the senate had voted him the imperial power and Rufus had joined him, plucked up courage. He did not adopt the name Caesar, however, until the senate's envoys had come to him. In fact, he had not hitherto even styled himself emperor in any communication.

Thus Galba was declared emperor, just as Tiberius had foretold when he said to him that he also should have a taste of the sovereignty. The event was likewise foretold by unmistakable omens. For it seemed to him in a vision that Fortune told him that she had now remained by him for a long time, yet no one would grant her admission into his house, and that, if she should be barred out much longer, she would take up her abode with somebody else. At about this very time, also, ships full of weapons under the guidance of no human hand came to

1 See xlviii. 52.
2 See lvii. 19.

1 τοὐτ' Val., ταυτ' cod. 2 aὐτفاعل Bk., aὐτفاعل VC.
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3 ἀνθρώπων ἀγοντος αυτά, προσωρμίσθη. ἡμίοις τε ἔτεκεν, ὡπερ αὐτῷ σύμβολον τοῦ κράτους ἐσεθαί ἐτεθεσπιστο. καὶ παῖς λιβανωτὸν αὐτῷ θύοντι προσφέρων πολλας ἦξαιφύς ἐφυσεν, καὶ οἱ μάντεις τὴν τοῦ νεωτέρου ἄρχην πρὸς τὸ γῆρας αὐτοῦ μεταστῆσθαι ἐφησαν.

2 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῷ θέρντα προεδείχθη· αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μετρίως ἠρχε καὶ ἀνεπαχθής ἦν, νομίζων οὐκ εἰληφέναι τὴν ἄρχην ἄλλα δεδοσθαι αὐτῷ (τούτῳ γὰρ συνεχῶς ἔλεγε), πλὴν ὅτι χρήματα τε ἄπληστως, ὁτὲ καὶ πολλῶν δεόμενος, ἡθροίζε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἑλάχιστα ἀνηλικεν, ὡστε μηδὲ δραχμὰς ἐστων οὐς ἄλλον ὁβολους χαρίζεσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἐξελεύθεροι

2 αὐτοῦ πάμπολλα ἐπιλημέλον, ὡστε καὶ ἐς ἐκεῖνον αὐτὰ ἀναφέρεσθαι. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἰδιώταις ἀπόχρη μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν, τοῖς δὲ δὴ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἐχουσιν ἀναγκὴ προνοεῖν ὅπως μηδ' ἄλλος κακουργῇ· οὐδὲ γὰρ διαφέρει τι τοῖς κακῶς

3 πᾶσχουσιν ὑφ' ὅτου ἄν καὶ κακῶνται. ὡστ' εἰ καὶ ἔξω τοῦ τι δεινὸν ποιεῖν ὁ Γάλβας ἦν, ἄλλ' ὅτι εἰκόνοις ἀδικεῖν ἑπτετρεπεν ὅτι ἡγοῦει τὰ γινόμενα, οὐ καλῶς ἦκονε. Νυμφίδιος δὲ τις καὶ Καπίτων οὕτως ἐξεφρόνησαν ὅπ' αὐτοῦ ὡστε ὁ Καπίτων, ἐφέντως τινὸς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ποτε δικαίοντος, μετεπήδησε τε ἐπὶ δίφρουν υψηλὸν καὶ ἐφι "λέγε τὴν δίκην παρὰ τῷ Καίσαρι;"

1 τε, Bk., γε VC.

1 Literally obols.

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anchor off the coast of Spain. And a mule brought A.D. 68 forth young, an event which, as had been foretold, was to be a sign to him of the supreme power. Again, the hair of a boy who was bringing him incense when he was offering sacrifice suddenly turned white, whereupon the seers declared that the sovereignty held by the younger man should be transferred to the old age of Galba.

These, then, were the signs that appeared beforehand pointing to his sovereignty. As for Galba himself, his rule was in most respects moderate and free from offence, for he considered that he had not seized the power but that it had been given to him (indeed, he was constantly making this statement), but he collected money insatiably, since he required much, and spent of it very little, sometimes giving people as presents, not denarii, but sesterces; his freedmen, however, committed many offences, the responsibility for which was laid at his door. For, whereas it is enough for ordinary citizens to abstain from wrong-doing, those, on the other hand, who hold positions of command must see to it that no one else does any mischief, either. For it makes no difference to those who are wronged at whose hands they suffer the injury. Hence it was that, though Galba was not guilty of any violence, he was nevertheless ill spoken of because he allowed these others to do wrong, or else was ignorant of what was going on. A certain Nymphidius and Capito quite lost their heads as the result of this weakness of his. Capito, for instance, when one day a man appealed a case from his jurisdiction, changed his seat to a high chair and then said: “Now plead your case before Caesar.” He then passed sentence and
διαγνοὺς τε ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν. τούτοις μὲν δὴ
diὰ ταύτα ὁ Γάλβας ἐπεξήλθεν.

3 Ὡς δὲ ἐπλησίασε τῇ πόλει, ἀπήντησαν αὐτῷ
οἱ δορυφόροι τοῦ Νέρωνος, καὶ ἥξιον ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ
στρατείᾳ φυλαχθῆναι. καὶ θὰ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα
ἀνεβάλετο ὡς καὶ σκεψόμενος περὶ τούτου, ὡς δὲ
οὐκ ἐπείθοντο ἅλλ᾽ ἐθορύβουν, ἐφήκε σφισι τὸ
στρατεύμα, καὶ οἱ μὲν παραχρῆμα ἐς ἐπτα-
κισχιλίους ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δεκα-
τευθέντες. οὖτως, εἰ καὶ 1 τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τῇ τε νόσῳ
ἐκεκμῆκεν, ἀλλὰ τῇ διανοίᾳ ἥκμαζεν, οὐδ᾽ ἥξιον
3 τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀναγκαζόμενον τι ποιεῖν. ἀμέ-
λει καὶ τοῖς δορυφόροις ἀπαιτοῦσι 2 τὰ χρήματα
ἀ υπέσχετο ὁ Νυμφίδιος, 3 οὐκ ἔδωκε, καὶ ἔφη
γε ὅτι "καταλέγειν στρατιώτας ἅλλ᾽ οὐκ ἀγο-
ράζειν εἴωθα." τῷ δὲ δὴμῷ σφόδρα ἄξιοῦντι
tὸν τε Τιγελλίνου καὶ ἀλλοὺς τυνὰς τῶν πρότερον
ὑβρισάντων ἀποθανεῖν οὐχ ὑπείξε, τάχα ἄν
ἀποκτείνας αὐτοὺς εἰ μὴ ἐκεῖνοι τοῦτ ἤτηκεσαν.

41 τὸν μεντοῦ Ὅλιον καὶ τὸν Νάρκισσον τὸν τε
Πατρόβιον καὶ τὴν Λουκουσάν τὴν φαρμακίδα
καὶ ἀλλοὺς τυνὰς τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐπιπο-
λασάντων κατά τε τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν δεδεμένους
περιαχθῆναι καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο κολασθῆναι ἐκέλευσε.
Vat. 80 (p. 216 Mai. = p. 198, 8–10 Dind.).

4a Καὶ οἱ δούλοι οἱ κατὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν πράξαντές
τι ἡ εἰπόντες αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ παρε-
δόθησαν.—Zon. 11, 14, p. 43, 15–19 D.

198
put the man to death. For this conduct Galba A.D. 68
punished the men I have named.

As he drew near the City, the guards of Nero met
him and asked to be retained in the same service.
At first he put them off, ostensibly to take the matter
under advisement; and when they would not listen
to this but kept up a disturbance, he sent the army
against them. As a result about seven thousand of
them perished on the spot and the survivors were
later decimated. This shows that even if Galba was
bowed down with age and disease, yet his mind
was vigorous and he did not believe that an emperor
should submit to compulsion in anything. Further
proof is found in the fact that when the Praetorians
demanded of him the money that Nymphidius had
promised them, he would not give it, but replied:
"I am accustomed to levy soldiers, not to buy
them." And when the populace insistently de-
manded that Tigellinus and certain others who had
lately been so insolent should be put to death, he
did not yield, though he would probably have killed
them if their enemies had not made this demand.
In the case, however, of Helius, Narcissus, Patrobius,
Lucusta, the sorceress, and others of the scum that
had come to the surface in Nero's day, he ordered
them to be led in chains throughout the whole city
and then to be executed.

The slaves, likewise, who had been guilty of any
act or word against their masters were handed over
to these very masters for punishment.

1 εἰ καὶ R. Steph., εἴκὼν VC.
2 ἀπαιτοῦνει exc. Vat., αἰτοῦσι Xiph.
3 ἄντεσχετο ὁ Νυμφίδιος Petr. Patr., om. Xiph.
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4b "Ωτι τινές τῶν ἴδιων δούλων κατεφρόνησαν βουλόμενοι κακῶν δούλων ἀπαλλαγῆναι.—Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 81 (p. 216 Mai. = p. 198, 11, 12 Dind.).

4c Καὶ τὰ χρήματα δὲ καὶ τὰ κτήματα οὔτε τινὲς παρὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος εἶλήφεσαν ἀπητεῖτο. τοὺς γε μὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνου φυγαδευθέντας ὡς ἥσεβηκότας τι εἰς αὐτῶν κατήγαγε, καὶ τὰ ὁστὰ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους σφαγέντων εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἀὐγοῦ- στου μνημεῖον μετεκόμισε, καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτῶν ἀποκατέστησεν.—Zon. 11, 14, p. 43, 19–25 D.

4 Καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τούτους ἐπηνείτο, ὅτι δὲ ξίφος μέγα διὰ πάσης τῆς ὄδοι ἐξηρτάτο καὶ γέρων καὶ ἀσθενῆς τὰ νεῦρα ὄν, καὶ πάνυ πολὺν γέλωτα ὄφλισκαν.

4 Δέξω δὲ καὶ ὅπως αὐτῷ τὸ τέλος συνέβη. οἱ ἐν ταῖς Γερμανίαις στρατιώται, οὓς εἰχε Ῥούφος, μηδεμίαν εὐεργεσίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γάλβα εὐφρόμενοι ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐφλέγμηναν. τοῦ δὲ δὴ τέλους τῆς ἐπιθυμίας σφῶν ἀμαρτόντες ἐπὶ τοῦ Ῥούφου, ἐξήτουν αὐτὴν ἐφ' ἐτέρου τινὸς ἀποπληρώσατα, καὶ ἐποίησαν τοῦτο: προστησάμενοι γὰρ Αὐλον Οὐντέλλιον τῆς κατώ Γερμανίας ἄρχοντα ἐπανε- στήσαν, πρὸς μόνην τὴν εὐγένειαν αὐτοῦ ἀπιδόν- τες, ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε παιδικὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐγεγόνει καὶ ὃτι ἀκολούθως τῇ ἀσελγείᾳ ταύτῃ ἔξη οὐκ ἐνενόησαν, ἣ καὶ μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὸ τούτο ἀρμόζειν ἑσιν αὐτῶν ἐνόμισαν. ἀμέλει οὕτως οὐδ' αὐτοῦ λόγου τινὸς ἄξιον ἐαυτοῦ ἔκρινεν εἰναι ὡστε δια- σκόπτων τοὺς ἀστρολόγους τεκμηρίως κατ' αὐτῶν ἔχρητο, λέγων ὅτι "οὐδὲν ἐπίστανται οὐ γε καὶ 1 εὐφρόμενοι Bs., εὐφράμενοι VC.

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Some disdained to receive their own slaves, A.D. 68 wishing to be rid of rascally slaves.

Galba demanded the return of all gifts of money or property that any persons had received from Nero. Moreover, he restored all those who had been exiled by his predecessor on the charge of *maiestas* against the emperor, and he also transferred to the mausoleum of Augustus the bones of members of the imperial family who had been murdered, and he once more set up their images.

For these acts he was praised; on the other hand, he provoked much merriment by wearing a large sword at his side during the entire march, old and weak of sinew as he was.

I shall relate also how he met his end. The soldiers in the Germanies who had been under the command of Rufus became more and more exasperated because they could not obtain any favours from Galba. Having failed to secure the object of their desire under Rufus, they sought to obtain it under some other leader; and in this they succeeded. They placed Aulus Vitellius, governor of Lower Germany, at their head, and revolted. All that they had regard to in him was his noble birth, for they ignored the fact that he had been a favourite of Tiberius and was living a life in keeping with that licentious beginning; or perhaps they believed that on this very account he would suit their purposes all the better.

Vitellius himself, for that matter, held himself as of so little account that he scoffed at the astrologers and used their prediction as evidence against them, saying: “Certainly they know nothing when they declare

2 οὐστέλλιον Ζων. Α., οὐστέλλιον Ζων. Β(Ε)φ, βιτέλλιον ΒΙ (always).
ëmë autokrátóra fasi genvíssesthai."

καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ Νέρων ἀκούσας ἐγέλασε καὶ κατεφρόνησεν
αὐτοῦ, ὡστε μηδὲν δεινὸν αὐτὸν ἐργάσασθαι.

5 "Ὁ οὖν Γάλβας τὴν ἐπανάστασιν αὐτοῦ πυθόμενος Δουκίων Πίσωνα, ¹ νεανίσκον εὐγενῆ ἐπιεικῆ
φρόνιμον, ἐποίησατο καὶ Καίσαρα ἀπέδειξεν. ὁ
dὲ δὴ Ὁθων ἢ ³ Μάρκος ὁ Σάλονιος, ἀγανακτήσας
ὁτὶ ⁴ μὴ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ Γάλβα ἐπετοίητο, ἀρχὴν
αὐθῖς μυρίων τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κακῶν παρέσχε.
καὶ οὕτως ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐτιμάτο ὡστε καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ
τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐν ἡ ἀπέθανε, θυμόμενο ⁵ τι αὐτῷ μόνος
τῶν βουλευτῶν παρέστη. ὑφ’ οὕτως καὶ τὰ
3 μάλιστα συνετύγχανεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ ἱερότητις
ἐπιβουλευθεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ἔφη, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ’
αὐτὸν μηδαμὴ μηδαμῶς προεθεὶεν παρήγεσεν, ⁶
ἀκούσας τοῦτ’ ἐκεῖνος κατέδραμε τε εὐθὺς ὡς καὶ
ἐπ’ ἄλλο τι, καὶ υπὸ τινῶν στρατιωτῶν ὀλίγων,
οὶ συνωμομόκεσαν ⁷ αὐτῷ, ἐς τὸ τείχος ἐσήχθη,
κανταῦθα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀτε καὶ ἀχθομένους
τὸ Γάλβα προσαναπείσας, ⁸ μᾶλλον δὲ ἐκπριά-
μενος πολλαῖς ὅπωσχέσει, ⁹ παρά τε ἐκεῖνων
τὴν ἀρχὴν παραχρῆμα ἔλαβε καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ
6 παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Γάλβας τὰ πρασ-
σόμενα ἐπεμφίε τινας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ὡς καὶ
2 μεταπείσαι σφας δυνησόμενος. καὶ τοῦτο ἑτα-

¹ Πίσωνα Bk., πείσωνα VC Zon.
² Cf. Zonaras (11, 14, p. 44, 1–4 D.): ὁ δὲ Ὁθων ... ἐπ-
 ανέστη αὐτῷ, τρίακοντα μύον στρατιώτας ἐτοιμασάμενος.
³ ὁ Zon., om. VC.
⁴ ὁτι Zon., om. VC.
⁵ θυμόμενο Bk., θύμωνi Zon.
⁶ παρήγεσεν Xyl. (in vers.), παρήγεσαν VC, παρανοῦντος (τοῦ
ἱερόπτου) Zon.
that even I shall become emperor.” Nero, when A.D. 69 he heard of it, also laughed and felt such contempt for the fellow that he did him no harm.

Galba, on being informed of the uprising of Vitellius, adopted Lucius Piso, a youth of good family, promising and intelligent, and appointed him Caesar. Thereupon Marcus Salvius Otho, angered because he himself had not been adopted by Galba, set on foot once more countless evils for the Romans. And yet he was always honoured by Galba, so much so, in fact, that on the very day of the latter’s death he was the only one of the senators who attended him while he was sacrificing; and this circumstance was largely responsible for what happened. For when the soothsayer declared that Galba would be the victim of a plot and accordingly urged him never on any account to leave the palace, Otho heard it and hastening down immediately, as if on some other errand, was admitted into the camp by some few soldiers who were in the conspiracy with him. Then he won over the rest, too, since they were displeased at Galba, or rather he bought them with many promises. Thus he received the imperial office from these at once and afterwards from the others. Galba, on learning what was taking place, sent some emissaries to the camp, thinking that he would be able to persuade the soldiers to give him their allegiance again. Meanwhile a soldier, holding aloft his bare arm:

1 Zonaras: But Otho . . . rebelled against him, having got at his command only thirty soldiers.

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7 συνωμομόκεσαν St., συμωμόκεσαν VC.
6 προσαναπείσας Zon., προσαναπείσας VC.
9 πολλαῖς ὑποσχέσεσι Zon., om. VC.
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τιώτης τες γυμνὸν τὸ ξίφος καὶ ἡμαγμένου ἀνατείνων προσήλθεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐφη "θάρσει, αὐτοκράτορ. Ὅθωνα γὰρ ἄπεκτεινα, καὶ ἔστι σοι δεινὸν ἔτι οὐδέν." πιστεύσας οὖν ὁ Γάλβας πρὸς μὲν ἐκείνον εἶπε "καὶ τίς σοι τοῦτο ποιήσαι 3 ἐκέλευσεν;" αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὡς καὶ θύσων ἀρμησε. καὶ αὐτῷ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἁγορᾷ ἀπαντήσαντες ἦπεις καὶ πεζὸν ἐνταῦθα τὸν γέροντα τὸν ὑπατον τοῦ ἄρχιερεά τὸν Καίσαρα 1 τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, πολλῶν μὲν βουλευτῶν παμπόλλων δὲ δημοτῶν παρόντων, 2 κατέκοψαν, καὶ τὰ τέ αὐτὸς σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐλυμήναν, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκοψάντες περὶ κοινὸν ἀνέπειραν. 3 καὶ ο μὲν οὐτός, ἀκούσας ἤς αὐτὸν τὸν δίφρον ἐν φό εἴρηκαν καὶ προκύψας ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἐτρώθη 4 τοῦτο μόνον εἴπὼν, "καὶ τι κακὸν ἐποίησα;" καὶ αὐτῷ Σεμπρόνιος Δήμος ἐκατόνταρχος ἐπαμώνας ἐς ὅσον ἠδυνηθή, τέλος, ὡς οὐδὲν θύμησεν, ἐπεσφάγη. καὶ διὰ τούτῳ γε καὶ τὸ όνομα αὐτοῦ ἐνέγραψα, ὅτι ἀξιώτατος ἦστι μνημονεύσαθαι ἀπέδαινε μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὁ Πίσιων καὶ ἄλλοι συνχοί, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπικουροῦντες τῷ αὐτοκράτορι.—Χιφ. 187, 31—189, 14 R. St., Ζων. 11, 14, p. 43, 26—44, 26 D.

5α Πράξαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ στρατιῶται, τὰς τε κεφαλὰς ἐκείνων ἀποτεμόντες, πρὸς τὸν Ὁθωνα αὐτῶς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἐκόμισαν, ὡστε τοὺς βουλευτὰς καταπλαγέντας χαίρειν τε προσποιεῖσθαι κτλ.—Ζων. 11, 14, p. 44, 26—29 D.

8 Ἡ μὲντοι βουλὴ πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν φέροντα ἐφηφύσατο. βεβιάσθαι μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐς 204
sword covered with blood, approached him and said: A.D. 69

"Be of good cheer, emperor; I have killed Otho, and no further danger awaits you." Galba, believing this, said to him: "And who ordered you to do that?" He then set out for the Capitol to offer sacrifice. As he reached the middle of the Roman Forum, horsemen and foot-soldiers met him and then and there cut down, in the presence of many senators and crowds of plebeians, this old man, their consul, high priest, Caesar, and emperor; and after abusing his body in many ways they cut off his head and stuck it on a pole. Thus it was that Galba was struck by a javelin in the very chair in which he was being carried, and as he leaned out of it, was wounded, merely saying: "Why, what harm have I done?" Sempronius Densus, a centurion, defended him as long as he could, and finally, when he could accomplish nothing, let himself be slain over Galba's body. This is why I have recorded his name, for he is most worthy of being mentioned. Piso, also, was killed and numerous others, but not in aiding the emperor.

When the soldiers had done this, they cut off the heads of their victims, which they then carried to Otho in the camp and also into the senate-house; and the senators, though terror-stricken, affected to be glad, etc.

The senate, however, voted to Otho all the privileges pertaining to the sovereignty. He claimed, it is

1 τὸν ὑπατον and τὸν Καίσαρα Zon., om. VC.
2 παρόντων VC, ὅραντων Zon.
3 ἀνέπειραν Rk., ἐνέπειραν VC Zon.
4 ἑτρώθη VC, ἑφονεύθη Zon.
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τὸ τεῖχος ἂκων ἐσῆχθαι κάντανθα ἀντιλέγων κεκινδυνευκέναι ἔλεγε, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἑπιεικῶς ἐφθέγγυτο, καὶ τῇ ὑποκρίσει τοῦ σχῆματος ἐμετρίαζε, φιλήματα τε ὡς ἐκάστοις διὰ τῶν 21 δακτύλων ἔσεμπτε, καὶ ὑποσχεῖτο πολλά. οὐκ ἐλάνθανε δὲ ὡς καὶ 1 ἀσελγέστερον καὶ πικρότερον τοῦ Νέρωνος ἄρξειν ἐμελλε· τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ αὐτῷ ἐυθὺς ἐπέθετο.—Xiph. 190, 25–31 R. St.

6, 52 Ἐξῆσε δὲ Γάλβας ἐτή δύο καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ εἰκοσι, 2 αφ' ὧν ἦρξε μήνας ἐννέα καὶ ἡμέρας δεκατρεῖς. καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ Πίσων προσαπώλετο, τιμωρίαν ὑποσχῶν ὅτι Καῖσαρ ἀπεδείχθη.—Xiph. 189, 14–17 R. St., Zon. 11, 14, p. 45, 3–5 D.

7 Γάλβα μὲν δὴ τούτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο, ἐμελλε δὲ ἀρα καὶ τὸν Ὀθώνα ἡ δίκη οὐκ ἐσ μακράν μεθήξειν, ὡς πον παραχρῆμα ἔμαθε. θύνοτι τε γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν θυσίαν τὴν πρώτην τὰ ἱερὰ πονηρὰ ὁφθη, ὡστ' αὐτὸν μεταγνώντα ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις εἴπειν "τὰ γὰρ μὲ ἐδει μακροῖς αὐλοῖς αὐλεῖν:" ἔστι δὲ τούτο δημώδες, ἐς παροιμίαιν φέρουν, ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξω τι τοῦ προσφόρου σφίζει 2 ποιοῦντων. καὶ μετὰ τούτο τῆς νυκτὸς οὔτω δὴ τι ἐν τοῖς ὑπνοις ἐπαράξηθη ὡστε καὶ ἐκ τῆς εὐνής ἐκπεσεῖν τοὺς τε προκοιτοῦντας ἐκπλήξαι ἐσπηδήσαντες οὐν εὗρον αὐτὸν χαμαί κείμενον. ἄλλ' οὐ γὰρ εἴχεν ἄπαξ ἐς 3 τὴν ἄρχην ἐσέλθων 3 ἀναδύναι, καὶ ἐνέμεινεν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ δίκην ἐδωκε, καίτοι πολλὰ καὶ μέτρια πρὸς θεραπείαν τῶν

1 οὐκ ἐλάνθανε δὲ ὡς καὶ VC, οὐκ ἐλάνθανε δὲ ὅτι αὐτὸς τὴν Βουλήν ἐβιάζετο καὶ ὡς Zon. 2 καὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ εἰκοσι, Zon., om. VC.

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true, that he had acted under compulsion, that he had been taken into the camp against his will, and had there actually risked his life by opposing the soldiers. Furthermore he was kindly in his speech and affected modesty in his deportment, and he kept throwing kisses on his fingers to everybody and making many promises. But men did not fail to realize that his rule was sure to be even more licentious and harsh than Nero’s. Indeed, he immediately added Nero’s name to his own.

Galba had lived seventy-two years and twenty-three days, out of which he ruled nine months and thirteen days. Piso perished after him, thus paying the penalty for having been appointed Caesar. This was the end that befell Galba. But retribution was destined shortly to overtake Otho in his turn, as he promptly learned. For as he was offering his first sacrifice, the omens were seen to be unfavourable, so that he repented of what had been done and exclaimed: “What need was there of my playing on the long flutes?” (This is a colloquial and proverbial expression applying to those who do something for which they are not fitted.) Later he was so disturbed in his sleep at night that he fell out of bed and alarmed the guards who slept at the door; so when they rushed in, they found him lying on the floor. However, once he had entered upon the imperial office, he could not retreat; and he remained in it and paid the penalty, in spite of many temperate acts intended

1 Zonaras reads: “that he was himself using compulsion on the senate and that his rule,” etc.

3 ες Zon., επι V, space left in C.
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ἀνθρώπων ποιήσας, οὐχ ὅτι οὗτος ἐπεφύκει, ἀλλ' ὅτι οἰκοδοῦντων αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν Οὐιτέλλιον τῶν πραγμάτων οὐκ ἦθελε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκπολεμῶσαι.

—Xiph. 190, 8–25 R. St.

8, 2 Πλὴν τὸτε καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν συνήχοις τοῖς μὲν καταδίκας ἀνίει τοῖς δὲ ἀλλ' ἄττα ἔχαριζετο, καὶ ἐς τὰ θέατρα συνεχῶς ἑσεφοίτα θωπεύου τὸ πλήθος, τοῖς τε ξένοις πολιτείαν ἐδίδον καὶ ἀλλὰ 3 πολλὰ ἐπιγγέλλετο. οὐ μὴν καὶ οἰκείωσασθαι οὔδένα πλὴν οὐλόγων τινῶν ἡδυνῆθη ὁμοίων αὐτῷ. τὸ τε γὰρ τὰς τῶν ἐπαιτίων εἰκόνας ἀποκαταστήσαι, καὶ ὁ βίος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ δίαιτα, τὸ τε τῷ Σπόρῳ συνεῦναι καὶ τὸ τοῖς λοιποῖς τοῖς Νερωνείοις 9 χρῆσθαι πάνυ πάντας ἐξεφόβει. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐμίσουν ὅτι τὴν τε ἄρχην ὕνιον ἀπεδε- δείχει καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τοῖς θρασυτάτοις ἐπε- ποίηκει, καὶ τὴν μὲν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον παρ’ 2 οὔδεν ἦγε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ στρατιώτας ἐπεπεικε καὶ τοῦθ', ὅτι καὶ ἀποκτείναν Κάϊσαρα καὶ ποιήσαι δύνανται. τοὺς μὲντοι στρατιώτας ἐς τοσοῦτον τόλμης καὶ παρανομίας προϊγαγεν ἐκ τε ὅν ἐδίδον καὶ ὑν καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν ἐκολάκευν, ὡςτε καὶ ἐς τὸ παλατίων ποτε, ὡστερ ἔχον, ἑσεβιά- σαντο, ἐπειδὴ συχνοὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐνταῦθα τῷ Ὀθωνι συνεδρίπτον, καὶ τέλος καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ συμπόσιον, προαποκτείναντες τοὺς εἰργούτας 3 σφας, ἑσεπόδησαν καὶ πάντας ἄν τοὺς ἑνῶν οὕντας ἐφόνευσαν εἰ μὴ φθάσαντες ἐξανάστησαν

1 τὸ τε γὰρ τὰς . . . δίαιτα Bs., ὧτι τὸ τὰς τῶν ἐπαιτίων εἰκόνας τῶν Ὀθωνι ἀποκαταστήσαι καὶ ἡ δίαιτα cod. Peir., ὧ τε γὰρ βίος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ δίαιτα VC.

2 ὕνιον Bk., ὕνιον τε VC.
to conciliate the people. It was not his nature to behave that way, but since he had a troublesome situation on his hands because of Vitellius, he did not wish to alienate everybody else.

At this time, however, he was endeavouring to conciliate the senate by remitting the sentences against several of its members and by granting various favours to others; he constantly frequented the theatres in his effort to please the multitude, granted citizenship to foreigners, and in general made many attractive promises. Yet he did not succeed in winning the attachment of any save a certain few who were like himself. For there were several circumstances, such as his restoration of the images of those under accusation, his life and habits, his intimacy with Sporus and his keeping in his service the rest of Nero's favourites, that alarmed everybody. They hated him most of all, however, because he had shown that the imperial office was for sale and had put the City in the power of the boldest spirits; also because he held the senate and the people in slight esteem, and had convinced the soldiers of the fact that they could both kill and create a Caesar. Moreover, he brought the soldiers to such a daring and lawless state by his gifts and his excessive attentions that they once forced an entrance into the palace, just as they were, while a number of the senators were dining there with Otho; and finally they rushed into the banquet-room itself, first killing those who strove to bar their progress. Indeed they would have slain everybody in the room had not the guests jumped up and hidden themselves

\[\text{\footnotesize \[\text{\footnotesize \footnotesize 3} \alpha\pi\epsilon\delta\epsilon\epsilon\text{x}\epsilon\text{Dind.,} \alpha\pi\rho\delta\epsilon\epsilon\text{x}\epsilon\text{cod. Peir.}}\]

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καὶ κατεκρυφθησαν.  
καὶ οἱ μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο χρήματα, ὡς καὶ δὲ εὐνοιαν αὐτῷ τὸν "Οθωνος πεποιηκότες, ἔλαβον" ἔάλως  
δὲ τις καὶ Νέρων εἶναι πλασάμενος κατὰ τόνδε τὸν καιρὸν, οὕ τὸ ὄνομα τῷ Δίωνι ἡγυότατι, καὶ τὸ τέλος καὶ δίκην ἐδωκεν.—Xiph. 190, 31–191, 15 R. St., exc. Val. 260 (p. 697).

[15, 3
Dind.]

"Ὅτι ο Οὐάλης οὕτω περὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐσπούδαζεν καὶ οὕτως εξ ἀπαντὸς τρόπου ἥθροιζεν ὅστε καὶ τῶν δέκαρχων  
τὸν κατακρύμαντά τε αὐτὸν καὶ διασώσαντα ἀποσφάξαι διὰ χιλίας δραχμᾶς, ἓς ἐκ τῶν σκευῶν αὐτοῦ ύφηρήσθαι ἔδοξεν.—Exc. Val. 261 (p. 607).


in season,1 Even for this behaviour the men received a.d. 69 money, it being assumed that their act was due to their liking for Otho. About 2 this time also a man was caught who pretended to be Nero. His name was unknown to Dio. And at last he paid the penalty.

Otho,3 not succeeding by frequent invitations in persuading Vitellius to share the imperial office, was at last plunging into open war against him, and sending out troops under several different leaders,—an arrangement to which his reverses were largely due.

Valens was so eager for money and collected it so assiduously by every means that he even put to death the decurion who had concealed him and had saved his life—all because of a thousand denarii which he thought had been purloined from his baggage.

1 Petrus Patricius: The soldiers became bold in their utterances and attempted to slay the senators, declaring that Otho never could be sovereign while this assembly existed.

2 Zonaras: At this juncture a man who pretended to be Nero, from his resemblance to that emperor, threw practically all Greece into a ferment, and after assembling a band of criminals set out for the legions in Syria. But as he was passing through Cythnus, Calpurnius arrested him and put him to death.

3 Zonaras: Otho secretly sent many friends to Vitellius to seek a reconciliation, and when no heed was paid to them, he sent envoys openly. But Vitellius neither gave them any answer nor sent them back. Then Otho sent a force by land and by sea; but he was defeated, as a result of the large number of his commanders rather than by the weakness of his force. He set out from Rome himself and took with him the foremost men.

4 δεκαρχον Bs. (cf. Tac. Hist. ii. 29), χ cod. Peir., χιλιαρχον Val.

5 διασώσαντα Val., δικαιόσαντα cod. Peir.
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10, 2 "Οτι 1 ὁ Ὀθων ἀνεχώρησεν ἐκ τῆς μάχης, λέγων μὴ δύνασθαι μάχην ἀνδρῶν ὄμοφύλων ἰδεῖν, ὡσπερ ἐκ δικαίας τινὸς πράξεως αὐταρχῆς, ἀλλ' οὐ τούς τε ὑπάτους καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν τε αὐτοκράτορα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ρώμῃ φονεύσας.—Exc. Val. 262 (p. 697).

3 Ἐπεσον δὲ τέσσαρες μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν ἐκατέρωθεν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ταῖς πρὸς τῇ Κρεμωνί 2 γενομέναις: ὅπου γε 3 φασὶ πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἄλλα τε φανήναι σμηνεία, καὶ τίνα ὀριν ἐξαισίων, ὁποίοιν οὐπώτεροτε ἑωράκεσαν, 4 ἐπὶ τολλᾶς ἡμέρας ὄφθηναι.—Xiph. 191, 19–23 R. St.

11 Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τοῦ Ὀθωνος ἐκρατήθησαν, ἦγγειλε μὲν ἱππεὺς τις τὸ πάθος τῷ Ὀθωνι καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε ἡπιστεῖτο πρὸς τῶν παρόντων (ἔτυχον γὰρ πολλοῖ κατὰ τύχην ἡθορισμένοι) καὶ οἱ μὲν δραπέτην οἱ δὲ καὶ πολέμιον αὐτὸν ἀπεκάλουν, "εἴθε γὰρ" ἐφῆ "ψευδή ταῦτα, Καίσαρ, ἢν.

2 ηδύστα γὰρ ἄν νυκτόντο σου ἐτελεύτησα. νῦν δὲ ἐγὼ μὲν πάντως οἰχήσομαι, ἵνα μὴ μὲ τις ἐπὶ σωτηρία καταπεφυγέναι δόξη, σὺ δὲ Βουλεύσι, ὥς τῶν πολεμιῶν οὐκ ἐσ μακράν ἡξοῦτων, ὦ τι χρῆ πράξαι," καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐαυτὸν

12 διεχρήσατο. 5 πιστευσάντων δ' αὐτῷ ἐκ τούτου πάντων καὶ ἐτοίμως ἐχόντων ἀναμαχέσασθαι


2 Κρεμωνι R. Steph., κρεμωνι VC.

3 γε Sylb., τε VC.

4 ἑωράκεσαν v. Herw., ἑωράκασι VC.

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Otho withdrew from the battle, declaring that he could not witness a battle between kindred—just as if he had become emperor in some legitimate fashion and had not murdered the consuls and the Caesar and the emperor in Rome itself.

There fell in the battles which took place near Cremona 40,000 men on each side. Here, they say, various omens appeared before the battle, most noteworthy being an unusual bird, such as men had never before beheld, that was seen for a number of days.

After the forces of Otho had been worsted, a horseman brought word of the disaster to Otho. When the bystanders refused to credit his report—it chanced that there were many gathered there—and some were calling him a renegade and others an enemy, he exclaimed: "Would that this news were false, Caesar; for most gladly would I have died hadst thou been victor. As it is, I shall perish in any case, that no one may think that I fled hither to secure my own safety; but as for thee, consider what must be done, since the enemy will be here before long." With these words, he slew himself. This act caused all to believe him, and they were ready to renew the conflict. For not only were the troops which were already there

1 Zonaras: Handing over a part of his force to Proculus, he himself withdrew, saying he could not endure to witness a battle between kindred. Hence the soldiers and their commanders, despising him for his weakness, failed altogether in their duty, and being defeated, made overtures to the troops of Vitellius and fraternized with them.

2 Piso and Galba.

5 διευρήσατο VC Zon. BC, κατευρήσατο Zon. AE.
numerous, but others in considerable numbers had arrived from Pannonia; and—what is most important in such situations—they loved Otho and were quite devoted to him, not in words only, but in their hearts as well. When, however, they besought him not to abandon either himself or them, he waited until the rest had come running up at the news, and then, after muttering some words to himself, he harangued the soldiers at length, saying among other things:

"Enough, quite enough, has already happened. I hate civil war, even though I conquer; and I love all Romans, even though they do not side with me. Let Vitellius be victor, since this has pleased the gods; and let the lives of his soldiers also be spared, since this pleases me. Surely it is far better and far more just that one should perish for all than many for one, and that I should refuse on account of one man alone to embroil the Roman people in civil war and cause so great a multitude of human beings to perish. For I certainly should prefer to be a Mucius, a Decius, a Curtius, a Regulus, rather than a Marius, a Cinna, or a Sulla—not to mention other names. Therefore do not force me to become one of these men that I hate, nor grudge me the privilege of imitating one of those that I commend. But as for you, be off to the victor and pay court to him; as for me, I shall free myself, that all men may learn from the event that you chose for your emperor one

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3 καλ—προδοκαι Zon., om. VC.
4 καλ μὴ—φθειφεσθαι Zon., om. VC.
5 μὴτ' Bk., μὴ VC.

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14 Τοιαύτα μὲν "Οθων εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ δὴ στρατιῶται, 
ἐξ ὧν ἠκούον, καὶ ἑθαύμαζον ἀμα καὶ ἠλέουν εἰ 
ti peisioito, kai Δάκρυσι τε ἐκλαιοι καὶ θρήνουν, 
pataéra te anakalouüntes kai paídoi kai gonyevn 
φίλτρον όνομαξοντες.2 "ἐν σοί" τε "καὶ ἡμεῖς 
sωζόμεθα" ἔλεγον, "καὶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ πάντες 
2 ἀποθανούμεθα." καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐπὶ 
pλείστον τῆς ἡμέρας ἐλέξθη, τοῦ τε "Οθωνος 
teleutishai deouménon kai ekeinou µη ἐφιέντων 
autò toútto poióstai, πρὶν δὴ σιγάσας αὐτοῦς 
έφη ἐγὼ µὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως χείρων τοῦ 
stratiorwtò tòutò gevitçomai, ὃν αὐτῶi ἐωράκατε 
ὅπως ἑαυτὸν διὰ τούτο µόνον ἀπέσφαξεν, ὦτι τὴν 
3 ἦτταν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ αὐτοκράτορι ἡγγείλειν· ἀλλ' 
ἀκολουθήσω πάντως αὐτῷ, ἵνα µηδὲν ἔτι τοιοῦτον 
mήτε ἵδω µήτε ἀκούσω. ὑµείς δὲ, εἴπερ οὕτως 
φίλειτε µε, ἡσατε µὲ ἀποθανεῖν ὡς βούλοµαι, 
καὶ µή µε ξησαι ἀκοντα ἀναγκάσητε, ἀλλά πρὸς 
te τὸν κεκρατηκότα ἀπίτε καὶ ἐκεῖνον κολα- 
κευέτε."—Χιφ. 192, 18–30 R. St., Exc. Val. 263 
(p. 698).

15, 11, Ταύτ' εἶπὼν ἔσ τε τὸ δωµάτιον ἀνεχώρησε, 
a kai tina tois te olkeiois kai tet òOuieλλiω υπηρ 
autōn episteleias, ta te graµmata οsα tineis 
autò kai t' ekeinou ēγεραφέσαν εκαυςεν, ὡςτε 
µηδένα εξ αὐτῶν φωραθέντα κινδυνεύσαι, καὶ 
kalloc éna ekaston ton paróntwν ἥσπαζετo 
autōs kai eidoûn sphi συ χρήµata. kai toûtîo 
parachís genoménhs stratiorwtvν εξήλθε, kai 
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who would not give you up to save himself, but AD. 69 rather himself to save you."

Such were the words of Otho. The soldiers, when they heard them, felt both admiration for the man and pity for what might befall him; and they shed tears of sorrow and grief, calling him father and terming him dearer than children and parents. "Upon thee our lives depend," they said, "and for thee we will all die." And thus they continued to argue for most of the day, Otho begging to be allowed to die and the soldiers refusing to permit him to carry out his wish. Finally, he reduced them to silence and said: "Surely I cannot show myself inferior to this soldier, whom you have seen kill himself for the single reason that he had borne news of defeat to his emperor. I shall certainly follow in his footsteps, that I may never see or hear any such thing again. And as for you, if you really love me, let me die as I desire, and do not compel me to live against my will, but be off to the victor and curry favour with him."

At the close of this speech he retired to his apartment, and after sending some messages to his intimate friends and also to Vitellius in their behalf, he burned all the letters that anybody had written to him expressing hostility to Vitellius, not wishing them to serve as damaging evidence against anybody. Then calling those who were present one by one, he embraced them, and gave them money. Meantime there was a disturbance made by the soldiers, so that

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1 ὑμῶν R. Steph., ἡμῶν VC.
2 ἀνακαλοῦντες— ὄνομάζοντες VC, ἀνεκάλουν— ὄνομαζον cod. Peir.
3 συγάσας αὐτούς Reim., συγήσας αὐτοῖς VC.
καταστήσας αυτούς ού πρότερον ἀνεχώρησε πρὶν ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλεῖς ἄλλους ἄλλαχού περιψαί. καὶ τὸν οὕτως ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἔτι ταραχώδες ἐγίνετο, τι ξιφίδιον λαβὼν ἐαυτὸν διεχρήσατο. ¹ καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα οἱ στρατιώται ἀνείλοντο πενθοῦντες καὶ ἔθαψαν, καὶ τινες ἐαυτοὺς ἐπέσφαξαν αὐτῷ. ² τούτο τὸ τέλος τοῦ Ὁθων εὐγένετο ζησαντι μὲν ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα ἕτη, ἐνδεκα ἡμέρων δέοντα, ἀρξαντὶ δὲ ἡμέρας ἐνενήκοντα. ὅθεν καὶ τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ τὴν πονηρίαν τοῦ βίου συνεσκίασε. ² κακιστα γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ζῆσας κάλλιστα ἀπέθανε, καὶ κακούργοτα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀρπάσας ἀριστα αὐτῆς ἀπηλλάγη. ³ Οἱ δὲ στρατιώται εὕθυς μὲν ἐταράχθησαν καὶ ὑπ' ἄλληλων πολλοὶ ἀνηρέθησαν, ἑπείτα ὁμονόησαν καὶ προσκεκρήκεσαν τοῖς κεκρατηκόσις.—Χιφ. 192, 30—193, 5, Ζον. 11, 15, p. 46, 12—32 D.

he was obliged to go out and quiet them, and he did A.D. 69 not come back until he had sent them to places of safety, some here, some there. So then, when quiet had been completely restored, he seized a dagger and killed himself. The grief-stricken soldiers took up his body and buried it, and some slew themselves upon his grave. This was the end that befell Otho, after he had lived thirty-seven years, lacking eleven days, and had reigned ninety days; and his death threw into the shadow the impiousness and wickedness of his life. Thus after living most disgracefully of all men, he died most nobly; and though he had seized the empire by a most villainous deed, his taking leave of it was most honourable.

The soldiers immediately fell to rioting and many perished at one another's hands, but afterwards they reached an agreement and set out to meet the victors.

1 Joann. Antioch.: So by this action he threw into the shadow to a remarkable degree the licentiousness of his former life, thoroughly quenching this great war in his own blood.
EPITOME OF BOOK LXIV

LXV 1 Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ 'Ῥώμῃ ὡς ἤκουσαν τὸ τοῦ Ὄθωνος πάθος, παραχρῆμα, ὡσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, μετεβάλοντο· τὸν τε γὰρ Ὄθωνα, ὅν πρῶτον ἐπήμουν καὶ νικάν ἡγχοντο, ἔλοιδόρουν ὡς πολέμιοιν, καὶ τὸν Οὐιτέλ- λιον, ὃ κατηρώντο, καὶ ἐπήμουν καὶ αὐτοκράτορα

2 ἂνηγόρευον. οὕτω ποι ὄντω τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως οἱ τε ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἀνθθύντες καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ταπεινοτάτῳ ὄντες ἀστάθμητα τε αἱροῦνται, καὶ πρὸς τὰς τύχας σφῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐπαίνους καὶ τοὺς ψόγους τὰς τε τιμᾶς καὶ τὰς ατιμίας λαμβάνουσι.—Χιφ. 193, 12–23 R. St.

2α Ὅντι δὲ ἐν τῇ Γαλατία ὁ θάνατος ἤγγελθη τοῦ Ὅθωνος. ἢλθε δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ τὸ παιδίον, καὶ ἐπὶ βῆματος Γερμανικὼν τε καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ἔπωνόμασεν, ἐξαίτες δὲ.—Ζον. 11, 16, p. 47, 3–7 D.

3 Ὅτι ο Οὐιτέλλιος εἶδεν ἐν Δουγδοῦνῳ μονο- μάχων ἀγώνια καὶ ἐν Κρεμώνι, ὡσπερ οὐκ ἄρκουντο τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπολογίτων καὶ τὸτε καὶ ἐτὶ ἀτάφω ἐρριμένουν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐθεασάτο· διεξήλθε γὰρ διὰ παντὸς των χρώμων ὃ ἐκείνω, ἐμπιπλάμενος τῆς θέας ὡσπερ τὸτε νικῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκέλευσε σφας οὐδ' ὃς ταφήματι.—Ἐξ. Βαλ. 264α (p. 698).

4 Ὅντι Οὐιτέλλιος δὲ ἐπει ἐν τῇ 'Ῥώμῃ ἐγένετο, τάλλα
When the people in Rome heard of the fate of Otho, they naturally transferred their allegiance forthwith. And so Otho, whom they had previously been lauding and for whose victory they had been praying, was now abused as an enemy, whereas Vitellius, upon whom they had been invoking curses, was lauded and proclaimed emperor. So true is it that there is nothing constant in human affairs; but alike those who are most prosperous and those who are in the humblest station make an unstable choice and receive praise or blame, honour or dishonour, according as their fortunes shift.

News of Otho's death was brought to him while he was in Gaul. There he was joined by his wife and son; and he placed the boy on a tribunal and gave him the titles of Germanicus and imperator, though he was only six years old.

Vitellius witnessed gladiatorial combats at Lugdunum and again at Cremona, as if the crowds of men who had perished in the battles and were even then lying unburied where they had been cast did not suffice. He beheld the slain with his own eyes, for he traversed all the ground where they lay and gloated over the spectacle as if it were still the moment of his victory; and not even then did he order them to be buried.

Vitellius, upon reaching Rome and arranging affairs
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te diókei óws poun kai eiódókei autò, kai prógrámma ἑθετο δι’ ou toous ástronológous exéhlase, proeipóntov sφisín éntos tîs de tîs ἰμέραs, ρητήn tîn tázas, ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆs Ἰταλίαs χωρῆsai. 2 kai autò ékeínoi nuktòs aintiprobetaítes grámmatα ἀντι- parήγγειλαv áppallagínam ék tîou bíou éntos tîs ἰμέραs en ἦ ἐτελεύτηs. kai oi méν ou̇tȯs ákrivoẇs to γενησόμενον προέγνωsav.—Xiph. 193, 23–30
R. St., Zon. 11, 16, p. 47, 7–13 D.

2. Αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ τε τρυφῇ καὶ τῇ ἁσελγείᾳ προσ- κείμενος οὔδεν ἔτι τῶν ἀλλῶν οὔτε τῶν ἀνθρω- πίνων οὔτε τῶν θείων ἐφρόντιζεν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ
καὶ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς τοιοῦτος οἷος περὶ τε τὰ κατηλεία
καὶ περὶ τὰ κυβευτήρια τοὺς τε ὀρχηστάς καὶ
toûs ἀρματηλάτας ἐσπουδακέναι, καὶ ἀμύθητα ἐς
tα τοιαῦτα ἀνήλισκε, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ δανειστὰς
2 πολλοὺς εἰχε’ τὸτε δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον, ἀτε καὶ ἐν
tοσαύτῃ ἔξονοια καθεστῶς, ὕβριζε, καὶ τὸ πλεί-
στον καὶ τῆς ἰμέρας καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐδαπάνα
ἀπλήστως τε ἐμφορούμενος καὶ συνεχῶς πάντα
ἐξεμῶν, ὡς μόνη τῇ παρὸδῳ τῶν σιτίων τρέφεσθαι.
ἀφ’ οὔπερ καὶ ἀνταρκεῖν ἐδύνατο, ἐπεὶ ο’ γε
συνεδειπνούντες αὐτῷ πάνου 3 κακῶς ἀπ’ ἡλλασσον.
3 πολλοὺς γὰρ ἀεὶ τοὺς πρώτους ὀμοσίτους ἐποι-
εῖτο, καὶ πολλάκις καὶ παρ’ αὐτῶς εἰσιτιάτω-
θεν χαριστατον λόγου εἰς τις αὐτῶν Οὐίβειος
Κρίστος ἀρρωστήσας, καὶ διὰ τούτο ἰμέρας
tινᾶς ἀπολειφθεῖς τοῦ συσσιτίου, εἶπεν, ὅτι “εἰ

1 Cf. Zonaras: φιλόματις δὲ υπάρχων καὶ μηδὲ τῷ βραχύ
πράσσων ἀνευ αὐτῶν, τότε μὲν τοὺς ἀστρονόμους, ὤστερον δὲ καὶ
τοὺς γόητας ἐξήλασε, προειπὼν κτὲ.
2 ἐξ—χωρῆσαι VC, ἐξ ἀπάσης ἐκχωρῆσαι τῆς Ἰταλίας Zon.

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to suit him, issued an edict banishing the astrologers A.D. 69 and commanding them to leave the whole of Italy by a certain specified day. They answered him by putting up at night another notice, in which they commanded him in turn to depart this life before the end of the very day on which he actually died. So accurate was their foreknowledge of what should come to pass.

Vitellius, addicted as he was to luxury and licentiousness, no longer cared for anything else either human or divine. He had indeed always been inclined to idle about in taverns and gaming-houses, and devote himself to dancers and charioteers; and he used to spend incalculable sums on such pursuits, with the result that he had many creditors. Now, when he was in a position of so great authority, his wantonness only increased, and he was squandering money most of the day and night alike. He was insatiate in gorging himself, and was constantly vomiting up what he ate, being nourished by the mere passage of the food. Yet this practice was all that enabled him to hold out; for his fellow-banqueters fared very badly. For he was always inviting many of the foremost men to his table and he was frequently entertained at their houses. It was in this connexion that one of them, Vibius Crispus, uttered a very witty remark. Having been compelled for some days by sickness to absent himself from the convivial board, he said:

Zonaras: Though he had a great regard for omens, and did nothing however trivial without consulting them, he banished the astrologers at this time and later the sorcerers.

1 Zonaras: Though he had a great regard for omens, and did nothing however trivial without consulting them, he banished the astrologers at this time and later the sorcerers.

2 According to Suetonius (Vit. 14) they named the very same day that had been appointed by Vitellius.

3 πάντες Zon. Aut., σφόδρα ex. Vat., πάντες VC, om. cod. Peir,
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3 μὴ ἐνενοσήκειν, πάντως ἂν ἀπωλώλευν." καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ χρόνος ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ σύμπας οὐδὲν ἀλλο ἢ μέθαι τε καὶ κώμοι. πάντα τε γὰρ τὰ τιμώτατα καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ, ἵνα μηδὲν εἴπω πλέουν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης συνήγετο, καὶ πολυτελῶς οὕτως ἐσκεινάζετο ὡστε Οὐντελλιανὰ καὶ νῦν ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ πέμματα καὶ ἀλλὰ τινὰ βρώματα ὁνομαζεσθαι. καὶ τί ἂν τις καθ' ἐκαστον αὐτῶν καταλέγοι, ὅπωτε πρὸς πάντων ὁμοίως ὁμολόγηται δύο τε αὐτῶν μυριάδας μυριάδων καὶ δισχιλίας 1 πεντακοσίας ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνῳ ἢ τὰ δείπνα δεδαπανηκέναι; ἐπέλυτε τε γὰρ πάντα τὰ πολυτίμητα δί' ὀλίγου, καὶ ἔδει πάντως αὐτὰ εἶναι. μίαν γοῦν ποτε λοπάδα πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδων ἐσκεύασε, γλώττας τε καὶ ἐγκεφάλους καὶ ἡπατα καὶ ἱχθῶν καὶ ὀρνίθων τινῶν ἐμβαλὼν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀδύνατον ἦν κεραμεῖν τηλικάυτην γενέσθαι, ἀργύρου τε ἐποιήθη καὶ ἔμεινε πολὺν χρόνον ὢστερ τι ἀνάθημα, μέχρις ὅτι Ἀδριάνος αὐτὴν ἱδὼν συνεχώνεσθε.—Xiph. 193, 30–194, 25 R. St., Exc. Val. 264b (p. 698).

4 Ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀπαξ τούτων ἐμνημόνευσα, καὶ ἐκείνο προσθῆσω ὥστε οὔδε τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Νέρωνος τῇ χρυσῇ ἢρκεῖτο, ἀλλὰ καίτοι σφόδρα καὶ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸν βίον τὰ τε ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτοῦ πάντα καὶ ἀγαπῶν καὶ ἔπαινων, ὁμοὶ ἡτίατο αὐτὸν κακῶς τε ἁκηκὼν καὶ κατασκευὴ καὶ ὀλίγη καὶ ταπεινὴ κεχρησθαὶ 2 λέγων νοσήσας γοῦν ποτε ἐξῆτησεν οὐκήμα ἐν ὦ κατοικήσει; 2 οὕτως αὐτὸν οὔδε τῶν ἐκείνου τι ἦρεσεν. ἡ γυνὴ δὲ αὐτοῦ Γαλερία ὡς ὀλίγου ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ 224
"If I had not fallen ill, I surely should have perished." A.D. 69

The entire period of his reign was nothing but a series of carousals and revels. All the most costly viands were brought from as far as the Ocean (not to say farther) and drawn from both land and sea, and were prepared in so costly a fashion that even now certain cakes and other dishes are named Vitellian, after him. And yet why should one name over all the details, when it is admitted by all alike that during the period of his reign he expended 900,000,000 sesterces on dinners? There soon was a famine in all costly articles of food, yet it was absolutely imperative that they should be provided. For example, he once caused a dish to be made that cost a million sesterces, into which he put a mixture of tongues and brains and livers of certain fishes and birds. As it was impossible to make so large a vessel of pottery, it was made of silver and remained in existence for some time, being regarded somewhat in the light of a votive offering, until Hadrian finally set eyes on it and melted it down.

Now that I have once touched on this subject, I will also add that not even Nero's Golden House could satisfy Vitellius. For though he admired and lauded the name and the life and all the practices of Nero, yet he found fault with him for living in such a wretched house, so scantily and meanly equipped. At any rate, when he fell ill one time, he looked about for a room to live in; so little did anything even of Nero's satisfy him. And his wife Galeria ridiculed the small amount of decoration found in the royal

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1 δισ.χιλιας VC Ant., χιλιας Zon. The larger figure is confirmed by Tac., Hist., ii. 95.
2 κεχρησται Rk., χρησται VC cod. Peir.
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κύσμου εὑρεθέντος κατεγέλα. ἄλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀναλίσκοντες οὖδ' ἤρίθμουν τι ἐκ τῶν δαπανωμένων, οί δὲ δὴ δευτεριότερος σφας ἐν μεγάλῳ κακῷ ἐγίγνοντο, πλὴν οἷς τι ἀντ-3 απεδίδον. καὶ περ οὗ' οἵς τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ αὐτοὶ εἰστίων αὐτῶν, ἄλλ' ἄλλοι μὲν ἀκρατίσασθαι παρεῖχον, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀριστήσασθαι, ἐτεροὶ δὲ δειπνοῦν, ἐτεροὶ μεταδότικα τινα πλησιμοῦ ἐπαρξεῖστα πάντες γὰρ οἱ δυνάμενοι ἐστίαν αὐτῶν ἐσπούδαζουσιν ὡστε οἰκίων ἡμερῶν διελθοῦσών ἐκατόν ἐς τὸν δειπνον μυριάδας ἀναλώσαι.1 καὶ τὰ γενέθλια αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας ἐσπράζετο, καὶ θηρία καὶ ἄνδρες πολλοὶ ἀπεκτάνθησαν.—Xiph. 194, 25–195, 4 R. St., Exc. Val. 265 and 266 (p. 698).

6 Οὔτω δὲ βιούς οὐκ ἀμοιρος ἤν παντάπασι καὶ καλῶν ἔργων. τὸ τε γὰρ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ Γάλβου τοῦ τε Ὥθωνος κοπὴν νόμισμα ἐτήρησεν, οὐκ ἀγανακτῶν ταῖς εἰκόσιν αὐτῶν καὶ ὅσα τισὶν ἐδεδώρηστο ἐφύλαξε, μηδένα μηδὲν 2 ἀφελόμενον, καὶ οὕτε τὰ ἐκ τῶν συντελευτῶν ἐπο-φληθέντα ἀπήτησεν οὕτε οὕσιν τινὸς ἐδήμευσεν, ὀλίγοις μὲν πάνυ τῶν τὰ Ὥθωνος πραξάντων ὕποκτείνας, μηδὲ τὰς ἐκείνων μέντοι οὐσίας τοὺς προσκύνουσάς σφων ἀποστείρησας. καὶ τοῖς οἰκεῖοις δὲ τῶν πρότερον ποτὲ θανατωθέντων ἐδωρήσατο πάντα ὅσα ἐτὶ ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ εὐρήτο.2

3 ἄλλ' οὖν τὰς διαθήκας τῶν ἀντιπολεμησάντων αὐτῶ καὶ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις πεσόντων ἦτιμάτω. ἀπηγόρευσε δὲ καὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς καὶ τοῖς

1 ὅστε—ἀναλώσαι VC, καὶ ἐκατόν δὲ αὐτῶν φασὶ μυριάδας ἐς δειπνον ἀναλώσαι cod. Peir.
2 εὐρήτο St., εὐρήτο MSS.

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apartments. This pair, then, as they were spending A.D. 69 other people's money, never stopped to count the cost of anything; but those who invited them to meals found themselves in great embarrassment, excepting a few to whom he gave something in return. Yet the same persons would not entertain him for the entire day, but one set of men furnished breakfast, another luncheon, another dinner, and still another certain kinds of dessert, "consolations for a jaded appetite."¹ For all who were able to do so were eager to entertain him, so that in the course of a few days they spent four million sesterces for dinner.² His birthday celebrations lasted over two days and many wild beasts and men, too, were slain.

Though he lived this kind of life, he was not entirely without good deeds. For example, he retained the coinage minted under Nero, Galba and Otho, evincing no displeasure at their likenesses; and any gifts that they had bestowed upon any persons he held to be valid and deprived no one of any such possession. He did not collect any sums still owing of former levies, and he confiscated no one's property. He put to death but very few of those who had sided with Otho, and did not withhold the property of these even from their relatives. Upon the kinsmen of those previously executed he bestowed all their funds that were still to be found in the public treasury. He did not even find fault with the wills of such as had fought against him and had fallen in the battles. Furthermore he forbade

¹ This little phrase is taken from Plato's Crilias, 115 b.
² The text is uncertain, due perhaps to the omission of some details by the epitomist. The reading of the Cod. Peir. is "and they say he spent four millions upon dinner," omitting the words "in the course of a few days."
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"Oti toioou tou Oiitellioi ountos oud’ oii stratatiotai eswfronouv, alla kai ubreis kai 
aselgeiai up’ autoi pollaia pantachou’ omoious egignontoi.—Zon. 11, 16, p. 48, 9–24 D.

"Oti Vitellios anebi eis to Kapiitwlion kai 
tn mytera autoi’ hspasato. ekeivn de etpieikh’ 
hn, kai oste1 prwtov hkonwv uti Germwnikos 
eteklhyi o vidos autois, etpev ‘’egw men Vitellion 
alla’ ou’ Germwnikon tetoka.”—Petr. Patr. exc. 
Val. 93 (p. 218 Mai. = p. 199, 24–28 Dind.).

Gelwta menoi ou Oiitellios polloi apareiex
orwntes gar anbrea semnoprosopwnta 
etai dhmosiais prosodois2 ou’ hdesan pe- 
porevkonta, kai ef’ ippon basilikou kai 
chlamudi porphur’ ou’ hipsta tois’ agwnostas

1 ipponov en ti ouneitiw3 esthiti pschonti, metai 
to’ ochlou stratwstwn tosou eto’ to Kapi- 
twlon anwnta ou’ oudeis oud’ en ti’ agora 
prwteron diao to’ twv daneistwn plhds idewn 
edwnato, kai proskynwmenon pro’ panta’ ou’ 
oudeis oude filhisaip pote hdeos hdelhesen, ouk

2 eixon otiw twv gelwto kattachwswin. ou’ ge mnh 
dedanekotes ti auto’ eirwntos men autoi eti 
tn Germwnikan epelabwnto, kai moulw pote 
kategynswnta autoi apelwsovan toto de ou’ 
ou’ ou’ kategelo’ alla kai ebrwnon kai kate-

kruptontoi, kai autoi anaxetwn ti’ te sotet-

1 oste St., oti cod.

2 prosodois Bs., prosodois VC.

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the senators and the knights to fight as gladiators or A.D. 69

to perform in any spectacle in the orchestra. For
these measures he was commended.

The character of Vitellius being such as I have
described, the soldiers did not show any restraint
either, but numerous instances of their wantonness
and licentiousness were occurring everywhere alike.

Vitellius ascended the Capitol and embraced his
mother. She was a good, honest soul, and when
she first heard that her son had been given the
name Germanicus, she said: "The child I bore was
Vitellius, not Germanicus."

Vitellius, however, furnished many with material
for amusement. They could not restrain their
laughter when they beheld wearing a solemn face
in the official religious processions a man whom they
knew to have played the strumpet, or saw mounted
on a royal steed and clad in a purple mantle him
who used, as they knew full well, to wear the
Blue costume and curry the race-horses, or when
they beheld ascending the Capitol with so great a
crowd of soldiers him whom previously no one could
catch a glimpse of even in the Forum because of
the throng of his creditors, or saw receiving the
adoration of all a man whom, a while before, nobody
would readily have consented even to greet with a
kiss. Indeed, those who had lent him anything had
laid hold of him when he was setting out for Germany
and would scarcely release him after he had given
security. Now, however, so far from laughing at
him, they were mourning and hiding themselves;
but he sought them out, telling them he spared

\[3 \text{ odενετὶς R. Steph., διβενετεῖω VC.}\]
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ρίαν σφίσιν ες τὸ ὀφειλόμενον ἀποδιδόναι ἐλεγε καὶ τὰ συμβόλαια ἀπήτευ. — Xiph. 195, 4–17 R. St., Exc. Val. 268 (p. 701).

7 Ἑπεφοίτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεάτροις συνεχῶς, ὡστε καὶ τὸν ὄμλον ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἀναρτᾶσθαι, συνε- σίτει δὲ καὶ τοὺς δυνατωτάτους ἀπλοῖζόμενος,1 ὡστε αὐτοὺς ἐτί καὶ μᾶλλον προσεταιρίζουσαν τὸν τε ἄρχαν συμβιωτῶν ἰσχυρῶς ἐμέμνυτο, καὶ πάνιν αὐτοὺς ἐτίμα, οὐκ ἀπαξίων γνωρίζειν τινα αὐτῶν δοκεῖν, ὡσπερ ἐτερον πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ μέγα παραλόγως ἀρθέντες μισοῦσι τοὺς συνειδότας σφίσι τὴν ἐν τῷ πρὶν ταπεινότητα. —

Xiph. 195, 17–24 R. St.

2 Ὅτι ο Ὀὐντέλλιος, Πρίσκου ἀντειπόντος τι αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ τινα καὶ τῶν στρατιω- τῶν καταδραμόντος, ἐπεκαλέσατο μὲν τοὺς δη- μάρχους ὡς καὶ τῆς παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐπικουρίας δεόμενος, οὔτε δὲ αὐτὸς τι κακὸν τὸν Πρίσκου ἡργάσατο οὐθ’ ὑπ’ ἐκείνων παθεῖν εἰςεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔφη ὅτι “μὴ ταράττεσθε,2 πατέρες, μηδ’ ἀγανακτεῖτε, εἰ δύο ἄνδρες εξ ὑμῶν διηνέχθημεν τι πρὸς ἀλλήλους.” καὶ τούτο μὲν3 εξ ἐπιεικείας

3 πεποιηκέναι ἐδοξεν ὅτι μὲντοι τῶν Νέρωνα μιμεῖσθαι ἦθελε καὶ ἐνήγισεν αὐτῷ,4 καὶ ὅτι τοσαῦτα ἐς τὰ δεῖπνα ἀνήλικεν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι καὶ κατὰ τοῦτ’ ἔχαιρον, οἱ δὲ δὴ νοῦν ἔχοντες ἠχθόντο, εὖ ἐπιστάμενοι ὅτι οὐδὲ τὰ ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς οἰκουμενῆς χρήματα ἀρκέσει. — Exc. Val. 269 (p. 701).

8 Πράττοντι δ’ αὐτῷ ταῦτα σημεία ποιηρὰ ἐγέ-

1 ἀπλοῖζόμενος H. Steph., ἀπλωίζόμενος VC.

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their lives in payment of the debt he owed, and he A.D. 69 demanded back his notes.

He was a constant attendant at the theatres, and by this won the attachment of the populace. He ate with the most influential men on free and easy terms, and this gained their favour to an even greater degree. His old companions he never failed to remember and honoured them greatly, not disdaining to appear to recognize any of them. In this he was unlike some others; for many who have unexpectedly attained to great power feel hatred for those who are acquainted with their former humble state.

Vitellius, when Priscus opposed him in the senate and also denounced the soldiers, called the tribunes to his side as if he needed their assistance. Yet he neither did Priscus any harm himself nor did he allow the tribunes to molest him, but merely said: "Be not disturbed, Fathers, nor indignant, that we two out of your number have had a little dispute with each other." This act seemed to have been due to a kindly disposition. The fact, however, that he wished to imitate Nero and offered sacrifices to that emperor's Manes, and that he spent so great sums on dinners, though it caused joy to some, made sensible people grieve, since they were fully aware that not all the money in the whole world would be sufficient for him.

While he was behaving in this way, evil omens

2 ταράττεσθε Val., ταράττεσθαι cod. Peir.
3 μὲν supplied by Bk.
4 αὐτῷ Bk., τέ αὐτῷ cod. Peir.
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vetο.\(^1\) καὶ γὰρ κομήτης ἀστὴρ ἐφαντάσθη καὶ ἡ σελήνη παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκός διὸς ἐκκελοιτεύει ἔδωξε\(^2\) καὶ γὰρ τεταρταῖα καὶ ἐβδομαία ἐσκιάσθη. καὶ ἡλίους δύο ἁμα, ἐκ τῶν ἀνατολῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν δυσμῶν, τούτων μὲν ἀσθενὴ καὶ ώρχρον 2 ἐκείνων δὲ λαμπρῶν καὶ ἰσχυρῶν, εἴδον. ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἤχων πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα δαιμόνια τινῶν ὣς καὶ κατεληλυθότων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐωράθη· καὶ ἐλεγον οἱ στρατιώται οἱ τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην αὐτῷ ἐγκεκοιτηκότες ὅτι ὁ τοῦ Διὸς ναὸς αὐτόματος σὺν πολλῷ κτύπῳ ἥμεσχῇ, ὡστε τινὰς τῶν φυλάκων ἐκπλαγεύτας ἀποψύξαι.—Xiph. 195, 24–196, 1 R. St., Zon. 11, 16, p. 48, 25–32 D.

31 'Επράχθη\(^2\) δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ ὁ Οὐέσπασιανὸς Ἰουδαῖος πολεμῶν, πυθόμενος τὴν τε τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ὄθωνος ἐπανάστασιν, ἐβουλεύετο ὃ τι χρή πρᾶξαι.—Xiph. 196, 1–3 R. St.

3a 'Οτι ὁ Οὐέσπασιανὸς οὔτ᾽ ἀλλως προπετῆς ἦν, καὶ ἐς ταραχώδη οὔτω πράγματα καὶ πάνω ὄκενε ἑαυτὸν καθεῖναι.—Exc. Val. 270 (p. 701).

32 'Η τε γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὔνοια πολλὴ ἦν πρὸς αὐτὸν (ἡ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Βρεττανίας δόξα καὶ

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1 Cf. Zonaras: ἐπὶ τούτοις ἠγγέλθη αὐτῷ ἢ ἐν Ἰουδαία καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπανάστασε. καὶ δεινώς κατεῖδεσε δι' αὐτὴν ἅλλων τε συμβάντων σημείων καὶ τῆς σελήνης κτέ.


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ocurred. A comet was seen, and the moon, contrary to precedent, appeared to suffer two eclipses, being obscured on the fourth and on the seventh day. Also people saw two suns at once, one in the west weak and pale, and one in the east brilliant and powerful. On the Capitol many huge footprints were seen, presumably of some spirits that had descended from it. The soldiers who had slept there on the night in question said that the temple of Jupiter had opened of itself with great clangour and that some of the guards had been so terrified that they fainted.

At the same time that this happened Vespasian, who was engaged in warfare with the Jews, learned of the rebellion of Vitellius and of Otho and was deliberating what he should do.

Vespasian was never inclined to be rash, and he hesitated very much about involving himself in such troublous affairs.

For not only was the popular feeling strong in his favour—since his reputation won in Britain, his

1 Cf. Zonaras: At this juncture the uprising against him in Judaea was reported to him. And he was in great fear because of it, since various omens, etc.

2 Cf. Zonaras: The rebellion came about in this way. Vespasian, who was tarrying in Judaea (for, as has already been related [lxiii. 22, 1] he had been sent thither on account of the revolt of the Jews), had sent his son to carry his greetings to Galba when the latter had become emperor; but when Titus returned, having learned on the way of the rebellion of Vitellius and of Otho, Vespasian also set out to gain the sovereignty.


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ή ἐκ τοῦ ἐν χερσὶ πολέμου εὐκλεία τὸ τε ἐπιεἰκές καὶ φρόνιμον αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν σφᾶς ἦγε
4 τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ προστατείας), καὶ ὁ Μουκιανός ἱσχυρὸς προσέκειτο, ἐλπίσας τὸ μὲν ὀνόμα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνου ἐξειν, αὐτὸς ἐδε διὰ τὴν ἐπιεἰκείαν αὐτοῦ ἱσομοιορήσειν. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ στρατιω- ταὶ τούτων, καὶ περιστάντες τὴν σκηνήν αὐτοῦ,
9 ἀνείπτων αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορα. ἐγεγόνει μὲν οὖν καὶ σημεῖα καὶ οὐνειροὶ τὸ Ὀὐσεπασιανὸ τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐκ πόλλοι δηλοῦντα, ἀ καὶ ἐν τῷ
2 αὐτοῦ βίῳ λελέξεται τιμικάντα δὲ τῶν μὲν Μουκιανὸν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ Οὐιτέλλιον ἐπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ἐπίδων καὶ τοῦ πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Ἰουδαίον ἄλλοις τις προστάξας ἐς τὴν Ἀγνυπτὸν ἐκομίσθη καὶ συνε- λεγε χρῆματα, ὅπν ποῦ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐχρησθε, καὶ σίτον, ἣν ὅτι πλείστον ἐς τὴν Ἐρώμην ἄπο-
3 στείλῃ. οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ στρατιῶται τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν πεπυσμένοι οὔτο ἀνέμειναν τοὺς Μουκιανόν (ἐπινιθάνοντο γὰρ ἐν ὀδό eιναι), ἀλλ' Ἀντώνιον Πούμον, φυγόντα μὲν ἐκ καταδίκης ἐπὶ τοῦ Νέρωνος, καταχθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Γάλβα καὶ τοῦ Πανονικοῦ στρατοπέδου ἄρχοντα, εἴλοντο
4 στρατηγόν. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως τῇ αὐτοτελῇ ἀρχῇ μὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος μὴθ' ὑπὸ τῆς γερον-
σίας αἱρεθέεις. τοσαύτη τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἣν πρὸς τε τοῦ Οὐιτέλλιον ὀργὴ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀρπαγάς ὀρμῆν' οὐ γὰρ ποὺ καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλοι ταῦτα ἐπραττον ἡ ἤνα τῇ "Ιταλίαν διαρτάσσωσιν, ὅ καὶ ἐγένετο.
10 Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος αὐτὸς μὲν

1 ἐκείνον H. Steph., ἐκεί VC.
2 αὐτὸς Rk., καὶ αὐτὸς VC.
fame derived from the war then in hand, his good nature, and his prudence, all led men to desire to have him at their head—but Mucianus was also urging him strongly to this course, hoping that while Vespasian should have the name of emperor, he himself as a result of the other's good nature might enjoy an equal share of power. The soldiers, on perceiving all this, surrounded Vespasian's tent and hailed him as emperor. Portents and dreams had also come to him, pointing to his sovereignty long beforehand; these will be related in the story of his life.¹ For the time being he sent Mucianus to Italy against Vitellius, while he himself, after looking at affairs in Syria and entrusting to others the conduct of the war against the Jews, proceeded to Egypt, where he collected money, of which naturally he was greatly in need, and grain, which he desired to send in as large quantities as possible to Rome. The soldiers in Moesia, hearing how matters stood with him, would not wait for Mucianus,—they had learned that he was on the way,—but chose as their general Antonius Primus, who had been sentenced to exile in Nero's reign but had been restored by Galba and was commander of the legion in Pannonia. Thus this man held supreme authority, although he had not been chosen either by the emperor or by the senate. So great was the soldiers' anger at Vitellius and their eagerness for plunder; for they were doing this for no other purpose than to pillage Italy. And their intention was realized.

Vitellius, when he heard about it, remained where

¹ This expression is evidently due to Xiphilinus, who arranged his epitome as a series of lives of the successive emperors.
κατὰ χώραν ἐμείνε, τῇ τε ἀλλή τρυφῆ καὶ τὸν χρόμενος καὶ ἀγώνας μονομαχίας τιθεῖς (ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ Σπόρος μέλλων ἐν κόρῃ ἄρπαξμένην σχήματι ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐσαχθήσεσθαι ὡς ἡνεκτ. τῇ ὑβριν ἀλλ’ ἑαυτὸν προσπέσφαξε), τῷ δὲ δι’ Ἀλιννὸ τὸν πόλεμον μεθ’ ἐτέρων προσέταξεν.

2 Ὅλος δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν Κρεμώνα ἄφικετο καὶ προκατέσχεν αὐτήν, ὀρῶν δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκ τε τῆς τρυφῆς τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἡρώμη ἐκδεδημημένους καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀγνυμασίας διατεθρυμμένον, τοὺς δὲ ἐτέρους καὶ τοὺς σώματι γεγυμνασμένους καὶ ταῖς ἰσχαῖς ἐρρως.

3 μένους, ἐφοβείτο καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔπειδὴ καὶ λόγου αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ Πρίμου φίλου ἤλθον, συνεκάλεσε τοὺς στρατιῶτας, καὶ τὴν τε τοῦ Ὀὔτελλίου ἀσθένειαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ὅσπισπαιδον ἱσχὺν τὸν τε ἐκάτερον τρόπον εἰπὼν μεταστήναι ἔπεισε. καὶ τὸτε μὲν τὰς τε τοῦ Ὀὔτελλίου εἰκόνας ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων καθεῖλον καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ

4 Ὅσπισπαιδον ἁρχὴσεσθαι ὡμοσαν, διαλυθέντες δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰς σκηνὰς ἀναχωρήσαντες μετενόησαν, καὶ ἔξαιτινης σπουδῆς καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ συστραφέντες τὸν Ὀὔτελλίου αὐτοκράτορα ἀνθίς ἀνεκάλουν καὶ τὸν Ἀλιννὸ ὡς καὶ προδίδοντα σφᾶς ἔδησαν, οὕτως οὐδὲ τῆς ὑπατείας αὐτῶν προτιμήσαντες τοιαύτα γὰρ τὰ τῶν πολέμων τῶν ἐμφυλίων μάλιστα ἔργα ἐστίν.

11 Ταραχῆς οὖν καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο πολλῆς ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ὀὔτελλίου στρατοπέδῳ οὕσης, ἐπηύξησεν αὐτὴν ἡ σελήνη τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκλιποῦσα, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἐσκιάσθη (καίτοι τοῖς θορυβούμενοις καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα φόβον φέρει) ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ αἵματώδης καὶ 236
he was and even then went on with his luxurious living, among other things arranging gladiatorial combats. In the course of these it was proposed that Sporus should be brought on to the stage in the rôle of a maiden being ravished, but he would not endure the shame and committed suicide beforehand. The conduct of the war was entrusted to Alienus and others. Alienus reached Cremona and occupied the town, but seeing that his own soldiers were out of training as a result of their luxurious life in Rome and impaired by lack of drilling, whereas the others were well exercised in body and stout of heart, he felt afraid. Later, when friendly proposals came to him from Primus, he called the soldiers together, and by pointing out the weakness of Vitellius and the strength of Vespasian, as well as the character of the two men, he persuaded them to change sides. So at the time they removed the images of Vitellius from their standards and took oath that they would be ruled by Vespasian. But after the meeting had broken up and they had retired to their tents, they changed their minds and suddenly, rushing together in great haste and excitement, they again saluted Vitellius as emperor and imprisoned Alienus for having betrayed them, showing no reverence even for his consular office. Such things are, in fact, characteristic of civil wars.

The great confusion which under these conditions prevailed in the camp of Vitellius was increased that night by an eclipse of the moon. It was not so much its being obscured (though even such phenomena cause fear to men who are excited) as the fact that

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1 διατεθρυμμένος H. Steph., διατεθραμμένος VC,
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κέλαινα ἄλλα τε τινα χρώματα φοβερὰ ἀφιείσα
2 ἄφθη, οὐ μέντοι καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο οὔτε μετέθεντο
οὔτε ἐνέδοσαν, (ἄλλα) ἐσ χειρὰς ἀλλήλοις ἐλθόντες
προθυμότατα ἡγωνίσαντο [§ 3], καίτερ ἄναρκτοι,
ὡσπερ εἴπον, οἱ Ὄυιτελλίειοι 1 οὔτε: ὁ γὰρ
Ἀλιγνὸς ἐν τῇ Κρεμὼν ἐδέδετο [§ 5]).—Xiph.
196, 3–197, 19 R. St.
3 Ὅτι οἱ στρατιώται τοῦ Ὄυιτελλίου τῷ Πρᾶμα
τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ, ὑπαγομένων σφάς δι᾽ ἄγγελων ὀμο-
λογήσαν, ἀντέπεμψαν ἀντιπαραλαμβάνοντες τὰ τοῦ
Ὅυιτελλίου προελέσθαι, καὶ ἐσ χειρὰς ἐλθόντες
τοῖς στρατιώταις αὐτοῦ προθυμότατα ἡγωνίσαντο.
4 ἡ δὲ δὴ μάχη οὐκ ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἐγένετο, ἀλλ’
αἱ προσφυδίων ὄλγοι τινὲς τῶν ἰππέων, οἱ παρὰ τοῖς
ἀντιστρατοπεδευμένοις 2 γίγνεται, τοῖς 3 προσ-
μεύονσι τῶν ἐτέρων ἐπέθεζαν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
προσβοηθοῦντων ἐκατέρως ἀμφοτέρωθεν, ὡς που
ἐτύγχανον αἰσθόμενοι, τοτὲ μὲν τοῖς τοτὲ δὲ τοῖς
ἄλλων, εἰτ’ ἄλλων, καὶ τεξῶν καὶ ἰππέων, καὶ
ταῖς μάχαις αἱ τροπαὶ συνεγίνοντο, μέχρις οὗ
5 πάντες συνέδραμον. τοτε δὲ ἐσ τάξιν τινά
ὡσπερ ἐκ συνεκιμένου κατέστησαν, καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ
τῶν ἄγονα ἐποίησαν καίτερ ἄναρκτον ὁ γὰρ
Ἄλιγνὸς ἐν τῇ Κρεμὼν ἐδέδετο.—Ex. U 40a.
12 Κἂν τοῦτο καὶ ἴση καὶ ἀντίρροπος οὐκ ἐν τῇ
ἡμέρα μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἡ μάχη αὐτῶν
ἐγένετο. καὶ γὰρ 4 νῦξ αὐτῆς ἐπέλαβε, καὶ οὐδὲ
ἐκεῖνη σφᾶς διέλυσε· τοσαύτη ποὺ καὶ ὄργη καὶ
προθυμία, καίτερ καὶ γνωρίζοντες ἀλλήλους καὶ

1 Ὄυιτελλίειοι Dind., βιτελειοi VC (so regularly).
2 ἀντιστρατοπεδευμένοι Urs., ἀντιπαραστρατοπεδευμένοι MSS.
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it appeared both blood-coloured and black and gave A.D. 69 out still other terrifying colours. Not even for this, however, would the men change their mind or yield; but when they came to blows with each other, they fought most eagerly, although, as I said, the Vitellians were leaderless; for Alienus had been imprisoned at Cremona.

On the following day, when Primus through messengers tried to induce them to come to terms, the soldiers of Vitellius sent back a message to him urging him in turn to espouse the cause of Vitellius; but when they came to blows with his soldiers they fought most eagerly. The battle was not the result of any definite plan. Some few horsemen, as often happens when two forces are encamped opposite each other, suddenly attacked some of the enemy's foragers, and then reinforcements came to both parties from their respective armies, just as these happened to become aware of the situation,—first to one side, then to the other, now of one kind of fighting force, now of another, both infantry and cavalry; and the conflict was marked by the usual vicissitudes until all had hastened to the front. Then they got into some kind of regular formation, as if a signal had been given, and carried on the struggle with some order, even though leaderless; for Alienus had been imprisoned at Cremona.

From this point on the battle between them was a well-matched and evenly-balanced struggle, not only during the day but at night as well. For the coming of night did not separate them, so thoroughly angry and determined were they, albeit they

3 τοῖς supplied by Rk. 4 γὰρ supplied by Rk.
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2 λαλοῦντες σφίσων, ἔχρησαντο. Ὅθεν οὖν ὁ λίμος αὐτοὺς οὔτε ὁ κάματος οὔτε τὸ ψύχος οὔθ' ὁ σκότος, οὐ τὰ τραύματα, οὐχ οἱ φόνοι, οὐ τὰ λεί-ψανα τῶν προτέρων νεκρῶν, οὐχ ἡ μνήμη τοῦ πάθους, οὐ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μάτην ἀπολομένων

3 ἐπράννει τοιαύτη τις μανία ἀμφοτέρους ὁμοίως κατέσχε, καὶ οὔτως ἔπεθύμουν, καὶ ἕξ αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ χωρίου μνήμης παροξυνόμενοι, οἱ μὲν καὶ τότε νικήσαι, οἱ δὲ μὴ καὶ τότε ἤττηθῆναι, ὡσπερ ἀλλοφύλους τισίν ἄλλ᾽ οὐκ οἰκεῖοις πολεμοῦντες, καὶ μέλλοντες ἕξ ἐκατέρου πάντες ὁμοίως ἢ αὐτίκα ἀπολέσαθι ἣ μετὰ ταῦτα δουλεύειν.

4 οὐκουν οὖν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης, ὡσπερ εἴπον, ἐνέδοσαν, ἄλλα καὶ ἐκκαμόντες, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις καὶ ἀναπαύμενοι καὶ ἐς λόγους 1 ἀλλή-13 λοις ἱόντες, ὁμοίως ἡγωνίζοντο. καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν, ὅσαίκες γε καὶ ἡ σελήνη διέλαμψε (νέφη γὰρ αὐτὴν πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα διαθέντα συνεχῶς συνέκρυπτεν), ἐστὶ μὲν ὅτε μαχομένους αὐτοὺς, ἐστι δ’ ὅτε ἐστηκότας καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ δόρατα ἐπερη-2 ρεισμένους ἢ καὶ καθημένους. καὶ τοτε μὲν κοινῇ τε συνεβάνοι, οἱ μὲν τὸν Ὀὐσπασιανὸν οἱ δὲ τὸν Ὀὐστέλλιον ὑνομάζοντες, καὶ ἀντιπροεκαλυπτο ἄλληλοις, λοιδορούντες τε καὶ ἐπαινοῦντες ἐκατερον τοτε δὲ καὶ ἵδια ἄλλος ἄλλῳ διελάλει: “συστρατιώτα, πολίτα, τί ποιοῦμεν; τί μαχο-μέθα; δεῦρ’ ἥκε πρὸς ἐμέ.” “μὴ δήτα, ἄλλα
3 σὺ πρὸς ἐμέ.” καὶ τί ἂν τις τοῦτο θαυμάσεις, ὀπότε καὶ σιτία καὶ ποτὰ αἱ τε γυναίκες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τοῖς τοῦ Ὀὐστέλλεων στρατιώταις τῆς νυκτὸς ἐνεγκούσαι ἔδωκαν, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι αὐτοὶ τε

1 ἐς λόγους Leuncel., ἐκ λόγου Uo.
recognized one another and talked back and forth. A.D. 69

Hence neither hunger nor fatigue nor cold nor darkness nor wounds nor deaths, nor the remains of the men that had died on this field before, nor the memory of the disaster, nor the number of those that had perished to no purpose, mitigated their fierceness. Such was the madness that possessed both sides alike, and so eager were they, incited by the very memories of the spot, which made the one party resolved to conquer this time, too, and the other not to be conquered again. So they fought as if against foreigners and not kinsmen, and as if all on both sides alike were bound either to perish at once or thereafter to be slaves. Therefore, not even when night came on, as I stated, would they yield; but, though tired out and for that reason often resting and engaging in conversation together, they nevertheless continued to struggle. As often as the moon shone out (it was constantly being concealed by numerous clouds of all shapes that kept passing in front of it), one might have seen them sometimes fighting, sometimes standing and leaning on their spears or even sitting down. Now they would all shout together on one side the name of Vespasian and on the other side that of Vitellius, and they would challenge each other in turn, indulging in abuse or in praise of the one leader or the other. Again one soldier would have a private conversation with an opponent: “Comrade, fellow-citizen, what are we doing? Why are we fighting? Come over to my side.” “No, indeed! You come to my side.” But what is there surprising about this, considering that when the women of the city in the course of the night brought food and drink to give to the soldiers of Vitellius, the latter, after eating and
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έφαγον καὶ ἐπιοῦν καὶ τοῖς ἀντιμαχομένοις ὤρεγον. καὶ τις αὐτῶν ὄνομαστὶ τὸν ἀντίπαλον ἀνακαλέσας (πάντες γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν καὶ ἦδεσαν ἀλλήν· 4 λοὺς καὶ ἐγνώριζον) "λαβέ" ἐφη, "συστρατιώτα, καὶ φάγε· οὐ γὰρ ἔφος ἄλλα ἀρτον σοι δίδωμι· λαβὲ καὶ πιέ· οὐ γὰρ ἀστίδα ἄλλα κύλικα σοι προτείνων, ἵνα, ἂν τε σὺ ἀποκτείνῃς ἐμὲ ἂν τε καὶ ἐγὼ σὲ, ῥάνον ἀπαλλάξωμεν, μηδὲ ἐκλελυμένη καὶ ἀσθενεῖ τῇ χειρί μῆτε σὺ ἐμὲ κατακόψῃς μῆτε 5 ἐγὼ σὲ. ταῦτα γὰρ ἦμιν ἥδον ἔτι τὰ ἐναγίσματα καὶ Ὀὐτέλλιος καὶ Ὀὐσπασιανὸς διδοῦσιν, ἵν' ἥμας τοῖς πάλαι νεκρῶς καταθύσωσιν." τοιαῦτα ἂν 1 τινες πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἴποντες, καὶ ἀναπαυσάμενοι χρόνον τινὰ καὶ ἐμφαγόντες, πάλιν ἂν ἐμαχέσαντο· εἶτ' ἀνασχύντες αὖθις αὖ 14 συνέβαλον. 2 καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτω δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς μέχρι τῆς ἑω ἐγένετο.—Xiph. 197, 17–198, 17 R. St., Exc. U5 40a.

2 Ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τοιόνδε τι δῦο ἄνδρες τῶν Ὀυσπασιανείων ἐπτραβάν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἱσχυρῶς ἐκ μηχανήματος τινὸς ἐβλάπτοντο, ἀστίδας τε ἐκ τῶν Ὀὐτέλλιείων σκύλων ἥρπασαν, καὶ τοῖς ἀντικαθεστηκόσι μιχθέντες ἐλαθον μέχρι τῆς μηχανῆς ἐλθόντες ὡς καὶ ἐκείνων ὄντες, καὶ τὰ σχοινία αὐτῆς διέκοψαν ὡστε μηδὲν ἔτι βέλος

3 αὐτῆς ἀφεῖναι δυνηθήναι. ἀνατείλαντος δὲ τοῦ ἕλιου, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκ τοῦ τρίτου στρατοπέδου τοῦ Γαλατικοῦ καλουμένου καὶ εν τῇ Συρίᾳ χειμάζοντος, τότε δὲ κατὰ τύχην ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ὀυσπασιανοῦ μερίδι ὄντος, ἀσπασαμένων

1 τοιαῦτα ἂν Xiph., τοιαῦτα UG.

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drinking themselves, passed the supplies on to their antagonists? One of them would call out the name of his adversary (for they practically all knew one another and were well acquainted) and would say: "Comrade, take and eat this; I give you, not a sword, but bread. Take and drink this; I hold out to you, not a shield, but a cup. Thus, whether you kill me or I you, we shall quit life more comfortably, and the hand that slays will not be feeble and nerveless, whether it be yours that smites me or mine that smites you. For these are the meats of consecration that Vitellius and Vespasian give us while we are yet alive, in order that they may offer us as a sacrifice to the dead slain long since." That would be the style of their conversation, after which they would rest a while, eat a bit, and then renew the battle. Soon they would stop again, and then once more join in conflict. It went on this way the whole night through till dawn broke.

At that time two men of the Vespasian party wrought a notable achievement. Their side was being severely damaged by an engine, and these two, seizing shields from among the spoils of the Vitellian faction, mingled with the opposing ranks, and made their way to the engine just as if they belonged to that side. Thus they managed to cut the ropes of the engine, so that not another missile could be discharged from it. As the sun was rising the soldiers of the third legion, called the Gallic, that wintered in Syria and was now by chance on the side of Vespasian, suddenly greeted it according

2 συνέβαλλον U Gö, συνέβαλλον VC.
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αὐτὸν ἐξαίφνης ὤσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ὑποτοπήσαντες οἱ τοῦ Οὐίτελλίου τὸν Μουκιάνδν ¹ παρεῖναι ἡλλοιώθησαν καὶ ἤττηθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς βοῆς ἐφυγον· οὖτω ποι καὶ τὰ βραχύτατα μεγάλως τοὺς προκεκμηκότας ἐκπλήσσει καὶ ἐς τὸ τείχος ἀναχωρήσαντες χειράς τε προετέινοντο καὶ ἴκετευνον· καὶ ἔπει μηδεις αὐτῶν ἐσήκουεν, ἔλυσαι τὸν ὑπατον, καὶ αὐτὸν τῇ τε ἐσθήτῃ τῇ ἀρχικῇ καὶ ταῖς βάθδοις κοσμήσαντες ἐπεμψαν ἀνθ' ἱκετηρίας, καὶ ἐτυχον τῶν σπονδῶν· ὁ γὰρ Ἀλιηνὸς διὰ τὸ ἄξιωμα καὶ διὰ τὴν συμφορὰν ἔπεισε βαδίως τὸν Πρίμον τῆν ὁμολογίαν σφῶν δέξασθαι.

15 Ὄς μέντοι αἱ τε πῦλαι ἡνεφίθησαν καὶ ἐν ἀδεία πάντες ἐγένοντο, τότε δὴ ἐξαίφνης πανταχόθεν τε ἁμα ἐσέδραμον καὶ διήρπασαν πάντα καὶ ἐνέπρησαν. καὶ ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος οὐδενὸς τῶν δεινοτάτων σμικρόσερον· ἢ τε γὰρ πόλις καὶ μεγέθες καὶ κάλλεσιν οἰκοδομημάτων ἥσκετο, καὶ χρήματα παμπληθῆ καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ τῶν ἐνων ἐς αὐτὴν συνεληλύθει.

2 καὶ τὰ γε πλεῖον κακὰ οἱ Οὐίτελλίειοι ἔδρασαν, ἀτε καὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν πλουσιωτάτων καὶ τὰς διεξόδους τῶν στενωπῶν ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες· οὐδὲ ἐμελεν αὐτοῖς εἰ ὃν ὑπερεμαχέσαντο, τούτους ἀπώλεσαν, ² ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡδικημένοι καὶ κεκρατηκότες ἐπαιον ἐσφαττον, ὡστε καὶ πέντε μυριάδας σὸν τοῖς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεσοῦσιν ἀπολέομαι.

16 Οὐίτελλιος δὲ ὃς ἐπύθετο τῆς ἠττης, τέως μὲν ἐθορυβεῖτο, τὸ μὲν τι καὶ ὑπὸ σημείων

¹ Μουκιάνδν R. Steph., μινουκιάνδν VC.
² ἀπώλεσαν R. Steph., ἀπώλυσαν VC.

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to their custom; but the followers of Vitellius, suspecting that Mucianus had arrived, underwent a revulsion of feeling, and becoming panic-stricken at the shout, took to flight. Thus it is that the smallest things can produce great alarm in men who are already exhausted. They retired within the wall, from which they stretched forth their hands and made supplications. As no one listened to them, they released the consul, and, having arrayed him in his robe of office with the fasces, they sent him as an intercessor. Thus they obtained a truce, for Alienus, because of his rank and his sad plight, easily persuaded Primus to accept their proffer of capitulation.

When, however, the gates were opened and all the soldiers were granted leave, they suddenly came rushing in from all directions and began plundering and setting fire to everything. This catastrophe proved to be one of the greatest on record; for the city was distinguished for the size and beauty of its buildings, and vast sums of money belonging not only to the citizens but also to strangers had been accumulated there. Most of the damage was done by the Vitellians, since they knew exactly which were the houses of the richest men and where the passages were which gave upon the side-streets. They showed no scruples about destroying the persons in whose behalf they had fought, but dealt blows and committed murder just as if it were they who had been wronged and now had conquered. Thus, counting those that fell in the battle, fifty thousand perished altogether.

Vitellius on learning of his defeat was alarmed for a time. Omens, for one thing, had contributed
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tαραχθείσ’ (θύσαντος γαρ αὐτοῦ θυσίαν τινά, καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῇ δηµηγοροῦντος τοῖς στρατιώταις, γύπες πολλοὶ προσπεσόντες τά τε ἵερα διεσκέδασαν καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἀπὸ τοῦ βήµατος ὅλιγον δεῖν κατέβαλον),

2 τὸ δὲ δὴ πλέον διὰ τὴν ἀγγελίαν τῆς ἡττης· καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄδελφον διὰ ταχέως ἐσ Tarrakívan 1 ἐπεµψε, καὶ δ’ αὐτὸ τὴν πόλιν κατέσχεν ὄχυραν οὖσαν, τῶν δὲ δὴ τοῦ Ὑπεσπασιανοῦ στρατηγῶν ἐπιούντων τῇ Ἡρώη ἐξεπλάγη τε καὶ 3 ἔξεστι. ἐν μὲν γὰρ οὖν διὰ ἐπραττεν οὔτε ἐφρόνει, ἐµπλήκτως 2 δὲ ἄνω καὶ κάτω ἐφέρετο ὦσπερ ἐν κλύδωνι. καὶ γὰρ ἀντείχετο τῆς ἡγεµονίας καὶ πάντως ὡς καὶ πολεµήσων παρεσκευάζετο, καὶ ἕκων αὐτὴν ἦφιε καὶ πάντως ὡς 4 καὶ ἰδιωτεύσων ἢτοιµάζετο. καὶ ἔστι μὲν ὅτε τὴν χλαµύδα τῆς πορφυρᾶν ἐφόρει καὶ ξύφος παρεζώνυµο, ἔστι δ’ ὅτε ἐσθήτα φαινὰν ἀνελάµβανεν. ἐδηµηγορέα τε καὶ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἁγορά ἀλλοτε ἄλλα, ἐπὶ τε μάχην καὶ ἐπὶ διαλλαγὰς αὐτ’ 5 τοὺς προτρεπόµενος καὶ τοτὲ μὲν καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ δὴ ἐπεδίδου, τοτὲ δὲ καὶ τὸ παιδίον κατέχων καὶ φιλῶν προέβαλλεν αὐτοῖς 3 ὡς ἐλεηθησόµενος. τοὺς τε 4 δορυφόρους ἀπῆλλαττε καὶ πάλιν μετεπέµπετο, τὸ τε παλάτιον ἐκλιπὼν ἄν καὶ ἐς τὴν τοῦ ἄδελφου οἰκίαν ἄτιων εἶτα ἀνεκοµίζετο, ὡστε ἐκ τούτων καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους 6 τοὺς πλείστους τῆς σπουδῆς παραλῦσαί. ὀρώντες γὰρ αὐτὸν δεῦρο καὶ ἐκεῖσε ἐµµανῶς ἅττοντα οὔτε

1 Tarrakívan Bk , taraakívan VC (and so below).
2 ἐµπλήκτως C, ἐκπλήκτως V.
3 αὐτοῖς Sylb., αὐτοὺς VC.

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to make him uneasy; for, on the occasion of his A.D. 69 offering a certain sacrifice and afterwards addressing the soldiers, a lot of vultures had swooped down, scattered the offerings, and nearly knocked him from the platform. Yet it was chiefly the news of the defeat that troubled him. He promptly sent his brother to Tarracina, a strong city, and occupied it; but when the generals of Vespasian moved against Rome, he became alarmed and lost his head. He was unable to keep at any one activity or keep his mind on any one subject, but in his bewilderment was driven this way and that like a ship in a storm. One moment he was inclined to cling to the sovereignty and was making every preparation for war; the next moment he was ready to abdicate voluntarily and was making all his preparations for retiring to private life. At times he would wear the purple military cloak and carry a sword at his belt; and again he would put on dark clothing. His public addresses both in the palace and in the Forum were now of one tenor, now of another, as he urged the people to offer battle or conclude peace. At times he was ready even to surrender himself for the public welfare, as he put it, and again he would clasp his child in his arms, kiss him and hold him out to the people as if to arouse their pity. Similarly he would dismiss the Praetorians only to send for them again, and would leave the palace and retire to his brother’s house and then return. The result of this procedure was that he chilled the enthusiasm of almost everybody else; for when they saw him rushing hither and thither in such a frenzy, they ceased to carry

4 τούς τε Sylb., τούτω VC.
17 Πρὸς οὖν ταύτα, ἀλλωσ τε καὶ πελάξοντος ἕδη τοῦ Πρίμου, συνελθόντες οἱ τε ὑπατοὶ Γάιος Κυίντιος Ἀττικὸς καὶ Γναῖος Καυκίλιος 1 Σίμπλιξ καὶ Σαβίνος (συγγενῆς οὗτος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ) τῶν τε ἄλλων οἱ πρῶτοι γνώμας ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ ἐς τὸ παλάτιον ὃρμησαν σὺν τοῖς ὁμογενομονοῦσι σφίσι στρατιώταις ὡς ἢ πείσοντες ἢ καὶ καταναγκά-2 σοντες τὸν Οὐίτελλιον τὴν ἄρχην ἀπειπεῖν. καὶ περιπεσόντες τῶν Κελτῶν τοὺς φρουροῦσιν αὐτὸν κακῶς ἀπήλλαξαν, κἀκεῖ τούτου ἐς τὸ Καπιτῶ- λιον ἀνέφυγον, κανταῦθα τὸν Δομιτιανὸν 2 τὸν τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ὅπως καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ 3 μεταπεμψάμενοι ἐν φυλακῇ ἐποιήσαντο. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ προσβαλόντων σφίσει τῶν ἐναντίων χρόνον μὲν των ἀπεκρούσαντο αὐτούς, ἐμπρη- σθέντων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνέκοπτη- σαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς. καὶ οὕτως ἐπαναβάντες οἱ τοῦ Οὐίτελλίου στρατιῶται ἐκεῖνοι τε συγχώς ἐφόνευσαν, καὶ διαρπάσαντες πάντα τὰ ἀνακε- μένα κατέπρησαν ἅλλα τε καὶ τὸν ναὸν τῶν μέγαν, τῶν τε Σαβίνου καὶ τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ συλ-4 λαβόντες πρὸς τὸν Οὐίτελλιον ἐπεμψαν. Δομι- τιανὸς δὲ καὶ Σαβίνος ὁ τοῦ Σαβίνου παῖς ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ θορύβῳ διαφυγόντες ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου

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out their orders with their usual diligence and began A.D. 69 to consider their own interests as well as his. They sneered at him a great deal, especially when in the assemblies he would proffer his sword to the consuls and to the other senators, as if by this act he had divested himself of the imperial office. Naturally none of the persons mentioned dared to take it and the bystanders jeered.

In view of all this, added to the fact that Primus was now drawing near, the consuls, Gaius Quintius Atticus and Gnaeus Caecilius Simplex, together with Sabinus (a relative of Vespasian) and the other foremost men, consulted together and then set out for the palace, accompanied by the soldiers who were of the same mind, with the purpose of either persuading or compelling Vitellius to abdicate the throne. But encountering his German guards and getting the worst of it, they fled up to the Capitol. Arrived there, they sent for Domitian, the son of Vespasian, and his relatives, and put themselves in a state of defence. The next day, when their adversaries assailed them, they managed for a time to repulse them; but when the environs of the Capitol were set on fire, they were driven back by the flames. And thus the soldiers of Vitellius made their way up, slaughtered many of them, and after plundering all the votive offerings burned down the great temple and other buildings. Sabinus and Atticus were arrested by them and sent to Vitellius. Domitian and the younger Sabinus, however, had made their escape from the Capitol in the first con-

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1 Kαϊκίλιος Reim., κεκίλιος VC.
2 Αὐτιανόνυ H. Steph., δομετιανόνυ VC (and similar in § 4).
καὶ ἐς οἰκίας τινὰς κατακρυφθέντες ἐκλείθεσαν.
—Xiph. 198, 17—200, 25 R. St.

18 Ὡς δὲ ὦ Οὐεσπασιάνειοι στρατιώται πλησίον ἐγένοντο, οὐδὲ τῷ Κύντος Πετίλιος Κερεάλιος βουλευτῆς τῶν πρωτῶν καὶ τῷ Οὐεσπασιάνῳ κατ᾽ ἑπιγαμίαν τινὰ προσήκων καὶ ὦ Πρίμος ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἤγγον (ὁ γὰρ Μουκιανὸς οὕτω ἐπε- ἐφθάκει), ἐν παντὶ δέους ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος ἐγεγόνει.

2 οὔτοι γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν δὲ ἀγγέλων τινῶν, ἐς τε λάρνακας μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ἐς ἀρρίχους ὁπώρων ἐχοῦσας ἢ καὶ καλάμους ὀρνιθευτῶν τὰ γράμματα ἐμβαλλόντων, πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει δρόμενα ἐμάνθανον καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνα ἐβουλεύοντο· τότε δ᾽ ἰδόντες τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ὤσπερ ἐκ φρυκτωρίας αἰρόμενον

ἱπείχθησαν, καὶ πρὸτερος τῇ πόλει μετὰ τοῦ ἰππικοῦ ὁ Κερεάλιος προσμίζας ἡττήθη μὲν κατ᾽ αὐτὴν τὴν ἔσοδον, ἀτε ἐν στενῷ μεθ᾽ ἵππεων ἀποληφθεῖς, ἐπέσχε δ᾽ οὖν τὸ τι κακὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων γενέσθαι· ὁ γὰρ Οὐιτέλλιος καταλαγήσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς ἐπικρατείας ἐλπίσας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀνεχαίτισεν, καὶ τὴν βουλήν συναγαγὼν πρέσβεις παρ᾽ αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν ἑπιπαρθε- νῶν πρὸς τὸν Κερεάλιον ἐπεμψεν.

19 Ὡς δ᾽ οὕδεις αὐτῶν ἔσηκουσαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὄλγου καὶ ἀπέθανον, πρὸς τὸν Πρίμον καὶ αὐτὸν ἧδη προσπελάζοντα ἤλθον, καὶ λόγου μὲν ἐτυχον,

ἐπραξαν δὲ οὕδεν. οἱ γὰρ στρατιώται ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ὀργῇ ἐχώρησαν, καὶ τὴν τε φυλακὴν τῆς τοῦ Τιβέριδος γεφύρας ρόδιως ἐλυσαν (ἐπειδὴ γὰρ

1 Πρίμος Ua Suid., πρίσκος VC.
2 ἐχοῦσας Suid., ἐχοῦτας VC.
fusion and by concealing themselves in some houses A.D. 69 had remained undiscovered.

The troops of Vespasian that were led by Quintus Petilius Cerialis (one of the foremost senators and a relative of Vespasian by marriage) and by Antonius Primus (for Mucianus had not yet overtaken them) were by this time close at hand, and Vitellius had fallen into the greatest terror. The oncoming leaders learned, by means of messengers, all that was being done in the City and formed their plans accordingly. (These messengers placed the letters which had been given them in coffins along with the corpses, or in baskets of fruit, or in the reed traps of bird catchers.) Accordingly, when they now saw the blaze rising from the Capitol like a beacon, they made haste. The first of the two to approach the city was Cerialis with his cavalry, and he was defeated at the very gates, where he and his horsemen were cut off, since the place was narrow. Yet he contrived to prevent his opponents from doing him any injury. For Vitellius, hoping that he could make terms on the strength of his victory, restrained his troops; and having convened the senate, he sent to Cerialis envoys chosen from that body along with the Vestal Virgins.

But when no one listened to them and they came very near losing their lives besides, the envoys came to Primus, who was also approaching at last; from him they secured an audience, but accomplished nothing. For his soldiers advanced angrily against him and they also overcame easily the guard at the bridge over the Tiber; for when the guards took

\[\text{εμβαλλόντων Bs., εμβάλλοντες VC.}\]
ἐνστάντες ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκώλυσάν σφας διελθεῖν, διενήξαντο τὸν ποταμὸν οἱ ἱππεῖς καὶ κατὰ τοῦ νῶτον σφίσιν ἐπέπεσον], καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἄλλοι ἀλλή ἐσβαλόντες οὐδὲν ὃ τι τῶν δεινοτάτων οὐκ ἐποίησαν: πάντα γὰρ ὅσα τῷ Οὐιτέλλιῳ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ οὖσιν ἐπεκάλουν, καὶ δὲ ἄκα τοιούτων σφισιν ἐσκήπτοντο, ἔδρασαν, καὶ ἀπεκτείναν πολλοὺς. συχνὸι δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν στεγών ¹ τῷ κεράμῳ ² βαλλόμενοι καὶ ἐν ταῖς στενοχώραις ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἀνθισταμένων ὑθούμενοι ἐκῴπτοντο, ὡστε ἐς ³ πέντε μιρίδας ἀνθρώπων ὅλας ἐν ταῖς ἱμέραις ἐκείναις φθάρησαν.—Χιψ. 200, 25—201, 18 R. St., Exc. Ug 40b (p. 396).

20 Τῆς οὖν πόλεως πορθομένης, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν μὲν μαχομένων τῶν δὲ φευγόντων, καὶ ἡδι καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων, ὡς τῶν ἐσεληνυθότων δόξαντες εἶναι σωθῶσι, καὶ ἄρπαζον τινὰ καὶ φονεύοντον, ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος φοβηθεὶς χιτωνίσκον τε βακώδη καὶ ῥυπαρὸν ἐνέδυ, καὶ ἐς οἴκημα σκοτεινόν, ἐν ὧν ἐτρέφοντο κῶνες, ἐκρύφθη, ἡμώνῃ ἔχων τῆς νυκτὸς ἐς τὴν Ταρρακίναν πρὸς τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀποδράναι. καὶ αὐτῶν ἀναζητήσαντες οἱ στρατιώται καὶ ἐξευρότες (οὐ γὰρ ποιοὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ λαθεῖν ἀκριβῶς ἐδύνατο ἀτε αὐτοκράτωρ γεγονός) συνέλαβον ⁴ φορτοῦ ⁵ καὶ αἰματος ἀναπετλησμένον (ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν κυνῶν ἐλευ- μαντο), κακὸ τούτο τῆς ἐσθήτα αὐτοῦ περιρρήξαντες καὶ τῷ χειρὲ ἐς τοῦπίσω δήσαντες, τῷ τε αὐχένι σχοινίου περιθέντες, κατήγαγον ἐκ τοῦ παλατίου τῶν Καίσαρα τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐντρυφή-

¹ στεγών Ug, τέγων V, τεγὼν C.
their stand on the bridge and disputed their passage, A.D. 69
the horsemen forded the stream and fell upon them
from the rear. After this various bodies of men
made assaults at various points and committed every
conceivable cruelty. In fact, they indulged in all
the deeds for which they were censuring Vitellius
and his followers and which they pretended had
caused the war between them; and they slew great
numbers. Many of the attacking force also were
pelted with tiles from the roofs or in the narrow
passages were crowded back by the multitude of
their adversaries and cut down. Thus as many
as fifty thousand persons perished during those
days.

The city was accordingly being pillaged, and the
inhabitants were fighting or fleeing or even them-
selves plundering and murdering, in order that they
might be taken for the invaders and thus preserve
their lives. Then Vitellius in his fear put on a
ragged and filthy tunic and concealed himself in a
dark room where dogs were kept, intending to escape
during the night to Tarracina and there join his
brother. But the soldiers sought and found him;
for naturally he could not go entirely unrecognized
very long after having been emperor. They seized
him, covered as he was with rubbish and blood (for
he had been bitten by the dogs), and tearing off
his tunic they bound his hands behind his back
and put a rope round his neck. And thus they
led down from the palace the Caesar who had

2 τῷ κεράμῳ Υ, τῶν κεράμων Ζ, τῶν κεραμίων Β.
3 εἰς Υ, om. Β.
4 συνέλαβον Ζ, συνέλαβεν Β.
5 φραντοῦ Ζ, ύφαντον Υ, ύφαντον Β.
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3 σαντα, καὶ διὰ τῆς ίερᾶς οὐδὲν ἔσυραν τῶν αὐτοκράτορα τῶν ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ δίφρῳ πολλάκις σοβήσαντα, ἐς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν ἑσεκύμισαν τῶν Αὐγούστου ἐν ἐν πολλάκις ἐδημηγόρησε. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐρράπιζον αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ γενείου ἔτιλλον· πάντες δὲ ἐσκωπτοῦν καὶ πάντες ὑβρίζουν, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὴν ἀσωτίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπιλέγοντες, ἔπειδὴ καὶ γαστροπίων ἦν. αἰσχυνομένου τε ἐπὶ τούτων αὐτοῦ καὶ κάτω βλέποντος, οἱ στρατιώται ξιφίδιοι αὐτὸν ἕπει τὸ γενείον ὑπεκέντον, ἵνα καὶ ἄκων ἄνω βλέπῃ. ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο Κελτὸς τις οὐκ ἤμεγεν, ἀλλὰ ἐλεήσας αὐτὸν "ἐγώ σοι ἐφή "βοηθήσω, ὥς μόνως ἃν ὑμᾶς." καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκεῖνοι τε ἐτρωσε καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐσφαξεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὁ Οὐμέλλιος ἀπέθανεν ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος, ἀλλὰ ἐσύρετο ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ὡσπερ καὶ οἱ ἀνδράντες αὐτοῦ, ποιλῶν μὲν γελοίων πολλῶν δὲ καὶ αἰσχρῶν ἐπιλεγομένων σφίσιν. ἐπειδή τε καὶ ὑπεραλγήσας καὶ οἷς ἐπαθεὶ καὶ οἷς ἦκουεν "ἀλλὰ ἐγώγε ἐφή "ἀυτοκράτωρ ποτὲ ὕμων ἐγενόμην," ὀργισθέντες οἱ στρατιώται πρὸς τε τοὺς ἀναβαθμοὺς αὐτοῦ ἡγαγον, κανταῦθα κατέκοψαν, τὴν τε κεφαλήν αὐτοῦ ἀποτεμόντες κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν περιήγαγον.

21 Καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ὑστερον ἦ γυνὴ ἐθάψε, ζήσαντα μὲν ἐπὶ τέσσαρα ἐτη καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἡμέρας ἐννέα καὶ ὑγιοίκοντα,3 ἀρξάντα δὲ ἐνιαυτῶν ἡμερῶν δέκα ἀποδέοντα· ο ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὠρμησε μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ταρρακίνης ὡς καὶ Βοσθήσου αὐτῷ, μαθὼν δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὀδὸν ὅτε τεθνηκε, καὶ

1 μόνως Sylb., μόνος VC Zon.

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revelled there; along the Sacred Way they dragged A.D. 69 the emperor who had often paraded past in his chair of state, and they conducted the Augustus to the Forum, where he had often addressed the people. Some buffeted him, some plucked at his beard; all mocked him, all insulted him, making comments especially upon his riotous living, since he had a protuberant belly. When, in shame at this treatment, he lowered his gaze, the soldiers would prick him under the chin with their daggers, in order to make him look up even against his will. A German who witnessed this could not endure it, but taking pity on him cried: "I will help you in the only way that I can." Thereupon he wounded Vitellius and slew himself. However, Vitellius did not die of the wound, but was dragged to the prison, as were also his statues, while many jests and many opprobrious remarks were made about them. Finally, grieved to the heart at what he had suffered and what he had been hearing, he cried: "And yet I was once your emperor." At that the soldiers became enraged and led him to the Stairway,¹ where they struck him down. Then they cut off his head and carried it about all over the city.

His wife later saw to his burial. He had lived fifty-four years and eighty-nine days, and had reigned for a year lacking ten days. His brother had set out from Tarracina to come to his assistance, but learning on the way of his death and also encountering the men who had been sent against him, he

¹ The scalae Gemonias.
περιπεσόνυ ἀμα τοῖς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν πεμφθέσιν, ὡμολογήσε μέν σφισιν ὡς καὶ σωθησόμενος, 2 ἐσφάγη δ᾽ οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου παῖς ἐπαπώλετο, καίτοι τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου μηδένα μῆτε τῶν τοῦ Ὀθώνος μῆτε τῶν τοῦ Οὔεσπασιανοῦ συγγενῶν ἀποκτείναντος. πεπραγμένων δὲ τούτων ἡδη ὡς ἐκάστων ὁ Μουκιανὸς ἔπηλθε, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα συνδιώκει τῷ Δομιτιανῷ, καὶ ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτῶν παραγαγών δημηγορῆσαι ἐποίησε καίτερ καὶ παιδίσκουν ὄντα. καὶ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δραχμὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκαστος ἔλαβεν.—Xiph. 201, 18—202, 26 R. St.
made terms with them on the condition that his life A.D. 69
should be spared; however, he was slain not long afterward. The son of Vitellius, too, perished soon after his father, in spite of the fact that Vitellius had put to death no relative either of Otho or of Vespasian. After all these various events had taken place Mucianus at length arrived and administered affairs in conjunction with Domitian. Among other things, he presented Domitian to the soldiers and made him deliver a speech, boy as he was. And each of the soldiers received a hundred sesterces.
EPITOME OF BOOK LXV

LXVI 1  Ταύτα μὲν οὕτως ἔσχεν, αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὁ Ὅυεσπασσιανὸς καὶ πρὸς τῆς βουλῆς ἀπεδείχθη, καὶ Καίσαρες ὁ τε Τίτος καὶ ὁ Δομιτιανὸς ἐπεκλήθησαν,1 τὴν τε ὑπατον ἀρχὴν ὁ Ὅυεσπασσιανὸς καὶ ὁ Τίτος ἔλαβον, ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ὁ

2 δὲ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ οὖν. ἔγεγονε μὲν οὖν καὶ σημεία καὶ ὀνείρατα τῷ Ὅυεσπασσιανῷ τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐκ πολλοῦ προδηλοῦντα. Βούς τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἄγρῳ ἐν φυ τὴν διάιταν ὡς πλήθει ἐποιεῖτο, δειπνοῦντι προσελθὼν ὡκλασε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὕπο τοὺς πόδας ὑπέθηκε· καὶ κύων αὕθις, σίτον αὐτοῦ καὶ τότε αἰρομένου, χείρα ἀνθρωπίνην

3 ὑπὸ τὴν τράπεζαν ὑπέβαλε. κυπάρισσος τε περιφανῆς πρόρριζος ὑπὸ σφόδρου 2 πνεύματος ἀνατραπείσα, ἔπειτα τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ύφ' ἑαυτῆς 3 ἀνέστη καὶ ἀκμάξουσα διετέλεσε. καὶ παρ' ὀνείρατος ἔμαθεν ὅτι, ὅταν ὁ Καίσαρ Νέρων ὁδόντα ἀποβάλη, αὐταρχίσει· καὶ τοῦτο τέ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν ὁδόντα τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ συνηνέχθη, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Νέρων ἔδοξε· ποτε ἐν τοῖς υπενοι τοῦ τοῦ Διὸς ὅχου ἐς τὴν τοῦ Ὅυεσπασσιανοῦ

4 οἰκίαν ἔσαγαγεν. ἀλλὰ ταύτα μὲν ἐρμηνεύσεως ἔχρηζεν, Ἰωσηπὸς δὲ ἀνὴρ Ἰουδαῖος ἀχθεῖς τε

1 ἐπεκλήθησαν Ζων., ἐπεδείχθησαν VC.
2 ὅπ' ὦν σφόδρῳ proposed by Boissée; cf. Suet. Vesp. 5.
3 ύφ' ἑαυτῆς H. Steph., ύφ' ἑαυτῆ VC.

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Such was the course of these events; and following A.D. 69 them Vespasian was declared emperor by the senate also, and Titus and Domitian were given the title of Caesars. The consular office was assumed by A.D. 70 Vespasian and Titus while the former was in Egypt and the latter in Palestine. Now portents and dreams had come to Vespasian pointing to the sovereignty long beforehand. Thus, as he was eating dinner on his country estate, where most of his time was spent, an ox approached him, knelt down and placed his head beneath his feet. On another occasion, when he was also eating, a dog dropped a human hand under the table. And a conspicuous cypress tree, which had been uprooted and overthrown by a violent wind, stood upright again on the following day by its own power and continued to flourish. From a dream he learned that when Nero Caesar should lose a tooth, he himself should be emperor. This prophecy about the tooth became a reality on the following day; and Nero himself in his dreams once thought that he had brought the car of Jupiter to Vespasian’s house. These portents needed interpretation; but not so the saying of a Jew named Josephus: he, having earlier been captured by

1 According to Suetonius, Vesp. 5 (cf. Tac. Hist. ii. 78), the tree fell sine ulla vi tempestatis. Boissèe proposed to reconcile Xiphilinus’ statement by supplying the negative particle before “violent.”
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υπ' αυτοῦ πρότερον καὶ δεθεὶς ἐγέλασε καὶ ἔφη
"μῦν μὲν με δήσεις, μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν δὲ λύσεις
αὐτοκράτωρ γενόμενος."—Xiph. 203, 8–30 R. St.

2 Οὔτω μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐς τὴν
ἀρχὴν, ὡς καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς, ἐγεγέννητο, ἀπόντος
d' αὐτοῦ ἐτι ἐν τῇ Λιγύπτῳ ὁ Μουκιανὸς τὰ
tοῦ κράτους πάντα μετὰ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ διόκει,
μέγα γάρ τι, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῷ
Οὐεσπασιανῷ δεδωκὼς, ἡγάλλητο διὰ τὸ τᾶλλα
καὶ ὅτι ἀδελφὸς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ὑνομαζότε, καὶ ὅτι
ἐξουσίαν εἰχε πάνθ’ ὁσα ἐβούλετο καὶ ἄνευ τῆς
αὐτοῦ προστάξεως διοικεῖν καὶ γράφειν, τὸ ὄνομα
αὐτοῦ μόνον ἐπιγραφόμενος. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γε
καὶ δακτύλιον πεμφθέντα οἱ ἔφορει, ἢν τὸ
αὐτοκρατορικὸν σφράγισμα τὰ σημαίνομενα λαμβάνῃ.
pολλοῖς γοῦν ἀρχάς τε καὶ ἐπιτροπείας
αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ Δομιτιανὸς ἔδοσαν, καὶ ἐπάρχους
3 ἄλλους ἐτ' ἄλλοις καὶ ὑπάτους ἀπέδειξαν.
tὸ τε σύμπαν οὗτο πάντα αὐτοὶ ώς αὐταρχοῦντες
ἐποίουν ὡστε τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἐπιστεῖλαι
ποτε τῷ Δομιτιανῷ ὅτι "χάριν ἐχω σοι, τέκινον,
ὅτι με εᾶς ἄρχειν καὶ ὑπὲρ με καταλέλυκας."
—Xiph. 203, 30–204, 10 R. St., Zon. 11, 17, p. 52,
11–21 D.

5 Ο ὁ Μουκιανὸς καὶ χρῆματα ἀμύθητα παντα-
χόθεν, ὅθεν ἐνεδέχετο, ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἥθροιζεν
ἔτοιμότατα, τῇ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἐπηγορίαν ἐς ἑαυτὸν
ἄντι τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἀναδεχόμενοι. νεύρα
γάρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τὰ χρήματα ἀεὶ ποτὲ εἶναι
ἐλεγε, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνῳ πανταχόθεν

1 ἐγεγέννητο R. Steph., ἐγεγέννητο VC.
2 ἡγάλλητο H. Steph., ἡγείλλητο VC, ἡγῆλτο Sylb.
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Vespasian and imprisoned, laughed and said: “You a.d. 70 may imprison me now, but a year from now, when you have become emperor, you will release me.”

Thus Vespasian, like some others, had been born for the throne. While he was still absent in Egypt, Mucianus administered all the details of government with the help of Domitian. For Mucianus, who claimed that he had bestowed the sovereignty upon Vespasian, plumed himself greatly upon his honours, and especially because he was called brother by him, and had authority to transact any business that he wished without the emperor’s express direction, and could issue written orders by merely adding the other’s name. And for this purpose he wore a ring, that had been sent him so that he might impress the imperial seal upon documents requiring authorization. In fact, he and Domitian gave governorships and procuratorships to many and appointed prefect after prefect and even consuls. In short, they acted in every way so much like absolute rulers that Vespasian once sent the following message to Domitian: “I thank you, my son, for permitting me to hold office and that you have not yet dethroned me.”

Now Mucianus was gathering countless sums into the public treasury with the greatest eagerness from every possible quarter, thereby relieving Vespasian of the censure which such a proceeding entailed. He was for ever declaring that money was the sinews of sovereignty; and in accordance with this belief he not only constantly urged Vespasian to raise
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πορίζειν παρήνει καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀργυρο-
λογῶν διετέλεσε, καὶ μεγάλα μὲν καὶ τῇ βασι-
λείᾳ χρήματα παρεσκεύασε, μεγάλα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς
ἐκτήσατο.

3 Ἔν δὲ τῇ Γερμανίᾳ ἄλλατι τε κατὰ Ὄρωμαιῶν
ἐπαναστάσεις ἐγένοντο, οὐδὲν ἐς μνήμην ἐμοὶ γοῦν
ὀφελος φέρουσαι, καὶ τι συνηνέχθη καὶ θαύματος
ἀξιον. Ἰούλιος γὰρ τις Σαβίνος, ἀνὴρ πρῶτος
τῶν Διογόνων, δύναμιν καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδίαν ἠθροισε
καὶ Καῦσαρ ἐπωνυμάζῃ, λέγων ἐγγονος τοῦ Καῦ-
2 σαρος τοῦ Ἰουλίων εἶναι. ἡττηθεὶς δὲ μάχαις
τισὶν ἐφυγεν ἐς ἀγρὸν τινα, κάνταυθα ἐς μνημεῖον
ὑπόγειον, προκαταπρήσας αὐτὸ, κατέδυ καὶ οἱ
μὲν ὑόντο κάκειον ἀπολωλέναι, ὡ δὲ ἐκρύφθη
τε ἐν αὐτῷ ἐννέα ἐτη μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς, καὶ
3 παίδας ἐξ αὐτῆς δύο ἀρρενας ἐκύησε. καὶ τὰ
μὲν ἐν Γερμανίᾳ Κερεάλιος μάχαις πολλαῖς κατ-
εστήσατο, ὡν ἐν μιᾷ τοσοῦτον πλῆθος τῶν τε
Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων κατεκόπη ὡστε τὸν
παραρρέοντα ποταμὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πεπτωκότων
ἐπισχεθῆναι.

4 Ὁ δὲ Δομιτιανός, ἐξ ὧν ἐδρασε καὶ πολλῷ
μᾶλλον ἐξ ὧν ἐπεξείρησεν (οὐδὲν γὰρ μικρὸν ἐπενοεί) φοβηθεὶς τῶν πατέρα, πρὸς τε τῷ
Ἄλβανῳ τῷ ὄρει τὰ πολλὰ διατρίβων καὶ τῷ
ἐρωτι τῆς Δομιτίας τῆς Κορβούλωνος 1 θυγατρὸς
προσέχου ἐτύγχανε ταύτην γὰρ Δουκίου Λαμίου
Αἰλιανοῦ 2 τοῦ ταύτης ἀνδρὸς ἀποστάσας τότε
μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἑρωμέναις ἐποίησατο, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ
ἐγημεν.—Χιφ. 204, 10–205, 2 R. St.

1 Κορβούλωνος R. Steph., κουρβούλωνος VC.
2 Αἰλιανοῦ I. Klein, αἴμιλιανοῦ VC.
funds from every source, but also continued from the A.D. 70 very first to collect money himself, thus providing large amounts for the empire and at the same time acquiring large amounts for himself.

In the province of Germany various uprisings against the Romans took place that are not worth being mentioned by me, at least, but there was one incident that must occasion surprise. A certain Julius Sabinus, one of the foremost of the Lingones, collected by his own efforts an independent force of his own and took the name of Caesar, claiming to be a descendant of Julius Caesar. Upon being defeated in several engagements he fled to a country estate, where he descended into a subterranean vault beneath a monument, which he first burned to the ground. His pursuers thought that he had perished in the flames, but as a matter of fact he remained hidden there with his wife for nine years and had two sons by her. The troubles in Germany were settled by Cerialis in the course of numerous battles, in one of which so great a multitude of Romans and barbarians was slain that the river flowing near by was dammed up by the bodies of the fallen.

Domitian became afraid of his father because of what he himself had done and far more because of what he had intended to do; for he was quite ambitious in his projects. So he spent most of his time in the neighbourhood of the Alban Mount and devoted himself to his passion for Domitia, the daughter of Corbulo. He had taken her away from her husband, Lucius Lamia Aelianus, and at this time had her for one of his mistresses, though later he married her.

1 As Boissevain points out, this relative clause is probably due to Xiphilinus.
4 Ὅ δὲ Τίτος τῷ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους πολέμῳ ἐπι-
ταχθεὶς ἐπεχείρησε μὲν αὐτοὺς λόγοις τισὶ
καὶ ἐπαγγελλαὶς προσποιήσασθαι, μὴ πεισθεῖσι
dὲ ἐπολέμει. καὶ μάχαις ταῖς 1 μὲν πρῶταις
ἀγχώμαλα ἀγωνισάμενος, εἰτὰ κρατήσας ἐπο-
λιόρκει τὰ Ἰεροσόλυμα. ἢν δὲ τρία αὐτοῖς σὺν
2 τῷ τοῦ νεῶ περιβόλῳ τείχῃ. οἳ τε οὖν Ῥωμαίοι
χώματά τε πρὸς τὸ τείχος ἐχωνυσάν μὲν καὶ μη-
χανήματα προσήγον, τοὺς τέ ἐπεκθέοντας ὀμόσε
ιόντες ἀνέστελλον, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους
ἐπόντας σφενδόναις καὶ τοξεύμασιν ἀνείργον-
συχνοὺς γὰρ καὶ παρὰ βαρβάρων τινῶν βασι-
3 λέων πεμφθέντας εἶχον καὶ οἳ Ἰουδαίοι πολλοί
μὲν αὐτόθεν πολλοί δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ὁμοήθων,
όν̄ τι ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ἄλλα καὶ
ἐκ τῶν πέραν Εὐφράτου, προσβεβοηθήκότες βέλη
te καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ λίθους, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ χειρὸς τοὺς
dὲ καὶ μηχανάς, σφοδρότερον ἄτε καὶ ἀφ’ ὑψηλοῦ,
4 ἔπεμπον, καὶ ἐπεξίόντες, ἢ καιρὸς ἢν, νυκτὸς τε
καὶ ἡμέρας τὰς μηχανὰς ἐνεπίμπρασαν, συχνοὺς
ἀπεκτίνυσαν, τὸν τε χοῦν ὑπορύσσοντες ὑπὸ τὸ
teίχος υφείλκον, καὶ τοὺς κριοὺς τοὺς μὲν βρο-
xoις ἀνέκλων 2 τοὺς δὲ ἢρπάγας ἀνέστων ἔτε-
ρων τὰς προσβολὰς σανίσι παχείας συμπεπηγ-
μέναις τε καὶ σεσιδηρωμέναις, ὃς πρὸ τοῦ
5 τείχους καθίσας, ἀπέστρεφον. τὸ δὲ ἡ πλεί-
στον οἳ Ῥωμαίοι τῇ ἀνυδρίᾳ ἐκακοπάθουν, καὶ

1 ταῖς supplied by Rk.
2 ἀνέκλων Bk., ἀνείλκον ABM.

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Titus, who had been assigned to the war against A.D. 70 the Jews, undertook to win them over by certain representations and promises; but, as they would not yield, he now proceeded to wage war upon them. The first battles he fought were indecisive; then he got the upper hand and proceeded to besiege Jerusalem. This city had three walls, including the one that surrounded the temple. The Romans, accordingly, heaped up mounds against the outer wall, brought up their engines, joined battle with all who sallied forth to fight and repulsed them, and with their slings and arrows kept back all the defenders of the wall; for they had many slingers and bowmen that had been sent by some of the barbarian kings. The Jews also were assisted by many of their countrymen from the region round about and by many who professed the same religion, not only from the Roman empire but also from beyond the Euphrates; and these, also, kept hurling missiles and stones with no little force on account of their higher position, some being flung by the hand and some hurled by means of engines. They also made sallies both night and day, whenever occasion offered, set fire to the siege engines, slew many of their assailants, and undermined the Romans' mounds by removing the earth through tunnels driven under the wall. As for the battering-rams, sometimes they threw ropes around them and broke them off, sometimes they pulled them up with hooks, and again they used thick planks fastened together and strengthened with iron, which they let down in front of the wall and thus fended off the blows of still others. But the Romans suffered most hardship from the lack of water; for
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...
their supply was of poor quality and had to be brought from a distance. The Jews found in their underground passages a source of strength; for they had these tunnels dug from inside the city and extending out under the walls to distant points in the country, and going out through them, they would attack the Romans' water-carriers and harass any scattered detachments. But Titus stopped up all these passages.

In the course of these operations many on both sides were wounded and killed. Titus himself was struck on the left shoulder by a stone, and as a result of this accident that arm was always weaker. In time, however, the Romans scaled the outside wall, and then, pitching their camp between this and the second circuit, proceeded to assault the latter. But here they found the conditions of fighting different; for now that all the besieged had retired behind the second wall, its defence proved an easier matter because its circuit was shorter. Titus therefore once more made a proclamation offering them immunity. But even then they held out, and those of them that were taken captive or deserted kept secretly destroying the Romans' water supply and slaying any troops that they could isolate and cut off from the rest; hence Titus would no longer receive any Jewish deserters. Meanwhile some of the Romans, too, becoming disheartened, as often happens in a protracted siege, and suspecting, furthermore, that the city was really impregnable, as was commonly reported, went over to the other side. The Jews, even though they were short of food, treated these recruits kindly, in order to be able to show that there were deserters to their side also.
6 Διακοπέντος δὲ τοῦ τείχους μηχανάις κατὰ μὲν τούτο οὐδ’ ὃς ἐάλωσαν, ἄλλα καὶ πάνω πολλοὺς ἐσβιαζομένους ἀπέκτειναν· ἐμπρήσαντες δὲ τινὰ τῶν ἐγγὺς οἰκοδομημάτων ὡς καὶ ἐκ τούτου τοὺς Ἀρωμαίους περαιτέρω, κἀν τοῦ κύκλου κρατήσωσι, προελθεῖν κωλύσοντες, τὸ τε τείχος ἐλυμῆγαντο καὶ τὸν περίβολον τὸν περὶ τὸ τεμένισμα ἄκοντες συγκατέφλεξαν, καὶ ἀνεόχθη ἡ ἔσωδος ἡ ἐπὶ τὸν 2 νεῶν τοῖς Ἀρωμαίοις. οὐ μὴν καὶ παραχρήμα διὰ τὸ δεισιδαιμονήσαι ἐσέδραμον, ἀλλ’ ὅψε ποτε, τοῦ Τίτου σφάς καταναγκάσαντος, εἰσε προε- χόρησαν. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὦ Ἰουδαῖοι πολὺ προ- θυμότερον, ὥσπερ τι ἔρμαιον τὸ πρὸς τε τῇ ναῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι πεσεῖν εὐρηκότες, ἦμύνοντο, ὁ μὲν δήμος κάτω ἐν τῷ προνάῷ, οἱ δὲ βουλευταὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀναβασμοῖς, οἶ θ’ ἱερῆ ἐν αὐτῷ
3 τῷ μεγάρῳ τεταγμένοι. καὶ οὐ πρότερον γε ἐνικήθησαν, καὶ περ ὁλῖγοι πρὸς πολλῷ πλείους μαχόμενοι, πρὶν ὑποπρησθῆναι τι τοῦ νεῶν τότε γὰρ ἑθελοῦσιν οἱ μὲν ξῖφεσι σφας τοῖς τῶν Ἀρωμαίων περιέπειρον, οἱ δὲ ἀλλήλους ἐφόνευον, ἄλλοι ἐαυτοὺς κατεχρῶντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ πῦρ ἐσεπῆδον. καὶ ἐδόκει πάσι μὲν, μάλιστα δὲ ἐκεῖνοι, οὕν ὅτι ὀλέθρος ἄλλα καὶ νίκη καὶ σωτηρία εὐδαιμονία τε εἶναι, ὅτι τῷ ναῷ συναπ- 7 ὦλλυντο. 1 έιλωσαν δ’ οὖν καὶ ὃς ἄλλοι τε καὶ

1 συναπόλυντο ABM (οιν over υν M), συναπόλυντο VC.
Though a breach was made in the wall by means a.d. 70 of engines, nevertheless, the capture of the place did not immediately follow even then. On the contrary, the defenders killed great numbers that tried to crowd through the opening, and they also set fire to some of the buildings near by, hoping thus to check the further progress of the Romans, even though they should gain possession of the wall. In this way they not only damaged the wall but at the same time unintentionally burned down the barrier around the sacred precinct, so that the entrance to the temple was now laid open to the Romans. Nevertheless, the soldiers because of their superstition did not immediately rush in; but at last, under compulsion from Titus, they made their way inside. Then the Jews defended themselves much more vigorously than before, as if they had discovered a piece of rare good fortune in being able to fight near the temple and fall in its defence. The populace was stationed below in the court, the senators 1 on the steps, and the priests in the sanctuary itself. And though they were but a handful fighting against a far superior force, they were not conquered until a part of the temple was set on fire. Then they met death willingly, some throwing themselves on the swords of the Romans, some slaying one another, others taking their own lives, and still others leaping into the flames. And it seemed to everybody, and especially to them, that so far from being destruction, it was victory and salvation and happiness to them that they perished along with the temple. Yet even under these conditions many captives were taken, among them

1 i.e. the members of the Sanhedrin.
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ο Βαργιορᾶς 1 ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῶν· καὶ μόνος γε οὗτος ἐν τοῖς ἐπινικίοις ἐκολάσθη.

2 Οὗτος μὲν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρα, ἡν μάλιστα ἔτι καὶ νῦν Ἰουδαίοι σέβονσιν, ἔξωλετο. καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου διδραχμὸν ἑτάχθη τούς τὰ πάτρια αὐτῶν ἐθῆ περιστελλοῦντας τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ Δίω κατ’ ἑτος ἄποφέρειν. καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα ἀμφότεροι ἔλαβον, τὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Ἰουδαίκοι σὸν ἐπίθετος ἐσχε· καύτοι τὰ τὲ ἄλλα αὐτοῖς, ὃς ἐπὶ τηλικαυτῇ νίκη εἰκὸς ἦν, καὶ ἄψιδες τροπαιοφόροι ἐψηφί- σθησαν.—Exc. U 41 (pp. 396–399), Xiph. 205, 2–13 R. St.

8 Τοῦ Οὐσπασιανοῦ δὲ ἐσ ἡ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρειας ἐσελθόντος ὁ Νεῖλος παλαιστή πλέον παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκός ἐν μιὰ ἡμέρα ἐπελάγησεν· ὅπερ οὐπώποτε πλὴν ἀπαξ γεγονέναι ἐλέγετο. καὶ Οὐσπασιανὸς δὲ αὐτὸς τυφλὸν τὲ τίνα καὶ ἔτερον οὐκ ἄρτιχειρα,2 προσελθόντας οἱ ἐξ ὀψεως ὀνειρά- των, τὸ μὲν τὴν χείρα πατήσας τοῦ δὲ τοῖν ἡφαλμοῖν προσπτύσας,3 ὑγιεῖς ἀπέφηνε. τὸ μὲν θεῖον τούτους αὐτῶν ἐσέμυνεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ οἱ Ἀλεξάνδρεῖς ἐχαίρουν αὐτῶ, ἄλλα καὶ πάνω ἦχθοντο, ὅστε μὴ μόνον ἴδια ἄλλα καὶ δημοσία καὶ σκώπτειν αὐτὸν καὶ λοιδορεῖν. προσδοκή- σαντες γὰρ μέγα τι παρ' αὐτὸν λήψεθαι, ὅτι πρῶτοι αὐτῶν αὐτοκράτορα ἐπεποιήκεσαν, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν εὐροῦντο ἄλλα καὶ προσεπράσσοντο 3 χρήματα. τολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως παρ'

1 Βαργιορᾶς Reim., καρπορᾶς V, βαρπορᾶς C, βασπόρης ABM.
2 ἄρτιχειρα C (?), ἄντιχειρα V.

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Bargiora, their leader; and he was the only one A.D. 70 to be executed in connexion with the triumphal celebration.

Thus was Jerusalem destroyed on the very day of Saturn, the day which even now the Jews reverence most. From that time forth it was ordered that the Jews who continued to observe their ancestral customs should pay an annual tribute of two denarii to Jupiter Capitolinus. In consequence of this success both generals received the title of imperator, but neither got that of Judaicus, although all the other honours that were fitting on the occasion of so magnificent a victory, including triumphal arches, were voted to them.

Following Vespasian's entry into Alexandria the Nile overflowed, having in one day risen a palm higher than usual; such an occurrence, it was said, had taken place only once before. Vespasian himself healed two persons, one having a withered hand, the other being blind, who had come to him because of a vision seen in dreams; he cured the one by stepping on his hand and the other by spitting upon his eyes. Yet, though Heaven was thus magnifying him, the Alexandrians, far from delighting in his presence, detested him so heartily that they were for ever mocking and reviling him. For they had expected to receive from him some great reward because they had been the first to make him emperor, but instead of securing anything they had additional contributions levied upon them. In the first place, he collected large

1 Simon Bar Giora.

3 προσπίτσας R. Steph., πηλὸν προσπίτσας VC.
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αὐτῶν ἐξέλεξε, μηδένα πόρον, μηδὲ τὸν τυχόντα μηδὲ εἰ ἐπαίτιός τις ἦν, παραλείπων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὅσιών πάντων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ὅμοιως χρηματιζόμενος: πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τέλη τὰ μὲν τινα ἐκλελειμένα ἀνενεώσατο, τὰ δὲ καὶ νομιζόμενα προσεπηύξησε, καινὰ τε ἐτέρα προσκατεστήσατο.

4 τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τούτο καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ ὑπηκόῳ τῇ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐποίησεν. οἱ δ' οὖν 3 Ἀλεξανδρεῖς διὰ τε 4 ἐκείνων, καὶ ὁτι καὶ τῶν βασιλείων τὸ πλείστον ἀπέδοτο, χαλεπῶς φέροντες ἄλλα τε ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπερριπτούν καὶ ὁτι "ἐξ ὁβολοὺς προσαίτεις," ὥστε καὶ τὸν Ὀὔσπασιον καίπερ ἐπιεικέστατον ὄντα χαλεπῆια, καὶ κελεύσαι μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἐς ὁβολοὺς κατ' ἄνδρα ἐσπραχθῆναι, βουλεύσασθαι δὲ καὶ τιμωρίαν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι: αὐτὰ τε γὰρ τὰ λεγόμενα προπηλακισμὸν εἶχε, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κατακεκλαμμένου τοῦ τε ἀναπαύστου σφῶν οὐκ ἔστιν 6 τὶ οὐκ ὅργῃν 6 οἱ ἐνεποίει. τοῦ δ' οὖν 5 Τίτον εξαιτησαμένου αὐτοὺς τούτων ὁ Ὀὔσπασιανός ἐφείσατο. ἐκεῖνοι δ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀπέσχοντο ἄλλα μέγα πάνω ἀθρόοι ἐν συνόδῳ τινὶ κοινῇ πρὸς τὸν Τίτον ἐξεβόησαν, εἰπόντες αὐτὸ τοῦτο "συγγινώσκομεν αὐτῷ οὐ 7 γὰρ οἴδε καισαρεύειν," καὶ οἱ μὲν οὗτο τότε ἐρρηψοκινδύνουν, καὶ τῆς ἀσελγείας, ὑφ' ἃς ἀεί ποτε κακῶς ἀπαλλάσσοσιν, ἀδὴν ἐνεφοροῦντο,

1 μηδένα—παραλείπων Bs., μηδένα πόρον μηδὲ εἰ ἐπαίτησ τις ἦν παραλιπῶν VC, μηδὲ απόρον μηδὲ τὸν τυχόντα ... μηδ' εἰπαίτησ τις ἦν παραλείπων cod. Peir.
2 τῇ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ μετὰ ταῦτα Zon., ἐν τῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ μετὰ ταῦτ' VC., om. cod. Peir.
3 δ' οὖν Bk., γοῦν VC.
EPITOME OF BOOK LXV

sums from them in various ways, overlooking no A.D. 70 source, however trivial or however reprehensible it might be, but drawing upon every source, sacred and profane alike, from which money could be secured. He also renewed many taxes that had fallen into disuse, increased many that were customary, and introduced still other new ones. And he adopted this same course later in the rest of the subject territory, in Italy, and in Rome itself. Hence the Alexandrians, both for these reasons and also because he had sold the greater part of the palace, were angry and hurled many taunts at him, this among others: "Six obols more you demand of us." Vespasian, consequently, although the most good-natured of men, became angry, and gave orders that six obols should be exacted from every man, and he thought seriously about punishing them besides. For the words in themselves were insulting enough, and there was something about their broken anapaestic rhythm that roused his ire. Titus, however, begged that they might be forgiven and Vespasian spared them. Yet they would not let him alone, but in a crowded assembly all loudly shouted in chorus at Titus these words: "We forgive him; for he knows not how to play the Caesar." So the Alexandrians at that time went on with these foolhardy demonstrations, took their fill without restraint of that impudent licence which is always working to their detriment, and abused the

1 Or perhaps sesterces. Dio regularly uses δραχμή (six obols) as the equivalent of the denarius (four sesterces). The point of the remark is not clear.

4 τε Reim., τε oδυ cod. Peir.
5 δ' oδυ cod. Peir., γούν VC.
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9 τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐπιεικεία ἀποχρόμενοι· οὗ δὲ ἐκείνους μὲν εἶα, ἐς δὲ τὴν ἹΩΜΗΝ ἐπέστειλε, τὴν τέ ἀτιμίαν τῶν καταψυχοσθέντων ἐπὶ ταῖς λεγομέναις ἀσεβείαις ὑπὸ Νέρωνος καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀρξάντων, τῶν τε ζῶντων καὶ τῶν τεθνεότων ὀμοίως, ἀπαλείφων, καὶ τὰς γραφὰς τὰς ἐπὶ 2 τοιούτων ἐγκλήμασι καταλύνων. τοὺς τε ἀστρο-
λόγους ἐκ τῆς ἹΟΜΗΝ ἐξώρισε, καίτοι πᾶσι τοῖς ἀρίστοις αὐτῶν χρώμενοι αὐτός, ὅστε καὶ διὰ Βάρβιλλον τινα ἄνδρα τοιοῦτοτροπὸν ἀγὼν τοῖς Ἐφεσίους ἀερὸν ἀγεῖν συγχωρῆσαι· ὅπερ οὐδεμιᾶ
ἀλλῃ πόλει ἐνειμεν.—Xiph. 205, 13–206, 7 R. St., Exe. Val. 271 (p. 701 sq.).

2α Τὴν μὲν οὖν Ἀὐγουππὸν δι᾽ ὀλίγου κατεστήσατο, καὶ σύτων πολὺν εἰς τὴν ἹΩΜΗΝ ἐπέμψεν ἀπ’ αὐτὴς τὸν δὲ ύιόν αὐτοῦ Τῖτον εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα καταλε-
λοιπῶς πορθῆσαι αὐτά, τὴν ἐκείνων ἀνέμειν ἀλωσιν, ἵνα μετὰ τοῦ ύιοῦ ἐπανέλθῃ πρὸς τὴν ἹΩΜΗΝ. τριβομένου δὲ χρόνου ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τοῦ μὲν Τῖτον ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὅλκάδος ἐπιβάς ἐς Λυκίαν ἐπλευσε, κάκεῖθεν τὰ μὲν πεζῇ τὰ δὲ υαυτιλλόμενος ἐς τὸ Βρεντσίουν ἐκομίσθη.—Zon. 11, 17, p. 52, 28–53, 8 D.

3 Ὁ δὲ Οὐεςπασιανὸς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὴν ἹΩΜΗΝ ἐσεληνύθη, καὶ Μουκιανῷ μὲν ἄλλους τε τῶν πρώτων ἐν τῷ Βρεντσίῳ ἐνέτυχε, Δομιτιανῷ δὲ ἐν Βενεουεντίῳ· ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ συνειδότος ὦν τε ἐφρόνει καὶ ὦν ἐπεποιήκει ὤτε ἔθαρσε, καὶ 4 προσέτε καὶ μωρίαν ἔστιν ὦτε προσεποιεῖτο. ἐν γοῦν τῶ Ἀλβανὸ χωρίῳ τὰ πλείστα διάγων ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ γελοία ἐπραττε, καὶ τὰς

1 αὐτός Polak, οὕτως cod. Peir.
good nature of the emperor. But Vespasian soon A.D. 70 ceased to notice them. He sent a despatch to Rome rescinding the disfranchisement of those who had been condemned by Nero and succeeding rulers for acts of *maiestas*, as they were called. This order applied to the living and to the dead alike; and he put an end to the indictments based on such complaints. He banished the astrologers from Rome, even though he was in the habit of consulting all the best of them himself, and, by way of showing a favour to Barbillus, a man of that profession, had even permitted the Ephesians to celebrate some sacred games, a privilege that he granted to no other city.

He soon restored order in Egypt and sent thence a large supply of grain to Rome. He had left his son Titus at Jerusalem to storm the place, and was waiting for its capture in order that he might return to Rome with him. But as time dragged on and the siege continued, he left Titus in Palestine and took passage himself on a merchantman; in this manner he sailed as far as Lycia, and from there he proceeded partly by land and partly by sea to Brundisium.

Vespasian had later come to Rome, after meeting Mucianus and other prominent men at Brundisium and Domitian at Beneventum. The latter, because of his consciousness both of what he was planning and of what he had already done, was ill at ease, and furthermore he sometimes even feigned madness. At any rate, he spent most of his time at the Alban Villa and did many absurd things, one of them being

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2 Βενεουένταφ H. Steph., Βενεώντω VC.
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μνίας γραφείους κατεκέντει. 1 τούτο γὰρ εἰ καὶ ἀνάξιον τοῦ τῆς ἱστορίας ὄγκου ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι γε ἰκανός τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ ἐνδείκνυται, ἀναγκαῖας ἐγγραφὰ, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι καὶ μοναρχῆςας 5 ὁμοίως αὐτὸ ἑποίει. ὃθεν οὐκ ἀχαρίτως τις εἰπε πρὸς τὸν ἐρωτησάντα "τί πράττει Δομιτιανὸς 2 ;" ὃτι "ιδιάζει τε, 3 καὶ οὐδὲ μινια αὐτῷ παρακάθη-
10 ται." ὁ δὲ Οὐσπασιανὸς ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἑπατείνου τὸ φρόνημα, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους πάντας οὐχ ὡς αὐτοκράτωρ ἀλλ' ὡς ἰδιώτης, μνήμη τῆς προτέρας αὐτοῦ τύχης, ἐδεξιοῦτο.—Xiph. 206, 7–20 R. St.

1a Ἐλθὼν δ' ἐσ τὴν Ρώμην καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τῷ δήμῳ παρέσχε ὁρείας, καὶ τὰ τεμένη καὶ τὰ δημόσια ἔργα τὰ πεπονηκότα ἀνελάμβανε, καὶ τὰ ἤδη ἐφθαρμένα ἔπανεσκεύαζε, καὶ συνετελομένοις αὐτοῖς οὐ τὸ ἐαυτοῦ ἐπέγραφεν ὁίνωμα, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν πρώτως δομησαμένων.—Zon. 11, 17, p. 53, 9–14 D.

2 Τὸν τε νεὼν τὸν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ εὔθυς ὁἴκοδομεῖν ἦρξατο, αὐτὸς ὑπερ 4 τοῦ χοῦ πρῶτος ἐκφορησάς καὶ δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τὸ αὐτὸ 5 τοῦτο ποιῆσαι κελεύσας, ἵνα καὶ τῷ λοιπῷ πλήθει ἀπαραίτητον τὸ διακόνημα γένηται.—Xiph. 206, 20–24 R. St.

2a Τάς τε οὐσίας τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις πεσόντων τοῖς παιδῶν ἐκείνων ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἰκείοις ἄφηκε, καὶ τὰ συμβολαία τὰ παλαιὰ τὰ τῷ δημοσίῳ προσήκοντα προσδιέ-
3 φθειρε.—Zon. 11, 17, p. 53, 14–18 D.

3 Μεγαλοφρονέστατα δὲ ἀεὶ ποτὲ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν

1 κατεκέντει C (?), κατεκέντα V.
2 Δομιτιανὸς R. Steph., δομιτιανὸς VC.

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to impale flies on a stylus. Unworthy as this A.D. 70 incident is of the dignity of history, yet, because it shows his character so well and particularly because he still continued the practice after he became emperor, I have felt obliged to record it. In view of this habit of his, someone, in answer to the question, “Where is Domitian?” made the witty reply: “He is living in retirement, without even a fly to keep him company.” Vespasian now proceeded to humble this son’s pride, but greeted all the rest, not as an emperor, but as a private citizen; for he was mindful of his own past fortune.

On reaching Rome he bestowed gifts upon both the soldiers and the populace. He also repaired the sacred precincts and the public works which had suffered injury and rebuilt such as had already fallen into ruin; and upon completing them he inscribed upon them, not his own name, but the names of those who had originally built them.

He immediately began to construct the temple on the Capitoline. He was himself the first to carry out a load of soil, thereby evidently bidding all the other leading citizens to do likewise, in order that the rest of the populace might have no excuse for shirking this service.

The property of his opponents who had fallen in the various conflicts he left to their children or to other kinsmen of theirs; furthermore, he destroyed the notes that were long overdue belonging to the public treasury.

Although he invariably expended in most munificent

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3 τε H. Steph., τι VC.
4 τε Sylb., τι VC.
5 το αυτό Sylb., τα αυτὰ VC.
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ʼOsas ἔχρην ἀναλώσας, καὶ τὰς πανηγύρεις πολυ-
τελέστατα διαθεῖς, εὐτελέστατα διητάτο 1 καὶ
οὐδὲν ἔξω τῶν πάνω ἀναγκαίων ἐδαπάνα, καὶ διὰ
tοῦτο οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς καπηλείοις ἐφθόν τι πλὴν
ὀσπρίων πιτράσκεσθαι ἐπέτρεπε. κὰκ τούτου
καὶ τὰ μάλιστα διεδείξεν ὅτι τὰς συλλογὰς τῶν
χρημάτων οὐκ ἐσ τὰς εαυτοῦ ἤδονὰς ἀλλ’ ἐσ τὰς
tοῦ δῆμου χρείας ἐποιεῖτο.—Χιρφ. 206, 24–30
R. St.

3a "Ὅτι Βεσπασιανὸς γέλωτα ὀμφλίσκανεν ὁσακίς
ἀναλίσκων ἔλεγεν ὅτι "ἐκ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ αὐτὰ
dαπανῶ."—Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 100 (p. 219
Μαί = p. 201, 22–23 Dind.).

3b Ῥν δὲ οὔτε ἔξε εὐγενῶν οὔτε πλοῦσιος.—Ζων.
11, 17, p. 53, 20–21 D.

4 Καταστάσει δὲ τοῦ βίου τοιαῦτα ἔχρητο. ὅλιγα
μὲν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ὁκεῖ, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον ἐν
τοῖς κήποις τοῖς καλουμένοις Σαλούστιείοις 2
dιέτριβε, κἂνταῦθα τὸν βουλόμενον οὐχ ὅτι τῶν
5 βουλευτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑσεδέχετο, καὶ
τοῖς πάνω φίλοις καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐω ἐν τῇ εὐνή
κείμενος συνεγίνετο, καὶ έτεροι ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς
cύτων ἡσπάζοντο. αἴ τε θύραι τῶν βασιλείων
ἡμεωγμέναι διὰ πάσης τῆς ἡμέρας ἧσαν, καὶ
φρουρὸς οὐδεὶς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγκαθειστήκει. 3 ἐσ τὲ
τὸ συνέδριον διὰ παντὸς ἐφοίτα, καὶ περὶ πάντων
αὐτοῖς ἐπεκοίνω, κἂν 4 τῇ ἄγορᾷ πολλάκις ἐδί-
6 καζέν, ὅσα τε μὴ ἐδύνατο αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ γύρως
ἀναλέγεσθαι, ἢ καὶ ὅσα ἀπὸ τὸ ἐπέστελλε τῇ
βουλῇ, διὰ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἐκέλευεν
ἀναγινώσκεσθαι, τιμῶν κἂν τούτῳ αὐτήν. συσσί-
tους τε ἐκ τε αὐτῶν ἐκείνων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων
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fashion all that was requisite for the public welfare and carried out the festivals on a most sumptuous scale, his own style of living was very far from costly and he spent no more than was absolutely necessary. Therefore even in the taverns he allowed nothing cooked to be sold except pulse. Thus he made it most evident that he was amassing money, not for his own enjoyment, but for the needs of the people.

Vespasian was laughed at every time he would say, when spending money: "I am paying for this out of my own purse."

He was neither of noble birth nor rich.

The general routine of life that he followed was as follows. He lived but little in the palace, spending most of his time in the Gardens of Sallust. There he received anybody who desired to see him, not only senators but also people in general. With his intimate friends he would hold converse even before dawn while lying in bed; and others would greet him on the streets. The doors of the palace stood open all day long and no guard was stationed at them. He regularly attended the meetings of the senate, whose members he consulted on all matters, and he frequently dispensed justice in the Forum. Whatever messages he was prevented by old age from reading and whatever communications he sent to the senate when unable to be present, he usually caused to be read by his sons, thus showing honour to that body even in this detail. Every day he made many of the senators and others his guests at table, and he himself

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1 διητάτο Ζου., διὰ τούτο VC.
2 Σαλουστίειος Dind. (Σαλουστίειοις), σαλουστείοις VC.
3 ἐγκαθεστήκει Reim., ἐγκαθεστήκει VC.
4 κὰν Sylb., καὶ VC.
καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν συχνοὺς ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ πολλάκις καὶ αὐτὸς παρὰ τοῖς πάνω φίλοις ἔδειπνει. 11 τὸ τε σύμπαν τῇ μὲν 1 προνοία τῶν κοινῶν αὐτοκράτωρ ἐνομίζετο, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰλλα πάντα κοινὸς καὶ ἱσοδιαίτος σφιῶν ἦν. καὶ γὰρ ἐσκωπτε δημοτικῶς καὶ ἀντεσκόπτετο ἡδέως: εἰ τὸ τινα γράμματα, οὐ εἰσδεθήν ἀνώνυμα ὡς τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας, προπηλακισμὸν αὐτῷ φέροντα, ἐξετέθη ποτε, ἀντεξετίθει τὰ πρόσφορα μηδὲν 2 ταραττόμενοι. τοῦ τε Φοίβου προσελθόντος αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπολογουμένου ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐσκυθροπακότα ποτὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ θεάτρου ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἐφ’ οἷς ἀσχημονοῦντα ἔωρα τῶν αὐτοκράτορα, ἐκέλευσε πρὸς ὅργην ἀπελθεῖν, τοῦ δὲ ἐρομένου ὑποί, “ἐς κόρακας” ἔπεν, ὑπὲρ τούτου οὖν ἀπολογουμένου τοῦ Φοίβου οὔτε τι κακὸν αὐτὸν εἰργάσατο, οὔτε ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ ἄλλο οὐδὲν πλὴν αὐτὸ τούτο ὅτι “ἐς κόρακας 3 ἀπελθε.” τοῦ δὲ Ὀὐσολογαίσου 2 ἐπιστείλαντος αὐτῷ οὕτως “βασιλεὺς βασιλέων Ἀρσάκης Φλασούφ Οὐσεπαισιανό χαίρειν,” οὔτε τι αὐτὸν ἑτίασατο, καὶ ἀντέγραψε τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, μηδὲν τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς ὀνομάτων προσθέσει. 12 ᾿Επεῖ δὲ Πρίσκως ᾿Ελονίδιος ὁ τοῦ Θρασέου γαμβρός, τοῖς τε στωικῶς δόγμασιν ἐντραφείς καὶ τὴν τοῦ Θρασέου παρρησίαν οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ 3 μιμοῦμενος, στρατηγῶν δὲ τηνικαῦτα, οὔτε τι πρὸς τιμὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἔδρα καὶ προσέτει καὶ βλασφημῶν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπαύετο, καὶ ποτε

1 μὲν Zon., om. VC.
2 Ὀυσολογαίσου R, Steph., Ὀυσολογαίσου VC.
3 οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ Bs., οὐ σὺν καιρῷ VC.

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often dined at the houses of his intimate friends. In A.D. 70 short, he was looked upon as emperor only by reason of his oversight of the public business, whereas in all other respects he was democratic and lived on a footing of equality with his subjects. For example, he indulged in jests like a man of the people and enjoyed jokes at his own expense; and whenever any anonymous bulletins, such as are regularly addressed to the emperors, were posted, if they contained scurrilous references to himself, he would simply post a reply in kind, without showing the least resentment. One day Phoebus approached him to make an apology. It seems that once, during Nero’s reign, Vespasian while in the theatre in Greece had frowned when he saw the emperor behaving himself in unseemly fashion, whereupon Phoebus had angrily bidden him go away. And when Vespasian asked, “Go where?” Phoebus had replied, “To the deuce.” 1 So when Phoebus now apologized for this remark, Vespasian did him no harm, and gave him no answer other than this same retort: “To the deuce with you.” Again, when Vologaesus sent him a letter of which the salutation ran thus: “Arsaces, King of Kings, to Flavius Vespasian, Greeting,” the emperor did not rebuke him at all but wrote a reply in the same style, adding none of his imperial titles.

Helvidius Priscus, the son-in-law of Thrasea, had been brought up in the doctrines of the Stoics and imitated Thrasea’s frankness of speech, sometimes unseasonably. He was at this time praetor, but instead of doing aught to increase the honour due to the emperor he would not cease reviling him. Therefore

1 See Ixiii (lxii), 10, 1a.
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dia toto oi demarchoi sullassbontes auton toui
uphetas paradosan, sunevthi te o Ovespa-
sianos kai dakersas ek tou bouleutirion exilthe,
tosouden monon upepow 1 oti "eme men uidos
diadezetai, h oúdeis alllos."—Xiph. 206, 30-208,
1 R. St.

1a Twn o 'Ierosolymon ulontow o Titos eis thn
Italian epaneldon tâ epivkia autos te kai o
pater eph armatos epeumpav sunepepumpe de
sofion auta kai o Dometianos upateuwn eti
kelitos. metata touto didasakalous en tâ 'Rômhe
kai thi Latinous kai thi 'Elhnikês paideias
katéstheie, misbou ek tov dèmosion fêrontas.
—Zon. 11, 17, p. 53, 29-54, 3 D.

13 'Ois o ouv kai allon polloi ek twn stwikon
kaloumenon logos proachventes, meb' oan kai
Dhmîtrios o kunnikos, syna kai ouk epitêdeia
tous parouda dèmosia, tó tis filosofias pro-
skhmati katachrômevoi, dieleugontos, ká touto
kai upodieôthieron tinas, èpeisen o Mounkianos
2 twn Ovespiaianon pátas toous toiooutous ek tis
pólewos ekbalein, eipwv orygh màllon h filología
tin polla kat' auton.—Xiph. 208, 1-7 R. St.

2, 4 "Oti o Mounkianos timasqai vph' apantow uper
pántas ñòblein, kai ñchtheto ei kai ostitsoyn oux
óti ñbriseivn auton, állo ou méth ou megálos
âghleie. kai dia touto, ñspfer ápnhstos en
tais timaís prós toous upouryovntas ti autó kai
to brauxitaton ñn, outn kai mísei âgristatô
prós toous ñh toiooutous exrítto.—Exc. Val. 272
(p. 702).

13, 1a "Oti Mounkianos prós Besspiaianon katà twn
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the tribunes once arrested him and gave him in charge A.D. 70 of their assistants, a procedure at which Vespasian was overcome by emotion and went out of the senate-chamber in tears, saying merely: "My successor shall be my son or no one at all." 1

After Jerusalem had been captured Titus returned A.D. 71 to Italy and both he and his father celebrated a triumph, riding in a chariot. Domitian, who was consul, also took part in the celebration, mounted upon a charger. Vespasian afterwards established in Rome teachers of both Latin and Greek learning, who drew their pay from the public treasury.

Inasmuch as many others, too, including Demetrius the Cynic, actuated by the Stoic principles, were taking advantage of the name of philosophy to teach publicly many doctrines inappropriate to the times, and in this way were subtly corrupting some of their hearers, Mucianus, prompted rather by anger than by any passion for philosophy, inveighed at length against them and persuaded Vespasian to expel all such persons from the city.

Mucianus desired to be honoured by all and above all, so that he was displeased not only when any man whatever insulted him, but also when anyone failed to extol him greatly. Hence, just as he could never honour enough those who assisted him to even the smallest extent, so his hatred was most fierce against all who were not disposed to do so.

Mucianus made a great number of remarkable

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1 Cf. Suet., Vesp. 25.

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1 ὑπείπτων Bs., εἰπὼν VC, ἐπείπτων exc. Vat.
2 Μουκιανὸς Ζον., μινουκιανὸς VC.
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στωικῶν πλειστά τε εἴπε καὶ θαυμάσια, ός ὅτι αὐχήματος κενοῦ εἰσὶ πεπληρωμένοι, καὶ τῶν ποιγωνί τις αὐτῶν καθή καὶ τᾶς ὀφρύας ἀνασπάσῃ τὸ τε τριβώνιον ἀναβάληται καὶ ἀνυπόδητος βαδίσῃ, σοφὸς εὐθύς ἀνδρείος δίκαιος φησιν εἶναι, καὶ πνεῖ ἐφ’ ἑαυτῷ μέγα, καν τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τούτο μήτε γράμματα μήτε νεῖν ἐπίστηται.¹ καὶ πάντας ὑπερορᾶσι, καὶ τὸν μὲν εὐγενῆ τηθαλαδοῦν² τὸν δὲ ἀγενῆ σμικρόφρονα, καὶ τὸν μὲν καλὸν ἀσελγῆ τὸν δὲ αἰσχρὸν εὐφυᾶ, τὸν δὲ πλούσιον πλεονέκτην τὸν δὲ πένητα δουλοπρεπὴ καλοῦσι.—Petr. Patr. ex. Vat. 106 (p. 220 Mai = p. 202, 13–24 Dind.).

2 Καὶ πάντας αὐτίκα τοὺς φιλοσόφους ὁ Όυεσπασιανός, πλὴν τοῦ Μουσσώνου, ἐκ τῆς 'Ῥώμης ἔξεβαλε, τὸν δὲ Ἁμημήριον καὶ τὸν Ὀστιλιανὸν³ καὶ ἐς υἱόσους κατέκλεισε. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ὀστιλιανὸς εἴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μή ἐπαύσατο περὶ τῆς φυγῆς ἀκούσας (ἐτυχε γὰρ διαλεγόμενός τωι), ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῷ πλείω κατὰ τῆς μοναρχίας 3 κατέδραμεν, ὁμως παραχρῆμα μετέστη τῷ δὲ Ημημήριῳ μὴν δῶς ὑπείκοντι ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Ὄυεςπασιανός λεχθῆναι ὅτι “σὺ μὲν πάντα ποιεῖς ἵνα σε ἀποκτείνω, ἐγὼ δὲ κύνα ἡλακτοῦντα ὑφονεύω.”—Xiph. 208, 7–15 R. St.

12 2 Ὄτι οὖν ἡκιστα ἐνδήλον ἐγένετο ὅτι Πρίσκον τὸν Ἐλεούθιουν⁴ οὐ μᾶλλον τι δ’ ἑαυτὸν ἢ διὰ τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ, οὐς ὑβρισεν, ἐμίσησεν ὁ Όυεςπασιανός, ἀλλ’ ὅτι παραχώδης τε ἡν καὶ τὸ ὀχλο προσέκειτο, βασιλείας τε ἅπε κατηγόρει καὶ δημοκρατίαν ἐπήνει, καὶ ἐπραττεν ἀκόλουθα

¹ ἐπίστηται v. Herw., ἐπίστηται cod.
statements to Vespasian against the Stoics, asserting, A.D. 71-
for instance, that they are full of empty boasting, and that if one of them lets his beard grow long, elevates his eyebrows, wears his coarse mantle thrown back over his shoulder and goes barefooted, he straightway lays claim to wisdom, bravery and righteousness, and gives himself great airs, even though he may not know either his letters or how to swim, as the saying goes. They look down upon everybody and call a man of good family a mollycoddle, the low-born slender-witted, a handsome person licentious, an ugly person a simpleton, the rich man greedy, and the poor man servile.

And Vespasian immediately expelled from Rome all the philosophers except Musonius; Demetrius and Hostilianus he even deported to islands. Hostilianus, though he decidedly would not desist when he was told about the sentence of exile (he happened to be conversing with somebody), but merely inveighed all the more strongly against monarchy, nevertheless straightway withdrew. Demetrius, on the contrary, would not yield even then, and Vespasian commanded that this message should be given to him: “You are doing everything to force me to kill you, but I do not slay a barking dog.”

It became strikingly clear that Vespasian hated Helvidius Priscus, not so much on his own account or that of his friends whom the man had abused, as because he was a turbulent fellow who cultivated the favour of the rabble and was for ever denouncing royalty and praising democracy. Helvidius’ behaviour,
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toútois kai syvísth tivás, ósper pon philoso-
phiás érgon ón to te toús kratoúntas prorpiä-
kízein kai to tâ plíbh taraâtein to te tâ 1 
káthestykóta sygchêin kai to neôterá autôi
3 prágmatà épesángyin. ën yâr toû Òrasisón
yam- bôs kai xelolv autôn épilatteto, polv d' 
autôn ëmârtau. Òrasisá mév yâr épî Néronos
ûn ouk ërèsigneto autô, kai ouvdein méntou ouv' òws
vbriástikôn èleugyv ès autôn ouvde èptrattein, plîh
kath' Äson prorokouwnev òi tâv drômënovn ouk
xèiou. ouvov dé Òrhepstasiávô ëkhvetov, kai ouv' 
diá ouvte èn tî kowv autôn èpteicheto, ãll' èx
ðwv èpooiè ëthavatá, kai polela pràttovn ëmêllê
pote dîkhy autôn dôseiv.—Exc. Val. 273 (p.
702).

14 Tûte dé kai Kawnís ë toû Òrhepstasiávov pal-
lakê metîllxovn. eìnúhmóyevsa dé autês òti te
pistoratî ën và kai òti mnîmhs ãrista èpefûkei.
prós goûn tîn dëspotaian tîn 'Antrôinav 2 tîn toû
Klaudíou mnêrâ, krûfà ti di' autês to Tiberîw
2 perî toû Seiánov 3 gràvçasov, kai autôn àpalei-
ôrôvna evvûs, òpovs mnêdeis autov èleugyov ûpolec-
ôrôv, kelxúsasov, "mâtîn, d' dëspotîna," ëfì 4 toûtô
prosetâxas: pánta yâr kai tauta, kai tâ ãlla
ósa àn ûpagogevûseis moî, èn te tî ëvychì àei
3 fërov kai ouvètòtete èxaleîfôvna dîvatai." tû-
tò te ouv autês ëthavmàsa, kai prossêtì òti kai
ô Òrhepstasiávos autê ûpereçhai, plleîstovn te
dià toûto ìschvse, kai plouvov àrûbhtovn ëðrom-

1 tâ Val., tòi cod. Peir.
2 'Antrôinav Sylb., àntôvívav VC.
3 Seiánov Bs., sianov VC.
moreover, was consistent with this opinion of him; for he banded various men together, as if it were the function of philosophy to insult those in power, to stir up the multitudes, to overthrow the established order of things, and to bring about a revolution. He was Thrasea's son-in-law and affected to emulate his conduct, but he fell far short of doing so. For whereas Thrasea, though living in Nero's time and displeased with him, nevertheless had neither said nor done anything that was insulting to him, save merely that he refused to share in his practices, Helvidius, on the other hand, bore a grudge against Vespasian and would not let him alone either in private or in public. Thus by his conduct he was courting death and by his meddlesome interference he was destined eventually to pay the penalty.

It was at this time that Caenis, the concubine of Vespasian, died. I mention her because she was exceedingly faithful and was gifted with a most excellent memory. Here is an illustration. Her mistress Antonia, the mother of Claudius, had once employed her as secretary in writing a secret letter to Tiberius about Sejanus and had immediately ordered the message to be erased, in order that no trace of it might be left. Thereupon she replied: "It is useless, mistress, for you to give this command; for not only all this but also whatever else you dictate to me I always carry in my mind and it can never be erased." And not only for this reason does she seem to me to have been a remarkable woman, but also because Vespasian took such excessive delight in her. This gave her the greatest influence and she amassed untold wealth, so that it was even
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σεν, ὡστε καὶ νομισθῆναι ὅτι δὲ αὐτῆς ἐκείνης ἐχρηματίζετο. πάμπολλα γὰρ παρὰ πολλῶν ἐλάμβανε, τοὺς μὲν ἄρχας τοὺς δὲ ἐπιτροπεῖας στρατείας ἰερωσύνας, ἦδη δὲ τισι καὶ ἀποφάσεις 4 αὐτοῦ πιπράσκουσα. ἀπέκτεινε μὲν γὰρ Οὐεσπασιανὸς χρημάτων ἕνεκα οὐδένα, ἔσωσε δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν διδόντων καὶ ἡ μὲν λαμβάνουσα ἐκείνη ἦν, ύπωπτεύετο δὲ ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐκὼν αὐτῆς ἐπιτρέπειν τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ὅν ἔπραττεν, ὅν οὖν ἄλιγα δεῖγματος ἕνεκα διηγήσομαι. 5 ἀνδριάντα γὰρ πέντε καὶ έκκοσι μυριάδων στήσατο οἱ Ρῃσισαμένων τινῶν προπέτειν τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἐφή "δότε μοι τὸ ἀργύριον· ἡ γὰρ βάσις αὐτοῦ αὐτὴ ἐστί." καὶ πρὸς τὸν Τίτον ἀγανακτοῦντα τῷ τοῦ οὐρουν 2 τέλει, δ καὶ αὐτὸ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων κατεδείχθη, εἶπε, λαβῶν εξ αὐτοῦ χρυσοὺς πεπορισμένους καὶ δείξας αὐτῷ, "ἔδω, τέκνον, εἴ τι ὄξουσιν."

15 Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἔκτων καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίτου τέταρτον ἀρχόντων τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης τέμενος καθιερώθη, ὁ τε κολοσσὸς ὁνομασμένος ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ ὄδῷ ἱδρύθη: φασὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ τε ύψος ἐκατὸν ποδῶν καὶ τὸ εἴδος οἱ μὲν 3 τὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος οἱ 2 δὲ τὸ τοῦ Τίτου ἑχειν. σφαγὰς δὲ ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς θηρίων μὲν ἐποιεῖτο ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, μονομαχίαις δὲ ἀνδρῶν οὐ 4 πάνω τι ἔχαιρε, καίτοι τοῦ Τίτου ἐν ταῖς τῶν νεανίσκων παιδιαῖς ταῖς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ τελομενείαις σκιαμα-

1 ἔπραττεν Leuncl., ἔπραττον VC.
2 οὐροῦ R. Steph., οὐροῦ VC.
3 οἱ μὲν R. Steph., ὁ μὲν VC.
4 πάνωι ντὶ ἔχαιρε
thought that he made money through Caenis herself as his intermediary. For she received vast sums from many sources, sometimes selling governorships, sometimes procuratorships, generalships and priesthoods, and in some instances even imperial decisions. For although Vespasian killed no one on account of his money, he did spare the lives of many who gave it; and while it was Caenis who received the money, people suspected that Vespasian willingly allowed her to do as she did. This was inferred from his other acts, a few of which, for the sake of illustration, I will relate. When some persons voted to erect to him a statue costing a million, he held out his hand and said: "Give me the money; this is its pedestal." And to Titus, who expressed his indignation at the tax placed upon public urinals,—one of the new taxes that had been established,—he said, as he picked up some gold pieces that had been realized from this source and showed them to him: "See, my son, if they have any smell."

In the sixth consulship of Vespasian and the fourth a.d. 75 of Titus the precinct of Pax was dedicated and the "Colossus" was set up on the Sacred Way. This statue is said to have been one hundred feet in height and to have borne the features of Nero, according to some, or those of Titus, according to others. Vespasian often gave wild-beast hunts in the theatres, but he did not take much pleasure in armed combats between men; yet Titus had once in the course of the youthful sports which were celebrated in his native district engaged in a sham fight in heavy

\[i.e. \text{the hollowed hand}; \text{cf. Suet., } Vesp. 23.\]

\[\text{ov late hand in } C, \text{ om. } VC.\]
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3 χίλιαντώς ποτε πρὸς τῶν Ἀλιηνῶν ὀπλοῖς. τοῖς δὲ Πάρθοις πολεμωθεῖσι πρὸς τινας καὶ τῆς παρ’ αὐτοῦ συμμαχίας δεθέεσιν οὐκ ἐβούθησεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι οὐ προσήκει αὐτῷ τὰ ἀλλότρια πολυπραγμονεῖν.

Βερενίκη ᾗσανρὸς τὸ ἕνθει καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἀγρίππαν ἔθεσε καὶ ο μὲν στρατηγικῶν τιμῶν ἥξιόθη, ἢ δὲ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ὥκησε καὶ τῷ Τίτῳ συνεγιγνετο. προσεδόκα δὲ γαμηθήσεσθαι αὐτῷ, καὶ πάντα ἡδη ὡς καὶ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ οὐσα ἐποίει, ἀστ’ ἐκείνων δυσχεραίνοντας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπὶ τούτου αισθόμενον ἀποτέμψασθαι αὐτὴν. ἄλλωσ τε γὰρ πολλὰ ἐθρυλεῖτο, καὶ τινὲς καὶ τότε σοφισταί κύνειοί ἐς τὸ ἄστυ πως παραδύντες, Διογένης μὲν πρότερος ἐς τὸ θέατρον πλήρες ἀνδρῶν ἐσήλθε καὶ πολλὰ αὐτοῦς λοιδορήσας ἑμαστιγώθη, Ἡρᾶς δὲ μετ’ αὐτὸν, ὡς οὐδὲν πλείον πεισόμενος, πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα κυνηδὸν ἔξεκραγε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπετμῆθη.

16 Καθ’ ὄν δὴ καιρὸν ταῦτα ἐγένετο· οἶνος τε γὰρ ἐν καπηλείῳ τινὶ τόσοῦτος ὕπερ τὸ ἀγγεῖον ὑπερεχὺθη ἀστὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ὄδον προχωρῆσαι, καὶ ὁ Σαβίνος ἐκεῖνος ὁ Γαλάτης ὁ Καίσαρά ποτε ἐαυτὸν ὀνομάσας καὶ ἐς ὅπλα χωρῆσας ἡττηθεῖς τε καὶ ἐς τὸ μνημεῖον κατακρυφθεῖς ἐφωράθη τε καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνήχθη. συναπέθανε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Πεποῖλα, ἕπερ

1 Βερενίκη Leucnl., βερενίκη VC.
2 προχωρῆσαι exc. Salm., προσχωρῆσαι VC.
3 ἐφωράθη V, ἐφανερώθη C.
armour with Alienus. When the Parthians, who A.D. 75 had become involved in war with some neighbours, asked for his help, he would not go to their aid, declaring that it was not proper for him to interfere in others' affairs.

Berenice was at the very height of her power and consequently came to Rome along with her brother Agrippa. The latter was given the rank of praetor, while she dwelt in the palace, cohabiting with Titus. She expected to marry him and was already behaving in every respect as if she were his wife; but when he perceived that the Romans were displeased with the situation, he sent her away. For, in addition to all the other talk that there was, certain sophists of the Cynic school managed somehow to slip into the city at this time, too; and first Diogenes, entering the theatre when it was full, denounced the pair in a long, abusive speech, for which he was flogged; and after him Heras, expecting no harsher punishment, gave vent to many senseless yelpings in true Cynic fashion, and for this was beheaded.

At this same period two other incidents occurred: A.D. 79 such a quantity of wine overflowed its cask in a certain tavern that it ran out into the street; and Sabinus, the Gaul who, as said before, had once styled himself Caesar and after taking up arms had been defeated and had hidden himself in the monument, was discovered and brought to Rome. With him perished also his wife Peponila, who had pre-

1 This Agrippa, known also as Herodes II., was an intimate friend of the Jewish historian Josephus and a companion of Titus at the siege of Jerusalem. It was before him that the Apostle Paul made his defence in A.D. 60.

2 Literally "dog-like."

3 In chap. 3.
που καὶ διεσέσωστο αὐτόν, καὶ τοῖς καὶ τὰ παιδία τῷ Οὐεστπασιάνῳ προβαλοῦσα καὶ ἐλεεινώτατον ἔπι αὐτοῖς λόγον εἴπονδα, ὅτι “ταῦτα, Καῖσαρ, καὶ ἐγέννησα ἐν τῷ μνημείῳ καὶ ἔδρεψα, ἵνα σε πλείονες ἱκετεύσωμεν.” διακρύσαι μὲν γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐποίησεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἥλεθησαν.

3 Καὶ τούτῳ ἐπεβουλεύθη μὲν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Ἀλιηνοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου, καὶ περ φίλους τε αὐτούς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα νομίζων καὶ πάση ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀφθονωτάτῃ τιμῇ χρώμενος, οὐ μὴν καὶ ὑπ’ ἐκείνων ἀπέθανεν φωραθέντες 1 γὰρ Ἀλιηνός μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ, 2 ἐξαναστάς ἐκ τοῦ συσσιτίου, εὐθὺς ἀπεσφάγη τοῦ Τίτου κελεύσαντος, μὴ καὶ φθάσῃ τι τῆς νυκτὸς νεοχμῶσαι (τῶν γὰρ στρατιωτῶν συχνῶς προπαρεσκέυα-4 στο), Μαρκέλλος δὲ κρίθεις ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ καταδικάσθης ἀπέτεμε τὸν λαίμον αὐτός ἑαυτῷ ἔχρῳ. οὕτω ποι ὑπὸ τοὺς φύσει κακοὺς οὐδὲ ἀι ἐνεργεσίαι νικῶσιν, ὡτότε κακεῖνοι τῷ τοσαῦτα εὐργητικότι σφᾶς ἐπεβουλεύσαν.—Χιφ. 208, 15—210, 14.

1 φωραθέντες C Zon., φανεραθέντες V.
2 τῷ βασιλείῳ VC, τοῖς βασιλείοις Zon.
viously saved his life. She threw her children at A.D. 79 Vespasian's feet and delivered a most pitiful plea in their behalf: "These little ones, Caesar, I bore and reared in the monument, that we might be a greater number to supplicate you." Yet, though she caused both him and the rest to weep, no mercy was shown to the family.

Meantime the emperor was the object of a conspiracy on the part of both Alienus and Marcellus, although he considered them among his best friends and bestowed every honour upon them without stint. But he did not die at their hands, for they were detected. Alienus was slain at once, in the imperial residence itself, as he rose from a meal with his intended victim. Titus issued this order, desiring to forestall any act of revolution that night; for Alienus had already got many of the soldiers in readiness. Marcellus was brought to trial before the senate and was condemned, whereupon he cut his own throat with a razor. Thus not even kindness can subdue those who are naturally vicious, as is shown by the plotting of these men against the one who had done them so many kindnesses.
EPITOME OF BOOK LXVI

17  Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἔσχεν, Ὑπεσπασιανὸς δὲ, ὡς μὲν ἡ ἀλήθεια ἔχει, νοσήσας οὖ τῇ ποδάγρᾳ τῇ συνήθει ἄλλα πυρετοῖς μετῆλλαξεν ἐν τοῖς ὑδασὶ τῶν Σαβίνων τοῖς Κουτιλίοις ὁνομασμένοις, ὡς δὲ τινὲς καταψευδόμενοι τοῦ Τίτου, ἀλλοι τε καὶ Ἄδριανὸς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, ἐφήμισαν, φάρμακον

2 ἐν συμποσίῳ τινὶ λαβών. ἐγεγόνει δὲ σημεῖα αὐτῷ φέροντα ἐς τοῦτο ὦ τε ἀστὴρ ὁ 1 κομήτης ἐπὶ πολὺ φαντασθεὶς καὶ τὸ μημεῖον τοῦ Αὐγούστου αὐτόματον ἄνωιχθεν. τῶν δὲ ἰατρῶν ἐπιτιμώντων αὐτῷ ὁτι τῇ τε ἄλλῃ διαίτῃ ὁμοία νοσῶν ἐχρήτο καὶ πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐπραττε, "τὸν αὐτοκράτορα" ἐφὴ "ἐστῶτα

3 δεὶ ἀποθνῄσκειν." καὶ πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τοῦ κομήτου τι διαλαλοῦντας "οὐκ ἔμοιγε" ἐίπεν "ἀλλὰ τῷ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλεῖ προσημαίνειν. ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ κομᾶ, ἔγω δὲ φαλάκρος εἰμι." ἐσειδῆ τε ἐπίστευσεν ὅτι τελευτήσει, ἐφὴ "θεὸς ἥδη γίνομαι." ἔξησε δὲ ἐτη ἐννεά καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ μὴνας ὀκτὼ, 2 ἐμονάρχησε δὲ ἐτη δέκα ἡμερῶν

4 ἐξ δεόντα. καὶ τοῦτον συμβαίνει ἐνιαυτὸν τε καὶ δύο καὶ ἑκάστην ἡμέρας ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Νέραιος μέχρι τῆς τοῦ Ὑπεσπασιανοῦ ἀρχῆς διελθεῖν. ἔγραψα δὲ τοῦτο τῷ μὴ τινας ἀπατηθήναι, τὴν ἐξαρίθμησιν τοῦ χρόνου πρὸς

1 ο supplied by Bk.
It was after the events just narrated that Vespasian fell sick, not, if the truth be known, of his accustomed gout, but of a fever, and passed away at Aquae Cutiliae in the Sabine country. Some, however, in the endeavour falsely to incriminate Titus,—among them the Emperor Hadrian,—spread the report that he was poisoned at a banquet. Portents had occurred indicating his approaching end, such as the comet which was visible for a long time and the opening of the mausoleum of Augustus of its own accord. When his physicians chided him for continuing his usual course of living during his illness and attending to all the duties that belonged to his office, he answered: “The emperor ought to die on his feet.” To those who said anything to him about the comet he said: “This is an omen, not for me, but for the Parthian king; for he has long hair, whereas I am bald.” When at last he was convinced that he was going to die, he said: “I am already becoming a god.” He had lived sixty-nine years and eight months, and had reigned ten years lacking six days. From this it results that from the death of Nero to the beginning of Vespasian’s rule a year and twenty-two days elapsed. I make this statement in order to prevent any misapprehension on the part of such as might estimate

\[2\text{ kal } \mu\nu\nu\nuas \delta\kappa\tau\omega \text{ VC, kal } \mu\nu\nuas \delta\kappa\tau\omega \text{ kal } \eta\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha\varsigma \delta\kappa\tau\omega \text{ Zon.}\]
5 τοὺς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντας ποιουμένους. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ οὓ διεδέξαντο ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ ξύντος τε καὶ ἔτι ἀρχοντος ἐτέρου ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶν ἐπίστευσεν αὐτοκράτωρ, ἀφ' οὗ γε καὶ ἐσ τοῦτο παρέκυψεν, εἰναι: δεி� δ' οὖ πάσας σφῶν τὰς ἡμέρας ὡς καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἀλλήλαις ἐκ διαδοχῆς γενομένας ἄριθμεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐφάπαξ πρὸς τὴν ἀκριβείαν τοῦ χρόνου, καθάπερ εἰρηταί μοι, λογίζεσθαι.—Χιρὶ. 210, 14–211, 5 R. St.

18, 1α Τούτον δὲ τελευτήσαντος ὁ Τίτος τὴν ἀρχὴν διεδέξατο.—Ζον. 11, 18, p. 54, 27, 28 D.

1 'Ο δὲ δὴ Τίτος οὐδὲν οὔτε φονικὸν οὔτε ἐρωτικὸν μοναρχῆςας ἐπραξεν, ἀλλὰ χρηστὸς καίπερ ἐπιβουλευθεὶς καὶ σώφρων καῖτο καὶ τῆς Βερενίκης 1 ἐσ Ῥώμην αὖθις ἐλθοῦσης ἐγένετο. τάχα μὲν γὰρ ὅτι 2 καὶ μετεβάλετο (οὐ γὰρ ὦμοιως ἄλλῳ 3 τέ τινες παραδυναστεύσατο καὶ αὐτοὶ αὐταρχοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἄφροντιστούντες τῆς τοῦ κράτους δόξης τῇ τε ἐξουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀπλήστως ἀποχρῶνται καὶ πολλὰ ἐπὶ τε φθόνῳ καὶ διαβολῇ αὐτοῦ ποιοῦσιν, οὐ δὲ ἐσ αὐτοὺς 4 πάντα ἀνακείμενα εἰδότες προνοοῦνται τι καὶ τῆς εὐδοξίας· ὅσπερ ποι καὶ ὁ Τίτος πρὸς τινα, ὃν πρότερον ἑσπουδάκει, ἐἴπεν ὅτι οὐχ ᾧμοιον ἐστὶν ἐτέρου τι δείσθαι καὶ αὐτῶν δικάζειν, οὐδὲ παρ' ἄλλου τι αἰτεῖν καὶ αὐτῶν διδόναι τινι), ἥδη δὲ καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ βραχύτατον, ὃς γε ἐς ἡγεμονίαν εἰπεῖν, ἐπεβίω, ὃς τε μηδ'

1 Βερενίκης Reim., βερενίκης VC.
2 ὅτι Zon., om. VC.
3 ἀλλῳ Sylb., ἀλλοι VC.
4 ἐς αὐτοὺς Bs., ἐν αὐτοὺς VC.

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the time with reference to the men who held the A.D. 79
sovereignty. For they did not succeed one another
legitimately, but each of them, even while his rival
was alive and still ruling, believed himself to be
emperor from the moment that he even got a glimpse
of the throne. Hence one must not add together
all the days of their several reigns as if those periods
had followed one another in orderly succession, but
must reckon once for all with the exact time that
actually elapsed, as I have stated it.

At his death Titus succeeded to the rule.

Titus after becoming ruler committed no act of
murder or of amatory passion, but showed himself
upright, though plotted against, and self-controlled,
though Berenice came to Rome again. This may
have been because he had really undergone a
change; indeed, for men to wield power as assistants
to another is a very different thing from exercising
independent authority themselves. In the former
case they are heedless of the good name of the
sovereignty and in their greed misuse the authority
it gives them, thus doing many things that make
their power the object of envy and slander; but
actual monarchs, knowing that everything depends
upon them, have an eye to good repute also. It
was this realization, doubtless, that caused Titus to
say to someone whose society he had previously
affected: "It is not the same thing to request a
favour of another as to decide a case yourself, nor
the same to ask something of another as it is to
give it to someone yourself." Again, his satisfactory
record may also have been due to the fact that he
survived his accession but a very short time (short,
that is, for a ruler), for he was thus given no oppor-
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4 ἄμαρτίαν τινὰ αὐτῶ ἐγγενέσθαι. δύο τε γὰρ ἐτη μετὰ τούτο καὶ μήνας δύο ἡμέρας τε εἰκοσιν ἔξησεν ἐπ’ ἕννέα καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτεσι καὶ μησὶ πέντε καὶ ἡμέραις πέντε καὶ εἰκοσι. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐσού κατὰ τούτο τῇ τοῦ Ἀὐγοῦστον πολυετία ἀγνοεῖ, λέγοντες ὅτι οὔτε ἂν ἐκείνος ἐφιλήθη ποτὲ εἰ ἐλάττω χρόνον ἐξήκει, οὔτε ἂν οὔτος 5 εἰ πλείονα, ὁ ἅμον ὅτι τραχύτερος κατ’ ἀρχὰς διὰ τε τοὺς πολέμους καὶ διὰ τὰς στάσεις γενόμενος ἡδυνήθη μετὰ ταῦτα εὐεργεσίαις ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ λαμπρύνεσθαι, ὁ δ’ ὅτι ἐπιεικῶς ἄρξας ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης ἀπέδανε, τάχα ἂν ἐλεγχθεῖσ, εἰγε ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἐβεβιώκει, ὅτι εὐτυχία πλείον ἡ ἀρετὴ ἔχρηστο.

19 Οὐ μὴν ἄλλῳ ὁ Τίτος οὐδένα τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐν τῇ αὐτῷ ἡγεμονία ἀπέκτεινεν, ἄλλ’ οὐδὲ ἄλλος τις αὐτῶ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς ἐτελεύτησε. τὰς τε δίκας τὰς τῆς ἀσεβείας οὔτ’ αὐτὸς ποτε ἐδέξατο οὔτ’ ἄλλοις ἐπέτρεψεν, λέγων ὅτι "ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδὲν οὐθ’ ύβρισθήναι οὔτε προπηλακισθήναι 2 δύναμαι: οὔτε γὰρ ἄξιόν τι ἐπηγορίας ποιῶ, οὔτε μοι μέλει τῶν ψευδῶς λεγομένων οἱ δὲ μετηλλαχότες τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων αὐτοὶ ἐαυτοῖς, ἀνπερ ὦς ἀληθῶς ἥρως τε ὅσι καὶ δύναμιν τινα ἐχωσι, τιμωρήσουσιν ἂν τις τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀδικήσῃ." 3 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πρός τε τὸ ἀσφαλές καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀλυπον τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατεστήσατο: καὶ γὰρ γράμματα ἐξῆκε βεβαιῶν πάντα τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν προτέρων αὐτοκρατόρων δοθέντα 5 τισίν,

1 ἐπ’ Ἰον., καὶ ἐπ’ ΒΚ.
2 ἐξήκει Κ, ἐξήκει ΒΚ.
3 πολέμους Ἰον., πολεμίους ΒΚ.

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For he lived after this only A.D. 79 two years, two months and twenty days—in addition to the thirty-nine years, five months and twenty-five days he had already lived at that time. In this respect, indeed, he is regarded as having equalled the long reign of Augustus, since it is maintained that Augustus would never have been loved had he lived a shorter time, nor Titus had he lived longer. For Augustus, though at the outset he showed himself rather harsh because of the wars and the factional strife, was later able, in the course of time, to achieve a brilliant reputation for his kindly deeds; Titus, on the other hand, ruled with mildness and died at the height of his glory, whereas, if he had lived a long time, it might have been shown that he owes his present fame more to good fortune than to merit.

Be that as it may, Titus during his reign put no senator to death, nor, indeed, was anyone else slain by him during his rule. Cases based on the charge of maiestas he would never entertain himself nor allow others to entertain; for he declared: "It is impossible for me to be insulted or abused in any way. For I do naught that deserves censure, and I care not for what is reported falsely. As for the emperors who are dead and gone, they will avenge themselves in case anyone does them a wrong, if in very truth they are demigods and possess any power." He also instituted various other measures designed to render men's lives more secure and free from trouble. Thus, he issued an edict confirming all gifts that had been bestowed upon any persons by the former emperors.

4 aυτοῦ Bk., αυτοῦ VC.
5 δοθέντα Ζον., βεβαιωθέντα VC.
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όστε μῆ καθ' ἐκάστους σφῶν αἴτοῦντας αὐτὸν πράγματα ἔχειν, τοὺς τε μηνυτὰς ἔξηλασεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.—Xiph. 211, 12–212, 17 R. St.

3a Ἡν δὲ περὶ χρήματα ἀκριβῆς καὶ οὐ μάτην ἀνήλισκεν, οὐδένα μεντοί ποτὲ διὰ ταῦτα ἐκολασεν.—Zon. 11, 18, p. 55, 16–18 D.

3b Ἐπὶ τούτον καὶ ὁ Ψευδονέρων ἑφάνη, δο 'Ασιανὸς ἦν, ἐκαλεῖτο Τερέντιος Μάξιμος, προσεοικῶς δὲ τῷ Νέρωνι καὶ τοί εἰδος καὶ τὴν φωνὴν (καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐκθαρρύδει). έκ τε τῆς 'Ασίας τινὰς προσεποιήσατο καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην προχώρῳ πολλῷ πλείους ἀνηρτήσατο, καὶ τέλος πρὸς Ἀρτάβανον τὸν τῶν Πάρθων κατέφυγεν ἀρχηγόν, δο καὶ δι' ὀργῆς τὸν Τίτον ποιούμενος καὶ ἐδέξατο τούτων καὶ καταγαγεῖν εἰς 'Ῥώμην παρεσκευάζετο.1—Zon. 11, 18, p. 55, 19–27 D.

20 Κάν τούτῳ πολέμου αὕθις ἐν τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ γενομένου τά τε τῶν ἐκεῖ πολεμίων Γναῖος Ἰούλιος Ἀγρικόλας πάντα κατέδραμε, καὶ πρῶτός γε 'Ῥωμαῖον δὲν ἢμεὶς ἴσμεν ἐγνω τοῦ τοῦ Ὁ Ἡ Βρεττανία περίρρυτος ἐστίν. στρατιωταὶ γὰρ τινὲς στασιάσαντες, καὶ ἑκατοντάρχους χιλίαρχον 2 τε φοινεύσαντες, ἐς πλοῖα κατέφυγον καὶ ἐξαινα—


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thus saving them the trouble of petitioning him A.D. 7 individually about the matter. He also banished the informers from the City.

In money matters he was frugal and made no unnecessary expenditures, yet he did not punish anyone for following a different course.

In his reign also the False Nero appeared, who was an Asiatic named Terentius Maximus. He resembled Nero both in appearance and in voice (for he too sang to the accompaniment of the lyre). He gained a few followers in Asia, and in his advance to the Euphrates attached a far greater number, and finally sought refuge with Artabanus, the Parthian leader, who, because of his anger against Titus, both received him and set about making preparations to restore him to Rome.¹

Meanwhile war had again broken out in Britain, and Gnaeus Julius Agricola overran the whole of the enemy's territory there. He was the first of the Romans whom we know to discover the fact that Britain is surrounded by water. It seems that some soldiers rebelled, and after slaying the centurions and a military tribune took refuge in boats, in which they put out to sea and sailed round the

¹ Cf. Joann. Antioch.: In Titus' reign ... a man ... pretended to be Nero, claiming that he had escaped from the soldiers who had been sent against him and that he had been living in concealment somewhere up to this time. He persuaded many from Asia Minor to follow him, deceiving them by these statements, and as he went on to the Euphrates won over a far greater number. Finally he fled to the Parthians, claiming that they owed him some requital for the return of Armenia. Yet he accomplished nothing commensurate with his purpose, but his identity was discovered and he soon perished.

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χθέντες περιέπλευσαν τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέραν αὐτῆς, ὡς ποι τὸ τε κῦμα καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος αὐτοὺς ἔφερε, καὶ ἔλαθον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα πρὸς τὰ στρατό-πεδα τὰ ταύτη ὄντα προσσχόντες.1 κὰκ τούτου καὶ ἄλλους ὁ 'Αγρικόλας 2 πειράσοντας τὸν περί-πλον πέμψας ἔμαθε καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ὁτι νήσος ἔστιν.

3 'Εν μὲν τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτὸν ὁ μὲν Τίτος αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ πεντεκαίδεκά-τον ἐπεκλήθη, ὥσ ὁ Ὄλειος ἐν τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου καὶ ἐν ἐνυδαίᾳ, ἀτε καὶ μείζων ἡ κατὰ στρατηγὸν καταπράξας, ἐξήστη, καὶ τέλος ἐσφάγη δι' αὐτᾶ ταύτα ὑπὸ Δομιτιανοῦ, καὶ περ' τὰς ἑπικικίους τιμᾶς παρὰ τοῦ Τίτου3 λαβόν.

21 'Εν δὲ τῇ Καμπανίᾳ φοβερά τινα καὶ θαυμαστά συννεχθη, πῦρ γὰρ μέγα κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ φθινό-πωρον ἔξαπταίως ἐξήφθη.4 τὸ γὰρ ὦρος τὸ Βέσβιον ἐστὶ μὲν πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ κατὰ Νέαν πόλιν, ἔχει δὲ πυρὸς πηγὰς ἀφθόνους. καὶ ἂν μὲν ποτε πᾶν ὀμοίως ψηλὸν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μέσον τὸ πῦρ ἀνέτελε ταύτῃ γὰρ πεπύρωται μόνον, τὸ δὲ ἐξόθε οὐτοῦ πάντα ἄπυρα καὶ νῦν 2 ἐτε διαμένει. ἐκ δὲ τούτου, ἐκείνων μὲν ἄκαυστων ἀεὶ ὄντων, τῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κραυγομένων καὶ τεφρομένων, αἱ μὲν 5 πέριξ κορυφαὶ τὸ ἄρχαίον ύψος ἐς δεύρῳ ἱποὺσι τὸ δὲ ἐμπυρον πᾶν

1 προσσχόντες Bk., προσσχόντες VC.
2 'Αγρικόλας R. Steph., ἄγρικόλαος VC (so just below).
3 παρὰ τοῦ Τίτου VC, παρ' αὐτοῦ Polak, following Casaubon (παρ' αὐτοῦ τούτου).

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western portion of the country just as the wind and A.D. 79
the waves chanced to carry them; and without realizing it, since they approached from the opposite direction, they put in at the camps on the first side again. Thereupon Agricola sent others to attempt the voyage around Britain, and learned from them, too, that it was an island.

As a result of these events in Britain Titus received the title of imperator for the fifteenth time. But Agricola for the rest of his life lived not only in disgrace but in actual want, because the deeds which he had wrought were too great for a mere general. Finally, he was murdered by Domitian for no other reason than this, in spite of his having received triumphal honours from Titus.\(^1\)

In Campania remarkable and frightful occurrences took place; for a great fire suddenly flared up at the very end of the summer.\(^2\) It happened on this wise. Mt. Vesuvius stands over against Neapolis near the sea and it has inexhaustible fountains of fire. Once it was equally high at all points and the fire rose from the centre of it; for here only have the fires broken out, whereas all the outer parts of the mountain remain even now untouched by fire. Consequently, as the outside is never burned, while the central part is constantly growing brittle and being reduced to ashes, the peaks surrounding the centre retain their original height to this day, but the whole section

\(^1\) "Titus" is an error, whether due to Dio or to Xiphilinus; the honours were granted by Domitian (cf. Tac., Agric. 40) Polak would read "from him."

\(^2\) Cf. Zonaras: In the first year of his reign a great volume of fire burst forth all at once at the end of the summer.

\(^5\) \(\nu\varepsilon\nu Zon.,\) om. VC.
Δαπανηθέν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ κοίλων ἐκ τοῦ συνισκείν γέγονεν, ὡστε κυνηγητικῷ τινι θεάτρω τὸ ὅρος σύμπαν, ὡς μικρὰ μεγάλους εἰκάσαι, ἑσσάται.

3 καὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ μὲν ἄκρα καὶ δένδρα καὶ ἀμπέλους πολλὰς ἔχει, ὅ δὲ δὴ κύκλος ἀνεῖται τῷ πυρί, καὶ ἀναδίδωσι τῆς μὲν ἡμέρας κατυνὼν τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς φλόγα, ὡστε δόξαι πολλὰ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ

4 παντοδαπὰ θυμιάσθαι θυμιάματα. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν οὖτως ἀεί, ποτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ποτὲ δὲ ἐπὶ ἄπτον, ἥγεται πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τέφραν ἀναβάλλει, ὅταν ἄθροόν τι ύφιζηθῇ, καὶ λίθους ἀνατέμπει, ὅταν ὅπο πνεύματος ἐκβιασθῇ. ἥχει τε καὶ βοᾷ, ὅτε μὴ συμπεπιλημένας ἀλλὰ ἀραιὰς καὶ λαθραίας ἕνας ἀναπνοάς ἔχων.2

22 Τοιούτων μὲν τὸ Βέσβιον ἔστι, καὶ ταύτα ἐν αὐτῷ κατ’ ἐτοῖς ὡς πλῆθει γίγνεται. ἄλλα τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὅσα ἐκεῖνο ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ συνηνέχθη, εἰ καὶ μεγάλα παρὰ τὸ καθεστῆκος τοῖς ἀεὶ ὅρωσιν αὐτὰ εἶναι ἑδοξεῖ, σμικρὰ ἂν πρὸς τὰ τότε συμβάντα, καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐσ ἐν συναχθέντα, νομισθεὶ. ἔσχε γὰρ οὖτως. ἀνδρὲς πολλοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι, πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν ὑπερβεβληκότες, οἱ οἱ γίγαντες γράφονται, τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τῷ ὀρεί τούτῳ δ’ ἐν τῇ περὶ αὐτὸ χώρᾳ ταῖς τε πόλεσι μεθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ ἐν τῇ γῆ περινοστοῦντες καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀέρι διά-

3 φοιτῶντες ἐφαντάζοντο. καὶ μετὰ τούτ’ αὐχμοὶ τε δεινοὶ καὶ σεισμοὶ ἑξαίφνης σφοδροὶ ἐγίγνοντο, ὡστε καὶ τὸ πεδίον ἐκεῖνο πάν ἀναβράττεσθαι

1 λαθραίας VC, ἐλευθέρας Zon.
2 ἔχων VC, ἔχων Zon.
3 ἐν supplied by Bk.
that is on fire, having been consumed, has in the A.D. 79
course of time settled and therefore become con-
cave; thus the entire mountain resembles a hunting
theatre\(^1\)—if we may compare great things to small.
Its outlying heights support both trees and vines in
abundance, but the crater is given over to the fire
and sends up smoke by day and a flame by night; in
fact, it gives the impression that quantities of incense
of all kinds are being burned in it. This, now, goes
on all the time, sometimes to a greater, sometimes
to a less extent; but often the mountain throws up
ashes, whenever there is an extensive settling in the
interior, and discharges stones whenever it is rent by
a violent blast of air. It also rumbles and roars because
its vents are not all grouped together but are narrow
and concealed.

Such is Vesuvius, and these phenomena usually
occur there every year. But all the other occurrences
that had taken place there in the course of time,
however notable, because unusual, they may have
seemed to those who on each occasion observed
them, nevertheless would be regarded as trivial in
comparison with what now happened, even if all had
been combined into one. This was what befell.
Numbers of huge men quite surpassing any human
stature—such creatures, in fact, as the Giants are
pictured to have been—appeared, now on the moun-
tain, now in the surrounding country, and again
in the cities, wandering over the earth day and
night and also flitting through the air. After this
fearful droughts and sudden and violent earthquakes
occurred, so that the whole plain round about

\(^1\) *i.e.* an amphitheatre.
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καὶ τὰ ἀκρὰ ἀναπηδᾶν. ἦχαὶ τε αἳ μὲν ὑπόγειοι 
βρονταῖς ἑοικνύαι αἳ δὲ καὶ ἐπίγειοι μυκηθμοῖς 
ὁμοὶ συνέβαινοι, καὶ ἦ τε θάλασσα συνέβρεμε 
4 καὶ ὁ ὄμιονς συνεπῆξε. κακὸ τοῦτο κτύπος τε 
ἐξαίσιος ἐξαπιναῖος ὡς καὶ τῶν ὅρων συμπιπτόντων 
ἐξηκούσθη, καὶ ἀνέδορον πρῶτον μὲν λίθοι ἑπερμεγέθεις, ὡστε καὶ ἀς αὖτα τὰ ἀκρα ἐξεκέσθαι, ἔπειτα πῦρ πολὺ καὶ καπνὸς ἄπλετος, ὡστε πάντα μὲν τὸν ἄερα συσκιασθῆναι, πάντα 
δὲ τὸν ἴλιον συγκρυφθῆναι καθάπερ ἐκλεκούστα. 

23 νῦς τε οὖν ἐξ ἡμέρας καὶ σκότους ἐκ φωτὸς 
ἐγένετο· καὶ ἐδοκοῦν οἱ μὲν τῶν γίγαντας ἐπανιστασθαι (πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ τότε εἶδολα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ καπνῷ διεβαίνετο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ σαλπίγγων 
τις βοὴ ἡκούετο), οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐὰς χῶς ὡ καὶ πῦρ 
2 τῶν κόσμων πάντα ἀναλίσκεσθαι. καὶ διὰ ταῦτ 
ἐφυγον οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἐς τὰς ὀδοὺς οἱ δὲ 
ἐξώθησαν εὔσω, ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς τὴν γῆν 
καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνης ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, οἷα 1 
tetaragménoi 2 καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀπὸν ἀσφαλέστερον 
3 τοῦ παρόντος ἠγούμενοι. ταῦτα τα ἁμα ἐγέγνετο, 
kai τέφρα ἀμυθήτος ἀνεφυσίθη 3 καὶ τὴν τὴν γῆν 
τὴν τε θάλασσαν καὶ τῶν ἄερα πάντα κατέσχε, 
καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, ὢς ποι καὶ ἐτυχε, 
καὶ ἀνθρώποις καὶ χώραις καὶ βοσκήμασιν 
ἐλυμήνατο, τοὺς δὲ δὴ ἰχθύας τὰ τε ὄρνεα πάντα 
diēftheire, καὶ προσέτι καὶ πόλεις δύο ὁλὰς, τὸ τε 
Ἐρκουλάνεων καὶ τοὺς Πομπηίους, 4 ἐν θεάτρῳ 
4 τοῦ ὀμίλου αὐτῆς 5 καθημένου, κατέχωσε. το-

1 οἷα Rk., οἳ ἄλλοι VC. 
2 tetaragménoi Bk., τε παρατόμενοi VC. 
3 ἀνεφυσίθη Zon., ἐφυσίθη VC. 

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seethed and the summits leaped into the air. A.D. 79.
There were frequent rumblings, some of them subterranean, that resembled thunder, and some on the surface, that sounded like bellowings; the sea also joined in the roar and the sky re-echoed it. Then suddenly a portentous crash was heard, as if the mountains were tumbling in ruins; and first huge stones were hurled aloft, rising as high as the very summits, then came a great quantity of fire and endless smoke, so that the whole atmosphere was obscured and the sun was entirely hidden, as if eclipsed. Thus day was turned into night and light into darkness. Some thought that the Giants were rising again in revolt (for at this time also many of their forms could be discerned in the smoke and, moreover, a sound as of trumpets was heard), while others believed that the whole universe was being resolved into chaos or fire. Therefore they fled, some from the houses into the streets, others from outside into the houses, now from the sea to the land and now from the land to the sea; for in their excitement they regarded any place where they were not as safer than where they were. While this was going on, an inconceivable quantity of ashes was blown out, which covered both sea and land and filled all the air. It wrought much injury of various kinds, as chance befell, to men and farms and cattle, and in particular it destroyed all fish and birds. Furthermore, it buried two entire cities, Herculaneum and Pompeii, the latter place while its populace was seated in the theatre. Indeed, the amount of dust,
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σαύτη γὰρ ἡ πᾶσα κόνις ἐγένετο ὡστ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἦλθε μὲν καὶ ἐσ 'Αφρικῆν καὶ ἐσ¹ Συρίαν καὶ ἐσ Λύγηππουν, ἦλθε² δὲ καὶ ἐσ τὴν 'Ῥώμην, καὶ τὸν τε ἀέρα τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐπλήρωσε καὶ τὸν 5 ἦλιον ἐπεσκίασε. καὶ συνέβη κ' ὑποτάθα δέος οὐ μικρὸν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἠμέρας³ οὔτ' εἰδόσι τοὺς ἀνθρώποις τὸ γεγονὸς οὔτ' εἰκάσαι δυναμένοις, ἀλλ' ἐνόμιζον καὶ ἐκείνοι πάντα ἀνώ τε καὶ κάτω μεταστρέφεσθαι,⁴ καὶ τὸν μὲν ἦλιον ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀφανίζεσθαι, τὴν δὲ γῆν ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνείπαι. ἦ μὲν οὖν τέφρα αὐτὴ οὐδὲν μέγα τότε κακὸν αὐτοὺς εἰργάσατο (ὕστερον γὰρ νόσον σφίσι λοιμώδη δεινὴν ἐνέβαλε).

24 Πῦρ δὲ δὴ ἔτερον ἐπίγειον τῷ ἐξῆς έτει πολλὰ πάνω τῆς 'Ῥώμης, τοῦ Τίτου πρὸς τὸ πάθημα τὸ ἐν τῇ Καμπανίᾳ γενόμενον ἐκδημήσαντος, ἐπε- 2 νείματο·⁵ καὶ γὰρ τὸ Σεραπεῖον καὶ τὸ Ἰσεῖον τὰ τε σέπτα καὶ τὸ Ποσειδῶνιον τὸ τε βαλανεῖον τὸ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου καὶ τὸ πάνθειον τὸ τε διριβιτῶριον⁶ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Βάλβου θέατρον καὶ τὴν τοῦ ⁷ Πομ- πηίου σκηνήν, καὶ τὰ Ὄκτανυεῖα⁸ οἰκήματα μετὰ τῶν βιβλίων, τὸν τε νεών τοῦ Δίος τοῦ Καπιτωλίου μετὰ τῶν συννάων αὐτοῦ κατέκαυσεν.

3 οὕτω⁹ τὸ κακὸν οὖκ ἀνθρώπινον ἀλλὰ δαιμόνιον ἐγένετο· πάρέστι γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ὅτι κατέλεξα παντὶ τῷ τεκμήρασθαι καὶ τὰλα τὰ ἀπολλύ- μενα.

¹ ἐς Zon., om. VC.
² ἦλθε Bk., ἦλθε VC.
³ πολλάς ἠμέρας H. Steph., πολλὰς ἠμέρας VC.
⁴ μεταστρέφεσθαι Bk., καταστρέφεσθαί VC.
⁵ ἐπενείματο V, ἀπενείματο C.
⁶ τοῦ Bk., τοῦ Steph.
⁷ τοῦ Bk., τοῦ Steph.
⁸ οἰκήματα Bk., οἰκήματα VC.
⁹ φοτογραφία Bk., φοτογραφία Steph.

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taken all together, was so great that some of it A.D. 79 reached Africa and Syria and Egypt, and it also reached Rome, filling the air overhead and darkening the sun. There, too, no little fear was occasioned, that lasted for several days, since the people did not know and could not imagine what had happened, but, like those close at hand, believed that the whole world was being turned upside down, that the sun was disappearing into the earth and that the earth was being lifted to the sky. These ashes, now, did the Romans no great harm at the time, though later they brought a terrible pestilence upon them.

However, a second \(^1\) conflagration, above ground, A.D. 80 in the following year spread over very large sections of Rome while Titus was absent in Campania attending to the catastrophe that had befallen that region. It consumed the temple of Serapis, the temple of Isis, the Saepta, the temple of Neptune, the Baths of Agrippa, the Pantheon, the Diribitorium, the theatre of Balbus, the stage building of Pompey's theatre, the Octavian buildings together with their books,\(^2\) and the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus with its surrounding temples. Hence the disaster seemed to be not of human but of divine origin; for anyone can estimate, from the list of buildings that I have given, how many others must have been destroyed.

\(^1\) This disaster naturally reminds Dio of the one under Nero.
\(^2\) Cf. liii. 1.
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'Ο δ' οὖν Τίτος τοῖς μὲν Καμπανῶις δύο ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων οἰκιστὰς ἐπεμψε, καὶ χρήματα ἀλλὰ τε καὶ τὰ 1 τῶν ἀνεύ κληρονόμων τεθνηκότων ἐδωρήσατο, αὐτοῖς δὲ οὐδὲν οὐτε παρ’ ἱδιώτων οὔτε παρά πόλεως οὔτε παρὰ βασιλέως, καίτοι πολλῶν πολλὰ διδόντων αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπηχυρομένων, ἔλαβεν, ἀνέστησε 2 μέντοι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων πάντα.

25 Καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἀλλοίς οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον ἐπράξε, τὸ δὲ δὴ θέατρον τὸ κυνηγετικὸν τό τε βαλανεῖον τὸ ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ ἱερώσας πολλὰ καὶ θαιμαστὰ ἐποίησε. γέραιναι τε γὰρ ἅλληλοις ἐμαχέσαντο καὶ ἐλέφαντες τέσσαρες, ἀλλα τε ἐς ἐνακισχίλια καὶ Βοτα καὶ θηρία ἄπεσφάγη, καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ γυναίκες, οὐ μέντοι ἐπιφανεῖς, συγκατείργασαντο.

2 ἄνδρες τε πολλοὶ μὲν ἐμονομάχησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄθροοι ἐν τε πεζομαχίαις καὶ ἐν ναυμαχίαις ἠγωνίσαντο. τὸ γὰρ θέατρον αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνο ύδατος ἔξαιφνης πληρώσας ἐσήγαγε μὲν καὶ ὑππόσι καὶ ταύρους καὶ ἀλλα τινὰ χειροθῆκη, δεδιδαγμένα πάνθ' ὅσα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πράττειν καὶ ἐν τῷ υγρῷ.

3 ἐσήγαγε δὲ καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐπὶ πλοίων. καὶ οὕτωι μὲν ἔκει, ὡς οἱ μὲν Κερκυραῖοι οἱ δὲ Κορώνθιοι ὄντες, ἐναυμάχησαν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐξῳ ἐν τῷ ἀλσει τῷ τοῦ Γαϊού τοῦ τε Δουκίου, ὁ ποτε ὁ Λύγουστος ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοὔτῳ ὑρύξατο. καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ μονομαχία τε καὶ θηρίων σφαγή, κατοικοδομηθείσης σανίσι τῆς

1 τὰ R. Steph. (so Zon.), τὰ χρήματα VC.
2 ἀνέστησε R. Steph. (so Zon.), ἀνίστησι VC.
Titus accordingly sent two ex-consuls to the Campanians to supervise the restoration of the region, and bestowed upon the inhabitants not only general gifts of money, but also the property of such as had lost their lives and left no heirs. As for himself, he accepted nothing from any private citizen or city or king, although many kept offering and promising him large sums; but he restored all the damaged regions from funds already on hand.

Most that he did was not characterized by anything noteworthy, but in dedicating the hunting-theatre ¹ and the baths that bear his name he produced many remarkable spectacles. There was a battle between cranes and also between four elephants; animals both tame and wild were slain to the number of nine thousand; and women (not those of any prominence, however) took part in despatching them. As for the men, several fought in single combat and several groups contended together both in infantry and naval battles. For Titus suddenly filled this same theatre with water and brought in horses and bulls and some other domesticated animals that had been taught to behave in the liquid element just as on land. He also brought in people on ships, who engaged in a sea-fight there, impersonating the Coreyreans and Corinthians; and others gave a similar exhibition outside the city in the grove of Gaius and Lucius, a place which Augustus had once excavated for this very purpose. There, too, on the first day there was a gladiatorial exhibition and wild-beast hunt, the lake in front of the images having first been covered over with a

¹ The Amphitheatrum Flavium, later known as the Colosseum.
κατὰ πρόσωπον τῶν εἰκόνων θάμης καὶ ἱκρία
4 πέριξ λαβούσης, τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ ἵπποδρομίᾳ καὶ
tῇ τρίτῃ ναυμαχίᾳ τρισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν καὶ μετὰ
tοῦτο καὶ πεξομαχία ἐγένετο· νικήσαντες γὰρ οἱ
Ἄθηναιοί τοὺς Συνακουσίους (τούτους γὰρ τοὺς
ἀνόμασι χρήσαμεν έναμάχησαν) ἐπεξῆλθον ἐς
tὸ νησίδιον, καὶ προσβαλόντες τείχει τινὶ περὶ
tὸ μνημεῖον πεποιημένῳ εἶλον αὐτό. ταῦτα μὲν
ἐς ὅσιν ἦκοντα καὶ ἐφ’ ἐκατὸν ἡμέρας ἐγένετο,
παρέσχε δὲ τινα καὶ ἐς ὕφελειαν φέροντα αὐτοῖς·
5 σφαίρια γὰρ ἔβλινα μικρὰ ἀνώθεν ἐς τὸ θέατρον
ἐρρίπτει, σύμβολον ἔχοντα τὸ μὲν ἐδοξόμενον τινὸς
tὸ δὲ ἐσθῆτος τὸ δὲ ἀργυρὸν σκέυος, ἀλλο
χρυσὸν ἵππων ὑποζυγίων βοσκημάτων ἀνδρα-
πόδων, ἀ ἀρπάσαντας τινας ἐδεὶ πρὸς τοὺς
dοτήρας αὐτῶν ἀπενεγκεῖν καὶ λάβειν τὸ ἐπιγε-
γραμμένον.

26 Διατελέσας δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ τῇ γε τελευταία
ἡμέρα καταδακρύσαι ὡστε πάντα τὸν δῆμον
ἰδεῖν, οὐδὲν ἔτι μέγα ἐπραξέν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐπιγραμ-
μένῳ ἔτει, ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Φλαουίου1 καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ
Πωλίωνος τῶν ὑπατῶν, καθιερώσας ὡσα εἰρηται,
μετῆλλαξεν ἐν τοῖς ὕδασιν ἐν ὦς καὶ ὁ πατὴ-
ρς αὐτοῦ, ὃς μὲν ἡ φήμη λέγει, πρὸς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ
ἀναλώθεις,2 ὃτι καὶ πρότερον ἐπεβεβουλευτὸ ὑπ’
αὐτοῦ, ὡς δὲ τινὲς γράφουσι, νοσήσας ἐμπνοοῦν
γὰρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὄντα καὶ τὰχα περιγενέσθαι δυνά-
μενον ἐς λάρνακα χιόνις πολλῆς γέμουσαν ὁ

1 Φλαουίου Βκ., φλαβίου ΒC.
2 ἀναλώθεις Βκ., ἄλλως θ’ ΒC.
platform of planks and wooden stands erected around it. On the second day there was a horse-race, and on the third day a naval battle between three thousand men, followed by an infantry battle. The "Athenians" conquered the "Syracusans" (these were the names the combatants used), made a landing on the islet and assaulted and captured a wall that had been constructed around the monument. These were the spectacles that were offered, and they continued for a hundred days; but Titus also furnished some things that were of practical use to the people. He would throw down into the theatre from aloft little wooden balls variously inscribed, one designating some article of food, another clothing, another a silver vessel or perhaps a gold one, or again horses, pack-animals, cattle or slaves. Those who seized them were to carry them to the dispensers of the bounty, from whom they would receive the article named.

After he had finished these exhibitions, and had wept so bitterly on the last day that all the people saw him, he performed no other deed of importance; but the next year, in the consulship of Flavius and Pollio, after the dedication of the buildings mentioned, he passed away at the same watering-place that had been the scene of his father's death. The common report is that he was put out of the way by his brother, for Domitian had previously plotted against him; but some writers state that he died a natural death. The tradition is that, while he was still breathing and possibly had a chance of recovery, Domitian, in order to hasten his end, placed him in a chest packed with a

1 Ortygia.  
2 Cf. lxii (lxii), 18.
Δομιτιανός ἐνέβαλεν, ὡς δεομένης τῆς νόσου τάχα τινὸς περιψύξεως, ὡς θάσσου ἀποθάνη.

3 ἐτὶ γοῦν ξώντος αὐτοῦ ἔστὶ τῇ Ἄρωμην ἀφίππευσε καὶ ἐστὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσῆλθε, τῇ τε ἐπικλήσιν καὶ τῇ ἔξουσίᾳ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐλάβε, δοὺς αὐτοῖς ὅσονπερ καὶ ὁ ἄδελφος αὐτοῦ ἐδεδώκει. ὁ δ' οὖν Τίτος ἀποψύχων εἶπε μὲν ὅτι "ἐν μόνον ἐπλημμέλησα," τι' δὲ δὴ τοῦτο εἶχ ὁ διεσώφησεν, ἀλλ' οὖθ' ἀλλοις οὐδέσι ἀκριβῶς ἀνέγυσ. οἰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ οἴ δὲ τὸ κατείκα-

4 σαν' κρατεῖ δ' οὖν, ὡς 2 μὲν τινὲς λέγουσιν, ὅτι τῇ Δομιτίᾳ τῇ τοῦ ἄδελφου γυναίκα ὅσχεν, ὡς δ' ἐτεροί, οἰς ἐγὼ πείθομαι, ὅτι τὸν Δομιτιανὸν σαφῶς ἐπιβουλεύσαντά οἱ λαβὼν οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀλλ' αὐτός τε ὑπ' ἐκείνου παθεῖν τοῦτο μᾶλλον εἶλετο, καὶ τῇ τῶν Ἄρωμίων ἀρχὴν ἀνδρὶ τοιοῦτῳ ἐξέδωκεν οἷον ἡ διέξοδος τοῦ λόγου δηλώσει. ἢρξε δὲ δὺ ἐτη καὶ μῆνας δὺ ἡμέρας τε εἰκοσιν, ὡς προεἰρήται.—Χιφ. 212, 17—216, 23 R. St.

1 ὡς—περιψύξεως Ζωτ., ὡς δῆθεν θεραπεύσων hist. Aug. Byz., om. VC.
2 ὡς Bk., οἱ VC.
quantity of snow, pretending that the disease required, perhaps, that a chill be administered. At any rate, he rode off to Rome while Titus was still alive, entered the camp, and received the title and authority of emperor, after giving the soldiers all that his brother had given them. Titus, as he expired, said: "I have made but one mistake." What this was he did not make clear, and no one else recognized it with certainty. Some have conjectured one thing and some another. The prevailing view is that of those who say that he referred to his taking his brother's wife, Domitia. Others—and these I am inclined to follow—say that what he meant as his mistake was that he had not killed Domitian when he found him openly plotting against him, but had chosen rather to suffer that fate himself at his rival's hands, and had surrendered the empire of the Romans to a man like Domitian, whose character will be made clear in the continuation of my narrative. Titus had ruled two years, two months and twenty days, as has been already stated.
1 Δομιτιανὸς δὲ ἦν μὲν καὶ θρασὺς καὶ ὅργιλος, ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐπίβουλος καὶ κρυψίνους, ὥστε ἀφ’ ἐκατέρων τῶν μὲν τὸ προπετές τῶν δὲ τὸ δόλιον ἔχων, πολλὰ μὲν ὅσπερ¹ σκηπτός ὄξεως ἐμπίπτων τισίν ἐλυμαίνετο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ παρα-2 σκευῆς ἐκακοῦργει. θεῶν² μὲν γὰρ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἴγαλλε, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ τὰ Παναθήναια μεγάλως ἑώρταζε, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀγώναις καὶ ποιητῶν καὶ λογογράφων μονομάχων τε κατ’ ἑτος ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ ἐποίεις τούτῳ γὰρ τὸ χωρίον ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Ἀλβανόν, ἀφ’ ὅσπερ οὕτως ὄνομασθή, διὸ ὅσπερ τινὰ 3 ἀκρόπολιν ἐξείλετο· ἀνθρώπων³ δὲ ἐφίλησε μὲν ἀληθῶς οὐδένα πλὴν γυναικῶν τιων, ἐπλάττετο δὲ ἀγαπᾶν ἄει δι’ ἄει μάλιστα ἀποσφάξας ἤθελεν. οὕτω γὰρ ἀπιστοὺς καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς χαρίζομένους τι ἐς τε τὰ δεινότατα ύπηρετούτας οἴ ⁴ ἐγένετο ὡςθ’, ὅποτε τινὲς ἡ χρήματα αὐτῷ πολλὰ πορίσειαν ἢ ἀνθρώπους πολλοὺς συκοφάντησειαν, πάντως αὐτοὺς ἐφθέιρε, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς δοῦ-4 λους τοὺς κατὰ δεσποτῶν τι μηνύσαντας. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, καίπερ ἀργύριον καὶ τιμᾶς καὶ

¹ ὅσπερ cod. Peir., ὡς VC.
² θεῶν C, θεῶν V.
³ ἀνθρώπων cod. Peir., ἀνθρώπων VC Zon.
⁴ οἱ cod. Peir., αἵτω VC.
Domitian was not only bold and quick to anger but also treacherous and secretive; and so, deriving from these two characteristics impulsiveness on the one hand and craftiness on the other, he would often attack people with the sudden violence of a thunderbolt and again would often injure them as the result of careful deliberation. The god that he revered most was Minerva, in consequence of which he was wont to celebrate the Panathenaea on a magnificent scale; on these occasions he held contests of poets and orators and gladiators almost every year at his Alban Villa. This estate, situated at the foot of the Alban Mount, from which it received its name, he had set apart as a kind of acropolis. There was no human being for whom he felt any genuine affection, except a few women; but he always pretended to be fond of the person whom at the moment he most desired to slay. So faithless was he even towards those who showed him some favour or helped him in his most revolting crimes, that, whenever persons provided him with large sums of money or lodged false information against large numbers of people, he was sure to destroy them, being especially careful to do so in the case of slaves who had given information against their masters. Accordingly, such persons, though they received money and honours and
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ἄρχας ὁμοῦ οἱ λαμβάνοντες, οὔτ᾽ ἐντιμότερον τῶν ἐτέρων οὔτ᾽ ἀσφαλέστερον διῆγον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ αὐτῶς οἷς ὑπὸ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ παρακαλοῦμενοι ἔπραττον ἀπώλυντο, ἵνα δὴ καὶ τὰ ἀδικήματα ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν μόνων γεγονέναι δοκῆ. τῇ δ᾽ αὐτῇ ταὐτῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ προέγραψε ποτε ὡτι αὐτοκράτωρ ὅταν μὴ κολάζῃ τοὺς συκοφάντας, αὐτὸς σφας ποιεῖ τοιούτους.—Xiph. 217, 8–27 R. St., Exc. Val. 274 (p. 705).

2 Τοιοῦτος δὲ δὴ πρὸς πάντας παρ᾽ ὅλην τὴν ἤγεμονίαν γενόμενος πολὺ καὶ ἐαυτὸν ὑπερβάλετο ἐν τῇ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ τε ἀδελφοῦ φίλων ἀτίμω τε καὶ ὀλεθρίῳ μεταχειρίσει. καὶ τοι καὶ αὐτὸς γράμμα ἔξεδηκεν τηρῶν πάντα τὰ πρὸς τε ἐκείνου καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοκρατόρων ἐνεπούλατο τιςιν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν καλλώπισμα ἄλλως ἦν. ἐμίσει γὰρ αὐτοῦς, ὅτι τε μὴ πάνθ᾽ ὅσα ἦτε, πολλά τε καὶ οὐ προσήκοντα ὄντα, παρέσχον αὐτῷ, καὶ ὅτι εἰν τιμῇ τινι ἐγεγένητο· πάν γὰρ τὸ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀγαπηθέν τε ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ δυνηθέν εἰν ἔχθροις μοίρα ἐπίθετο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, καίσπερ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἐρίμνου τινὸς εὐνοῦχον ἔρων, ὁμώς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ Τίτος ἰσχυρὸς περὶ τοὺς ἐκτομίας ἐσπουδάκει, ἀπηγορευσεν ἐπὶ ἐκείνου ύβρει μηδένα έτι εἰν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ ἐκτέμνεσθαι. τὸ δ᾽ ὅλον ἔλεγε τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας τοὺς μὴ πολλοὺς κολάζοντας οὐκ ἀγαθοὺς ἀλλ᾽ εὐτυχεῖς εἶναι.—Xiph. 217, 27–218, 4 R. St., Exc. Val. 275 (p. 705 sq.).

4 "Ὅτι ο ἀυτὸς οὐκ ἐφροντιζεν οὔτε τῶν τοῦν

1 αὐτοκράτωρον Val., αὐτοκράτορα cod. Peir.
2 οὔτε Bk., οὐδὲ cod. Peir.
offices in which they were his colleagues, lived A.D. 81 in no greater honour and security than other men. On the contrary, the very offences to which they had been urged by Domitian were commonly made the pretext for their destruction, his object being that they alone should appear to have been the authors of the wrongdoing. It was with this same purpose that he once issued a proclamation to the effect that, when an emperor fails to punish informers, he himself makes them informers.

Though such was his behaviour towards all throughout the course of his reign, yet he quite outdid himself in visiting disgrace and ruin upon the friends of his father and of his brother. It is true, he issued a proclamation confirming all the gifts made to any persons by them and by other emperors; but this was mere vain show. He hated them because they had not supplied all his numerous and unreasonable demands, as well as because they had been held in some honour; for he regarded as his enemy anyone who had enjoyed his father's or his brother's affection beyond the ordinary or had been particularly influential. Accordingly, though he himself entertained a passion for a eunuch named Earinus, nevertheless, since Titus also had shown a great fondness for eunuchs, in order to insult his memory, he forbade that any person in the Roman Empire should thereafter be castrated. In general, he was accustomed to say that those emperors who did not visit punishment upon many men were not good emperors, but only fortunate.

This same emperor paid no heed to the praises

1 A reference doubtless to the consulship.
Διον. Ρωμαϊκή Ιστορία

Τίτον ἐπαινοῦντον ὅτι μηδένα βουλευτὴν ἀπεκτείνειν, οὐθ’ ὅτι ἡ γερουσία πολλάκις ἦξιον ψηφισθῆναι μὴ ἐξεῖναι τῷ αὐτοκράτορι τῶν ὀμοτύμων τινὰ ἀπολέσαι. πάνω γὰρ οὖν σφισὶ πολὺ διέφερεν εἰτε ἰδίᾳ τινὰ αὐτῶν εἰτε καὶ δ’ ἐκείνων καταχρήσατο, ὅσπερ τι αὐτεπεῖν ἢ καὶ 5 μὴ καταψηφίσασθαι τινὸς δυναμένως. ἐπήνον ὅτι τὸν Τίτον τινές οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἀκούοντος τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ 1 ὅσπερ ἢν ἡμάρτανον ἠδόντων ἢν εἱ αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνον παρόντα καὶ ἀκούοντα ἔλοι- δόρουν), ἀλλ’ . . . 2 ὅτι ἡπίστατο αὐτοὺς λάθρα τοῦτο ποιοῦντας, ἐπεῖ τοι καὶ ἐτερον σκηνοποιεῖ 6 τινὶ ἐοικὸς ἐγήγεντο. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ καὶ φιλεῖν τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ πενθεῖν προσεποιεῖτο, καὶ τοὺς τε ἐπαινοῦντος τοὺς ἐπ’ αὐτῶ μετὰ δακρύών ἔλεξε καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἡρωᾶς αὐτῶν σπουδῆ ἐσέγραψε, πάντα τὰ ἐναντιώτατα ἄν ἐβούλετο σκηνοποιεῖν (ἀμέ- λει καὶ τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν τὴν τῶν γενεσίων αὐτοῦ 7 κατέλυσε). καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οὐθ’ ὅτι συνάχθησθον οὐθ’ ὅτι συνάχθησθον ἄσφαλώς εἰχον, τὸ μὲν ὅτι τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ λυπεῖν, τὸ δ’ ὅτι τὴν προσ- ποίησιν ἐλέγχειν ἐμελλον.—Exc. Val. 276 (p. 706), Xiph. 218, 4–10 R. St.

3 Τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα τὴν Δομιτίαν ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν σφάξαι ἐπὶ μοιχεία, παρακληθεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Οὐρσοῦ ἀπεπέμψατο, τὸν Πάριν τὸν ὀρχηστὴν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ὁδῷ δι’ αὐτὴν φονεύσας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀνθέστη καὶ μύροις τὸν τόπον ἐκείνον

1 Δομιτιανοῦ Val., δομιτίων cod. Peir.
2 Lacuna recognized by Rk.
which men bestowed upon Titus for not having \textit{a.d. 81} put a single senator to death, nor did he care that the senate frequently saw fit to pass decrees that it should be unlawful for the emperor to put to death any of his peers. A vast difference, indeed, did it make to them whether it was on his own responsibility or with the consent of the senate that he put out of the way one or another of their number—as if, forsooth, they could offer any opposition or refuse to condemn anybody! Some, however, would praise Titus, though not in Domitian's hearing (for to do that would have been as grave an offence as to revile the emperor in his presence and within his hearing), but they would do so among themselves, so that he hated them because he well knew that they were doing this secretly. And indeed there was something else that resembled playing; for Domitian pretended that he himself loved his brother and mourned him, and he delivered the eulogy over him with tears in his eyes and urged that he be enrolled among the demi-gods—pretending just the opposite of what he really desired. Indeed, he abolished the horse-race that had been held on the birthday of Titus. In general, men were not safe whether they shared in his grief or in his joy; for in the one case they were bound to offend his real feelings and in the other to show up his insincerity.

He planned to put his wife, Domitia, to death \textit{a.d. 83(?)} on the ground of adultery, but having been dissuaded by Ursus, he divorced her, after murdering Paris, the actor, in the middle of the street because of her. And when many persons paid honour to that spot with flowers and ointments, he ordered
2 ἐτίμων, ἐκέλευσε τούτοις σφάττεσθαι. κὰκ τούτου τῇ ἀδελφίδι ὑη ἱδια, ἤγουν τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ, ἀπαρακαλυπτότερον ὡς γαμετή συνόφκει. εἶτα δεηθέντος τοῦ δήμου κατηλλάγη μὲν τῇ Δομιτίᾳ, ἔχριτο δὲ οὔδεν ἦττον τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ. —Xiph. 218, 10–16 R. St., Zon. 11, 19, p. 58, 10–15 D.

31 Πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν κατὰ πολλὰς προφάσεις φόνοις τε καὶ ύπερορίαις ἐκποδῶν ποιούμενος (οὔδὲ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων κ. τ. λ. § 32). —Xiph. 218, 16–17 R. St.

42 "Ὅτι καὶ συχνοὺς μεθιστάς ποι κατεχρήσατο, καὶ οὐκ ὄλγους γε αὐτοὺς ύφ’ ἑαυτῶν παρεσκευάζε τρόπου τινὰ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἵνα ἐθελοντηδὸν ἄλλ’ οὐχ ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης δοκῶσι τοῦτο πᾶσχειν. —Exc. Val. 277 (p. 706).

32 Οὔδε τῶν ἀειπαρθένων ἐφείσατο ἄλλ’ ὡς καὶ ἡμρωμένας ἐτιμωρήσατο, ὅτε καὶ λέγεται, σκληρὰς καὶ τραχείας τῆς περὶ αὐτὰς ἔξετάσεως γειομένης καὶ πολλῶν αἰτιαθέντων καὶ κολαζομένων, οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν εἰς τῶν ποντιφικῶν "Ελοινὸς Ἀγρίππας ἀλλ’ ἐκπλαγεὶς αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ, ὀσπερ εἶχεν, ἀποψυξαί.—Xiph. 218, 17–22 R. St.

41 "Ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἡγάλλετο, ὅτι τὰς ἀειπαρθένους ὡς ἡμρωμένας οὕτω κατωρυξέν, ὡς ἡν ἔθος, ἀλλὰ ἄλλως ἀποθνήσκειν ἐκέλευσε.—Exc. Val. 278 (p. 706).

5 Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰς Γαλατίαν ἐξορμῆσας, καὶ λεηλατήσας τινὰ τῶν πέραν Ρήμου τῶν ἐνσπόν-

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1 εἶτα δεηθέντος—Ἰουλίᾳ Zon., om. VC.
2 ἑαυτῶν Val., ἑαυτοῦ cod. Peir.
that they, too, should be slain. After this he lived a.d. 83(?), with his own niece (Julia, that is to say) as husband with wife, making little effort at concealment. Then upon the demand of the people ¹ he became reconciled with Domitia, but continued his relations with Julia none the less.

He was putting many of the foremost men out of the way on many different pretexts, some by means of murder and others by banishment.

He also removed many from Rome to other places and destroyed them; and in the case of not a few he so contrived that they died by their own hands in one way or another, so that they might be thought to have met death by their own desire and not through compulsion.

He did not spare even the Vestal Virgins, but a.d. 83 punished them on the charge of having had intercourse with men. It is even said that, as a result of the harsh and cruel character of their examination and the great number of persons who were being accused and punished, one of the pontifices, Helvius Agrippa, could not endure it, but, horror-stricken, expired then and there in the senate-chamber.

Domitian prided himself also on the fact that he did not bury alive, as was the custom, the Vestals whom he found to have had intercourse with men, but ordered them to be put to death in some other way.

After this he set out for Gaul and plundered some of the tribes beyond the Rhine that enjoyed

¹ Dio doubtless had a fuller form of statement indicating that this was not a sincere demand on the part of the people. Cf. Suet., Dom. 3: quasi efflagitante populo.
ΔΩΝ, ὑγκοῦτο ὃς τι μέγα κατωρθωκώς, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπηύξησε τὴν μισθοφοράν, τάχα διὰ τὴν νίκην· πέντε γὰρ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα δραχμᾶς ἐκάστου λαμβάνοντο ἐκατόν ἐκέλευσα δίδοσθαι. μεταμεληθεὶς δὲ τὴν μὲν ποσότητα οὐκ ἐμείωσε, τὸ δὲ πλήθος τῶν στρατευομένων συνέστειλε. καὶ ἐκατέρωθεν μεγάλα τὸ δημόσιον ἔβλαψε, μὴ ἵκανοὺς τοὺς ἀμύνοντας αὐτῷ καὶ τούτους μεγαλομίσθους ποιήσας.—Ζον. 11, 19, p. 58, 16—25 Δ.

4 Ἐκστρατεύσας δὲ ἐς τὴν Γερμανίαν καὶ μηδ’ εὐρακῶς ποὺ πόλεμον ἐπανήκε. τὶ γὰρ δεὶ καὶ λέγειν ἀ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνῳ τότε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ὀμοίως αὐτῷ αὐτοκράτοροιν ἀδί ἐξόθη, ἵνα μὴ προσυποπτεύοντες ἐκ τε τῆς ὁλιγότητος καὶ ἐκ τῆς σμικρότητος τῶν τιμῶν ἐλέγχεσθαι χαλεπαίνωσι; καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο δεινότατον ἔσχεν, ὅτι καὶ κολακεύεσθαι ἤθελε, καὶ ἀμφότερος ὀμοίως ἦχθετο καὶ τοῖς θεραπεύονσι καὶ τοῖς μή, τοῖς μὲν ὧτι θωπεύειν τοῖς δὲ ὧτι καταφρονεῖν εὐδόκουν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν βουλῆς χαίρειν ἐφ’ οἷς ἐφηφίξοντο προσεποιεῖτο, τὸν δὲ δὴ Οὔρσον ὅλγον ἀπέκτεινεν, ὅτι μὴ τοῖς πρασοσφέονοις ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἥρεσκετο, καὶ τῆς Ἰουλίας αὐτησαμένης ὑπατον ἀπέδειξεν.—Χιφ. 218, 22—29 R. St., Exc. Val. 279 (p. 706).

1 Dio would have used the word Κέλτική (cf. note on liii. 12).
2 ὅλγον Reim., ὅλγον cod. Peir.

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treaty rights—a performance which filled him with a.d. 83 conceit as if he had achieved some great success; and he increased the soldiers' pay, perhaps on account of this victory, commanding that four hundred sesterces should be given to each man in place of the three hundred that he had been receiving. Later he thought better of it, but, instead of diminishing the amount of their pay, he reduced the number of soldiers. Both changes entailed great injury to the State; for he made its defenders too few in number and yet at the same time very expensive to maintain.

Next he made a campaign into Germany and returned without having so much as seen hostilities anywhere. But why should I go on and mention the honours bestowed upon him on this occasion for his exploit or from time to time upon the other emperors who were no better than he? For they were bestowed merely to keep such rulers from suspecting, as they would if the honours had been few and insignificant, that the people saw through them, and from becoming angry in consequence. Yet Domitian had this worst quality of all, that he desired to be flattered, and was equally displeased with both sorts of men, those who paid court to him and those who did not—with the former because they seemed to be flattering him and with the latter because they seemed to despise him. Nevertheless, he affected to take pleasure in the honours voted by the senate. But he came near putting Ursus to death because he failed to show pleasure at his sovereign's exploits; and then, at the request of Julia, he appointed him consul.
3. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔπι πλεῖον ἐπαρθεὶς ὑπ' ἀνοίας ὑπάτους μὲν ἔτη δέκα ἐφεξῆς, τιμητὸς δὲ διὰ βίου πρῶτος δὴ καὶ μόνος καὶ ἰδιωτῶν καὶ αὐτοκρατόρων ἐχειροτονήθη, ῥαβδοῦχοι τε τέσσαρι καὶ ἐκκοι καὶ τῇ στολῇ τῇ ἐπικρίθη, ὅταν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσίγη, χρῆσθαι ἔλαβε. τὸν τε Ὄκτωβριον Δομιτιανον ἀντωνόμασεν, ὡτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐγεγέννητο. τοῖς δὲ ἀρματηλάταις δύο γενή ἕτερα, τὸ μὲν χρυσοῦν τὸ δὲ πορφυρῶν ὁ νομάσας, προσκατέστησε. τοῖς τε θεωμένοις συναξα διὰ τῶν σφαιρίων ἐδίδου, καὶ ποτε καὶ ἐδείπνισεν αὐτοὺς κατὰ χώραν καθημένους, ὅπως τέ σφισιν πολλαχῇ ῥέοντα νυκτὸς παρέσχεν. ἀ δὴ τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς ἐν ἣδονη, ὡς εἰκός, ἤν, τοῖς δὲ δυνατοῖς ὀλέθρου αὐτία καθίστατο· οὐ γὰρ ἔχων ὅπόθεν ἄναλώσει, συχνοὺς ἐφόνευε, τους μὲν ἐςάγων ἔς τὸ βουλευτήριον, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἀπόντων κατηγορῶν. ἥδη δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἐνίους λαθραίους φαρμάκους ἀπήλλασσε.—Xiph. 218, 29–219, 10 R. St.

6. Πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ὑποτελῶν Ρωμαίοις ἀφίσταντο χρήματα βιαίως πρασσόμενοι, ὡς καὶ οἱ Νασαμώνες· τοὺς τε γὰρ τῶν χρημάτων πράκτορας ἐφθείραν, καὶ τὸν Νουμιδίας ἄρχοντα Φλάκκον ἐπελθόντα σφίσιν ἤττησαν οὕτως ὡς πορθῆσαι καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον· εὐφόρετε δὲ ἐν αὐτῶ τάλλα τε ἐπιτίθεια καὶ οἶνον ἐμπληθήσθεντες ὑπνώσαν, καὶ γνών τοῦ Φλάκκος τοῦτο ἐπέθετο αὐτοῖς καὶ

1 πορφυρῶν Phil. Rub. (Elect. 2, 27), ἄργυροῦ VC.

1 Cf. lxii (lxii), 18; lxvi. 25.
2 Probably Cn. Suellius Flaccus.
However, being still more puffed up by his folly, A.D. 84 he was elected consul for ten years in succession and censor for life, being the first and only man, whether private citizen or emperor, to be given this latter honour; he also received the privilege of employing twenty-four lictors and of wearing the triumphal garb whenever he entered the senatehouse. He changed the name of October to Domitianus because he had been born in that month. Among the charioteers he instituted two more factions, calling one the Golden and the other the Purple. To the spectators he used to make many presents by means of the little balls; and once he gave them a banquet while they remained in their seats and at night provided for them wine that flowed freely in many different places. All this naturally gave pleasure to the populace, but it was a cause of ruin to the powerful. For, as he had no funds from which to make his expenditures, he murdered many men, haling some of them before the senate, but bringing charges against others when they were not even present in Rome. He even went so far as to put some out of the way treacherously by means of drugs secretly administered.

Many of the peoples tributary to the Romans A.D. 85-86 revolted when contributions of money were forcibly extorted from them; among these were the Nasamones. They massacred all the tax-collectors and so completely defeated Flaccus, the governor of Numidia, who proceeded against them, that they even plundered his camp. But having discovered the wine and other provisions there, they gorged themselves and fell asleep, and Flaccus, learning of this, attacked
πάντας ἀπώλεσε καὶ τοὺς ἀπομάχους διέφθειρεν ἀπαντας. ἔφ᾽ οὗ ὁ Δομιτιανὸς ἐπαρθείς εἰπε πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ὅτι "Νασαμώνας ἐκώλυσα εἶναι."

7 Ἡδή γὰρ καὶ θεὸς ἦξίοι νομίζεσθαι, καὶ δεσπότης καλούμενος καὶ θεὸς ὑπερηγάλλετο. ταύτα οὖ μόνον ἐλέγετο ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγράφετο.—Zon. 11, 19, p. 58, 51-59, 10 D.

6 Μέγιστος δὲ δὴ πόλεμος Ἦρωμαῖος τότε πρὸς τοὺς Δακοὺς ἐγένετο, ὃν τότε Δεκέβαλος ἐβασίλευε,1 δεινὸς μὲν συνεῖναι τὰ πολέμια δεινὸς δὲ καὶ πρᾶξαι, ἐπελθεῖν εὔστοχος ἀναχωρήσας καϊρίος, ἐνέδρας τεχνὶτις μάχης ἐργάτης, καὶ καλῶς μὲν νῖκη χρησασθαὶ καλῶς δὲ καὶ ἤτταν διαθέσθαι 2 εἰδὼς: ἢφ᾽ οὐ δὴ καὶ ἀνταγωνιστὴς ἄξιόμαχος ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῖς Ἦρωμαῖοι ἐγένετο.

2 Δακοὺς δὲ αὐτούς προσαγορεύω, ὄσπερ ποι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔαντος καὶ οἱ Ἦρωμαιοί σφας ὁνομάζουσιν, οὐκ ἁγνόων ὅτι Ἐλλήνων τινὲς Γέτας αὐτοὺς λέγουσιν, εἰτ᾽ ὀρθῶς εἶτε καὶ μὴ λέγοντες: ἐγὼ γὰρ οἴδα Γέτας τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Λίμου παρὰ τὸν τὸν

3 "Ἴστρον οἰκοῦντας: ὁ Δομιτιανὸς μὲν ὅν ἐξε- στρατεύσατο μὲν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τοῦ πολέμου προσήψατο, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν πόλει τινὶ Μυσίας ὑπομείνας ὑβρίζεν ὃσπερ εἰδὲν: οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τὸ τε σῶμα ἄπονος καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀτολμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ

1 Cf. Exc. Val.: ὅτι Δούρας, οὐ ἡγεμονία ἐγένετο, ἔκὼν αὐτῆς παρεχώρησε τῷ Δεκέβαλῳ τῷ Δακῶν βασιλεῖ ὅτι δεινὸς κτέ.

2 διαθέσθαι cod. Peir. Suid., διαθεῖναι VC.

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them and annihilated them, even destroying all the non-combatants. Domitian was elated at this success and said to the senate: "I have forbidden the Nasamones to exist."

For he even insisted upon being regarded as a god and took vast pride in being called "master" and "god." These titles were used not merely in speech but also in written documents.

At this time the Romans became involved in a very serious war with the Dacians, whose king was then Decebalus. This man was shrewd in his understanding of warfare and shrewd also in the waging of war; he judged well when to attack and chose the right moment to retreat; he was an expert in ambuscades and a master in pitched battles; and he knew not only how to follow up a victory well, but also how to manage well a defeat. Hence he showed himself a worthy antagonist of the Romans for a long time. I call the people Dacians, the names used by the natives themselves as well as by the Romans, though I am not ignorant that some Greek writers refer to them as Getae, whether that is the right term or not; for the Getae of whom I myself know are those that live beyond the Haemus range, along the Ister.

Domitian, then, made an expedition against this people, but did not take an active part in the conflict. Instead, he remained in one of the cities of Moesia, indulging in riotous living, as was his wont. For he was not only indolent of body and

1 Cf. Exc. Val.: Duras, to whom the sovereignty belonged, had voluntarily abdicated it in favour of Decebalus, the king of the Dacians, because the latter was shrewd in his understanding of warfare, etc.
Διονύσιος Ρωμαϊκής Ιστορίας


5 "Οτι Δεκέβαλος ὁ Δακῶν βασιλεὺς ἐπεκηρυ-κεύετο πρὸς Δομιτιανὸν εἰρήνην ὑπισχυόμενος; ἐφ’ οὐ ἐπεμψε Δομιτιανὸς Φοῦσκον μετὰ πολλὴς δυνάμεως. ὡσπερ μαθὼν ὁ Δεκέβαλος ἐπεμψε πρὸς αὐτὸν πρεσβεύαν ἀδικ. εὐ ὀ devotion τό λέγων ὡς, εἰ ἔλοιπο ἐκαστος Ἐρωμαίων δύο ὄβολους Δεκεβάλῳ ἐκάστου ἔτους τελεῖν, εἰρήνην πρὸς αὐτὸν τίθεσθαι: εἰ δὲ μή τούτῳ ἔλοιπο, πολεμήσειν καὶ μεγάλα αὐτοῖς προστρήψεσθαι1 κακά. —Petr. Patr. exc. de leg. 3 (Hoeschel p. 15 = 4 Muell. Fragm. hist. Gr. 4, p. 185).

6 Διών . . . . . ξῆ βιβλίῳ . . . . "ἐπειδὴ οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Φοῦσκου2 στρατευσάμενοι ἡγήσασθαι σφόν αὐτῶν ἡξίωσαν."

7, 1 "Οτι ο Δομιτιανὸς 3 Κουνάδους καὶ Μαρκο-μάνους4 ἀμύνασθαι, ὃτι μὴ ἐβοηθήσαν οἱ κατὰ Δακῶν, ἡθέλησε, καὶ ἤλθεν ἐς Παννονίαν σφίσι πολεμήσων, καὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς δευτέρους, οὔς ἔπεμψαν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης, ἀπέκτεινεν.—Exc. UG 42 (p. 399).

6, 4 "Οτι ο αὐτὸς πταίσας τοῖς στρατιάρχαι ἐπε-κάλει. τὰ μὲν ἱάρ ἀμείνω πάντα, καίτιοι μηδὲν αὐτῶν πράττων, προσποιεῖτο, τῶν δὲ δὴ χειρόνων ἔτέρους, εἰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου τι κελεύσεως συνε-

1 προστρήψεσθαι Bk., προστρήψασθαι MSS.
timorous of spirit, but also most profligate and lewd towards women and boys alike. He therefore sent others to conduct the war and for the most part got the worst of it.

Decebalus, the king of the Dacians, was making overtures to Domitian, promising him peace; but Domitian sent Fuscus against him with a large force. On learning of this Decebalus sent to him an embassy anew with the insulting proposal to make peace with the emperor, on condition that every Roman should elect to pay two obols to Decebalus each year; otherwise, he declared, he would make war and inflict great ills upon the Romans.

Dio . . . Book LXVII. . . . When the soldiers who had made the campaign with Fuscus asked [Domitian] to lead them.

Domitian, wishing to requite the Quadi and the Marcomani because they had not assisted him against the Dacians, entered Pannonia with the intention of making war upon them; and he put to death the second group of envoys which had been sent by the enemy to propose terms of peace.

The same emperor, having been defeated, laid the blame on his commanders. For, though he claimed for himself all the successes, none of which was due to him, yet he blamed others for the reverses, notwithstanding that they had been incurred in consequence of the orders issued by him.

1 Cornelius Fuscus, praetorian prefect.

2 Φύσκου Bk., φύσκου cod. Coisl.
3 Δομιτιανός Urs., δομίτιος MSS.
4 Μαρκομάνους Bk., μαρκομάννους MSS.
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

βεβηκει, ήτιάτο. και ἔμισει μὲν τοὺς κατορθῶσαντάς τι, ἐμέμφετο δὲ τοὺς πταίσαντας.—Exc. Val. 281 (p. 399).

7, 2 "Οτι ο Δομιτιανὸς ἡ τηθεῖς ὑπὸ Μαρκομάνων καὶ φυγὼν ἔπεμψε διὰ ταχέων πρὸς τὸν Δεκέβαλον τὸν Δακὼν βασιλέα, καὶ ἔσπυρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπηγάγετο, ἀς πολλάκις αἰτήσαντι αὐτῷ πρότερον ὁμ ἐδεδώκει. καὶ ὃς ἐδέξατο μὲν τὴν σύμβασιν (δεινῶς γὰρ ἐτεταλαιπώρητο), οὐ μὲντοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἠθέλησεν ἐς λόγους αὐτῷ ἠλθεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐπεμψε τὸν Δίηγιν μετὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τὰ τὲ ὑπλα καὶ αἰχμαλώτους τινάς, ὡς καὶ μόνους ἑκείνους ἐχων, δώσομαι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου ο Αμπιτιανὸς 4 τῷ Διήγιδι διάδημα ἐπέδηκε καθάπερ ὡς ἀληθῶς κεκρατηκὼς καὶ βασιλέα τινὰ τοῖς Δακοῖς δοῦναι δυνάμενος, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τιμᾶς καὶ ἀργύριον ἑχαρίσατο, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἄρωμην ὡς νεικικώς ἐπέστειλε τὰ τὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ πρέσβεις παρὰ τοῦ Δεκέβαλου ἐπιστολὴν τε, ὡς γε ἐφασκεν, ἤν ἐλέγετο πεπλα-κέναι. καὶ πολλοίς τὴν ἑορτὴν πορμπείοις ἐκο-σμησεν ὁμ ἔξ ὧν εἶλε (πάντων γὰρ τούς νατύν καὶ προσανάλωσε ταῖς σπονδαίσις, συχνὰ μὲν καὶ αὐτίκα χρήματα καὶ δημιουργοὺς παντοῖας τέχνην καὶ εἰρήνην καὶ πολεμικὰς τῷ Δεκέβαλῳ δούς, συχνὰ δὲ καὶ ἄει δόσεων ὑποσχόμενος) ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐπιτόπων τούτως γὰρ ὡς καὶ

1 Δομιτιανὸς Urs., δομέτιος MSS.
2 Μαρκομάνων Bk., μαρκομάνων VB, μαρκομάνων M.
3 ητεταλαιπώρητο Bk., ητεταλαιπώρητο MSS.
4 Δομιτιανὸς Urs., δομέτιος V, δομέτιος BM.
5 πάν Reim., πάντα MSS.
Indeed, he hated those who succeeded and blamed A.D.89(?) those who met with reverses.

Domitian, having been defeated by the Marcomani, took to flight, and hastily sending messages to Decebalus, king of the Dacians, induced him to make a truce, though he himself had hitherto refused to grant one in response to the frequent requests of Decebalus. And so Decebalus accepted his overtures, for he had suffered grievous hardships; yet he did not wish to hold a conference with Domitian personally, but instead sent Diegis with the men,¹ to give him the arms and a few captives, who, he pretended, were the only ones that he had. When this had been done, Domitian placed a diadem on the head of Diegis, just as if he had truly conquered and could give the Dacians anyone he pleased to be their king. To the soldiers he granted honours and money. And, just as if he had won a victory, he sent to Rome, among other things, envoys from Decebalus and also a letter from the king, as he claimed, though rumour declared that he had forged it. He graced the festival that followed with many exhibits appropriate to a triumph, though they came from no booty that he had captured; on the contrary, the truce had cost him something besides his losses, for he had given large sums of money to Decebalus on the spot as well as artisans of every trade pertaining to both peace and war, and had promised to keep on giving large sums in the future. The exhibits which he displayed really came from the store of imperial furniture, which he at all times treated as

¹ This peculiar form of statement is evidently due to the epitomist, who has abridged Dio's fuller description.
8 Καὶ τοσαῦτα αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσθη, ὅστε πᾶσαν ὁλίγου δεῖν τὴν οἰκουμένην τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὕσαν εἰκόνων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνδριάντων καὶ ἀργυρῶν καὶ χρυσῶν ἐμπληθήναι. ἔποιήσε δὲ καὶ θεάν πολυτέλη, ἐν ἦ ἄλλο μὲν οὖν ἐς ἱστορίαν ἑπίσημον παρελάβομεν, πλὴν ὅτι καὶ παρέθενοι τῷ δρομικῷ ἡγούμενῳ, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐσφάζας τινὰς νικητήριους δήθεν ἐπιτελῶν ἄγωνας συνχόνοις ἐποίησε. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ μάχας καὶ πεζῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἰππέων αὐς συνεβαλε, τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἐν καὶνῷ τῷ χωρίῳ ναυμαχίαν ἐπετέλεσε. καὶ ἀπέθανον ἐν αὐτῇ πάντες μὲν ὁλίγου δεῖν οἱ ναυμαχήσαντες, συνχόν δὲ καὶ ἐκ 3 τῶν θεωμένων: ὑστοῦ γὰρ πολλοῦ καὶ χειμῶνος σφοδροῦ ἕξαιφνης γενομένου οὐδενὶ ἐπέτρεψεν ἐκ τῆς θέας ἀπαλλαγῆναι, ἄλλ' αὐτὸς μανδύας ἀλασσόμενος ἐκεῖνους οὖν ἐίσαε μεταβαλεῖν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου εὐφόσησαν οὐκ ὁλῖγοι καὶ ἐτελευτη- 4 σαν. ἐφ' ὧν παραμυθούμενοι αὐτοῦ δειπτῶν σφίσι δημοσία διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς παρέσχε. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄγωνας νῦκτωρ ἐποίηει, καὶ ἔστυ ὅτε καὶ νάνους 1 καὶ γναίκας συνεβαλλε. 2

9 Τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος οὖτως τὸτε ἐδείπνυσεν, αὖθις δὲ τοὺς πρῶτους τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τούτων τοῦ τρόπον. οἶκον μελάντατον ἀπαντα- χόθεν ἐκ τε τῆς ὀροφῆς καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοίχων τοῦ τ' ἐδάφους παρασκευάσας, καὶ κλισίας ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ δαπέδου γυμνὰς ὀμοίας ἑτοιμάσας, ἐσεκάλεσεν

1 νάνου Leunel., νάννας VC.
2 συνέβαλλε R. Steph., συνέβαλε VC.
captured spoils, inasmuch as he had enslaved even A.D.89(?)
the empire itself.

So many honours were voted to him that almost
the whole world (so far as it was under his dominion)
was filled with his images and statues constructed
of both silver and gold. He also gave a very costly
spectacle, in regard to which we have noted nothing
that was worthy of historic record except that maidens
contended in the foot-race. After this, in the course
of holding what purported to be triumphal celebra-
tions, he arranged numerous contests. In the Circus,
for example, he exhibited battles of infantry against
infantry and again battles between cavalry, and in
a new place he produced a naval battle. At this
last event practically all the combatants and many
of the spectators as well perished. For, though a
heavy rain and violent storm came up suddenly, he
nevertheless permitted no one to leave the spectacle;
and though he himself changed his clothing to
thick woollen cloaks, he would not allow the others
to change their attire, so that not a few fell sick and
died. By way, no doubt, of consoling the people for
this, he provided for them at public expense a dinner
lasting all night. Often he would conduct the games
also at night, and sometimes he would pit dwarfs
and women against each other.

At this time, then, he feasted the populace as
described; and on another occasion he entertained
the foremost men among the senators and knights
in the following fashion. He prepared a room that
was pitch black on every side, ceiling, walls and
floor, and had made ready bare couches of the same
colour resting on the uncovered floor; then he in-
2 autuous monous uuktos anev ton akoloubhoun. kai
proton men stiiln taphoideh ekasth sfo prap-
sthse, to te onouma autou ehoustan kai luhnoukh
mikron, oios 1 eu tois mhmeioi kremantuai 2
epieita paides evnpepeis gyno, melani kai autoi
kechrismeno, esphthon osper edwla, kai perielev-
thonites autous met' orkhesew tinos foberas prol
3 podov idrythsan kai metata touto pain' osper
en tois evagismasi kathagizetai, kai ekeinos
melana en skneisiv omoioi 3 prosoihekhi, osite
kai foibeisai kai tremei kato ekaston auton
pantas, aei te oson our idia sfraghesethai
prosdexethai, allwse te kai oui paral te ton
allon sioth polli osper en tevnikosin idia
hin, kai autos o Domitianos pantai 6s te thantous
4 kai es sfagias feronta diealalei. telos de
afhke men autous, prapallagas de dh tou
oikeitas sfo ton ev tois prathouris esthikostas,
di etepwv tinon anugoston tou ev ochnmasi
tous de foireous paradous poli pleon deos
autois enebale. arto de ekastos sfo oikade
eselhlethei kai tropyon tina anapnein 6rkheto,
ka auto 6seghgelh oui paral touto Anugostou
5 tis hko. prosokeuwv to eke touto tot ev
pantoi apoleithai, esekomise tis th stiiln
arhynan odsan, eit alllos allo ti kai eteros
eteron ton skевon ton ev to deiptw parate-
thenwv, polutelestatou tino genvous pepopi-
ména. kai telos o paios ekeinos, to daimónion

1 oios Reim., oion VC.
2 kremantuai H. Steph., kremantuai V, kremantuai C.
3 omoioi Leuncl., omoios VC.
vited in his guests alone at night without their attendants. And first he set beside each of them a slab shaped like a gravestone, bearing the guest's name and also a small lamp, such as hang in tombs. Next comely naked boys, likewise painted black, entered like phantoms, and after encircling the guests in an awe-inspiring dance took up their stations at their feet. After this all the things that are commonly offered at the sacrifices to departed spirits were likewise set before the guests, all of them black and in dishes of a similar colour. Consequently, every single one of the guests feared and trembled and was kept in constant expectation of having his throat cut the next moment, the more so as on the part of everybody but Domitian there was dead silence, as if they were already in the realms of the dead, and the emperor himself conversed only upon topics relating to death and slaughter. Finally he dismissed them; but he had first removed their slaves, who had stood in the vestibule, and now gave his guests in charge of other slaves, whom they did not know, to be conveyed either in carriages or litters, and by this procedure he filled them with far greater fear. And scarcely had each guest reached his home and was beginning to get his breath again, as one might say, when word was brought him that a messenger from the Augustus had come. While they were accordingly expecting to perish this time in any case, one person brought in the slab, which was of silver, and then others in turn brought in various articles, including the dishes that had been set before them at the dinner, which were constructed of very costly material; and last of all [came] that particular boy
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐκάστῳ, λειονεμένος τε καὶ κεκοσμημένος . . . 1 καὶ οὕτω διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς φοβούμενοι τὰ δόρα ἔλαβον.

6 Ὅ μὲν οὖν Δομιτιανὸς τοιαύτα νυκτήρια, ἢ ὡς γε ὁ ὀμίλος ἔλεγε, τοιούτους ἐναγιασμοὺς ἐπὶ τε τούς ἐν τῇ Δακίᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τεθυγκόσιν ἐποίησε, καὶ τις καὶ τὸτε τῶν πρῶτων ἀπέσφαξε, τοῦ τε βάσαντος τὸ σώμα ἐνὸς αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἑκείνου χωρίοις ἐτεθνήκει, τὴν οὖσίαν ἀφειλετο.

10 Ἔν δὲ τῷ Δακικῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τάδε συνεκύρησεν ἀξιόλογα. ὁ γὰρ Ἰουλιανὸς ἐπιταχθείς ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τῷ πολέμῳ τᾶλα τῇ παρεσκευ- ἁστο ἑ, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τὰ τε ἑαυτῶν ὀνόματα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐκατοντάρχων ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐπιγράψαι ἐκέλευσεν, ἵνα ἐκφανέστεροι οὐ τα ἀγαθόν αὐτῶν ἢ κακὸν ποιοῦντες γένωνται. 2 συμβαλὼν δὲ ἐν ταῖς Τάπαις τοῖς πολέμιοις πλείστους αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν· ἐν οἷς καὶ Οὐδείνας, τά δεύτερα μετὰ Δεκέβαλον ἔχον, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἡδυνήθη διαφυγεῖν ξών, πέπτωκεν ἑξεπιτίδες ὡς καὶ τετελευτηκώς, κακὸ τοῦτον λαθὼν τῆς νυκτὸς 3 ἐφυγε. δεῖσας οὖν ὁ Δεκέβαλος μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἀτε κεκρατηκότες ὀρμήσωσι, τὰ τε δένδρα τὰ ἐπὶ αὐτῶς 2 ὧντα ἐκοψε καὶ ὅπλα τοῖς στελέχεσι περιέθηκεν, ἵνα φοβηθέντες ὡς καὶ στρατιωτῶν ὄντων ἀναχωρήσωσιν. ὦ καὶ ἐγένετο.—Xiph. 219, 24–221, 20 R. St.

5, 1 "Οτι Χαριόμηρος ὁ τῶν Χερούσκων βασιλεύς,

1 Lacuna recognized by Xyl., who supplied ἐσήλθε.
who had been each guest’s familiar spirit, now washed A.D.89(?) and adorned. Thus, after having passed the entire night in terror, they received the gifts.

Such was the triumphal celebration, or, as the crowd put it, such was the funeral banquet that Domitian held for those who had died in Dacia and in Rome. Even at this time, too, he slew some of the foremost men. And in the case of a certain man who buried the body of one of the victims, he deprived him of his property because it was on his estate that the victim had died.

Other events worth recording that took place in the Dacian War are as follows. Julianus, who was appointed by the emperor to conduct the war, made many excellent regulations, one being his order that the soldiers should inscribe their own names as well as those of their centurions upon their shields, in order that those of their number who should perform any particularly good or base deed might be more readily recognized. He encountered the enemy at Tapae, and slew great numbers of them. One of them, Vezinas, who ranked next to Decebalus, finding that he could not get away alive, fell down purposely, as if dead; in this manner he escaped notice and fled during the night. Decebalus, fearing that the Romans, now that they had conquered, would proceed against his royal residence, cut down the trees that were on the site and put armour on the trunks, in order that the Romans might take them for soldiers and so be frightened and withdraw; and this actually happened.

Chariomerus, the king of the Cheruscii, had been A.D.90(?)

2 ἐπ᾿ αὐτοῖς V, ἐπ᾿ αὐτῶν C.
ὑπὸ Χάττων ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν ἐκπεσόν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐτέρους τίμας παρέλαβε καὶ κρείττων ἐν τῇ καθόδῳ ἐγένετο, ἐπειτα ἐγκαταλειφθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐπειδὴ ὁμήρους τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπεμψε, τὸν Δομιτιανόν ἱκέτευσε καὶ συμμαχίας μὲν οὐκ ἔτυχε, χρήματα δὲ ἔλαβεν.—Exc. U 43 (p. 399).

11 Ἀντώνιος δὲ τις ἐν Γερμανίᾳ ἄρχων κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τῷ Δομιτιανῷ ἐπανέστη, ὃν Δούκιος Μάξιμος κατηγωνίσατο καὶ καθέλεν· ὅς ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ νίκῃ οὐδὲν μέγα ἄξιός ἦστιν ἐπαύεισθαι (πολλοὶ γὰρ τοὺς καὶ άλλους παρὰ δόξαν ἐνίκησαν, οἳ τε στρατιῶται αὐτῷ συνη-2 γωνίσαντο). ὅτι δὲ τὰ γράμματα οὔσα ἐν τοῖς τοῦ 'Ἀντώνιου κιβωτίων εὐρέθη, παρὰ βραχῦ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀσφάλειαν πρὸς τὸ μηδένα εἰς αὐτῶν συγκομισθήκαι θέμενος, ἐκαυσεν, οὐχ ὀρῷ πῶς ἄν αὐτὸν ἄξιως ὑμνήσαμι.—Xiph. 221, 20–26 R. St., Exc. Val. 282 (p. 709).

Ὀ δὲ Δομιτιανὸς ἀφορμῆς ἐντεῦθεν εὐπορήσας, ἐπὶ τοὺς φόνους καὶ τῶν γραμμάτων χωρίς ὁμήρας, οὐδ’ ἂν εἴποι τις ὅσοις ἀπέκτεινεν.—Xiph. 221, 26–28 R. St.

3 Ὄτι τὸ σύμπαν πλήθος τῶν ὑπὸ Δομιτιανοῦ 1 κολασθέντων οὐδ’ ἂν εὑρέθοις τὶς δυνηθεὶς. οὐτῶν γὰρ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἐπὶ τούτῳ 2 κατέγνω ὁσθ’ ἢν μηδεμία μνήμη τῶν θανατουμένων ὑπολειφθῆ, ἐκάλυσε σφας ἐς τὰ ὑπομῆματα ἐσγραφῆναι. οὐ μὴν οὖδὲ περὶ τῶν ἁναρεθέντων τῇ βουλῇ τι ἐπέστειλε, καίπερ τὰς κεφάλας αὐτῶν,

1 Δομιτιανοῦ Val., δομιτίου cod. Peir.

340
driven out of his kingdom by the Chatti on account of his friendship for the Romans. At first he gathered some companions and was successful in his attempt to return; but later he was deserted by these men when he sent hostages to the Romans, and so became the suppliant of Domitian. He did not secure any military support but received money.

A certain Antonius, who was governor of Germany at this period, revolted against Domitian; but Lucius Maximus overcame him and destroyed him. Now so far as this victory was concerned Maximus does not deserve any particular praise (for many others have won unexpected victories, and moreover his troops contributed to his success), but for his action in burning all the papers that were found in the chests of Antonius, thus esteeming his own safety as of slight importance in comparison with the preventing of their use for the purpose of blackmailing anyone, I do not see how I can praise him enough.

Domitian, however, as he had got a pretext from that source, proceeded to commit a series of murders even without the papers in question, and it would be impossible to say how many he killed.

It would be impossible to discover the total number of those who were executed by Domitian. Indeed, he condemned himself so severely for this course that, in order to prevent any remembrance of those who were put to death from surviving, he prohibited the entering of their names in the records. Furthermore, he did not even send any communication to the senate regarding those who had been put out of the way, though he sent their heads as well as that of

2 τούτῳ Val., τοῦτο cod. Peir.
Διονύσιος Ρωμανός

ωσπερ τὴν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, πέμψας ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκθείς. — Exc. Val. 283 (p. 709).

4 Εἰς δ’ οὖν τις νεανίσκος Ἰούλιος. Κάλουστρος, κεχυλιαρχήκος ἐς βουλείας ἐπιδίδα, παραδο-ξότατα ἔσωθη. ἐπειδή γὰρ πολλάκις κατὰ μόνας συμμεμικχῶς ἥλεγχετο, καὶ οὐκ εἶχεν ὅπως ἄλλως τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς συνωμοσίας ἀπολύσθηται, ἐφη κατ’ ἐρωτικὴν χρείαν αὐτῷ συγγεγονέναι καὶ γὰρ ἤν οἷος ἔρασθαι δύνασθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἀφείθη, ἐν δ’ ἔτι τούτῳ ἐπὶ περὶ τῶν τότε γενομένων παύσομαι. Λουσιανὸς Πρόκλος θουλητής γέρων, ἐν ἀγρῷ τὰ πολλὰ διατρίβοι, συνεξῆλθε μὲν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης καταναγκάσαντι, ὅνα μὴ δόξῃ κινδυνεύοντα αὐτὸν προτείειν καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ ἀποθάνῃ, τῆς δ’ ἀγγελίας ἐλθούσης ἐφή τε “ἐνίκησας αὐτοκράτορ, ὦσπερ ἡνύχομην ἀπόδος οὖν με τῷ ἀγρῷ,” καὶ ἐγκαταλιπὼν αὐτόν ἀπῆλθεν ἐς τὸ χωρίον, καὶ οὐκέτι μετὰ τούτο, κἂντι πολὺν ἐπιξήσας χρόνων, προσήλθεν αὐτῷ.

6 'Εν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἐπετήθευσαν τινες, φαρμάκως βελόνας χρίοντες, κεντεῖν αὐταῖς οὖς ἔβουλοντο καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐκεῖνον μηδὲ αἰ- σθόμενοι ἔθνηκον, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ μηνυθέντες ἐτιμωρήθησαν, καὶ τούτῳ οὐκ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ὦσε ἐπίθειν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ἐγένετο.

12 Τραίανῷ δὲ δὴ τῷ Οὐλπίῳ καὶ Ἀκιλίῳ ταῦτα σημεία

1 Καλουστρος R. St., καλουστρος VC.
2 δ’ supplied by Capps, ἐγὼ δ’ ἐν ἐτι Sylb.
3 Ἀκιλίῳ Lennel., ἄκουλίῳ VC.
4 Γλαβρίωνι R. Steph., γραβλίωνi VC (so just below).
Antonius to Rome and caused them to be exposed A.D. 90(?)(?) in the Forum.

One young man, Julius Calvaster, who had served as military tribune as a stepping-stone to the senate, was saved in a most extraordinary way. When it was being shown that he had had frequent meetings alone with Antonius, and he had no other way to free himself from the charge of conspiracy, he declared that he had met him for amorous intercourse; and in fact he was of an appearance to inspire passion. Thus he was acquitted. I will relate one more incident of this period, as follows, and then desist. Lusianus Proclus, an aged senator, who spent most of his time in the country, had set out with Domitian from Rome, feeling constrained to do so, that he might not appear to have deserted him in his peril and so be put to death. But when the news¹ came, he said: "You have conquered, emperor, as I always prayed; restore me, therefore, to my country estate." Thereupon he left him and retired to his farm; and after this, though he survived a long time, he never came near him.

During this period some persons made a business of smearing needles with poison and then pricking with them whomsoever they would. Many persons who were thus attacked died without even knowing the cause, but many of the murderers were informed against and punished. And this sort of thing happened not only in Rome but over practically the whole world.

The same portents are said to have appeared to A.D. 91 Ulpius Trajan and to Acilius Glabrio when they

¹ i.e. of the victory over Antonius.
λεγεται γενέσθαι καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τῷ μὲν Γλαβρίων ὁλεθρος, τῷ δὲ Τραϊανῷ ἢ τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας άρχη προερρήθη.

Συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναικεῖς τῶν πλουσίων ἐπὶ μοιχεία ἔκολασθησαν, ὅν ἔνιαι καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐμοιχεύθησαν. καὶ ἄλλαις δ’ αἰτίαις 2 πολλοὶ καὶ ἐξημιώθησαν καὶ ἀπέθανον. 1 γάρ 2 τις ὅτι ἀπεδύσατο ἐναιτίον εἰκόνως αὐτοῦ 3 ἐκρίθη τε καὶ ἀπώλετο, καὶ ἔτερος ὡς ἀστρολόγους ἄμμιληκώς. 4 ἐν δὲ τοῖς τότε τελευτήσασι πολλοῖς οὔσι καὶ Μέττιος 5 Πομπουσιανὸς ἐγένετο, ὅν ὁ μὲν Οὐσπασιανὸς μαθὼν ἐκ φήμης τινὸς ὅτι μοναρχῆσει οὐδὲν κακῶν εἰργάσατο, ἀλλὰ 6 καὶ ἔτιμα, λέγων ὅτι “πάντως μου μνημονεύσει καὶ πάντως με ἀντιτιμήσει,” ἐκείνος 4 δὲ πρώτερον μὲν ἐς Κύρινον ἐξώρισε, τότε δὲ καὶ ἐφόνευσεν, ἐγκληθέντα ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν τοῖς τοῦ κοινῶς τοῖχοις εἶχεν ἐγγεγραμμένην, καὶ τὰς δημηγορίας τὰς τῶν βασιλέων τῶν τε ἄλλων ἄνδρῶν τῶν πρῶτων, τὰς παρὰ τῷ Λιονίῳ 7 ἐγγραμμένας, ἐξειλόχει 5 τε καὶ ἀνεγίνωσκε. Μάτερνον δὲ σοφιστήν, ὅτι κατὰ τυράννων εἰπέ τι ἄσκών, ἀπέκτεινε. συνεγίνετο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς κατηγορήσοι καὶ τοῖς καταμαρπτρήσοις, καὶ συνεπλατεὶ καὶ συνετίθει πάνθ’ ὡσα λεχθήκαν ἕδει. καὶ πολλάκις καὶ τοῖς δεσμώταις κατὰ μόνας ἐλάλει, τὰ δεσμὰ αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ κατέχων. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλοις

1 συχνοὶ—ἀπέθανον Ζον., om. Xiph.
2 γάρ Ζον., δὲ VC.
3 αὐτοῦ Ζον., τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ VC.
4 καὶ ἔτερος—Ἀμιληκώς Ζον., om. Xiph.

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entered upon the consulship at this time; to Glabrio A.D. 91 they announced destruction, but to Trajan his assumption of the imperial office.

Many men and women alike among the wealthy were punished for adultery; some of these women had been debauched by Domitian himself. Many persons were also fined or put to death on other charges. Thus, a woman was tried and put to death because she had undressed in front of an image of Domitian, and a man for having associated with astrologers. Among the many who perished at this time was Mettius Pompusianus, whom Vespasian had failed to harm after learning from some report that he would one day be sovereign, but on the contrary had shown him honour, declaring: “He will surely remember me and will surely honour me in return.” But Domitian first exiled him to Corsica and now put him to death, one of the complaints against him being that he had a map of the world painted on the walls of his bed-chamber, and another complaint being that he had excerpted and was wont to read the speeches of kings and other leaders that are recorded in Livy. Also Maternus, a sophist, was put out of the way because in a practice speech he had said something against tyrants. The emperor himself used to visit those who were expecting to accuse or to give evidence of guilt and he would help to frame and compose all that required to be said. Often, too, he would talk to the prisoners alone, while holding their chains in his hands; for he would not entrust to others the knowledge of

5 Μέττιος Bs., μέτιος VC Zon.
6 ἀλλὰ Reim., ὅτι VC.
7 Διουλώ Bk., λιβίω VC.
5, 2 "Οτι εν τῇ Μυσία Λύγιοι Σουήβοις τις πολεμώθεντες πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν, αἰτοῦντες συμμαχίαν παρὰ Δομιτιανοῦ, καὶ ἔλαβον οὐ τῷ πλήθει ἵσχυραν ἄλλα τῶ αξιώματι ἕκατὸν γὰρ ἵππεις μόνοι αὐτοῖς ἔδοθησαν. Ἅγανακτήσαντες ἐπὶ τούτῳ οἱ Σουήβοι προσπαρέλαβον Ἰάξυγας, καὶ προπαρεσκευάζοντο ὡς καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τὸν Ἰστρον διαβησόμενοι.—Exc. Uα 44 (p. 399).

5, 3 "Οτι Μάσνος ὁ Σεμνώνοις βασιλεύς καὶ Γάννα (παρθένος ἦν μετὰ τὴν Οὐελήδαν εν τῇ Κελτικῇ θειάζουσα) ἤλθον πρὸς τὸν Δομιτιανὸν, καὶ τιμῆς παρ' αὐτῶν τυχόντες ἀνεκομίσθησαν.—Exc. Uδ 45 (p. 400) = Suid. s.v. θειάζουσα.

13 Ἐπραξὲ δὲ τι καὶ ὡς τιμητῆς ἀξιόλογων Καϊκίλιον ἧπ' Ῥουφίνων ἀπῆλασεν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ὅτι ὦρχείτο, Κλαύδιον τε Πακάτων τῷ δεσπότῃ καίπερ ἐκατονταρχηκότα ἀπέδωκεν, ὧν ἢλέγχθη δοῦλος ὡν. οὐ μὴν καὶ τὸ μέλλων ρηθῆναι τούτων ὁμοίων ἔστιν, ὅπερ ὡς αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπέποιήκε. τὸν γὰρ ἰδὶ Ῥούστικον τὸν Ἀρουλήν ἀπέκτεινεν ὅτι ἐφιλοσόφει καὶ ὅτι τὸν Ὁρασέαν ἱερὸν ὑώμαζε, καὶ Ἐρέννιον ἑνεκίων ὃτι τε οὐδεμίαν ἀρχὴν ἐν πολλῷ βίῳ μετὰ τὴν ταμιείαν ἦτέκει καὶ ὅτι τοῦ Πρίσκου τοῦ Ἔλουδιον τὸν βίον συνέγραψεν. ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης τῆς κατὰ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν αἰτίας συχνοὶ διώλοντο, καὶ οἱ λοι-
what was going to be said, and as for the accused, a.d. 91 he feared them even in their bonds.

In Moesia the Lygians, a.d. 91 having become involved in war with some of the Suebi, sent envoys asking Domitian for aid. And they obtained a force that was strong, not in numbers, but in dignity; for a hundred knights alone were sent to help them. The Suebi, indignant at his giving help, attached to themselves some Iazyges and were making their preparations to cross the Ister with them.

Masyus, king of the Semnones, and Ganna, a virgin who was priestess in Germany, having succeeded Veleda, came to Domitian and after being honoured by him returned home.

As censor, likewise, his behaviour was noteworthy. a.d. 93 He expelled Caecilius Rufinus from the senate because he acted pantomimes, and restored Claudius Pacatus, though an ex-centurion, to his master, because he was proved to be a slave. But the deeds now to be related—deeds which he performed as emperor—cannot be described in similar terms. I refer to his killing of Arulenus Rusticus because he was a philosopher and because he called Thrasea holy, and to his slaying of Herennius Senecio because in his long career he had stood for no office after his quaestorship and because he had written the biography of Helvidius Priscus. Many others also perished as a result of this same charge of philosophizing, and

1 This is an error; the Lygians lived north of Moesia.
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ποί πάντες ἐξηλάθησαν αὐθις ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης. Ἰουναύντιος ἡμέρας συνομόσας τε ἀνὰ πρώτους μετά τινων ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ κατηγορθεῖς ἐπὶ τούτῳ θαυμαστῶς ἐσώθη. μέλλων ὡς ἀλλισκεσθαι ἤτοισατο δι' ἀπορρήτων εἰπεὶν τι αὐτῷ, κἂν τούτῳ προσκυνήσας αὐτῷ, δεσπότην τε καὶ θεόν, ἀ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἤδη προσηγορεύετο, πολλάκις ὑμομάσας, "οὔδὲν μὲν" ἤφη "πεποίηκα" τοιούτων, ἀν δ' ἀναβολὴν λάβω, πολυπραγμονήσου πάντα, καὶ συχνοὺς σοι καὶ μηνύσω καὶ ἐξελέγξω." ἀφεθεῖς τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ οὕτε ἐνεδείξε τινα, καὶ ἀλλοτε ἄλλας προφάσεις προτείνων διήγαγε μέχρις οὗ Δομιτιανὸς ἀπέθανεν.

14 Ἐν τούτω τῷ χρόνῳ ἢ όδος ἢ ἀπὸ Σιναέσσης ἐσ Πουτέόλους ἀγορασάμενοι ἐστορέσθη, καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει ἄλλους τε πολλούς καὶ τὸν Φλάονιον τὸν Κλήμεντα ὑπατεύοντα, καίπερ ἀνεπιθύμητον ὄντα καὶ γυναικὰ καὶ αὐτὴν συγγενῆ ἐαυτοῦ Φλαούλιαν Ἰούδατιλλαν ἔχοντα, κατέσφαξεν ὁ Δομιτιανὸς. ἠπιθυμήθη δὲ ἁμφότεροι ἐγκλήματα ἀθεότητος, υφ' ἓς καὶ ἄλλους ἐς τὰ τῶν Ιουναύντιος ἤθη ἐξοκέλλουντες πολλοὶ κατεδικάσθησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ τῶν γοῦν οὐσίων ἐστερίχθησαν ἡ δὲ Δομιτιλλα ὑπερωρίσθη μόνον ἐς ὁμον ἔς Πολυδατερίαν. τὸν δὲ δὴ Γλαβρίωνα τὸν μετὰ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ἀρξαντα, κατηγορηθέντα τα τε

1 Ἰουναύντιος Reim. (Ἰουβέντιος), Ιουβένιος VC.
2 πεποίηκα R. Steph., πεποιηκώτα VC.
3 Σιναέσσης R. Steph., σιναέσσης VC.
4 Πουτέόλους R. Steph., ποτέόλους VC.
5 Φλάονιον Reim. (Φλάβιον), φάβιον VC.
6 τὸν supplied by Bk.

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all the philosophers that were left in Rome were A.D. 91 banished once more. One Juventius Celsus, however, who had taken a leading part in conspiring with certain others against Domitian and had been accused of this, saved his life in a remarkable way. When he was on the point of being condemned, he begged that he might speak to the emperor in private, and thereupon did obeisance before him and after repeatedly calling him "master" and "god" (terms that were already being applied to him by others), he said: "I have done nothing of this sort, but if I obtain a respite, I will pry into everything and will not only bring information against many persons for you but also secure their conviction." He was released on this condition, but did not report any one; instead, by advancing different excuses at different times, he lived until the death of Domitian.

At this time the road leading from Sinuessa to Puteoli was paved with stone. And the same year Domitian slew, along with many others, Flavius Clemens the consul, although he was a cousin and had to wife Flavia Domitilla, who was also a relative of the emperor's. The charge brought against them both was that of atheism, a charge on which many others who drifted into Jewish ways were condemned. Some of these were put to death, and the rest were at least deprived of their property. Domitilla was merely banished to Pandateria. But Glabrio, who had been Trajan's colleague in the

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1 His sister's daughter.

7 Φλαωίαν Bk., φλαβίαν VC.
8 Δομιτιάνος R. Steph., δομίτιος VC.
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ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ὁτι καὶ θηρίοις ἐμάχετο, ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐφ' ὅ ποι καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ὁργὴν αὐτῶ ὑπὸ φθόνου ἐσχεν, ὅτι ὑπατεύοντα αὐτῶν ἦς τὸ Ἀλβαῖνον ἐπὶ τὰ Νεανισκεύματα ὁνομασμένα καλέσας λέοντα ἀποκτείναι μέγαν ἡμάγκασε, καὶ δὲ οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν ἐλυμάνθη ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐστοχότατα αὐτῶν κατειργάσατο.

4 Ἡποπτεύων οὖν ἐκ τούτων πάντας ἀνθρώπεις οὐκέτι οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐξελευθέροις, ὅσπερ οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐπάρχοις, οὐς γε καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν κρίνεσθαι ἐποίει, ἐλπίδα ὡσφαλείας εἶχε. καὶ τὸν Ἐπαφρόδιτον δὲ τὸν Ἡρωνος πρότερον μὲν ἐξεδώξε τότε δὲ καὶ ἐσφαξεν, ἐπικαλέσας αὐτῶ ὅτι μὴ ἧμυνε τὸ Ἡρωνι, ἵν' ἐκ τῆς τιμωρίας, ἵν ὑπέρ ἐκείνου ἔπαιντο, πόρρωθεν τοὺς ἰδίους ἐξελευθέρους 3 ἐκφοβήσῃ μηδὲν τοιοῦτο τοιμῆσαι.

5 οὖν μὴν ὁφελήθη τι ἐκ τούτου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπεβουλεύθη τῷ ἔξης ἐτεὶ ἐπὶ τε Γαίου Οὐάλεντος, ὡς ἐνενηκοστῷ ἐτεὶ ὑπατεύσας ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ἐπὶ Γαίου Ἁντιστίου ὕπατων, καὶ 4 ἀπώλετο.

15 Ἑπέθεντο δὲ αὐτῶ καὶ συνεσκευάσαντο τὴν πράξιν Παρθένος τε ὁ πρόκοιτος αὐτῶν, καὶ περ ὀὔτω τιμώμενος παρ' αὐτῶν ἡς καὶ ξιφιθορεῖν, καὶ Συνηρὸς ἐν τῇ προκοιτία καὶ αὐτῶς ὅν,

1 ἂν error for T. Manlius Valens.
2 This was a privilege normally accorded only to generals appointed by the emperor.
consulship, was put to death, having been accused of the same crimes as most of the others, and, in particular, of fighting as a gladiator with wild beasts. Indeed, his prowess in the arena was the chief cause of the emperor's anger against him, an anger prompted by jealousy. For in Glabrio’s consulship Domitian had summoned him to his Alban estate to attend the festival called the Juvenalia and had imposed on him the task of killing a large lion; and Glabrio not only had escaped all injury but had despatched the lion with most accurate aim.

As a consequence of his cruelty the emperor was suspicious of all mankind, and from now on ceased to repose hopes of safety in either the freedmen or yet the prefects, whom he usually caused to be brought to trial during their very term of office. He had first banished and now slew Epaphroditus, Nero’s freedman, accusing him of having failed to defend Nero; for he wished by the vengeance that he took on Nero’s behalf to terrify his own freedmen long in advance, so that they should venture no similar deed. Yet it availed him naught, for he became the object of a conspiracy in the following year, and perished in the consulship of Gaius Valens (who died after entering upon the consulship in his ninetieth year) and of Gaius Antistius.

Those who attacked him and planned the deed were Parthenius, his chamberlain, although he had been so highly honoured by the emperor as to be allowed to wear a sword, and Sigerus, who was also one of the chamberlains, together with Entellus,

3 Probably the man who is called Saturius by Suetonius (Dom. 17).
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"Εντελλός τε ο τα της ἀρχής βιβλία διέπων 2 μετὰ Στεφάνου ἀπελευθέρων, καὶ αὐτῷ 1 οὐτε ἡ Δομιτία ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ οὐτε δὲ ὁ Νορβάνδος ὁ ἑπαρχὸς οὐδ’ ὁ συνάρχους 2 Πετρώνιος Σεκοῦνδος ἡγούμενος, ὥς γε καὶ λέγονταν ἢ τε γὰρ Δομιτία ἀεὶ ποτε ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐμφαίτο καὶ διὰ τούτ’ ἐφο-βείτο μὴ καὶ ἀποθάνῃ, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οὐκέτ’ αὐτὸν ἐφίλουν, οἱ μὲν ὅτι ἐνεκαλούντο τινα, οἱ δ’ ὅτι

3 προσεδέχοντο. ἦκονσα δὲ ἔγωγε καὶ ἐκείνο, ὅτι πάντας ἀμα αὐτοὺς ὁ Δομιτιανὸς ὑποπτεύσας ἀποκτείναι ἠθέλησε, καὶ σφον’ τὰ ὁνόματα ἐς σανίδιον φιλόρων διθύρων ἐσγράψας ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ ἐν ἡ ἀνεπαύετο ὑπέθηκε, καὶ αὐτὸ παιδίον τι τῶν γυμνῶν τῶν ψιθύρων καθεύδοντος αὐτοῦ μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἀφε-

4 λόμενον εἰχεν, οὐκ εἴδος ὁ τι φέροι, προστυχοῦσα δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ Δομιτία τὰ τε γεγραμμένα ἀνέγινο καὶ ἐμήνυσε καὶ ἐκείνος, κάκ τούτον καὶ ἄλλως διανοούμενοι συνετάχυναν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν. οὐ μέντοι πρότερον ἐπεχείρησαν ἐργῷ πρὶν τὸν διαδεξόμενον τὴν ἀρχήν αὐτοῦ βεβαιώσασθαι.

5 διελέξαντο μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοις τισι, μηδένος δὲ ἐκείνων δεξαμένου (πάντες γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡς δια-περιμένους σφῶν ἐφοβήθησαν) ἐπὶ τῶν Νέροναν ἦλθον, ἐπεὶ δὴ καὶ εὐγενεστάτος καὶ ἐπιεικέστατος ἦν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκινδύνευσε διαβληθεῖσ 1 ὑπ’

1 αὐτῷ R. Steph., αὐτὸν VC.
2 συνάρχου Zon., σύναρχος VC.

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who was in charge of petitions, and Stephanus, a.d. 96

The plot was not unknown to Domitia, the emperor's wife, nor to the prefect Norbanus, nor to the latter's colleague, Petronius Secundus; at least, this is the tradition. For Domitia was ever an object of Domitian's hatred and consequently she stood in terror of her life; and the others no longer loved him, some of them because complaints had been lodged against them and others because they were expecting complaints to be lodged. For my part, I have heard also the following account—that Domitian, having become suspicious of these persons, conceived the desire to kill them all at the same time, and wrote their names on a two-leaved tablet of linden-wood, which he placed under his pillow on the couch on which he was wont to take his rest; and one of the naked "whispering" boys filched it away while the emperor was asleep in the day-time and kept it without knowing what it contained. Domitia then chanced upon it, and reading what was written, gave information of the matter to those concerned. Accordingly they hastened the plot which they already were forming; yet they did not proceed to carry it out until they had determined who was to succeed to the imperial office. They discussed the matter with various men, and when none of them would accept it (for all were afraid of them, believing that they were testing their loyalty), they betook themselves to Nerva. For he was at once of the noblest birth and of a most amiable nature, and he had furthermore been in peril of his life as the result of being denounced

1 All those mentioned were in fact freedmen.
2 Cf. xlviii. 44.
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παντώς ἤγερα καὶ ὁ Δομιτιανὸς τῶν πρώτων τάς τε ἡμέρας καὶ τάς ὃρας ἐν αἷς ἐγεγένετο διασκοπῶν, οὐκ ὀλίγους ἐκ τούτου τῶν οὔδε ἔλπιζόντων ἐν δυνάμει τινὶ ἐσεθῆναι προανύλισκεν καὶ τὸν γε Νέροναν ἀπέσφαξεν ἀν, εἰ μὴ τις τῶν ἀστρολόγων εὐνοιαν αὐτῷ ἔχων ἡγη ὑπὸ ὧν ὦμερῶν τελευτήσει. πιστεύσας γὰρ ὄντως τοῦτ' ἐσεθῆναι, οὐκ ἠθέλησε κάκεινῳ πεφοινευκέναι ὡς πάντως μετὰ μικρὸν τεθυνξόμενον.——Xiph. 222, 31–225, 4 R. St., Zon. 11, 20, p. 63, 1–9 D.

16 Καὶ οὖ γὰρ ἐστίν οὐδὲν τῶν τηλικοῦτων ἀπρόσπτων, ἀλλά τε ἐν αὐτῷ σημεῖα ἐγένετο οὐκ αἰσθα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ὑπερ τὸν τε Ρούστικον ἔφει προσιέναι οἱ, καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἢν ἐν τῷ κοιτῶν ἱδρυμένην εἰχε, τὰ ὤπλα ἀποβεβληκέναι καὶ ἐπὶ ἄρματος ἵππων μελάνων ἐς χάσμα ἐσπίπτειν ἐδοξείν, ὁ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα διὰ πάντων ἀξιον θαναμάσαι ἐστί, Λαργῖνος τις Πρόκλος δημοσία προειπὼν ἐν Γερμανίᾳ ὁτὶ τῇ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη ἐν ἡ ἀπέθανε τελευτήσει, ἀνεπέμφθη τε ἐς τὴν Ρώμην ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος, καὶ ἐσαχθεῖς πρὸς τὸν Δομιτιανὸν ἠφη καὶ τότε τοῦτο ὦτως ἔζειν, καὶ καταδικασθεῖς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀνεβλήθη τε ὄπως διαφυγόντος αὐτοῦ τῶν κίν-

1 ὤτι—φησάντων ζον., om. xiph.
2 πάντως VC, πάντων ζον.
3 ἐγεγέννητο ζον., ἐγεγέννητο VC.
4 ἐκ τοῦτο τῶν οὔδε ἔλπιζόντων Polak, οὔδε ἐκ τοῦτων ἔπιζόντων VC, κάκ τοῦτο τῶν ἐλπίζομένων ζον.
by astrologers who declared that he should be A.D. 95 sovereign. It was this last circumstance that made it easier for them to persuade him to accept the imperial power. Domitian, of course, had not failed to take careful note of the days and the hours when the foremost men had been born, and in consequence was destroying in advance not a few of those who were not even hoping for the attainment of power; and he would have slain Nerva, had not one of the astrologers who was friendly to the latter declared that the man would die within a few days. And so Domitian, believing that this would really come to pass, did not wish to be guilty of this additional murder, since Nerva was to die so soon in any case.

Since no event of such magnitude happens unforeseen, various unfavourable omens occurred in the case of Domitian. Among other things he himself dreamed that Rusticus approached him with a sword, and that Minerva, whose statue he kept in his bed-chamber, had thrown away her weapons, and, mounted upon a chariot drawn by black horses, was plunging into an abyss. But the most remarkable circumstance of all was the following. Larginus Proculus, having publicly announced in the province of Germany that the emperor would die on the day when he actually did die, had been sent on to Rome by the governor, and when brought before Domitian had again declared that it should so come to pass. He was accordingly condemned to death, but his execution was postponed in order that he might die

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5 πιστεύσας—τεθνήσθαινυν Zon., om. Xiph.
6 τε Sylb., γε VC.
7 οὐκ αἰσθα Zon., om. Xiph.
8 ἐπὶ θανάτῳ St., ἐπὶ θανάτων VC.

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δυνον ἀποθάνη, καὶ τούτῳ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ σφαγέντος ἐσώθη καὶ δέκα μυριάδας δραχμῶν
3 παρὰ τοῦ Νέρονα ἐλαβεν. ἐτερος τε τις πρό-
tερόν ποτε εἰπὼν αὐτῷ καὶ ὁπότε καὶ ὅπως
θαρησται, ἔπειτα ἔρωτηθεὶς ὅποιον αὐτὸς τέλει
τοῦ βίου χρησται, καὶ ἀποκρινόμενος ὅτι ὑπὸ
kυνῶν ἀναλωθῆσεται, ἐκελεύσθη μὲν ξὸν κατα-
καυθήναι καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῷ προσήχθη, ὅτε τε ἐν
τούτῳ πολλοῦ καταρρυμένος ἢ τε πυρὰ ἐσβέσθη
cal ἐκεῖνον κύνες ὅπισω τοῦ χείρε δεδεμένου καὶ
eπικείμενον ἐπ' αὐτῆς 1 εὐρώντες διεσπάραξαν.

17 ἊECTOR ὦ καὶ ἄλλο τι εἴπειν παραδοξότατον, ὦ
ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τάχιστα ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ἀνέστη
cal ἀναπαύσεσθαι τὸ μεθημερινὸν, ὥσπερ εἰώθης,
ἐμελλε, πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ ἔξοδος, ὦ ἀεὶ ποτὲ ὑπὸ
tὸ προσκεφαλαίῳ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνο, τὸ σιδήριον ὁ
Παρθένιος ἔξειλεν, ὅπως μὴ χρῆσθηται, ἔπειτα
tὸν Στέφανον ἔρρομενέστερον τῶν ἄλλων ὄντα
2 ἐσέπεμψεν καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐπληξε μὲν τὸν Δομιτιανόν,
οὐ μὴν καιρίαν, ἀλλὰ καταβληθείς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
ἐκείνο. οὕτω δὲ δείσας μὴ διαφύγῃ, ἐπεσεπή-
δησεν, ἤ ὡς γε τίς δοκεῖ, Μάξιμου ἐξελεύθερον
ἐπεσέπεμψε. καὶ ὦ τε Δομιτιανὸς οὕτω κατε-
sφάγη, καὶ ὁ Στέφανος παραχρῆμα συνδραμόν-
tῶν ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν οὐ συμμετεσχηκότων τῆς
συνωμοσίας προσαπώλετο. 2

18 Ὁ δ' εἴπον ὦτι ὑπὲρ πάντα τάλλα θαυμάσας
ἐχω, τὸδ' ἔστιν. Ἀπολλώνιος τῆς Τυανείς ἐν τε
τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ καὶ τῇ ὁρᾷ αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ ἐν ᾗ ὁ

1 ἐπ' αὐτῆς VC, αὐτῇ Zon.
2 προσαπώλετο Zon., om. Xiph.
after the emperor had escaped the danger; but in the meantime Domitian was slain, and so Proculus' life was saved and he received 400,000 sesterces from Nerva. Some one else, also, had told Domitian on a previous occasion both the time and the manner of his death, and then, upon being asked what manner of death he, the prophet, should meet, had replied that he should be devoured by dogs. Thereupon command was given that he should be burned alive, and the fire was applied to him; but just then there was a great downpour of rain, the pyre was extinguished, and later dogs found him lying upon it with his hands bound behind him and tore him to pieces.

I have one more astonishing fact to record, which I shall give after describing Domitian's end. As soon as he rose to leave the court-room and was ready to take his afternoon rest, as was his custom, first Parthenius removed the blade from the sword which always lay under his pillow, so that Domitian should not have the use of it, and then he sent in Stephanus, who was stronger than the others. Stephanus smote Domitian, and though it was not a fatal blow, the emperor was nevertheless knocked to the ground, where he lay prostrate. Then, fearing that he might escape, Parthenius rushed in, or, as some believe, he sent in Maximus, a freedman. Thus not only was Domitian murdered, but Stephanus, too, perished when those who had not shared in the conspiracy made a concerted rush upon him.

The matter of which I spoke, saying that it surprises me more than anything else, is this. A certain Apollonius of Tyana on that very day and at that very hour when Domitian was being murdered
Δομιτιανὸς ἐσφάττετο (τούτῳ γὰρ ὑστερον ἐκ τῶν ἐκατέρωθεν γενομένων ἡκριβώθη) ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τινα λίθουν ύψηλον ἐν Ἔφεσῳ, ἢ καὶ ἐτέρωθι, καὶ συγκαλέσας τὸ πλήθος ταῦτα εἶπε· "καλῶς, Στέφανε, εὖ γε, Στέφανε· παίε τὸν μαιφόνον. ἐπιλήξας, ἐτρωσας, ἀπεκτείνας." 2 τούτῳ μὲν οὕτως ἐγένετο, κἂν μυριάκις τις ἀπιστήσῃ Δομιτιανὸς δὲ ἐξησε μὲν ἑτη τέσσαρα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ 2 μῆνας δέκα καὶ ἡμέρας ἐξ καὶ εἴκοσιν, ἐμονάρχησε δὲ ἑτη πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ ἡμέρας πέντε. καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα Φυλλίς ἢ τροφὸς κλέψασα ἔθαψεν.—Xiph. 225, 4–226, 10 R. St.

1 Cf. Zonaras: ἐπὶ τινα ὃραν ἐνεδα ἐστη, ἐτα ἔξεβόησεν.
2 καὶ Zou., om. VC.
EPITOME OF BOOK LXVII

(as was afterwards accurately determined by events A.D. 96 that happened in both places) mounted a lofty rock at Ephesus (or possibly it was somewhere else) and having called together the populace,\(^1\) uttered these words: "Good, Stephanus! Bravo, Stephanus! Smite the bloodthirsty wretch! You have struck, you have wounded, you have slain." This is what actually happened, though one should doubt it ten thousand times over. Domitian had lived forty-four years, ten months and twenty-six days, and had reigned fifteen years and five days. His body was stolen away and was buried by his nurse Phyllis.

\(^1\) Zonaras adds: "stood there speechless for some time, and then cried out."
1 Μετὰ δὲ Δομιτιανὸν Νέροναν Κοκκήιον οἱ Ρωμαίοι ἀπέδειξαν αὐτοκράτορα. μίσει δὲ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ αἱ ἐκόνες αὐτοῦ, πολλαὶ μὲν ἄργυραὶ πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ χρυσαὶ οὖσαι, συνεχωνεύθησαν, καὶ ἔξι αὐτῶν μεγάλα χρήματα συνελέγη· καὶ αἱ ἄψεΐδες πλείσται δὴ ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ ποιούμεναι καθηρε-2 θησαν. καὶ ὁ Νέρονας τοὺς τε κρινομένους ἐπ' ἀσεβεία ἀφήκε καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας κατήγαγε, τοὺς τε δούλους καὶ τοὺς ἐξελευθέρους τοὺς τοῖς δεσπόταις σφῶν ἐπιβουλεύσαντας πάντας ἀπέ-κτεινε. καὶ τοῖς μὲν τοιούτοις οὕτ' ἄλλο τι ἔγκλημα ἐπιφέρειν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεσπότας ἐφήκε, τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἄλλοις οὕτ᾽ ἀσεβείας οὕτ᾽ Ἰουδαίκοι βίον καταπιάσθαι τίνας συνεχώρησε. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν συκοφαντησάντων θάνατον κατεδικά-σθησαν· ἐν οἷς καὶ Σέρας ἢν ὁ φιλόσοφος. 3 ταραχῆς οὖν γενομένης οὐ τῆς τυχούσης ἐκ τοῦ πάντας πάντων κατηγορεῖν, λέγεται Φρόντωνα τὸν ὑπατον εἰπεῖν ὡς κακὸν μὲν ἔστιν αὐτοκρά-τορα ἐχεῖν ἐφ᾽ οὐ μηδενὶ μηδὲν ἔξεστι ποιεῖν, χείρον δὲ ἐφ᾽ οὐ πᾶσι πάντα· καὶ ὁ Νέρονας ἀκούσας ταύτα ἀπηγόρευσε τοῦ λοιποῦ γίνεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἢν δὲ ὁ Νέρονας ὑπὸ τε τοῦ γῆρως καὶ ὑπ' ἀρρωστίας, ἄφ' ἢς καὶ τὴν τοσφήν ἀεί 360
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After Domitian, the Romans appointed Nerva A.D. 96 Cocceius emperor. Because of the hatred felt for Domitian, his images, many of which were of silver and many of gold, were melted down; and from this source large amounts of money were obtained. The arches, too, of which a very great number were being erected to this one man, were torn down. Nerva also released all who were on trial for maiestas and restored the exiles; moreover, he put to death all the slaves and the freedmen who had conspired against their masters and allowed that class of persons to lodge no complaint whatever against their masters; and no persons were permitted to accuse anybody of maiestas or of adopting the Jewish mode of life. Many of those who had been informers were condemned to death, among others Seras,¹ the philosopher. When, now, no little commotion was occasioned by the fact that everybody was accusing everybody else, Fronto, the consul, is said to have remarked that it was bad to have an emperor under whom nobody was permitted to do anything, but worse to have one under whom everybody was permitted to do everything; and Nerva, on hearing this, ordered that this condition of affairs should cease for the future. Now Nerva was so old and so feeble in health (he always, for instance, had

¹ The name is suspicious and is perhaps corrupt.

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2 ποτε ἦμει, ἀσθενέστερος. ἀπείπε δὲ καὶ ἀνδριάν· τας αὐτῷ ἡ χρυσοῦς ἡ ἀργυροῦς γύνεσθαι. τοῖς δὲ τῶν ὄνειρῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ μάτην ἐστερη-μένοις πάντα ἀπεδωκεν ὅσα ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ ἔτι ὄντα ἐυρέθη. τοῖς τε πάνυ πένησί τοῦ Ρωμαίων ἐς χιλιάδα καὶ πεντακοσίας μυριάδας γῆς κτήσιν ἐχαρίσατο, βουλευταῖς τισὶ τῆν τε ἀγορασίαν

2 αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν διανομὴν προστάξας. χρημάτων δὲ ἀπορῶν πολλὰ μὲν ἰμάτια καὶ σκεῦν καὶ ἀργυρὰ καὶ χρυσᾶ, ἀλλὰ τε ἐπιπλα καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ χορία καὶ οἰκίας, μάλλον δὲ πάντα πλὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἀπέδοτο· οὐ μέντοι καὶ περὶ τὰς τιμὰς αὐτῶν ἐμικρολογήσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ

3 τούτῳ πολλῶν εὐνυγρήτησε. καὶ πολλὰς μὲν θυσίας πολλὰς δὲ ἱπποδρομίας ἀλλὰς τε τινὰς θέας κατέλυσε, συστέλλων ως οἶον τε τὰ δα-πανήματα. ὤμοσε δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ μηδένα τῶν βουλευτῶν φονεύσειν, ἐβεβαιώσε· τε τῶν ὄρκων καὶ περὶ ἐπιβουλευθεῖς. ἔπραττε δὲ οὐδέν

4 ὁ τι μὴ μετὰ τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν. ἐνομοθέτησε δὲ ἀλλὰ τε καὶ περὶ τοῦ μὴ εὐνουχίζεσθαι των μηδε ἀδελφιδὴν γαμείων. τὸν δὲ Ὀυεργίνον, καὶ περὶ πολλὰς αὐτοκράτορα ὅνο-μασθέντα, οὐκ ἤκουσεν ὑπατεύσας συνάρχοντα προσλαβέων· ἐφ' οὗ τῷ μικρότατο τελευτήσαντος ἐπιγράφῃ ὅτι νικήσας Οὐίνδικα τῷ κράτος οὐχ ἐαυτῷ περιεποίησατο ἀλλὰ τῇ πατρίδι.

3 Νέρουας δὲ οὕτως ἦρξε καλῶς ὡστε ποτὲ

1 αὐτῷ Bk., αὐτῷ VC.  
2 ἐκ supplied by Bk.  
3 μηδὲ Bk., μήτε VC.

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to vomit up his food) that he was rather weak. He a.d. 96 also forbade the making of gold or silver statues in his honour. To those who had been deprived of their property without cause under Domitian he gave back all that was still to be found in the imperial treasury. To the very poor Romans he granted allotments of land worth 60,000,000 sesterces, putting some senators in charge of their purchase and distribution. When he ran short of funds, he sold much wearing apparel and many vessels of silver and gold, besides furniture, both his own and that which belonged to the imperial residence, and many estates and houses—in fact, everything except what was indispensable. He did not, however, haggle over the price, but in this very matter benefited many persons. He abolished many sacrifices, many horse-races, and some other spectacles, in an attempt to reduce expenditures as far as possible. In the senate he took oath that he would not slay any of the senators, and he kept his pledge in spite of plots against himself. Moreover, he did nothing without the advice of the foremost men. Among his various laws were those prohibiting the castration of any man, and the marrying by any man of his own niece. When consul he did not hesitate a.d. 97 to take as his colleague Virginius Rufus, though this man had often been saluted as emperor. After Rufus' death an inscription was placed on his tomb to the effect that, after conquering Vindex, he had claimed the power, not for himself, but for his country.¹

Nerva ruled so well that he once remarked: “I

¹ Cf. lxiii. 25 and Pliny, Epist. vi. 10.
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εἰπεῖν "οὔδεν τοιούτων πεποίηκα ὅστε μὴ δύνασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν τε καταθέσθαι καὶ ἁσφαλῶς
2 ἰδιωτεύσαι." Κράσσου τε Καλπουρνίου, τῶν Κράσσων ἐκείνων ἐγγόνου, ἐπιβεβουλευκότος
μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων αὐτῶν, παρεκαθίσατο τε αὐτούς ἐν τινὶ θέα ἀγνοοῦντας ἑτὶ ὅτι καταμεμήνυνται,
καὶ ἐδωκὼν αὐτοῖς ἐξῆς, λόγῳ μὲν ἵν ἐπισκέψωνται αὐτά, ὅπερ εἰσῆθε γίνεσθαι, εἴ δέ έστιν,
ἐργῷ δὲ ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτῷ μέλει κἂν αὐτοῦ παραχρήμα ἀποθάνη. 3

3 Αἰλιανὸς δὲ ὁ Κασπέριος ἄρχων καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ,
καθὰ περ ὑπὸ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ, τῶν δορυφόρων
γενόμενοι τοὺς στρατιῶτας ἐστασίασε κατ' αὐτοῖ,
παρασκευάσας ἐξαιτησάι τινας ὡστε θανατωθήν
ναι. 1 πρὸς οὖς Ὁ Νέρους τοσοῦτον ἀντέσχεν
ὡστε καὶ τὴν κλείν ἀπογυμνώσας καὶ τὴν σφαγὴν
αὐτοῦ προδέξα ὅπου μὴ τι καὶ ἡνυσήν ἀλλ'

4 ἀνηρέθησαν οὖς ὁ Αἰλιανὸς ἐβουλήθη. ὅθεν ὁ
Νέρους διὰ τὸ γῆρας οὔτω καταφρονοῦμενος
ἀνέβη τε ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, καὶ ἐφὴ γεγονήσας
"ἀγαθὴ τύχη τῆς τε θουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν
Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἔμοι αὐτοῦ Μάρκον Οὐλπιον
Νέρουαν Τραίανον ποιούμαι." 2

1 Cf. Joann. Antioch. (fr. 110 M. v. 1–6): ὁτι Νέρβας,
ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τινων διὰ τὸ γῆρας καταφρονηθείσε ἐπεβουλεύθη πολλάκις,
cal τὸν Πετρανῖον καὶ τὸν Παρθένοιον, προσφιλεστάτοις οἱ ὄντας, ἐκδοναι τοῖς στρατιώταις πρὸς Αἰλιανοῦ τοῦ τῶν δορυφόρων
ἡγουμένον ἐβιάσθη· ἐφ' οἷς δὴ καὶ σφόδρα ἢμιατο.

2 Cf. Leo (p. 283, 6–9 Cram. = Cedr. 1, p. 433, 20–434,
2 B.): ἐκ Παιονίας δὲ ἀγγελία ἐπινικίων ἐλθοῦσα παρὰ Τραίανοῦ,
ἀνελθὼν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ καὶ λεβανωτῶν ἐπιθύμας, στὰς τε ἐπὶ
βήματος καὶ μεγάλα βοῶν τῆς τοῦ Βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν
Ῥωμαίων παρὼντων, ἐφὴ "ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ Μάρκος Νέρβας Τραίανον
νικηφοροῦμαι."
EPITOME OF BOOK LXVIII

have done nothing that would prevent my laying A.D. 97 down the imperial office and returning to private life in safety." When Calpurnius Crassus, a descendant of the famous Crassi, had formed a plot with some others against him, he caused them to sit beside him at a spectacle (they were still ignorant of the fact that they had been informed upon) and gave them swords, ostensibly to inspect and see if they were sharp (as was often done), but really in order to show that he did not care even if he died then and there.

Casperius Aelianus, who had become commander of the Praetorians under him as he had been under Domitian, incited the soldiers to mutiny against him, after having induced them to demand certain persons for execution. Nerva resisted them stoutly, even to the point of baring his collar-bone and presenting to them his throat; but he accomplished nothing, and those whom Aelianus wished were put out of the way. Nerva, therefore, finding himself held in such contempt by reason of his old age, ascended the Capitol and said in a loud voice: “May good success attend the Roman senate and people and myself. I hereby adopt Marcus Ulpius Nerva Trajan.”

1 Cf. Joann. Antioch.: As plots were being formed against him frequently by various men who held him in contempt because of his age, Nerva was forced to surrender Petronius and Parthenius, who were very dear to him, at the instance of Aelianus, the commander of the Praetorians; and he was greatly grieved at this.

2 Cf. Leo (= Cedrenus): When a message of victory came from Trajan in Paeonia, he went up to the Capitol and offered incense, then mounted a platform and speaking in a loud voice in the presence of the Roman senate and people, he said: “May good success attend us. I, Marcus Nerva, hereby adopt Trajan as my son.”
Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ Καῖσαρά τε αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε, καὶ ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ αὐτοχειρία (ἠρχε δὲ τῆς Γερμανίας ἐκείνος)

τίσειαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυνα σοῖς βέλεσιν.

4 Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Τραϊάνος Καῖσαρ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτοκράτωρ ἐγένετο, καὶ τοῖς συγγενῶν τοῦ Νέρουα ὄντων τινῶν. ἀλλὰ οὖ γὰρ τῆς τῶν κοινῶν σωτηρίας ὁ ἀνήρ τὴν συγγένειαν προετιμήσει, οὐδ' αὐθίνῃ ἦν, ὥστε παρὰ τοῦτο αὐτῶν

1 εποιήσατο, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς πρόσθεν ἀλλοεθνῆς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κράτος ἐσχῆκεν· τὴν γὰρ ἁρτὴν ἀλλ' οὖ τὴν πατρίδα τινὸς ἐξετάζειν δεῖν ἔφεσον. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα μετήλλαξεν, ἄρξεις ἔτει ἐνὶ καὶ μησὶ τέσσαρι καὶ ἡμέραις έννεα· προεβεβίωκει δὲ 2 πέντε καὶ ἐξήκοντα ἑτη καὶ μήνας δέκα καὶ ἡμέρας δέκα.

5 Τραϊάνος δὲ ὅπως ἐγεγόνει, πρὶν αὐταρχῆσαι, τολμῶν δὲ· ἐδόκει τῶν προσβύτην ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἐσπόρητο περιπορφύρῳ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ στεφάνῳ ἐστολεμένου, οἷα ποιού ἡ ἔρευνσιν γραφοῦσι, δακτυλίῳ τινὶ σφραγίδᾳ αὐτῷ ἑσ τὴν ἀριστερὰν σφαγὴν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὴν δεξιὰν

2 ἐπὶ βεβληκόντα. ὡς δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐγένετο, ἐπεστείλε τῇ Βουλῇ αὐτοχειρία ἄλλα τε καὶ ὡς οὐδένα ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ἀποσφάξῃ ἢ ἀτιμᾶσοι, καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ὄρκοις οὔ τότε μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ύστερον ἐπιστῶσατο.

1 αὐτῶν Reim., αὐτὸς VC.
2 προεβεβίωκει δὲ Bs., προεβεβίωκει δὲ V, προεβεβήκει δὲ C, προεβεβήκει δ' ἐς Rk.
Afterwards in the senate he appointed him Caesar A.D. 97 and sent a message to him written with his own hand (Trajan was governor of Germany):

“May the Danaans by thy shafts requite my tears.”

Thus Trajan became Caesar and later emperor, although there were relatives of Nerva living. But Nerva did not esteem family relationship above the safety of the State, nor was he less inclined to adopt Trajan because the latter was a Spaniard instead of an Italian or Italiot, inasmuch as no foreigner had previously held the Roman sovereignty; for he believed in looking at a man’s ability rather than at his nationality. Soon after this act he passed away, A.D. 98 having ruled one year, four months and nine days; his life prior to that time had comprised sixty-five years, ten months and ten days.

Trajan, before he became emperor, had had a dream of the following nature. He thought that an old man in purple-bordered toga and vesture and with a crown upon his head, as the senate is represented in pictures, impressed a seal upon him with a finger ring, first on the left side of his neck and then on the right. When he became emperor, he sent a letter to the senate, written with his own hand, in which he declared, among other things, that he would not slay nor disfranchise any good man; and he confirmed this by oaths not only at the time but also later.

1 Homer, II. i. 43.

2 An Italian was one of the old Italian stock, an Italiot was a resident alien or descendant of foreign colonists in Italy, the name being applied particularly to the Greek stock in Southern Italy.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

4 Αἱμιανὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους τοὺς κατὰ Νέρουν στασιάσαντας, ὡς καὶ χρησόμενός τι αὐτοῖς, μεταπεμψάμενος ἐκποδῶν ἐποίησατο. ἐς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ἑσελθὼν πολλὰ ἐποίει πρὸς τε διόρθωσιν τῶν κοινῶν καὶ πρὸς χάριν τῶν ἁγαθῶν, ἐκεῖνων τε διαφιερότωτος ἐπιμελούμενος, ὡς καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πρὸς τὴν τῶν παίδων τροφῆν πολλὰ χαρίσασθαι, καὶ τούτους εὔεργετῶν. Πλωτίνα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ὅτε πρῶτον ἦς ἐσῆ, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀναβαθμούς καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος μεταστραφεῖσα εἶπε ἡ τοιαύτη μεντοῦ ἐντάθθα ἐσέρχομαι οἷα καὶ ἑξελθεῖν βούλομαι," καὶ οὗτο γε ἑαυτὴν ἄντικα μᾶς τῆς ἀρχῆς διήγαγεν ὡστε μηδεμίαν ἐπηγορίαν σχείν.—Xiph. 226, 18–229, 29 R. St.

15, 2 Ὅστι ὁ Τραίανὸς τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς παρά τῶν βασιλέων ἀφικνουμένους ἐν τῷ βουλευτικῷ θεάσασθαι ἐποίει.—Exc. U 46 (p. 401).

6 Διατρίψας δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη χρόνον τινὰ ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Δακοῦς, τὰ τε πραχθέντα αὐτοῖς λογιζόμενος, τοῖς τε χρήμασιν ἄ κατ’ ἔτος ἐλάμβανον βαρυύμενος, τὰς τε δυνάμεις αὐτῶν αὐξανομένας καὶ τὰ φρονήματα ὅρων. πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ Δεκέβαλος τὴν ὅρμην αὐτοῦ ἐφοβῆθη, ἀτε καὶ εὐ εἰδῶς ὅτι πρότερον μὲν οὐ Ῥωμαίοις ἀλλὰ Δομιτιανοῦ ἐνενικήκει, τότε δὲ ὡς πρὸς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ πρὸς Τραίανὸν αὐτοκράτορα πολεμήσοι.

Πλείστου γὰρ ἐπὶ τε δικαιότητι καὶ ἐπ' ὑπερὸς τῇ τε ἀπλότητι τῶν ἠθῶν διέπρεπε. 3 τῷ

1 αὐτοῖς Sylb., αὐτοῖς VC.
2 Δεκέβαλος R. Steph., δεκέβανος VC.

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He sent for Aelianus and the Praetorians who had a.d. 98
mutinied against Nerva, pretending that he was
going to employ them for some purpose, and then
put them out of the way. When he came to Rome, a.d. 99
he did much to reform the administration of affairs
and much to please the better element; to the
public business he gave unusual attention, making
many grants, for example, to the cities in Italy for
the support of their children, and upon the good
citizens he conferred many favours. When Plotina,
his wife, first entered the palace, she turned round
so as to face the stairway and the populace and
said: "I enter here such a woman as I would fain
be when I depart." And she conducted herself
during the entire reign in such manner as to incur
no censure.

The ambassadors who came from the various kings
were given seats by Trajan in the senatorial section
at spectacles.

After spending some time in Rome he made a
campaign against the Dacians; for he took into
account their past deeds and was grieved at the
amount of money they were receiving annually, and
he also observed that their power and their pride
were increasing. Decebalus, learning of his advance,
became frightened, since he well knew that on the
former occasion it was not the Romans that he had
conquered, but Domitian, whereas now he would
be fighting against both Romans and Trajan, the
emperor.

Trajan was most conspicuous for his justice, for
his bravery, and for the simplicity of his habits. He

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3 διέπρεπε cod. Peir.; διέπρεψε VC.
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τε γὰρ σώματι ἔρρωτο (δεύτερον γὰρ καὶ τεσσαράς ἀλλοις τῶν ἀγῶν ἔτος ἦρξεν) ὡς εξ ἵσου πάντα τοῖς ἠπειρεῖ τινὰ πονεῖσθαι, καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ἠκμαξεν ὡς μὴ ὑπὸ νεότητος θρασύνεσθαι μήθ' ὑπὸ γῆρως ἀμβλύνεσθαι. καὶ οὕτ' ἐφθόνει οὕτε καθηρει τινὰ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνω πάντας τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἐτίμα καὶ ἐμεγάλυνε, καὶ διὰ τῦτο ὦτε ἐφοβεῖτό τινα αὐτῶν οὕτε ἐμίσει. διαβολαῖς τε ἡκιστα ἐπίστευε, καὶ ὅργῃ ἡκιστα ἐδουλοῦτο, τῶν τε χρημάτων τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἵσα καὶ φόνων τῶν ἀδίκων ἀπείχετο. καὶ ἐδαπάνα πάμπολλα μὲν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους πάμπολλα δὲ ἐς τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ἔργα, καὶ πλείστα καὶ ἀναγκαίωτατα καὶ ἐν ὁδοίς καὶ ἐν λιμέσι καὶ ἐν οἴκοδομήματι δημοσίως κατασκευάσας οὕδενος αἴμα ἐς οὔδεν αὐτῶν ἀνάλω-2 σεν. οὕτως γὰρ που καὶ μεγαλοφρών καὶ μεγαλογνώμων ἐφι ὀστε καὶ τῷ ἰπποδρόμῳ ἐπι- γράψας ὧτε ἐξαρκοῦτα αὐτῶν 1 τῷ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων δήμῳ ἐποίησεν, ἐπειδὴ διαφθαρέντα πῃ καὶ μεῖξω 3 καὶ περικαλλέστερον ἐξειργάσατο. φιλούμενός τε οὖν ἐπι αὐτῶς μᾶλλον ἡ τιμώμενος ἔχαιρε, καὶ τῷ τῇ δήμῳ μετ' ἐπιεικείας συνεγίνετο καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ σεμνοπρεπῶς ὤμιλει, ἀγαπητὸς μὲν πᾶσι, φοβερὸς δὲ μηδενὶ πλὴν πολεμίως ὄν, καὶ γὰρ θήρας καὶ συμποσίων ἐργων τε καὶ βου- λευμάτων σκορπίαν ἐφεροθεί γι' ἀνακαλύπτων τούτων τε συμμετείχε σφίστη, καὶ πολλάκις καὶ τέταρτος ὥρχειτο, ἐς τὰς οἰκίας αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνευ γε φρουρᾶς ἐστιν ὧν ἐσιῶν εὐθυ-4 μεῖτο. παιδείας μὲν γὰρ ἄκριβοις, ὄση ἐν λόγοις, οὐ μετέσχε, τὸ γε μὴν ἐργον αὐτῆς καὶ ἡπίστατο καὶ ἐποίει. οὔδε ἐστιν ο τι οὐκ ἁριστουν εἰχε.

1 αὐτῶν H. Steph., αὐτῶν VC.
was strong in body, being in his forty-second year A.D. 100 (?) when he began to rule, so that in every enterprise he toiled almost as much as the others; and his mental powers were at their highest, so that he had neither the recklessness of youth nor the sluggishness of old age. He did not envy nor slay any one, but honoured and exalted all good men without exception, and hence he neither feared nor hated any one of them. To slanders he paid very little heed and he was no slave of anger. He refrained equally from the money of others and from unjust murders. He expended vast sums on wars and vast sums on works of peace; and while making very many urgently needed repairs to roads and harbours and public buildings, he drained no one's blood for any of these undertakings. He was so high-minded and generous that, after enlarging and embellishing the Circus, which had crumbled away in places, he merely inscribed on it a statement that he had made it adequate for the Roman people. For these deeds, now, he took more pleasure in being loved than in being honoured. His association with the people was marked by affability and his intercourse with the senate by dignity, so that he was loved by all and dreaded by none save the enemy. He joined others in the chase and in banquets, as well as in their labours and plans and jests. Often he would take three others into his carriage, and he would enter the houses of citizens, sometimes even without a guard, and enjoy himself there. Education in the strict sense he lacked, when it came to speaking, but its substance he both knew and applied; and there was no quality which he did not possess in a high degree.
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cαι οίδα μὲν ὅτι καὶ περὶ μειράκια καὶ περὶ οίνου ἐσπονδάκει. ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν τι ἐκ τούτων ἢ αἰσχρόν ἢ κακὸν ἢ ἐδεδράκει ἢ ἐπεπόνθει, ἐπηγορίαν ἀν εἰχε, νῦν δὲ τοῦ τε οἴνου διακόρως ἐπινε καὶ νήφων ἦν, ἐν τε τοῖς παιδικοῖς οἴδενα ἐλύπησεν. 5 εἰ δὲ καὶ φιλοπόλεμος ἦν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε κατορθώσει καὶ τοῦ ἐχθίστου μὲν καθαίρεσε τοῦ οἰκείου δὲ αὐξήσει ἤρκειτο. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ’ ὅπερ εἴωθεν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις γίγνεσθαι, τὸ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξογκούσθαι τε καὶ ὑπερφρονεῖν, συνέβη ποτὲ ἅπ’ αὐτοῦ. οὕτως ἐγκρατῶς αὐτῶν ἤρχε.—Xiph. 229, 29–231, 2 R. St., Exc. Val. 286 (p. 708), Suid. s.vv. ἀμβλύνω, ἥκμαζεν, καθήμει, μῆθ᾽ ὑπὸ νεότητος, πονεῖσθαι.

8 Διὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀπεικότως ὁ Δεκέβαλος αὐτὸν ἐδεδείε· στρατεύσαντι δὲ τῷ Τραϊανῷ κατὰ τῶν Δακῶν καὶ ταῖς Τάταις, 2 ἐνθὰ ἐστρατοτέ- δενος οἱ βάρβαροι, πλησίασαντι μύκης μέγας προσεκομίσθη, 3 γράμμασι Λατίνοις λέγων ὅτι ἀλλοι τε τῶν συμμάχων καὶ Βοῦροι 4 παραίνοσι. 2 Τραϊανὸς ὁπίσω ἀπειέναι καὶ εἰρήνησαι. συμβαλὼν δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ Τραϊανὸς πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν οἰκείων τραυματίας ἐπείδη, πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέκτεινεν· ὅτε 5 καὶ ἐπιλιπόντων τῶν ἐπιδέσμων οὐδὲ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ ἐσθήτος λέγεται φείσασθαι, ἀλλ’ ἐς τὰ λαμπάδια ταῦτην κατατεμεῖν, 6 τοῖς δὲ τελευ-

1 τοῦ τε H. Steph., τοῦτο VC.
2 Cf. Tzetz. Chil. ii. 62 f.: πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἱστρον πεφθακάς Τραϊανὸς εὐθέως Ρωμαίοις διεπάρθησαν ὀλκάσι πρὸς τοὺς Δάκας.
I know, of course, that he was devoted to boys and to wine, but if he had ever committed or endured any base or wicked deed as the result of this, he would have incurred censure; as it was, however, he drank all the wine he wanted, yet remained sober, and in his relation with boys he harm no one. And even if he did delight in war, nevertheless he was satisfied when success had been achieved, a most bitter foe overthrown and his countrymen exalted. Nor did the result which usually occurs in such circumstances—conceit and arrogance on the part of the soldiers—ever manifest itself during his reign; with such a firm hand did he rule them.

For these reasons, then, Decebalus had good cause to fear him. When Trajan in his campaign against the Dacians had drawn near Tapae,¹ where the barbarians were encamped, a large mushroom was brought to him on which was written in Latin characters a message to the effect that the Buri and other allies advised Trajan to turn back and keep the peace. Nevertheless he engaged the foe, and saw many wounded on his own side and killed many of the enemy. And when the bandages gave out, he is said not to have spared even his own clothing, but to have cut it up into strips. In

¹ Cf. Tzetzes: And Trajan, having reached the Ister, immediately ferried the Romans across in merchantmen against the Dacians.
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tήσασι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ βωμῶν τε στήσαι καὶ κατ' ἔτος ἔναγιζειν κελεύσαι.—Xiph. 231, 2–13 R. St.

9 "Ὅτι ὁ Δεκέβαλος ἐπεπόμφθη μὲν καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἡττῆς πρέσβεις, οὐκέτι τῶν κομητῶν ὀπερ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ τῶν πιλοφόρων τοὺς ἀρίστους.

καὶ ἔκεινοι τὰ τε ὀπλα ῥίψαντες καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐς τὴν γῆν καταβαλόντες ἐδέηθησαν τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ πάλιστα μὲν αὐτῷ τῷ Δεκέβαλῳ καὶ ἐς ὅψιν καὶ ἐς λόγους αὐτοῦ ἐλθεῖν, ὡς καὶ πάντα τὰ κελευσθησόμενα ποιήσοντες, ἐπιτραπῆναι, εἰ δὲ μῆ, σταλῆναι γέ τινα τοῦ συμβήσομεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπέμφθη ο Ὁ σούρας καὶ Κλαύδιος Λιονιανὸς 2

3 ὁ ἐπαρχὸς. ἐπράξη πει σφν᾽ ὁ γὰρ Δεκέβαλος ουδὲ ἐκείνοις ἐτόλμησε συμμίξαι, ἐπεμψε δὲ καὶ τότε. ὁ δὲ Τραϊανὸς ὄρη τε ἐντετειχίσμενα ἔλαβε, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὰ τε ὀπλα τὰ τε μηχανήματα τὰ αἰχμαλώτα τὸ τε σημεῖον τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ Φούσκου ἄλον εὑρε. δι᾽ οὗν ταῦτα ὁ Δεκέβαλος, ἀλλωσ τε

8, 3 Ὅσ δὲ καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ ἀκρα ἐπεχειρῆσαι ἀναβῆναι, λόφους ἐκ λόφων μετὰ κυδώνων καταλαμβάνων, καὶ τοις τῶν Δακῶν βασιλείως ἐπέλασεν, ὁ τε Δούσιος ἐτέρωθι προσβαλῶν καὶ

1 Cf. Petr. Patr. exc. de leg.6 4 (Hoesch. p. 15=fr. 5 Muell. Fragm. hist. Graec. 4 pp. 185 sq.): στὶ Δεκέβαλος πρός Τραϊανὸν πρέσβεις ἐπεμψε πιλοφόρους· οὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς οἱ τιμιώτεροι· πρότερον γὰρ κομήτας ἐπεμπε, εὐτελεστέρους δοκοῦντας παρ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ἔρριψαν καὶ τὰ ὀπλὰ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ὑπισθεν δήσαντες ἐν αἰχμαλώτων τάξει ἐδέωντο τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ εἰς λόγους ἐλθεῖν Δεκέβαλον.

2 Λιονιανὸς Βκ., λιβιανὸς ΑΒ, λιβιανὸς Μ.
honour of the soldiers who had died in the battle A.D. 102 he ordered an altar to be erected and funeral rites to be performed annually.

Decebalus had sent envoys even before his defeat, not the long-haired men this time, as before, but the noblest among the cap-wearers.1 These threw down their arms, and casting themselves upon the ground, begged Trajan that, if possible, Decebalus himself should be permitted to meet and confer with him, promising that he would do everything that was commanded; or, if not, that someone at least should be sent to agree upon terms with him. Those sent were Sura and Claudius Livianus, the prefect; but nothing was accomplished, since Decebalus did not dare to meet them either, but sent envoys also on this occasion. Trajan seized some fortified mountains and on them found the arms and the captured engines, as well as the standard which had been taken in the time of Fuscus. Decebalus, because

But when he undertook to ascend the heights themselves, captured one crest after another amid dangers and approached the capital of the Dacians, while Lusius, attacking in another quarter, slew great

1 Cf. Petrus Patricius: Decebalus sent cap-wearers as envoys to Trajan; for these are the more honourable men among them. Previously he had been sending long-haired men, who are held of less repute among them. When these latest envoys came to Trajan, they threw down their arms, and binding their hands behind their backs after the manner of captives, they begged Trajan to hold a conference with Decebalus.

3 τὰ Sylb., τὰ ἑπ' VC.
4 Δούκιος H. Steph., λούκιος VC.
καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Μάξιμος ἐν τῷ αὐτῶ χρόνῳ τὴν τε ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ χωρίων τι ἱσχυρὸν εἶλεν, 1 οὐδὲν ὁ τι οὐχ ἐτοίμως τῶν προσταχθέντων 2 ἐσχε συνθέσθαι, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἐμμενεῖν 3 αὐτοῖς ἐμμελλεν, 5 ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἀναπνεύσῃ. τὰ γὰρ ὀπλα καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα τούς τε μηχανοποιοὺς παραδοῦναι καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἀποδοῦναι, τὰ τε ἑρώματα καθελεῖν καὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς ἐαλοκνίας ἀποστηναι, καὶ προσέτε τούτε αὐτοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ 6 φίλους τοῖς Ἱωμαίοις νομίζειν, καὶ μήτ' αὐτόμολον 4 τινα ὑποδέχεσθαι μήτε στρατιώτη τινι ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἱωμαίων ἀρχῆς χρῆσθαι (τοὺς γὰρ πλείστους τούς τε ἀριστοὺς ἐκείθεν ἀναπείθων προσεποιεῖτο) καὶ ἀκον ὑμολόγησε, πρὸς τὸν Τραῖανον ἔλθων καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν πεσὼν καὶ προσκυνήσας αὐτὸν 5 7 καὶ τὰ ὀπλα ἀπορρίψας. καὶ πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐπεμψεν, ὅπως καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου τὴν εἰρήνην βεβαιώσῃ. ταῦτα

ἐφόνευσε πολλοὺς καὶ ἐξώγησε πλείονας, την-καῦτα ὁ Δεκέβαλος πρέσβεις πέμψας τοὺς ἀριστοὺς τῶν πιλοφόρων καὶ δὲ αὐτῶν τῷ αὐτοκράτορος δεηθεὶς, οὐδὲν ὁ τι οὐχ ἐτοίμως τῶν προσταχθέντων 6 ἐσχε συνθέσθαι.—Xiphilinus (231, 13–16 R. St.), who gives this in place of ch. 9, §§ 1–4.

1 εἶλεν Reim., εἶχεν ABM.
2 προσταχθέντων Reim., προσταθέντων ABM.
3 ἐμμενεῖν Bk., ἐμμένειν ABM.
4 αὐτόμολον Petr. Patricius, αὐτὸν ὅλως ABM.
of this, coupled with the fact that Maximus had at A.D. 102 this same time captured his sister and also a strong position, was ready to agree without exception to every demand that had been made—not that he intended to abide by his agreement, but in order that he might secure a respite from his temporary reverses. So he reluctantly engaged to surrender his arms, engines and engine-makers, to give back the deserters, to demolish the forts, to withdraw from captured territory, and furthermore to consider the same persons enemies and friends as the Romans did, and neither to give shelter to any of the deserters nor to employ any soldier from the Roman empire; for he had been acquiring the largest and best part of his force by persuading men to come to him from Roman territory. This was after he had come to Trajan, fallen upon the ground and done obeisance and thrown away his arms. He also sent envoys in the matter to the senate, in order that he might secure the ratification of the peace by that body.

numbers and captured still more alive, then Decebalus sent as envoys the noblest of the cap-wearers and through them besought the emperor; he was ready to agree without exception to every demand that had been made.¹

¹ This account is given by Xiphilinus immediately after ch. 8, 2, where, indeed, most editors have placed it. But the achievements of Trajan here recorded seem to fix its place between § 3 and § 4, and Boissevain so prints it. In this brief account Xiphilinus mentions the cap-wearers out of their proper place.

⁵ αὐτῶν ΑΒΜ, αὐτῶ VC Ζον.
⁶ προταχθέντων R. Steph., προταχθέντων Β, προταχθέντων C.
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συνθέμενος καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν Ζερμιζεγε-θουσή 1 καταλιπών, τὴν τε ἄλλην χώραν φρουρᾶς διαλαβῶν, ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀνεκομίσθη.—Exc. Ug 47 (p. 401), Xiph. 231, 16–24 R. St.

10 Καὶ οἱ παρὰ τοῦ Δεκεβάλου πρεσβεῖς ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσῆχθησαν, τὰ τε ὅπλα καταθέντες συνήψαν τὰς χειρὰς ἐν αἰχμαλώτων 2 σχήματι καὶ εἰπόν τε τινα καὶ ἱκέτευσαν, καὶ οὖτω τὴν τε εἰρήνην ἐσπείραστο καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἀπέλαβον.

2 Τραῖνος δὲ τὰ τε νυκτὴρια ἤγαγε καὶ Δακικοὸς ἐπωνυμάσθη, ἐν τε τῷ θεάτρῳ μονομάχοις συνεβαλε (καὶ γὰρ ἐχαίρειν αὐτοῖς), καὶ τοὺς ὀρχήστας ἐς τὸ θεάτρον ἐπανήγαγε (καὶ γὰρ ἐνὸς αὐτῶν τοῦ Πυλάδου ἦρα), οὐ μέντοι, οία πολεμικὸς ἀνήρ, τἀλλα ἠττον διήγεν ἢ καὶ ἠττον ἐδίκαζεν, ἀλλὰ τοτὲ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἄγορᾷ τοῦ Ἀγούστου, τοτὲ δ' ἐν τῇ στοῖ τῇ Λιονία ὑνωμασμένη, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἀλλοθε ἐκρίνεν ἐπὶ βήματος.—Xiph. 231, 24–232, 2 R. St., Exc. Val. 287 (p. 708).

3 Ἐστεί δὲ ὁ Δεκέβαλος πολλὰ παρὰ τὰς συν-θήκας ἀπηγγέλλετο αὐτῷ ποιῶν, καὶ ὅπλα τε κατεσκευάζετο, καὶ τοὺς αὐτομολούντας ἐδέχετο, τὰ τε ἔρυματα ἐπεσκευάζε, παρὰ τε τοὺς ἀστυγείονιας ἐπρεσβεύετο, καὶ τοῖς τάναντια οἱ φρονήσατι πρότερον ἐλυμαίνετο, καὶ τῶν Ἰαζήγων καὶ χώραν τινα ἀπετέμετο (ὁν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπαιτήσασιν αὐτοῖς Τραῖνος οὐκ ἀπέδωκεν).

4 οὖτω δὴ καὶ αὕθεις πολέμιον αὐτῶν ἡ βουλὴ ἐψηφίσατο, καὶ ὁ Τραῖνος ὁ ἔαυτοῦ καὶ αὕθεις, ἀλλ' οὖ δὲ ἐτέρων στρατηγῶν, τὸν πρὸς ἐκείνων πόλεμων ἐποιήσατο.—Xiph. 232, 2–10 R. St.

378
After concluding this compact the emperor left A.D. 102
the camp at Zermizegethusa, and having stationed
garrisons here and there throughout the remainder
of the territory, returned to Italy.

The envoys from Decebalus, upon being brought
into the senate, laid down their arms, clasped their
hands in the attitude of captives, and spoke some
words of supplication; thus they obtained peace and
received back their arms. Trajan celebrated a
triumph and was given the title of Dacicus; in the
theatre he held contests of gladiators, in whom he
delighted, and he brought the dancers of pantomimes
back into the theatre, being enamoured of Pylades,
one of their number. He did not, however, as
might have been expected of a warlike man, pay
any less attention to the civil administration nor
did he dispense justice any the less; on the con-
trary, he conducted trials, now in the Forum of
Augustus, now in the Portico of Livia, as it was
called, and often elsewhere on a tribunal.

Inasmuch as Decebalus was reported to him to be
acting contrary to the treaty in many ways, was
collecting arms, receiving those who deserted, re-
pairing the forts, sending envoys to his neighbours
and injuring those who had previously differed with
him, even going so far as to annex a portion of the
territory of the Iazyges (which Trajan later would
not give back to them when they asked for it),
therefore the senate again declared him an enemy, A.D. 104
and Trajan once more conducted the war against
him in person instead of entrusting it to others.

1 Ζερμιγεθουση Leuntcl., Ζερμιγεθουση ΑΒ, Ζερμιγεθουση Μ.
2 αἰχμαλῶτων Ζον., αἰχμαλῶτον ΒC.
11 "ὤτι τῶν Δακῶν συχνῶν μεθισταμένων πρὸς Τραϊανὸν, καὶ δι’ ἄλλα τινά, ἐδείηθη αὕτης ὁ Δεκέβαλος εἰρήνης. ὡς δ’ οὖν ἐπείσθη τά τε ὁπλα καὶ ἕαυτὸν παραδοῦναι, τὰς δυνάμεις φανερῶς ἠθροίζε καὶ τους περιχώρους προσ-
2 παρεκάλει, λέγων ὦτι ἐὰν αὐτὸν ἑποίηυται καὶ 
αὐτοὶ κινδυνεύουσι,2 καὶ ὦτι ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ 
ῥᾶν μεθ’ ἕαυτοῦ, πρὶν τι κακῶν παθεῖν, ἀγωνι-
σάμενοι τῇν ἐλευθερίᾳν φυλάξουσιν ἢ ἀν σφᾶς 
tε ἀπολλυμένους περιίδωσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑστερον, 
ἐρημωθέντες τῶν συμμάχων χειρωθόσιν.3—Exc. 
Ug 48 (p. 402).

3 Καὶ ὁ Δεκέβαλος κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἱσχυρὸν κακῶς 
ἐπραττε, δόλῳ δὲ ἥ καὶ ἀπάτη ὅλιγον μὲν καὶ 
tοῦ Τραϊανὸν ἀπέκτεινε, πέμψας ἐς τὴν Μυσίαν 
αὐτομόλονς τινάς, εἰ πως αὐτῶν εὑπρόσδον ὄντα 
καὶ ἄλλος, τότε δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου 
χρείαν πάντα ἀπλῶς τὸν βουλόμενον ἐς λόγους 
δεχόμενον κατεργάσαντο. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὖν 
ἡδυνήθησαν4 πράξαι, συλληφθέντος τινὸς ἐξ 
ὑποψίας καὶ πάν τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα αὐτὸν ἑκ 
βασά-
12 νῶν ὀμολογήσαντος. Λογγίων δὲ τινὰ στρατο-
πέδου Ῥωμαίκου ἔξηγούμενον καὶ δείτων ἐν τοῖς 
pολέμοις 5 αὐτῶ γεγενημένον προσκαλεσάμενος, 
καὶ ἀναπείσας συμμικταὶ οἱ ὅς καὶ τὰ προστα-
χθησόμενα ποιήσων, συνέλαβε καὶ ἀνέκρινε 
δημοσία περὶ τῶν τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ βουλευμάτων, 
ἐπειδὴ τε μηδὲν ὀμολογήσαι ἠθέλησεν, ἐν ἀδέσμω 
2 φυλακῇ περιήγε.6 καὶ πρέσβιω τινὰ πέμψας

1 αὐτῶν Urs., αὐτῶν MSS.
2 κινδυνεύουσι Urs., κινδυνεύουσι MSS.
3 χειρωθόσιν St., ἰδώσιν MSS.
As numerous Dacians kept transferring their allegiance to Trajan, and also for certain other reasons, Decebalus again sued for peace. But since he could not be persuaded to surrender both his arms and himself, he proceeded openly to collect troops and summon the surrounding nations to his aid, declaring that if they deserted him they themselves would be imperilled, and that it was safer and easier for them, by fighting on his side before suffering any harm, to preserve their freedom, than if they should allow his people to be destroyed and then later be subjugated themselves when bereft of allies.

Though Decebalus was faring badly in open conflict, nevertheless by craft and deceit he almost compassed Trajan's death. He sent into Moesia some deserters to see if they could make away with him, inasmuch as the emperor was generally accessible and now, on account of the exigencies of warfare, admitted to a conference absolutely every one who desired it. But they were not able to carry out this plan, since one of them was arrested on suspicion and under torture revealed the entire plot. Decebalus then sent an invitation to Longinus, a leader of the Roman army who had made himself a terror to the king in the wars, and persuaded him to meet him, on the pretext that he would do whatever should be demanded. He then arrested him and questioned him publicly about Trajan's plans, and when Longinus refused to admit anything, he took him about with him under guard, though not in bonds. And sending an envoy to Trajan, he
Πρὸς τὸν Τραϊάνον ἦξιον τὴν τε χώραν μέχρι τοῦ Ἰστροῦ κομίσασθαι καὶ τὰ χρήματα, ὅσα ἦσ τὸν πόλεμον ἐδεδαπανήκει, ἀπολαβεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τὸν Δογγίνων οἳ ἀποδοῦναι. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τινὰ αὐτῷ μέσα, ἦς ὅπον οὐτε ἐν μεγάλῳ οὔτε ἐν σμικρῷ λόγῳ τὸν Δογγίνων ποιεῖσθαι δόξειν
3 ἐμελλε, τοῦ μῆτ' ἀπολέσθαι αὐτῶν μῆτ' ἐπὶ πολλῷ σφίσιν ἀνασωθήμαι, Δεκέβαλος μὲν ἐτί διασκοπῶν ὁ τι πράξῃ ἀνείχε, Δογγίνοις δὲ ἐν τούτῳ φαρμάκῳ διὰ τοῦ ἀπελευθέρου ἐὔπορήσας ὑπέσχετο το αὐτῷ τὸν Τραϊάνον καταλλάξειν, ἢν ὡς ἤκιστα ὑποτοπήσῃ τὸ γενησόμενον, μὴ καὶ φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ ἀκριβεστέραν ποιήσηται, καὶ γράμματά τινα ἵκετειαν ἔχοντα γράφας ἔδωκε τῷ ἐξελευθέρῳ πρὸς τὸν Ἰστροῦ ἀποκομίσαι, 4 ἢν ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ γένηται. καὶ ὄστως ἀπελθόντος αὐτοῦ τὸ φάρμακον νυκτὸς ἐπὶε καὶ ἀπέθανε. γενομένου δὲ τούτου ὁ Δεκέβαλος ἐξήτησε παρὰ τοῦ Τραϊάνον τὸν ἀπελευθέρου, τὸ τε σῶμα τοῦ Δογγίνων καὶ δέκα αἰχμαλώτους ἀντιδόσειν οἱ ὑποσχόμενος, καὶ εὐθὺς 2 γε τὸν ἐκατοντάρχην τὸν ἀλόντα μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐπεμψεν ὡς καὶ ταῦτα 5 διαπράξοντα· παρ' οὐ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὸν Δογγίνου ἐγνώσθη. οὐ μέντοι οὔτε ἐκείνων ὁ Τραϊάνος ἀπέπεμψεν οὔτε τὸν ἐξελευθέρου ἐξέδωκε, προ- τιμοτέραν τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀξίωμα τῆς τοῦ Δογγίνου ταφῆς ποιησάμενος.— Xiph. 232, 10–28 R. St., Exc. UG 49 (p. 402 sq.). 13 Ἰστροῦς δὲ γέφυραν λιθίνην ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ κατεσκευάσατο, περὶ ἡς οὐκ ἔχω πῶς ἄν ἄξιος

1 αὐτῷ ΑΒΜ, αὐτῷ τοῦ τραϊάνοι ΒϹ.
asked that he might receive back his territory as A.D. 104 far as the Ister and be indemnified for all the money he had spent on the war, in return for restoring Longinus to him. An ambiguous answer was returned, of such a nature as not to cause Decebalus to believe that Trajan regarded Longinus as either of great importance or yet of slight importance, the object being to prevent his being destroyed, on the one hand, or being preserved to them on excessive terms, on the other. So Decebalus delayed, still considering what he should do. In the meantime Longinus, having secured poison with the aid of the freedman, promised Decebalus to win Trajan over, hoping the king would thus have no suspicion of what he was going to do and so would not keep a very strict watch over him; also, in order to enable the freedman to gain safety, he wrote a letter containing a petition in his behalf and gave it to him to carry to Trajan. Then, when the other had gone, he drank the poison at night and died. Thereupon Decebalus demanded the freedman from Trajan, promising to give him in return the body of Longinus and ten captives. He at once sent the centurion who had been captured with Longinus, in order that he might arrange the matter; and it was from the centurion that the whole story of Longinus was learned. However, Trajan neither sent him back nor surrendered the freedman, deeming his safety more important for the dignity of the empire than the burial of Longinus.

Trajan constructed over the Ister a stone bridge for which I cannot sufficiently admire him. Brilliant,

2 ἐὖδος Dind., ἐὐθύ ABM.
αὐτὸν θαυμάσω· ἐστὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τάλλα αὐτοῦ ἔργα διαπρεπέστατα, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκεῖνα. ὥς γὰρ κρηπίδες εἰσὶ λίθου τετραπέδου εἴκοσι, τὸ μὲν ύψος πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν ποδῶν πλῆν 2 τῶν θεμελίων, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ἐξήκοντα· καὶ αὐταί ἐξομήκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων πόδας ἀπέχουσα ἀψίσι συναφοδόμηται. πῶς οὖκ ἂν τις τὸ ἀνάλωμα τὸ ἐς αὐτὰς δαπανηθέν θαυμάσει; πῶς δ' οὖκ ἂν τὸν τρόπον ἄν ἐκαστα αὐτῶν ἐν τε ποταμῷ πολλῷ καὶ ἐν υδατι δινώδει δαπέδῳ τε ἢνυδεί ἐγένετο; οὐ γὰρ τοῖς καὶ παρατρέψαι 3 3 ποι τὸ ἰεύμα ἡδυνήθη. τὸ δὲ δὴ πλάτος τοῦ ποταμοῦ εἴπον οὖν ὅτι διὰ τοσοῦτον ῥεῖ (καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ διπλάσιον ἔστιν οὐ καὶ ἐπὶ τριπλάσιον αὐτοῦ πελαγίζει), ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ τε στενωτάτον καὶ τὸ ἐπιτηδειότατον ἐς τὸ γεφυρωθῆναι τῶν ἐκεῖνη 4 χωρίων τοσοῦτον ἔστιν. ὅσο δὲ δὴ ἐς στενώ ταύτη ἐκ πελάγους μεγάλου καταβαίνων καὶ ἐς πελάγος αὐθίς μείζον προχωρῶν κατακλείεται, τόσο ποι καὶ ῥοῳδέστατος καὶ βαθύτατος ἵγγεται, ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν χαλεπότητα τῆς 5 κατασκευῆς τῆς γεφύρας τείναι. ἢ μὲν οὖν μεγαλόνοια τοῦ Τραῖανοῦ καὶ ἐκ τούτων δείκνυται· οὐ μέντοι καὶ 6 ὀφέλειαν τινα ἡμῖν ἡ γέφυρα παρέχεται, ἀλλ' ἐστάσιν αἱ κρηπίδες ἀλλ' διὸ δοὺν οὖν ἔχουσα, καθάπερ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ μόνον γενόμεναι ἵν' ἐπιδείξωμε τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν οὔθεν ὃ τι οὐ δυναμένην ἐξεργάσασθαι. 6 ὃ μὲν γὰρ Τραῖανὸς δείχνας μη ποτε παγένος

1 ὁς γὰρ corrupt. Bs. proposes ὃ γε, ὃ γ' αἱ or ὅς γε, or else ὃ γὰρ with comma after συναφοδόμηται.
2 αὐταί Bk., αὐταί VC.
indeed, as are his other achievements, yet this sur-
passes them. For it has twenty piers of squared
stone one hundred and fifty feet in height above
the foundations and sixty in width, and these, stand-
ing at a distance of one hundred and seventy feet
from one another, are connected by arches. How,
then, could one fail to be astonished at the ex-
penditure made upon them, or at the way in which
each of them was placed in a river so deep, in water
so full of eddies, and on a bottom so muddy? For
it was impossible, of course, to divert the stream
anywhere. I have spoken of the width of the river;
but the stream is not uniformly so narrow, since it
covers in some places twice, and in others thrice as
much ground, but the narrowest point and the one
in that region best suited to building a bridge has
the width named. Yet the very fact that the river
in its descent is here contracted from a great flood
to such a narrow channel, after which it again
expands into a greater flood, makes it all the more
violent and deep, and this feature must be con-
sidered in estimating the difficulty of constructing
the bridge. This too, then, is one of the achieve-
ments that show the magnitude of Trajan’s designs, though
the bridge is of no use to us; for merely the piers
are standing, affording no means of crossing, as if
they had been erected for the sole purpose of
demonstrating that there is nothing which human
ingenuity cannot accomplish. Trajan built the
bridge because he feared that some time when

3 ἀν Bk., ἀν τις VC.
4 τοι Rk., τι VC.
5 παρατρέψαι Sylb., περιτρέψαι VC.
6 καὶ Sylb., καὶ εἰ VC.
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tοῦ Ἴστρου πόλεμος τοῖς πέραν Ῥωμαίοις γένεται, ἔποιησε τὴν γέφυραν ἵνα αἱ ἐπιβασίαι ῥαδίως δι' αὐτῆς διεξώσων Ἄδριανός δὲ τούναντίον φοβηθεῖς μὴ καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις τοὺς φρουροὺς αὐτῆς βιαζόμενοι ῥαδίᾳ διάβασις ἐστὶν Μυσίαν ἣ, ἀφεῖλε τὴν ἐπιπολής κατασκευὴν.

14 Ῥαϊανὸς δὲ διὰ ταύτης τῆς γεφύρας τοῦ Ἴστρου περαιώθεις, καὶ δι' ἀσφαλείας μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ σπουδῆς τοῦ πόλεμου ποιούμενος, σὺν χρόνῳ καὶ μόλις ἐκράτησε τῶν Δακῶν, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸς στρατηγίας ἔργα καὶ ἀνδρίας ἐπιδειξάμενος, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτῷ κινδύνευσαν καὶ ἀριστευσάντων. Ἕνθα δὴ καὶ ἱππεὺς τις κακῶς πληγεῖς ἐξῆκε οὖν εἰ τῆς μάχης ὡς καὶ θεραπευθῆναι δυνάμενοι, αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὠς ἀναίτως ἔχοι ἐκ τοῦ σκηνώματος ἐξεπείδησεν (οὐ γάρ πώ ¹ τὸ κακὸν αὐτοῦ καθικτο) καὶ ἐστὰ ἄθισι καθιστάς ἐαυτὸν ἀπέθανε, μεγάλα ἐπιδειξάμενος. Δεκέβαλος δὲ, ὡς καὶ τὸ βασιλείου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ χώρα κατείληπτο σύμπασα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκνεύθη εἰρήνα, διεχρήσατο ἐαυτόν, καὶ ἡ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπεκομίσθη· καὶ οὕτως ἡ Δακία Ῥωμαῖον ὑπήκοος ἐγένετο,

3 εἰ ἐπιδειξάμενος. Ῥαϊανός δὲ, ὡς καὶ τὸ βασιλείου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ χώρα κατείληπτο σύμπασα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκνεύθη εἰρήνα, διεχρήσατο ἐαυτόν, καὶ ἡ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπεκομίσθη· καὶ οὕτως ἡ Δακία Ῥωμαῖον ὑπήκοος ἐγένετο,

4 καὶ πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ Ῥαϊανός κατοίκισεν. εὐφρέθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ τοῦ Δεκέβαλου θησαυροὶ, καίτοι ὑπὸ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦ Σαργεσίαν τὸν παρὰ τοῖς βασιλείοις αὐτοῦ κεκρυμένοι. διὰ γὰρ αἰχμαλώτων τινῶν τὸν τε ποταμὸν ἐξέτρεψε καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος αὐτοῦ ὄρυξε, καὶ ἐστὶν πολλὰ μὲν ἄργυρον πολλὰ δὲ χρυσόν, τὰ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ τιμίωτα καὶ ύγρότητα τινὰ ἐνεγκεῖν δυνάμενα,
the Ister was frozen over war might be made upon the Romans on the further side, and he wished to facilitate access to them by this means. Hadrian, on the contrary, was afraid that it might also make it easy for the barbarians, once they had overpowered the guard at the bridge, to cross into Moesia, and so he removed the super-structure.

Trajan, having crossed the Ister by means of this bridge, conducted the war with safe prudence rather than with haste, and eventually, after a hard struggle, vanquished the Dacians. In the course of the campaign he himself performed many deeds of good generalship and bravery, and his troops ran many risks and displayed great prowess on his behalf. It was here that a certain horseman, after being carried, badly wounded, from the battle in the hope that he could be healed, when he found that he could not recover, rushed from his tent (for his injury had not yet reached his heart) and, taking his place once more in the line, perished after displaying great feats of valour. Decebalus, when his capital and all his territory had been occupied and he was himself in danger of being captured, committed suicide; and his head was brought to Rome. In this way Dacia became subject to the Romans, and Trajan founded cities there. The treasures of Decebalus were also discovered, though hidden beneath the river Sargetia, which ran past his palace. With the help of some captives Decebalus had diverted the course of the river, made an excavation in its bed, and into the cavity had thrown a large amount of silver and gold and other objects of great value that could stand a certain amount of moisture; then
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ἐμβαλὼν λίθους τε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπέθηκε καὶ χοῦν ἐπεφόρησε καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπήγαγεν. 5 καὶ ἐσ τὰ στέγασα διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνων τὰ τε ἱμάτια καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ὦμοιότροπα κατέθετο, τοιῆσας δὲ ταῦτα διέφθειρεν αὐτούς, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐκλαλήσωσι. Βίκυλις δὲ τις ἐστάρος αὐτοῦ, τὸ γεγονός εἰδὼς, ἐάλω τε καὶ κατεμήνυσε ταῦτα.

Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τούτον χρόνον καὶ Πάλμας τῆς Συρίας ἄρχων τὴν Ἀραβίαν τὴν πρὸς τῇ Πέτρᾳ ἐξερεύσατο καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκουν ἐποίησατο.—Xiph. 232, 28–234, 16 R. St.

15 Πρὸς δὲ 1 τὸν Τραϊανὸν ἐσ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλθόντα πλεῖσται ὁσαὶ πρεσβεῖαι παρὰ βαρβάρων ἄλλων τε καὶ Ἰνδῶν ἀφίκοντο. καὶ θέας ἐν τρισὶ καὶ εἰκοσὶ καὶ ἐκατόν ἡμέραις ἐποίησεν, ἐν αἷς θηρία τε καὶ βοτὰ χίλια ποὺ καὶ μύρια 2 ἐσφάγη καὶ μονομάχοι μῦροι ἡγωνίσαντο.—Xiph. 234, 16–20 R. St., Exc. U6 50 (p. 403).

1 Καὶ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τὰ τε ἐλη τὰ Πομπτῖνα 3 ὀδοποίησε λίθω, καὶ τὰς ὀδοὺς παροικοδομήμασι 4 καὶ γεφύρας μεγαλοτρεπεστάταις ἐξεποίησε. τὸ τε νόμισμα πάν τὸ ἐξίτηλον συνεχώνευσε. 5 —Xiph. 234, 20–22 R. St.

5, 3 "Οτι οὗτος ὁμοσεν ως ου μιανθήσει, καὶ τοῦτο ἐργῳ ἐνεπέδωσε καίπερ ἐπιβουλευθεῖς. τῇ τε γὰρ φύσει οὐδὲν οὔτε διπλοῦν οὔτε δόλιον οὔτε τραχὺ εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἁγαθοὺς ἐφίλει καὶ ἐδεξιοῦτο καὶ ἐπίμα, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἥμελεν τὸ 6 δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας πεπαίτερος ἐγεγόνει.—Exc. Val. 288 (p. 710).

1 πρὸς δὲ H. Steph., παρὰ VC, πρὸς ABM.
2 μύρια Reim., μύρια που VC.
he had heaped stones over them and piled on earth, a.d. 106
afterwards bringing the river back into its course. He also had caused the same captives to deposit his robes and other articles of a like nature in caves, and after accomplishing this had made away with them to prevent them from disclosing anything. But Bicilis, a companion of his who knew what had been done, was seized and gave information about these things.

About this same time, Palma, the governor of Syria, subdued the part of Arabia around Petra ¹ and made it subject to the Romans.

Upon Trajan's return to Rome ever so many a.d. 107 embassies came to him from various barbarians, including the Indi. And he gave spectacles on one hundred and twenty-three days, in the course of which some eleven thousand animals, both wild and tame, were slain, and ten thousand gladiators fought.

At this same period he built a road of stone a.d. 110 through the Pontine marshes and provided the roads with most magnificent buildings ² and bridges. He also caused all the money that was badly worn to be melted down.

He had taken an oath that he would not shed blood and he made good his promise by his deeds in spite of plots formed against him. For by nature he was not at all inclined to duplicity or guile or harshness, but he loved, greeted and honoured the good, and the others he ignored; moreover, he had become milder as the result of age.

¹ Arabia Petraea. ² Probably he means taverns.
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15, 3 

Τῷ δὲ Σούρα, τῷ Δικτινῷ καὶ ταφῆς δημοσίαν καὶ ἀνδριάντα ἐδωκε τελευτήσαντι. ὡστὶς ἐς τοῦτο καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ αὐχήματος ἀφίκετο ὡστε καὶ γυμνάσιον Ἐρωμάιοις οἰκοδομήσαι. τοσαύτη δὲ φιλία καὶ πίστει ὁ τε Σούρας πρὸς τὸν Τραϊανὸν ἔχρησατο καὶ Τραϊανὸς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὥστε πολλάκις αὐτοῦν, οὔ που περὶ πάντας τοὺς τι παρὰ τοὺς αὐτοκράτοροι δυναμένους γίνεσθαι πέφυκε, διαβληθέντα ὡστε ὑπόπτευσέ ποτε ὦτε ἐμύσησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγκειμένων οἱ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῶν φθο- νοῦν τοῖς αὐτῷ οἰκαδέ τε ἀκλητος πρὸς αὐτοῦν ἐπὶ δείπνου ἦλθε, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν φρουρὰν ἀποτείμησαν ἐκάλεσε πρῶτον μὲν τὸν ιατρὸν αὐτοῦν, καὶ δι’ ἐκείνου τοὺς ὀδηγόμους ὑπηλείψατο, ἐπείτα τὸν κουρέα, καὶ δι’ ἐκείνου τὸ γένειον ἐξύρατο (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκ παλαιοῦ πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι καὶ αὐτὸι οἱ αὐτοκράτορες ἐποίοιν) Ἀδριανὸς γὰρ πρῶτος γενειαν κατέδειξεν. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ λουσάμενος καὶ δειπνήσας, ἐπείτα τοῖς φίλοις τοῖς εἰσωθόσιν ἀεὶ τι περὶ αὐτοῦ φαύλου λέγειν ἡφί τῇ ύστεραίᾳ ὅτι "εἰ ἦθελε ἡμεῖς Σούρας 4 ἀποκτείναι, Χρῆς ἂν ἀπεκτόνει." μέγα μὲν ὡς ἐποίησε καὶ τὸ ἀποκνυδυνεύσαι πρὸς διαβεβλημένον ἀνθρωπον, πολὺ δὲ δὴ μείζον ὅτι ἐπίστευσε μηδὲν ἀν ποτὲ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ παθεῖν. 


1 Σούρα Reim., σούρρα VC.
2 τε supplied by Bk.

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When Licinius Sura died, Trajan bestowed upon A.D. 110 him a public funeral and a statue. This man had attained to such a degree of wealth and pride that he had built a gymnasium for the Romans; yet so great was the friendship and confidence which he showed toward Trajan and Trajan toward him, that, although he was often slandered,—as naturally happens in the case of all those who possess any influence with the emperors,—Trajan never felt any suspicion or hatred toward him. On the contrary, when those who envied Sura became very insistent, the emperor went uninvited to his house to dinner, and having dismissed his whole body-guard, he first called Sura's physician and caused him to anoint his eyes, and then his barber, whom he caused to shave his chin (for the emperors themselves as well as all the rest used to follow this ancient practice; it was Hadrian who first set the fashion of wearing a beard); and after doing all this, he next took a bath and had dinner. Then on the following day he said to his friends who were in the habit of constantly making disparaging remarks about Sura: "If Sura had desired to kill me, he would have killed me yesterday." Now he did a fine thing in running this risk in the case of a man who had been calumniated, but a much finer thing still in believing that he never should be harmed by him. Thus it was that the confidence of his conviction was strengthened by his personal knowledge of Sura's conduct rather than by the conjectures of others.

3 ἐγκειμένων οί Val., ἐγκειμένω νῦν cod. Peir.
4 Σούρας cod. Peir., σούρρας VC.
5 ἀποκινδυνεύσαι cod. Peir., διακινδυνεύσαι VC.
12 'Αλλὰ καὶ ότε πρῶτον τῷ μέλλοντι τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπάρξειν τὸ ξίφος, ὃ παραζώνυσθαι αὐτοῦ ἔχριν, ὦρεξεν, ἑγώμωσε τε αὐτὸ καὶ ἀνατείνας ἐφη "λαβὲ τοῦτο τὸ ξίφος, ἵνα, ἀν μὲν καλῶς ἄρχω, ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ἀν δὲ κακῶς, κατ’ ἐμοῦ αὐτῷ χρῆσῃ.

2 Ἐστησε δὲ καὶ τοῦ Σοσσίου τοῦ τε Πάλμου καὶ τοῦ Κέλσου ἐικόνας· οὕτω που αὐτοὺς τῶν ἄλοιπον προετίμησε. τοὺς μέντοι ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτῶ, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Κράσσου, ἐτιμωρεῖτο ἐσάγων ἐς τὴν Βουλήν.

3 Κατεσκέυασε δὲ καὶ βιβλίων ἀποθήκας. καὶ ἐστησεν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ κίονα μέγιστον, ἀμα μὲν ἐς ταφὴν εαυτοῦ, ἀμα δὲ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορᾶν ἔργον παντὶς γὰρ τοῦ χαρίου ἐκείνου ὅρειν ὀντος κατέσκαψε τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὁ κόσον ἀνύσχει, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκ τοῦτον πεδινήν κατεσκεύασε.

17 Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Ἀρμενίους καὶ Πάρθους, πρόφασιν μὲν ὅτι μὴ τὸ διαδήμα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ εἰλήφει, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ Πάρθου βασιλέως, ὁ τῶν Ἀρμενίων βασιλεύς, τῇ δ’ ἀληθείᾳ δόξης ἐπιθυμίᾳ.—Χιφ. 235, 6–20 R. St.

2 Ὁτι τοῦ Τραίανοῦ ἐπὶ Πάρθους στρατεύσαντος καὶ ἐς Ἁθήνας ἀφικομένου πρεσβεῖα αὐτῷ ἐνταῦθα παρὰ τοῦ Ὀρρόου ἐνέτυχε, τῆς εἰρήνης δεομένη καὶ δῶρα φέρουσα. ἐπεδίη γὰρ ἔγνω τὴν τε ὀρμὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι τοὺς ἔργοις τὰς ἀπειλὰς

1 Κέλσου R. Steph., κάλσου VC.

2 Ὁρρόου A, ὄρρόου B, ὄρροντοι M; cf. ch. 19, 4 ὄρρον ABM; ch. 22, 1 ὄρρον B, ὄρρον AM.

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Indeed, when he first handed to the man who was to be prefect of the Praetorians the sword which this official was required to wear at his side, he bared the blade and holding it up said: "Take this sword, in order that, if I rule well, you may use it for me, but if ill, against me."

He also set up images of Sosius, Palma and Celsus, so greatly did he esteem them above the rest. Those, however, who conspired against him, among them Crassus, he brought before the senate and caused them to be punished.

He also built libraries. And he set up in the Forum an enormous column, to serve at once as a monument to himself and as a memorial of his work in the Forum. For that entire section had been hilly and he had cut it down for a distance equal to the height of the column, thus making the Forum level.

Next he made a campaign against the Armenians and Parthians on the pretext that the Armenian king had obtained his diadem, not at his hands, but from the Parthian king, though his real reason was a desire to win renown.

When Trajan had set out against the Parthians and had got as far as Athens, an embassy from Osroes met him, asking for peace and proffering gifts. For upon learning of his advance the king had become terrified, because Trajan was wont to make good his threats by his deeds. Accordingly,

1 Saburanus (?)  
2 L. Publilius Celsus,  
3 The Forum of Trajan.  
4 Exedares.  
5 Osroes (Chosroes).
 Dio's Roman History

3 τον γὰρ 'Εξηδάρην ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον οὔτε τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις οὔτε τοῖς Πάρθοις οὖντα πεπαυκέναι ἔλεγεν. 1 καὶ δε οὔτε τὰ δῶρα ἔλαβεν, οὔτ' ἄλλο τι ἀπεκρίνατο ἢ καὶ ἐπέστειλε 2 πλὴν ὅτι ἡ φιλία ἔργος καὶ οὐ λόγους κρίνεται, καὶ διὰ τούτ', ἐπειδὰν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἔλθη, πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα ποιήσει. καὶ οὕτω διανοίας ὃν διὰ 3 τε τῆς 'Ασίας καὶ διὰ Δυκίας τῶν τε ἐχομένων ἐβυών 18 ἐς Σελευκείαιν ἐκομίσθη. γενομένῳ 4 δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ Ἀὐγαρός 5 ὁ 'Ορρονίδος 6 αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ὀφθη, δῶρα δὲ δὴ καὶ λόγους φιλίους ἐπεμψεν ἐκεῖνον τε γὰρ ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς Πάρθους φοβοῦμεν ἐπημφοτέριζε, καὶ διὰ τούτ' οὐκ ἠθέλησεν οἰ συμμιξαί.—Exe. U6 51 (p. 403 sq.), Suid. s.vv. τεκμηρίου, ύφεις.

32, 4 "Ὅτι Κυήτος 7 Δούσιος Μαύρος 8 μὲν ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν Μαύρων ἄρχων ὃν 9 καὶ ἐν ἱππεύσιν ἱληγός 10 ἐξήταστο, καταγνωσθεὶς δε ἐπὶ πονηρία τότε μὲν τῆς στρατείας ἅπηλάγη καὶ ἡτιμωθή, ὕστερον δὲ τοῦ Δακικοῦ πολέμου ἐνστάντος καὶ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ 11 τῆς τῶν Μαύρων συμμαχίας 5 δεηθέντος ἥλθε τε πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐτεπάγγελτος καὶ μεγάλα ἐργα ἀπεδέξατο. τιμηθεὶς δὲ ἐπὶ

1 ἔλεγεν Leuncl., ἔλεγετο MSS.
2 ἐπέστειλε Leuncl., ἀπέστειλε MSS.
3 διὰ—διὰ Rk., ἐπὶ—ἐπὶ VC.
4 γενομένῳ Urs., γενομένων MSS.
5 Ἀὐγαρὸς Urs., ἀλβαρὸς MSS.
6 'Ορρονίδος Dind., ὁρρονίδος AM, ὁρρονίδος B.
he humbled his pride and sent to implore him not a.d. 113 to make war upon him, and at the same time he asked that Armenia be given to Parthamasiris, who was likewise a son of Pacorus, and requested that the diadem be sent to him; for he had deposed Exedares, he said, inasmuch as he had been satisfactory neither to the Romans nor to the Parthians. The emperor neither accepted the gifts nor returned any answer, either oral or written, save the statement that friendship is determined by deeds and not by words, and that accordingly when he should reach Syria he would do all that was proper. And being of this mind, he proceeded through Asia, Lycia and the adjoining provinces to Seleucia. Upon his arrival in Antioch, Abgarus of Osroene sent gifts and a message of friendship, though he did not appear in person; for, as he dreaded both Trajan and the Parthians alike, he was trying to be neutral and for that reason would not come to confer with him.

Lusius Quietus was a Moor and likewise ranked as a leader of the Moors and as commander of a troop in the cavalry; but, having been condemned for base conduct, he had been dismissed from the service at the time and disgraced. Later, however, when the Dacian war came on and Trajan needed the assistance of the Moors, he came to him of his own accord and displayed great deeds of prowess.

7 Κυντος Val. (in transl.), κυντος cod. Peir.
8 Μαυρος Val., μαυρον cod. Peir.
9 ὄν supplied by Capps.
10 ἰληγός Capps, ἰλης cod.
11 Τραϊανοῦ Bk., στρρ cod. Peir.
18, 2. Ἡπείρο τὸ ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τὴν πολέμιαν ἀπήφων ἰν τῇ ὁ δευτέρῳ πολέμῳ ἐξειρήματο, καὶ τέλος ἐς τοσοῦτον τῆς τε ἀνάγκης ἦν τῇ τῇ τῆς τύχης ἐν τοῖς τῶν πολέμων προεξώρθησεν ὡστε ἐς τούς ἐστρατηγικὰς ἐσγραφήναι καὶ ὑπατεύσαι τῆς τε Παλαιστίνης ἀρξάι· ἐξ ὧν ποιεῖ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐφθονίθη καὶ ἐμισήθη καὶ ἀπώλητο.—Exc. Val. 290 (p. 710).

19. Ὅτι ὁ Παρθαμάσιρις βιαιών τι ἔποιήσε. ἡράγας δὲ δὴ τα πρῶτα τῷ Τραϊανῷ ὡς βασιλεὺς ἐπείδη μηδὲν ἀντεγράφη, ἐπέστειλέ τε αὐθις τὸ ὄνομα τούτου περικόψας, καὶ ἦτησε Μᾶρκον Ἰουνίου τὸν τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἀρχοντα πεμφθῆναι

2 αἰῷς καὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ τι αἰτησόμενος. ὁ οὖν Τραϊανὸς ἐκεῖνῷ μὲν τὸν τῷ Ἰουνίου νῦν ἐπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μέχρις Ἀρσαμοσάτων προ- χωρῆσας καὶ ἰμαχεί αὐτὰ παραλαβὼν ἐς τὰ Σάταλα ἢλθε, καὶ Ἀγχίαλον τῶν Ἡνώχων τε καὶ Μαχελόνων βασιλεὰ δῶροις ἡμεῖσατο. ἐν δὲ Ἔλεγέα τῆς Ἀρμενίας τῶν Παρθαμάσιριν

3 προσεδέξατο. καθῆστο δὲ ἔπι βήματος ἐν τῷ ταφρεύματι καὶ ὅσ ἀσπασάμενοι αὐτοῦ τό τε διάδημα ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀφείλε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἐθηκε, συγῇ τε εἰστήκει, καὶ προσε- δόκα αὐτὸ ἀπολήψεσθαι. συμβοηθάντων δὲ ἔπτi

1 γὰρ R. Steph., γὰρ τοῖς VC.
EPITOME OF BOOK LXVIII

Being honoured for this, he performed far greater A.D. 113 and more numerous exploits in the second war, and finally advanced so far in bravery and good fortune during this present war that he was enrolled among the ex-praetors, became consul, and then governor of Palestine. To this chiefly were due the jealousy and hatred felt for him and his destruction.

When Trajan had invaded the enemy's territory, A.D. 114 the satraps and princes of that region came to meet him with gifts. One of these gifts was a horse that had been taught to do obeisance; it would kneel on its fore legs and place its head beneath the feet of whoever stood near.

Parthamasiris behaved in a rather violent fashion. In his first letter he had signed himself "king," but when no answer came, he wrote again, omitting this title, and asked that Marcus Junius, the governor of Cappadocia, be sent to him, implying that he wished to prefer some request through him. Trajan accordingly sent to him the son of Junius, while he himself proceeded to Arsamosata, of which he took possession without a struggle. Then he came to Satala and rewarded with gifts Anchialus, the king of the Heniochi and Machelones. At Elegeia in Armenia he received Parthamasiris, seated upon a tribunal in the camp. The prince saluted him, took his diadem from off his head and laid it at his feet, then stood there in silence, expecting to receive it back. At this the

2 ἐπέστειλε H. Steph., ἀπέστειλε ΑΒΜ.
3 μέχρις Ἀραμαμωσάτων v. Gutschmid, μέχρι σαμωσάτου ΑΒΜ.
4 προσχωρήσας Leuncl., προσχωρήσας ΑΒΜ.
5 Σάταλα VC, σάτα ΑΒΜ.

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touto twn stratiwton, kai autokratora ton Traianou ws kai eti niki tisz epikaleiasonton
4 (niken gar aseilinon autanoun onomazon oti ton Basilea ton 'Ardakiyn, ton Paikoron paidas, ton 'Orron adelphidoun, pro pesthikota autho anev diadhamatos eidoq aster aiymalatov), ezeplaghe te kai enomisev eti ubrei kai pleaero
5 auton gegeunai. kai metestersafh men ws kai feneomenev, idon de oti periестиoxistai ezhetysato ton m' en ton oikh ti eiptein. kai ouvnoz es tin skyni esaxtheis ouvedios etixen oin 20 ebouleto, ekpethsantos oin erga kai ekeidhe ek tou stratopedon metepempsato auton o Traianos, kai anabas as thides eti to bema ekelenes auto pantaon akouonton eiptein osa ‘hlein, ina m' agnohsanties tines ta kata monas sofion
2 eirnymena lopathieswosy tyna diaphora. akousas touto o Parthamaries osketo tin isychian 'heven, alla meta pollhys par里斯ias alla te tina eipte kai oti oux isptithes ouved zowrhtheis all' ekwn afiketo, pistevnas oti oustei adikethistai kai tin basileian apolihsetai owser kai o Tiri-
3 dathe parata tou Nerionos. kai autw o Traianos proi te tallassa antelezein osa ‘ermonovn, kai 'Armeian mev ouvedi proiesethai efhei (Rwmaiou te gar einai kai arxontu 'Rwmaiou eixein), ekein vmentoi apelthein oti boyletei epitrepsein.
4 kai ton men Parthamaries metat ton Parthovn

1 aseilinon Bk., aseilnon ABM. 2 autw Bk., autw ABM.
3 feneomenevos H. Steph., feneomenevos A, feneomenevos BM.
4 ekpethsantos Leunel., ekpethsantos ABM.
5 'Rwmaiwn Urs., rwmaiwn ABM.

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soldiers shouted aloud and hailed Trajan *imperator*, A.D. 114 as if because of some victory. (They termed it a crownless\(^1\) and bloodless victory, to see the king, a descendant of Arsaces, a son of Pacorus, and a nephew of Osroes, standing before Trajan without a diadem, like a captive.) The shout terrified the prince, who thought that it was intended as an insult and meant his destruction; and he turned about as if to flee, but seeing that he was hemmed in on all sides, he begged that he might not be forced to speak before the crowd. Accordingly he was conducted into the tent, where he obtained none of the things he wished. So out he rushed in a rage, and thence out of the camp; but Trajan sent for him, and again ascending the tribunal, bade him say in the hearing of all everything that he desired. This was in order to prevent anybody, ignorant of what had been said in private conference, from making up a different report. On hearing this command Parthamasiris no longer kept silence, but spoke with great frankness, declaring among other things that he had not been defeated or captured, but had come there voluntarily, believing that he should not be wronged and should receive back the kingdom, as Tiridates had received it from Nero.\(^2\) Trajan made fitting replies to all his remarks, and in particular declared that he would surrender Armenia to no one; for it belonged to the Romans and was to have a Roman governor. He would, however, allow Parthamasiris to depart to any place he pleased. So he sent the prince

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1 Literally "without the parsley crown," such as was bestowed upon the victors in some of the Greek games.  
2 Cf. lxiii (lxii), 5.
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18, 3b  'Επει δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀρμενίαν χώραν εἶλε, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς μὲν ὑποπεσόντας ἐν τοῖς φίλοις ἦγε, τοὺς δὲ τινάς καὶ ἀπειθοῦντας ἀμαχεὶ ἔχειροντο, τὰ τῇ ἀλλὴ ἐψηφίζετο αὐτῷ πολλὰ ἡ βουλή, καὶ ὠπτιμοῦν, εἰτ' οὖν ἁριστὸν, ἐπωνόμασεν. ἐβάδιζεν αἱ τὰ παντὸς τού στρατοῦ πεζῆ, διεκόσμει τε αὐτοὺς κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πορείαν καὶ διέταττεν ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἄγων, τοὺς τε ποταμοὺς, διόσσεν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, πεζῆ 2 διέβανε. καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἀγγελίας ψευδεῖς διὰ 4 τῶν προσκόπων ἐποίει, ἵν' ἀμα τὰ τὰ τακτικὰ μελετῶν καὶ ἐτοιμοί πρὸς πάντα καὶ ἀνέκπληκτοι εἶεν. καὶ ὁνομάζει μὲν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὴν Νίσιβιν εἶλε καὶ τὰς Βάτνας, Παρθικός, πολλῷ δὲ μάλλον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ὀπτιμοῦν προσηγορίᾳ ἡ ταῖς ἄλλαις συμπάσαις, ἀτε καὶ τῶν τρόπων αὐτοῦ μάλλον ἢ τῶν ὀπλῶν οὕση, ἐσεμνύνετο.—Xiph. 235, 27–236, 7 R. St.

21 "Οτι ο Τραϊάνος φιουρᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαίροις κατάλιπτων ἦλθεν εἰς 'Εδεσσαν, 5 κανταύθα πρῶτον Ἀὔγαρον 6 εἰδεν. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρέσβεις

1 τῶν supplied by Rk. 2 αὐτῶν Bk., αὐτῶν ABM. 3 ὄντας Urs., ὄντος ABM. 4 διά Suid., κατὰ VC. 5 "Εδεσσαν Reim., αἰθέσαν ABM (αἰθέσις αἰθεσαν cod. Peir. below). 6 Ἀὔγαρον Urs., ἀλβαρον (in marg. έχει ἀγβαρον) A, ἄμαρον B, ἀλβαρον M.

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away together with his Parthian companions and A.D. 114 gave them an escort of cavalry to make sure that they should associate with no one and should begin no rebellion; but he commanded all the Armenians who had come with the prince to remain where they were, on the ground that they were already his subjects.

When he had captured the whole country of the Armenians and had won over many of the kings also, some of whom, since they voluntarily submitted, he treated as friends, while others, though disobedient, he subdued without a battle, the senate voted to him all the usual honours in great plenty and furthermore bestowed upon him the title of Optimus, or Most Excellent. He always marched on foot with the rank and file of his army, and he attended to the ordering and disposition of the troops throughout the entire campaign, leading them sometimes in one order and sometimes in another; and he forded all the rivers that they did. Sometimes he even caused his scouts to circulate false reports, in order that the soldiers might at one and the same time practise military manœuvres and become fearless and ready for any dangers. After he had captured Nisibis and Batnae he was given the name of Parthicus; but he took much greater pride in the title of Optimus than in all the rest, inasmuch as it referred rather to his character than to his arms.

Leaving garrisons at opportune points, Trajan came to Edessa, and there saw Abgarus for the first time. For, although Abgarus had previously sent
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καὶ δῶρα τῷ βασιλεῖ πολλάκις ἐπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀλλοτε κατ' ἄλλας προφάσεις οὐ παρεγένετο, ἀσπερ οὖνδὲ ὁ Μάννος ὁ τῆς Ἀραβίας τῆς πλησιοχώρου οὖνδὲ ὁ Σποράκης ὁ τῆς Ἀνθέ-2 μουσίας φύλαρχος. τότε δὲ τὰ μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ νεός Ἀρβάνδου καλοῦ καὶ ὕραιόν ὄντος καὶ διὰ τούτο τῷ ὁ Τραίανῷ ὁ ἐκείσι τεῖσθεῖς, τὰ δὲ καὶ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ φοβηθεῖς, ἀπῆντησέ τε αὐτῷ προσιντί καὶ ἀπελογήσατο, συγγνώμης 3 τέ ἐν χεὶν ο ὧν παῖς λαμπρῶν οἱ ἱκετεύμα ἰν. καὶ ο μὲν φίλος τε ἐκ τοῦτο τῷ Τραίανῷ ἐγένετο καὶ εἰστίασεν αὐτόν, ἐν τῇ δὲ ἐντυφυ παῖδα έαυτοῦ ὀρχησόμενον ὑπερβαρικῶς πῶς παρήγαγεν.—Exc. U 53 (p. 405), Suid. s.v. παρήγαγεν, Exc. Val. 201 (p. 710).

22 ὁ Τραῖανῷ ἐς Μεσοποταμίαν ἐλθόντος, καὶ τοῦ Μάννου ἐπικηρυκευσαμένου, καὶ τοῦ Μαυσάρου πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης διὰ τὸ τὸν Ὀρρόν ἐπιστρατεύειν αὐτῷ πέμψαντο καὶ τῆς τε Αρμενίας καὶ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἐκλογιάς ἀποστήνας ἐτοίμως ἔχοντο, οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι ποιεύοντες τῷ ἐφθέρ ἀν ἐλθὼν πρός αὐτόν, ὀσπερ ὑπισχεῖτο, τοῖς ἔργοις τὰς ἐπαγγελίας βεβαιώσῃ, 2 καὶ τοῦ Μάννου ὑπώπτευεν 7 ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ὅτι συμμαχίαν Μηθαρσάτη τῷ τῆς Ἀδιαβηθις βασιλεῖ πέμψας πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρμαίων ἀπεβεβλήκει. 8 διόπερ οὖνδὲ τότε ἐπισάτος αὐτοῦ

1 παρεγένετο Leuncl., παρεγένετο ABM.
2 οὖνδὲ supplied by Bk.
3 Μάννος AM, μάνος B.
4 οὖνδὲ Bk., οὔτε ABM.
5 τούτῳ τῷ Urs., τού τῷ AM, τούτῳ B.
envoys and gifts to the emperor on numerous occasions, he himself, first on one excuse and then another, had failed to put in an appearance, as was also the case with Mannus, the ruler of the neighbouring portion of Arabia, and Sporaces, the ruler of Anthemusia. On this occasion, however, induced partly by the persuasions of his son Arbandes, who was handsome and in the prime of youth and therefore in favour with Trajan, and partly by his fear of the latter's presence, he met him on the road, made his apologies and obtained pardon, for he had a powerful intercessor in the boy. Accordingly he became Trajan's friend and entertained him at a banquet; and during the dinner he brought in his boy to perform some barbaric dance or other.

When Trajan had come into Mesopotamia, Mannus sent a herald to him, and Manisarus also dispatched envoys to seek peace, because Osroes was making a campaign against him, and he was ready to withdraw from the parts of Armenia and Mesopotamia that he had captured. Trajan replied that he would not believe him until he should come to him as he kept promising to do, and confirm his offers by his deeds. He was also suspicious of Mannus, the more so as this king had sent an auxiliary force to Mebarsapes, king of Adiabene, on which occasion he had lost it all at the hands of the Romans. Therefore Trajan at this time also did not wait for them to draw near, but

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6 ὧρχησάμενον Bk., ὧρχησάμενον ABM Suid.
7 ὑπώπτευεν A, ὑπώπτευεν BM.
8 ἀπεβεβλήκει Bk., ἀποβεβλήκει ABM.
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υπέμενεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Ἀδιαβροχήν πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐξεχώρησε. καὶ οὕτω τά τε Σίνγγαρα καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ἀμαχεὶ διὰ τοῦ δουσίου κατεσχέθη.—Exc. Ud 54 (p. 406).

2 Πανταχόθεν συμπεφοιτηκότων, οὔτε ἔθνος οὔδεν οὔτε δήμος οὔδεις ἄβλαβῆς ἐγένετο, καὶ οὕτως ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ πᾶσα ἡ ὀικουμένη ἡ ὑπὸ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους οὔσα ἐσφάλη.1 ἐγένοντο μὲν οὖν καὶ κεραινοὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀλλάκοτοι ἀνέμοι· ἄλλ' οὕτι καὶ προσεδόκησαν ἀν τις ἐκ τούτων τοσαῦτα κακά

3 γενήσεσθαι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ μύκημα ἐξαπίνησε μέγα ἐβρυχήσατο, ἐπείτα βρασμὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ βιαίοτατος ἐπεγένετο, καὶ ἄνω μὲν ἡ γῇ πᾶσα ἄνεβάλλετο, ἀνώ δὲ καὶ τὰ οἰκοδομήματα ἀνεπίδεισα, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν ἐπαιρόμενα συνέπιπτο καὶ κατερρίχηντο, τὰ δὲ καὶ δεύρῳ καὶ ἐκείσε κλονούμενα ὡσπερ ἐν σάλῳ περιτρέπετο, καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ τοῦ ὑπαίθρου προσκατελάμβανεν.2

4 οἱ το κτύπος θραυμεών καὶ καταγρυμένων ξύλων ὁμοὶ κεράμων λίθων ἐκπληροικώτατος ἐγένετο, καὶ ἡ κόνις πλείστη ὀσθή ἡγείρετο, ὡστε μήτε ἰδεῖν τινα μήτε εἶπεν μήτε ἀκοῦσαι τι δύνασθαι. τῶν δὲ δὴ ἀνθρώπων πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἐκτὸς τῶν ὁικιῶν ὡστές ἐπώνησαν ἀναβαλλόμενοι τέ γὰρ καὶ ἀναρριπτούμενοι βιαῖος, εἴθ' ὡσπερ ἄπο τῆς κρῆμος φερόμενοι προσηράσσοντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν
made his way to them at Adiabene. Thus it A.D. 115 came about that Singara and some other places were occupied by Lusius without a battle.

While the emperor was tarrying in Antioch a terrible earthquake occurred; many cities suffered injury, but Antioch was the most unfortunate of all. Since Trajan was passing the winter there and many soldiers and many civilians had flocked thither from all sides in connexion with law-suits, embassies, business or sightseeing, there was no nation or people that went unscathed; and thus in Antioch the whole world under Roman sway suffered disaster. There had been many thunderstorms and portentous winds, but no one would ever have expected so many evils to result from them. First there came, on a sudden, a great bellowing roar, and this was followed by a tremendous quaking. The whole earth was upheaved, and buildings leaped into the air; some were carried aloft only to collapse and be broken in pieces, while others were tossed this way and that as if by the surge of the sea, and overturned, and the wreckage spread out over a great extent even of the open country. The crash of grinding and breaking timbers together with tiles and stones was most frightful; and an inconceivable amount of dust arose, so that it was impossible for one to see anything or to speak or hear a word. As for the people, many even who were outside the houses were hurt, being snatched up and tossed violently about and then dashed to the earth as if falling from a cliff; some were

1 ἐσφάλη C, ἐσφάγη V.
2 προσκατελάμβανον Bk., προκατελάμβανον VC.
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ἐπηρόντο οἱ δὲ ἐθνικοὶ. καὶ τινα καὶ δένδρα αὐταῖς ῥίζας ἀνέθορε. τῶν δὲ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις καταληφθέντων ἑκείνης ἀριθμὸς ἀπώλετο· παμπόλλους μὲν γὰρ καὶ αὐτή ἣ τῶν συμπιπτοῦντων ῥύμη ἐφθειρε, παμπληθείς δὲ καὶ τὰ χόρατα ἐπινίζεν. ὅσοι δὲ δὴ μέρους τοῦ σώματός σφων ὑπὸ λίθων ἡ ξύλων κρατούμενοι ἑκείνης, δεινὸς ἐταλαπώρησαν, μήτε ξῆν ἐτὶ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτίκα δυνάμενοι.

25 Καὶ ἐσώθησαν γὰρ ὦμως καὶ ἐκ τούτων, ἀτε καὶ ἐν ἀμυθίτῃ πλήθει, συνχοί, οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι πάντες ἀπαθεῖς ὑπεχώρησαν. συνχοί μὲν γὰρ σκέλων συνχοί δὲ ὦμων ἐστερήθησαν, ἄλλοι 2 κεφαλῆς κατεύγησαν 3 ἄλλοι αἶμα ἦμον, δὲν εἰς καὶ ὁ Πέδων ὁ ὑπατος ἐγένετο· καὶ εὐθὺς τε γὰρ 4 ἀπέθανε.

2 συνελόντε ἐτὶ εἰπέων, οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν βιαίου πάθους τότε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκεῖνοι οὐ συνηνεχθη. καὶ ἐπὶ πολλάς μὲν ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας σειόντος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ἀπόροις καὶ ἀμηχάνοις ἦσαν οἱ ἀνθρώποι, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τὸν ἔρευσμενον οἰκο-

3 δομημάτων καταχωνύμενοι καὶ φθειρόμενοι, οἱ δὲ καὶ λιμῷ ἀπολλύμενοι, ὅσοις συνεβή ἐν διακένω τιν, τῶν ξύλων οὐτῶ κλιθέντων, ἡ καὶ ἐν ἄψιδοιειδε τιν μεταστυλίῳ σωθῆναι. καταστάντος δὲ ποτε τοῦ κακοῦ θαρσῆσας τις ἐπιβήναι τῶν πεπτωκότων γυναικὸς ξώσης ἡσθητο. αὐτὴ δὲ ἦν οὐ μόνη, ἀλλὰ καὶ βρέφος εἶχε, καὶ τρέφουσα τῷ γάλακτι καὶ ἑαυτὴν καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἀντήρκεσεν. ἑκείνην τε οὖν 5 ἀνορύζαντες ἀνε-

1 καταληφθέντων Bk., καταλειφθέντων VC.
2 ἄλλοι C, ἄλλοι δὲ V.
3 κατεύγησαν supplied by Bk.
maimed and others were killed. Even trees in some cases leaped into the air, roots and all. The number of those who were trapped in the houses and perished was past finding out; for multitudes were killed by the very force of the falling débris, and great numbers were suffocated in the ruins. Those who lay with a part of their body buried under the stones or timbers suffered terribly, being able neither to live any longer nor to find an immediate death.

Nevertheless, many even of these were saved, as was to be expected in such a countless multitude; yet not all such escaped unscathed. Many lost legs or arms, some had their heads broken, and still others vomited blood; Pedo the consul was one of these, and he died at once. In a word, there was no kind of violent experience that those people did not undergo at that time. And as Heaven continued the earthquake for several days and nights, the people were in dire straits and helpless, some of them crushed and perishing under the weight of the buildings pressing upon them, and others dying of hunger, whenever it so chanced that they were left alive either in a clear space, the timbers being so inclined as to leave such a space, or in a vaulted colonnade. When at last the evil had subsided, someone who ventured to mount the ruins caught sight of a woman still alive. She was not alone, but had also an infant; and she had survived by feeding both herself and her child with her milk. They dug her out and resuscitated her together with her babe.
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σώσαντο μετὰ τοῦ τέκνου, κὰκ τούτον καὶ τὰλλα ἀνηρεύνων, εῦν οἷς ξώντα μὲν οὐδένα ἔτι, πλὴν παίδιου πρὸς μαστῷ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τεθνηκόντων θηλάζοντος, εὑρεῖν ἠδύνηθησαν, τοὺς δὲ νεκροὺς ἐξελκοντες οὐκέτ' οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῇ σφετέρᾳ σωτηρίᾳ ἔχαρον.

5 Τοσαυτὰ μὲν τὸτε πάθη τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν κατείληφεν. Τραῖανὸς δὲ διέφυγε μὲν διὰ θυρίδος ἐκ τοῦ οἰκήματος ἐν ὧ ἦν, προσελθόντος αὐτῷ μεῖζονος τινος ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρωπον καὶ ἐξαγαγόντος αὐτὸν, ὡστε μικρὰ ἀττα πληγέντα περιγενέσθαι, ὡς δ' ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας ὁ σεισμὸς ἐπείχεν.

6 ὑπαίθριος ἐν τῷ ἰπποδρόμῳ διήγεν. ἐσείσθη δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ Κάσιον 1 οὕτως ὡστε τὰ ἀκρα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπικλίνεσθαι καὶ ἀπορρήγνυσθαι καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἐσπίπτειν δοκεῖν. ὅρη τε ἄλλα ϊψίζετε, καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ μὲν οὐκ ὅν 2 πρότερον ἀνεφάνη, πολὺ δὲ καὶ ῥέον ἐξέλιπτε.

26 Τραῖανὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ὑπὸ τὸ ἔαρ ἒπείχθη. 3 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ χώρα ἡ πρὸς τῷ Τίγριδι ἀφορος ναυτηγνησίμων ξύλων ἐστὶ, τὰ πλοῖα, ἃ ἐν ταῖς ύλαις ταῖς περὶ τὴν Νίσιβιν ἐπεποίητο, 4 ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἥγαγεν ἐφ' ἄμάξαις. οὕτω γὰρ πως κατεσκέυαστο ὡστε διαλυθήσαι καὶ συμπῆ-2 γυνοθαι. καὶ ἐξευξὴν αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸ Καρδύηνον ὄρος ἐπιπονωτὰτα: οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι ἀντικατα-στάντες ἐκόλυνον. ἀλλ' ἦν γὰρ πολλὴ τῷ Τραῖανῷ καὶ τῶν νεὼν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν περιουσία, αἰ μὲν ἐξεύγυνυτο πολλῷ τάχει, αἰ δὲ πρὸ ἐκείνων

1 Κάσιον Reim., κάσιοιν C, κοράσιον V.
2 μὲν οὐκ δ' Dind., οὐκ δ' μὲν VC.
3 ἒπείχθη Rk., ἒπείχθη V, ὑπήχθη C.

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and after that they searched the other heaps, but A.D. 115 were not able to find in them anyone still living save a child sucking at the breast of its mother, who was dead. As they drew forth the corpses they could no longer feel any pleasure even at their own escape.

So great were the calamities that had overwhelmed Antioch at this time. Trajan made his way out through a window of the room in which he was staying. Some being, of greater than human stature, had come to him and led him forth, so that he escaped with only a few slight injuries; and as the shocks extended over several days, he lived out of doors in the hippodrome. Even Mt. Casius itself was so shaken that its peaks seemed to lean over and break off and to be falling upon the very city. Other hills also settled, and much water not previously in existence came to light, while many streams disappeared.

Trajan at the beginning of spring hastened into A.D. 116 the enemy's country. And since the region near the Tigris is bare of timber suitable for building ships, he brought his boats, which had been constructed in the forests around Nisibis, to the river on waggons; for they had been built in such a way that they could be taken apart and put together again. He had great difficulty in bridging the stream opposite the Gordyaean mountains, as the barbarians had taken their stand on the opposite bank and tried to hinder him. But Trajan had a great abundance of both ships and soldiers, and so some vessels were fastened together with great speed while others lay

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4 ἐπεσολήντο Bk., ἐπεσολήνυτο V, ἐπεσόηντο C.
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ἀνεκώχευν ὅπλίτας τε καὶ τοξότας φέρουσαι, ἔτεραι δὲ ἐνθεὶ καὶ ἐνθεὶ ὡς διαβησόμεναι ἐπεὶ-3 ρον. ἕκ τε οὐν τοῦτων καὶ ἕξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐκπλή-ξεως τοῦ τοσαύτας ἀμα ναὸς ἀθρόας ἐξ ἕπειρου ἀξύλου ἀναφανήναι1 ἐνέδοσαν 2 οἱ βάρβαροι. καὶ ἐπεραιώθησαν οἱ Ὀρμαῖοι, καὶ τήν τε Ἀδια-4 βηνῆν ἀπασαν παρεστήσαντο (ἐστὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀσσυ-ρίας τῆς περὶ Νίνον μέρος αὐτή, καὶ τά τε Ἀρβηλα καὶ τά Γαυγάμιλα, παρ' οἷς ὁ Ἀλε-ξανδρος τὸν Δαρείον ἐνίκησε, ταύτα τῆς τοῦ καὶ ποι Ατυρία διὰ τοῦτο βαρβαριστὶ, τῶν σίγμα ἐς τὸ ταῦτα μεταπεσόντων, ἐκλήθη).—Xiph. 236, 7–238, 11 R. St.

22, 3 "Οτι Ἀδήμυστρα τεῖχος ἦν ἱσχυρόν, πρὸς δὲ τῶν Σεντιός τις ἐκατονταρχὸς πεμφθείς πρὸς τὸν Μηθαρσάππην 3 πρεσβευτῆς καὶ δεθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐκείνῳ ὄν, ἐπεὶτ ἐπειδὴ οἱ Ὀρμαῖοι ἐπλησίασαν αὐτῷ, τῶν τε συνδεσμωτῶν τινας παρεσκέυασε, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐκ τε τῶν δεσμῶν διαδράς καὶ τῶν φρούραρχον ἀποκτείνας ἀνέφεξε τὰς πύλας τοὺς ὁμοφύλους.—Exc. U¹R 15 (p. 407).

26, 4² Καὶ μετὰ ταύτα καὶ μέχρι τῆς Βαβυλώνος αὐτῆς ἐχώρησαν κατὰ πολλὴν τῶν κωλυσόντων 4 αὐτοὺς ἔρημιαν, ἀτε καὶ τῆς τῶν Πάρθων δυνά-μεως ἐκ τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων ἐφθαρμένης καὶ τότε ἐτὶ στασιαζόουσης.—Xiph. 238, 11–14 R. St.

27, 1α Κοκκείανος δὲ Κάσιος Δίων, γραφαῖς Δατίων τετρακοσίων ἐγραφε ταύτην [τῇ Βαβυλώνα] σταδίων εἶναι.—Tzetz. Chil. 9, 572 sq.

(Ἡ δὲ Σεμίραμις . . . πόλιν . . . ἐπυργώσατο

1 ἀναφανήναι Rk., ἀποφανήναι VC.
moored in front of them having heavy infantry and archers aboard, and still others kept making dashes this way and that, as if they intended to cross. In consequence of these tactics and because of their very consternation at seeing so many ships appear all at once out of a land destitute of trees, the barbarians gave way. And the Romans crossed over and gained possession of the whole of Adiabene. This is a district of Assyria in the vicinity of Ninus; and Arbela and Gaugamela, near which places Alexander conquered Darius, are also in this same country. Adiabene, accordingly, has also been called Atyria in the language of the barbarians, the double S being changed to T.

Adenystrae was a strong post to which Sentius, a centurion, had been sent as an envoy to Mebarsapes. He was imprisoned by the latter there, but later, at the approach of the Romans, he arranged with some of his fellow-prisoners, and with their aid escaped from his bonds, killed the commander of the garrison and opened the gates to his countrymen.

After this they advanced as far as Babylon itself, being quite free from molestation, since the Parthian power had been destroyed by civil conflicts and was still at this time a subject of strife.

Cassius Dio Cocceianus in writings concerning the Latins has written that this city [Babylon] had a circuit of four hundred stades.

(Semiramis . . . built . . . a city) having a peri-

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1 Nineveh.
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... ) σταδίων τὴν περίμετρον ἔχουσαν κατά Κοκκειανὸν Κάσσιον Δίωνα τετρακοσίων.—Tzetz. Exeg. in Hom. II. p. 141, 15 sq.

1 'Ενθά 1 μέντοι τὴν τε ἀσφαλτον εἶδε Τραῖανὸς ἐξ ἢς τὰ τείχη Βασιλικὸν φῶκοδόμητο (τοσαύτην γὰρ ἀσφάλειαν πλίνθους ὅπταίς ἢ καὶ λίθοις λεπτοῖς συμμιχθεῖσα παρέχεται ὡστε καὶ πέτρας καὶ σιδήρου παντὸς ἰσχυρότερα αὕτα ποιεῖν),

2 καὶ τὸ στόμιον 2 ἔθεασατο ἐξ ὧν πνεῦμα δεινὸν ἀναδίδοται, ὡστε πᾶν μὲν ἐπίγειον ἃθον πᾶν δὲ πετεινὸν 3 ἀποφθέγμεν, εἰ καὶ ἐφ' ὀποσονοῦν ὀσφροτό τι αὐτοῦ. καὶ εἰπερ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἄνω ἐχώρει ἢ καὶ πέριξ ἐσκεδάνυντο, οὐδ' ἂν φιεῖτο ὁ χώρος· γὰν δὲ αὐτὸ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἀνακυκλοόμενον

3 κατὰ χώραν μεῖε. καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὰ τε ἐν ὑψηλοτέρῳ πετόμενα σώζεται καὶ τὰ πέριξ νεμόμενα. 4 εἶδον ἐγὼ τουτοῦν ἐτερον ἐν Ἰεραπόλει τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ ἐπειράθην αὐτοὺς δι' ὄρνεων, αὐτὸς τε ὑπερκύψας καὶ αὐτὸς ἱδὼν 5 τὸ πνεῦμα κατακέκλειται 6 τε γὰρ ἐν δεξαμενή τινι, καὶ θέατρον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φῶκοδόμητο, φθείρει τε πάντα τὰ ἐμψυχα πλὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν τὰ αἰδοία ἀποτετμημένων. οὐ μὴν καὶ τὴν αὐτίαν αὐτοῦ συννοήσαι ἐχὼ, λέγω δὲ ἂ τε εἶδον ὡς εἶδον καὶ ἅ ἦκουσα ὡς ἦκουσα.

28 Τραῖανὸς δὲ ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν τὸν Ἐὐφράτην κατὰ διώρυχα ἐς τὸν Τίγριν ἐσαγαγεῖν, ἵνα τὰ πλοία δι' αὐτῆς κατελθόντα τὴν γέφυραν αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι παράσχει· μαθὼν δὲ ὅτι πολὺ ὑψηλό-

1 ἐνθά C, ἐνταῦθα V.
2 τὸ στόμιον VC, τὸ Ἀορνον στόμιον exc. Treu, Suid., Eust.
3 πετεινὸν VC, πτηνὸν exc. Treu, Suid.

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meter of four hundred stades, according to Cassius A.D. 116 Dio Cocceianus.

Here, moreover, Trajan saw the asphalt out of which the walls of Babylon had been built. When used in connexion with baked bricks or small stones this material affords so great security as to render them stronger than any rock or iron. He also looked at the opening\(^1\) from which issues a deadly vapour that destroys any terrestrial animal and any winged creature that so much as inhales a breath of it. Indeed, if it extended far above ground or spread out far round about, the place would not be habitable; but, as it is, the vapour circles about within itself and remains stationary. Hence creatures that fly high enough above it and those that graze at one side are safe. I saw another opening like it at Hierapolis in Asia, and tested it by means of birds; I also bent over it myself and saw the vapour myself. It is enclosed in a sort of cistern and a theatre had been built over it. It destroys all living things save human beings that have been emasculated. The reason for this I cannot understand; I merely relate what I saw as I saw it and what I heard as I heard it.

Trajan had planned to conduct the Euphrates through a canal into the Tigris, in order that he might take his boats down by this route and use them to make a bridge. But learning that this

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\(^1\) Suidas and others (see critical note) add \(\delta\sigma\rho\nu\nu\) ("birdless," Avernus) before "opening"; this word may go back to Dio himself.
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teros τοῦ Τίγριδος ἐστι, τούτῳ μὲν ὁυκ ἔπραξε, φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἀπλοῦν τὸν Εὐφράτην ἀπεργάσηται ἀθρόου τοῦ ἰεύματος ἐς τὸ κάταντες

2 φερομένου, ὑπερενεγκών δὲ τὰ πλοία ὁλκοῖς διὰ τοῦ μέσου τῶν ποταμῶν ἐλαχίστου ὄντος (τὸ γὰρ ἰεῦμα τὸ τοῦ Εὐφράτου πὰν ἐς θ’ ἔλος ἐκπίπτει καὶ ἐκείθεν πὼς τῇ Τίγριδι συμμίγνυται) τοὺν Τίγριν ἐπεραιῶθη, καὶ ἐς τὴν Κτησιφώντα ἐσῆλθε, παραλαβὼν τε αὐτὴν αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπωνομάσθη καὶ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ Παρθικοῦ ἐβεβαιώσατο.

3 ἔψηφίσθη δὲ αὐτῷ παρὰ τῆς Βουλῆς τά τε ἄλλα, καὶ νυκτῆρια ὡσα ἔθελεντες διεορτάσαι.

'Ἐλὼν δὲ τὴν Κτησιφώντα ἐπεθύμησεν ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρᾶν θάλασσαν καταπλεῦσαι. αὕτη δὲ τοῦ τε ὠκεανοῦ μοῦρὰ ἐστὶ, καὶ ἀπὸ τινὸς ἐνυναστεύσαντος ποτε ἐν αὐτῇ οὕτω κέκληται. καὶ τὴν μὲν νῆσον τὴν ἐν τῷ Τίγριδι τὴν Μεσῆνην, ἢς Ἀθάμβηλος ἠβασίλευεν, ἀπόνως ὥκειώσατο, ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ χειμῶνος τῆς τε τοῦ Τίγριδος ὄξυτητος καὶ τῆς τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ἀναρροίας ἐκινδύνευσε.—Xiph. 238, 15–239, 14 R. St.

"Οτι ὁ Ἀθάμβηλος 4 ὁ τῆς νῆσου ἄρχων τῆς ἐν τῷ Τίγριδι οὔσης πιστὸς διέμεινεν τῷ Τραϊάνῳ, καὶ πέρ ὑποτελεῖν προσταχθεῖς, καὶ οἱ τοῦ Χάρακα τὸν Σπασίνου καλούμενον οἰκοῦντες (ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ τοῦ Ἀθάμβηλον ἐπικρατεῖα ἂν) καὶ φιλικῶς αὐτὸν ὑπεδέξαντο.—Exc. Val. 292 (p. 713), Xiph. 239, 14–16 R. St.

29 Καντεῦθεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐλθὼν, τὴν

1 μὲν C, μόνον V. 2 δὲ Bk., δὴ VC.
3 Ἀθάμβηλος Bs., ἀθάμβηλος V, ἀθαμβηλος C, (but ἀθαμβηλου VC below).

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river has a much higher elevation than the Tigris, he A.D. 116 did not do so, fearing that the water might rush down in a flood and render the Euphrates un-navigable. So he used hauling-engines to drag the boats across the very narrow space that separates the two rivers (the whole stream of the Euphrates empties into a marsh and from there somehow joins the Tigris); then he crossed the Tigris and entered Ctesiphon. When he had taken possession of this place he was saluted imperator and established his right to the title of Parthicus. In addition to other honours voted to him by the Senate, he was granted the privilege of celebrating as many triumphs as he should desire.

After capturing Ctesiphon he conceived a desire to sail down to the Erythraean Sea.¹ This is a part of the ocean, and has been so named from a person who formerly ruled on its shores.² He easily won over Mesene, the island in the Tigris of which Athambelus was king; but as the result of a storm, combined with the strong current of the Tigris and the tide coming in from the ocean, he found himself in serious danger.

Athambelus, the ruler of the island in the Tigris, remained loyal to Trajan, even though ordered to pay tribute, and the inhabitants of the Palisade of Spasinus, as it is called, received him kindly; they were subject to the dominion of Athambelus.

Then he came to the ocean itself, and when he

¹ The Persian Gulf.
² The mythical Erythras, who was said to have been drowned in it.

⁴ Ἀθαμβηλος Bs., σάμβηλος cod. Peir.
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te φύσιν αὐτοῦ καταμαθῶν καὶ πλοῦτον τι ἐς Ἰνδίαν πλέον ἴδὼν, εἶπεν ὅτι "πάντως ἂν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰνδούς, εἰ νέος ἐτὶ ἦν, ἐπεραιώθην." Ἰνδούς τε γὰρ ἐνενέει, καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνων πράγματα ἐπολυπραγμόνει, τὸν τε Ἀλέξανδρον ἐμακάριζε. καίτοι 1 ἔλεγε καὶ ἐκεῖνου περαιτέρω προκεχωρηκέναι, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἐπέστειλε, μὴ 2 δυνηθεῖς μηδὲ ἄ ἐκεχείρωτο 2 σώσαι. καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ ἄλλα τε ἑλαβε, καὶ ἐπινίκια ὅσων ἄν ἐθελήσῃ ἑθνῶν πέμψαι· διὰ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀεὶ σφισι γραφομένων οὔτε συνείναι τινα αὐτῶν οὔτε 3 οἴνομάσαι καλῶς ἐδύναντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄψίδα αὐτῷ τροπαιοφόρου πρὸς πολλοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἁγορᾷ αὐτοῦ παρεσκεύαζον, καὶ ἦτοιμότο ὡς πορρωτέρω ἀπαντήσοντες εἰ ἐπανίου ἐμελλὲ δ' ἄρα μῆτε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔτι ἀφίξεσθαι μῆτε ἀξίον τι τῶν προκατεργασμένων πράξεων, καὶ 4 προσέτι καὶ αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα ἀπολέσειν. ἐν γὰρ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐν ὅ ἐπὶ τὸν ὧκεανὸν κατέπλει καὶ ἐκείθεν αὐχθεὶς ἀνεκομίζετο, πάντα τὰ ἐαλωκότα ἐταράχθη καὶ ἀπέστη, καὶ τοὺς παρὰ σφίσιν ἔκαστοι φρουροὺς οἱ μὲν ἐξέβαλλον 3 οἱ δ' ἀπεκτίνυσαν. 50 Μαθῶν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Τραϊανὸς ἐν Βαβυλώνι 4 (καὶ γὰρ ἐκείσθη ἥλθε κατὰ τὴν φήμην, ἡς οὔτεν ἄξιον εἶδεν ὃ τι μὴ χώματα καὶ λίθους 5 καὶ ἑρείπια, καὶ διὰ τῶν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὁ καὶ ἐνήγισεν ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι ἐν ὧ ἐτετελευτηκε—

1 καίτοι Bk., καὶ VC.
2 ἐκεχείρωτο Dind., κεκελρωτο Sylb., κεκελρωταi VC.
3 ἐξέβαλλον Sylb., ἐξέβαλον VC.
4 Βαβυλὼν Tillemont, πλοίω VC.
5 Λίθουs Rk., μύθουs VC.

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had learned its nature and had seen a ship sailing to A.D. 116 India, he said: "I should certainly have crossed over to the Indi, too, if I were still young." For he began to think about the Indi and was curious about their affairs, and he counted Alexander a lucky man. Yet he would declare that he himself had advanced farther than Alexander, and would so write to the senate, although he was unable to preserve even the territory that he had subdued. For this achievement he obtained among other honours the privilege of celebrating a triumph for as many nations as he pleased; for by reason of the large number of the peoples of whom he was constantly writing to them they were unable in some cases to follow him intelligently or even to use the names correctly. So the people in Rome were preparing for him a triumphal arch besides many other tributes in his own forum and were getting ready to go forth an unusual distance to meet him on his return. But he was destined never to reach Rome again nor to accomplish anything comparable to his previous exploits, and furthermore to lose even those earlier acquisitions. For during the time that he was sailing down to the ocean and returning from there again all the conquered districts were thrown into turmoil and revolted, and the garrisons placed among the various peoples were either expelled or slain.

Trajan learned of this at Babylon; for he had gone there both because of its fame—though he saw nothing but mounds and stones and ruins to justify this—and because of Alexander, to whose spirit he offered sacrifice in the room where he had died.

1 It was not stated above (ch. 26, 4; 27, 1) that Trajan himself went to Babylon on his advance southward.
μαθὼν δὲ ταῦτα τὸν τε Δούσιον καὶ τὸν Μάξιμον
2 ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀφεστικότατος ἐπεμψέ. καὶ οὗτος μὲν ἀπέθανεν ἡττηθεὶς μάχη, Δούσιος δὲ ἀλλα τε πολλὰ κατώρθωσε καὶ τὴν Νίσιβιν ἀνέλαβε, τὴν τε Ἕδεσσαν ἐξεπολιορκήσας καὶ διέφθειρε καὶ ἐνέπρησεν. ἐώς δὲ καὶ ἡ Σελεύκεια πρὸς τε Ἐρυκίου Κλάρου καὶ πρὸς Ἰουλίου Ἀλεξάνδρου
3 ὑποστρατήγων, καὶ ἔκαθη. Τραϊάνος δὲ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ οἱ Πάρθοι τι νεοχμώσωσι, βασιλέα αὐτοῖς ὄνοιν δοῦναι ἡθέλησε, καὶ ἐς Κτησιφώντα ἐλθὼν συνεκάλεσεν ἐς πεδίον τι μέγα πάντας μὲν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πάντας δὲ τοὺς Πάρθους τοὺς ἐκεῖ τότε ὅπτας, καὶ ἐπὶ βῆμα ὑψηλὸν ἀναβὰς, καὶ μεγαληγορήσας ύπερ ὧν καὶ κατειργάσατο, Παρθαμασπάτην τοὺς Πάρθους βασιλέα ἀπέδειξε, τὸ διάδημα αὐτῷ ἐπιθείς.—Xiph. 239, 16–240, 15 R. St.

LXXV Ὄτι τῷ Οὐνολογαίσῳ τῷ Σανατρούκου παίδι
9, 6 ἀντιπαραταξαμένῳ τοῖς περὶ Σεουήρουν, καὶ διοκω-χην πρὶν συμμεῖζαι σφισιν αἰτήσαντι καὶ λαβόντι, πρέσβεις τε πρὸς αὐτόν ἀπέστειλε καὶ μέρος τι τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐπὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐχαρίσατο.
—Exc. U 16 (p. 414).

31 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἦλθε, καὶ τοῖς Ἀτρηνοῖς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἀφειστήκεσαν, ἐπεχείρησε, καὶ ἐστὶ μὲν οὕτε μεγάλη οὕτε εὐδαίμων ὢ πόλις ὡ τε πέριξ χώρα ἔρημος ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐστὶ, καὶ οὕθ' ὤδωρ, ὁ τι μὴ βραχύ καὶ τοῦτο δυσχέρες, οὕτε ξύλον οὕτε χιλὸν ἵσχει.

1 Ἕδεσσαν R. Steph., Ἕδεσσαν VC.
2 Οὐνολογαίσῳ Bk., βολογαίσῳ VBM.
3 Σανατρούκου Reim., σανατρούκου VBM.
When he learned of the revolt, he sent Lusius and A.D. 116 Maximus against the rebels. The latter was defeated in battle and perished; but Lusius, in addition to many other successes, recovered Nisibis, and besieged and captured Edessa, which he sacked and burned. Seleucia was also captured by Erucius Clarus and Julius Alexander, lieutenants, and was burned. Trajan, fearing that the Parthians, too, might begin a revolt, desired to give them a king of their own. Accordingly, when he came to Ctesiphon, he called together in a great plain all the Romans and likewise all the Parthians that were there at the time; then he mounted a lofty platform, and after describing in grandiloquent language what he had accomplished, he appointed Parthamaspates king over the Parthians and set the diadem upon his head.

When Vologaesus, the son of Sanatruces, had arrayed himself against Severus and his army and before battle asked and secured an armistice, Trajan sent envoys to him and granted him a portion of Armenia in return for peace.¹

Next he came into Arabia and began operations A.D. 117 (?) against the people of Hatra, since they, too, had revolted. This city is neither large nor prosperous, and the surrounding country is mostly desert and has neither water (save a small amount and that poor in quality) nor timber nor fodder. These very

¹ This excerpt was erroneously assigned by Ursinus to the reign of Severus. Boissevain's reasons for placing it here were published in *Hermes* xxv. 329ff.

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4 ἀκοκώχὴν Dind., ἀκοκοχὴν VM, ἀκακώχην B.  
5 Ἀγαρηνῶις Val., ἀγαρηνῶις VC.
2 καὶ πρὸς τε αὐτῶν τούτων, ἀδύνατον τὴν προσε- 
dreιαν πλῆθει ποιούντων, πρὸς τε τοῦ Ἡλίων, 
ὡπέρ που καὶ ἀνάκειται, ὡμετα' οὔτε γὰρ ύπὸ 
Τραϊανοῦ τότε οὔτε υπὸ Σεουήρου ὑστερον ἦλω, 
καίτοι καὶ καταβαλόντων μέρη τινά τού τείχους 
3 αὐτῆς. Τραϊανὸς δὲ τοὺς τε ἱππεάς πρὸς τὸ 
tείχος προσέμης ἐσφάλη, 1 ὡστε καὶ ἔς το 
στρατόπεδον αὐτούς ἐσαραξθῆναι, 2 καὶ αὐτὸς 
παριππεύσας βραχυτάτον ἐδέχησε τρωθήναι, καὶ- 
περ τὴν βασιλικὴν στολὴν ἀποθέμενος ἵνα μὴ 
γνωρίσθη. τῆς δὲ πολιᾶς αὐτοῦ τὸ γαύρον καὶ τὸ 
σεμνοπρεπὲς τοῦ προσώπου ἱδόντες ὑπετόπησαν 
tε εἶναι δὲ ἦν, καὶ ἐπετόξευσαν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἤτπεά 
tινὰ τῶν συνόντων οἱ ἀπέκτειναν. ἐγένοντο 3 δὲ 
βρονταί, καὶ ιρίδες υπεφαίνοντο, ἀστραπάτε τε καὶ 
ζάλη χάλαξά τε 4 καὶ κεραυνοῖ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις 
ἐνέπιπτον, ὅποτέ προσβάλοιεν. καὶ ὡπάτε οὕν 
δειπνοῖεν, μυῖαι τοῖς βρόμαι καὶ τοῖς πίθαμοι 5 
προσιξάνονσαι δυσχερείας ἄπαντα ἐνεπίμπλων. 
32 καὶ Τραϊανὸς μὲν ἐκείθεν οὔτως ἀπῆλθε, καὶ οὐ 
pολλῷ ὑστερον ἀρρωστεῖν ἥρχετο. 
Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ κατὰ Κυρήνην Ἰουδαίοι, 
'Ἀνδρέαν 6 τινὰ προστησάμενοι σφων, τοῦς τε 
Ῥωμαίους καὶ τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ἐφθειρον, καὶ τὰς 
σάρκας αὐτῶν ἐσιτούντο καὶ τὰ ἐντερα ἀνεδούντο 
tοῦτε ἀἵματι ἥλειφοντο καὶ τὰ ἀπολέμματα ἐνε- 
dύοντο, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ μέσους ἀπὸ κορυφῆς 
2 διέπριον. θηρίοις ἑτέρους ἐξίδοσαν, καὶ μονο- 
μαχεῖν ἄλλους 7 ἤναγκαζον, ὡστε ἄς πᾶσας δύο

1 ἐσφάλη Β² Ζ², ἐσφάγη Β¹ Ζ¹.
2 ἐσαραχθῆναι Reim., ἐσαραχθῆναι VC.
3 ἐγένοντο Bk., ἐγένοντο VC.

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disadvantages, however, afford it protection, making impossible a siege by a large multitude, as does also the Sun-god, to whom it is consecrated; for it was taken neither at this time by Trajan nor later by Severus, although they both overthrew parts of its wall. Trajan sent the cavalry forward against the wall, but failed in his attempt, and the attackers were hurled back into the camp. Indeed, the emperor himself barely missed being wounded as he was riding past, in spite of the fact that he had laid aside his imperial attire to avoid being recognized; but the enemy, seeing his majestic gray head and his august countenance, suspected his identity, shot at him and killed a cavalryman in his escort. There were peals of thunder, rainbow tints showed, and lightnings, rain-storms, hail and thunderbolts descended upon the Romans as often as they made assaults. And whenever they ate, flies settled on their food and drink, causing discomfort everywhere. Trajan therefore departed thence, and a little later began to fail in health.

Meanwhile the Jews in the region of Cyrene had put a certain Andreas at their head, and were destroying both the Romans and the Greeks. They would eat the flesh of their victims, make belts for themselves of their entrails, anoint themselves with their blood and wear their skins for clothing; many they sawed in two, from the head downwards; others they gave to wild beasts, and still others they forced to fight as gladiators. In all two hundred and twenty thousand

4 τε supplied by Bk.
5 πόμασι Dind., πόμασι VC.
6 Ἀνδρέαν Scaliger, ἀνδραν VC.
7 ἄλλους C, ἄλληλους V.
καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἀπολέσθαι. ἐν τε Αἰγύπτῳ πολλὰ ἐδρασαν ὁμοία καὶ ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ, ἡγουμένου τῶν σφισιν Ἀρτεμίωνος· καὶ ἀπώλοντο

3 καὶ ἐκεῖ μυριάδες τέσσαρες καὶ εἴκοσι. καὶ διὰ τούτ’ οὕδειν Ἡ Ιουδαίων ἐπιβηθναι αὐτής ἔξεστιν, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἀνέμῳ τις βιασθεὶς ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἐκπέσῃ θανατοῦται. ἀλλʼ Ἡ Ιουδαίους μὲν ἄλλου τε καὶ Δούσιος ὑπὸ Τραϊανοῦ πεμφθεῖς κατεστρέφατο.

33 Τραϊανὸς δὲ παρεσκευάζετο μὲν αὖθις ἐς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν στρατεύσαι, ὡς δὲ τῷ νοσήματι ἐπιέζετο, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὀρμήσε πλεῖων, Ποῦπλιον3 δὲ Αἰλιον Ἀδριανὸν ἐν τῇ Σύρῳ κατέλιπε μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ. οὕτω μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς τῆς Ἀρμενίας καὶ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας τῆς πελεύσος τῶν τε Πάρθων κρατῆσαντες μάτην

2 ἐπόνησαν καὶ μάτην ἐκκυνδύνευσαν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ Πάρθοι τὸν Παρθαμασπάτην ἀπαξιώσαντες ἐν τῷ σφετέρῳ τρόπῳ ἠρξαντο βασιλεύεσθαι. ἐνόσησε δ’ ο’1 Τραϊανός, ὡς μὲν αὐτὸς ὑπώπτευσεν, ἐκ φαρμάκου λήψεως, ὡς δὲ τινες λέγουσιν, ἐπισχεθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ αἵματος δ’ κατ’ ἔτος κάτω

3 διεχωρεὶ ἐγένετο μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀπόπληκτος, ὡστε καὶ τοῦ σώματός τι παρεθηναι, τὸ δ’ ὅλον ὑδρωπίας. καὶ ἐς Σελινοῦντα τῆς Κυλικίας ἔλθων, ἦν δὴ καὶ Τραϊανοῦπολιν καλοῦμεν, ἔξαίφνης ἀπέψυξε, μοναρχήσας ἐτῆ δεκαεννέα καὶ μήνας ἔξ ἡμέρας τε πεντεκαίδεκα.—Xiph. 240, 15–241, 27 R. St.
persons perished. In Egypt, too, they perpetrated many similar outrages, and in Cyprus, under the leadership of a certain Artemion. There, also, two hundred and forty thousand perished, and for this reason no Jew may set foot on that island, but even if one of them is driven upon its shores by a storm he is put to death. Among others who subdued the Jews was Lusius, who was sent by Trajan.

Trajan was preparing to make a fresh expedition into Mesopotamia, but, as his malady began to afflict him sorely, he set out, intending to sail to Italy, leaving Publius Aelius Hadrian with the army in Syria. Thus it came about that the Romans in conquering Armenia, most of Mesopotamia, and the Parthians had undergone their hardships and dangers all for naught, for even the Parthians rejected Parthamaspates and began to be ruled once more in their own fashion. Trajan himself suspected that his sickness was due to poison that had been administered to him; but some state that it was because the blood, which descends every year into the lower parts of the body, was in his case checked in its flow. He had also suffered a stroke, so that a portion of his body was paralyzed, and he was dropsical all over. On coming to Selinus in Cilicia, which we also call Traianopolis, he suddenly expired, after reigning nineteen years, six months and fifteen days.

1 οὖδεν Sylb., οὐδὲν VC.
2 ἐκπέσῃ Rk., ἐμπέσην VC.
3 Πούπλιον Bk., πόπλιον VC Zon.
4 δ’ ὅ (δὲ ὅ) H. Steph., δὲ VC.
1. Ἄδριανος ἔπος Ἱουσίανος οὐκ ἔσεσται οὗτος ἀντί τινας τῶν ἔπεσεν πολέμου, καὶ ἔστη ἐπί τοῦ Παρθικοῦ πολέμου προσετάχθη, οὐχι οὗτος ἔστη ἀντί τοῦ τῶν Τραϊανοῦ ἀπαίδους μεταλλάξαντος. οὗτος ἔστη ἀντί τοῦ τῶν ἐπιτροποῦ γεγονός, καὶ Ἔπιτροπος πολέμου ὁ τών καὶ ὡς ταῦτα δύναμιν πολλῆς ἔχοντα ἀπέδειξαν. οὗτος ἔστη Αὐτοῦ Ἀπρωνίος τῆς Ἐπικυρίας ἄρξας, πάντα τὰ καὶ τῶν ἐμεμιθήκησα σεφώς, ἔλεγεν δὲ τά τα ἀλλα ὡς ἔκαστα, καὶ ὡς τῶν ἔκκαι τῶν ἔπεσεν πολέμου ἡμέρας τίναις διὰ τοῦτο συνεργόθη ἤν ἡ πολιτικής προεκστάσεσι. ἐδηλώθη δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς τῆς βουλῆς γραμμάτων αὐτοῦ ταῖς τις ἐπησινολὴς οὐχὶ αὐτοῦ ἄλλη ἡ Πλοτίνα ὑπέγραψεν, ὅπερ ἐπὶ οὐδενὸς ἀλλοῦ ἐπετοιχήκει. 2. Ἡν δὲ, ὅτε ἀνήγορευθη αὐτοκράτωρ, Ἄδριανος ἐν τῇ μέτροπολει Συρίας Αὐτοκράτορι, ἦσ ἢρχεν· ἐδόκει δὲ ὡς ἴσθαι τοῦτος ἠκέινης πῦρ ἐκ τοῦν Ἄδριανος Leuncl., ἄδριανὸς MSS. regularly.
EPITOME OF BOOK LXIX

Hadrian had not been adopted by Trajan; he was merely a compatriot and former ward of his, was of near kin to him and had married his niece,—in short, he was a companion of his, sharing his daily life; and had been assigned to Syria for the Parthian War. Yet he had received no distinguishing mark of favour from Trajan, such as being one of the first to be appointed consul. He became Caesar and emperor owing to the fact that when Trajan died childless, Attianus, a compatriot and former guardian of his, together with Plotina, who was in love with him, secured him the appointment, their efforts being facilitated by his proximity and by his possession of a large military force. My father, Apronianus, who was governor of Cilicia, had ascertained accurately the whole story about him, and he used to relate the various incidents, in particular stating that the death of Trajan was concealed for several days in order that Hadrian’s adoption might be announced first. This was shown also by Trajan’s letters to the senate, for they were signed, not by him, but by Plotina, although she had not done this in any previous instance.

At the time that he was declared emperor, Hadrian was in Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, of which he was governor. He had dreamed before the day in

1 Dio here follows the erroneous tradition that Hadrian was born at Italica in Spain.
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οὗρανοῦ, ἐν τε αἰθρία καὶ ἐν εὐδία πολλῆ, ἐς τὴν ἀριστερὰν αὐτοῦ σφαγὴν ἐμπεσείν, ἔπειτα καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν δεξιὰν παρελθεῖν, μῆτε ἐκφοβήσαν

2 αὐτὸν μῆτε βλάψαν. ἔγραψε δὲ πρὸς τὴν βουλήν ὁ Ἀδριανὸς ἀξίων βεβαιωθῆναι αὐτῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ παρ' ἐκείνης, καὶ ἀπαγορεύων μηδὲν αὐτῷ μῆτε τότε μῆτε ἀλλὸτε τιμήν δὴ τινὰ φέρον, οἶα εἰώθη εὐγενεῖα, ψυχισθῆναι, πλὴν ἀν τι αὐτὸς ποτε ἀξιώσῃ.

3 Τὰ δὲ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ὡστὰ ἐν τῷ κίονι αὐτοῦ κατετέθη, καὶ αἱ θέαι αἱ Παρθικαὶ ὄνομασθεῖσαι ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἐτή ἐγένοντο· ὑστερον γὰρ καὶ αὐτή, ὡσπέρ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ, κατελύθη.—Xiph. 242, 8-243, 5 R. St.

4 ὁ Ἀδριανὸς ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τινὶ ἔγραψε τὰ τε ἄλλα μεγαλοφρονησάμενος, καὶ ἐπομόσας μῆτε τι ἔξω τῶν τοῦ δημοσίου συμφέροντων ποιῆσειν μῆτε βουλευτῆν τινὰ ἀποσφάξειν, καὶ ἐξώλειαν ἑαυτῷ, ἀν καὶ ὁτιοῦν αὐτῶν ἐκβη, προσπαρασάμενος.—Exc. Val. 293a (p. 713), Suidas s.v. Ἀδριανὸς 1. 2.

5 ὁ Ἀδριανὸς δὲ, καὶ τοῦ φιλανθρωπότατα ἄρξας, ὅμως διὰ τινὰς φόνους ἀρίστων ἄνδρῶν, ο⊔ς ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ πρὸς τῇ τελευτῆ τοῦ βίου ἐπεποίητο, διεβλήθη, καὶ ὀλίγον διὰ ταύτ᾽ οὐδὲ ἐς τοὺς ἠρωᾶς ἀνεγράφη. καὶ οὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ φονευθέντες Πάλμας τε καὶ Κέλσους Νιγρίνος τε καὶ Λούσιος ἡσαν, οὶ μὲν ὅς ἐν θῆρα δῆθεν ἐπιβεβολευκότες αὐτῷ, οἱ δὲ ἔφ᾽ ἐτέροις δὴ τισιν ἐγκλημασιν, οἶα μεγάλα δυνάμενοι καὶ

6 πλούτου καὶ δόξης εὐ ἠκοντες· ἔφ᾽ οἶς ὁ Ἀδριανός ὁ ὃς τῶν λογοποιουμένων ἠσθετο ὡστε καὶ 426
question that a fire descended out of heaven, the a.d.117
sky being perfectly clear and bright, and fell first
upon the left side of his throat, passing then to the
right side, though it neither frightened nor injured
him. And he wrote to the senate asking that body
to confirm the sovereignty to him and forbidding the
passing either then or later of any measure (as was
so often done) that contained any special honour for
him, unless he should ask for it at some time.

The bones of Trajan were deposited in his Column,
and the Parthian Games, as they were called, con-
tinued for a number of years; but at a later date
even this observance, like many others, was abolished.

In a certain letter that Hadrian wrote, in which
were many high-minded sentiments, he swore that
he would neither do anything contrary to the public
interest nor put to death any senator, and he in-
voked destruction upon himself if he should violate
these promises in any wise.

Trajan, though he ruled with the greatest mildness,
was nevertheless severely criticized for slaying several
of the best men in the beginning of his reign and
again near the end of his life, and for this reason he
came near failing to be enrolled among the demigods.
Those who were slain at the beginning were Palma
and Celsus, Nigrinus and Lusius, the first two for
the alleged reason that they had conspired against
him during a hunt, and the others on certain other
complaints, but in reality because they had great
influence and enjoyed wealth and fame. Neverthe-
less, Hadrian felt so keenly the comments that this

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1 ἀντὶ Ἡ. Steph., ἀντὶ VC.
2 ἐπεσοῦντο St., πεποιήτο VC.
3 Πάλμας Sylb., πάλμος VC.

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ἀπελογήσατο καὶ ἐπώμοσε μὴ κεκελευκέναι ἀποθανεῖν αυτοῦς. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ Σερουιανός τε ὑπῆρχον καὶ ὁ ἐγγονος αὐτοῦ Φουσκός.—Xiph. 243, 5–15 R. St.

62 "Ὅτι Ἀδριανὸς ἦν ἥδυς μὲν ἐντυχεῖν, καὶ ἑπτήνθει τις αὐτῶ ἡμία.—Joann. Antioch. fr. 113 Muell. (v. 1, 2).

3 Ἦν δὲ Ἀδριανὸς γένος μὲν βουλευτοῦ πατρὸς ἐστρατηγικότος Ἀδριανοῦ Ἄφρου 1 (οὔτω γὰρ ἰωμαξέτο), φύσει 2 δὲ φιλολόγος ἐν ἑκατέρα τῇ γλώσσῃ καὶ τινὰ καὶ πεζὰ καὶ ἐν ἐπεσὶ ποιή-

2 ματα παντοδαπὰ καταλέλοιπε. 3 φιλοτιμία τε γὰρ ἀπλήστω ἐχρίτο, καὶ κατὰ τούτο καὶ τάλλα πάντα καὶ τὰ βραχύτατα ἐπετήδευε· καὶ γὰρ ἐπλάσε καὶ ἐγραφῃ καὶ οὐδὲν ὁ τι οὐκ εἰρημικὸν καὶ πολεμικὸν καὶ βασιλικὸν καὶ ὁιδωτικὸν

3 εἰδέναι ἔλεγε. καὶ τούτω μὲν οὐδὲν ποι τοὺς ἀν-

θρώπους ἐβλάπτεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ φθόνος αὐτοῦ δεινό-

τατος ἐσ πάντας τούς τίνι προέχουτας ὄν 4 πολλοὺς μὲν καθεὶλε συχνοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπώλεσε. βουλόμενος γὰρ πάντων ἐν πάσι περιεῖναι ἐμίσει τοὺς ἐν τιν ὑπεραίροντας. κὰκ τούτοι καὶ τὸν Φαουρωρίνου 5 τὸν Γαλάτην τὸν τε Διονύσιον τὸν Μιλήσιον τοὺς σοφιστὰς καταλύει ἐπεχείρει τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ μᾶλιστα τῷ τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς σφων ἐξαιρεῖν, τοὺς μὲν μηδένος τοὺς δὲ βραχυτάτου τινὸς ἀξίους

5 ὅντας: ὅτε Διονύσιος πρὸς τὸν Ἀναίδιον 5 Ἡλιό-

δωρὸν, τὸν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ διαγαγόντα,

1 Ἀδριανοῦ Ἄφρου Bk., Ἀδριανοῦ Ἄφρου uïds VC, αὔφρου cod. Peir., Ἄφρου Suid.

2 φύσει VC, φύσιν cod. Peir.

3 καταλέλοιπε VC, κατέλιπεν cod. Peir. Suid.

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action occasioned, that he made a defence and declared upon oath that he had not ordered their deaths. Those who perished at the end of his reign were Servianus and his grandson Fuscus.

Hadrian was a pleasant man to meet and he possessed a certain charm.

As regards birth Hadrian was the son of a man of senatorial rank, an ex-praetor, Hadrianus Afer by name. By nature he was fond of literary study in both the Greek and Latin languages, and has left behind a variety of prose writings as well as compositions in verse. For his ambition was insatiable, and hence he practised all conceivable pursuits, even the most trivial; for example, he modelled and painted, and declared that there was nothing pertaining to peace or war, to imperial or private life, of which he was not cognizant. All this, of course, did people no harm; but his jealousy of all who excelled in any respect was most terrible and caused the downfall of many, besides utterly destroying several. For, inasmuch as he wished to surpass everybody in everything, he hated those who attained eminence in any direction. It was this feeling that led him to undertake to overthrow two sophists, Favorinus the Gaul, and Dionysius of Miletus, by various methods, but chiefly by elevating their antagonists, who were of little or no worth at all. Dionysius is said to have remarked then to Avidius Heliodorus, who had had charge of the
eìpteîn légetai òti "Káîsâr xhrîmata mév sou kai
ti'mh òouv di'vatai, rîtora dé se poûsou ou ðú-
6 vatai," kai ò Fâouofrônos múllwv par' autôv perí
tîs âtelleiaîs ònh en tî patrîdî echîn ëkîou
 dikássathai, úpototîsas kai ëlattwthi'sethai
kai prôsûbri Ôsthí'sethai, êsîlhtho mev en ò tî diak-
stîrîon, eîpe de oudeîn allh ò òti "ò didâskaîlos
mou ónàr tîs ñuktòs tãutîs ëpîstóas moî êkêleusse
leîtourngeîn tî patrîdî òs kai êkêinî ùgevnè-
mènon."¹—Xîph. 243, 15—244, 1 R. St., Exc. Val.
293⁵ (p. 713), Suid. s.v. 'A'driâvôs gl. 1.

4 'A'driâvôs dé toútov mev, kai'per ã'khèsthèi'sîs
sôfi'sîn, êfèîsato, múdêmîan évloîon ìlêthrou kath'
autôn àforômîn lâsbîn. tîn ð' 'Apollô'dôron tîn
ârkítêktona tîn tîn àgorân kai tî oî'deîou tî
tê ëgvmâsîon, tâ tîn Traîâvô lôi'mata, ev tî
'Rômî kata'skevásantîa tî mev prôtîn ëfugá-
dêu'ven, êpîeîta de kai 'ápêktêine, lôgîw mev òs
plêmêlî'santîa ti, tô ð' álîthèes òti tîv Trawâvô
koînwumènou ti autôv perî tôv ërugon ëipê tîv
'A'driâvô parâlalâhî'santî ti òti "ápêlêh kai
tas kolôkûntas grâîfe. toútov gâr oudeîn ëpi-
stasai." êtvúghâne de àra tôte êkeînos tîoi'utô
3 tônì ãrâmâmati semuvnô'menos, autôkraitô'reî'sas
ou tôtê ëmvanîkâkî'se kai tîn ìparrhîsîn autôv
ouk ëngykeî. autôs mev gâr tîv 'Afrôdî'thîs
tîs tî 'Rômîs vao tî diâgrâ'mma autôv pêm'gâs,
dî êuđeîxîn òti kai ànên êkeînou ëega ërugon
gînhêsthai ðûnatai, ërêto ei ev ëxoi tô kata-
skeúasmaî. ò ð' àntetpêstêile perî tê tîv vaoû

¹ ùgevnèmènou R. Steph., ùgevnèmènou VC.

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emperor's correspondence: "Caesar can give you a.d. 117 money and honour, but he cannot make you an orator." And Favorinus, who was about to plead a case before the emperor in regard to exemption from taxes, a privilege which he desired to secure in his native land, suspected that he should be unsuccessful and receive insults besides, and so merely entered the court-room and made this brief statement: "My teacher stood beside me last night in a dream and bade me serve my country, as having been born for her."

Now Hadrian spared these men, displeased as he was with them, for he could find no plausible pretext to use against them for their destruction. But he first banished and later put to death Apollodorus, the architect, who had built the various creations of Trajan in Rome—the forum, the odeum and the gymnasium. The reason assigned was that he had been guilty of some misdemeanor; but the true reason was that once when Trajan was consulting him on some point about the buildings he had said to Hadrian, who had interrupted with some remark: "Be off, and draw your gourds. You don't understand any of these matters." (It chanced that Hadrian at the time was pluming himself upon some such drawing.) When he became emperor, therefore, he remembered this slight and would not endure the man's freedom of speech. He sent him the plan of the temple of Venus and Roma by way of showing him that a great work could be accomplished without his aid, and asked Apollodorus whether the proposed structure was satisfactory. The architect in his reply stated, first, in regard to the temple, that it ought to have been built on
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1 ὃτι καὶ μετέωρον αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπεκκεκενωμένου γενέσθαι ἔχρην, ὅπ' ἐσ τῇ τὴν ἱερὰν ὀδὸν ἐκ-φανέστερος ἐξ ὑψηλότερου εἰς καὶ ἐς τὸ κοῖλον τὰ μηχανήματα ἐσέδεχοτο, ὡστε καὶ ἀφανὸς συμπήγγυσθαι καὶ ἐξ οὐ προειδότος ἐς τὸ θεάτρον ἑσάγεσθαι, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἁγαλμάτων ὃτι μείζονα ἦ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ ὑψος τού μεγάρου λόγον ἐποιήθην "ἀν γὰρ αἱ θεαί" ἐφ' ἐξαναστήσεσθαι τε καὶ ἐξελθεῖν ἐθελήσωσιν, οὐ δυνηθήσονται. ταῦτα γὰρ ἀντικρυσ αὐτοῦ γράψαντος καὶ ἡγανά- κτησε καὶ ὑπερήψαν ὃτι καὶ ἐς ἀδιόρθωτον ἀμαρτίαν ἐπεπτώκει, καὶ ὡστε τὴν ὄργην οὕτε τὴν λύπην κατέσχεν, ἀλλὰ ἐφούνεσθεν αὐτοῦ. καὶ οὕτως γε τῇ φύσει τοιοῦτος ἦν ὡστε μὴ μόνον τοῖς ἥσωσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς τελευτήσασι φθονεῖν τὸν γονᾶ "Ομηρον καταλύων 'Αυτίμαχον ἄντ' αὐτοῦ ἐσήγεν, οὐ μὴ δὲ τὸ ὅνομα πολλοὶ πρότερον ἑπίσταντο.

5 Ἡντιώντο μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πάνω ἀκρίβες τὸ τε περιέργον καὶ τὸ πολύπραγμον ἐθεράπευε δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ ἀνελάμβανε τῇ τε ἅλλῃ ἐπιμελείᾳ καὶ προνοία καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ καὶ δεξιότητι, καὶ τῷ μὴ τινὰ πόλεμον ταράξαι καὶ τοὺς ὀντας παιέσαι, μήτε τινὸς χρήματα ἀδίκως ἀφελέσθαι, καὶ πολλοῖς πολλά, καὶ δήμοις

1 ὃτι Bk., καὶ ὃτι VC.
2 ἐκφανέστερος Sylb., ἐκφανέστερον VC.
3 μεγάρου Reim., μεγάλου VC.
4 ἄντ' om. cod. Peir.
5 ἐσήγεν cod. Peir., εἰσάγεντι VC.
6 περιέργον καὶ τὸ πολύπραγμον Suid., πολύπραγμον καὶ τὸ περιέργον cod. Peir., περιέργον καὶ τὸ πολύτροπον VC Zon.
7 ἀνελάμβανε VC Suid., ἀπελάμβανε cod. Peir.
8 τινὸς VC cod. Peir., τινὰ Suid.
high ground and that the earth should have been A.D. 117 excavated beneath it, so that it might have stood out more conspicuously on the Sacred Way from its higher position, and might also have accommodated the machines in its basement, so that they could be put together unobserved and brought into the theatre without anyone's being aware of them beforehand. Secondly, in regard to the statues, he said that they had been made too tall for the height of the cella. "For now," he said, "if the goddesses wish to get up and go out, they will be unable to do so." When he wrote this so bluntly to Hadrian, the emperor was both vexed and exceedingly grieved because he had fallen into a mistake that could not be righted, and he restrained neither his anger nor his grief, but slew the man. Indeed, his nature was such that he was jealous not only of the living, but also of the dead; at any rate he abolished Homer and introduced in his stead Antimachus, whose very name had previously been unknown to many.

Other traits for which people found fault with him were his great strictness, his curiosity and his meddlesomeness. Yet he balanced and atoned for these defects by his careful oversight, his prudence, his munificence and his skill; furthermore, he did not stir up any war, and he terminated those already in progress; and he deprived no one of money unjustly, while upon many—communities and private citizens, Antimachus of Colophon, an epic poet who flourished about 400 B.C. He wrote an epic, the Thebais, and an elegy, Lyde, both characterized by extreme length and a wealth of mythological lore. By the Alexandrian grammarians he was ranked next to Homer among the epic poets. For Hadrian's preferences in the field of Roman literature see the Vita Hadriani (in the Historia Augusta), chap. 16.

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καὶ ἰδιώταις καὶ βουλευταῖς τε καὶ ἰππεύσι,1 2 χαρίσασθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνέμενεν αἱτηθῆναι τι, ἀλλὰ πάνυ πάντα πρὸς τὴν ἐκάστον χρείαν ἐποίει. καὶ τὰ τε στρατιωτικὰ ἀκριβέστατα ἄσκησέν, ὡστε ἱσχύοντα μήτε ἀπειθεῖν μήτε ὑβρίζειν, καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς τε συμμαχίδας καὶ τὰς ὑπηκόους μεγαλοπρεπέστατα ὀφθέλησε. 3 πολλὰς μὲν γὰρ καὶ εἶδεν αὐτῶν, ὅσα οὐδεὶς ἄλλος αὐτοκράτωρ, πάσαις δὲ ὦς εἰπεῖν ἐπεκούρησε, ταῖς μὲν υδρω ταῖς δὲ λιμένας σῖτῶν τε καὶ ἔργα καὶ χρήματα καὶ τιμὰς ἄλλας ἄλλας διδοῦσ.—Xiph. 244, 1–245, 6 R. St., Exc. Val. 294 (p. 713), Suidas s.v. Ἀδριανὸς gl. 4.

6 ᾳΠε δὲ καὶ τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐμμερίθως μᾶλλον ἢ θωπευτικῶς καὶ ποτε ἵσχυρῶς αἰτούντι τι 2 ἐν ὀπλομαχία οὔτε ένειμε, καὶ προσέτι ἐκέλευσε τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ κηρυχθῆναι

2 "σιωπήσατε." οὐκ ἐλέχθη μὲν γὰρ· ὁ γὰρ κήρυξ ἀνατείνας τὴν χειρὰ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τούτου 3 ἡσυχάσας, ὡσπερ εἰώθασι ποιεῖν (οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅταν ὑπὸ κηρύγματος σιγάξονται), ἐπειδὴ ἐσιώπησαν, ἐφη "τοῦτ ἐθέλει." 4 καὶ οὐκ ὅτι τινὰ ὅργην τῷ κήρυκι ἐσχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑτίμησεν αὐτὸν ὅτι τὴν δυσχέρειαν τοῦ κελεύσματος οὐκ ἐξέφησεν.

3 ἐφεξο χάρα τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ οὐκ ἠγανάκτει εἰ τί καὶ παρὰ γνώμην καὶ πρὸς τῶν τυχόντων ὠφελοῖτο. ἀμέλεια γυναικὸς παριόντος αὐτοῦ ὁδὸν τίνι δεομένης, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὅτι "οὐ σχολάζω," ἐπείτα ὡς ἑκείνη ἀνακραγούσα

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senators and knights—he bestowed large sums. A.D. 117
Indeed, he did not even wait to be asked, but acted in absolutely every case according to the individual needs. He subjected the legions to the strictest discipline, so that, though strong, they were neither insubordinate nor insolent; and he aided the allied and subject cities most munificently. He had seen many of them,—more, in fact, than any other emperor,—and he assisted practically all of them, giving to some a water supply, to others harbours, food, public works, money and various honours, differing with the different cities.

He led the Roman people rather by dignity than by flattery. Once at a gladiatorial contest, when the crowd was demanding something very urgently, he not only would not grant it but further bade the herald proclaim Domitian's command, "Silence." The word was not uttered, however, for the herald raised his hand and by that very gesture quieted the people, as heralds are accustomed to do (for crowds are never silenced by proclamation), and then, when they had become quiet, he said: "That is what he wishes." And Hadrian was not in the least angry with the herald, but actually honoured him for not uttering the rude order. For he could bear such things, and was not displeased if he received aid either in an unexpected way or from ordinary men.

At any rate, once, when a woman made a request of him as he passed by on a journey, he at first said to her, "I haven't time," but afterwards, when she

1 bouleutais—eipei VC, αλλοις τισι cod. Peir.
2 ti Zon., om. VC.
3 tovtau R. Steph., τούτους VC.
4 tovt eilei Bk., τούτο θελει VC.
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ἐφη "καὶ μὴ βασίλευε," ἐπεστράψη τε καὶ λόγον αὐτῆ ἐδωκεν.

7 Ἐπραττε δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πάντα τὰ μεγάλα καὶ ἀναγκαιότατα, καὶ ἐδίκαζε μετὰ τῶν πρώτων τοτὲ μὲν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ τοτὲ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῷ τε Πανθείῳ καὶ ἀλλοθὶ πολλαχόθι, ἀπὸ βῆματος, ὡστε δημοσιεύεσθαι τὰ γιγνόμενα. καὶ τοῖς υπάτοις ἦστιν ὅτε δικάζουσι συνεχέστερον,

2 ἐν τε ταῖς ἵπποδρομίαις αὐτοῦ ἐτίμα. καὶ οὐκαδε ἀνακομιζόμενος ἐν φορείῳ ἐφέρετο, ὅπως μηδένα συνακολουθοῦντά ὦ ἐνοχλοῖ. ἐν δὲ ταῖς μῆτε ἱσαῖς μῆτε δημοσίως ἡμέραις οἴκου ἔμενε, καὶ οὐδένα οὐδ' ὅσον ἀσπασάσθαι προσ- εδέχετο, εἰ μὴ τι ἀναγκαίον εἰῆ, ἦν μὴ πάνυ

3 ταλαιπωρώντο. ἀεὶ τε περὶ ἑαυτόν καὶ ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ καὶ ἐξῳ τοὺς ἀρίστους εἶχε, καὶ συνήν σφισι καὶ ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ τέταρτος πολλάκις ὥχετο. θήρα δὲ ὁσάκες ἐνεδέχετο, καὶ ἥριστα ἄνευ οἴνου· καὶ πλείονα ἐσιτεῖτο· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ δικάζων μεταξὺ τρο- φῆς μετελάμβανεν· 1 ἐπείτη μετὰ πάντων τῶν πρῶτων καὶ ἀρίστων ἐδείπνει, καὶ ἦν αὐτὸς· 2 τὸ συσσίτιον παντοδαπῶν λόγων πλῆρες. τοὺς τε πάνω νοσοῦντας φίλους ἐπεσκέπτετο, καὶ ἐστάξουσι σφισι συνδετάτο, τοῖς τε ἄγοις καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις αὐτῶν ἒδεως ἐχρήτο· οἴθεν καὶ εἰκόνας πολλοῖς μὲν ἀποθανοῦσι πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ ξῶσιν ἐς τὴν ἁγορὰν ἐστησεν· οὐ μέντοι οὔτε ἐξύβρισέ

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1 καὶ πλείονα—μετελάμβανεν Patric., om. Xiph.
2 αὐτῷ Zon. exc. Vat., αὐτοῦ VC.
cried out, "Cease, then, being emperor," he turned about and granted her a hearing.

He transacted with the aid of the senate all the important and most urgent business and he held court with the assistance of the foremost men, now in the palace, now in the Forum or the Pantheon or various other places, always being seated on a tribunal, so that whatever was done was made public. Sometimes he would join the consuls when they were trying cases and he showed them honour at the horse-races. When he returned home he was wont to be carried in a litter, in order not to trouble anyone to accompany him. On the days that were neither sacred nor suitable for public business he remained at home, and admitted no one, even so much as just to greet him, unless it were on some urgent matter; this was in order to spare people a troublesome duty. Both in Rome and abroad he always kept the noblest men about him, and he used to join them at banquets and for this reason often took three others into his carriage. He went hunting as often as possible, and he breakfasted without wine; he used to eat a good deal, and often in the midst of trying a case he would partake of food; later he would dine in the company of all the foremost and best men, and their meal together was the occasion for all kinds of discussions. When his friends were very ill, he would visit them, and he would attend their festivals, and was glad to stay at their country seats and their town houses. Hence he also placed in the Forum images of many when they were dead and of many while they were still alive. No one of

1 In other words, on the dies religiosi, the unlucky days of the Roman calendar.
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tis autwn ou't' aptedotuo to ou't' ow eneleven ou't'
dvn eprratven, oia o' te Kaiasareiou kai o' alloi
oi peri tovs autokratpras 'exontes poiei w eiow-
thetai.

8,1' Taunta peri ge1 tou tropou, ws en kefalaiow
eipein, proeiriqha: lege2 dei kai ta kath' ekaston,
osa anagkaiwn esti mnu mou nevsebhai.—Xiph. 245,
6–246, 8 R. St., Petr. Patr. Exe. Vat. 107 (p. 221
Mai. = p. 203, 8–13 Dind.).

1a "Oti 'Alextandrewϛ sotasiastw twn ouk allous
epausantou, etos ou' epistqolhn 'Adrianoq edexanto
epitimwstan autois' ouwv pou pleow iosxasei
autokratros logos twn oplwov.—Petr. Patr. Exe.
Vat. 108 (p. 221 Mai. = p. 203, 14–17 Dind.).

12 'Eldowv gar es twn 'Rwmyw afike te oxeilou-
meanta to te basileikov kai to dmoisy to twn
'Rwmayon, ekkaidekaetη orisasa 'chrwvno af' ou te
2 kai meirios ou' terevtheosebhai toutou' emellev.
En te tois 'eautou gennethlivos proika to dymow twn
thean apteneime kai theria polla apenteinev, osete
epapaq kai lentionas ekaton kai leaivas iasas
pesein, kai dora dia sfaireion kai en to theatro
kai en to ippodromov 'chrises men tois andrasi
chrises de taizgynave dierepsye. kai gar kai3
loousbhai4 'chrises allhlon autois prosetaxen.
3 en mewn to etei 'ekainov taunta te egenveto kai o

1 ge St., te VC.
2 lege Sylb., lege VC.
3 kai supplied by H. Steph.
4 loousbhai Dind., loousbhai VC.

1 Literally, sixteen years, reckoning inclusively. It has
been argued that Hadrian at this time provided for a general
his associates, moreover, displayed insolence or took A.D. 117 money for divulging anything that Hadrian either said or did, as the freedmen and other attendants in the suite of emperors are accustomed to do.

This is a kind of preface, of a summary nature, that I have been giving in regard to his character. I shall also relate in detail all the events that require mention.

The Alexandrians had been rioting, and nothing would make them stop until they received a letter from Hadrian rebuking them. So true is it that an emperor's word will have more force than arms.

On coming to Rome he cancelled the debts that A.D. 118 were owing to the imperial treasury and to the public treasury of the Romans, fixing a period of fifteen 1 years from the first to the last of which this remission was to apply. On his birthday he gave the usual spectacle free to the people and slew many wild beasts, so that one hundred lions, for example, and a like number of lionesses fell on this single occasion. He also distributed gifts by means of little balls 2 which he threw broadcast both in the theatres and in the Circus, for the men and for the women separately. And further, he also commanded them to bathe separately. Besides these events of revision of the tax lists every fifteen years (so Mommsen, Röm. Staatsrecht II 3 , 1015, 4). The next recorded instance, however, of anything of the sort is from the year 178 (inf. lxxi. 32, 2), when Marcus Aurelius cancelled all the arrears for the preceding forty-five years, "in addition to the fifteen years of Hadrian." Hadrian's action, moreover, probably applied only to the taxes due to the fiscus (so the Vilia Hadriani, 7, 6), and not to both treasuries, as Dio states.

2 Cf. lxii (lxi). 18, lxvi. 25.
Εὐφράτης ὁ φιλόσοφος ἀπέθανεν ἐθελοντῆς, ἐπιτρέψαντος αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ κόντεων καὶ διὰ τὸ γῆρας καὶ διὰ τὴν νόσου πιεῖν.

9 Ἀδριανὸς δὲ ἄλλην ἀπ᾽ ἄλλης διαπορευόμενος ἐπαρχίαν, τὰς τε χώρας καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπισκέπτομεν, καὶ πάντα τὰ φρούρια καὶ τὰ τείχη περισκοπῶν τὰ μὲν ἐς ἑπικαιροτέρους τόπους μεθίστη, τὰ δὲ ἐπαυε, τὰ δὲ προσκαβι-2 στατο, αὐτὸς πάντα ἀπλῶς, οὐχ ὅπως τὰ κοινὰ τῶν στρατοπέδων, ὅπλα λέγω καὶ μηχανὰς καὶ τάφρους καὶ περιβόλους καὶ χαρακώματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἱδία ἕνως ἐκάστου, καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ στρατευόμενοι καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν, τοὺς βίους ταῖς οἰκήσεις τοὺς τρόπους, καὶ ἐφορῶν καὶ ἐξετάζων καὶ πολλὰ γε ἐς τὸ ἀβρότερον ἐκδεδιηγήμενα καὶ κατεσκευασμένα καὶ μετερρή-3 μισε καὶ μετέσκευάσεν. ἑγύμναζέ τε αὐτοὺς πρὸς πάν εἰδος μάχης, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐτίμα τούς δὲ ἐνοθέτει, πάντας δὲ ἐδίδασκεν ἃ χρή ποιεῖν, καὶ ὅπως γε καὶ ὀρόντες αὐτὸν ὕφελοίτο, σκληρὰ τε πανταχοῦ τῇ διαιτῇ ἔχρητο, καὶ ἐβάδιζεν ἥ καὶ ἱππεύει πάντα, οὐδὲ ἑστὶν ὅποτε ἑίτε ὁχή-4 ματος τότε γε ἑίτε τετρακύκλου ἐπέβη; οὔτε τὴν κεφαλὴν οὐκ ἐν θάλπει, οὐκ ἐν ρίγει ἐκαλύφθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς χιόσι ταῖς Κελτικαῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς καύμαι σοῖ τοῖς Αὐγουστιακοῖς γυμνῆ αὐτὴ περιήγει. συνελύόντι τε εἰπεῖν, οὕτω καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ τοῖς παραγγέλμασι πάν τὸ στρατιωτικὸν δι’ ὅλης τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡσκῆσαι καὶ κατεκόσμησεν ὡστε

1 ἑπικαιροτέρους Bk., ἑπικαιροτάτους VC.
2 μετεσκεύασεν Sylb., μετέσκαψεν VC.
that year, Euphrates, the philosopher, died a death A.D. 119 of his own choosing, since Hadrian permitted him to drink hemlock in consideration of his extreme age and his malady.

Hadrian travelled through one province after A.D. 121 another, visiting the various regions and cities and inspecting all the garrisons and forts. Some of these he removed to more desirable places, some he abolished, and he also established some new ones. He personally viewed and investigated absolutely everything, not merely the usual appurtenances of camps, such as weapons, engines, trenches, ramparts and palisades, but also the private affairs of every one, both of the men serving in the ranks and of the officers themselves,—their lives, their quarters and their habits,—and he reformed and corrected in many cases practices and arrangements for living that had become too luxurious. He drilled the men for every kind of battle, honouring some and reproving others, and he taught them all what should be done. And in order that they should be benefited by observing him, he everywhere led a rigorous life and either walked or rode on horseback on all occasions, never once at this period setting foot in either a chariot or a four-wheeled vehicle. He covered his head neither in hot weather nor in cold, but alike amid German snows and under scorching Egyptian suns he went about with his head bare. In fine, both by his example and by his precepts he so trained and disciplined the whole military force throughout the entire empire that even

3 εἰτε—εἰτε Bs., οὕτε—οὕτε VC.
4 οὐδέ Bk., οὕτε VC.
καὶ νῦν τὰ τὸτε ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ταχθέντα ¹ νόμον σφίσιν
5 τῆς στρατείας εἶναι. καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ μάλιστα ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸ πλείστον πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους διεγένετο· τὴν τε γὰρ παρασκευὴν αὐτοῦ ὀρώντες, καὶ μῆτε τι ἄδικούμενοι καὶ προσέτι καὶ χρῆ-
6 ματα λαμβάνοντες, οὐδὲν ἐνεόχωσαν. οὕτω γὰρ καλῶς ἠσκητὸ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν αὐτῷ ὦστε καὶ τὸ ἰππικὸν τῶν καλομένων Βατάουνων ² τὸν Ἰστρον μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν διενήξαντο. ἢ ὀρώντες οἱ βάρβαροι τοὺς μὲν Ῥωμαίους κατεπλήττοντο, τρεπόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ ³ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔχρωντο αὐτῷ διαιτητῆ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορῶν.

10 Ἑποίει δὲ καὶ θέατρα καὶ ἀγώνας, περιπορευό-
μενος τὰς πόλεις, ἀνευ τῆς βασιλικῆς μέντοι παρασκευῆς· οὔδε γὰρ ἔξω τῆς Ῥώμης ἔχρησατό ποτὲ αὐτῇ. τὴν δὲ πατρίδα καίπερ μεγάλα τιμήσας καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ύπερήφανα αὐτῇ δοὺς,
2 ὀμούς οὐκ εἴδε. περὶ μέντοι τὰς θήρας ἐσπο-
δακέναι λέγεται· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὴν κλεῖν ἐν ταύ-
ταις κατέαξε καὶ τὸ σκέλος μικροῦ ἐπηρώθη, καὶ πόλιν ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ οἰκίσας Ἀδριανοῦ θήρας αὐτῆν ἤγνομασεν. οὐ μέντοι τι παρὰ τοῦτ’ ἀπρα-
κτον τῶν τῇ ἁρχῇ προσηκοντῶν κατέλιπε. τῆς δὲ περὶ τὰς θήρας σπουδῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ Βορυ-
σθένης ὁ ἵππος, ὁ μάλιστα θηρῶν ἥρεσκετο, σημεῖον ἐστιν· ἀποθανόντι γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τάφον κατεσκεύασε καὶ στήλην ἔστησε καὶ ἐπιγράμματα ³ ἑπέγραψεν. οὕτων οὐ θαυμαστὸν εἰ καὶ τὴν Πλω-
τίναν ἀποθανοῦσαν, δι’ ἥς ἔτυχε τῆς ἁρχῆς

¹ ταχθέντα Sylb., ἀχθέντα VC.
² Βατάουων Suid., βαστάων VC.
to-day the methods then introduced by him are the A.D. 121 soldiers' law of campaigning. This best explains why he lived for the most part at peace with foreign nations; for as they saw his state of preparation and were themselves not only free from aggression but received money besides, they made no uprising. So excellently, indeed, had his soldiery been trained that the cavalry of the Batavians, as they were called, swam the Ister with their arms. Seeing all this, the barbarians stood in terror of the Romans, and turning their attention to their own affairs, they employed Hadrian as an arbitrator of their differences.

He also constructed theatres and held games as he travelled about from city to city, dispensing, however, with the imperial trappings; for he never used these outside Rome. And yet he did not see his native land,¹ though he showed it great honour and bestowed many splendid gifts upon it. He is said to have been enthusiastic about hunting. Indeed, he broke his collar-bone at this pursuit and came near getting his leg maimed; and to a city that he founded in Mysia he gave the name of Hadrianotherae.² However, he did not neglect any of the duties of his office because of this pastime. Some light is thrown upon his passion for hunting by what he did for his steed Borysthenes, which was his favourite horse for the chase; when the animal died, he prepared a tomb for him, set up a slab and placed an inscription upon it. It is not strange, then, that upon the death of Plotina, the woman through whom he had secured

¹ See note on ch. 1.
² i.e., Hadrian's Hunts (or Hunting Grounds).
³ ἐπὶ St., πεπλ VC.
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ερώσης αυτοῦ, διαφερόντως ετίμησεν, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἐννέα μελανείμουνός καὶ ναὸν αὐτῆς οἰκοδομῆσαι καὶ ὦμνους τινὰς ἐς αὐτὴν ποιῆσαι.

—Xiph. 246, 8–247, 28 R. St.

3a "Ὅτι τῆς Πλωτίνης ἀποθανούσης ἐπήνει αὐτὴν Ἀδριανός, λέγων ὦτι "πολλὰ παρ’ ἐμοῦ αἰτήσασα οὐδενὸς ἀπέτυχεν." τούτῳ δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως ἐλεγεν, ἀλλ’ ὦτι "τοιαύτα ἦτει ολὰ συνεχῶρει ἀντεῖπειν."—Petr. Patr. Exc. Vat. 109 (p. 221 Mai. = p. 203, 18–21 Dind.).

3Οὔτω δὲ περὶ τὴν θήραν ἐπιδείξιος ἡν ὡς καὶ μέγαν ποτὲ σὺν μιᾷ πληγῇ καθελεῖν.

11 Ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπώπτευσε τὰ μυστήρια.

Διὰ δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας μετὰ ταύτα ἐς Αἰγύπτων παριδὼν καὶ ἐνήγισε τῷ Πομπηίῳ πρὸς ὅν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἀπορρίψαι λέγεται

τῷ ναοῖς βρίθοντι πόση σπάνις ἐπλετο τύμβου.

καὶ τὸ μνῆμα αὐτοῦ διεφθαρμένον ἀνοικοδόμησεν.

2ἐν δὲ τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τὴν Ἀντινόου ἀνοικοδόμησα σῶλον. ὁ γὰρ Ἀντίνοος ἦν μὲν ἐκ Βιθυνίου πόλεως Βιθυνίδος, ἦν καὶ Κλαυδιουπόλιν καλοῦμεν, παιδικά δὲ 3 αὐτοῦ ἔγεγονεν, καὶ ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἐτελεύτησεν, εἰτ’ οὐν ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον ἐκτεσάν, ὡς Ἀδριανός γράφει, εἰτ’ καὶ

3ιερουργηθεῖσ, ὡς ἡ ἀλήθεια ἤχει. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα περιεργότατος Ἀδριανός, ὡσπερ εἴπουν, ἐγένετο, καὶ μαντείαις μαγγανείαις τε παντοδαπαῖς ἔχριτο.

1 Πλωτίνης Dind., πλωτίνης cod.

2 οὔτε—οὔτε Dind., οὐδὲ—οὐδὲ cod.

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the imperial office because of her love for him, he A.D. 124
honoured her exceedingly, wearing black for nine
days, erecting a temple to her and composing some
hymns in her memory.
When Plotina died, Hadrian praised her, saying:
"Though she asked much of me, she was never
refused anything." By this he simply meant to
say: "Her requests were of such a character that
they neither burdened me nor afforded me any
justification for opposing them."
He was so skilful in the chase that he once
brought down a huge boar with a single blow.
On coming to Greece he was admitted to the A.D. 128
highest grade at the Mysteries.¹
After this he passed through Judaea into Egypt A.D. 130
and offered sacrifice to Pompey, concerning whom
he is said to have uttered this verse:

"Strange lack of tomb for one with shrines o'er-
whelmed!"
And he restored his monument, which had fallen in
ruin. In Egypt also he rebuilt the city named hence-
forth for Antinous.² Antinous was from Bithynium,
a city of Bithynia, which we also call Claudiopolis;
he had been a favourite of the emperor and had
died in Egypt, either by falling into the Nile, as
Hadrian writes, or, as the truth is, by being offered
in sacrifice. For Hadrian, as I have stated, was
always very curious and employed divinations and
incantations of all kinds. Accordingly, he honoured

¹ The Eleusinian Mysteries.
² Antinoöpolis.
³ δὲ Bk., τε VC cod. Peir.
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καὶ οὔτω γε τὸν Ἀντίνοον, ἦτοι διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα αὐτοῦ ἢ ὅτι ἐθελοντῆς ἐθανατώθη (ἐκουσίου γὰρ ψυχῆς πρὸς ἃ ἐπραττεν ἐδείτο), ἐτίμησεν ὦς 1 καὶ πόλιν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ, ἐν ὦ τοῦτ ἐπαθε, καὶ συνοικισαὶ καὶ ὁνομάσαε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκείνου ἀνδριάντας ἐν πάσῃ ὡς εἶπεν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀγάλματα, ἀνέθηκε. καὶ τέλος ἄστέρα τινά αὐτός τε ὅρᾶν ὡς καὶ τοῦ Ἀντινοοῦ ὄντα ἔλεγε καὶ τῶν συνόντων οἱ 2 μυθολογοῦντων ἡδέως ἠκούεν ἐκ τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ Ἀντινοοῦ ὄντως τὸν ἄστέρα γεγένησθαι καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἀναπεφηνέναι. διὰ ταῦτα τε 3 οὕτω ἐσκόπτετο, καὶ ὦτι Παυλίνῃ τῇ ἀδελφῇ ἀποθανοῦσῃ παραχρῆμα μὲν οὐδεμιᾶν τιμὴν ἔνειμεν . . . —Xiph. 247, 28–248, 17 R. St., Exc. Val. 295 (p. 714), cf. Suid. s.vv. Ἀδριανὸς (gl. 5), παιδικά.

12 Ἐσ δὲ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πόλιν αὐτοῦ ἀντὶ τῆς κατασκαφείσης οἰκίσαντος, ἢν καὶ Αἰλίαν Κα- πιτωλίουν ὁμόμασε, καὶ ὕψι τοῦ ναιοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τόπον ναῦν τὸν Ἰδι ἐτερον ἀντεγείραντος πόλεμος 2 οὕτε μικρὸς οὔτε ὅλογοχρόνος ἐκινήθη. Ιουδαιοὶ γὰρ δεινὸν τι ποιούμενοι τὸ ἀλλοφύλους τινὰς ἐσ τὴν πόλιν σφόν οἰκισθῆναι καὶ τὸ ἱερὰ ἀλλότρια ἐν αὐτῇ ἱδρυθῆναι, παρόντος μὲν ἐν τῇ Αἰ- γύπτῳ καὶ αὕτης ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἱσυχαζον, πλὴν καθ’ ὦσον τὰ ὅπλα τὰ ἐπιτα- χέντα σφίζων ἤπειρον ἐπιτίθεν τοῖς κατε- σκεύασαν ὡς ἀποδοκιμασθεὶσαν αὐτοῖς ὑπ’ ἐκείνων χρισάσθαι, ἐπεὶ δὲ πόρρῳ ἐγένητο, φανερῶς ἀπέ- 3 στησαν. καὶ παρατάξει μὲν φανερὰ οὐκ ἔτολμοι

1 ἐτίμησεν ὦς VC, ἐφίλησεν ὦστε cod. Peir.
2 οἱ cod. Peir., αὐτῶ VC.

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Antinous, either because of his love for him in A.D. 130 because the youth had voluntarily undertaken to die (it being necessary that a life should be surrendered freely for the accomplishment of the ends Hadrian had in view), by building a city on the spot where he had suffered this fate and naming it after him; and he also set up statues, or rather sacred images of him, practically all over the world. Finally, he declared that he had seen a star which he took to be that of Antinous, and gladly lent an ear to the fictitious tales woven by his associates to the effect that the star had really come into being from the spirit of Antinous and had then appeared for the first time. On this account, then, he became the object of some ridicule, and also because at the death of his sister Paulina he had not immediately paid her any honour.

At Jerusalem he founded a city in place of the one which had been razed to the ground, naming it Aelia Capitolina, and on the site of the temple of the god he raised a new temple to Jupiter. This brought on a war of no slight importance nor of brief duration, for the Jews deemed it intolerable that foreign races should be settled in their city and foreign religious rites planted there. So long, indeed, as Hadrian was close by in Egypt and again in Syria, they remained quiet, save in so far as they purposely made of poor quality such weapons as they were called upon to furnish, in order that the Romans might reject them and they themselves might thus have the use of them; but when he went farther away, they openly revolted. To be sure, they did not dare try conclusions with the

\[3 \tau \epsilon \text{ cod. Peir., } \mu \epsilon \nu \text{ VC.}\]
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diaκινδυνεύσαι πρὸς τοὺς Ὀρμαίους, τὰ δὲ τῆς χώρας ἐπίκαιρα κατελάμβανον καὶ υπονόμοις καὶ τείχεσιν ἐκρατύνοντο, ὡπὸς ἀναφυγαῖς τε ὅποταν βιασθῶσιν ἔχωσι καὶ παρ’ ἄλληλους ὑπὸ γῆν διαφοιτώντες λανθάνωσι, διατιτάντες ἀνὼς τὰς υπογείους ὁδοὺς ἰνα καὶ ἀνεμον καὶ φέγγοις ἐσδέχοντο.

13 Καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν οὖνδεν ἀυτοὺς λόγῳ οἱ Ὀρμαίοι ἐποιοῦντο· ἔπει δ’ ἢ τε Ἰουδαία πᾶσα ἐκείνη, καὶ οἱ ἀπανταχοῦ ἡς Ὀρμαίοι συνεταράττοντο καὶ συνήσαν, καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ ἐς τοὺς Ὀρμαίους τὰ μὲν λάθρα τὰ δὲ καὶ 2 φανερῶς ἐνεδείκνυντο, πολλοὶ τε ἄλλοι καὶ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἐπιθυμία κέρδους σφίσι συνελαμβάνοντο, καὶ πάσης ὡς εἰπεῖν κινουμένης ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῆς οἰκουμένης, τότε δὴ τότε τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ Ἀδριανὸς ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψε, ὥν πρῶτος Ἰούλιος Σοῦνῆρος ὑπήρχεν, ἀπὸ Βρεττανίας ἡ ἦρχεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους στα-3 λείς. ὅς ἀντικρὺς μὲν οὐδαμόθεν ἐτόλμησε τοῖς ἐναντίοις συμβαλεῖν, τὸ τε πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν αὐτῶν ὅρων ἀπολαμβάνον δ’ ὡς ἐκάστους πλήθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπ-άρχων, καὶ τροφῆς ἀπείρων καὶ κατακλείων, ἡδυνήθη βραδύτερον μὲν ἄκινδυνότερον δὲ κατα-τρύφασε καὶ ἔκτρυγωσαί καὶ ἐκκόψαι αὐτοὺς.

14 ὁλίγοι γοῦν 3 κομιδὴ περιεγένοντο. καὶ φρούρια μὲν αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα τὰ γε ἁξιολογῶτα, κώμαι δὲ ἐνακόσιαι καὶ ὑγιὸνεντα καὶ τέντε

1 ἐκείνητο St., κεκίνητο VC.
2 ἀπανταχοῦ C Zon., πανταχοῦ V.
3 γούν Bk., δ’ οὖν VC.

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Romans in the open field, but they occupied the advantageous positions in the country and strengthened them with mines and walls, in order that they might have places of refuge whenever they should be hard pressed, and might meet together unobserved under ground; and they pierced these subterranean passages from above at intervals to let in air and light.

At first the Romans took no account of them. Soon, however, all Judaea had been stirred up, and the Jews everywhere were showing signs of disturbance, were gathering together, and giving evidence of great hostility to the Romans, partly by secret and partly by overt acts; many outside nations, too, were joining them through eagerness for gain, and the whole earth, one might almost say, was being stirred up over the matter. Then, indeed, Hadrian sent against them his best generals. First of these was Julius Severus, who was dispatched from Britain, where he was governor, against the Jews. Severus did not venture to attack his opponents in the open at any one point, in view of their numbers and their desperation, but by intercepting small groups, thanks to the number of his soldiers and his under-officers, and by depriving them of food and shutting them up, he was able, rather slowly, to be sure, but with comparatively little danger, to crush, exhaust and exterminate them. Very few of them in fact survived. Fifty of their most important outposts and nine hundred and eighty-five of their most famous villages were

\[^{131}\text{A.D.}\]
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δυνομαστόταται κατεσκάφησαν, ἕν τοὺς ὑκτῶ καὶ πεντήκοντα μυριάδες ἐσφάγησαν ἐν τε ταῖς καταδρομαῖς καὶ ταῖς μάχαις (τὸν τε γὰρ λιμῷ καὶ νόσῳ καὶ πυρὶ φθαρέντων τὸ πλῆθος ἀνεξ- 2 ρεύσητον ἦν), ὡστε πᾶσαν ὀλίγου δεῖν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἔφημωθήναι, καθάπερ ποὺ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου αὐτοῖς προεδείχθη ὁ γὰρ μνημεῖον τοῦ Σολομῶντος, ὰ ἐν τοῖς σεβασμίοις ὑπότι ἁγοῦσιν, ἀπὸ ταυτομάτων διελύθη τε καὶ συνέπεσε, καὶ λύκοι ἔμεναν ἐν τὸ πόλεμι αὐτῶν

3 ἐσέπιπτον ὄρνομεναι. πολλοὶ μὲντοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τούτῳ καὶ τῶν Ἰωμαίων ἀπώλοντο διὸ καὶ ὁ Ἀδριανός γράφων πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ὑπὲ ἐχρήσατο τῳ προοίμῳ τῷ συνήθει τοῖς αὐτοκράτορις, ὅτι "εἰ αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ παιδεὶς ὑμῶν ὑγιαίνετε, εὖ ἄν ἔχοι· εὖ ἔγω καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ὑγιαίνομεν."

4 Τὸν δὲ Σεοῦρον ἐσ Βιθυνίαν ἐπεμψεν, ὁπλῶν μὲν οὐδέν, ἀρχοντός δὲ καὶ ἐπιστάτου καὶ δικαίου καὶ φρονίμου καὶ ἀξίωμα ἔχοντος δεο- μένην ἵππαν ἐν ἐκεῖνῳ ἡν. καὶ ὁ μὲν διήγαγε καὶ διόκησε καὶ τὰ ἱδία καὶ τὰ κουνὰ αὐτῶν οὕτως ὅσθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐς ἐδυρὸ ἀεὶ αὐτοῦ μνημο- νεύειν, τῇ δὲ δὴ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ κλῆρῳ ἡ Παμφυλία ἀντὶ τῆς Βιθυνίας ἔδοθη.—Xiph. 248, 17-249, 27 + 251, 24-27 R. St., Exc. Val. 296 (p. 714).

15 Ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἰουδαίων πόλεμος ἐς τούτο ἐπελεύσησεν, ἐτερος δὲ ἐς Ἰ. Ἀλανῶν (εἰσὶ δὲ Μασσαγέται 4) ἐκινήθη ὑπὸ Φαρασσαν, καὶ

1 κατεσκάφησαν Zon., κατεστράφησαν VC.
2 ὰ Rk., ὰν VC.
razed to the ground. Five hundred and eighty thousand men were slain in the various raids and battles, and the number of those that perished by famine, disease and fire was past finding out. Thus nearly the whole of Judaea was made desolate, a result of which the people had had forewarning before the war. For the tomb of Solomon, which the Jews regard as an object of veneration, fell to pieces of itself and collapsed, and many wolves and hyenas rushed howling into their cities. Many Romans, moreover, perished in this war. Therefore Hadrian in writing to the senate did not employ the opening phrase commonly affected by the emperors, "If you and your children are in health, it is well; I and the legions are in health."

He sent Severus into Bithynia, which needed no armed force but a governor and leader who was just and prudent and a man of rank. All these qualifications Severus possessed. And he managed and administered both their private and their public affairs in such a manner that we are still, even today, wont to remember him. Pamphylia, in place of Bithynia, was given to the senate and made assignable by lot.

This, then, was the end of the war with the Jews. A second war was begun by the Alani (they are Massagetae) at the instigation of Pharasmanes. It

1 Not the same person as is mentioned in the previous chapter.
2 i.e., "we natives of Bithynia" (Dio's country).
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τὴν μὲν Ἀλβανίδα καὶ τὴν Μηδίαν ἱσχυρῶς ἔλυτησε, τῆς δ' Ἀρμενίας τῆς τε Καππαδοκίας ἄψαμενος, ἐπειτα τῶν Ἀλανῶν τὰ μὲν δόροις ὑπὸ τοῦ Οὐσόλογαίσου πεισθέντων, τὰ δὲ καὶ Φλάονιον Ἀρριανὸν τὸν τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἀρχοντα φοβηθέντων, ἐπαύσατο.2—Xiph. 251, 27–252, 1 R. St., Exc. U17 17 (p. 414).

2 "Ὅτι πρεσβευτὰς πεμφθέντας παρὰ τοῦ Οὐσόλογαίσου3 καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἰαζύγων, ἐκεῖνον μὲν καθηγοροῦντος τινα Φαρασσάνου, τούτων δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην πιστομένων, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσήγαγε, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ποιῆσασθαι ἐπιτραπείς συνέγραψε τε αὐτὰς καὶ ἀνέγραψαν σφίσιν.


16 Ἀδριανὸς δὲ τὸ τε Ὀλύμπιον τὸ ἐν ταῖς Ἀθῆναις, ἐν οὗ καὶ αὐτὸς ἵδρυται, ἐξεποίησε, καὶ δράκοντα ἐς αὐτὸ ἀπὸ Ἰνδίας κομισθέντα ἀνέθηκε τα τε Διονύσια, τὴν μεγίστην παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀρχὴν ἄρξας, ἐν τῇ ἐσθήτῃ τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ λαμπρῶς ἐπετέλεσε.

2 τὸν τε σηκον τὸν ἐαυτοῦ, τὸ Πανελλήνιον ὁμομασμένον, οἰκοδομήσασθαι τοῖς Ἑλλησίων ἐπετρεψε, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐπ' αὐτὸ κατεστήσατο, χρηματὰ τε πολλὰ καὶ σῖτον ἐτήσιον τὴν τε Κεφαλληνίαν ὅλην τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐχαρίσατο, ἐνομοθέτησε δὲ ἄλλα τε πολλά, καὶ ἵνα μηδεὶς βουλευτῆς μήτ' αὐτὸς μήτε δι' ἐτέρου τέλος τι

1 τὴν μὲν Ἀλβανίδα καὶ τὴν Μῆδιαν Bs., καὶ τὴν Ἀλβανίδα καὶ τὴν μηδία VBM (μηδίαν m2 in marg. V), τὴν μὲν Μῃδίαν VC.

2 ἐπαύσατο Zon., ἐπαύσαντο VC UR.

3 Οὐσόλογαίσου Reim., Βολογαίσου MSS.

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caused dire injury to the Albanian territory and Media, and then involved Armenia and Cappadocia; after which, as the Alani were not only persuaded by gifts from Vologaesus but also stood in dread of Flavius Arrianus, the governor of Cappadocia, it came to a stop.

Envoys\(^1\) were sent from Vologaesus and from the Iazyges; the former made some charges against Pharasmanes and the latter wished to confirm the peace. He\(^2\) introduced them to the senate and was empowered by that body to return appropriate answers; and these he accordingly prepared and read to them.

Hadrian completed the Olympieum at Athens, in which his own statue also stands, and dedicated there a serpent, which had been brought from India. He also presided at the Dionysia, first assuming the highest office among the Athenians,\(^3\) and arrayed in the local costume, carried it through brilliantly. He allowed the Greeks to build in his honour the shrine which was named the Panhellenium, and instituted a series of games\(^4\) in connection with it; and he granted to the Athenians large sums of money, an annual dole of grain, and the whole of Cephallenia. Among numerous laws that he enacted was one to the effect that no senator, either personally or through the agency of another, should

\(^1\) This fragment is evidently out of place here, but its proper position is uncertain; like the next fragment in Ursinus' collection (p. 470) it may belong to the reign of Pius.

\(^2\) The subject is wanting; if it was Hadrian, the passage belongs to a period when he was in Rome.

\(^3\) The office of archon eponymus.

\(^4\) The Panhellenic Games.
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3 μισθώται. ἐς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλθὼν, ἔπει ἐν τινὶ 1 θέα βοῶν ὁ δῆμος ἀρματηλάτην τινὰ ἐλευθερόθηκαί ἐδείτο, ἀντείτη διὰ πινακίων γραφῆς, εἰπὼν ὅτι "οὐ προσήκει ὑμῖν οὔτε παρ' ἐμοῦ αἰτεῖν ἵνα ἀλλότριον δούλον ἐλευθερώσω, οὔτε τὸν δεσπότην αὐτοῦ βιάζεσθαι τούτῳ ποιῆσαι.

17 Ἀρξάμενος δὲ νοσεῖν (αἴμα γὰρ εἰώθει μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ πρῶτον διὰ τῆς μινὸς προχείσθαι, τότε δὲ ἱσχυρῶς ἐπλέονασεν) ἀπεγνώσθη μὲν βιάσθαι, καὶ διὰ τούτῳ Κόμμοδον 2 μὲν Δούκιον, καίτοι αἴμα ἔμοιντα, Κάισαρα Ἦρωμαίοις ἀπεδείξε, Σερουιανὸς 3 δὲ καὶ Φοῦσκον τὸν ἐγγονὸν αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ ἀγανακτήσαντας ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐφώνευσε, τὸν μὲν ἐνενηκοντοῦτην ὑντα τὸν δὲ 2 ὠκτωκαιδεκέτην. πρὶν δὲ ἀποσφαγῆναι, ὁ Σερούιανος 3 πῦρ ἤτησε, καὶ θυμῶν ἁμα "ὅτι μὲν οὐδὲν ἀδικῶ" ἐφὴ "ὑμεῖς, ὁ θεοί, ἵστε, περὶ δὲ 'Αδριανοῦ τοσοῦτον μόνον εὔχομαι, ἵνα ἐπιθυμήσας ἀποθανεῖν μὴ δυνηθή." καὶ μέντοι καὶ διετέλεσεν 'Αδριανὸς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον νοσῶν, πολλάκις μὲν ἀποσβηναί εὐξάμενος, πολλάκις δὲ 3 καὶ ἀποκτανεῖν ἐαυτῶν ἐθελήσας. ἐστὶ γε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιστολὴ αὕτῳ τούτῳ ἐνδεικνυμένη, ὅτι κακὸν ἐστών ἐπιθυμουῦτά τινα ἀποθανεῖν μὴ δύνασθαι, τὸν δὲ Σερουιανὸν τοῦτον 'Αδριανὸς 4 καὶ τῆς αὐταρχίας ἄξιον ἐνόμισεν εἶναι εἰπὼν γοῦν ποτὲ ἐν συμποσίῳ τοῖς φίλοις ἰνα αὐτῷ δέκα ἄνδρας μοναρχεῖν δυναμένους ὁνο-

1 τινὶ Sylb., τὲ VC.
2 Κόμμοδον R. Steph. (κόμμοδος cod. Poir.), κόμμοδον VC Zon.

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have any tax farmed out to him. After he had A.D. 134 returned to Rome, the crowd at a spectacle shouted their request for the emancipation of a certain charioteer; but he replied in writing on a bulletin-board: "It is not right for you either to ask me to free another's slave or to force his master to do so."

He now began to be sick; for he had been subject A.D. 136 even before this to a flow of blood from the nostrils, and at this time it became distinctly more copious. He therefore despaired of his life, and on this account appointed Lucius Commodus to be Caesar for the Romans, although this man frequently vomited blood. Servianus and his grandson Fuscus, the former a nonagenarian and the latter eighteen years of age, were put to death on the ground that they were displeased at this action. Servianus before being executed asked for fire, and as he offered incense he exclaimed: "That I am guilty of no wrong, ye, O Gods, are well aware; as for Hadrian, this is my only prayer, that he may long for death but be unable to die." And, indeed, Hadrian did linger on a long time in his illness, and often prayed that he might expire, and often desired to kill himself. There is, indeed, a letter of his in existence which gives proof of precisely this—how dreadful it is to long for death and yet be unable to die. This Servianus had been regarded by Hadrian as capable of filling even the imperial office. For instance, Hadrian had once at a banquet told his friends to name him ten men who were competent to be sole ruler, and then, after a

3 Σερονιανδ — Σερονιανδ Reim., σεβηριανδ — σεβηριανδ VC σενηριανδ — σενηριανδ Zon.
4 Ἄδριανδ Reim., ὁ τραιανδ VC.
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μάσωσιν, εἰτ' ὀλίγον ἐπισχῶν ἔφη ὅτι "ἐννέα δέομαι μαθεῖν· τὸν γὰρ ἑνα, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ Σερουινόν, ἔχω."—Xiph. 252, 1–30 R. St.

18 Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τότε ἄριστοι ἄνδρες, ὁν ἐπιφανεστάτων Τουρβων τε καὶ Σύμιλις ἤστην, οἱ καὶ ἄνδριασιν ἐτιμήθησαι, Τουρβων μὲν στρατηγικότατος ἀνήρ, ὃς καὶ ἔπαρχος γεγονός, εἰτ' οὖν ἄρχων τῶν δορυφόρων, οὕτε τι ἄβρον οὔτε τι ὑπερήφανον ἔπραξεν, ἀλλ' ὡς 2 εἰς τῶν πολλῶν διεβίω. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν πᾶσαν πρὸς τῷ βασιλείῳ διέτριβε, καὶ πολλάκις καὶ πρὸ μέσων νυκτῶν πρὸς αὐτὸ ἤγει, ὅτε τινὲς τῶν ἄλλων καθεύδειν ἢρχοντο. 3 ἀμέλει καὶ Κορνῆλιος Φρόντων ὁ τὰ πρῶτα τῶν τότε Ρωμαίων ἐν δίκαις φερόμενοι, ἐσπέρας ποτὲ βαθείας ἀπὸ δείπνου ὁκαδὲ ἐπανώ, καὶ μαθῶν παρὰ τινὸς ὁ συνηγορόσεων ὑπέσχετο δικάζειν αὐτὸν ἡδη, ἐν τῇ στολῇ τῇ δειπνίτιδι, ὥσπερ εἰχὲν, ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον αὐτοῦ ἐσήλθε καὶ ἠσπάσατο, οὕτη γε τῷ ἐσθίνῳ προσρήματι τῷ χαίρε, ἀλλὰ 4 τῷ ἐσπερινῷ τῷ ὑγίαινε χρησάμενοι. οὐκοὶ δὲ ὁ Τουρβων οὕποτε ἡμέρας, οὔδε νοσήσας, ὁφθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδριανὸν συμβουλεύουσα αὐτῷ ἀπερμήσαι 3 εἶπεν ὅτι "τὸν ἐπαρχὸν ἐστῶτα ἀποθνῄσκειν δεῖ." 18 'Ο δὲ δὴ Σύμιλις ἦλικια μὲν καὶ τάξει προήκων αὐτοῦ 4 ἐν τρόποις οὐδενὸς τῶν πάνω, ὡς γε ἐγὼ νομίζω, δεύτερος ἦν. ἔξεστι δὲ καὶ εἴς ὀλυγιστῶν 5

1 πρὸς τῷ βασιλείῳ cod. Peir., πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα VC Zon.
2 αὐτὸ VC, αὐτὸν cod. Peir.
3 ἀπερμήσαι Sylb., ἀπερμήσειν VC Zon.
4 αὐτοῦ cod. Peir. Zon., αὐτῶν VC.

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moment’s pause, had added: “Nine only I want to A.D. 136
know; for one I have already—Servianus.”

Other excellent men, also, came to light during
that period, of whom the most distinguished were
Turbo and Similis, who, indeed, were honoured
with statues. Turbo was a man of the greatest
generalship and had become prefect, or commander 1
of the Praetorians. He displayed neither effeminacy
nor haughtiness in anything that he did, but lived
like one of the multitude; among other things, he
spent the entire day near the palace and often he
would go there even before midnight, when some of
the others were just beginning to sleep. In this
connexion the following anecdote is related of
Cornelius Fronto, who was the foremost Roman of
the time in pleading before the courts. One night
he was returning home from dinner very late, and
ascertained from a man whose counsel he had
promised to be that Turbo was already holding court.
Accordingly, just as he was, in his dinner dress, he
went into Turbo’s court-room and greeted him, not
with the morning salutation, Salve, but with the one
appropriate to the evening, Vale. Turbo was never
seen at home in the day-time, even when he was
sick; and to Hadrian, who advised him to remain
quiet, he replied: “The prefect ought to die on his
feet.”

Similis was of more advanced years and rank than
Turbo, and in character was second to none of the
great men, in my opinion. This may be inferred

1 This explanation is due to the excerptor.

5 ὀλιγιστῶν cod. Peir., ὀλιγοστῶν VC.
tekμήρασθαι. τῷ τε γὰρ Τραϊανῷ ἐκατονταρχοῦντα ἦτι αὐτῶν ἐσκαλέσαντι ποτὲ εἶσω πρὸ τῶν ἑπάρχων ἔφη "αἰσχρόν ἦστι, Καίσαρ, ἐκατοντάρχῳ σε τῶν ἑπάρχων ἔξω ἑστηκότων
2 διαλέγεσθαι," καὶ τὴν τῶν δορυφόρων ἄρχην ἄκων τε ἐλαβεὶ καὶ λαβῶν ἔξιστατο, μόλις τε ἄφεθεῖς ἐν ἁγρῷ Ἰσαχος ἐπτὰ ἔτη τὰ λυπτὰ τοῦ βίου διήγαγε, καὶ ἐπὶ γε τὸ μνῆμα αὐτοῦ 1 τοῦτο ἐπέγραψεν ὅτι "Σίμιλους 2 ἐνταῦθα κεῖται βιοὺς μὲν ἐτή τόσα, 3 ξῆσας δὲ ἔτη ἐπτά."—Xiph. 252, 30–253, 23 R. St., Exc. Val. 297, 298, 299.

23, 4 "Ὅτι ὁ Φάβιος Ἰούλιος μὴ φέρων τὴν τοῦ νυέος μαλακίαν, ῥήσαι εἳ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἥθελησεν.—Exc. Val. 300 (p. 714).

20 Ἀδριανὸς δὲ φθόγη τε ἐκ τῆς πολλῆς τοῦ αἵματος ῥύσεως ἔχρητο, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς καὶ ὑδρωπίασεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεβη τοῦ Λούκιον τοῦ Κόμμοδου ἐξαίρης ἐγκαταλειφθήναι ὑπὸ τοῦ αἵματος πολλοῦ τε καὶ ἀθρόου ἐκπέσοντος, συνεκάλεσε τοὺς πρῶτους καὶ ἀξιολόγους τῶν βουλευτῶν οἴκαδε, καὶ κατακείμενοι εἰπεν αὐτοῖς
2 τάδε: "ἐμοί, ὃς ἄνδρες φίλοι, γόνον μὲν οὐκ ἐδωκεν ἡ φύσις ποιησάσθαι, νομοὶ δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐδώκατε. διαφέρει δὲ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνον, ὅτι τὸ μὲν γεννώμενον, ὅποιον ἂν δόξῃ τῷ δαιμονίῳ, γίγνεται, τὸ δὲ ἄγνωμένον αὐθαίρετον τοις αὐτῶς ἐαυτῷ προστί-
3 θεται, ὡστε παρὰ μὲν τῆς φύσεως ἀνάπηρον καὶ ἀφρόνα πολλάκις δίδοσθαι τινι, παρὰ δὲ τῆς

1 αὐτοῦ Sylb., αὐτοῦ VC cod. Peir.
2 Σίμιλος cod. Peir., σίμιλους μὲν VC.

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even from incidents that are very trivial. For A.D. 136 instance when Trajan once summoned him, while he was still a centurion, to enter his presence ahead of the prefects, he said: "It is a shame, Caesar, that you should be talking with a centurion while the prefects stand outside." Moreover, he assumed the command of the Praetorians reluctantly, and after assuming it resigned it. Having with difficulty secured his release, he spent the rest of his life, seven years, quietly in the country, and upon his tomb he caused this inscription to be placed: "Here lies Similis, who existed so-and-so many years, and lived seven."

Julius Fabius, not being able to endure his son's effeminacy, desired to throw himself into the river.

Hadrian became consumptive as a result of his great loss of blood, and this led to dropsy. And as it happened that Lucius Commodus was suddenly carried off by a severe hæmorrhage, the emperor convened at his house the most prominent and most respected of the senators; and lying there upon his couch, he spoke to them as follows: "I, my friends, have not been permitted by nature to have a son, but you have made it possible by legal enactment. Now there is this difference between the two methods—that a begotten son turns out to be whatever sort of person Heaven pleases, whereas one that is adopted a man takes to himself as the result of a deliberate selection. Thus by the process of nature a maimed and witless child is often given to a parent, but by

1 The name is perhaps corrupt; so Dessau, Prosop. Imp. Rom. ii. p. 47, No. 31.
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κρίσεως καὶ ἀρτιμελῇ καὶ ἀρτίνοιν πάντως αἱρεῖσθαι. καὶ διὰ τούτῳ πρότερον μὲν τὸν
Λούκιον ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐξελεξάμην, οἴον οὐδ’ ἃν

4 εὐξασθαὶ παίδα ἡδυνήθην ἐμαυτῷ γενέσθαι ἐπεὶ
dὲ ἐκεῖνον τὸ δαιμόνιον ἰμῶν ἀφείλετο, εὐρον ἀντ’
ἐκεῖνον αὐτοκράτορα ὑμίν, δὴ δίδωμι, εὐγενῆ
πράον εὐεικτον1 φρόνιμον, μήθ’ ὑπὸ νέοτητος
προπετές μὴθ’ ὑπὸ γήρως ἀμελεῖ ποιήσαί τι
dυνάμενον, ἡμένουν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, ἡγεμονευ-
κότα κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, ὥστε μήτε τι ἁγυείν τῶν
ἐς τὴν ἄρχην φερόντων καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς καλῶς

5 δύνασθαί χρῆσασθαί. λέγω δὲ Ἀὐρήλιον Ἀντω-
νίνον τούτον· δὴ εὶ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα οἶδα ἀπραγμο


μονεστάτων τε ἀνδρῶν ὑμτα καὶ πόρρω τοιαύτης
ἐπιθυμίας καθεστηκότα, ἀλλ’ οὕτι γε καὶ ἀφρον-
τιστήσειν οἴομαι οὗτε ἐμοὶ οὕτε ὑμών, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἀκοντα τῇν ἄρχην ὑποδέξεσθαί.”2

21 Ὅπως μὲν ὡ ’Ἀντωνίνος αὐτοκράτωρ ἐγένετο·
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἂν ἀπαίς ἀρρένων παίδων, τὸν τε Κομου-


μόδου νὶν Κόμμωδου ἐσεποίησεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἔτι
πρὸς τούτῳ Μάρκου Ἀννιον Οὐήρου, βουλήθεις
ἐπὶ πλείστου καὶ τοὺς μετὰ ταύτα αὐταρχήσοντας
ἀποδέξαι. ἢν δὲ οὕτω ὡ ’Ἀννιος ὁ3 Μάρκος, ὁ
Κατίλιος πρότερον οὐνόμαξομενος, Ἀννίου Οὐήρου
τοῦ τρίς ὑπατεύσαντος καὶ πολιαρχήσαντος4

2 ἔγγονοις. καὶ ἀμφοτέρους μὲν ἐσποιήσασθαι τῷ
’Αντωνίνῳ ἐκέλευε, προετίμησε δὲ τὸν Οὐήρον
dιὰ τε τὴν συγγένειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν,
καὶ ὃτι φύσιν ψυχῆς ἐρρωμενεστάτην ἦδη ὑπέ-

1 εὐεικτον Zon., εὐεικτον VC.
2 ὑποδέξεσθαί R. Steph., ὑποδέξασθαί VC.

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process of selection one of sound body and sound mind is certain to be chosen. For this reason I formerly selected Lucius before all others—a person such as I could never have expected a child of my own to become. But since Heaven has bereft us of him, I have found as emperor for you in his place the man whom I now give you, one who is noble, mild, tractable, prudent, neither young enough to do anything reckless nor old enough to neglect aught, one who has been brought up according to the laws and one who has exercised authority in accordance with our traditions, so that he is not ignorant of any matters pertaining to the imperial office, but can handle them all effectively. I refer to Aurelius Antoninus here. Although I know him to be the least inclined of men to become involved in affairs and to be far from desiring any such power, still I do not think that he will deliberately disregard either me or you, but will accept the office even against his will."

So it was that Antoninus became emperor. And since he had no male offspring, Hadrian adopted for him Commodus’ son Commodus, and, in addition to him, Marcus Annius Verus; for he wished to appoint those who were afterwards to be emperors for as long a time ahead as possible. This Marcus Annius, earlier named Catilius, was a grandson of Annius Verus who had been consul thrice and prefect of the city. And though Hadrian kept urging Antoninus to adopt them both, yet he preferred Verus on account of his kinship and his age and because he was already giving indication of exceptional strength of character.

\[supplied by Bk.\]
\[\pi ιαρχήσαντος Κασαυβον, χιλιαρχήσαντος VC Ζον.\]
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φαίνεται ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Οὐρίσσιοιν αὐτόν, πρός τὴν τοῦ Ῥωμαίκοῦ ῥήματος ἐννοιαν κομψευόμενος, ἀπεκάλει.

22 Ἀδριανὸς δὲ μαγγανείας μὲν τισὶ καὶ γοητείας ἐκενοῦτο ποτε τοῦ ύγροῦ, πάλιν δ' αὐτοῦ διὰ ταχέος ἐπίμπλατο. ἔπει δ' οὖν πρὸς τὸ χείρον ἀεὶ ἐπεδίδου καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην τρόπον τινά ἰμέραν ἀπώλυτο, ἀποθανεῖν ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ ἦτεί μὲν πολλάκις καὶ φάρμακον καὶ ξίφος,

2 εἶδον δὲ οὔδείς. ὡς δ' οὖν οὔδείς αὐτῷ καίτοι χρήματα καὶ ἄδειαν ὑπισχυομένων ὑπήκουν, μετεπέμψατο Ὀμότσαρα ἀνδρὰ βάρβαρον Ἰάζυγα, ὃ αἰχμαλώτω ἑγερομένῳ πρός τὰς θηρίας διὰ τῇ ἱσχύν καὶ δ' εὐτολμίαν ἐκέχρησε, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπειλῶν αὐτῷ τὰ δὲ ὑπισχυομένους ἦναγκάσεν

3 αὐτὸν ἐπαγγείλασθαι τὴν σφαγήν. καὶ τι καὶ χώριον ὑπὸ τῶν μαστῶν, πρὸς Ἐρμογένους τοῦ ἰατροῦ ὑποδειχθέν, χρώματι τινι περεγραφεί, ὡς καὶ αὐτῷ πληγείς καιρίαν ἀλῦτως τελευτήσῃ. ἔπει δ' οὔδε τοῦτο αὐτῷ προεχόμησεν (ὁ γὰρ Μάστωρ φοβηθείς τὸ πράγμα καὶ ἐκπλαγείς ὑπεχώρησε), πολλὰ μὲν ἐαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ νόσῳ ὀδύρατο πολλά δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ οὐκ

4 ἔξουσία, ὅτι μὴ οἶδος τ' ἢν ἐαυτὸν ἀναχρήσασθαι, καῖτοι τοὺς ἄλλους ἐτί καὶ τότε δυνάμενος· καὶ τέλος τῆς τε ἀκριβείας τῆς κατὰ τὴν δίαιταν ἀπέσχετο, καὶ ταῖς μὴ προσηκούσας ἑδωδαῖς καὶ πτοτες χρώμενος ἐτελεύτησε, λέγων καὶ βοῦν τὸ δημόδες, ὅτι πολλοὶ ἰατροὶ βασιλέα ἀπώλεσαν.

1 Ῥωμαίκοῦ R. Steph., ἐλληνικοῦ VC.

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This led Hadrian to apply to the young man the a.d. 138 name Verissimus, thus playing upon the meaning of the Latin word.

By certain charms and magic rites Hadrian would be relieved for a time of his dropsy, but would soon be filled with water again. Since, therefore, he was constantly growing worse and might be said to be dying day by day, he began to long for death; and often he would ask for poison or a sword, but no one would give them to him. As no one would listen to him, although he promised money and immunity, he sent for Mastor, one of the barbarian Iazyges, who had become a captive and had been employed by Hadrian in his hunting because of his strength and daring; and partly by threatening him and partly by making promises, he compelled the man to promise to kill him. He drew a coloured line about a spot beneath the nipple that had been shown him by Hermogenes, his physician, in order that he might there be struck a fatal blow and perish painlessly. But even this plan did not succeed, for Mastor became afraid of the business and drew back in terror. The emperor lamented bitterly the plight to which his malady and his helplessness had brought him, in that he was not able to make away with himself, though he still had the power, even when so near death, to destroy anybody else. Finally he abandoned his careful regimen and by indulging in unsuitable foods and drinks met his death, shouting aloud the popular saying: “Many physicians have slain a king.”

1 Pliny, *N.H.* xxix. 1, cites this inscription from the grave of a certain man: "*turba se medicorum periisse*" (indirectly quoted).
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23 Ἐξησε δὲ ἐτη μὲν δύο ¹ καὶ ἐξήκοντα μῆνας δὲ πέντε καὶ ἡμέρας ἐνεακαίδεκα, καὶ ἐμοναρχήσεν ἐτη εἴκοσι καὶ μῆνας ἐνδέκα. ἐτάφη δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸ τῷ ποταμῷ, πρὸς τῇ γεφύρᾳ τῇ Αἰλίᾳ· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τὸ μνήμα κατεσκευάσατο. τὸ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀυγούστου ἑπεπλήρωτο, καὶ οὐκέτι οὐδεὶς ἐν αὐτῷ ἔτεθη.—Xiph. 253, 23–255, 13 R. St.

2 Οὕτως ἐμισθήθη μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμου, καίτοι τάλλα ἁριστα αὐτῶν ἁρξας, διὰ τὸ τοὺς πρώτους καὶ τοὺς τελευταίους φόνους ἀτε καὶ ² ἄδικως καὶ ἀνοσίως γενομένους, ἐπεὶ οὕτω γε ³ ἡκιστα φονικὸς ἐγένετο ὡστε καὶ προσκουσάντων αὐτῷ τινων ἁρκούν νομίζειν τὸ ταῖς πατρίσιν αὐτῶν αὐτὸ τοῦτο γράψαι, ὅτι αὐτῷ οὐκ ἁρέσκουσιν.

3 εἰ τέ τινα τῶν τέκνων ἔχοντων ὁφλῆσαι πάντως τι ἐδει, ἀλλ' οὖν πρὸς γε τὸν ἁριθμὸν τῶν παιδών καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας αὐτῶν ἐπεκούφιζεν. οὐ μέντοι ἀλλ' ἡ γέρουσια ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντέσχε, τὰς τιμὰς μὴ ψηφίσασθαι ἐθέλουσα, καὶ αὐτωμένη τινὰς τῶν ἔπ' αὐτοῦ πλεονασάντων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τιμηθέντων, οὗ καὶ κολασθήναι ἐδει.—Xiph. 255, 14–19 R. St., Exc. Val. 301 (p. 714).

1 μὲν δύο Bk., δύο μὲν VC.
2 ἀτε καὶ Bs., ἀτε VC, καὶ cod. Peir.
3 οὕτω γε cod. Peir., οὕτως VC.
HE had lived sixty-two years, five months and nineteen\(^1\) days, and had been emperor twenty years and eleven months. He was buried near the river itself, close to the Aelian bridge; for it was there that he had prepared his tomb, since the tomb of Augustus was full, and from this time no body was deposited in it.

Hadrian was hated by the people, in spite of his generally excellent reign, on account of the murders committed by him at the beginning and end of his reign, since they had been unjustly and impiously brought about. Yet he was so far from being of a bloodthirsty disposition that even in the case of some who clashed with him he thought it sufficient to write to their native places the bare statement that they did not please him. And if it was absolutely necessary to punish any man who had children, yet in proportion to the number of his children he would lighten the penalty imposed. Nevertheless, the senate persisted for a long time in its refusal to vote him the usual honours\(^2\) and in its strictures upon some of those who had committed excesses during his reign and had been honoured therefor, when they ought to have been punished.

\(^1\) Seventeen, according to the common tradition.
\(^2\) \textit{i.e.} deification.
FRAGMENT

After Hadrian's death there was erected to him a huge equestrian statue representing him with a four-horse chariot. It was so large that the bulkiest man could walk through the eye of each horse, yet because of the extreme height of the foundation persons passing along on the ground below believe that the horses themselves as well as Hadrian are very small.
1 Ἰστέον ὅτι τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ Ἑυσε-βοῦς ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τοῦ Δίωνος οὐχ εὑρίσκεται, παθόντων τι ὡς εἰκὸς τῶν βιβλίων, ὡστε ἀγνοεῖσθαι τὴν κατ’ αὐτὸν ἱστορίαν σχεδὸν σύμπασαν, πλὴν ὅτι τοῦ Λουκίου Κομόδου, ὅποι ὁ Ἀδριανὸς ἐποίησατο, πρὸ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ τελευτήσαντος αὕτως παρ’ ἐκείνου καὶ ἐποίησθη καὶ

2 αὐτοκράτωρ ἐγένετο (cf. 69, 20), καὶ ὅτι μὴ βουλομένης τῆς γερουσίας τὰς ἠρωικὰς τιμὰς δούναι τῷ Ἀδριανῷ τελευτήσαντι διὰ τινὰς φόνους ἐπιφανῶν ἄνδρῶν, ὁ Ἀντωνίνος ἄλλα τὲ πολλὰ δακρύων καὶ ὀδυρόμενος αὐτοῖς διελέχθη, καὶ τέλος εἶπεν ὡς οὐδὲ ἦγο ἁρα ὑμῶν ἀρξὼ, εἰγε ἐκεῖνος καὶ κακὸς καὶ ἔχθρος ὑμῖν καὶ

3 πολέμιος ἐγένετο· πάντα γὰρ δῆλον ὅτι τὰ πραχθέντα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, ὅν ἐν καὶ ἡ ἐμὴ ποίησις ἐστὶ, καταλύσετε." ἀκούσασα δὲ τούτο ἡ γερουσία καὶ αἰδεσθείσα τὸν ἄνδρα, τὸ δὲ τι καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας φοβηθείσα, ἀπέδωκε τῷ Ἀδριανῷ τὰς τιμὰς.

2 Ταῦτα μόνα περὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου ἐν τῷ Δίωνι σώζεται, καὶ ὅτι Ἀὐγοῦστον αὐτὸν καὶ Ἑὐσεβῆ διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν ἐπωνόμασεν ἡ βουλή, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας αὐτοῦ πολλῶν αἰτιαθέντων καὶ τινῶν καὶ ὄνομαστὶ ἐξαιτηθέντων ὀμοιούσα ἐκόλασεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι "οὐ δεῖ με ἀπὸ τοιούτων ἐργῶν τῆς προστασίας ὑμῶν ἀρξασθαί." —Xiph. 256, 6–28 R. St.

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EPITOME OF BOOK LXX

It should be noted that the account of Antoninus Pius is not found in the copies of Dio, probably because the books have met with some accident, so that the history of his reign is almost wholly unknown; save that when Lucius Commodus, whom Hadrian had adopted, died before Hadrian, Antoninus was both adopted by him and became emperor, and that when the senate demurred to giving divine honours to Hadrian after his death on account of certain murders of eminent men, Antoninus addressed many words to them with tears and lamentations, and finally said: "Well, then, I will not govern you either, if he has become in your eyes base and hostile and a public foe. For in that case you will, of course, soon annul all his acts, of which my adoption was one." On hearing this the senate, both through respect for the man and through a certain fear of the soldiers, bestowed the honours upon Hadrian.

Only this in regard to Antoninus is preserved in Dio; and also the fact that the senate gave him the titles both of Augustus and of Pius for some such reason as the following. When, in the beginning of his reign, accusation was brought against many men, some of whom were demanded by name for punishment, he nevertheless punished no one saying: "I must not begin my career as your leader with such deeds."

1 τοῦτο C, τούτων V.
'Oti Φαρασσάνη τῷ Ἱβηρῳ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐλθόντι τῇ τε ἀρχῇ ἐπηνύσησε καὶ θύσαι ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἐφήκεν, ἀνδριάντα τε ἔπι ὑπὸν ἐν τῷ Ἐννείω ἔστησε, καὶ γυμνασίαν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ νιέος τῶν τε ἄλλων πρώτων Ἱβηρίων ἐν ὁπλοῖς εἶδεν.—Exe. Τοῦ 56 (p. 407).

2 Οὐ σωζέται δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦ μετὰ Ἀντωνίνου ἄρχαντος Μάρκου Βήρου τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἱστοριομένων, ὡσα περὶ τὸν Δούκιον τὸν τοῦ Κομόδου νῦν, ὅν ὁ Μάρκος γαμβρὸν ἐποίησατο, ἐπράξεν οὕτος αὐτός, καὶ ὅσα οὕτος εἰς τὸν κατὰ Οὐνολογαίου πόλεμον ὑπὸ τοῦ πενθεροῦ πεμφθεὶς ἔδρασε. διὸ βραχέα περὶ τούτων ἔξ ἐτέρων ἀναλεξάμενος βιβλίων ἔργοι οὕτως ἔπτι τὰ ἔξης τοῦ Δίωνος μεταβῆσομαι.

3 Ο γὰρ Ἀντωνίνος ὁμολογεῖται παρὰ πάντων καλὸς τε καὶ ἄγαθὸς γενέσθαι, καὶ οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων ὑπηκόων τισὶ βαρύς οὔτε Χριστιανοὶ ἐπαχθῆς, ἄλλα πολλὴν τινα τούτοις νέμων αἰών, καὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ τιμῇ, ἥν ἐκεῖνος ἑτίμα

2 Χριστιανοὺς, προστιθείς. ο γὰρ τοῦ Παμφίλου Εὐσέβιος καὶ ἐπιστολάς τινας τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ αὐτοῦ ἱστορίᾳ παρατίθεται, ἐν αἰς ἐκεῖνοις δείκνυται τοῖς λυποῦσι τῇ κατηγοροῦσι τῶν Χριστιανῶν δεινὰ ἀπειλῶν, καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐπομνύμενος ὡς τεύξονται τιμωρίας.

3 λέγεται δὲ ο Ἀντωνίνος ξητητικὸς γενέσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ περὶ τὰ μικρὰ καὶ τὰ τυχόντα τῆς ἀκριβολογίας ἀφίστασθαι· οἴδει αὐτόν οἱ σκώπτοντες καὶ κυμινοπρίστην ἐκάλουν. Κυδράτοις δὲ γνησίων μὲν φησιν αὐτὸν τελευτήσαι, τὴν δὲ τελευτήν
When Pharasmanes the Iberian came to Rome with his wife, Antoninus increased his domain, allowed him to offer sacrifice on the Capitol, set up an equestrian statue in the temple of Bellona, and viewed an exercise in arms in which this chieftain, his son, and the other prominent Iberians took part.

Neither do we find preserved the first part of the account of Marcus Verus, who ruled after Antoninus—I mean his acts in relation to Lucius, the son of Commodus, whom Marcus had made his son-in-law, and the achievements of Lucius in the war against Vologaesus, to which he had been sent by his father-in-law. I shall touch briefly upon these matters, therefore, gathering my material from other books, and then I shall go back to the continuation of Dio’s narrative.

Antoninus is admitted by all to have been noble and good, neither oppressive to the Christians nor severe to any of his other subjects; instead, he showed the Christians great respect and added to the honour in which Hadrian had been wont to hold them. For Eusebius Pamphili cites in his Ecclesiastical History a letter of Hadrian in which the emperor is seen to threaten terrible vengeance upon those who harm in any way or accuse the Christians and swears in the name of Hercules that punishment shall be meted out to them. Antoninus is said to have been of an enquiring turn of mind and not to have held aloof from careful investigation of even small and commonplace matters; for this the scoffers called him Cummin-splitter. Quadratus states that he died at an ad-

1 iv. 9.
It is not certain whether this earthquake belongs to the reign of Pius or to that of Marcus. If to the former, it must have occurred between 150 and 155. See Hermes xxvi. pp.
advanced age, and that his death, when it came, was most peaceful, like the gentlest slumber.

In the days of Antoninus it is said, also, that a most frightful earthquake occurred in the region of Bithynia and the Hellespont. Various cities were severely damaged or fell in utter ruin, and in particular Cyzicus; and the temple there that was the greatest and most beautiful of all temples was thrown down. Its columns were four cubits in thickness and fifty cubits in height, each consisting of a single block of marble; and in general the details of the edifice were more to be wondered at than to be praised. And in the interior of the country, they say, a mountain peak burst asunder and a flood of sea-water poured forth, and the spray from it, whipped by the wind, was driven to a great distance over the land—a spray of pure, transparent sea-water.¹

So much of the account of Antoninus is now extant. He reigned twenty-four years.

444-446 (Boissevain: Zonaras' Quelle für die römische Kaiser-geschichte von Nerva bis Severus Alexander) and xxxii. pp. 497–508 (B. Keil: Kyzikenisches); also Byzantinische Zeitschrift I, p. 30 ff. (article by de Boor).
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