DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

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

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

IN NINE VOLUMES

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY
Τάδε ἐνεστὶν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαίων

α. Ὡς Καίσαρ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἠλθεὶ καὶ Πομψίαν ἐκλιπὼν αὐτὴν ἐς Μακεδονίαν διεπέλευσεν.

β. Ὡς Καίσαρ Ἰβηρίαι παρεστήσατο.

γ. Ὡς Καίσαρ ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐπὶ Πομψίαν διεπέλευσεν.

δ. Ὡς Καίσαρ καὶ Πομψίαν περὶ Δυρράχιον ἐπολέμησαν.

ε. Ὡς Καίσαρ Πομψίαν περὶ Φάραγλον ἐνίκησεν.

Χρόνου πλήθος ἔτη δύο, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἄριθμούμενοι οἴδε ἐγένοιτο

Δ. Κορνήλιος Π. νι. Λεντούλιος ὑπ.
Γ. Κλαύδιος Μ. νι. Μάρκελλος ὑπ.
Γ. 'Ιούλιος 2 Γ. νι. Καίσαρ τὸ β' ὑπ.
Π. Ξερούλιος Π. νι. Ἰσαυρίκος ὑπ.

Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπραξε, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο γράμματα παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πρὸς τὴν Βουλήν λαβὼν ἠλθὲ τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νουμνίᾳ ἐν ἦ δὲ τε Λεντούλος ὁ Κορνήλιος καὶ ὁ Κλαύδιος ὁ Γάιος τὴν ἄρχην ἐνεστήσαντο, καὶ οὐ πρῶτον τοῖς ὑπάτοις αὐτὰ ἀπέδωκε πρὶν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον σφας ἀφικέσθαι, μὴ καὶ ἐξω που λαβόντες αὐτὰ ἀπὸ 2 κρύψωνται. ἔπι πολὺ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὃς ἀνέσχον, οὐκ ἔθελοντες σφας ἀναλέξασθαι τέλος δὲ ὑπὸ

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

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

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

After taking this course at that time, Curio later came to Rome on the very first day of the month on which Cornelius Lentulus and Gaius Claudius entered upon office, bringing a letter from Caesar to the senate; and he did not give it to the consuls until they reached the senate-house, for fear that if they received it outside they might suppress it. Even as it was, they waited a long time, in their unwillingness to read it, but at last they were compelled
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te Κυνίτου Κασσίου Λογγίνου καὶ ὑπὸ Μάρκου Ἄντωνίου δημαρχοῦντων ἡναγκάσθησαν αὐτὰ δημοσιεύσαι. Ἀντώνιος μὲν οὖν ἐν τούτῳ τότε τὸν Καίσαρα ἐνεργεῖτήσας ἀντιλήψεσθαι τε πολλὰ καὶ ἑπὶ μεγάλως καὶ αὐτὸς αἰωρηθήσεσθαι ἐμελλεν. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τὰ τὲ ἄλλα ὅσα ποτὲ καλὸς τὸ κοινὸν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπεποίηκε ἐνεγέγραπτο, καὶ ἀπολογισμὸς ὑπὲρ δὲν ἦταν ἰδέατο. καταλύσεις τε τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκστήσεσθαι ὑπισχεῖτο, ἀν καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος τὰ αὐτὰ οἱ ποιήση ἐκεῖνον γὰρ τὰ ὅπλα ἐχοντος οὐδὲ ἑαυτὸν δίκαιον εἶναι ἀναγκασθῆναι αὐτὰ ἀφεῖναι ἔλεγεν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐκδοθῆ.  

2 διαψηφίσεως δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐ κατ' ἄνδρα, μὴ καὶ δὲν αἴδω ἢ καὶ φόβον τινὰ παρὰ τὰ δοκοῦντα σφῖσιν ἀποφήγωνται, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τάδε καὶ ὅποι ἐκεῖνα τοῦ βουλευτηρίου μεταστάσει γενομένης, τὸν μὲν Πομπήιον οὐδεὶς ἀπαλλαγῆσαι ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων ἐψηφίσατο (ἐν γὰρ τῷ προαστείῳ τὰς δυνάμεις εἰχε), τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίσαρα πάντες πλὴν Μάρκου τέ τινος Καϊλίου 1 καὶ τοῦ Κουρίωνος τοῦ  

2 τὰ γράμματα αὐτοῦ κομίσαντος. περὶ γὰρ τῶν δημαρχῶν οὐδὲν λέγω, ὅτι μηδὲ 2 ἐν ἀνάγκῃ τινὶ μεταστήνῃ ἐποίησαν, ἀτε καὶ ἐξοφύλασαν ἐχοντες εἴτε ἐβούλοντο τινα γνώμην συμβαλέσθαι εἴτε καὶ μὴ. ἐδοξῆ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα, οὐ μὴν καὶ κυρωθῆναι τι αὐτῶν οὕτε ἐν ἑκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὕτε ἐν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ τε Ἀντώνιος καὶ ὁ Λογγίνος ἐπέ-  

3 τρέψαν. ἀγανακτησάντων δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ψηφισαμένων τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἀλλάξα-  

1 Καϊλίου Fr. Fabricius (cf. Oros. 6, 15, 2), καικιλίου L (and so just below). 2 μηδὲ Bk., μὴτε L.
by Quintus Cassius Longinus and Mark Antony, who were tribunes, to make it public. Now Antony for the service he then rendered Caesar in this matter was destined to be well repaid and to be raised himself to great honours. As to the letter, it contained a list of all the benefits which Caesar had ever conferred upon the state and a defence of the charges which were brought against him. He promised to disband his legions and give up his office if Pompey would also do the same; for while the latter bore arms it was not right, he claimed, that he should be compelled to give up his and so be exposed to his enemies. The vote on this proposition was not taken individually, lest the senators through some sense of shame or fear should vote contrary to their true opinions; but it was done by their taking their stand on this or on that side of the senate-chamber. No one voted that Pompey should give up his arms, since he had his troops in the suburbs; but all, except one Marcus Caelius and Curio, who had brought his letter, voted that Caesar must do so. Of the tribunes I make no mention, since they did not consider it at all necessary to take part in the division; for they had the privilege of offering an opinion or not, as they saw fit. This, then, was the decision reached; but Antony and Longinus did not allow any part of it to be ratified either on that day or the next. The rest, indignant at this, voted to change their apparel, but
σθαι, κύρος μὲν οὐδὲ τοῦθ᾽ υπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν, ἢ μέντοι γνώμη συνεγράφη καὶ τὸ ἔργον τὸ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἐγένετο: πάντες γὰρ παραχρῆμα ἐξελθόντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ τὴν στολὴν μεταβαλόντες ἐς ἤλθθον αὐθίς καὶ περὶ τιμωρίας αὐτῶν ἐβου-
2 λέοντο. ἰδόντες δὲ τούτ᾽ ἐκεῖνοι τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀντέπραττον, ἔπειτα δὲ φοβηθέντες, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Δέντουλος ὑπέξελθείν σφίσι πρὶν τὰς ψήφους διενεχθῆναι παρῆμεσεν, ἐπὶ τὸν τολλὰ καὶ ἐμαρτύραντο, κάκ τούτου μετὰ τοῦ Κουρίωνος καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Καίλιου ἀπῆραν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα, βραχὺ προντίσαντες ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ δι-
3 εγράφησαν. τότε μὲν οὖν τούτ᾽ ἐγνώσθη, καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ταῖς τὲ ἄλλαις ἄρχαίς ἢ ἐφηκῇ τῆς πόλεως, ὡσπερ που εἶνθε γίγνεσθαι, ἐπετράπης ὑστερον δὲ ἐξο τοῦ πωμηρίου πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Πομπήιον ἐλθόντες ταραχὴν τε ἐἶναι ἐγνώσαν,
4 καὶ ἐκείνῳ μὲν καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ στρατιώτας ἔδωκαν, τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίσαρα τὴν τέ ἄρχὴν τοῖς διαδόχοις παραδόντων καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ἐντὸς ῥητῆς ἡμέρας ἀφεῖναι, ἠ πολέμου ὡς καὶ τάναντι τῇ πατρίδι ποιοῦντα ἐἶναι ἐψηφίσαντο.

4 Πυθόμενος οὖν ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος ἐς τῇ Αρίμινον ἠλθεν, ἐξω τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἄρχης τότε πρῶτην προσχωρήσασα, καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκέλευσε τὸν τη Κουρίωνα καὶ τὸς ἄλλους τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐλθόντας σφίσι τὰ πραξθέντα διηγη-
σαθαί. γενομένου δὲ τούτου προσπαρόξυνεν
2 αὐτοὺς, ἐπειπῶν ὅσα ὁ καίρος ἀπήτει. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἁρας ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀντικρυς τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἡλασε, πάσας τὰς ἐν ποσὶ πόλεις ἀμαχεὶ προστιθέμενος, τῶν φουρῶν τῶν μὲν ἐκλειπόντων αὐτὰς ἀσθε-
6
this measure, also, through the opposition of the same men, failed to be ratified. The senate's decision, however, was recorded and put into effect; for all straightway left the senate-house, and changed their dress, then came in again and proceeded to deliberate about punishing the tribunes. The latter, observing this, at first resisted, but later became afraid, especially when Lentulus advised them to get out of the way before the vote should be taken. They offered many remarks and protestations and then set out with Curio and with Caelius to go to Caesar, little concerned at being expelled from the senate. This, then, was the decision reached at that time; and the care of the city was committed to the consuls and to the other magistrates, as was the custom. Afterward the senators went outside the pomerium to Pompey himself, declared that there was a state of disorder, and delivered to him both the funds and the troops. And they voted that Caesar should surrender his office to his successors and dismiss his legions by a given day, or else be considered an enemy, because acting contrary to the interests of the country.

When Caesar was informed of this, he came to Ariminum, then for the first time overstepping the confines of his own province, and after assembling his soldiers he ordered Curio and the others who had come with him to relate to them what had been done. After this was over he further aroused them by adding such words as the occasion demanded. Next he set out and marched straight upon Rome itself, winning over all the cities on the way without any conflict, since the garrisons either abandoned
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νεία, τῶν δὲ τὰ ἐκεῖνον ἀνθαιρουμένων. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τούτῳ ὁ Πομπήιος, καὶ ἀμα καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν παρὰ τοῦ Δαβίδου μαθών,

3 ἔδεισεν. οὗτος γὰρ ἐγκαταλυπὼν τὸν Καίσαρα ἐξηντομόλησε καὶ πάντα οἱ τὰ ἀπόρρητα αὐτοῦ ἐξῆγγειλε. θαυμάσει μὲν οὖν ἂν τις ὅτι ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀεὶ ποτε τιμηθεῖς, ὡστε καὶ πάντων τῶν ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἀλπείς στρατοπέδους, ὅποτε ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ εἶη, ἀρχεῖν, ἐποίησε τούτον ἀὐτὸν 

4 αἰτίον, δὲ ὅτι ἀυτὸς τε καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δόξαν περιβαλόμενος ὁ γνηκρότερον τῆς ἡγεμονίας διάγεν ἡρξάτο, καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ παρισούμενον οἱ αὐτὸν ίδιῶν συκείθ' ὀμοίως ἡγάπα. τὴν τε οὖν μεταβολὴν μὴ φέρων, καὶ φοβηθεῖς ἀμα μὴ πάθη 

5 τι, μετέστη. 

Ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος ἐκ τε τῶν περὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτῶ λεχθέντων, καὶ ὅτι ἱσχύν ἀξιόμαχον ὁπ' τοῦ παρεσκευαστο, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει, τοὺς τε ἀλλοὺς καὶ αὐτοὺς μάλιστα τοὺς στασιώτας, τὸν τε πόλεμον ὁκνοῦντας μνήμη τῶν τε τοῦ Μαρίου καὶ τῶν τοῦ Σύλλου ἔργων καὶ ἀπαλλαγῆναι ἀσφαλῶς 

2 αὐτῶν βουλομένους εἰδε, μετεβάλετο, καὶ πρόσβεθε πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα Δούκιον τε Καίσαρα συγγενῆ αὐτῷ ὄντα καὶ Δούκιον Ἡρώκιον στρατηγοῦντα αὐτεπαγγέλτους ἀπέστειλεν, εἰ πως τὴν ὀρμὴν αὐτῶν ἐκφυγὼν ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ μετρίους τοις συμβαίνη.

3 ἀποκριναμένου δὲ ἐκείνου τὰ τε ἀλλα ἀπε- 

στάλκει, καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸς τῷ Πομπηίῳ διαλεχθήναι

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

Pompey, because of what was told him about Caesar and because he had not yet prepared a force sufficient to cope with him, changed his plans; for he saw that the people in the city, in fact the very members of his party, even more than the rest, shrank from the war through remembrance of the deeds of Marius and Sulla and wished to be delivered from it. Therefore he sent to Caesar, as envoys, Lucius Caesar, a relative of his, and Lucius Roscius, a praetor, both of whom volunteered for the service, to see if he could avoid his attack in some way and then reach an agreement with him on reasonable terms. The other replied to the same effect as in the letter which he had sent, and said that he, too, wished to have a conference with Pompey; but the multitude

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έθέλει, τούτο μὲν όυχ ἤδεως οἱ πολλοὶ ἤκουσαν,
4 δείσαντες μὴ καὶ κατὰ σφῶν τι σύνθωνται· ἐπεὶ
μέντοι οἱ πρέσβεις ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἔπαινοντες τὸν
Καίσαρα ἔλεγον, καὶ τέλος οὖτε τι κακὸν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ
πεῖσθαι τινα καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτίκα ἀφεθή-
σεθαι προσυπισχυόντο, ἤσθησαν, καὶ πρὸς τε
ἐκείνου τούς αὐτοὺς αὕθις πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν, καὶ
ηζίουν ἐπιβοῶντες ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ καὶ ἀμφοτέ-
ρους ἀμα αὐτοὺς τὰ ὑπλα καταθέσθαι.

6 Φοβήθεις οὖν διὰ ταῦθ’ ὁ Πομπήιος (καὶ γὰρ εὖ
ἡπίστατο ὅτι πολὺ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἂν γε ἐπὶ τῷ
dήμῳ γένωνται, ἐλαττωθήσεται) αὐτὸς τε ἐς Καμ–
2 πανιάν πρὶν τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπανελθεῖν, ὡς καὶ
ῥὰν ἐκεῖ πολεμήσων, προσαπήρε, καὶ τὴν βου–
λὴν ἀπασάν μετὰ τῶν τάς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντων ἀκολο
θῆσαι οἱ ἐκέλευσεν, ἁδειάν τε σφισὶ δόγματι τῆς
ἐκδημίας δοὺς, καὶ προειπὼν ὅτι τὸν ὑπομείναντα
ἐν τῇ τῷ ἱσῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ τοῖς τὰ ἐναντία
3 σφίσι πράττουσιν ἔξοι. πρὸς δὲ ἔτι καὶ τὰ
χρήματα τὰ δημόσια τὰ τε ἀναθήματα τὰ ἐν τῇ
πόλει πάντα ἀναιρεθήναι προσέταξαν αὐτοῖς ψη–
φίσασθαι, ἐπιζῷων παμπληθεῖς ἀπ’ αὐτῶν στρα–
τιώτας ἀθροίσειν. τοσαύτην γὰρ εὐνοιαν αὐτοῦ
πᾶσαι ὡς εἰπεῖν αἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πόλεις εἶχον
ὡστε, ἐπειδή ἤκουσαν αὐτὸν ὄλγον ἐμπροσθεῖν
ἐπικινδύνους νοσοῦντα, σωτηρία αὐτοῦ δημοσία
4 θύσειν εὐξασθαί. καὶ ὅτι μὲν μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν
τοῦτ’ αὐτῷ ἐδοσαν, οὐδ’ ἄν εἰς ἀντιλέξειν· οὐ
gὰρ ἐστὶν ὅτι 1 ποτὲ ἄλλω, ἔξω τῶν μετὰ ταύτα
τὸ πᾶν κράτος λαβόντων, τοιοῦτον τι ἐψηφίσθη·

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

Pompey was frightened at this, knowing well that he would be far inferior to Caesar if they should both put themselves in the power of the people, and accordingly set out for Campania before the envoys returned, with the idea that he could more easily carry on war there. He also commanded the whole senate together with the magistrates to accompany him, granting them permission for their absence by a decree, and announcing to them that he would regard anyone who remained behind in exactly the same light as those who were working against him. Furthermore he ordered them to decree that the public moneys and the votive offerings in the city should all be seized, hoping that by using them he could get together a vast number of soldiers. For practically all the cities of Italy felt such friendliness for him that when, a short time before, they had heard he was dangerously ill, they had vowed to offer public sacrifices for his safety. That this was a great and brilliant honour which they bestowed upon him no one would deny, since there has been no one else in whose behalf such a vote was ever passed, except those who in after times received
ού μὴν καὶ ἀκριβῆ πίστιν τοῦ μή οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἐκ τοῦ κρείττονος φόβον παρ-5 εἶχον. ἡ γνώσθη μὲν δὴ ταῦτα περὶ τε τῶν χρη-μάτων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων, οὐκ ἐκινήθη δὲ οὐδέτερα2 πυθόμενοι γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ τόν τε Καῖσαρα μήτε τι εἰρηναῖον τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀποκεκρίσθαι καὶ προσεγκαλεῖν σφισιν ὡς καὶ καταφευγαμένοις 6 τινὰ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας πολλοὺς τε καὶ θρασεῖς εἶναι καὶ πάν ὅσιον, οίᾳ ποίς βιλεῖ3 περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπὶ τὸ φοβερότερον ἀγγέλλεσθαι, κακουργήσειν, ἑφοβήθησαι, καὶ σπουδῇ τὴν ἐξο-δον, πρὸν ἀψαθαῖ τίνος αὐτῶν, ἐποιήσαντο. 7 Κάκ τούτου καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ὀμοίως πάντα θορυβώδης σφῶν καὶ ταραχώδης ἡ ἀνάστασις ἐγένετο. οἳ τε γὰρ ἔσιόντες (ἥσαν δὲ πάντες ὡς εἰπεῖν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῆς ἐπιτάδος 2 καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοῦ4 ὄμιλον) λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἀφωριμῶν, ἔργῳ δὲ τὰ τῶν ἐαλωκότων ἔπασχον· τὴν τε γὰρ πατρίδα καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ διατριβάς ἐκλιπτεῖν καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια τείχη οἰκείο-τερα τῶν σφετέρων νομίζειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι δεινῶς 3 ἐλυποῦντο. οἳ τε γὰρ πανοικησία ἀνιστάμενοι τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τοὺς οἶκους τὸ τε ἔδαφος τὸ πατρών ὡς καὶ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν εὐθὺς ἐσόμενα ἀπέλειπον,5 καὶ αὐτοὶ οὕτω τὴν γνώμην, ἀυ τε καὶ περισσῶδ-σιν, εἶχον ὡς κἂν6 τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ τῇ τε Θράκη κατουκήσουντες· τὴν γὰρ τοῦ Πομπήιου διάνοιαν 4 οὐκ ἠγνώσαν. καὶ οἳ κατὰ χώραν τοὺς τε παιδὰς καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ τιμώτατα  

1 παρεἴχου Kübler, εἶχον L. 2 οὐδέτερα Bk., οὐδὲ έτερα L. 3 ϕιλεί R. Steph., ϕιλεῖν L. 4 τοῦ Rk., τὸ τοῦ L. 5 ἀπέλειπον H. Steph., ἀπέλιπον L. 6 κἂν Reim., καὶ L.
absolute power; still they inspired him with no sure confidence that they would not abandon him through fear of one stronger. The recommendation about the moneys and the votive offerings was granted, but neither of them was touched; for, having ascertained meanwhile that Caesar's answer to the envoys had not been at all conciliatory and that he had furthermore reproached them with having made some false statements about him, also that his soldiers were many and bold and liable to do any kind of mischief,—just the sort of reports, exaggerating the danger, as are usually made about such matters,—the senators became frightened and hastily took their departure before they could lay hands on any of the treasures.

Accordingly their removal was equally tumultuous and confused in all other respects. For the departing citizens, practically all of whom were the foremost men of the senate and of the knights, to say nothing of the populace, while nominally setting out for war, were in reality undergoing the experiences of captives. For they were compelled to abandon their country and their pursuits there, and to consider foreign walls more friendly than their own, and consequently they were terribly distressed. Such as were removing with their entire households said farewell to the temples and to their homes and to the soil of their ancestors, with the feeling that these would straightway become the property of their opponents; and as for themselves, not being ignorant of Pompey's purpose, they had the intention, if they really survived, of establishing themselves in Macedonia and Thrace. Those who were leaving behind on the spot their children and wives and
καταλείποντες ἕχειν μὲν τινα ἐλπίδα τῆς πατρίδος ἑδόκουν, πολὺ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἐτέρων, ἀτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φιλτάτων ἀπαρτώμενοι, δυτὴ τε τύχῃ καὶ ἐναντιωτάτῃ παραβαλλόμενοι, χαλεπωτέρως ἀπῆλλασσον τὰ γὰρ οἰκειότατα τῷ πολεμιωτάτῳ σφῶν ἐκδόντες ἔμελλον ἐθελοκακοῦνυ τε μὲν αὐτοὶ κινδυνεύσειν, προθυμο-μένοι δὲ ἐκεῖνών στερηθῆσεται, καὶ προσέτι φίλον μὲν μηδέτερον ἔχοντος δὲ ἀμφοτέρους ἔξειν, Καίσαρα μὲν ὅτι μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ κατέμεναι Πομπηίου δὲ ὅτι μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνα συνεπηγάγοντο.

6 ὅστε καὶ ἐς ἀμφίβολον καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις καὶ ταῖς εὑχαῖς ταῖς τε ἐλπίσι καθιστάμενοι τοῖς τε σώμασιν ἀμα ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων σφών ἀπεστῶντο καὶ τας ψυχὰς δίχα διηροῦντο.

8 Ταύτα μὲν ὅνων οἱ ἐξορμώμενοι ἔπασχον, οἱ δ' ὑπολειπόμενοι διαφόροις μὲν ἀντιπάλοις δὲ τις καὶ αὐτοὶ παθήμασι συνεφέροντο. οἳ τε γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν προσηκόντων σφών ἀποξευγυμένοι, οῖα τῶν τε προστατῶν στερισκόμενοι καὶ ἐπαμύναται αὐτοῖς ἢκιστα δυνάμενοι, τῷ τε πολέμῳ ἐκδιδόμενοι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἔξοισι τοῦ τῆς πόλεως κρατήσοντος ἐσόμενοι, αὐτοὶ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου καὶ τῶν ὑβρεων καὶ τῶν σφαγῶν ὡς καὶ γυνομένων ἢδη ἐταλαιπώρουν καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων οἳ τε ὄργῃν σφίσων ὅτι ἐγκατελείφθησαν ἔχοντες τα αὐτὰ ἐπηρώντο καὶ οἱ συγγνώμην τῆς ἀνάγκης ποιούμενοι τα αὐτὰ ἐδέδισαν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος σύμπαν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μηδεμία αὐτοῖς συγγένεια πρὸς τοὺς ἀφορμομένους ἦν.

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

These were the feelings of the departing throng. The ones left behind were experiencing different, but equally painful emotions. Those who were being sundered from their relatives, being thus deprived of their guardians and quite unable to defend themselves, exposed to the war and about to be in the power of him who should make himself master of the city, not only were distressed themselves by the fear of outrages and of murders, as if these were already taking place, but they also either invoked the same fate against those departing, through anger at being deserted, or, condoning their action because of their necessity, feared that the same fate would befall them. All the rest of the populace, even if they did not have the least kinship with those departing,
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ὅμως ἐλυποῦντο μὲν καὶ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνοις, οἱ μὲν γείτονας οἱ δὲ ἐταΐρους πολὺ τε ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀφήξειν καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἀτοπα καὶ δράσειν καὶ πείσεσθαι ἐλπίζοντες, πολλῷ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα ἐαυτοὺς ὁλοφύροντο· τὰς τε γὰρ ἀρχὰς καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τούς τε ἄλλους τοὺς τι δυναμένους πάντας (οὐ γὰρ ποὺ εἰ γέ τις αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθήσε- 

tαι ἤδεσαι) τῆς τε πατρίδος ἀμα καὶ σφῶν ἐξισταμένους ὁρώντες, καὶ μήτ' ἀν ἐκείνους, εἰ μὴ 
pάνυ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ αὐτῇ ἐπηρτῆτο, φυγεῖν 

5 ποτε ἐθελήσαι λογιζόμενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔρημοι μὲν 

ἀρχόντων ἔρημοι δὲ συμμάχων γυγόμενοι, πρὸς 

τε τὰ ἄλλα πάντα παισί τε τινῶν ὀρφανῶς καὶ 

γυναῖξι χήραις ἐφκεσαν, καὶ τὰς ὀργὰς τὰς τε 

ἐπιθυμίας τῶν ἐπίοντων καὶ πρῶτοι ἢ τῆς τῶν 

προτέρων παθημάτων μυήσης, οἱ μὲν αὐτοὶ 

πειραθέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκείνων ἀκούσαντες ὅσα καὶ 

οἶα ὁ τε Μάριος καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἐξειργάσαντο, 

6 μέτριον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ὑπώπτευον, 

ἄλλα καὶ πολὺ πλείω καὶ δεινότερα, ἀτε καὶ 

βαρβαρικοῦ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ στρατοῦ αὐτῶν 

ὁντος, πείσθαι προσεδόκων.

9 Οὖτως οὖν δὴ πάντων αὐτῶν διακειμένων, καὶ 

μηδενός, ἐξω τῶν προσφιλῶν πη τῷ Καίσαρι 

doκούντων εἶναι, ἐν ἐλαφρῷ τὸ πράγμα ποιούμενον,

καὶ ἐκείνων δὲ πρὸς τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν 

τρόπων, ὡς ὁ πλείους πρὸς τὰ παρόντα σφίσι ΛΑ 

λαμβάνοντως, οὐ φερεγγύω πίστει θαρσοῦντων, 

οὐδ' ἐπινοῆσαι ῥάδιον ὅση μὲν ταραχὴ ὃσον δὲ 

1 Lacuna recognised by Xyl. 

2 ποιομένου Xyl., ποιομένων L. 

3 σφῖσι Rk., σφῶν L. 

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

Since, then, all of them were in this state, and no one except those who thought they were good friends of Caesar made light of the situation, and even they, in view of the change of character which most men undergo according to their circumstances, had not the courage of confident assurance, it is not easy to conceive what confusion and what grief prevailed at
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καὶ πένθος ἐν τῇ τῶν τε ὑπάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
2 τῶν συνεξορμωμένων σφόσιν ἐξόδῳ ἐγένετο. τὴν
tε γὰρ νῦκτα πᾶσαν ἀνασκεναζόμενοι 1 καὶ
περιβοιτώντες θεορύβουν, καὶ ὑπὸ 2 τὴν ἔως πολὺς
μὲν πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς 3 οἶκτος (καὶ γὰρ ἐκασταχόθι
περιόντες εὐχὰς ἐποιοῦστο) πάντας αὐτοὺς
ἐλάμβανε· τοὺς τε γὰρ θεοὺς ἀνεκάλουν καὶ τὰ
dάπεδα κατεφίλουν, ὀσάκις τε 4 ἐξ οίων περιεγέ-
νυντο ἀνηρίθμοντο, καὶ ὅτι τὴν πατρίδα, ὁ
μηπόποτε ἐτετόλμητο σφισιν, ἐξέλειπον, 5 ὀδύ-
ρυντο· πολὺς δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς πύλας θρήνος ἦν.
3 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλληλους τε ἁμα καὶ ἐκείνην ὡς καὶ
tελευταίοιν ὁρώντες ἠσπάζοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐαυτοὺς τε
ἐθρήνουν καὶ τοῖς ἐξιόυσι συνηχύνοντο, καὶ οἱ γε
πλείους ὡς καὶ προδιδόμενοι κατηρώντο· πάντες
γὰρ καὶ οἱ ὑπομένοντες παμπαιδὶ καὶ παγγυνακὴ
4 παρῆσαν. καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ οἱ μὲν ἐξωρμῶντο, οἱ
dὲ προεπεμπὸν σφας· ἄλλοι τε ἐνεχρόνιζον καὶ
πρὸς τῶν γνωρίμων κατείχοντο, καὶ τινὲς
περιβάλλοντες ἄλληλους ἐπὶ πλείστον συνηρ-
tῶντο. ἀκολουθοῦντες τε τοῖς ἐξορμωμένοις οἱ
ὑπομένοντες ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐπεβοῶντο τε ἁμα
αὐτοὺς καὶ κατὰκτίζον, ἀγειν τε σφας ἦ καὶ
5 ἐκείνους οἰκοι μένειν ἄξιοντες ἐπεθείαζον. κἂν
tοῦτο ὀλολυγή ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν πολλῇ καὶ
παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ δάκρυα ἀπλετα ἐγνυστε·
tὴν μὲν γὰρ τοῦ κρείττονος ἐλπίδα ἦκιστα, ἀτέ ἐν
tοῖς τοιούτους οὐντες, τὰ δὲ δὴ πάθη πρότερον μὲν

1 ἀνασκεναζόμενοι Naber, ἀναγαζόμενοι L.
2 ὑπὸ Reim., ἐπὶ L.
3 πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς placed here by Bk., after καὶ γὰρ in L.
4 τε R. Steph., τε καὶ L.
5 ἐξέλειπον H. Steph., ἐξέλειπον L.
the departure of the consuls and those who set out with them. All night they made an uproar with their packing and running to and fro, and toward dawn great sadness came upon them all at the various temples, as they went about offering prayer on every side. They invoked the gods, kissed the ground, and lamented as often as they enumerated the perils which they had survived, and recalled that they were leaving their country, a thing they had never brought themselves to do before. Around the gates, too, there was much lamenting. Some took fond leave at once of each other and of the city, as if they were beholding them for the last time; others bewailed their own lot and joined their prayers to those of the departing, while the majority uttered curses, on the ground that they were being betrayed. For all who were to remain behind were there, too, with all the women and children. Then the one group set out on their way and the other group escorted them. Some interposed delays and were detained by their acquaintance; others embraced and clung to each other for a long time. Those who were to remain accompanied those who set out, calling after them and expressing their sympathy, while with appeals to Heaven they besought them to take them, too, or to remain at home themselves. Meanwhile there was much wailing over each one of the exiles, even from outsiders, and tears without restraint. For they were anything but hopeful, in such circumstances, of a change for the better; it was rather
οἱ καταλειπόμενοι ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀφορμώμενοι
6 προσεδέχοντο. ἐκάση δὲ ἂν τις αὐτοὺς ἴδων δῦν
τε δῆμους καὶ δῦο πόλεις ἐκ μιᾶς γέγονεθαί, καὶ
tὴν μὲν ἀνιστασθαί τε καὶ φεύγειν, τὴν δὲ ἐγκατα-
λείπεσθαί τε καὶ ἀλίσκεσθαί.
7 Πομπῆιος μὲν οὖν οὕτω τὸ ἀστυ ἑξέλιπεν,
συχνοὺς τῶν Βουλευτῶν ἐπαγόμενος (ὑπελείφθη-
σαν γὰρ τινες, οἱ μὲν τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονοῦν-
tες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκ μέσου ἀμφοῖν ἵσταμενοι), καὶ
καταλόγους τε ἐκ τῶν πόλεων στουδὴ ἐποιεῖτο καὶ
χρήματα ἑξέλεγε, φρονώνς τε ὡς ἑκασταχόσε
ἐπεμπεῖ. Καίσαρ δὲ ἐπειδὴ ταύτα ἐμαθε, πρὸς
μὲν τὴν Ῥώμην οὐκ ἥπειχθη (ἀθλῶν τε γὰρ
αὐτὴν ἤδει τοὺς κρατήσοντι προκειμένην, καὶ
οὐκ ἐπὶ ἐκείνην ὡς καὶ πολεμίαν οἱ οὐσαι,
ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς δὴθεν
2 ἐπιστρατεύειν ἑλεγε), γράμματα δὲ ἐσ πᾶσαν
tὴν Ἰταλίαν πέμψας, δι’ ὅν τὸν τε Πομπῆιον
ἐς δίκην τινὰ προεκαλέστο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
θαρσεῖν παρῆνει, κατὰ χῶραν τοὺς αὐτοῖς μένειν
ἐκέλευς, καὶ ὑπισχεῖτο πολλὰ αὐτοῖς. καὶ
ἐπὶ Κορφίνου, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ὑπὸ Δουκίου Δομίτιο
κατεχόμενον οὐ προσεκόρωεῖ, ὀρμησε, καὶ τινὰς
ἀπαντήσαντας μάχη κρατήσας ἐς τολμώρκιαν
3 τοὺς λοιποὺς κατέκλεισεν. οὐ δὲ Πομπῆιος,
ἐπειδὴ οὕτω τε ἐπολυρκοῦντο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
πολλοὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπέκλινον, τῆς μὲν
Ἰταλίας οὐδεμίαν ἐτ’ ἐλπίδα ἐσχεῖν, ἐς δὲ δὴ
tὴν Μακεδονίαν τὴν τε Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν
περαιωθῆναι ἐγγονοί τῇ τα γὰρ μνήμη δὲν ἐκεῖ
ἐπεπράχει, καὶ τῇ τῶν ἰδίων τῇ τε τῶν βασιλέων

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

Pompey thus left the city, taking many of the senators with him, although some remained behind, either being attached to Caesar’s cause or maintaining a neutral attitude toward the two. He hastily raised levies from the cities, collected money, and sent garrisons to each point. Caesar, when he learned of these moves, did not hurry to Rome; for the capital, he knew, lay as a prize before the victors, and he claimed to be marching, not against that place as hostile to him, but rather against his political opponents and in its defence. And he sent letters throughout all Italy in which he challenged Pompey to some kind of trial, and encouraged the others to be of good cheer, bade them remain in their places, and made them many promises. He set out next against Corfinium, because this place, being occupied by Lucius Domitius, would not join his cause, and after conquering in battle a few who met him he shut up the rest and besieged them. Now Pompey, inasmuch as these followers were being besieged and many of the others were falling away to Caesar, had no further hope of Italy, and resolved to cross over into Macedonia, Greece, and Asia. For he derived much encouragement from the remembrance of what he had achieved there and from the friendship
4 φιλία πολύ ἐθάρσει. ἦν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἡ Ἰβηρία αὐτῷ πᾶσα οἰκεία, οὐκ ἐδύνατο1 δὲ ἐσ αὐτὴν ἀσφαλὸς, ἀτε καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος τὰς Γαλατίας ἐχοντος, κομισθήναι. πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐλογίζετο ὅτι, ἂν ἀποπλεύσῃ, οὔτε ἐπιδιώξει τις αὐτὸν διά τε τὴν τῶν πλοίων ἀπορίαν καὶ διὰ τὸν ἱεμώνα (ἠδὲ γὰρ ἐκ μετοπώρου ἦν), κἂν τούτῳ κατὰ σχολὴν πολλὰ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὑπηκόου πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συμμαχικοῦ καὶ χρήματα καὶ στρατεύματα ἀθροίσει. αὐτὸς τε ὅπως ἐπὶ τούτους ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἀφορμήθη, καὶ τὸν Δομίτιον ἐκλιπόντα τὸ Κορφύνιον ἀκολουθεῖν οἱ ἐκέλευσε. καὶ ὡς, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἱσχύν τε τινα εἰχε καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐπήλπιζε (καὶ γὰρ τοὺς στρατιώτας τὰ τε ἄλλα ἑτεραπεύκει καὶ χώρας ὑποσχε- 
2 σει ὑπήκοτο τῶν τε γὰρ Συλλείων ἐγεγονεί καὶ πολλὴν ἐκ τῆς δυναστείας ἐκείνης ἐκέκτητο), ὁμος ἐπειθάρχησε. καὶ ὁ μὲν παρεσκευάζετο ὅπως δὲ ἀσφαλείας των ἐκχωρήσῃ μαθόντες δὲ τοῦθ' οἱ συνόντες οἱ, καὶ κατοκνύσαντες την2 ἀφοδον ὡς καὶ φυγὴν οὕσαν, προσέθεντο τῷ 
3 Καίσαρι. καὶ οἱ μὲν συνεστρατεύοντο αὐτῷ, Δομίτιος δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι βουλευταὶ ἤτιάθησαν μὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀντιτάξει, ἀπελύθησαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ἀπήλθον. 
12 Ὄ δ' οὖν Καίσαρ σπουδὴν μὲν εἰχε συμμίξαι 
τε αὐτῷ πρὶν ἐκπλεύσαι, καὶ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ διαπο-
λεμῆσαι, καταλαβεῖν τε αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ 
ἐτ' ὄντα: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὰ πλοία οὐκ ἐξήρκεσέ 
σφισι, προεπεμψεν ἄλλους τε καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους, 
μη καὶ νεοχμώσωσι τι κατὰ χώραν ὑπομείναν-
1 ἐδύνατο St., ἡδύνατο L. 2 τὴν Reim., ἐς τὴν L.
of the peoples and the kings. Spain, to be sure, was likewise wholly devoted to him, but he could not reach it safely, since Caesar held both the Gauls. Moreover he calculated that if he should sail away, no one would pursue him on account of the lack of ships and on account of the winter, as the autumn was now far advanced; and meanwhile he would be amassing at leisure both money and troops, partly from the Roman subjects and partly from their allies. With this purpose, therefore, he himself set out for Brundisium and bade Domitius abandon Corfinium and accompany him. And Domitius, in spite of the large force that he had and the hopes he reposed in it, inasmuch as he had courted the favour of the soldiers in every way and had won them over by promises of land (as one of Sulla's veterans he had acquired a large amount under that régime), nevertheless obeyed orders. He, accordingly, was making preparations to evacuate the town with some degree of safety; but his associates, when they learned of it, shrank from the journey abroad, because it seemed to them a flight, and they attached themselves to Caesar. So these joined the invader's army, but Domitius and the other senators, after being censured by Caesar for arraying themselves against him, were allowed to go and came to Pompey.

Caesar, accordingly, was anxious to join issue with Pompey before he could sail away and to fight out the war in Italy, if he could but overtake his adversary while he was still at Brundisium; for since there were not sufficient ships for all, Pompey had sent ahead the consuls and others, fearing that they might begin some rebellion if they remained there.

BOOK XLI

b.c. 49
2 τεσ' ἵδων δὲ τὸ δυσάλωτον τοῦ χωρίου προσκαλέσατο ¹ αὐτὸν ἐς συνθήκας ὡς καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην τὴν τε φιλίαν ἀποληψόμενον. ἀποκριναμένου τε αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὅτι τοῖς ὕπάτοις ἢ λέγει κοινώσεται, ἐπειδὴ ἐδέδοκτο σφίσι μηδένα τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις ὑπνων ἐς λόγους δέχεσθαι, προσέβαλε τῇ πόλει. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Πομπῆιος ἡμέρας μὲν τινας ἡμύνατο, μέχρις οὗ τὰ πλοία ἐπανήλθε· διοικοδομήσας δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ ἀποφράξας τὰς ἐς τὸν λιμένα ὄδοις, μή καὶ ἐπίθεται τοῖς αὐτῷ ἐκπλέουντι, ἐπειτα νυκτὸς ἐξανήχθη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀσφαλῶς ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐπεραίωθη, τὸ δὲ ἢ Βρεντέσιον δύο τε ἐν αὐτῷ πλοία μεστὰ ἀνδρῶν ἐάλω.

13 Πομπῆιος μὲν οὖν τὴν τε πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἀλλην Ἰταλίαν οὕτως ἐξέλυπτε πάντα τὰ ἐναντιώτατα τοῖς πρόσθεν, ὅτε ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας κατέπλευσε, καὶ ἐλόμενος καὶ πράξας· ἀφ’ ωνπερ καὶ τὴν τύχην καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀντίπαλον ἑκτήσατο. τὰ τε γὰρ στρατόπεδα πρότερον εὖθὺς ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ, ἵνα μὴ τοὺς πολίτας λυπήσῃ, ἄφεις, ἔτερα δ’ αὐτοῦ τότε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἐξήγαγε· καὶ τοὺς πλοῦτους τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀγαγὼν, πᾶνθ’ ὅσα ἡδυνήθη τότε ἐξ αὐτὴς ἑτέρωσε ἐκόμισε· καὶ τῶν μὲν οἴκοι πάντων ἀπέγνω, τοῖς δ’ ἀλλοτρίοις καὶ τοῖς γε ύφ’ ἑαυτοῦ ποτὲ δουλωθεῖσι συμμάχους κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος χρήσασθαι ἐνδεί, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς πολὺ πλεῖο ἐλπίδα καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς δυναστείας ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἐνεργετηθεῖσιν

¹ προσκαλέσατο Reim., προσκαλέσατο L.
² ἑτέρωσε R. Steph., ἑτέρωσ L.
³ ἐν added by Bk.
Caesar, seeing the difficulty of capturing the place, urged his opponent to come to some agreement, assuring him that he should obtain both peace and friendship again. When Pompey replied merely that he would communicate to the consuls what Caesar said, the latter, inasmuch as those officials had decided to receive no citizen in arms for a conference, assaulted the city. Pompey repelled him for some days until the ships returned; and having meanwhile barricaded and obstructed the streets leading to the harbour, so that no one should attack him as he was sailing forth, he then put out by might. Thus he crossed over to Macedonia in safety, and Brundisium was captured along with two ships full of men.

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

14 Καὶ εὐθὺς γε καταίρων ἐς τὸ Δυρράχιον ἔμαθεν ὅτι οὐ καλῶς ἀπαλλάξει 1 στρατιώτας τε γὰρ κεραυνοὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πρόσπλεφ ἔφθειραν, καὶ τὰ σημεία τὰ στρατιωτικά ἀράχναι κατέσχον, ἐκβάντος τε ἐκ τῆς νεώς αὐτοῦ θείας τὸν στίβον ἐπισπόμενοι συνέχεον. ἐκείνῳ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τὰ τέρατα ἐγένετο, συνεβεβήκει δὲ καὶ πάση τῇ πόλει τούτῳ τοῖσ ἐτεί καὶ ὅλῳ ἐμπροσθεν ἔτερα. ὅτες γὰρ ποὺ ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐν ταῖς στάσεσι τὸ κοινὸν βλάπτεται καὶ διὰ τὸν λύκοι τε καὶ βύαι πολλοὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἁστει

2 ὀφθησαν, καὶ σεισμοὶ συνεχέοις μετὰ μυκηθῶν ἐγένοντο, πῦρ τε ἀπὸ δυσμῶν πρὸς ἀνατολάς διήλυε, καὶ έτερον ἅλλα τε καὶ τὸν τοῦ Κυρίνου 2 ναὸν κατέφλεξεν. ὁ τὲ ἤλιος σύμπας ἐξέλιπε, καὶ κεραυνοὶ σκῆπτρον τὴν Δίος καὶ ἀστίδα κράνος τῷ Ἀρεώς, ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἀνακείμενα, καὶ προσέπτι καὶ τὰς στήλας τὰς τοὺς νόμους ἐχούσας ἐλυμήναντο. ξύλι τε πολλὰ ἐξὸ τῆς ἑαυτῶν φύσεως ἐγέννησε τίνα, καὶ λόγια τίνα ὡς καὶ τῆς Συμβολῆς ὑπάτα ἦδετο, κάτοχοί τε τίνως γινόμενοι συνήνα ἐθέλαζον. καὶ πολιάρχοι οὐδείς ἔς τὰς ἀνοχάς, ὃσπερ

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

Now at the very moment of coming to land at Dyrrachium he learned that he should not obtain a prosperous outcome. For thunderbolts destroyed some soldiers even as the ships were approaching; spiders occupied the army standards; and after he had left the vessel serpents followed and obliterated his footprints. These were the portents which came to him personally, but for the whole capital others had occurred both that year and a short time previously; for there is no doubt that in civil wars the state is injured by both parties. Hence many wolves and owls were seen in the city itself and continual earthquakes with bellowings took place, fire darted across from the west to the east, and another fire consumed the temple of Quirinus as well as other buildings. The sun, too, suffered a total eclipse, and thunderbolts damaged a sceptre of Jupiter and a shield and a helmet of Mars that were votive offerings on the Capitol, and likewise the tables which contained the laws. Many animals brought forth creatures outside of their own species, some oracles purporting to be those of the Sibyl were made known, and some men became inspired and uttered numerous divinations. No prefect of the city was chosen for the Feriae, as had been the
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εἶθιστο, ἤρεθη, ἀλλ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάντα τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτῷ, ὡς γέ τισι δοκεῖ, διψηκαν· ἐτεροι γὰρ ἐν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει φασὶν αὐτοὺς τούτο ποιῆσαι. καὶ ἐκεῖνο μὲν καὶ αὐθῆς ἐγένετο, τότε ἤ καὶ ὁ Περπέρνας ὁ μετὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου ποτὲ τιμητεύσας ἀπέθανεν, ὡς ἐφην, τελευταῖος πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ τιμητείᾳ αὐτοῦ βουλευσάντων, καὶ ἐδόκει καὶ τοῦτο τι νεοχμώσειν. ἐταράττοντο μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς τέρασιν ὥσπερ εἰκός ἦν, οἰόμενοι δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐπιξύνοντες ἐκάτεροι ἐς τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτατας σφῶν πάντα αὐτὰ ἀποσκῆψειν οὖδὲν ἐξεβύσσαντο.

15 Ὕν οὖν Καῖσαρ ἐς μὲν τὴν Μακεδονίαν οὐδὲ ἐπείρασε τότε πλεῦσαι (πλοῖον τε γὰρ ἤπορει ἄμα καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐδεδείξει, μή αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου ὑποστράτηγοι ἐπελθοῦντες κατάσχοντο), τὸ δὲ δὴ Βρεντέσιον διὰ φυλακῆς, τοῦ μὴ τινα τῶν ἀνηρκότων ἀναπλεῦσαι, ποιησάμενος πρὸς τε τῆν Ῥώμην ἤλθεν, καὶ τῆς γερουσίας οἱ ἔξω τοῦ πομπηίου ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Δολγίου παρασκευασθείσης (ἐκπεσόντες γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῆς τότε αὐτὴν ἃθροισαν) ἐδημηγόρησε πολλὰ καὶ ἐπιεικῆ, ὅτως πρὸς τε τὸ παρὸν εὐνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐξπίδα χρηστὴν λάβωσιν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοὺς τε γυνομένους ἀχθομένους καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατιω-

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

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

1 In a book now lost.
2 Valerius Maximus (viii. 13, 4) and Pliny (N. H. vii. 48) are probably more accurate when they state that he outlived all those who were senators in the year of his consulship (b.c. 92) and all but seven of those whom he appointed to that body during his censorship (b.c. 86). He died at the age of 98.
τικὼν πλῆθος ὑποτεύοντας αὐτοὺς ἑώρα, παραμυθήσασθαι καὶ τιθασεύσας σφας τρόπον τινά ἠθέλησεν, ἵνα τά γε ἐκείνων, ἐως ἂν διαπολεμήσῃ,
1 ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ μέινη. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' οὔτ' ἄτισσατο τινα οὔτ' ἡπέλησε τινι οὐδένει, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταδρομὴν κατὰ τῶν πολεμεῶν πολύτατο ἑθελόντων οὐκ ἂνεν ἄρων ἐποιήσατο, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ τε τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁμονοίας σφῶν παραχρήμα πρὸς τε τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον πεμφθήναι ἐσηγήσατο.
16 τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ταύτα καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἰδίμον, καὶ αὐτὸν ἔσχω τοῦ πυμηρίου συνελθόντα, εἶπόων, σιτόν τε ἐκ τῶν νήσων μετεπέμψατο καὶ πέντε καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα δραχμὰς ἐκάστῳ δῶσειν ὑπέσχετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν τούτοις αὐτοὺς δελεάσειν ἠλπίζεν, οἳ δ' ἀνθρώποι λογιζόμενοι ὅτι οὔτε φρονοῦσιν οὔτε πράττουσι τὰ αὐτὰ οἳ τε ἐφιεμένοι τινων καὶ οἳ
2 τυχόντες, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τῶν ἐργῶν πάντα τὰ ἦδιστα προβάλλουσι τοῖς ἀντιπράξαι τι δυναμένοις, ἐπειδὰν δὲ κατορθώσωσιν ὡσα βούλονται, οὗτε τινὸς αὐτῶν μνημονεύουσι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ἂς παρ' αὐτῶν ἔλαβον χρῶνται, μεμνημένοι δὲ καὶ τὸν
3 Μάριον τὸν τε Σύλλαν, ὡς πολλὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα πολλάκις σφίσων εἰπόντες οἶδα ἄνθ' οἷον ἔδρασαν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος χρείαν αἰσθόμενοι, τὰ τε ὄπλα αὐτοῦ πολλὰ καὶ πανταχοῦ τῆς πόλεως ὅρωντες ὄντα, οὐτε πιστεύειν τοῖς λεγομένοις οὔτε θαρρεῖν ἐδύναντο,
and suspicious of the multitude of soldiers, he wished to encourage and tame them, so to speak, in order that quiet might prevail at least in their quarter until he should bring the war to an end. He therefore censured no one and made no threat against anyone, but delivered an attack, not without imprecations, upon those who chose to war upon citizens, and at last proposed that envoys be sent immediately to the consuls and to Pompey to treat for peace and harmony. He made these same statements also to the populace, when that body had likewise assembled outside the pomerium; and he sent for grain from the islands, and promised to give each citizen three hundred sesterces. He hoped to tempt them with this bait; but the men reflected that those who are pursuing certain ends and those who have attained them do not think or act alike, but at the beginning of their undertakings they offer every conceivable gratification to such as are in a position to work against them in any way, whereas, when they succeed in what they wish, they remember none of their promises and use against those very persons the power which they have received from them. Recalling also the behaviour of Marius and Sulla,—how many benevolent phrases they had often addressed to them and then what treatment they had accorded them in return for their services,—and furthermore perceiving Caesar's need and seeing that his armed forces were many and were everywhere in the city, they were unable either to trust his words or to be cheered by them.

1 Literally, seventy-five drachmae or denarii. Dio expresses all sums in this unit, but in the translation the Roman practice will be followed.
4 ἄλλ' ἐναντίον τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν φόβου ἔχοντες καὶ ἐκεῖνον ὑπετόπουν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ τὰς καταλλαγὰς δῆθεν προτανεύσοντες ἦρέθησαν μὲν, οὐκ ἐξήλθον δὲ, ἄλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐμνήσθη τοῦτον περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Πύσων ὁ πενθερὸς αὐτοῦ αὐτίαν ἐσχέτον τοσοῦτον τε ἐδέχασαν τὰ χρήματα ἀ ὑπέσχεται σφισι τότε γε λαβεὶν, ὡστε καὶ τὰλλά οἱ πάνθει ὅσα ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ἦν πρὸς τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οὐς ἐφοβοῦντο, τροφὴν ἔδοσαν. καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τούτοις ὡς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς οὐσὶ τὴν ἐσθήτα τῆς εἰρηνικῆς μετημπισχοῦτο· ὀυδέπω γὰρ αὐτῆς

2 μετειλήφεσαν. ἀντείπε μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὴν περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἐσήγησαν Δοῦκιὸς 2 τις Μέτελλος δήμαρχος, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἐπέρανε, πρὸς τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἦλθε καὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτῶν ἐν τηρῆσαι ἐποίησατο· σμικρὸν δὲ ὅτι καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ ποῦ καὶ τῆς παρρησίας, οἱ στρατιώται φροντίσαντες τὴν τε βαλανάγραν διέκοψαν (τὴν γὰρ κλεῖν οἱ ὑπατοὶ εἴχον, ὥσπερ οὖν ἔξον τοις πελέκεσιν ἀντ' αὐτῆς χρήσασθαι)

3 καὶ πάντα τὰ χρήματα ἐξεφόρησαν. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τοῦ αὐτοῦ τρόπου, ὡς μοι πολλαχόθεν εὑρηταί, ὄνοματι μὲν ἰσονομίας (καὶ γὰρ διὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τὰ πλείω αὐτῶν ἐσεφέρετο) ἐργὼ δὲ δυναστείας καὶ ἐψηφίζετο καὶ ἐπράττετο. τοὺς τε γὰρ ἀντιστασίαξοντάς σφισι πολεμίους ἐκάτεροι τῆς πατρίδος ὀνομάζοντες, καὶ ἐαυτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν πολεμεῶν λέγοντες, τὰ τε ἱδια μόνα ἱδέαν, κάκεινα ὁμοίως ἀμφότεροι ἐφθειρον. 18 'Ὁ δ' οὖν Καίσαρ ταύτα τε οὕτως ἐποίησε, καὶ

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

After taking these steps Caesar occupied Sardinia
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2 ὅπως τῷ Πομπηίῳ τι ἀντιπράξῃ, ἐστειλε· καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου ἐπικηρυχθέντω ἀρχὰς αὐτῶν ἐφῆκε, τά τε ἄλλα πάντα, καὶ τά ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τά ἐν τῇ λοιπῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, πρὸ το ἐπιτηδειότατον ἐαυτῷ ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων
3 κατέστησε. καὶ ἤκεινα μὲν τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ ἐπετρεψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, τά τε το Πομπηίου ἵσχυρὰς αἰρουμένην καὶ ἐς δέος αὐτῶν μή καὶ τὰς Γαλατίας προσαποστήσῃ, καθιστάν
4 τας, ὄρμησε. καὶ τοῦτῳ ἄλλῳ τε βουλεύτω καὶ ὁ Κικέρον, μηδὲ ἐς ὄψιν τῷ Καίσαρι ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν Πομπηίον ὥς γε τά τε δικαιότερα πράττοντα καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ κρατήσοντα ἄπεχὼ
5 ῥήσεν. οἱ τε γὰρ ὑπατοῦ, πρὶν ἐκπλεῖν, καὶ ἤκείνοις, ἀτε ἀντὶ ὑπάτου ἄρχων, πάντας αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσαν ἐς Θεσσαλονίκην ἀκολουθῆσαι, ὡς τοῖς μὲν ἀστέως πρὸς πολεμίων τινῶν ἐχομένου, αὐτὸ
6 δὲ ἀτε 2 γερουσία ὑμετέρα καὶ το τῆς πολιτείας πρόσχεμα, ὅπου ποτ' ἂν ὅσιν, ἐξοντες. καὶ σφιος διὰ ταῦτα τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἰσπέων οἱ πλείους, οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς τότε οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑστερον, καὶ αἱ πόλεις πᾶσαι, ὡςαι μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος ὅπλων κατείργοντο τροφεχώρησαν.

19 Οἱ μέντοι Μασσαλιώται μόνον τῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ οἰκούντων οὕτε συνήραντο τῷ Καίσαρι, οὕτε ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσεδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπόκρισιν
2 αὐτῷ ἀξιομηνημόνευτον ἐδοσαν· τῷ τε γὰρ δῆμον

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

Now the Massaliots, alone of the peoples living in Gaul, did not cooperate with Caesar, and did not receive him into their city, but gave him a noteworthy answer. They said that they were allies of the
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tōn Ῥωμαίων συμμαχεὶν καὶ ἐκείνως ἐπιτηδείως ἀμφοτέρους ἔχειν, καὶ μήτε πολυπραγμονεῖν τι μήθ' ἰκανοὶ διακρίναι πότερος αὐτῶν ἀδικεῖ εἶναι ἐφασαν, ὡστε εἰ μὲν τις ὡς φίλος ἔθελοι πρὸς σφᾶς ἐλθεῖν, καὶ 1 ἀμφοτέρους αὐτοὺς ἄνευ τῶν ὅπλων δέξασθαι ἐλεγον, ἐπὶ πολέμῳ δὲ οὐδέτερον.

3 καταστάντες τε 2 ἐς πολιορκίαν αὐτῶν τε ἐκείνων ἀπεκρούσαντο, καὶ τῷ Τρεβωνίῳ τῷ τε Βρούτῳ τῷ Δεκίῳ 3 μετὰ τούτῳ προσεδρεύσασι σφισίν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀντέσχου. ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ χρόνον μὲν τινα, ὡς καὶ βαδίως αὐτοὺς αἰρήσων, προσεκαρτέρησε (καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ δεινὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀμαχεὶ κρατήσας ὑπὸ

4 Μασσαλιωτῶν οὐκ ἐδέχετο, ἐπειτ' ἐπειδὴ ἀντήρ-κουν, ἐκείνους μὲν ἑτέρους προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἥπειρον.

20 Ἐπετόμφει μὲν γὰρ ἐς αὐτὴν Γάιον Φάβιον, δεῖσας δὲ μὴ καθ' ἕαυτον ἀγωνισάμενος πταῖσῃ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐστράτευσεν. εἶχον δὲ τότε τὰ πράγματα τὰ πέρι τὸν Ἰβηρα ὁ τε Ἀφράνιος καὶ ὁ Πετρέιος, καὶ φυλακήν μὲν καὶ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς τῶν ὀρῶν ἑπετοίματο, τὸ δ' ὅλον ἐς Ἰλέρδαν 4 τὰς δυνάμεις ἀθροίσαντες ἐνταῦθα τοὺς ἑπίοντας

2 ὑπέμενον. καὶ τῷ μὲν Φαβίῳ τῆς τε ἐπὶ τοῦ Πυρηναίου φρουρᾶν βιασαμένῳ 5 καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τῶν Σικορίων διαβαίνοντι προσπεσόντες ἐξαίφνης πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν ἀποληφθέντας· ἢ γὰρ γέφυρα πρὶν διελθεῖν αὐτοὺς καταρραγείσα

1 καὶ Κūbler, καὶ L.  2 καταστάντες τε Bk., καταστάντε I.
3 Δεκίῳ R. Steph., δεκίῳ L (and so frequently).
4 Ἰλέ.δαν Gros, λέρδαν L.
5 βιασαμένῳ Pfungk, ποιησαμένῳ L.

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

He had sent Gaius Fabius thither, but fearing the other would fail while contending by himself, he, too, made a campaign. Afranius and Petreius at this time had charge of affairs in the vicinity of the Iberus and had even posted a guard over the pass in the mountains, but in the main they had gathered their forces at Ilerda and there awaited the invaders. Fabius overcame the garrison upon the Pyrenees, but as he was crossing the river Sicoris the enemy fell upon him suddenly and killed many of his men who were cut off; for the bridge collapsed before all had crossed and thus proved of the greatest
3 πλείστον σφισί συνήρατο· τῷ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρ ἐπελθόντι τε οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν καθ᾽ ἐτέραν 1 γέφυραν διαβάντι, προκαλομένῳ τε αὐτοὺς ἐς μάχην οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν ἐπὶ πάνυ πολλὰς ήμέρας συμβαλεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἀντιστρατο- 
πεδευσάμενοι αὐτῷ ἡσύχαζον. θαρσήσας οὖν ἐκ τούτου καταλαβεῖν τὸ χωρίον τὸ 2 μεταξὺ τοῦ 
tε ταφρεύματος σφων καὶ τῆς πόλεως καρτεροῦ ὃν ἐπεχείρησεν, ὡς καὶ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτῶν ἀποκλείσων. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τούτο οἱ περὶ τὸν 
5 Ἀφράνιον προκατέσχον αὐτῷ, καὶ τοὺς τε προσ- 
βάλλοντάς σφισίν ἀπέωσαντο, καὶ φεύγουσιν 
αὐτοῖς ἐπιστόμενοι τοὺς ἀντεπεξελθόντας ἐκ τοῦ 
ἐρύματος υπέστησαν, ἐνδόντες τε ἐξεπίθετο 
ὑπήγαγον σφας ἐς χωρία ἑαυτοῖς ἐπιτήδεια, 
kάνταύθα πολλῷ πλείουσ ἐφόνευσαν. κὰκ τούτων 
ἐπιθαρσήσαντες τοὺς τε προνομεύσων αὐτῶν 
ἐπετίθεντο καὶ τοὺς ἀποσκεδασμένους ἐλύτρων 
6 καὶ ποτε διαβάτων τιῶν ἐς τὰ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ 
ποταμοῦ, καὶ τούτω χειμώνοι τε πολλοῦ 
γενομένου καὶ τῆς γεφύρας ἢ ἐκέχρηστο 
διαφθαρείσης, ἐπιδιείβησαν κατὰ τὴν ἐτέραν 
γέφυραν τὴν πρὸς τῇ πόλει οὕσαν καὶ πάντας 
αὐτοὺς ἀνάλωσαν, μηδενὸς σφισιν ἐπαριναὶ 
δυνηθέντος.

21 Ὠς οὖν Καίσαρ, ὡς ταῦτα ἐγήγεντο καὶ οὕτε 
tῶν συμμάχων τις ἐπεκούρει οἱ (ἐκδεχόμενοι 
γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐναντίοι, ὡς ἐκάστους αἰσθοῦντο 
προσιόντας, ...) τὰ τ’ ἐπιτήδεια, ὢτε 5 ἐν τε 

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

Caesar, when things were taking this course, fell into desperate straits; for none of his allies rendered him assistance, since his opponents met [and annihilated] the separate forces as often as they heard that any were approaching, and it was with difficulty that he managed to obtain provisions, inasmuch as he was
2 ἄλλοτριά ὧν καὶ πταίων, χαλεπῶς ἐπορίζετο, 2 ἐν παντὶ ἐγένετο. πυρθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦθ’ οἱ ἐν οἶκῳ Ἄρωμαίοι ἐκέινου τε ὡς οὐκέτι πλείω χρόνου περιοίσοντος ἀπέγνωσαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ἀπέκλινον καὶ τινες καὶ τότε πρὸς 3 αὐτὸν ἅλλοι τε καὶ βουλεύταλ ἀπήραν. καὶ εἶγε μὴ οἱ Μασσαλιώται ἐν τούτῳ ναυμαχίᾳ πρὸς τοῦ Βρούτου τῷ τε μεγέθει τῶν νεῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ ῥώμῃ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν, καίτερ καὶ τῷ Δομιτίῳ συμμάχῳ χρώμενοι καὶ τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ τῶν ναυτικῶν προέχοντες, ἠττήθησαν κακὸ τούτου παντελῶς ἀπεκλείσθησαν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἐκώλυσε πάντα 4 τὰ πράγματα αὐτοῦ φθαρῆναι. νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον ἐκ παρασκευῆς τοῖς Ἰβηρσιν ἀγγέλθεντα ταῦτα ὑπότισε τινας αὐτῶν ὡστε καὶ τὰ τοῦ Καύσαρος φρονήσα. καὶ αὐτοὺς παραλαβόν τῆς τε προφήτης ἡπτόρησε καὶ γεφύρας κατεσκέυασε, τοὺς τε ἐναντίους ἐλύπει, καὶ ποτε συχνοὺς αὐτῶν αἰφνίδιον ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ πλανωμένους ἀπολαβῶν ἀπώλεσεν.

22 Ὁ οὖν Ἀφράνιος ἀθυμῆς ἐπὶ τούτοις, καὶ τὰ ἐν Ὀιέρδα οὔτε ἀσφαλῆ οὔτε ἐπιτῆδεια πρὸς χρόνου διατριβὴν ἰδίων ὑντα, ἀναχωρῆσαι πρὸς τοῦ Ἰβηρα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκεῖ πόλεις ἔγνω, καὶ νυκτός, ὡς λήσων ἡ φθάσων τοὺς 2 ἐναντίους, ἄρας ἐπορεύετο: καὶ οὐκ ἐλαθε μὲν ἀνιστάμενος, οὐ μέντοι καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπεδιώκθη: ὁ γὰρ Καύσαρ οὐχ ἤγισατο ἀσφαλέσ εἶναι ἐν 3 σκότῳ πολεμίου ἐμπείρους τῆς χώρας μὲτὰ ἀπείρου ἐπακολουθῆσαι. ὡς μέντοι ἡ ἡμέρα

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

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

3 ὁμόσε γὰρ οὐκ ἠθέλησε σφισὶ χωρῆσαι, τὸ μὲν τῷ φοβηθεῖς μὴ καὶ ἐς ἀπόνοιαν καταστάντες ἐξεργάσωνται τῷ δεινῷ, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἀκούντι σφας παραστήσεσθαι ἐλπίσας. ὁ καὶ ἐγένετο· ὃς γὰρ πολλαχῇ πειράσαντες οὐδαμὴ διαπεσέων ἠδυνήθησαν, καὶ ἐκ τὲ τοῦτον καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας τῆς τε πορείας ἑκεκμῆκεσαν, καὶ προσέτι

4 οὔτε τροφὴν εἰχον (αὐθημερὸν γὰρ τὸν σταθμὸν διατελέσεων προσδοκήσαντες οὐδὲν ἐπηνεγκαντό) οὔτε ὡδατος εὐπόρουν (τὰ γὰρ χωρία ἐκεῖνα δεινῷ ἐστὶν ἀνυδρα), παρεδώσαν σφας, ἐφ’ ὃ μήπε τι δεινὸν πάθωσι μήτε ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπηίουν ἀναγκασθῶσιν οἱ συντρατεύσασι. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀκριβῶς ἐκάτερον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐφύλαξεν· οὔτε γὰρ ἀπέκτεινε τὸ παράπαν τῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πολέμῳ ἀλόντων οὐδένα, καίτοι ἐκείνων ποτὲ ἐν ἀνοχῇ τινι ἀφυλάκτως τινὰς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἐχοντος φθειράντων, οὔτε τὸ Πομπηίῳ ἀντιπολομηθαι ἐξεβιάσατο, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν λογιμωτάτους ἥφιε, τοῖς δ’ ἄλλοις ἑθελουταίσιν συμμάχοις διὰ τε τὰ κέρδη

2 καὶ διὰ τὰς τιμὰς ἑχρῆτο. καὶ οὐκ ἐλάχιστά γε ἐκ τούτων οὔτε ἐς τὴν δόξαν οὔτε ἐς τὰ πράγματα ἀπώνυμον· τὰς τε γὰρ πόλεις τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ πάσας καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἐκεῖ πάντας (ἠσαν δὲ ἄλλοι τε ἐν τῇ Βατικὴν

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

24 Παραλαμβάνων τε οὖν ἀμα αὐτοὺς καὶ καθιστάμενος διέδραμε μέχρι Γαδείρων. καὶ ἐλύπησε μὲν οὐδένα οὐδὲν πλὴν χρημάτων ἐκλογής (ταῦτα γὰρ παμπληθῆ ἐσέπραξεν), ἐτίμησε δὲ καὶ ἱδία καὶ κοινὴ πολλοὺς· καὶ τοὺς γε Γαδειρένσι πολιτείαιν ἀπασιν ἐδώκεν, ἦν καὶ ὁ δῆμος σφισιν

2 ὑστερον ἐπεκύρωσε. τούτο δὲ ἐποίησεν ἀμειβόμενος σφας τῆς τού ὀνείρου ὄψεως, δι' ἃς ἐνταύθα, ὅτε ἐταμίευσε, συνηγγεγονέναι τῇ μητρὶ ἐδοξε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς μοναρχίας, ὡσπερ εἶπον, ἔλαβεν. πράξας δὲ ταύτα τὸ μὲν ἔθνος ἐκεῖνο τῷ Λογγίνῳ τῷ Κασσίῳ προσέταξεν, ἐπειδὴ συνὴθης αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς ταμείας ἦν ὑπὸ τὸ

3 Πομπηίῳ ἐτεταμιεύκει ἦν 5 αὐτὸς δὲ μέχρι Ταρ- πάκωνος 6 πλοίοις ἐκομίσθη. ἐντεύθεν δὲ διὰ τοῦ Πυρηναίου προχορῶν τρόπαιον μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐστησεν, ὅτι μηδὲ τὸν Πομπηίου καλῶς ἀκούσαντα ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἕσθετο, βωμὸν δὲ δὴ ἐκ λίθων ξεστῶν συνφυκοδομημένου μέγαν οὖ πόρρω τῶν ἐκείνου τροπαίων ἱδρύσατο.

25 Ἔν οὖ δὲ ταύτ' ἐγίγνετο, οἱ Μασσαλιῶται νεῶν σφισί παρὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου αὖθις πεμφθεισῶν ἀνεκινδύνευσαν. καὶ ἤττηθεν καὶ τὸτε, διεκαρτέρουν δὲ, καίτοι καὶ τὴν Ιβηρίαν ἦδη 2 τὸν Καίσαρα ἔχοντα πυνθανόμενοι, καὶ τὰς τε

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

So, taking charge of these and arranging their affairs, he advanced as far as Gades, injuring no one at all except in so far as the exacting of money was concerned; for of this he levied very large sums. Many of the natives he honoured both privately and publicly, and to all the people of Gades he granted citizenship, which the people of Rome later confirmed to them. This kindness he did them in return for the dream he had seen at the time he was quaestor there, wherein he had seemed to have intercourse with his mother; it was this dream that had given him the hope of sole rulership, as I have stated.1 Having done this, he assigned that nation to Cassius Longinus, because the latter was familiar with the inhabitants from his quaestorship which he had served under Pompey; and he himself proceeded by ship to Tarraco. Thence he advanced across the Pyrenees, but did not set up any trophy on their summits, because he understood that Pompey had gained no good name for so doing; but he erected a great altar constructed of polished stones not far from his rival's trophies.

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

1 See xxxvii, 52, 2.
Προσβολάς ἵσχυρὸς ἀπεκρούντο, καὶ διοκώχην ἡ τῷ Καῖσαρι, ἐπειδὰν ἑλθη, προσχωρήσουτε ποιησάμενοι, τὸν τὸ Δομίτιον ὑπεξεπέμψαν, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπιθεμένους σφίσιν ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς νυκτὸς οὕτω διεθέσαν ὦστε 3 μηδὲν ἐτί τολμήσαι. τῷ μὲν τοῖς Καῖσαρι αὐτῷ ἔλθοντι ὁμολογήσαν καὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνόν τότε μὲν τά τε ὅπλα καὶ τάς ναῦς τά τε χρήματα ἀφείλετο, ὑστερον δὲ καὶ τά λοιπὰ πάντα πλήν τοῦ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὁνόματος. ἀνθ' ὄν ἡ Φώκαια ἡ μητρόπολις σφών ἐλευθέρα ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου ἀφείθη.

26 Καὶ στρατιωτῶν τινῶν ἐν Πλακεντίᾳ στασιασάντων καὶ μηκέτ' ἀκολουθῆσαι οἱ ἔθελόντων, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς τεταλαιπωρημένων, τὸ δ' ἀληθές ὅτι μήτε τὴν χώραν διαρπάζειν μήτε τἀλλα ὅσα ἐπεθύμουν ποιεῖν αὐτοίς ἐπέτρεπε (καὶ γὰρ ἑλπίζουν οὐδενὸς ὅτου οὐ τεύξεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀτε καὶ ἐν χρείᾳ τοσαύτη σφῶν ὅντος), οὐχ ὑπείξεν, ἀλλὰ συγκαλέσας καὶ ἐκεῖνος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, τῆς τε παρ' αὐτῶν ἀσφαλείας ἑνεκα, καὶ ἵνα τῶν τε λεγομένων ἀκούσαντες καὶ τοὺς κολαζομένους ἱδόντες μηδὲν ἔξω τῶν καθηκόντων ἐθελήσωσι 7 πράξαι, ἔλεξε τάδε.

27 ᾿Εγὼ, ὃ ἀνδρεὶς στρατιῶται, βούλομαι μὲν φιλείσθαι ύφ' ύμῶν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ συνεξαμαρ-

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1 διοκώχην Dind., διακώχην L.
2 ποιησάμενοι H. Steph., ποιησάμενοι L.
3 ἐλθόντι Rk., ἐθελοντί L.
4 Φώκαια R. Steph., φωκέα L. 5 ἡ added by Bk.
6 ὅτου Bk., ὅτου oūn L.
7 ἐθελήσωσι R. Steph., ἐθελήσουσι L.
also, after arranging a kind of armistice, on the plea that they were going over to Caesar, when he should come, sent Domitius out of the harbour secretly and caused such injuries to the soldiers who had attacked them by night in the midst of the truce, that these ventured to make no further attempts. With Caesar himself, however, they made terms upon his arrival; and he at that time deprived them of their arms, ships and money, and later of everything else except the name of freedom. To offset this misfortune Phocea, their mother city, was made free by Pompey.

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

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

1 Caesar (B.C. ii. 14) attributes the breaking of the truce to the Massaliots.
τάνειν ἀν υμῖν διὰ τοῦθ’ ἐλοίμην· ἀγαπῶ τε γὰρ υμᾶς, καὶ ἐθέλοιμ’ ἂν, ὡς πατὴρ παῖδας,
καὶ σώζεσθαι καὶ εὑθενεῖνεἰς καὶ εὐδοξείν. μή
gὰρ τοι νομίσῃτε φιλοῦντος ἥργον εἶναι τὸ
συγχωρεῖν τισιν ἔσοδαν, καὶ κινδύνους καὶ ἀδοξίας ἀνάγκη πᾶσα αὐτῶν
συμβαίνειν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τε τὰ ἁμείνων αὐτῶν διδά-
σκειν καὶ τὸ τῶν χειρόνων ἀπείργειν καὶ νον-
3 θετοῦντα καὶ σωφρονίζοντα. γνώσεσθε δὲ ὧτι
tάληθη λέγω, ἃν μήτε πρὸς τὸ αὐτίκα ἢ ἄδικα
τὸ συμφέρον κρίνητε μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τὸ ἄει ὕφε-
λιμον, μήτε τὸ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἐκπιστεύειν γεν-
ναιοῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ κρατεῖν αὐτῶν νομίσητε εἶναι.
αἰσχρῶν μὲν γὰρ παραχρημάτι τῇ ἁθεντας ὑστερον
μεταγνώσαι, δεινὸν δὲ τὸ τῶν πολεμών κρατοῦντας
ηδονῶν τινῶν ἠττάσθαι.

28 "Πρὸς οὖν τί ταῦτα λέγω; ὅτι τὰ ἐπιτίθειν
ἀφθόνως ἔχοντες (λέξω γάρ μετὰ παραρθήσιας,
μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος· τὴν τε γὰρ μισθοφοράν
ἐντελῇ καὶ κατὰ καὶ καὶ τὸ λαμβάνετε, καὶ τῆς τρο-
φῆς ἢς καὶ πανταχοῦ πολλῆς ἐμπίπτερα) καὶ
μήτε πόνον τινὰ ἀδόξον μήτε κίνδυνον ἀνωφελῆ
ὑπομένοντες, καὶ προσέτι τῆς μὲν ἀνδραγάθιας
πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα γέρα καρποῦμενοι, τῶν δ’
ἀμαρτημάτων σμικρὸν ἢ οὐδὲν 2 ἐπιτιμώμενοι,
οὐκ ἄξιοῦντε τούτοις ἄρκεισθαι. λέγω δὲ ταῦτα
οὐ πρὸς πάντας υμᾶς (οὐδὲ γάρ τοιούτοι ἔστε),
ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνους μόνους ὀίτες τῇ ἐκατὸ
πλεονεξίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους διαβάλλουσιν. ύμεῖς
μὲν γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ πάνυ ἀκριβῶς καὶ καλῶς

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

"Why now do I say this? Because although you have provisions in abundance,—I am going to speak frankly and without disguise: you get your pay in full and in season and you are always and everywhere supplied with food in plenty,—and although you endure no inglorious toil nor useless danger, and furthermore reap many great rewards for your bravery and are rebuked little, if at all, for your errors, yet you do not see fit to be satisfied with these things. I say this, now, not to all of you, for you are not all like this, but only to those who by their own greed are casting reproach on the rest. Most of you obey my orders very scrupulously
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toίς τε παραγγέλμασι τοῖς ἐμοὶς πείθεσθε καὶ τοῖς ἥθεσι τοῖς πατρίοις ἐμμένετε, καὶ διὰ τούτοις καὶ χώραν τοσαύτην καὶ πλούτου καὶ δόξαν ἐκτῆσασθε' οἷοι δὲ δὴ τίνες πολλὴν αἰσχύνην

3 καὶ ἀδοξίαν ἀπασιν ἢμῖν προστρίβονται. καίτοις ἔγογε πρότερον σαφῶς ἐπιστάμενος τοιούτως αὐτοὺς ὄντας (οὐδὲν γάρ μοι τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀμελεῖ ἐστιν) οὐ προσεποιούμην εἰδέναι, νομίζων ἀμελείνους σφάς ἐκ τοῦ λαθεῖν ἄν δοκείν 2 ἀμαρτόντας τινὰ γενῆσθαι, τοῦ μὴ πλεονάσαντάς ποτε καὶ εἰς

4 ἐφ' ὅς συνεγνώσθησαν κολασθῆναι· ἐπεὶ μέντοις αὐτοὶ τε ὡς καὶ ἐξὸν σφίσι πάνθ' οὐσα βούλονται πράττειν, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ πρῶτας εὐθὺς ἐδικαιώθησαν, ὑπερθρασύνονται, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μηδὲν πλημμελοῦντας προστασιάζειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν, ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶ μοι θεραπεύν τέ τινα καὶ ἐπιστροφὴν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι. οὗτε γὰρ ἄλλοι τι σύστημα ἀνθρώπων συμμεῖναι καὶ σωθῆναι δύναται, ἃν μὴ τὸ κακούργον σωφρονίζηται· τὸ γὰρ τοι νοσῆσαν ἃν μὴ τὴν προσήκουσαν ἱσιν λάβῃ, συγκάμμενιν 4 καὶ τὸ λυπὸν πᾶν ὡσπερ εἰ 2 τοῖς σώμασι ποιεῖ· ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς στρατιαῖς ἥκιστα διότι αὐτοὶ τε ἰσχὺν ἔχοντες τολμήροτεροι γύγνονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀγάθους προσδιαφθείρουσιν, ἅθυμοτέρους ποιοῦντες ὡς οὐδὲν ὀφελοῦς ἐκ τοῦ δικαιοπραγείν ἔξοντας. παρ' οἷς γὰρ ἄν τὸ θρασυνόμενον πλεονεκτῇ, παρὰ τούτοις ἀνάγκη τὸ ἐπτεικές ἐλαττοῦσθαι καὶ ἐν οἷς ἄν 5 ἀδικία ἀτιμώρητος ἢ, καὶ τὸ σωφρονοῦν ἀγέραστον γίγνεται

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

4 κακὰ δὲ μωρία ἀπεργάζεται; οὕτ' εἰπὲρ ἀρετὴν οὖν ὁντὸς ἀσκεῖτε, μυστήριοι μὲν τούτους ὡς πολεμίους (οὐ γὰρ ποὺ3 φύσει τινὶ τὸ φίλὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ διακέκριται, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε τρόποις καὶ ταῖς πράξεσι διορίζεται, ὅπως ἀγαθῶν μὲν οὖν τῶν πᾶν καὶ τὸ ἀλλότριον οἰκειοῦται, πονηρῶν δὲ πᾶν καὶ τὸ 

30 συγγενὲς ἀλλοτριοῦται), ἀπολογήσασθε4 δὲ ὑπὲρ υμῶν αὐτῶν. ἀνάγκη γὰρ καὶ ἡμᾶς δι' αὐτῶν πάντας κακῶς ἀκούειν, καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἂδικοῦμεν5 πᾶς γὰρ τις πυθανόμενοι τὸ τε πλῆθος. ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν ὀρμὴν, ἐς πάντας ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰ τοὺς ὀλίγους πλημμελοῦμενα ἀναφέρει, καὶ οὕτω τῶν πλεονεξίων οὐ συμμετέχοντες αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐγκλημάτων τὸ ἴσον 

2 φερόμεθα. τίς γὰρ ἂν οὐκ ἀγανακτήσεις ἂν ἄκουσιν ὄνομα μὲν ἡμᾶς 'Ρωμαίων ἔχοντας, ἔργα δὲ Κελτῶν δρῶτας; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν ὄρων ὀδύρατο6 τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁμοίως τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ πορθομένην; πῶς δ' οὖ δεινὸν τὰ μὲν τῶν Γαλατῶν τῶν καταπολε- 

μηθέντων μηκὲν ἡμᾶς λυπεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς τῶν Ἀλπεων οὐς τινας 'Ἡπειρώτας ἡ Καρχηδονίους ἡ 

3 Κίμβρων πορθεῖν; πῶς δ' οὐκ αἰσχρὸν σεμνύνε- 

1 φήσατε Pflugk, φήσετε L. 
2 ἐθελήσατε Bk., ἐθελήσητε L. 3 ποὺ Pflugk, πῶ L. 
4 ἀπολογήσασθε R. Steph., ἀπολογήσασθαί L. 
5 ἂδικοῦμεν Pflugk, ἂδικόμεν L. 
6 ὀδύρατο H. Steph., ὀδύρετο L.
What merit, indeed, could you claim, if these men are doing no wrong? And how could you reasonably desire to be honoured, if these men do not meet with their just punishment? Or are you not aware that if the one class is freed from the fear of retribution and the other is deprived of the hope of reward, no good is accomplished, but only countless ills? Hence, if you really are cultivating excellence, you should detest these men as enemies. For it is not by any characteristic of birth that what is friendly is distinguished from what is hostile, but it is determined by men’s habits and actions, which, if they are good, can make that which is alien like unto itself, but if bad, can alienate everything, even that which is akin. And you should speak in your own defence, because by the behaviour of these few we must all gain a bad name, even if we have done no wrong. For every one who learns of our numbers and impetuosity refers the errors of the few to us all; and thus, though we do not share in their gains, we bear an equal share of the reproach. Who would not be indignant at hearing that while we have the name of Romans we do the deeds of Germans? 1 Who would not lament the sight of Italy ravaged like Britain? Is it not outrageous that we are no longer harrying the possessions of the Gauls whom we have subdued, but are devastating the lands south of the Alps, as if we were hordes of Epirots or Carthaginians or Cimbri? Is it not disgraceful for us to give ourselves airs and say that we were the first

1 See note on xxxviii. 34.
μαίων καὶ τὸν Ῥήνον διέβημεν καὶ τὸν ῥήκεαν ἐπλεύσαμεν, τὴν δὲ οἰκείαν ἀπαθῆ κακῶν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων οὕσαν διαρράσαι, καὶ ἀντί μὲν ἐπαίνου μέμην, ἀντὶ δὲ τιμῆς ἀτιμίαν, ἀντὶ δὲ κερδῶν ζημίας, ἀντὶ δὲ ἀθλῶν τιμωρίας λαβεῖν;

31 "Μή γάρ τοι νομίσητε μήθ', ὅτι στρατεύεσθε, κρείττονς παρὰ τούτῳ τῶν οίκων πολιτῶν εἶναι. Ῥωμαιοὶ γάρ ἐστε ἀμφότεροι, καὶ ὁμοίως ὑμῖν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ἐστρατεύσαντο καὶ στρατεύσονται μήθ', ὅτι ὁπλα ἔχετε, ἔξειναι ὑμῖν κακοφρεῖν· οἱ τε γὰρ νόμοι κυριώτεροι ὑμῶν εἰσίν, καὶ πάντως 2 ποτὲ καὶ ταύτα καταθήσεσθε. μή μέντοι μηδὲ τῷ πλήθει θαρσεῖτε· πολὺ γὰρ πλείον ὑμῶν οἱ ἀδικοῦμενοι, ἂν γε καὶ συστραφῶσιν, εἰσί. συστραφήσονται δὲ, ἂν¹ τοιαῦτα ποιήτε.² μηδὲ ὅτι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνικήσατε, καὶ τούτων καταφρονεῖτε ὅณ οὔδεν οὕτε κατὰ γένος οὔτε² κατὰ παιδείαν, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς τροφῆς, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, 3 διαφέρετε· ἀλλ' ὅσπερ ποι καὶ προσήκον καὶ συμφέρον ἐστὶν ὑμῖν, μήτε βιάζεσθε τίνα αὐτῶν μήτ' ἀδικεῖτε,⁴ ἀλλὰ τὰ τε ⁵ ἐπιτηδεία παρ' ἐκουσίων σφῶν λαμβάνετε καὶ τὰ γέρα παρ' ἐκόντων προσδέχεσθε.

32 "Πρὸς γάρ δὴ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ὡσα ἂν τις μηκύνων περὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων διεξέλθων, καὶ ἐκεῖνο δεῖ ὑμᾶς προσλογίζεσθαι, ὅτι νῦν ἡμεῖς ἐνταῦθ' ἥκομεν ὑπα τῇ τε πατρίδι ἀδικομένῃ βοηθήσωμεν καὶ τοὺς κακοφρεῖν τας

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

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

"In addition to what I have just said and other considerations that might be mentioned if one chose to enlarge upon such matters, you must also bear in mind the fact that we have now come here to assist our outraged country and to defend her
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αὕτην ἀμμυγώμεθα, ἐπεὶ εἶδε ἐν μηδενὶ δεινῷ ἦν,
2 οὕτ' ἂν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν μετὰ τῶν ὁπλων ἠλθομεν
(οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστιν) οὐτ' ἂν τα τῶν Κελτῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν Βρεττανῶν ἀτέλεστα κατελίπομεν,
δυνηθέντες ἂν καὶ ἐκεῖνα προσκατεργάσασθαι.2
3 οὐκοῦν πῶς μὲν οὐκ ἄτοπον ἔπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀδι-
κούντων τιμωρίᾳ παρόντας ἡμᾶς μηδὲν ἦττον ἐκεῖνων πλεονεκτοῦντας φανήμαι; πῶς δ' οὐ
σχέτων πρὸς ἐπικουρίαν τῆς πατρίδος ἁφι-
γέμους συμμάχοις αὕτην ἔτερων ἀναγκάσαι καθ'
4 ἡμῶν δεηθῆναι; καίτοι ἔγονε τοσοῦτον περείναι
tοῖς δικαιώμασι τοῦ Πομπηίου νομίζω ὡστε καὶ
ἐς δίκην πολλάκις αὐτῶν προκαλέσασθαι, καὶ
ἐπειδὴ γε μὴ ἠθέλησεν εἰρηνικῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος
dιακριθῆναι, πάντα μὲν τῶν δὴμον πάντας δὲ τοὺς
συμμάχους ἐλπίσαι διὰ τοῦτο προσθήσεσθαι.
5 ἄλλα νῦν, ἂν γε καὶ τοιαύτα ποιῶμεν, οὔτ' αὐτὸς
ἐπιτήδειον τι ἐξω προσχεθᾶί οὔτε ἐκείνοις
ἀνεπιεικέσ 3 ἐγκαλέσαι. δεῖ δὲ δὴ καὶ τοῦ δικαίου
πᾶσαν ἡμᾶς πρόοιμαι ποιεῖσθαι, μετὰ μὲν γὰρ
τούτου καὶ η ἡ παρὰ τῶν ὁπλῶν ἱσχὺς εὐελπίς
ἐστιν, ἀνευ δ' ἐκείνου βεβαιον οὐδέν, καὶ παραντικά
tis κατορθώση τι, ἔχει.
33 "Καὶ ότι ταῦθ' οὔτω πέφυκε, καὶ ὑμῶν οἱ
πλείους ἐπίστανται: πάντα γοῦν τὰ προσήκοντα
ἀπαράκλητοι 4 πράττετε. ὅθεν ποι καὶ ἐγώ
συνεκάλεσα ἡμᾶς, ἵνα καὶ μάρτυρας καὶ ἑπόπτας
τῶν τε λεγομένων καὶ τῶν 5 πραττομένων ποιήσω-

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

"That this is true in the nature of things—most of you understand; at any rate you fulfil all your duties without urging. That is precisely why I have called you together, to make you witnesses as well as
2 μαί. ἀλλ' ὡμεῖς μὲν οὐ τοιούτοι ἐστε, καὶ διὰ ταύτα καὶ ἐπαινεῖσθε; ὅλγοι δέ δὴ τινὲς ὀρατὲ ὑπὸσ, πρὸς τῷ πολλὰ κεκακούργηκεναι καὶ μηδεμίαν αὐτῶν δίκην δεδωκέναι, καὶ προσεπατειλούσιν ἦμιν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐγὼ οὔτ’ ἀλλὰς καλὸν εἶναι νομίζω ἀρχοντά τινα τῶν ἀρχομένων
3 ἡπτᾶσθαι, οὔτ’ ἂν σωτηρίων τι γενέσθαι ποτέ, εἰ τὸ ταχθὲν ὑπηρετεῖν τινι κρατεῖν αὐτοῦ ἐπιχειρήσειν. σκέψασθε δέ, ποῖος μὲν ἂν 2 κόσμος οἰκίας γένοιτο, ἂν οἶ εἰ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὅτες τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καταφρονήσωσι, ποῖος δὲ διδασκαλεῖν, ἂν οἰ φοιτῶντες τῶν παιδευτῶν ἀμελήσωσι; τις ὡγεία νοσοῦσιν, ἂν μὴ πάντα τοῖς ἀστροῖς οἱ κάμποντες πειθαρχῶσιν, τις δὲ ἀσφάλεια ναυτιλομένοι, ἂν οὶ ναῦται τῶν κυβερνητῶν ἀνηκοστῶσι; φύσει τε γὰρ ἀναγκαία τινὶ καὶ σωτηρία 3 τὸ μὲν ἀρχεῖν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι τέτακται, καὶ ἀδύνατον ἐστὶν ἂνευ αὐτῶν καὶ ὁτιὼν καὶ ἐφ’ ὅποιον διαγενέσθαι. προσήκει τε τῷ μὲν ἐπιστατοῦντι τινῶς ἐκφροντίζειν τε τὰ δεόντα καὶ ἐπιτάττειν, τῷ δὲ ὑποτεταγμένῳ πειθαρχεῖν τε ἀπροφασίστως καὶ ἐκπονεῖν τὸ κελευόμενον. ἐξ οὐ καὶ μάλιστα τὸ τε ἐμφρον τοῦ ἀφρονος καὶ τὸ ἐπιστήμου τοῦ ἀνεπιστήμους ἐν παντὶ προτετίμηται.

34 "Οὔτω δὴ οὐν τούτων ἐχόντων οὐκ ἂν ποτε οὔτε συγχωρήσαιμι τι τούτως τοῖς θορυβησάσιν
2 ἀναγκασθεῖς οὔτ’ ἂν ἐπιτρέψαιμι βιασθεῖς. ἢ τί μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰνείου καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰουλίου

1 μὲν supplied by Bk.
2 ἂν supplied by Bk.
3 ἀναγκαία τινὶ καὶ σωτηρίᾳ Rk., ἀναγκαία τινα καὶ σωτηρίᾳ L.
spectators of my words and deeds. But you are not
the sort of men I have been mentioning, and it is
for this very reason that you receive praise; yet you
observe how some few of you, in addition to having
worked many injuries without suffering any penalty
at all for them, are also threatening us. Now I do
not believe it a good thing in any case for a ruler to
be overridden by his subjects, nor do I believe there
could ever be any safety if those appointed to
obey a person attempted to get the better of him.
Consider what sort of order would exist in a house-
hold if the young should despise their elders, or
what order in schools if the scholars should pay no
heed to their instructors! What health would there
be for the sick if the afflicted should not obey their
physicians in all points, or what safety for voyagers
if the sailors should turn a deaf ear to their captains?
Indeed, it is in accordance with a natural law, both
necessary and salutary, that the principles of ruling
and of being ruled have been placed among men,
and without them it is impossible for anything at all
to continue to exist for even the shortest time. Now
it is the duty of the one stationed over another both
to discover and to command what is requisite, and it
is the duty of the one subject to authority to obey
without questioning and to carry out his orders. It
is for this reason in particular that prudence is every-
where honoured above folly and understanding above
ignorance.
"Since these things are so, I will never yield
ought to these brawlers under compulsion nor give
them a free rein perforce. Why am I sprung from
Aeneas and Iulus, why have I been praetor, why
γέγονα, τί δὲ εστρατήγησα, τί ὑπάτευσα, ἐπὶ τί δὲ ὑμᾶς τοὺς μὲν οὐκοθεν ἐξήγαγον τοὺς δ’ ὑστερον προσκατέλεξα, ἐπὶ τί τοσοῦτον ἦδη χρόνον τὴν 3 ἔξοψιν τὴν ἀνθύπατον ἔχω λαβών, ἂν γε δουλεύσω τινὶ ύμῶν καὶ νικηθῶ τινος ύμῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, πρὸς τὴν Ὀμην, δ’ οὐ¹ καὶ Γαλάτας ἔχειρώσασθε καὶ Βρεττανῶν 4 ἐκρατήσατε; τί δεῖςα καὶ τί φοβηθείς; μὴ μὲ τις ύμῶν ἀποκτένη; ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν πάντες ταῦτ’ ἐφρούειτε, έκών ἂν ἀποθανεῖν εἰλόμην ἥ τό τε ἀξίωμα τῆς ἡγεμονίας καταλύσαι καὶ τό φρόνημα 5 τό τῇ προστατείᾳ προσήκον ἀπολέσασιν πολὺ γάρ πον πλείω πόλει κινδυνεύεται τοῦ ἕνα ἄνδρα ἄσκεσις ἀποθανεῖν, ἂν ἔθισθωσιν οἱ στρατιῶται τοῖς τε στρατηγοῖς σφόν προστάτευε τινα καὶ τά δίκαια 35 τὰ τῶν νόμων ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ ποιεῖσθαι. ἀλλά τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲ ἐπηπείληκέ τις αὐτῶν (καὶ γάρ ἂν καὶ παραχρῆμα εὖ οἶδ’ ὅτι πρὸς ύμῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέσφακτο), τὴν δὲ δὴ στρατείαν ὡς κεκμηκότες ἔξιστανται καὶ τὰ ὁπλα ὡς καὶ πεπονημένοι κατατίθενται, καὶ πάντως, ἂν γε μὴ παρ’ ἐκόντος μου τούτου τύχωσι, καὶ τὴν τάξιν ἐκλείψουσιν ² καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον μεταστήσονται· ἀπερ ποὺ καὶ ³ παραδηλοῦσί 2 τινες. καὶ τίς μὲν οὖν ἂν ἐθελήσειε τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων στερηθῆναι, τίς δ’ οὖν ἂν εὑραίτο τοιούτος ἐκείνοι στρατιώτας ὑπάρξαι, οὕτως μήτε τοῖς διδομένοις ἀρκοῦνται μήτε τοῖς προσ- τατηρομένοις πείθονται, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γῆρας

¹ οὐ “Ν” in Reimar’s ed., ἄν L.  
² ἐκλείψουσι R. Steph., ἐκλείψωσι L.  
³ καὶ added by R. Steph.
consul, for what end have I brought some of you out from home and levied others of you later, for what end have I received and held the proconsular power now for so long a time, if I am to be a slave to some one of you and to be worsted by some one of you here in Italy, close to Rome, I, to whom you owe your subjugation of the Gauls and your conquest of Britain? In fear or dread of what should I do so? That some one of you will kill me? Nay, but if you all were of this mind, I would voluntarily choose to die rather than destroy the dignity of my position as commander or lose the self-respect befitting my leadership. For a far greater danger than the unjust death of one man confronts the city, if the soldiers are to become accustomed to issue orders to their generals and to take the prerogatives of the law into their own hands. No one of them, however, has so much as made this threat; if any had, I am sure he would have been slain forthwith by the rest of you. But they are for withdrawing from the campaign on the pretence of being wearied, and are for laying down their arms on the pretence of being worn out; and certainly, if they do not obtain my consent to this wish of theirs, they will leave the ranks and go over to Pompey, a fact which some of them make perfectly evident. And yet who would not be glad to be rid of such men, and who would not pray that such soldiers might belong to Pompey, seeing that they are not content with what is given them and are not obedient to orders, but simulating old age in the midst of youth and in strength
καὶ ἐν ἵσχυ ἀσθένειαν προβαλλόμενοι δεσπόζειν τε τῶν ἁρχόντων καὶ τυραννεῖν τῶν ἡγουμένων
3 σφῶν ἀξιοῦσιν; ἔγω γὰρ μυριάκις ἂν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ὀπωσδήποτε καταλαλαγήναι καὶ ἄλλο ὅτι οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι παθεῖν ἐλοίμην ᾧ τι ἀνάξιον τοῦ τε πατρίου φρονήματος καὶ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ προαρε-
4 σεως πράξαι. ᾧ 1 ἀγνοεῖτε ὅτι οὔτε δυναστείας οὔτε πλεονεξίας ἔπιθυμῶ, οὐδὲ μοι πρόκειται πάντως τι καὶ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου καταπράξαι, ὥστε τι ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ψεύσασθαι καὶ θωπεύσαι καὶ κολακεύσαι τινας; παύσασθε μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα τῆς στρατείας, ὅ τι ἂν ἤμας ὁνομάσαιμι; οὐ μέντοι ὃς καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ βοῶς λέοτε καὶ φατε, ἄλλο ὡς τὸ κοινὸ καὶ ἐμοὶ συμφέρει." 
5 Ταύτ' εἰπὼν ἐκλήρωσεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν θρασυτάτους (οὗτοι γὰρ ἐκ παρα-
σκευῆς ἐλαχοῦ) ἐδικαίωσε, 2 τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὡς οὔδεν σφών δεόμενοι διῆκε.

Καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν μετανοῆσαντες ἐφ' οίς ἐπράξαν
36 ἀναστρατεύεσθαι ἐμελλέον· ἐν ὅδῳ δὲ ἐτ' ὄντος αὐτοῦ Μᾶρκος Αἰμίλιος Λέπιδος, οὗτος δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ τριαρχίᾳ 3 ύστερον γενόμενος, τῷ τε δήμῳ συνεβουλεύσετο στρατηγῶν δικτάτορα τὸν Καίσαρα προχειρίσασθαι καὶ εὐθὺς εἶπεν αὐτὸν παρὰ τὰ 2 πάτρια. καὶ ὅσ ὑπέστη μὲν τὴν ἁρχήν, ἐπειδή πρῶτον ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσῆλθεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ φοβερὸν οὐδὲν ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπράξεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε ἐκπεπτωκόσι κάθοδον πᾶσι πλῆν τοῦ Μίλωνος ἔδωκε, καὶ τὰς 4 ἐς νέατα ἁρχὰς ἀπέδειξεν (ἐς γὰρ τὸ παρὸν τότε οὔδενα ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπόντων

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1 ᾧ added by Oddey. 2 ἐδικαίωσε Reim., ἔδιώκει L. 3 τριαρχία Xiph., τριπαρχία L. 4 τὰς Leunel., τὰ L.
simulating weakness, they claim the right to lord it over their rulers and to tyrannize over their leaders? Why, I had a thousand times rather be reconciled with Pompey on any terms whatever or suffer any other conceivable fate than do anything unworthy of the proud traditions of my fathers, or of my own principles. Or are you not aware that it is not sovereignty or gain that I desire, and that I am not so bent upon accomplishing any thing by every means at whatever cost and that I would lie and flatter and fawn upon people to this end? Give up your service, therefore, you—O what can I call you? Yet still it shall be, not as you yourselves desire and say, but as is profitable for the republic and for myself.”

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

So they repented of what they had done and were ready to renew the campaign. While he was still on the way Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, the man who later became a member of the triumvirate, advised the people in his capacity of praetor to elect Caesar dictator, and immediately named him, contrary to ancestral custom. The latter accepted the office as soon as he entered the city, but committed no act of terror while holding it. On the contrary, he granted a return to all the exiles except Milo, and filled the offices for the ensuing year; for up to that time they had chosen no one temporarily in place of
3 ἀνθείλοντο· καὶ τοιο μηδενὸς ἀγορανόμοιν ἐπιδηµιοῦντος οἱ δήμαρχοι πάντα τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτοῖς δηγάγον), ἱερεὰς τὲ ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀντικατέστησεν, οὐ πάντα τὰ κατ’ αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ νευμοσύνεᾳ τηρήσας, καὶ τοῖς Γαλάταις τοῖς ἐντὸς τῶν Ἀλπεῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἡρωδανὸν οἰκούσι τὴν πολιτείαν, ἀτε καὶ ἄρξας αὐτῶν,

4 ἀπέδωκε. ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς δικτατορίας ἀπείπε· τὴν γὰρ ἤ ἰδίαναν τὸ τε ἔργον αὐτῆς καὶ πάνυ ἤεὶ διὰ χειρὸς ἐσχε. τῇ τε γὰρ παρὰ τῶν ὁπλῶν ἱσχύι ἐχρῆτο, καὶ προσέτε καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἐννομον δὴ τινὰ παρὰ τῆς ἐκεὶ βουλῆς προσέλαβε· πάντα γὰρ μετὰ ἄδειας ὥσα ἄν βουλιθῆ πράττειν οἱ ἐπετράπη.

37 Τυχῶν δὲ τούτου μέγα εὐθὺς καὶ ἀναγκαῖον πράγμα διώρθωσεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐ τε δεδανεικότες τισὶ πικροτάτας τὰς ἐσπράξεις, ἀτε καὶ πολλῶν χρηματών διὰ τὰς στάσεις καὶ διὰ τοὺς πολέμους προσδεόμενοι, ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ τῶν ὀφειλόντων συχνοὶ οὐδὲ ἐθέλοντες ἀποδοῦναι

2 τι ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐδύναντο (οὔτε γὰρ ἀποδοθαν τι οὔτε ἐπιδανέσασθαι ἡδίον αὐτοῖς ἐγιγνετο), κἀκε τούτου πολλὰ μὲν ἀπιστὰ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ δολερὰ πρὸς ἄλληλους ἔπραττον, καὶ δέος ἢ μὴ καὶ ἐς ἀνήκεστον τὶ κακὸν προχωρῆσωσιν, ἐμετριάσθη μὲν καὶ πρὸ τούτου πρὸς

3 δημάρχων τινῶν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς τόκους, ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδ' ὁς ἀπεδίδοντο, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τῶν ἐνεχύρων ἐξίσταντο οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐν ἀργυρίῳ ἀπήτουν, ἀμφοτέροις τότε ὁ Καῖσαρ ὡς ὁλὸν τε ἢ μὲ τεκούρησε· τά τε γὰρ ἐνέχυρα πρὸς τὴν ἀξίαν

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

Having obtained this, he at once instituted an important and necessary reform. Those who had lent money, it seems, being now in need of large sums because of the civil strife and the wars, were collecting their loans most relentlessly, and many of the debtors for the same reasons were unable to pay back anything, even if they wished to do so, since they did not find it easy to sell anything or to borrow more. Hence their dealings with each other were marked by much deceit and fraud, and there was fear that they might go to the point of accomplishing some fatal mischief. To be sure, the rate of interest had been lowered even before this time by some of the tribunes; but since payment was not secured even thus, but instead the one class was ready to forfeit its securities, while the other demanded back its principal in cash, Caesar now came to the aid of both so far as he could. He ordered that
ἐναποτιμηθήναι ἐκέλευσε, καὶ δικαστάς αὐτῆς τοῖς ἀμφισβητοῦσι τί ἀποκληροῦσθαι προσέ-
38 ταξεν. ἔπειδὴ τε συχνοὶ πολλά τε χρήματα ἐχειν καὶ πάντα αὐτὰ ἀποκρύπτειν ἐλέγοντο, ἀπηγόρευσε μηδένα πλείον πεντακισχίλιων καὶ μυρίων δραχμῶν ἐν ἀργυρίῳ ἣ καὶ χρυσίῳ κεκτήσθαι, ὅποι ως καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν νόμον τούτον
2 τιθεῖς, ἀλλʼ ὃς καὶ πρότερον ποτὲ ἐσενεχθέντα ἀνανεούμενος, εἴτ' ὅποι ὁμοί τες τε δανεισταῖς οἱ ὀφείλοντες τι ἐκτίνωσι καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις οἱ ἄλλοι δανείζοντες, εἴτε καὶ ὅποις οἱ τε εὐποροῦντες ἐκδηλοὶ γένονται καὶ χρήματα μηδεῖς αὐτῶν ἀθρόα ἔχη, μή καὶ ἀπόντος τι
3 νεοτερισθῇ. ἐπαρθέντοις δὲ ἔπὶ τούτῳ τοῦ πλήθους, καὶ ἀξιοῦντος καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις μήνυτρα ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατὰ τῶν δεσπότων προτεθήκαι, 2 οὔτε προσέγραψεν αὐτῷ τῷ νόμῳ, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐξώλειαν ἐαυτῷ προσεπηράσατο, ἀν ποτὲ τι δούλῳ κατὰ τοῦ δεσπότου εἰπόντι πιστεύσῃ.
39 Καίσαρ μὲν δὴ ταύτα τε πράξας καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τά ἐκ τοῦ Καπι-
τωλίου πάντα, ἀνελόμενος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τοῦ ἑτοῦ, καὶ πρὶν ἐς τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐς
2 ἡν ἐκεχειροτόνητο ἐσελθεῖν, ἐξώρμησε. καὶ αὐτοῦ τά τῆς ἐκστρατείας ποιοῦντος ἱκτινος ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κλωνίων δάφνης ἐν τῶν συμπαρόντων οἱ ἐπέρρησε· καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ τῇ Τύχῃ θύοντος ὁ ταύρος ἐκφυγὼν πρὶν τιτρώσκεσθαι, ἐξω τῇ τῆς πόλεως ἐξεχώρησε καὶ πρὸς λίμνην τινὰ
3 ἐλθὼν διενήξατο αὐτήν. καὶ τούτων ἐπὶ πλέον

1 τε χρήματα Rk., χρήματά τε L.
2 προτεθήκαι Η. Steph., προτεθείναι L.

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

After accomplishing this and removing all the offerings in the Capitol, as well as the others, Caesar hastened to Brundisium toward the close of the year, before entering upon the consulship to which he had been elected. And as he was attending to the details of his departure, a kite in the Forum let fall a sprig of laurel upon one of his companions. Later, while he was sacrificing to Fortune, the bull escaped before being wounded, rushed out of the city, and coming to a certain lake, swam across it. Consequently he took greater courage and hastened his
θαρσήσας ἤπειχθη, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι οἱ μᾶντες μένοντι μὲν αὐτῷ οἶκοι ὀλέθρων, περαιώθησιν δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ σωτηρίαν καὶ νίκην ἔσεσθαι
4 ἐφασαν. ἄφορμηθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ οἱ παῖδες οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντες δικῇ τε ἐνεμηθήσαν αὐτοκέλευστοι, καὶ οἱ μὲν Πομπηεῖους ἵνα ὁμομάσαντες ἐμαχάσαντο τρόπον τινὰ ἄνευ ὀπλῶν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἐπεκράτησαν οἱ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος προσωνύμια χρώμενοι.

40 Ἐν ὧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ ἐγίγνετο, Μάρκος μὲν Ὀκτάουιος καὶ Δούκιος Σκριβφήνοις Ἀββών 4 Πούπλιον Κορνήλιον Δολοβέλλαν, τὰ τε τοῦ Καίσαρος πράπτοντα καὶ ἐν τῇ Δελματίᾳ 5 οὕτα, ἐξῆλασαν εἰς αὐτῆς τῷ τοῦ
2 Πομπηίου ναυτικὸ χρώμενοι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο Γάιον Ἀντώνιον ἐπαμύναν οἱ ἐθελήσαντα ἐς τε 6 νησίδιον τι κατέκλεισαν, κάνταυθα πρὸς τε τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐγκαταλειφθέντα καὶ λιμῷ πιεσθέντα πασσυδί πλὴν ὀλίγων ἔλλοι. ἐς τε γὰρ τὴν ἡπειρον ἔφθησαν τίνες αὐτῶν διαφυγόντες, καὶ ἐτεροί ἐν σχεδίαις διαπλέοντες καὶ ἀλισκόμενοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπεχρήσαντο.

41 Κουρίων δὲ Σικελίαν μὲν 7 ἀμαχεὶ παρεστήσατο (ὁ γὰρ Κάτων ἄρχων αὐτῆς, ὡς οὔτε ἀξίομαχός οἱ ὃν οὔτε τὰς πόλεις ἐς κινδυνον μάτην ἐμβαλεῖν ἥθελησε, προεξεχώρησε 8 πρὸς τὸν Πομπηίου), ἐς
2 δὲ δὴ τὴν Ἀφρικὴν περαιώθεις ἀπώλετο. ο μὲν

1 Πομπηεῖους Χυλ., πομπηεῖους L (and so regularly).
2 Καίσαρεῖους H. Steph., καίσαρεῖους L (regularly).
3 οἱ Βκ., οὐσί L. 4 Λίβων R. Steph., λαβὼν L.
5 Δελματία St., δαλματία L.
6 ἐς τε Ρκ., ἐς γε L. 7 μὲν added by Βκ.
8 προεξεχώρησε Leuncl., προεξεχώρησε μὲν L.

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

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

Curio had meanwhile reduced Sicily without a battle, since Cato, the governor of the island, being no match for him and not wishing to expose the cities to danger needlessly, had already withdrawn to join Pompey; later, however, he crossed over to Africa and there perished. Upon Curio's approach Lucius
γάρ Καίσαρ ὁ Δούκιος τῇν Ἀσπίδα τῇν πόλιν, ἐν ἡν κατὰ τύχην ἄλλος ἦν, πρὸς τὸν ἐπίπλουν αὐτοῦ ἐξέλιπτε, καὶ Πούπλιος Ἀττιος Οὐάρος ὁ ἄνει ἐκεῖ πράγματα τὸτε ἔχων καὶ στρατιώτας συνόρια καὶ πλοία συχνὰ ἥττηθες ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ

3 ἀπέβαλεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἰώβας Ἰεμψοῦ τε παῖς ὃν καὶ τῶν Νομάδων βασιλεύων, τὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου ὃς καὶ τὰ τοῦ δήμου τῆς τε βουλῆς προτιμών, καὶ τὸν Κουρίωνα διὰ τὲ τοῦτο, καὶ ὃτι τὴν τε βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ δημαρχῶν ἀφελέσθαι καὶ τὴν 3 χώραν δημοσιώσαι ἐπεχείρησε, μυσῶν,

4 ἀσχυρῶς αὐτῷ προσεπολέμησεν. οὐκαδὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὴν Νομιδίαν οὐκ ἀνέμεινεν αὐτὸν ἐσβαλεῖν, πολυροκοῦντι δὲ οἱ Οὐτίκην παντὶ μὲν ἀμα τῷ στρατῷ οὐ προσέμυξε, φοβηθεὶς μῆ καὶ προπυθόμενος ἐξαναχθεῖν (οὐ γὰρ πον 4 ἀπώσασθαι αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον τῇ ἡ τιμωρῆσασθαι ἐπεθύμει).

5 ὅλιγος δὲ τινὰς προπέμψας, καὶ προφημίσας ὅς αὐτὸς ἄλλος ποὶ καὶ πόρρω γε ἀπεληλυθὼς εῦς, ἐφέσπετο τε σφυσι καὶ οὐ διήμαρτεν ἃν

42 ἡλπίσεων. ὁ γὰρ Κουρίων πρότερον μὲν, ὃς καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου προσιόντος, ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐν μετέστη, καὶ γνώμην ἐποιεῖτο τῶν τε νεῶν, ἄν βιάζηται, ἐπιβήναι καὶ

2 τὴν Ἁφρικῆν παντελῶς ἐκλιπεὶν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὅλιγος τε τινὰς καὶ τοῦτος ἄνευ τοῦ Ἰόβου ἀφικνεῖθαί ἐπίθετο, ἐθάρσησε, καὶ εὐθὺς τῆς νυκτὸς ὃς καὶ ἐφ’ ἐτοιμον νίκην, μὴ καὶ διαφύγωσιν αὐτοῦ, ἀρας ἐπορεύετο, καὶ τινὰς τῶν προδρόμων καθεύδωντας

1 δ τὰ Leuncl., ἃτι L.
2 πλοία συχνὰ Jacoby, πάλεις καὶ L.
3 τὴν Rk., τὴν τε L. 4 pou Bk., πο L.
Caesar abandoned the city of Aspis where he happened to be by mere chance, and Publius Attius Varus, then in charge of the affairs of that region, was defeated by him and lost many troops and many ships. Juba, however, the son of Hiempsal and king of the Numidians, preferred the cause of Pompey as that of the people and the senate, and hated Curio both on this account and because the latter when tribune had attempted to take away his kingdom from him and to confiscate the land; accordingly he carried on a vigorous war against him. For he did not wait for him to invade his home country of Numidia, but went to meet him while he was besieging Utica. He did not attack him, however, with his whole army, since he feared that Curio might put to sea if he learned in advance of his approach; for he was evidently not so eager to repulse him as to take vengeance on him. Instead, he sent forward a few men and spread the report that he himself had gone far away in another direction; then he followed after this force and did not fail of the results he had hoped for. For, though Curio, under the impression that his enemy was approaching, had previously transferred his men to the camp near the sea and had formed the plan, in case he were hard pressed, of embarking on the ships and leaving Africa altogether, he now, when he ascertained that only a few men were coming, and these without Juba, took courage and set out on the march that very night as if to a victory lying ready to hand, fearing that they might otherwise escape him; and after destroying some of the enemy's vanguard who were sleeping

1 The Roman Clupea, situated on the coast east of Carthage.
ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ φθείρας πολύ προθυμότερος ἐγένετο. 3 κάκ τούτῳ τοὺς λοιποὺς ὑπὸ τὴν ἐω προκεχωρηκόσιν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐντυχὼν οὐδεμιᾶν ἀναβολήν ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖνοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πορείας καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας τεταλαιπωρημένοι ἐς χειρᾶς σφίσει παραχρῆμα

4 ἡλθε. καὶ τούτῳ ἐστῶτων τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἀντιρρότως ἀγωνιζομένων, ὁ Ἰόβας αἴρετὣς οἱ ἐπι- φανεῖς τῷ τε ἄδοκητῳ ἀμα αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ πλῆθει κατειργάσατο, καὶ ἐκείνην μὲν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς πλείστους αὐτοῦ ταύτην ἀπέκτεινεν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς μέχρι τε τῆς ταφρείας ἐπέδιωξε καὶ

5 μετὰ τούτῳ ἐς τὰς ναύς καθείρξε, καὶ τῷ ταράχῳ τούτῳ πολλῶν μὲν χρημάτων ἐκράτησε πολλοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας ἐφθειρε. συνχαῖ δὲ δὴ καὶ διαφυγόντες αὐτῶν ἀπὸλοντο, οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐς τὰ πλοῖα ἐσβάσει ὑπὸ τοῦ ᾧθισμοῦ σφαλέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς σκάφεσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους αὐτῶν

6 βαπτισθέντες. γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων, φοβηθέντες τινές μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτοῖς πάθωσι, προσεχώρησαν μὲν τῷ Ὀνάρῳ ὡς καὶ σωθησόμενοι, εὑροντο δ᾽ οὐδὲν ἐπιεικές· ὁ γὰρ Ἰόβας προϊσχόμενος ὦτι αὐτὸς σφάς ἐνενικῆκε, καὶ ἐκείνος πλὴν ὅλων ἐφούνευσεν. Κουρίου μὲν δὴ πλείστα τε τῷ Καίσαρι συγαράμενος καὶ πάμπολλα αὐτὸν

7 ἐπελπίσας οὕτως ἀπόλειτο· Ἰόβας δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοῦ Πομπηίου τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ βουλευτῶν τιμᾶς τε εὔρετο καὶ βασιλεὺς προσηγορεύθη, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῶν τε ἐν τῇ

1 αὐτοῦ ταύτη R. Steph., αὐτῇ ταύτῃ L.
2 δὲ Pflugk, τε L. 3 καὶ Reim., καὶ L.
4 αὐτῶν Bk., ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν L.
on the road he became much more emboldened. Then, about dawn, he encountered the rest who had gone on ahead from the camp; and without any delay, in spite of the fact that his soldiers were exhausted both by the march and by want of sleep, he at once joined battle with them. Thereupon, when the others stood their ground and were holding their own, Juba suddenly appeared and by the unexpectedness of his arrival as well as by his numbers overwhelmed him. Curio and most of the others he killed on the spot, and the rest he pursued up to their entrenchments, later confining them to the ships; and in the midst of this rout he got possession of large amounts of treasure and destroyed many men. Indeed, many of them perished after escaping his grasp, some losing their footing while boarding the ships because of the crowding, and others going down with the vessels themselves when these became overloaded. While this was occurring still others, out of fear that they might suffer the same fate, went over to Varus, expecting that their lives would be spared; but they received no considerate treatment. For Juba asserted that it was he who had conquered them, and so slew nearly all of these, too. Thus Curio died after rendering most valuable assistance to Caesar and inspiring in him many hopes. And Juba received honours at the hands of Pompey and the senators who were in Macedonia, and was saluted as king; but by Caesar and those in the city he
Τὸ δὲ ἔχομεν ἐτεὶ διπτοὶ τε tois Ῥωμαίοις ἄρχοντες παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐγένοντο καὶ μάχῃ μεγίστῃ δὴ συνηνέχθη. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀστείῳ καὶ ὑπάτους τὸν τε Καίσαρα καὶ Πούπλιον Σερούλιον καὶ στρατηγοὺς τὰ τέλη τὰ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ᾤρηντο, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλονίκῃ

2 τοιοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲν προπαρεσκευάσαντο, καίτοι τῆς τε ἄλλης βουλῆς ἔστώ διακοσίους, ὡς φασί τινες, καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐχοντες, καὶ τι καὶ χωρίου ἐστὶν οἰκονόματα, τοῦ δὴ καὶ ἐν νόμῳ δὴ τινι αὐτῷ δοκεῖν γίγνεσθαι, δημοσιώσαντες, ὡστε καὶ τὸν δήμον δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν τε πόλιν ἀπασάν ἐνταῦθα

3 εἶναι νομίζεσθαι (αὐτοῖο δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν νόμον οἱ ὑπατοὶ τὸν φρατριατικὸν ὡμένον ἐπονόμοχεσαν), τοὺς δὲ δὴ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνοι οἰσπὲρ καὶ πρόσθεν ἔχρησαν, τὰς ἐποικυμίας σφῶν μόνας μεταβαλόντες καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνθυπάτους τοὺς δὲ ἀντιστρατηγοὺς τοὺς δὲ ἀντιταμίας ὄνομας ἐπιστατεῖν.  

4 πάνυ γάρ που τῶν πατρίδων αὐτοῖο ἐμελεί τὰ τε ὑπὲρ ἀνταρμόμενοι καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐκλεισθέωσιν, ὡστε μὴ πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα πρὸς τὴν τῶν παρόντων ἀπαίτησιν καὶ παρὰ τὴν τῶν τετα-

5 γμένων ἀκρίβειαν ποιεῖν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα τῷ μὲν ὑσμαί τοὐτοῦ σφισιν ἐκατέρως ἤρθον, ἐργῷ δὲ ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ, τῆς μὲν φήμης ἕνεκά τὰς

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1 βασιλῆς Bs., βασιλεῖς L.  2 αὐτῷ Pflugk, αὐτῶν L.  
3 ἤσαν ἄνωμάσθησαν Xyl., ἄνωμάσθησαν L.  
4 τέλη supplied by Bs.  5 φρατριατικὸν Reim., φρατρικὸν L.  
6 οἰσπέρ Reim., τοῖσπερ L.
was called to account and declared an enemy, while Bocchus and Bogud were named kings, because they were hostile to him.

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

1 The lex curiata de imperio, passed by the comitia curiata, formally conferred upon a consul or praetor his authority. Though largely a matter of form at this time, the magistrate was nevertheless not felt to be fully in possession of the privileges of his office until this vote had been passed.
έννομος ἑπικλήσεις, ὁ μὲν τὴν τοῦ ὑπάτου ὁ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου, ἔχοντες, πράττοντες δὲ οἶκος ὥσα ἔκειναι ἐπέτρεπον ἀλλ' ὦσα αὐτὸς ἦθελον.

44 Τοιούτων δὲ δὴ τούτων οὖν καὶ δίχα τῆς ἀρχῆς μεμερισμένης, Πομπήιος μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλονίκῃ ἑχείμαζε καὶ φυλακὴν οὐκ ἀκριβῆ τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἐποιεῖτο (οὔτε γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὑδὴ τῶν Καίσαρα ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἥφικαί ἐνίμιξε, εἰ τε καὶ παρείς, ἀλλ' ἐν γε τῷ χειμῶνι οὐχ ὑπώπτευσεν αὐτὸν τολμήσειν τὸν

2 Ἰονιού διαβάλεων), Καίσαρ δὲ ἦν μὲν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ τὸ ἑαρ ἀναμένου, πυθόμενος δὲ ἐκείνον τε πόρρω ὅντα καὶ τὴν καταντιπέρας ἥπειρον ἁμελῶς τηρουμένην, τὸ τε καὶνὸν τοῦ πολέμου ἡρπασε καὶ τῷ ἀνειμένῳ αὐτοῦ ἐπέθετο. μεσοῦντος γοῦν τοῦ χειμῶνος μέρει τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπῆρεν (οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ἰκαναὶ νῆς ὥστε πάντας ἀμα αὐτοὺς

3 περάσαι), καὶ λαθῶν τῶν Βίβουλον τῶν Μάρκουν, ὡς ἡ θάλασσα φρουρεῖσθαι προσετέκτο, ἐπεραιώθη πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα τὰ Κεραύνια ὁνομασμένα· ἔστι δὲ ἐσχάτα τῆς Ἡπείρου, πρὸς τῷ στόματι τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου. καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐνταῦθα πρίν ἐκπυτωσὶ ὦτι καὶ πλευσεῖται γενέσθαι, τάς ναῦς

4 ἐς τὸ Βρεντεσίον ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐστείλε· καὶ αὐτὰς ὁ Βίβουλος ἀνακομιδοκόμενας ἐκάκωσε, καὶ τινὰς καὶ ἀνεδήσατο, ὡστε τὸν Καίσαρα ἔργῳ μαθεῖν ὦτι εὐτυχέστερον τὸν πλοῦν ἦ εὐβοιολότερον ἐπεποίητο.

1 τὰς ἑννόμως ἑπικλήσεις Rk., τῆς ἑννόμου καὶ ἑπικλήσεις L.
2 τε πόρρω Pflugk, τε πόρρω τε L.
3 ἀνειμένῳ Rk., ἀνέμῳ L.
consul respectively, yet their acts were not those which these offices permitted, but whatever they themselves pleased.

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

1 The expression τὸ καίνην τοῦ πολέμου appears first in Thucydides (iii. 30), and soon became proverbial; cf. Polybius xxix. 6, Diodorus xx. 30, 67, Cic. ad Att. v. 20, 3. Dio uses it again in xlix. 5, 1. It seems to be used generally in the favourable sense of "the (lucky) chance of war." The proverb ran πολλὰ τὰ καίνα τοῦ πολέμου ("many are the surprises of war").
45 'Εν δ' οὖν τῇ διατριβῇ ταύτῃ τὸ τε Ὠρικὸν καὶ τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν ἄλλα τὲ τῶν ἔκειν Χωρίων ἔκλειψεν ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Πομπηίου φρουρῶν παρεστήσατο. ἦ δὲ Ἀπολλωνία αὐτῇ ἦ Κορινθία ἐν καλῷ μὲν τῆς γῆς ἐν καλῷ δὲ καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ποταμῶν τε ἁριστα κεῖται. ὦ τε μάλιστα διὰ πάντων ἐθαύμασα, πῦρ πολὺ πρὸς τῷ Ἀϑάνατη τοῦ ποταμῷ ἀναδίδοται, καὶ οὐτὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖον τῆς πέριξ γῆς ἐπεξέρχεται, οὔτ' αὐτὴν ἑκείνην ἐν ἡ ἐνδιαίταται ἐκπυροὶ καὶ κραυροτέραν πῆ ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόσα καὶ δένδρα καὶ πάνυ πλησία θάλλοντα ἔχει. πρὸς τε τὰς ἐπιχύσεις τῶν ὁμβρῶν ἐπαύξει καὶ ἐς ψυσὶς ἐξαἰρεται. καὶ διὰ τούτῳ αὐτὸ τὸ Νυμφαῖον ὅνομάζεται καὶ δὴ καὶ μαντεῖον τούνδε τί παρέχεται. λιβανωτὸν δὴ λαβὼν, καὶ προσευξάμενος οἶς τὸ ποτὲ καὶ βούλει, ῥήπτεις αὐτὸν τὴν εὐχὴν φέροντα, κἂν τοῦτῳ τὸ πῦρ, ἄν μὲν τὶ ἐπιτελεῖς ἤ ἐσόμενον, δέχεται αὐτὸν ἐτοιμότατα, κἂν ἁρα καὶ ἐξω ποὺ προπέσῃ, προσδραμὸν ἡρπασε καὶ κατανάλωσεν· ἄν δὲ ἀτέλεστον ἴ, οὔτ' ἀλλος αὐτῷ προσέρχεται, κἂν ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν φλόγα φέρηται, ἐξαναχωρεῖ τε καὶ ἐκφεύγει. καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐκάτερα περὶ πάντων ὁμοίως, πλὴν θανάτου τε καὶ γάμου, ποιεῖ περὶ γὰρ τούτων οὐδὲ ἐξεστὶ τυί ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ πυθέσθαι τι.

46 Τοῦτο μὲν τοιούτῳ ἐστὶν, ὦ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρ βραδύνοντος τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, ὦ τοὺς ὑπομένοντας ἐν τῷ Βρεττεσίῳ κομίσαι ἐπετέκτετο, καὶ οὐδὲ

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

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

\(^1\) Cf. Frag. 42.
\(^2\) I.e. “Temple of the Nymphs.”
ἀγγελίας τινὸς περὶ αὐτῶν διὰ τε τῶν χειμῶνα καὶ διὰ τὸν Βίβουλον φουτώσης, ὑπώπτευσεν σφας μεσεύειν τε καὶ ἐφεδρεύειν τοῖς πράγμασιν, 2 οἵ τοῦ ποὺ ἐν ταῖς στάσεσι φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι. καὶ διὰ τούτο βουληθεῖς αὐτὸς καὶ μόνος γε ἐς τὴν Ἑταλλίαν πλεῦσαι, ἐπέβη μεν ἀκατίον τινὸς ὡς τις ἄλλος, λέγων ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος πεπέμβας, καὶ τὸν κυβερνήτην αὐτὸν καίπερ πνεύματος ὄντος 3 ἐξεβιάσατο ἀναχθῆναι: ὥς μέντοι ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐγένοντο καὶ ὁ τε ἀνέμος ἵσχυρὸς κατέσπερχε καὶ ὁ κλύδων δεινὸς σφας ἐξετάραττεν, ὡστε τὸν κυβερνήτην μηδ' ἀναγκαζομενον ἔτι τολμῆσαι περαιτέρω πλεῦσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄκοντος αὐτοῦ ἐπανεῖμαι ἐπιχειρῆσαι, 1 ἐξεφθηνεν ἐαυτὸν καθάπερ ἐκ τούτου καὶ τὸν χειμώνα παύσων, καὶ ἐφὶ 4 "θάρσει. Καίσαρα γὰρ ἄγεις." τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ φρόνημα καὶ τοιαύτην ἐλπίδα ἢτοι τὴν ἄλλως ἢ καὶ ἕκ μαντείας τινὸς ἔχειν ὡστε καὶ παρὰ τὰ φαινόμενα πίστιν τῆς σωτηρίας ἐξέγγυον ποιεῖσθαι: οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπεραιώθη, ἀλλὰ 2 ἐπὶ πολὺ μᾶτην πονήσας ἀνέπλευσεν.

47 Καὶ μετὰ τούτο τῷ Πομπηίῳ περὶ τὸν Ἀδριανὸν ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον τῆς ἀφίξεως αὐτοῦ ὢσθετο, οὐκ ἀνέβάλετο, 3 ἀλλὰ ἐπίσεις βαδίως αὐτοῦ, πρὶν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μετὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ὄντας προσλαβεῖν, κατεργάσεσθαι, 4 σπουδή πρὸς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν δυνάμει 2 τινὶ ἡλασεν. οὐ δὲν Καίσαρ μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπῆντησέν ὦ, νομίζας ἀξίωμαχος καὶ

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

After this he encamped opposite Pompey, near Apsus. For Pompey, as soon as he had learned of his arrival, had made no delay, but hoping to crush him easily before he should receive the others who were with Antony, hastily marched with a considerable force toward Apollonia. Caesar advanced to meet him as far as the river, thinking that even as he was he would prove a match for the troops.
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ως τοῖς τότε προσιόυσι γενήσεσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθεν οτι πολύ τῷ πλήθει ἡλαττοῦτο, ἡσύχασεν. καὶ ὅπως ἔγειρεν ὑπὸ δέοις τότῳ ποιεῖν μήτε ἐξφράζειν τοῦ πολέμου νομισμαθείς, λόγους τέ τινας συμβατικῶς σφίζει καθίει καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο 3 διήγε. γνώσῃ δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος συμβαλεῖν μὲν αὐτῷ ὡς ἄταχιστα ἡθέλησεν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπιδιαβῆναι ἐπεχείρησεν· ὡς δὲ ἡ γέφυρα βάρος λαβοῦσα διελύθη καὶ τῶν προδιαβεβηκότων μονωθέντες ἀπόλογοντο, ἐπέσχειν ἂθυμήσας ὅτι πρῶτον τῶν τοῦ πολέμου ἔργων ἀπτόμενος ἐπταίκει. 

Καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἐπελθόντος 48 φοβηθεὶς ἀπεχώρησε πρὸς τὸ Δυρράχιον. τέως μὲν γὰρ ὁ Βίβουλος ἔξη, φοβάσθαι ἐκ τοῦ Βρεττεσίου ἐτόλμησεν· τοσαύτη ποι ἄλλη ἀυτοῦ ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς τε ἐκκαμόν ὑπὸ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας ἐγεέςτησε καὶ τὴν ναυαρχίαν ὁ Δίβων διεδέξατο, κατεφρόνησεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνηγάγετο ὅς καὶ βιασόμενος τὸν ἐκπλου. 2 καταραξθεῖς τε ἂς τὴν γῆν ἡμύνατο τε αὐτοῦ ἰσχυρῶς προσβάλοντα οἱ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπεκβήναι ποι βουληθέντα οὐδαμὴ τῆς ταυτῆς 3 ἢπείρου προσφορμῆθηναι εἰςαγεν. ἀπορήσας οὖν ὁ Δίβων καὶ ὃρμου καὶ ὑδατος (τὸ γὰρ οὔσιδον τὸ πρὸς τοῦ λιμένος ὅν, ἐς ὅπερ μόνον προσέχειν ἐδύνατο, καὶ ἀνυδρὸν καὶ ἀλίμενον ἐστίν) ἀπέπλευσε πόρρω ποι, ὅπου ἀμφοτέρων ἑυτοπή- σειν ἠκέλλοι. καὶ οὕτως ὁ Ἀντωνίου ἔξωναχθεῖς ὑστερον πρὸς μὲν ἐκείνου, καὶ περὶ μετεώρος σφίσιν ἐπιχειρήσαι ἐθελήσαντος, οὐδὲν ἐπαθεῖ 1 καθεὶ Dind., καθὲη Ἡ.
then approaching; but when he learned that he was far inferior in numbers, he halted. And in order that it might not be thought either that he was halting through fear or that he was making the first move in the war, he submitted some conciliatory proposals to the other side and delayed on this pretext. Pompey, perceiving his motive, wished to try conclusions with him as soon as possible and for this reason undertook to cross the river. But the bridge broke down under the weight and some of the advance guard, thus isolated, perished. Then he desisted, discouraged because he had failed in the first action of the war.

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

49 Διασωθέντων δ' οὖν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁ τε Πομπήιος ἐς τὸ Δυρράχιον, ὦσπερ εἰπὼν, ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ θαρσήσας, ὅτι τῷ πλήθει τῶν τότε συνόντων οἱ περηνές ἐκ τῶν προσγεγενημένων. τὸ δὲ Δυρράχιον ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ πρότερον μὲν Ἰλλυρίων τῶν Παρθιῶν, νῦν δὲ καὶ τότε γε ἦδη Μακεδονίας νεομισμενὴ κεῖται, καὶ ἔστιν ἐπικαιρότατον, εἰτ' οὖν ἡ Ἐπιδάμμων ή τῶν Κερκυραίων εἶτε καὶ ἐτέρα τις οὐσα. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦτο γράψαντες τὴν τε κτίσιν αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐς Δυρράχιον ἦρα 3 ἀναφέροντοι οἱ δ' ἐτεροι Δυρράχιον ἀντονομασθῆναι τὸ χωρίον ὕπο τῶν Ρωμαίων πρὸς τὴν τῆς Ῥαχίας δυσχέρειαν ἐφάσαν, ὅτι ἡ τῆς Ἐπιδάμμου πρόσφησις ἐξεμόδη δῆλοσιν ἐν τῇ τῶν Λατίνων γλώσσῃ ἐξουσα δυσοικώστος σφιακὸς ἐς τὸ περαιούσθαι ἐς αὐτὴν ἐδοξὲ εἶναι.

50 Πρὸς οὖν τοῦτο τὸ Δυρράχιον ὁ Πομπήιος καταφυγὼν στρατόπεδον τε ἐξώ τῆς πόλεως ἐποίησατο, καὶ τάφρους βαθείας σταύρωματα τέ ἱσχυρὰ περιεβάλετο. καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπιστρατοπεδεύσας προσέμιξε μὲν ὅς καὶ δι’ ὅλιγον τὸ χαράκωμα τῷ πλήθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν αἴρησων, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄπεκρουσθῇ, ἐπεχείρησεν αὐτὸ ἀπο- 2 τείχίσαι. καὶ ἐκεῖνος τε ἀμα τούτ' εἰργάζετο, καὶ

1 ἦδη Leuncl., ἦδε L.
2 Μακεδονίας Oddey, μακεδονία L.
3 ἡ Reim., καὶ ἡ L.
4 περιεβάλετο Xiph., περιεβάλλετο L.
the high seas (for a violent storm came up which prevented the attack), both he and Libo suffered injuries from the storm itself.

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

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

1 I.e., the name was a compound of ἄνοι (“unlucky”) and ἀξῶν (“breakers” or “rocky shore”). From Dyrrachium comes its modern name Durazzo.

2 Epidamnus is of course a Greek name, but the Romans were not slow to connect the second element of the word with their own damnum. Compare the jest in Plautus, Menaechmi, 263 f.
ο Πομπήιος τὰ μὲν διεσταύρου τὰ δὲ ύπετείχιζε καὶ διετάφρευς, πύργους τε ἐπὶ τῶν μετεώρων καὶ φυλακὰς ἐπικαθῆσθη, όσ τὴν τε περίοδον τοῦ περιτειχίσματος ἀπέραντον καὶ τὴν ἔφοδον καὶ κρατοῦσι τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἀπορον ποιῆσαι. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ μάχαι αὐτῶν, βραχεῖα δ᾿

οὖν ἕγγυνοντο· καὶ ἐν ταύταις τοτὲ μὲν οὖν τοτὲ δὲ ἔκειναι καὶ ἐνίκων καὶ ἐνικώντω, ὡστε καὶ θυγίσκειν τινὰς ἀμφιτέρων ὁμοίως. αὐτοῦ δὲ ἒ τοῦ Δυρραχίου ο Καίσαρ μεταξὺ τῶν τε ἔλοκ καὶ τῆς βαλάσσης νυκτὸς, ὡς καὶ προδοθησομένου ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμυνομένων, πειράσας εἰσο μὲν τῶν στενῶν παρῆλθε, προσπεσόντων δὲ οἱ ἐνταύθα πολλῶν μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον πολλῶν δὲ καὶ κατόπιν, οἱ πλοίοις παρακομισθέντες ἔξαίφνης αὐτῷ ἐπέθεντο, καὶ συγκυρον ἀπέβαλε καὶ ὅλγου καὶ αὐτός ἐφάρη. γενομένου δὲ τούτου ο Πομπήιος ἐπιθαρσήσας ἐπεβούλευσε νυκτὸς τῷ περιτειχίσματι, καὶ ἔκεινον τέ τι ἀπροσδόκητος προσπιέσων εἴλε, καὶ φόνον τῶν αὐλιξομένων πρὸς αὐτῷ πολὺν εἰργάσατο.

Ὁ οὖν Καίσαρ, ὡς ταύτα τε συνεβεβήκει καὶ ὁ σῖτος αὐτὸν ἐπελευότει (Ἡ τε γὰρ θάλασσα καὶ ἡ γῆ πᾶσα ἡ πλησία ἀλλοτρία αὐτῷ ἦν, καὶ τινὲς διὰ ταύτα καὶ ἀπηντυμολήκεσαν), δεῖσας μὴ ἦτοι προσεδρεύων καταπολεμῆ; ἢ καὶ ὕπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐγκαταλειφθῆ, πάντα μὲν τὰ ὁκοδομημένα κατέστρεψε, πάντα δὲ τὰ παραβεβλημένα προσδιέφθειρε, καὶ μετὰ τούτο ἔξαϊφνης ἢρας ἐς Θεσσαλίαν ὑμμῆ. ἐν γὰρ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ ὧν 1 2 4 5

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

Caesar, in view of this occurrence and because his grain had failed, inasmuch as the whole sea and land in the vicinity were hostile, and because for this reason some had actually deserted, feared that he might either be defeated while watching his adversary or be abandoned by his other followers. Therefore he levelled all the works that had been constructed, destroyed also all the parallel walls, and thereupon set out suddenly and hastened into Thessaly. During this same time, it seems, while
Δυρράχιον ἐπολυωρκεῖτο, Δοῦκιός τε Κάσσιος Δογγύνος καὶ Γναῖος Δομήτιος Καλουίνος ἔσ τε τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐσ τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ περιθέντες, Δογγύνος μὲν ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος καὶ ὑπὸ Σαδάλου Ῥακός ἰσχυρὸς
3 ἐσφάλη, Καλουίνος δὲ τῆς μὲν Μακεδονίας ὑπὸ τοῦ Φαύστου ἀπεοζηθη, Δοκρῶν δὲ ἤὲ καὶ Λιτωλῶν προσχωρησάντων οἱ ἐσ τε τὴν Θεσσαλίαν μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐσέβαλε, καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα μάχαι, τῇ μὲν λοχισθεὶς τῇ δ᾽ ἀντενεδρέυσας, ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ πόλεις τινὰς προσεποιήσατο. ἐνταῦθ᾽ οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς καὶ ῥάον σὺν ἑκένως τῆς τε τροφῆς εὐπορῆσων καὶ τὸν πόλεμον διοίσων, ἤπειροθη. καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐδεὶς αὐτοῦ ἀπε κακῶς πεπραγότα ἐδέχετο, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων καὶ ἄκων ἀπεέχετο, Γόμφοις δὲ δὴ πολίχυν τινὶ Θεσσαλικῇ προσπεσὸν καὶ κρατήσας πολλοὺς τε ἐκτεινε καὶ
5 πάντα ἄμαχει ὁμολογησέναι καὶ σφας κακὸν οὐδὲν δράσας ῥάον καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἀφ᾽ ἐκατέρου προσεποιήσατο.

52 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἰσχυρὸς αὐθίς ἐγίγνετο, Πομπηῖος δὲ οὐκ ἐπεδιώξε μὲν αὐτὸν (υγκτὸς τε γὰρ ἐξαπιναῖως ἀπανέστη, καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Γενουσοῦν στουδῆ διέβη), οὕτω μὲντοι τὴν γνώμην εἶχεν ὡς καὶ διαπεπολεμηκώς. κὰκ τοῦτο τὸ μὲν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα ἔλαβεν, οὐ μὲντοι καὶ ἐμεγα- ληγόρει τῇ καὶ δύφυν πινὰ ταῖς ράβδοις περικφεν, δυσχεραίνων ἐπὶ πολταῖς τοιούτῳ τι καὶ ἐνίκησε Λευνι., ἐνέδρευς ἡ. 2 πάντα Χυλ., πάντας Λ.
Dyrrachium was being besieged, Lucius Cassius Longinus and Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus had been sent by him into Macedonia and Thessaly. Longinus had been disastrously defeated in Thessaly by Scipio and by Sadalus, a Thracian; and Calvinus had been repulsed from Macedonia by Faustus, but on receiving accessions from the Locrians and Aetolians had invaded Thessaly with these troops, and after being ambushed had afterwards set ambuscades himself and conquered Scipio in battle, thereby winning over a few cities. Thither, accordingly, Caesar hastened, thinking that by uniting with these officers he could more easily secure an abundance of provisions and thus continue the war. When no one would receive him, because of his reverses, he reluctantly held aloof from the larger settlements, but assaulted Gomphi, a little town in Thessaly; and upon taking it he put many to death and plundered everything, in order that by this act he might inspire the rest with terror. Metropolis, another town, for example, did not even contend with him but forthwith capitulated without a struggle; and as he did no harm to its citizens he more easily won over some other places by his course in these two instances.

So he was once more becoming powerful. Pompey did not pursue him, for he had withdrawn suddenly by night and had hastily crossed the Genusus river; however, he was of the opinion that he had brought the war to an end. Consequently he assumed the title of imperator, though he uttered no boastful words about it and did not even wind laurel about his fasces, disliking to show such exul-
2 ποιήσαι. ἕκ δὲ δὴ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης διανοιας οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἐπελευσέν οὔτ' ἄλλους τινάς ἐπεμψε, καίτοι ἐδοξίως ἄν πᾶσαι αὐτὴν κατασχὼν τῷ τε γὰρ ναυτικῷ πολὺ ἐκράτει ἂτε πεντακοσίαι ναῦς ταχείας ἔχων, ὅστε πανταχόστε ἀμα κατάραι, καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ οὔτ' ἄλλος αὐτῷ ἦχθετο, οὔτε, εἰ καὶ τὰ 1 μάλιστα ἠλλο-
3 τρίῳ, ἀξιώμαχά γε ἀντιπολεμήσαι ἦν. πόρρω τε 2 γὰρ τοῦ περὶ αὐτῆς δόξαι πολεμεῖν ἀφεστηκέναι ἐβούλετο, καὶ φόβον οὐδένα τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε οὐσὶ παρασχεῖν ἥξιον. τῆς μὲν οὖν Ἰταλίας διὰ ταύτ' οὐκ ἔπειρασεν, οὗ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐπέστειλε τῷ κοινῷ περὶ τῶν πραξῆς· τῶν οὐδὲν ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῶν Καῖσαρα μετὰ τοῦθ' ὀρμήσας ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ἀφίκετο.

53 Ἀντικαθημένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἄλληλοις ἢ μὲν ὅψις τῶν στρατοπεδῶν πολέμου τινὰ εἰκόνα ἔφερεν, ἢ δὲ δὴ χρεία τῶν ὀπλῶν ὡς καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἴσσυχαζ. τὸ τε γὰρ μέγεθος τοῦ κινδύνου διασκοποῦντες, καὶ τὸ ἄδηλον τὸ τε ἀστάθμητον τῶν πραγμάτων προορώμενοι, καὶ τινὰ καὶ αἴδῳ τοῦ τε ὀμοφύλου καὶ τῆς συγγενείας ἐτί ποιοῦ-
2 μενοι διέμελλοι, καὶ τούτῳ καὶ λόγοις περὶ φιλίας σφίσιν ἀντέπεμπον, καὶ τισὶ καὶ συναλ-
λαγῆσθαι διὰ κενῆς ἐδοξαν. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι τοῦ τε παντὸς κράτους ἀμφότεροι ἐφιέμενοι, καὶ πολλή μὲν φιλοτιμίας ἐμφύτω πολλή δὲ καὶ
3 φιλονεικία ἐπικτήτω ἵκρωμενοι (πρὸς τε γὰρ τῶν ἵσων καὶ πρὸς τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ἤκιστα τινὲς ἐλαττούμενοι φέρουσιν) οὔτε τι συγχωρήσαι

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

As they lay opposite each other the appearance of the camps bore, indeed, some semblance of war, but their arms were idle as in time of peace. As they considered the greatness of the danger and foresaw the obscurity and uncertainty of the issue, and still felt some regard for their common ancestry and their kinship, they continued to delay. Meanwhile they exchanged propositions looking toward friendship and appeared to some likely even to effect an empty reconciliation. The reason was that they were both reaching out after the supreme power and were influenced greatly by native ambition and greatly also by acquired rivalry,—since men can least endure to be outdone by their equals and intimates; hence they were not willing to make any concessions
άλληλοις ἤθελον, ὡσπερ ἀμφότεροι κρατήσα
dυνάμενοι, οὔτε πιστεύσαι, κἂν συμβαθῇ 1 τε
ἐδύναιτο μὴ οὐ τοῦ πλεῖονός τε ἀεὶ σφας ὄργυν
gεσθαι καὶ υπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς ἀθῆς στασιάσειν

54 γνώμη μὲν γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἀλλήλων διέφερον ὅσοιν
Πομπήιος μὲν οὐδενὸς ἄνθρωπων δεύτερος. Καὶ σαρ
de καὶ πρώτος πάντων εἶναι ἐπεθύμει, καὶ ὁ μὲν
παρ' ἐκόντων τε τιμᾶσθαι καὶ ἔθελοντων προστα-
tεῖν φιλεῖσθαι τε ἐσπούδαζε, τῷ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐμελεῖν
eί καὶ ἀκόντων ἄρχοι καὶ μισοῦσιν ἐπιτάσσειν.

2 τάς τε τιμὰς αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸς διδοῖν. τὰ μέντοι ἔργα,
δι' ὧν ἦλπίζουν πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλοντο καταπράξειν,
ἀμφότεροι ὁμοίως καὶ ἀνάγκη ἐποίουν· ἀδύνατον
γὰρ ἢν αὐτῶν κατατυχεῖν τινι μὴ οὐ τοῖς τε
οἰκείοις πολεμοῦνται καὶ τοὺς ὀθενεῖς ἑπὶ τοὺς
ὁμοφύλους ἀγοντι, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν χρήματα
ἀδίκως συλώντι, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν φιλτάτων

3 ἀνόμως κτείνοντι.2 ὡστε εἰ καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις
dιηλλαττον, ἀλλὰ ταῖς γε πράξεσι, δι' ὧν ἀπο-
πληρώσειν αὐτὸς ἦλπίζουν, ὡμοίωντο. καὶ διὰ
tοῦτο οὐθ' 3 ύφιεντο τινος ἀλλήλοις, καίπερ
πολλὰς δικαιώσεις προτειναμένοι, καὶ ἐσ χειρᾶς
τελευτῶντες ἠλθον.

55 Ἑγένετο δὲ ὁ ἄγων μέγας καὶ οἶδος οὐχ ἔτερος.
αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ ἀριστοὶ πρὸς πάντα τὰ πολέμια καὶ
εὐδοκιμῶτατοι διαφανῶς οὐχ ὅτι τῶν Ῥωμαιῶν
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τότε 4 ἄνθρώπων ἦξι-
όυντο εἶναι· οἷα 5 γὰρ ἐκ παίδων τε ἐν αὐτῶις,
ἡσικημένοι καὶ διὰ παντὸς αὐτοῖς ὀμιληκότες, ἔργα

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

The struggle proved a mighty one and unparalleled by any other. In the first place, the leaders themselves had the name of being the most skilled in all matters of warfare and clearly the most distinguished not only of the Romans but also of all other men then living. They had been trained in arms from boyhood, had constantly been
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te ἀξιόλογα ἀποδεδειγμένοι, καὶ πολλὴ μὲν ἄρετὴ πολλὴ δὲ καὶ τύχῃ κεχρημένοι, καὶ ἀξιοστρατη-

2 ἡγητότατοι ἦσαν καὶ δυνάμεις Καῖσαρ μὲν τοῦ τε πολιτικοῦ τὸ πλείστον καὶ καθαρώτατον, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας τῆς τῇ Ἰβηρίας καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας πάσης τοῦ τε νήσου ὧν ἐκράτευ τοὺς μαχιμωτάτους εἶχε, Πομπήιος δὲ συχνὸς μὲν καὶ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς τῆς τἠ ὑππάδος καὶ τῶν καταλόγων ἐπήκτο, παμπληθεῖς δὲ παρὰ τε τῶν λοιπῶν ύπηκόων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐνσπάνων

καὶ δήμων καὶ βασιλέων ἠθροίκει. ἀνευ γαρ δὴ τοῦ τε Φαρνάκου καὶ τοῦ Ὀρόσου (καὶ γαρ τούτου, καίτοι πολέμου ἀφ' οὗ τοὺς Κράσσους ἀπέκτεινεν ὄντα, προσεταρίσασθαι ἐπεχείρησε) πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι, οἱ καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον τι ποιεῖθέντες ποτὲ αὐτῷ, καὶ χρήματά οἱ ἐδωκαν, καὶ ὑποθείας

4 οἱ μὲν ἐπεμψαν οἱ δὲ ἡγαγον. ο̣ δὲ δὴ Πάρθος ὑπέσχετο μὲν αὐτῷ, ἀν τὴν Συρίαν λάβῃ, συμμαχήσειν, μὴ τυχῶν δὲ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐπήμουν. προὔχοντος δ' οὖν πολὺ τοῦ Πομπηίου τῷ πλήθει, ἐξισοῦντό σφισίν οἱ τοῦ Καῖσαρος τῇ ὑπῆργῇ καὶ οὕτως ἀπ' ἀντιπάλου πλεονεξίας καὶ ἰσορροποὶ ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἰσοκίνδυνοι ἐγήγοντο.

56 Ἐκ τε οὖν τούτων καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς αὐτίας τῆς τε ὑποθέσεως τοῦ πολέμου ἀξιολογώτατος ἀγῶν συνηνέχθη. η τε γὰρ πόλις τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ αὐτῆς ἀπασά, καὶ πολλὴ καὶ μεγάλη ἡδή οὖσα, ἀθλὸν σφισὶ προοίκειο. εὐδηλον γὰρ που πᾶσιν ἢν ὅτι τῷ τότε κρατήσαντι δουλωθή-

2 σεται. τούτῳ τε οὖν ἐκλογιζόμενοι, καὶ προσέτε καὶ τῶν προτέρων ἔργων, Πομπήιος μὲν τῆς τε

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

As a result of these circumstances and of the very cause and purpose of the war a most notable struggle took place. For the city of Rome and its entire empire, even then great and mighty, lay before them as the prize, since it was clear to all that it would be the slave of him who then conquered. When they reflected on this fact and furthermore thought of their former deeds,—Pompey of Africa, Sertorius,
Αφρικής καὶ τοῦ Σερτωρίου τοῦ τε Μιθριδάτου καὶ τοῦ Τιγράνου καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, Καίσαρ δὲ τῆς τε Γαλατίας καὶ τῆς Ἀβιηρίας τοῦ τε 3 Ρήμου καὶ τῆς Βρεττανίας, ἀναμμηνησκόμενοι, καὶ κινδυνεύειν τε καὶ περι ἐκείνοις ἱχθύμενοι καὶ προσκτήσασθαι τὴν ἀλλήλων δόξαν σπουδήν ποιούμενοι, ὧργοι. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα τῶν ἡττημένων τοὺς κρατοῦσι προσγίγνεται καὶ ἡ εὐκλεία ὅτι μάλιστα ὁσφ γὰρ ἂν μείζω καὶ δυνατότερον τις ἀνταγωνιστήν καθέλη, τόσῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ 57 μείζον αἴρεται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις πολλὰ μὲν παραπλήσια δ’ οὖν ἀλλήλους παρῆμεναν, εἰπόντες πάνθ’ ὅσα ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ πρός τε τὸ αὐτίκα τοῦ κινδύνου καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔπειτα πρέπει λέγεσθαι. ἐκ τε γὰρ τῆς αὐτῆς πολιτείας ὀρμώμενοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγους 2 ποιούμενοι, καὶ ἀλλήλους τε τυράννους καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐλευθερωτάς αὐτῶν ὁνομάζοντες, οὐδὲν σφισι διάφορον εἴπειν ἐσχῶν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἀποθανεῖν τοῖς δὲ σωθῆναι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους τοῖς δὲ ἐν δεσπότου μοίρα πάντα τε ἔχειν ἤ πάντων στερηθήναι καὶ παθεῖν ἢ ποιήσαι δεινό- 3 τατα ὑπάρξει. τοιαύτας οὖν δὴ τινὰς παραφαίνεις τοῖς πολιτάσι ποιησάμενοι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων τῶν τε συμμάχων πρὸς τε τὰς ἐλπίδας τῶν κρεισσοῦν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φόβους τῶν χειρόνων προσαγαγόντες, συνέβαλον ἀλλήλοις τοὺς ὁμοφύλους, τοὺς συσκήνους, τοὺς συστίτους, 4 τοὺς ὁμοσπόνδους. καὶ τὰ τὸ ἄλλων ὀδύραιο, ὅποτε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντα τε ταῦτα ἀλλήλοις ὄντες, καὶ προσέτι πολλῶν μὲν λόγων ἀπορρήτων πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἔργων ὁμοίων κεκοιμω.
Mithridates, Tigranes, and the sea, and Caesar of Gaul, Spain, the Rhine, and Britain,—they were wrought up to the highest pitch of excitement, believing that those conquests, too, were at stake, and each being eager to acquire the other’s glory. For the renown of the vanquished, far more than his other possessions, becomes the property of the victor, since, the greater and more powerful the antagonist that a man overthrows, the greater is the height to which he himself is raised. Therefore they delivered to their soldiers also many exhortations, but very much alike on both sides, saying all that is fitting to be said on such an occasion with reference both to the immediate results of the struggle and to the subsequent results. As they both came from the same state and were talking about the same matters and calling each other tyrants and themselves liberators from tyranny of the men they addressed, they had nothing different to say on either side, but stated that it would be the lot of the one side to die, of the other to be saved, of the one side to be captives, of the other to enjoy the master’s lot, to possess everything or to be deprived of everything, to suffer or to inflict a most terrible fate. After addressing some such exhortations to the citizens and furthermore trying to inspire the subject and allied contingents with hopes of a better lot and fears of a worse, they hurled at each other kinsmen, sharers of the same tent, of the same table, of the same libations. Yet why should any one, then, lament the fate of the others involved, when those very leaders, who were all these things to each other, and had, moreover, shared many secret plans and many exploits of like character,
νηκότες, κήδος τε ποτε συναψάμενοι καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πατίδιον, ὁ μὲν ὃς πατήρ ὁ δὲ ὃς πάππος, ἀγαπήσαντες, ὡμοὶ ἐμάχοντο; ὥσα γὰρ ἡ φύσις τὸ αἷμα αὐτῶν μίξασα συνέδησε, τότε ταῦτα τῇ ἀπλήστῳ τῆς δυναστείας ἐπιθυμία διέλευσαι καὶ διέσπωσαν καὶ διερρήγησαν. καὶ 'δι' ἐκείνους ἔκεινοι καὶ ἡ Ῥώμη περί τε ἑαυτῆ καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἀμα κινδυνεύειν ἱναγκάζετο, ὡστε καὶ νικήσασα ἠττηθήναι.

58 Τοιούτω μὲν ἀγώνι συνηνέχθησαν· οὐ μέντοι καὶ εὐθὺς συνέμεξαν, ἀλλ' οία ἐκ τε τῆς αὐτῆς πατρίδος καὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἑστίας ὀρμῶμενοι, καὶ τά τε ὅπλα παραπλήσια καὶ τὰς τάξεις ὁμοίας ἐχοντες, ὡκνουν μὲν ἀρξαὶ τῆς μάχης, ὡκνουν δὲ καὶ φονεύσαντι τινας ἐκάτεροι. σιγή τε οὖν ἀμφοτέρων καὶ κατέφεια πολλῇ ἥν, καὶ οὔτε τις αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ πρόσω προῆκεν οὔθ' ὅλως ἐκνείτο, ἀλλ' ἐγκύψαντες ἤτρέμιζον ὀσπερ ἄνυχοι. φοβηθεῖν τούτην ὅτι τῆς Καϊσαρ καὶ οὐκομπήσω μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον ἡσυχάσαντες ἀμβλύτεροι πως γένωνται ἦ καὶ συναλλαγόσι προσέταξαν σπουδὴ τοῖς τε σαλπικταῖς σημῆναι καὶ ἐκείνοις συμβοήσαν τὸ πολεμικὸν. καὶ ἐπράχθη μὲν ἐκάτερον τοσοῦτοι δ' ἐδέσαν ἐπιρρωσθῆναι ὡστε καὶ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἐκ τῆς τῶν σαλπικτῶν ἥχης ὀμοφωνούσης καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν βοῆς ὀμογλωσσοῦσης τὸ το ὀμόφυλον σφῶν ἐξέφηναν καὶ τὸ ὀμογενὲς ἐξήλεγξαν, κακὸς τοῦτο καὶ ἐς δάκρυα καὶ θρήνον ἔπεσον. ὡς δ' οὖν ποτὲ τῶν συμμαχικῶν προκαταρξάντων καὶ ἐκείνους Bk., ἐκείνου Λ. ἐκείνους Bk., ἐκείνου Λ. προηγεί R. Stephi., προηγεί Λ. πολεμικῶν St., πολέμιον Λ.
who had once been joined by domestic ties and had loved the same child, one as a father, the other as grandfather, nevertheless fought? All the ties with which nature, by mingling their blood, had bound them together, they now, led by their insatiable lust of power, hastened to break, tear, and rend asunder. Because of them Rome was being compelled to fight both in her own defence and against herself, so that even if victorious she would be vanquished.

Such was the struggle in which they joined; yet they did not immediately come to close quarters. Sprung from the same country and from the same hearth, with almost identical weapons and similar formation, each side shrank from beginning the battle, and shrank from slaying any one. So there was great silence and dejection on both sides; no one went forward or moved at all, but with heads bowed they stood motionless, as if devoid of life. Caesar and Pompey, therefore, fearing that if they remained quiet any longer their animosity might be lessened or they might even become reconciled, hurriedly commanded the trumpeters to give the signal and the men to raise the war cry in unison. Both orders were obeyed, but the combatants were so far from being imbued with courage, that at the sound of the trumpeters’ call, uttering the same notes, and at their own shout, raised in the same language, they showed their sense of relationship and betrayed their kinship more than ever, and so fell to weeping and lamenting. But after a long time, when the allied troops began the battle, the rest also joined in, fairly
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59 ἐκεῖνοι διαλέγοντο, ἐκφρονοῦνέτι αὐτοῖς γενόμενοι. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις, ὥσ πέρρωθεν ἡ ἄλκη ἢν, ἢπότου τὸ δεινὸν συνέβαινεν, οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰδότες οὐς ἔβαλλον, ἐτόξευον ἡκόντιζον ἡ ἄλκη ἢν, ἢπότου τὸ δεινὸν συνέβαινεν, οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰδότες οὐς ἔβαλλον, ἐτόξευον ἡκόντιζον

3 τρίδων ἐμέμνηντο καὶ ἐσκύλευον. ταῦτα μὲν οἱ τῷ Ρωμαίῳ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας συστρατευόμενοι σφισίν, ὅπου ποτὲ προστύχοιον ἄλληλοις, καὶ ἔπραττον καὶ ἔπασχον καὶ πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ οὕκαδε διί αὐτῶν τῶν σφαγέων ἐνετέλλοντο. τὸ δὲ υπῆκοον καὶ προθύμως καὶ ἀφελίως ἐμάχετο, πολλὴν στηθῆν, ὡσπερ ποτὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς σφετέρας ἑλευθερίας, ὡστε τότε κατὰ τῆς τῶν Ρωμαίων δουλείας ποιούμενοι, ἐπιθυμία, ἀτε ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτῶν ἐλαττούμενοι, ὀμοδούλους σφαῖς ἔχειν.

60 Μεγίστη τε οὖν ἡ μάχη καὶ πολυτροπωτάτη διὰ ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ τε πολυειδές τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐγένετο. πάμπολλοι μὲν γὰρ ὁπλίται πάμπολλοι δὲ καὶ ἱππῆς, τοξόται τε ἐτεροί καὶ σφενδονηταὶ ἄλλοι οὖntes, τὸ τε πεδίον πᾶν κατέλαβον, καὶ σκεδασθέντες πολλαχὴ μὲν ἄλληλοις οἰα ὀμόσκευοι, πολλαχῇ δὲ καὶ ἐτέροις ἡ ἁμάχοντο. προεῖχον δὲ οἱ Πομπηίειοι τῇ τῇ ἤπειρα καὶ τῇ τοξείᾳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πόρρωθεν τῇ ἡγκυκλούμενοι τίνας προσβόλαις αἰφνιδίοις

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

Thus it was a very great battle and full of diverse incidents, partly for the reasons mentioned and partly on account of the numbers and the variety of the armaments. There were vast bodies of heavy-armed soldiers, vast bodies of cavalry, in another group archers and still others that were slingers, so that they occupied the whole plain, and scattered over it, they fought often with each other, since they belonged to the same arms, but often also with men of the other arms indiscriminately. The Pompeians surpassed in cavalry and archers; hence they would surround troops at a distance, employ sudden assaults,
έχρωντο, καὶ συνταράξαντες αὐτοὺς ἐξανεχόρον, εἰτ' αὕθισ καὶ μάλ' αὕθις ἐπετίθεντο σφισι, τοτὲ
3 μὲν ἐνταῦθα τοτὲ δὲ ἐκείστε μεθιστάμενοι. οἱ οὖν Καίσαρειοι ταύτα τε ἐφυλάσσοντο, καὶ τὰς
τάξεις σφῶν ἐξελίσσοντες ἀντιπρόσωποί τε ἄει
tois προσβάλλουσιν1 ἐγίγνοντο καὶ ὀμόσε αὐτοῖς
χωροῦντες τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ἵππων 2
ἀντελαμβάνοντο, προθύμως ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ
γὰρ πεζοὶ τοὺς ἱππεύσιν αὐτῶν κοῦφοι ἐπὶ αὐτὸ
4 τούτο συνετετάχατο, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ καθ' ἐν,3
ὁσπερ εἰτον, ἀλλὰ πολλαχῇ ἀμα σποράδην
ἐγίγνετο, ὡστε τῶν μὲν πόρρῳθεν μαχομένων τῶν
δὲ συσταδὸν ἀγωνιζομένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν παιόντων
τινὰς τῶν δὲ πατασσομένων, φευγόντων ἐτέρων,
dιωκόντων ἄλλων,4 πολλὰς μὲν πεζομαχίας
5 πολλάς δὲ καὶ ἱππομαχίας ὁρᾶσθαι. καὶ τούτῳ
καὶ παρὰ δόξαιν 5 συχνὰ συνὲβαινε. καὶ γὰρ
τρέψας τις τινα ἐτρέπτετο, καὶ ἄλλοις ἐκκλίνας
tiνὰ ἀντεπετίθετο αὐτῷ: πλήξας τις ἐτέρων
αὐτὸς ἐτιτρώσκετο, καὶ πεπτώκως ἄλλοις τῶν
ἐστηκότα ἀπεκτίνυε. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ
ἀτρωτοὶ ἔθυνσκον, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἰμιθυῆτες
6 ἐφόνευον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔχαιρον καὶ ἐπαιώνιζον, οἱ
δὲ ἐλυποῦντο καὶ ὠλοφύροντο, ὡστε βοῒς καὶ
στεναγμῶν πάντα πληρωθήμαι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν
πλείοσι καὶ ἐκ τούτου παραχὴν ἐγγενέσθαι (τὰ
γὰρ λεγόμενα ἀσημά σφισι διὰ τοῦ ἀλλοεθνὲς
cαὶ διὰ τὸ ἀλλόθροον ὄντα δεινῶς αὐτοὺς

1 προσβάλλουσιν Xiph., προσβαλούσιν L.
2 ἵππων Xiph., ἵππεων L. 3 καθ' ἐν Rk., καθ' ἐνα L.
3 ἄλλων Xiph., ἐτέρων L. 4 παρὰ δόξαιν Xiph., παραδόξαιντι L.
and retire after throwing their opponents into confusion; then they would attack them again and again, turning now to this side and now to that. The Caesarians, therefore, were on their guard against this, and by wheeling round always managed to face their assailants, and when they came to close quarters with them, would seize hold of both men and horses in the eagerness of the struggle; for light-armed infantry had been drawn up with their cavalry for this very purpose. And all this took place, as I said, not in one spot, but in many places at once, scattered all about, so that with some contending at a distance and others fighting at close quarters, this body smiting its opponents and that group being struck, one detachment fleeing and a second pursuing, many infantry battles and many cavalry battles as well were to be seen. Meanwhile many incredible things were taking place. One man after routing another would himself be turned to flight, and another who had avoided an opponent would in turn attack him. One soldier who had struck another would be wounded himself, and a second, who had fallen, would kill the enemy who stood over him. Many died without being wounded, and many when half dead kept on slaying. Some were glad and sang paeans, while the others were distressed and uttered lamentations, so that all places were filled with shouts and groans. The majority were thrown into confusion by this fact, for what was said was unintelligible to them, because of the confusion of nations and languages, and alarmed them greatly, and those who could understand one
Τέλος δέ, ἵσορρόπως αὐτῶν ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἀγωνισμένων, καὶ πολλών ἀμφιτέρωθεν ὤμοιῶς καὶ πεσόντων καὶ τρωθέντων, ὁ Πομπήιος ἀτε καὶ Ἀσιανὸν καὶ ἀγύμναστον τὸ πλεῖον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐχὼν ὁπήθη, ὥσπερ ποὺ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἔρημοι οἱ
κεφαλαίως ἔρεισσοι, τὰ τε σημεῖα αὐτοῦ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ μέλισσαν περίετον, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἱερείων αὐτοῖς ἡ δὴ τοῖς βωμοῖς προσαγόμενα ἐξέδρα.
καὶ στρατιῶτας ἀναφέρουσι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλούς ἀνθρώπους ὁ ἀγῶν ἐκεῖνος ἔτεινεν ὥστε πολλαχόθι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τῆς μάχης ἡμέρᾳ καὶ στρατοπέδωι συνόδους καὶ ὀπλῶι κτύπους συμβήνου, ἐν τε Περγάμῳ τιμιτάνων τὲ τινά καὶ κυμβάλων ψόφον ἐκ τοῦ Διονυσίου ἀρθέντα διὰ πᾶσι τῆς πόλεως χωρήσαι, καὶ ἐν Τράλλασι φολίκα τε ἐν τῷ τῆς Νίκης ναῷ ἀναφέρουν καὶ τὴν θεὸν αὐτὴν πρὸς εἰκόνα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐν πλαγίω ποὺ κειμένης μεταστραφῆναι, τοῖς τε Σύροις δύο τινῶς νεανίσκους τὸ τέλος τῆς μάχης ἀγγειλαντας ἀφανεῖς γενέσθαι, καὶ ἐν Παταούρῳ τῆς νῦν Ἰταλίας τότε δὲ ἔτι Γαλατίας ὄρνιθάς τινας οὐχ ὅτι διαγγείλατε
αὐτὴν ἄλλα καὶ δεῖξαι τρόπον τινά. Τάς τοῖς Κοριήλίου πάντα τὰ γενόμενα ἀκριβῶς τε ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐτεκμήρατο καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐξηγήσατο.

1 πολλαχόθι ἐν Rk., πολλαχόθεν L.
another suffered a calamity many times worse; for in addition to their own misfortunes they could hear and at the same time see those of their neighbours.

At last, after they had carried on an evenly-balanced struggle for a very long time and many on both sides alike had fallen or been wounded, Pompey, since the larger part of his army was Asiatic and untrained, was defeated, even as had been made clear to him before the action. For thunderbolts had fallen upon his camp, a fire had appeared in the air over Caesar's camp and had then fallen upon his own, bees had swarmed about his military standards, and many of the victims after being led up close to the very altar had run away. And so far did the effects of that contest extend to the rest of mankind that on the very day of the battle collisions of armies and the clash of arms occurred in many places. In Pergamum a noise of drums and cymbals rose from the temple of Dionysus and spread throughout the city; in Tralles a palm tree grew up in the temple of Victory and the goddess herself turned about toward an image of Caesar that stood beside her; in Syria two young men announced the result of the battle and vanished; and in Patavium, which now belongs to Italy but was then still a part of Gaul, some birds not only brought news of it but even acted it out to some extent, for one Gaius Cornelius drew from their actions accurate information of all that had taken place, and narrated it to
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ταύτα μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκέλευ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὡς ἐκαστὰ ἱσυννέχθη, καὶ παραχρήμα μὲν ἡπιστεῦτο, ὡσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν. ἀγγελθέντων δὲ τῶν πραξθέντων ἐθαυμάζετο.

62 Τῶν δὲ δὴ Πομπηεῖων τῶν μὴ ἐν χερσὶ φθαρεῖτων οἱ μὲν ἐφυγον ὅπῃ ποτὲ ἠδυνηθήσαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο . . . . . . . Καῖσαρ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ στρατευομένους ἐς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ στρατόπεδα ἐσέγραψε, μηδὲν σφισι

2 μνησικακίσας, τῶν δὲ δὴ βουλευτῶν τῶν τε ἱππεῶν ὅσους μὲν καὶ πρότερον ποτε ἡρηκός ἠλείχει ἀπέκτεινε, πλὴν εἰ ⁴ τινας οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ ἐξητήσαντο (τούτοις γὰρ ἔνα ἑκάστῳ τὸτε σώσαι

3 συνεχώρησε), τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τοὺς τότε πρῶτον ἀντιπολεμήσαντας αὐτῷ ἀφῆκεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι "οὐδὲν μὲ ἡδικήκασιν οἱ τὰ τοῦ Πομπηείου φίλου σφισιν ὁντος ἐσπούδασαν, μηδεμίαν ἐνεργεῖσιν παρ'.

4 ἐμοῦ ἔχοντες." τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δυνάστας τοὺς τε δήμους τοὺς συναραμένους οἱ ἐποίησε: πᾶσι γὰρ αὐτοῖς συνέγω, ἐννοῶν ὅτι αὐτὸς μὲν ἡ τινα ἡ οὐδένα ⁶ αὐτῶν ἡπίστατο, παρ' ἐκείνου δὲ δὴ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ προεπεπόνθεσαν.

5 καὶ πολὺ γε τούτοις μᾶλλον ἐπήνει τῶν ἐνεργείασιν μὲν τινα παρὰ τοῦ Πομπηείου προ- λαβόντων, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς κινδύνοις αὐτοῦ ἐγκατάλι-

6 πόντων τοὺς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἑαυτῷ δ' εὖνοις ἔσεσθαι ἡλπίζε, τοὺς δὲ, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐδοξῶν τί οἱ καὶ χαρίσασθαι, ἀλλὰ προδότας γε τοῦ νῦν

1 ἐκαστὰ Oddey, ἡμιστα L. ² μὴ Reim., μὲν L.
3 Lacuna recognized by Xyl.
4 εἰ H. Steph., ἡ L. ⁵ μὲ H. Steph., μὲν L.
5 ἡ τινα ἡ οὐδένα Cobet, ἡ οὐδένα ἡ τινα L.
the bystanders. These several things happened on that very same day and though they were, not unnaturally, distrusted at the time, yet when news of the actual facts was brought, they were marvelled at.

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

1 This is the idea to be supplied if we follow Plutarch (Caes. 46, 2); but Caesar’s own account (B.C. iii. 98 f.) would suggest rather “surrendered.”
filoν γενομένους οὐδὲ ἕαυτοῦ ποτε φείσεσθαι
63 ἔνομικε. τεκμήριον δὲ ὧτι Σαδάλου μὲν τοῦ
Θράκος καὶ Δηιοτάρου τοῦ Γαλατοῦ, καίτοι καὶ
ἐν τῇ μάχῃ γενομένων, Ταρκονδιμότου 2 τε ἐν
μέρει μὲν τινὶ τῆς Κιλικίας δυναστεύοντος,
πλεῖστον δὲ αὐτῶ πρὸς τα ναυτικὰ βοηθήσαντος,
2 ἐφείσατο. τί γὰρ δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰς συμ-
μαχίας πέμψαντας καταλέγειν, ὡς καὶ αὐτοῖς
συγγυμνῷν ἔνειμε, χρήματα μόνον παρ᾿ αὐτῶν 3
λαβῶν; ἄλλο γὰρ οὔδεν οὔτε ἕδρασε σφας οὔτ᾿ ἀφεῖλετο, 4 καίτερ πολλῶν πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, τα
μὲν πάλαι τὰ δὲ καὶ τότε, παρὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου
3 εἰληφότων. μέρος μὲν γὰρ τι τῆς Ἀρμενίας τῆς
tοῦ Δηιοτάρου γενομένης Ἀριοβαρζάνει τῷ τῆς
Καππαδοκίας βασιλεῖ ἔδωκεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τοῦ
Δηιοτάρου ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἐβελαψεν, ἄλλα καὶ προσ-
eυργήτησεν. 5 οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον τὴν χώραν ἀπετέ-
μετο, ἄλλ᾿ ὑπὸ τοῦ Φαρνάκου πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀρμενίαν
catαληφθεῖσαν καταλαβὼν τὸ μὲν τι αὐτῆς τῷ
Ἀριοβαρζάνει τὸ δὲ δὴ τῷ Δηιοτάρῳ ἐχαρίσατο.
4 καὶ τοῦτοι μὲν οὕτως ἔχρισατο. τῷ δὲ δὴ Φαρνάκη
προβαλλομένῳ ὅτι μὴ προσαμύναι τῷ Πομπηίῳ,
cακ τοῦτον συγγυμνῷς ἐφ᾿ οἷς ἐπεποίηκε τυχεῖν
ἀξιοῦτι, οὔτε ἑνείμεν ἐπιεικεῖς οὔδὲν, καὶ προσέτι
καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτ᾿ ἐπεκάλεσεν, ὡτι καὶ πονηρὸς καὶ
5 ἀνόσιος περί τὸν ἐνεργήτην ἐγένετο. τοσαύτῃ μὲν
καὶ φιλανθρωπία καὶ ἅρετῇ πρὸς ἀπαντάς τοὺς
ἀντιπολεμήσαντας αὐτῷ ἐπίπαν 6 ἔχριτο. ἀμέλει

1 φείσεσθαι H. Steph., φείσασθαι L.
2 Ταρκονδιμότου R. Steph., ταρκονδιμότου L.
3 αὐτῶν R. Steph., αὐτῶν L. 4 ἀφεῖλετο St., ἀφεῖλατο L.
5 προσευργήτησεν St., προσευργήτησεν L.
6 ἐπίπαν Kuiper, ἐπηταν L.
crisis they would, on occasion, not spare him either.

A proof of his feeling is that he spared Sadalus the Thracian and Deiotarus the Galatian, who had been in the battle, and Tarcondimotus, who was ruler of a portion of Cilicia and had been of the greatest assistance to Pompey in the matter of ships. But what need is there to enumerate the rest who had sent auxiliaries, to whom also he granted pardon, merely exacting money from them? He did nothing else to them and took from them nothing else, though many had received numerous large gifts from Pompey, some long ago and some just at that time. He did give a certain portion of Armenia that had belonged to Deiotarus, to Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, yet in this he did not injure Deiotarus at all, but rather conferred an additional favour upon him. For he did not curtail his territory, but after occupying all of Armenia previously occupied by Pharnaces, he bestowed one part of it upon Ariobarzanes and another part upon Deiotarus. These men, then, he treated in this wise. Pharnaces, on his side, made a plea that he had not assisted Pompey and therefore, in view of his behaviour, deserved to obtain pardon; but Caesar showed him no consideration, and furthermore reproached him for this very thing, that he had proved himself base and impious toward his benefactor. Such humanity and uprightness did he show throughout to all those who had fought against him. At any rate, all the letters that were
καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ 1 ἀπόθετα τὰ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Πομπηίου κιβωτίοις εὑρεθέντα, ὅσα τινῶν τὴν τε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὔνοιαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν δύσνοιαν ἠλεγχεν, οὔτ' ἀνέγνω οὔτ' ἐξεγράψατο ἄλλ' ἐνθὺς κατέφλεξεν, ὡς μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν δεινὸν ἀναγκασθῇ δράσαι, ὡστε τινὰ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσαντας αὐτῷ μισῆσαι. τούτῳ δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως εἶπον, ἄλλ' ὅτι καὶ ὁ Καιπίων 2 ὁ Βροῦτος ὁ Μάρκος, ὁ μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνας, καὶ ἔαλω ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔσώθη.

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

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Δίωνος 'Ρωμαϊκῶν

α. ὦς Πομπήιος ἦττηθείς ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ἐφυγεν εἰς Ἀλγυπτόν καὶ ἀπέθανεν.

β. ὦς Καίσαρ Πομπήιον ἐπιδιώκων εἰς Ἀλγυπτόν ἠλθεν.

γ. ὦς ἥγγελθη τὰ κατὰ Καίσαρα καὶ Πομπήιον εἰς Ῥάμην καὶ οὗ ἐφηφίσσατο τῷ Καίσαρι.

δ. ὦς ἑστασίασαν οἱ ἐν Ῥάμῃ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀποδημίαν.

ε. ὦς Καίσαρ Αἰγυπτίοις πολεμήσας κατεστρέψατο αὐτούς καὶ τῇ Κλεοσάτρᾳ ἐχαρίσατο.

ζ. ὦς Καίσαρ Φαρνάκην ἐνίκησεν.

η. ὦς Καίσαρ ἐς Ῥάμην ἐπανήλθε καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ κατεστήσατο.

θ. ὦς Καίσαρ ἐς Ἀφρικὴν ἐστράτευσεν.

Χρόνου πλῆθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Γ.2 Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος τὸ β΄ καὶ Πομπήιος Σερουλίου Ἰσαυρικοῦ ὑπατείας καὶ ἄλλο ἔτος ἐν, ἐν φ' ἀρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμοῦμενοι οἴδε εἰγένοντο

Γ. Ἰουλίος Γ. ν. Καίσαρ δικτάτωρ τὸ β' 3

Μ. Ἀντώνιος Μ. ν. Ἰππαρχος ὑπάτω δέ

Κ. Φούφιος Κ. ν. Καλήνος

Π. Οὐατίνιος 4 Π. ν.

Ἡ μὲν οὖν μάχῃ τοιαύτῃ δῆ τις εἰγένετο, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὁ Πομπήιος πάντων τῶν ἐαυτοῦ πραγμάτων παραχρῆμα ἀπέγυνο, καὶ οὐκέτ' οὔτε τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς οὔτε τοῦ τῶν λοιπῶν στρατιωτῶν

1 & supplied by Xyl. (in transl.).
2 τῆς Γ. Bs., τῆς Reim., ἐτη ν L.
3 L has υπ' after β'; Xyl. deleted.
The following is contained in the Forty-second of Dio's

*Roma*:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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4 οὐαρίνιος R. Steph., οὐαρτίνος L.
5 οὔτε Pflugk, οὐδε L.
πλήθους οὔθ ὅτι πολλάκις ἢ τύχη δι᾽ ἐλαχίστον τοῦς πταίσαντας ἀναλαμβάνει λογισμόν τινα ἐποιήσατο, καὶ περὶ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ πλείστον μὲν τὸ εὐθύμιον πλείστον δὲ τὸ εὐελπιστὰ παρὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐσφάλη ἀεὶ ποτε σχῶν.

2 αὖτιον δὲ ὅτι ἐν μὲν ἑκένως ἀντίπαλος ὃς πλήθει τοῖς ἑναντίοις ὅποι ὑπεριέχον οὐν ὑπεριέχον τῇ γνώμῃ τῆς νίκης, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τὴν ἐκβασίν τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐν τῷ τῷ θαρσοῦντι καὶ πρὸν ἐς κατάπληξιν τινα ἀφικέσθαι, προσκοπῶν οὐκ ἦμελει τῆς τοῦ χείρονος θεραπείας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔθ' ὑπείκειν ταῖς συμφοράς ἠναγκαζέτο καὶ ἀναμάχεσθαι ὁμοίως ἐδύνατο, τότε δὲ πολλῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος περισχῆσειν ἐλπίδας οὐδὲν προείδετο.

3 οὐκοῦν ὁ δὲ στρατόπεδον ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ ἐποιήσατο, οὔθ' ἀναφυγῆν οὐδεμίαν ἦττηθέντι οἱ παρεσκεύασε· τρίψα τε δυνηθεὶς ἄν τὰ πράγματα, καὶ τοῦτον ἂμαχει κρατήσαι (στρατός τε γὰρ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν αὐτῷ προσεγιγνετο, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀφθονα ἄτε ἐν τε φιλία τῇ πλείστῃ χώρᾳ ὅν καὶ ναυκρατῶν εἰχεν), ὅμως, ἐἴτε ἐθελουντῆς ὅς καὶ πάντως νικήσον, ἐἴτε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν συνόντων ἐκβιασθείς, συνέβαλε. καὶ διὰ ταὐτ', ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐνικήθη, δεινῶς ἐξεπλάγη καὶ οὔτε τι ἑβούλευμα καίριον οὔτε ἑλπίδα βεβαιὰν ἐς τὸ ἀνακινδυνεύσατι ἐσχεν. ὅταν γὰρ τι ἀπροσδοκήτως τε των καὶ μετὰ πλείστου παραλόγου προσπέσῃ, τὸ τε φρόνημα αὐτοῦ ταπεινοῦ καὶ τὸ λογιζόμενον ἐκπλήσσει, ὥστ' αὐτοῦ κάκιστον τε καὶ ἀσθενεστατον τῶν

5 πρακτέων κριτὴν γενέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλουσιν οἱ

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

2 Διὰ μὲν ὑδα ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος, ως οὖν αὐτῶν προενόησε, καὶ γυμνὸς καὶ ἀφρακτος ἐυρέθη, τάχ' ἂν μὴ χαλεπῶς, εἴπερ τι προεώρατο,1 πάντα διὰ ταχέων ἀνακτησάμενος. τῶν τε γὰρ μεμαχημένων συχνὸι περιεγεγόνοικαν, καὶ ἔτερα ὑπό νάμαείς οὐ σμικρᾶς εἰς τὸ τε μέγιστον καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐκέκτησε καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀπάσης ἐκράτει, αἱ τε πόλεις καὶ αἱ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ δυστυχήσαντα αὐτῶν ἡγάμων. νῦν δ' ἐπειδήπερ ἐφ' ὃ μάλιστα θάρσει κακῶς ἀπῆλλαξεν, οὔ τε ἐκείνων οὐδεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτίκα τοῦ φόβου προσβολῆς ἔχρησατο, ἀλλὰ τὸ τε ἐρυμα εὐθὺς ἔξελιπε καὶ πρὸς Λάρισαν μετ' ὅλγων ἐφυγε. καὶ ἐς μὲν τὴν τόλμην οὐκ ἐσῆλθε καίτοι τῶν Λαρισσαίων ἐσκαλοῦντων, φοβηθεὶς μὴ τινα αὐτίαν ἐκ τοῦτον ὀφλώσιν ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μὲν τῷ κρατοῦντι προσχωρῆσαι ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ τε ἐπιτήδεια λαβὼν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆν θάλασσαν καταβὰς ἐς Λέσβον ὀλκάδι 2 πρὸς τε τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν Κορνηλίαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Σέξτον 3 ἐπέλευσε. καὶ αὐτοὺς παραλαβὼν καὶ μηδὲ ἐς τὴν Μυτιληνήν 4 ἐσελθὼν ἐς Αἰγυπτοῦ ἀπήρε, συμμαχίαν παρὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλεύοντος αὐτῆς σχῆσειν ἐλπίσας· τοῦ τε γὰρ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ διὰ τοῦ Γαβίνιου τῆν

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

Hence Pompey, also, having considered none of the chances beforehand, was found naked and defenceless, whereas, if he had taken any precautions, he might, perhaps, without trouble have quickly recovered everything. For large numbers of the combatants on his side had survived and he had other forces of no small importance. Above all, he possessed large sums of money and was master of the whole sea, and the cities both there and in Asia were devoted to him even in his misfortune. But, as it was, since he had fared ill where he felt most confident, through the fear that seized him at the moment he made no use of any one of these resources, but left the camp at once and fled with a few companions toward Larissa. He did not enter the city, although the inhabitants invited him to do so, because he feared that they might incur some blame in consequence; but bidding them go over to the victor, he himself took provisions, went down to the sea, and sailed away on a merchantman to Lesbos, to his wife Cornelia and his son Sextus. After taking them on board, he did not enter Mitylene either, but departed for Egypt, hoping to secure an auxiliary force from Ptolemy, the king of that country. This was the son of that Ptolemy who had received back the kingdom at his hands,
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βασιλείαν παρ’ αυτοῦ ἀπολαβόντος νῖς ἦν, καὶ
diὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐς ἐπικουρίαν οἱ ἔπε-
5 πόμφει. ἦκουσα μὲν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ἐς Πάρθους
φυγεὶν ἐβουλεύσατο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πιστεύειν
ἔχω. ἐκεῖνοὶ τε γὰρ τοὺς τε ‘Ῥωμαίοις πάντας,
ἀφ’ οὐ σφισὼν ὁ Κράσσος ἐπεστράτευσε, καὶ
tὸν Πομπηίου μάλιστα ἀτε καὶ προσήκοντα αὐτῶ,
oύτως ἐμίσουν ὅστε καὶ τὸν πρεσβευτὴν αὐτὸν
πρὸς τὴν αὐτήσιν τῆς βοηθείας ἐλθόντα δῆσαι
6 καίπερ βουλευτὴν ὅτα, καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος οὐκ ἂν
ποτε τοὺ πολεμιωτάτου, οὐ γε1 εἰ πρᾶττων οὐκ
ἐτευχήκει, ἴκετης ὑπέμεινε δυστυχήσας γενέσθαι.
3 Ἀλλ’ ἐς τὴν Ἀγυπτῶν δ’ ἀπερ ἐπον ὄρμησε,
καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἦπειρον μέχρι Κιλικίας κομισθεῖς
ἐκείθεν πρὸς τὸ Πελούσιον ἐπεραιώθη, ὅπου οἱ
Πτολεμαῖοι Κλεοπάτρα τῇ 2 ἀδελφῇ πολεμῶν
2 ἐστρατοπεδεύετο, τὰς τε ναῦς ἄνοκωχεύσας 3
ἐπεμψε τινα, τῆς τε πατρίας αὐτῶν εὐεργεσίας
ἀναμμηνήσκων καὶ δεόμενος ἐπὶ ῥήτοις τέ τισι
καὶ βεβαίοις καταχθῆναι· ἐκβήναι γὰρ πρὶν
3 ἀσφάλειαν τινα λαβεῖν οὖκ ἑθάρσῃ. καὶ αὐτῶ
ὁ μὲν Πτολεμαῖος οὐδὲν (παίς γὰρ ἐτι κομιδὴ ἦν)
ἀπεκρίνατο, τὸν δὲ δὴ Αἰγυπτίων τινας καὶ Ἀού-
κιος Σεπτίμιος ἄνηρ Ῥωμαῖος, συνεστρατευκῶς μὲν
ποτε τῷ Πομπηίῳ, συγγεγονῶς δὲ τῷ Γαβίνῃ
καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνου τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ μετὰ στρατιώτων
4 ἐς φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ καταλελειμμένος, ἤλθον μὲν
ὡς φίλοι, ἐπεβουλευσαν δὲ ἀνοσίως, καὶ ἐκ τοῦτο
προστρόπαιον καὶ ἐαυτοῖς καὶ τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ πάσῃ
προσέθεντο· αὐτοῖ τε γὰρ οὖκ ἑς μακρὰν ἀπώλοντο,

1 οδ γε Rk., οὔτε L. 2 τῇ supplied by R. Steph.
3 ἄνοκωχεύσας Dind., ἄνακωχεύσας L.
through the agency of Gabinius, and in return for that service he had sent a fleet to Pompey's assistance. I have heard, indeed, that Pompey even thought of fleeing to the Parthians, but I cannot credit the report. For that race so hated the Romans as a people ever since Crassus had made his expedition against them, and Pompey especially, because he was related to Crassus, that they had even imprisoned his envoy who came with a request for aid, though he was a senator. And Pompey would never have endured in his misfortune to become a suppliant of his bitterest foe for what he had failed to obtain while enjoying success.

He set out, then, for Egypt, for the reasons mentioned, and after coasting along the shore as far as Cilicia crossed from there to Pelusium, where Ptolemy was encamped while making war upon his sister Cleopatra. Bringing the ships to anchor, he sent some men to remind the prince of the favour shown his father and to ask that he be permitted to land under certain definite guarantees; for he did not venture to disembark before obtaining some guarantee of safety. Ptolemy gave him no answer, for he was still a mere boy, but some of the Egyptians and Lucius Septimius, a Roman who had once served with Pompey and after becoming associated with Gabinius had been left behind by him with some troops to guard Ptolemy, came in the guise of friends; but they impiously plotted against him and by their act brought a curse upon themselves and all Egypt. For not only did they themselves
καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ δουλεύειν, ὅπερ ἦκιστα ἐβούλουντο, παρεδόθησαν, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐσ τὸ τῶν Ἡρομαίων ὑπήκοον ἐστε εγράφησαν. ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ τότε Σεπτήμιος καὶ Ἀχιλλᾶς ὁ στρατιάρχος, ἀλλοι τε μετ' αὐτῶν ὄντες, ἐτοίμως ἔφασαν ἐσδέξεσθαι τοῦ Πομπήλιον, ὅπως ὡς βάστα ἀπατηθεῖς ἀλοίη καὶ τοὺς τε ἐλθόντας παρ' αὐτοῦ προέπεμψαν, θαρσεῖν σφας ἐνιοὺ κηλεύσαντες, καὶ αὐτὸι μετὰ τοῦτο ἀκατίων ἐπιβάντες προσεπλευσάν αὐτῶν. 2 καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐφιλοφρονήσαντο αὐτῶν καὶ ἠξίωσαν πρὸς ἐαυτοὺς μετεκβίναι, λέγοντες μήτε τινὰ ναῦν δύνασθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους διὰ τὰ βράχη πρὸς τὴν γῆν προσσχείν, καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαίον ἐν πολλῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ εἶναι θάσσον αὐτῶν ἑδεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτῷ, καὶ τοῖς πάντων οἱ τῶν σύμπλων ἀπαγορευόντων, πιστεύσας αὐτοῖς τοσοῦτον μόνον εἰπὼν, 

"όστις γὰρ ὃς τύραννον ἐμπορεύεται, κείνου στὶ δούλος, κἂν ἐλεύθερος μόλις." 4 οἱ δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἐγγὺς τῆς γῆς ἐγένοντο, φοβηθέντες τὴν τοῦ Πτολεμαίῳ σωθῆ εἰτε ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖνον ἤ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἡρομαίων τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἁγιοπτῶν (καὶ γὰρ εὐνοοῖς αὐτοῦ μεγάλην εἰχον), ἀπέκτειναν αὐτὸν πρὶν καταπλεῦσαι, μηδὲν μὴτ εἰπόντα μὴτ' 

1 ἐβούλουντο R. Steph., ἢβούλουντο L. 2 ἐσδέξεσθαι Dind., ἐσδέξασθαι L. 3 ἀλοίη Dind., ἀλάη L. 4 ναῦν supplied by Jacoby. 5 προσσχείν Bk., προσσχείν L. 6 At least one word is wanting here, though no lacuna is indicated in L. The scribe of L conjectured ἐξῆλθε. 7 αὐτοῦ supplied by Reim.
perish not long afterward, but the Egyptians for
their part were first delivered to be slaves of Cleo-
patra, which they particularly disliked, and later
were enrolled among the subjects of Rome. At this
time, then, Septimius and Achillas, the commander-
in-chief, and others who were with them declared
they would readily receive Pompey, their purpose
being that he might be the more easily deceived
and ensnared. So they sent his messengers on
ahead, after some had bidden them be of good
cheer, and afterwards the conspirators themselves
embarked on some small boats and sailed out to
him. After many friendly greetings they begged
him to come over to their boats, declaring that by
reason of its size and the shallow water a ship could
not come close to land and that Ptolemy was very
eager to see him promptly. Accordingly, though all
his fellow-voyagers urged him not to do so, [he
changed boats], trusting in his hosts and saying
merely:

“Whoever to a tyrant wends his way,
   His slave is he, e’en though his steps be free.”

Now when they drew near the land, fearing that
if he met Ptolemy he might be saved, either by
the king himself or by the Romans who were with
him or by the Egyptians, who regarded him with
very kindly feelings, they killed him before sailing
into the harbour. He uttered not a word and made
5 οδυράμενον. ὃς γὰρ τάχιστα τῆς τε ἐπιβουλής ἦσθετο, καὶ ἔγνω ὅτι οὔτε ἀμύνασθαί σφας οὔτε διαφυγεῖν δυνήσεται, συνεκαλύφατο.

5 Τοιούτων μὲν τὸ τέλος τὸ Πομπηίων ἐκεῖνω τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐγένετο, ὡστε καὶ διὰ τούτοι τήν τε ἀσθένειαν καὶ τήν ἀτοπίαν τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου1 γένους 2 ἐλεγχθῆναι. προμηθεῖας τε γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐλλείπων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ κακουργῆσαι τε δυνάμενον ἀσφαλέστατος2 αἰὲ ποτὲ γενόμενος ἠπατήθη, καὶ νῖκας πολλὰς μὲν 3 ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ4 Ἀσίᾳ τῇ τε Εὐρώπῃ παραδοξοὺς καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐκ μειρακίων ἀνελόμενος ἡπτήθη παραλόγως ὡκτώ τε καὶ

3 πεντηκοντούτης ὄν, τὴν τε θάλασσαν τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων πάσαν ἡμερόσας ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ διώλετο, καὶ χιλίων ποτὲ νεῶν, ὡς ὁ λόγος ἔχει, ἄρξας ἐν πλοιαρίῳ τινί, πρὸς τῇ Ἀγινπτῷ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαίου τρόπον τινά οὐ ποτὲ τὸν πατέρα ἐστὶ ἐκείνην ἀμα καὶ ἐστὶ τὴν βασιλείαν κατηγαγε, 4 διεφθάρῃ δὴ γὰρ τοι καὶ τότε ἑτὶ στρατιῶται Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τῆς τοῦ Πομπηίου χάριν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαβίνου, διὰ τὸ τῶν Ἀγινπτῶν ἐστὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ μίσος, καταλειφθέντες ἐφροῦρον, οὕτως αὐτὸν δι’ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐκατέρων ἀπεκτούναι 5 ἐδοξε. Πομπηίος μὲν δὴ κράτιστος πρότερον Ῥωμαίων νομισθεῖς, ὡστε καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονα αὐτῶν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι, τότε καθάπερ τις καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν

1 ἀνθρωπείου R. Steph., ἀνθρωπίου L.
2 ἀσφαλέστατος Dind., ἀσφαλέστατα L.
3 νῖκας πολλὰς μὲν R. Steph., νικήσας μὲν πολέμων πολλάς L.
4 τῇ supplied by R. Steph.

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no complaint, but as soon as he perceived their plot and recognized that he would not be able to ward them off or escape, he veiled his face.

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

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

2 Plutarch (Pomp. 67, 3; Caes. 41, 1) says that Domitius Ahenobarbus styled him Agamemnon and King of Kings in order to bring him into disfavour.
Αὐγοπτίων ἐσχατος, πρὸς τε τῷ Κασίῳ ὁ ὅρει καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ᾧ ποτε τὰ τε τοῦ Μιθριδάτου καὶ τὰ τῶν καταποντιστῶν ἐπιτίκια ἦγαγεν, ἑσφάγη. 6 ὡστε μηδὲν μηδὲ ἐν τούτῳ ὰμολογηθήναι ἐν τῇ γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ τὰ λαμπρότατα πρὶν πράξας τότε τὰ ἀλγενώτατα ἐπάθε, καὶ ἔσ πάντας τοὺς πολίτας τοὺς Κασσίους ἐκ χρησμοῦ τινος ὑποπτεύον πρὸς μὲν ἄνδρας ἡ Κασσίου οὐδένδος ἐπεβουλευθη, παρὰ δὲ δὴ τῷ ὅρει τῷ τῆν ἐπικλησιν ταύτην ἔχοντι καὶ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἐτάφη. 7 τῶν δὲ δὴ συμπλεόντων αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν αὐτικὰ ἐιλωσάν οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐφυγον, ἀλλοι τε καὶ ὁ παῖς ἢ τε γυνὴ αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἡ μὲν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ ταύτα ἁδείας τυχοῦσα ἀνεσώθη, ὁ δὲ δὴ Σέξτος ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικήν πρὸς τὸν ἁδελφὸν τῶν Γναίων ἐκομίσθη τούτοις γὰρ δὴ τοῖς ὀνόμασι διακεκριδαται, ἐπειδῆ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου πρόσρησιν ἀμφότεροι εἴχον. 6 Καίσαρ δὲ ὡς τότε μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὰ κατεπείγοντα διώκησατο, τὴν μὲν Ἑλλάδα τὰ τε λοιπὰ τὰ ταύτην ἄλλοις τισὶ καὶ προσποιεῖθαν καὶ καθιστασθαὶ προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν Πομπηίου ἐπεδίωξεν. καὶ μέχρι μὲν τῆς Ἁσίας κατὰ πῦστιν αὐτοῦ πρῴων 3 ἦπείχοντῃ, ἐνταῦθα δὲ, ἐπειδῆ μηδεὶς 2 ὡπὴ πεπλευκὼς ἢν ἠπιστῶτο, ἐνιδετριψεν. 3 οὕτω δ' οὖν ἐν τῇ χρή πώς τῦτο αὐτῷ προεχώρει ὡστε καὶ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἐν πορθμείῳ τινὶ περαιούμενον ἐνέτυχε μὲν τῷ τοῦ Πομπηίου ναυτικῷ μετὰ τοῦ Κασσίου τοῦ Δουκίου πλέοντι, οὐ μόνον δὲ οὐδὲν ἐνδύον ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπαθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσκατα-

1 Κασίῳ v. Herw., κασσίωι L. 2 ἄνδρας Xiph., ἄνδρων L. 3 πρῴων Leuncl., προσών L.
the Egyptians themselves, not only near Mount Casius but on the anniversary of the day on which he had once celebrated a triumph over Mithridates and the pirates. So even in this respect the two parts of his career were utterly contradictory: on that day of yore he had gained the most brilliant success, whereas he now suffered the most grievous fate; again, following a certain oracle, he had been suspicious of all the citizens named Cassius, but instead of being the object of a plot by any man called Cassius he died and was buried beside the mountain that had this name. Of his fellow-voyagers some were captured at once, while others escaped, among them his wife and son. His wife later obtained pardon and came back safely to Rome, while Sextus proceeded to Africa to his brother Gnaeus; these are the names by which they were distinguished, since they both bore the name of Pompey.

Caesar, when he had attended to pressing demands after the battle and had assigned Greece and the rest of that region to certain others to win over and reduce, set out himself in pursuit of Pompey. He hurried forward as far as Asia following information received about him, and there waited for a time, since no one knew which way he had sailed. Everything turned out favourably for him; for instance, while crossing the Hellespont in a kind of ferry-boat, he met Pompey's fleet sailing with Lucius Cassius in command, but so far from suffering any harm at their hands, he terrified them and won them over to his
3 πλήξας σφάς προσεπούήσατο. κάκ τούτου καὶ
tὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐκεῖνη, μηδενὸς ἢ τ’ ἀνταλροῦτος,
παρεδιπλαμβανε καὶ διώκει, χρημάτων μὲν ἐκλογήν,
ὡσπερ εἶπον, ποιούμενοι, ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν μηδένα
λυπῶν, ἄλλα καὶ ἑυρεγετῶν πάντας ὡσα ἐνεδέχετο.
τοὺς γοῦν τελῶνας πικρότατα σφισι χρωμένους
ἀπαλλάξας, ἐς φόρον συντέλειαν τὸ συμβαίνον
ἐκ τῶν τελῶν κατεστήσατο.

7 Κάν τούτῳ πυθόμενος τῶν Πομπηίου πρὸς τὴν
Λύγυπτον πλέοντα, καὶ δείσας μὴ προκατασχὼν
2 αὐτὴν ἀδελθίς ἵσχυση, ἀφωρμήθη κατὰ τάχος. καὶ
ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐκέτι περίοντα κατέλαβε, τῇ δ’
Ἀλεξανδρεία αὐτῇ μετ’ ὅλιγων πολὺ πρὸ τῶν
ἅλλων, πρὸ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ἐκ τοῦ Πηλούσιου
ἐλθεῖν, προσπλεύσας, καὶ τοὺς Ἀλεξανδρέας
θορυβουμένους ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Πομπηίου θανάτῳ
εὑρόν, οὐκ ἐθάρσησεν εὐθὺς ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβιήναι,
ἀλλ’ ἀνορμισάμενος ἀνείχε μέχρις οὐ τὴν τε
κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντα
3 οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου εἰδεν. οὕτω δὴ 1 ἐς μὲν τὴν
ἡπειρον θαρσούντως προσέσχεν, ἀγανακτήσεως δὲ
ἐπὶ τοῖς ῥαβδοῦχοις αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους
γενομένης αὐτοῦ μὲν ἁγαπητῶς ἐς τὰ βασίλεια
προκατέφυγε, τῶν δὲ δὴ στρατιωτῶν τινὲς τὰ
ὀπλὰ ἀφφέβησαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ’ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀνορ-
μίσαντο αὖθις, ἐως πᾶσαι αἱ νῆες ἐπικατῆχθησαν.

8 δ’ οὖν Καίσαρ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου κεφαλὴν ἕδων
κατεδάκρυσε καὶ κατωλοφύρατο, πολύτην τε αὐ-
tὸν καὶ γαμβρὸν ὄνομαζων, καὶ πάνθ’ ὡσα ποτὲ
ἀλλήλοις ἀνθυπουργήκεσαν ἀναριθμούμενοι. τοῖς
tε ἀποκτείνασιν αὐτὸν οὐχ ὅπως ἐνεργεῖσαν τινὰ

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

Meanwhile he learned that Pompey was sailing to Egypt, and fearing that the other by occupying that country first might again become strong, he set out with all speed. And finding him no longer alive, with a few followers he sailed far in advance of the others to Alexandria itself before Ptolemy came from Pelusium. On discovering that the people of the city were in a tumult over Pompey's death he did not at once venture to go ashore, but put out to sea and waited till he saw the head and finger-ring of the murdered man, sent him by Ptolemy. Thereupon he confidently put in to land; the multitude, however, showed irritation at the sight of his lictors and he was glad to make his escape into the palace. Some of his soldiers had their weapons taken from them, and the rest accordingly put to sea again until all the ships had reached port. Now Caesar at the sight of Pompey's head wept and lamented bitterly, calling him countryman and son-in-law, and enumerating all the kindnesses they had shown each other. As for the murderers, far from admitting that he owed
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

2 ἐκέλευσε. καὶ ἔπι μὲν τοῦτο ἐπαίνων ἐσχεν, ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῇ προσποιῆσθε γέλοτα ὠφλίσκανε· τῆς γὰρ δυναστείας δεινῶς ὑπ' ἀρχῆς ἐφείμενος, καὶ ἐκείνων καὶ ὡς ἀνταγωνιστὴν καὶ ὡς ἀντίπαλον αἱ ποτε μισῆσας, καὶ τὰ τέλλα ἐπ’ αὐτῷ πάντα πράξας καὶ τῶν πόλεμον τόνδε ὑπὲρ ἀλλο τι παρασκευάσας ἦ ἑκοπολομένου αὐτοῦ πρωτεύσῃ, τότε τε ἐς τὴν Ἀἰγυπτον οὔ δὲ ἀλλο τι ἑπείχθεις ἦ ὑνα αὐτῶν, εἰ περείη, προσκατεργάσατο, ποθεῖν τε αὐτῶν ἐπλάττετο καὶ ἀγανακτεῖν τῷ ὀλέθρῳ αὐτοῦ ἐσκίπτετο.

9 Καὶ ὁ μὲν μηδὲν ἐτὶ πόλεμον ὑπεξηρημένου οἱ ἐκείνων καταλείπεσθαι 1 νομίζων, ἐν τῇ Ἀἰγυπτῷ ἐνεχρόνισεν ἀργυρολογόν καὶ τὰ τοῦ 2 Πτολεμαίου καὶ τὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας διάφορα διακρίνων πόλεμοι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἔπειροι αὐτῷ παρεσκευάσαν. 2 σθησαν. ἦ τε γὰρ Ἀἰγυπτος ἐνεόχμωσε, καὶ ὁ Φαρνάκης ἥρξατο μὲν εὐθὺς, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον τὸν τε Πομπήιον καὶ τὸν Καύσαρα ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι ἐμαθε, τῆς 3 πατρίδος ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιεῖσθαι (χρονεῖν τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ στάσει καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν Ρωμαίων αὐτάς περὶ αὐταῖς ἀναλώσειν 3 ἡλπίσειν), ἐξετο δὲ καὶ τότε τῶν προκειμένων, ὅτι τε ἀπαξ ἐκεκύνητο καὶ ὅτι πόρρω τὸν Καύσαρα ὄντα ἐπόθετο, καὶ πολλὰ γε χωρία προκατέλαβε. καὶ τοῦτος καὶ ὁ Κάτων καὶ ὁ Σκιτών, οἳ τε ἀλλοι οἱ τὴν αὐτὴν σφισὶ γνώμην ἔχοντες, καὶ

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

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

10 Ἕσσχε γὰρ οὕτως. ὁ Κάτων ἐν τῷ Δυρραχίῳ πρὸς τοῦ Πομπηίου τὰ τε ἐκ τής Ἰταλίας ἐπιτηδεύει, ἀν τις διαβαίνῃ, καὶ τοὺς Παρθινοὺς κατείργειν, ἀν τι παρακινῶσι, καταλείφθείς τὸ

2 μὲν πρῶτον ἐκείνοις ἐπολέμησε, ἡττηθέντος δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου τὴν μὲν Ἡπειρον ἐξελιπεν, ἐς δὲ Κέρκυραν μετὰ τῶν ὁμογνωμονοῦντων οἱ κομισθεῖς ἐνταῦθα τοὺς τε ἐκ τῆς μάχης διαφυγόντας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τά αὐτὰ φρονοῦντας ἐδέχετο. Κικέρων μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν βουλευτῶν

3 ἐς τὴν Ρώμην παραχρήμα ἀπήραν· οἱ δὲ δὴ πλείους μετὰ τε τοῦ Δαβιήνου καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀφρανίου, ἀτε μηδεμίαν ἐν τῷ Καίσαρι ἐλπίδα, ὁ μὲν ὅτι νυτομολῆκει, ὁ δὲ ὅτι σωθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ αὐθίς οἱ ἐπεπολεμήκει, ἔχοντων, πρὸς τὸν Κάτωνα ἠλθόν καὶ ἐκείνων προστησάμενοι ἐπολέμων, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Ὀκτάουνος σφισὶ προσεγένετο. ὡς γὰρ τότε τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐσέπλευσε καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον τὸν Γάιον συνέλαβεν, ἄλλων μὲν τινῶν χωρίων ἐκράτησε, τὴν δὲ δὴ Σάλωνα, κατέπερ ἐπὶ πλείστον αὐτὴν πολιορκήσας, οὔχ

11 εἰλε. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἱσχυρῶς αὐτὸν ἀπεκρούοντο, βοηθοῦντά σφισι τὸν Γαβίνου ἔχοντες, καὶ τέλος μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπεκδραμόντες μέγα ἔργον εἰργάσαντο· ἐκεῖναι τε γὰρ τὰς τε κόμας καθείσαι καὶ στολὰς μελαίνας ἐνυδασμέναι λαμπτάδας τε λαβοῦσαι, καὶ τὸ σύμπαν πρὸς τὸ

2 εἰλε. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἱσχυρῶς αὐτὸν ἀπεκρούοντο, βοηθοῦντά σφισι τὸν Γαβίνου ἔχοντες, καὶ τέλος μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπεκδραμόντες μέγα ἔργον εἰργάσαντο· ἐκεῖναι τε γὰρ τὰς τε κόμας καθείσαι καὶ στολὰς μελαίνας ἐνυδασμέναι λαμπτάδας τε λαβοῦσαι, καὶ τὸ σύμπαν πρὸς τὸ

3 φοβερῶτατον σχηματισάμεναι, τῷ τε στρατοπέδῳ τῷ πολιορκοῦντι σφας νυκτὸς μέσης προσεμίξαν, καὶ τοὺς προφύλακας ὡς καὶ δαίμονές τινες ἐκ-
mind with them set on foot in Africa a struggle that was at once a civil and a foreign war.

It came about in this way. Cato had been left behind at Dyrrachium by Pompey to keep an eye out for any forces from Italy which might try to cross over, and to repress the Parthini, in case they should begin any disturbance. At first he carried on war with the latter, but after Pompey's defeat he abandoned Epirus, and proceeding to Corecyra with those of the same mind as himself, he there received the men who had escaped from the battle and the rest who had the same sympathies. Cicero and a few other senators had set out for Rome at once, but the majority, including Labienus and Afranius, who had no hope in Caesar,—the one because he had deserted him, and the other because after having been pardoned by him he had again made war on him,—went to Cato, put him at their head, and continued the war. Later Octavius also joined them. After sailing into the Ionian Sea and arresting Gaius Antonius, he had conquered several places, but could not take Salonae, though he besieged it a very long time. For the inhabitants, having Gabinius to assist them, vigorously repulsed him and finally along with the women made a sortie and performed a remarkable deed. The women let down their hair and robed themselves in black garments, then taking torches and otherwise making their appearance as terrifying as possible, they assaulted the camp of the besiegers at midnight. They threw the outposts, who thought they were
πλήξασαι τὸ πῦρ ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα ἀπανταχόθεν ἀμα ἐνέβαλον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπιστόμενοι σφίσιν πολλοὺς μὲν ταραττομένους πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ καθεύδοντας ἐφόνευσαν, καὶ ἐκεῖνο τε εὐθὺς κατέσχον, καὶ τὸ ναῦσταθμὸν ἐν ω ὁ 'Οκτάοιος 4 ἡνιζέτο αὐτοβοεὶ εἴλον. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν βραστώνῃ τοινὶ ἐγένοντο· διαφυγών γὰρ πιὸς αὐτοὺς δύναμίν τε αὐθίς ἥθροισε, καὶ μάχῃ νικήσας προσήδευε σφίσι. καὶ τοῦτῳ τοῦ Γαβινίου νόσῳ τελευτήσαντος τῆς τε θαλάσσῃς τῆς ἐκεί πάσης 5 ἐκράτησε, καὶ ἐς τὴν γην ἕκβαλων πολλὰ αὐτῆς ἐκακούργει, μέχρις οὐ ἢ τε πρὸς 1 Φαρσάλῳ μάχῃ ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται αὐτοὺς ἐπιπλευσάντων τινῶν ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου σφίσι μετέστησαν, μηδὲ ἐς χείρας αὐτοῖς ἐλθόντες. τότε γὰρ ἐρημωθεῖς τῶν συμμάχων ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν ἀπεχώρησε.

12 Καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος δὲ ὁ Γναῖος πρότερον μὲν τῷ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου ναυτικῷ περιπλέουν τὴν τε Ὡπείρου καλουμένην κατέτρεχε καὶ Ὡρικὸν 2 ὀλίγου εἴλε, Μάρκου Ἀκιλίου 3 αὐτὸ κατέχοντος, καὶ τὸν τε 4 ἔσπλουν τὸν ἐς τὸν λιμένα πλοίοις λίθων γέμουσι χώσαντος, 5 καὶ περὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ πύργους ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπὶ τε τῆς 2 Ὡπείρου καὶ ἐφ' ὀλκάδων ἐγείραντος. τοὺς τε γὰρ λίθους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς σκάφεσιν ἐγκεκριμένους κολυμβηταίς υφύδροις 6 διασκεδάσασας, καὶ αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα κουφισθέντα ἐλκύσας, τὸν τε ἔσπλουν ἠλευθέρωσε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὀπλίτας ἐφ' ἐκάτερα

1 πρὸς Dind., πρὸς τῷ L.
2 Ὡρικὸν Xyl., νωρίκὸν L. (so just below).
3 Ἀκιλίου Xyl., ἀκιλίου L.  4 τὸν te R. Steph., τὸν L.
5 χώσαντος Xyl., χώσαντες L.
6 υφύδροις Xyl., ἐφύδροις L.
spirits, into a panic, and then from all sides at once hurled the fire within the palisade, and the men, following them, slew many while they were in confusion and many who were still asleep, promptly gained possession of the camp, and captured without a blow the harbour in which Octavius was lying. They were not, however, left in peace. For he escaped them somehow, gathered a force again, and after defeating them in battle besieged them. Meanwhile, as Gabinius had died of some disease, he gained control of the whole sea in that vicinity, and by making descents upon the land ravaged many districts. This lasted until the battle at Pharsalus, after which his soldiers, as soon as a force sailed against them from Brundisium, changed sides without even coming to blows with them. Then, destitute of allies, Octavius retired to Corcyra.

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

1 M. Acilius Caninus.
τὴς χηλῆς ἐκβιβάσας ἐπεσέπλευσε, καὶ τὰ τε πλοία πάντα καὶ τῆς πόλεως τὸ πολὺν
3 κατέκαυσεν. ἔπει δ’ ἀν καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν, εἰ μὴ τρωθεὶς δέος τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις μὴ καὶ ἀποθανῆ παρέσχε. ἔστραπεθεὶς δ’ οὖν Ὄμικῳ μὲν οὐκέτι προσέβαλε, τὰ δ’ ἀλλὰ περιφοιτῶν ἐπόρθει, καὶ ποτὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου μάτην,
4 ὦσπερ ποὺ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς, ἐπείρασε. τέως μὲν δὴ ταύτ’ ἐποίει· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ τε πατηρ αὐτοῦ ἤττηθα καὶ οἱ Αἰγυπτίοι πυθόμενοι τοῦτο οὐκαδὲ ἀπέπλευσαν, οὔτω δὴ πρὸς τὸν Κάτωνα ἀφίκετο. 13 καὶ αὐτὸν Κάσσιον ὁ Γάιος ἐμμῆσατο, πλείστα μὲν καὶ τῆς Σικελίας καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας λυπήσας, πολλαίς δὲ μάχαις ἐν τῇ Θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ συχνοὺς νικήσας.
2 Προύχοντα μὲν δὴ τὸν Κάτωνα ἀρετῇ σφῶν ἱδόντες πολλοὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ συγκατέφυγον, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνος συναγωνισταὶ καὶ συμβούλους πρὸς πάντα χρώμενος ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ὡς καὶ καταληψόμενος αὐτὴν, ἐπέλευσεν ὦ γὰρ πω 3 τὸν Πομπηίου τεθνεώτα ἡκηκόει. καὶ Πάτρας μὲν κατέσχον, κανταῦθα ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν Πετρέιον τὸν τε Πομπηίου γαμβρὸν τὸν Φαῦστον 3 προσέλαβον. Κυνίτου δὲ δὴ Φουφίου Καλήνου μετὰ τούτῳ ἐπιστρατεύσαντός σφισσὶ ἐξανήχθησαν, καὶ ἐς Κυρήνην ἔλθοντες καὶ ἐκεῖ τοῦ τοῦ Πομπηίου θάνατον μαθόντες οὐκέτι συνεφρόνησαν, ἄλλῳ ὦ μὲν Κάτων δὴ ἀχθηδόνα τῆς τοῦ Κάσσαρος δυναστείας, καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς δι’
1 ἐπεσέπλευσε χυλ., ἐπείσε πλεύσαι λ. 2 δὴ βκ., τοι λ. 3 τὸν τε Πομπηίου γαμβρὸν τὸν Φαῦστον λευνελ., Πομπηίου τὸν Φαῦστον λ.
on each half of the breakwater, he sailed in. He burned all the boats and most of the city, and would have captured the rest of it, had he not been wounded and caused the Egyptians to fear that he might die. When, now, his wound had been cured, he did not continue to assail Oricum, but journeyed about pillaging various places and once vainly made an attempt upon Brundisium itself, as did some others. He was thus occupied for a time; but when his father had been defeated and the Egyptians on receipt of the news sailed home, he betook himself to Cato. And his example was followed by Gaius Cassius, who had done very great mischief both in Italy and in Sicily and had overcome a number of opponents in many battles both on sea and on land.

Many, indeed, fled to Cato for refuge, since they saw that he excelled them in uprightness; and he, using them as helpers and counsellors in all matters, sailed to the Peloponnesus with the intention of occupying it, for he had not yet heard that Pompey was dead. They seized Patrae and there received among other accessions Petreius and Pompey’s son-in-law, Faustus. Subsequently Quintus Fufius Calenus marched against them, whereupon they set sail, and coming to Cyrene, learned there of the death of Pompey. Their views were now no longer harmonious: Cato, through hatred of Caesar’s
απόγυνσιν τής παρ’ αυτού συγγνώμης, ἐς τε τήν Ἄφρικήν μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπλευσαν καὶ τῶν Σκιτίων προσλαβόντες πάντα ἐπὶ τῷ
5 Καίσαρι ἐπράττουν, οἱ δὲ δὴ πλείους ἐσκεδά-
σησαν, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἀποχωρή-
σαντες ἀπῆλλαξαν ὡς που καὶ συνέτυχε σφίσων, 
οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα παραχρῆμα 
ἐλθόντες, ἄλλοι τε καὶ Γάιος Κάσσιος, ἀδειας 
ἐτυχον.
14 ‘Ο δὲ δὴ Καλήνος ἐπέμφθη τε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα 
πρὸ τῆς μάχης ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ εἶλεν 
ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸν Πειραιά ἀτε καὶ ἀτείχιστον 
ὀντα. τὰς γὰρ Ἀθήνας, καίπερ πλείστα τὴν 
χώραν αὐτῶν κακώσας, οὐκ ἠδυνήθη πρὸ τῆς τοῦ
2 Πομπηίου ἡττησ λαβεῖν τότε γὰρ ἔθελοντα 
αὐτῷ προσεχόρρησαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καίσαρ μηδὲν 
μυθικακήσας ἄθοφος ἀφήκε, τοσοῦτον μόνον 
eἰπὼν, ὅτι πολλὰ ἀμαρτάνοιτες ὑπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν 
σώζοντο. τὸ δὲ δὴ ἔπος τούτῳ ἔδηλου ὅτι σφῶν 
dia τε τοὺς προγόνους καὶ dia τὴν δόξαν τὴν τε
3 ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν ἐφείσατο. Ἀθήναι μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ 
ἄλλα τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐυθὺς τότε ὠμολο-
γησαν αὐτῷ, Μεγαρείς δὲ καὶ ὡς ἀντέσχουν, 
pολλῷ τε ὑστερον χρόνῳ τὰ μὲν βία τὰ δὲ καὶ 
προδοσία ἤλωσαν. οὔθενπερ φόνος τε αὐτῶν
4 πολὺς ἐγένετο καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐπράθησαν. οἱ μέντοι 
Καλήνος τούτῳ μὲν, ἵνα δὴ καὶ κατʼ αξίαν αὐτοὺς 
tetimorhēthai δόξη, ἐποίησε φοβηθεῖς δὲ μὴ καὶ 
pantelōs ἡ πόλις ἀπόληται, πρῶτα μὲν τοῖς 
ἐπιτηδείοις σφᾶς, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐλαχιστου ἀπε-
δοτο, ἵν ἐλευθερωθῶσι.

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

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

15 ἐν οὖν δὲ ταῦτα ὅσον ἐκαστα ἐπράττετο, καὶ ἣ Ἰβηρία καίπερ εἰρηνεύσασα ἐκινήθη. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ Λογγίνος ὁ Κύντος πολλὰ καὶ τότε αὐτὸς ἐλυμαίνετο, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὄλγοι τινὲς συνέστησαν ὡς καὶ ἀποκτενοῦντες αὐτὸν ἔπει δὲ δὴ τρωθεὶς διέφυγε κὰ τοῦτο πολλῷ μείζῳ σφᾶς ἤδικει, συνεῖοι μὲν Κορδουβῆσιοι συνεῖοι δὲ καὶ στρατιώται, ἀτε καὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου γεγονότες,

3 ἐπανέστησαν αὐτὸ, Μάρκον Μάρκελλον Αἰσερνύνον τὸν ταμῶν προστησάμενον. οὐ μὴν καὶ ὅλη τῇ γνώμῃ αὐτοὺς προσεδέξατο, ἀλλὰ τὸ τε ἀστάθμητον τὸν πραγμάτων ὅρων καὶ τὴν ἐκβασίαν σφῶν ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα προσδεχόμενος ἐπημφοτέριζε καὶ διὰ μέσου πάντα καὶ ἔλεγε καὶ ἐπραττεν, ὡστε, ἂν τε ὁ Καῖσαρ ἄν τε καὶ ὁ Πομπηίος κρατήσῃ, ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι συνηγονίσθαι δόξαι.

4 Πομπηίῳ μὲν γὰρ, ὅτι τοὺς τε μεταστάντας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐδέξατο καὶ τῷ Λογγίνῳ τὰ τοῦ Καῖσαρος πράττεν θέγοντι ἀντεπολέμησεν, ἐχαρίσατο, Καῖσαρι δὲ ὅτι καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὡς καὶ τοῦ Λογγίνου νεοτερίζοντος τι, παρὰλαβὼν τούτοις τε αὐτῷ ἐτήρησε καὶ ἐκεῖνον οὐκ εἴασε

5 πολεμωθῆναι. καὶ τὸ γε ὅνομα τὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου τῶν στρατιωτῶν ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἐπιγραψάντων ἀπήλευσεν, ὅπως καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτον τῷ μὲν τὰ ἔργα τῶν ὅπλων τῷ δὲ τὴν δόκησιν προβάλλων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ τὸν κρατήσαντος γεγονότων

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1 προσεκφοβήσας Leunel., προσεκφοβήσας L.
2 ταῦτα Rk., ταῦτα τε L.
After these achievements he marched upon Patrae and occupied it easily, as he had already frightened Cato and his followers away. Now while these various operations were being carried on, there was an uprising in Spain, although the country had been at peace. For the Spaniards were at the time being subjected to many abuses by Quintus Longinus, and at first some few banded together to kill him; he was wounded but escaped, and after that proceeded to injure them a great deal more. Then a number of Cordubans and a number of soldiers who had formerly belonged to the Pompeian party rose against him, putting at their head Marcus Marcellus Aeserninus, the quaestor. The latter, however, did not accept their appointment with his whole heart, but seeing the uncertainty of events and looking for them to turn out either way, he played a double game, taking a neutral attitude in all that he said and did, so that whether Caesar or Pompey should prevail he might seem to have fought for the victor in either case. He favoured Pompey, on the one hand, by receiving those who had transferred their allegiance to him and by fighting against Longinus, who declared he was on Caesar's side; on the other hand, he did a kindness to Caesar in taking charge of the soldiers when, as he would say, Longinus was beginning a rebellion, and in keeping these men for him and not allowing their commander to become hostile. And when the soldiers inscribed the name of Pompey on their shields, he erased it, so that he might thereby plead with the one man the deeds done by the arms and with the other their apparent ownership, and by laying claim to the deeds
προσποιούμενος, τὰ δὲ ἐναντία ἐσ τῇ ἁνάγκην καὶ ἐς ἄλλους τινὰς ἀναφέρων, ἀσφαλῆς εἶν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, καίτοι παρασχόν αὐτῷ παντελῶς τοῦ Δογγίνου τῷ πληθεὶ κρατήσας, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τε ἐνδείξειν καὶ ἐς παρασκευήν ὁν ἐβουλετο προάγων τὰ πράγματα, ἐπ' ἄλλους τισ τά ἀμφι- λογα αὐτῶν ἐποίησατο, ὥστε καὶ ἐν οἷς ἡλαττώθη καὶ ἐν οἷς ἐπλεονέκτησε τι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμοί- ως τα μὲν ὡς αὐτὸς καὶ ἐποίησε καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησε, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἐτεροί, προτείνασθαι δυνηθήναι. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὗτο διαγαγόν μέχρις οὐ καὶ ὁ Κάισαρ ἐνίκησε, παραχρῆμα μὲν ἐς ὅργην αὐτῷ ἡλθε καὶ ὑπερωρίσθη, ἐπειτα δὲ κατήλθε καὶ ἐτυμήθη. Δογγίνοις δὲ, καταβοσάντων αὐτοῦ διὰ προσβείας τῶν Ἰβηρῶν, τῆς τε ἀρχῆς ἐξέστησε, καὶ οὐκακε ἀνακομιζόμενος ἐφθάρη πρὸς ταῖς τοῦ Ἰβηρὸς ἐκβολαῖς.

17 Ταῦτα μὲν ἔξω ἐγήγγετο· οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τέως μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀμφιλόγηφ 2 καὶ ἐν μετεώρῳ τά τε τοῦ Καῖσαρος καὶ τά τοῦ Πομπηίου πράγματα ἢν, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς πάντες τά τοῦ Καῖσαρος ὑπὸ τε τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ τῆς συνούσης σφίσε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σερονίλου τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἐστοῦν δαξον, καὶ εἶτε που κρατῆσας ἡγελθη, ἔχαιρον, εἶτε καὶ πταίσας, ἐλυποῦντο, οἱ μὲν ἀληθῶς τι δὲ πλαστῶς ἐκάτερον καὶ γὰρ κατάσκοποι σφων καὶ κατήκουι, πάνθ' ὡς ἔπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐλέγετο καὶ ἐγῇγγετο παρατηροῦντες, πολλοὶ περιενόστουν· 3 ἱδία δὲ τὰ ἐναντιώτατα τῶν φανερῶν οἱ τῷ τοῦ Καῖσαρι ἀχθόμενοι καὶ τά τοῦ Πομπηίου προ-

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

These events were occurring abroad. In Rome, as long as the issue between Caesar and Pompey was doubtful and unsettled, the people all ostensibly favoured Caesar, because of his troops that were in their midst and because of his colleague Servilius. Whenever a victory of his was reported, they rejoiced, and whenever a reverse, they grieved, some sincerely and some feignedly in each case; for there were many spies and eavesdroppers prowling about, observing all that was said and done on such occasions. But privately the talk and actions of those who detested Caesar and preferred Pompey's
αιρούμενοι καὶ ἔλεγον καὶ ἐποίουν, κακὸς τούτου τα
τε ἀγγελλόμενα κατὰ τὸ πρόσφορον σφισιν 
ἀμφότεροι λαμβάνοντες τοὺς μὲν δεδίοτος τοῖς δὲ 
4 θαρσούντως ἔχρωντο, καὶ οἶα πολλὰν καὶ ποι-
κίλων ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἥμερᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ὁρᾶ
πολλάκις λογοποιοῦμενὸν χαλεπώτατα διετί-
θεντο καὶ γὰρ ἤδοντο καὶ ἐλυποῦντο καὶ ἐθάρ-
σουν καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο διὰ βραχυτάτου. ἀγγέλ-
θείσης δὲ τῆς Φαρσαλικῆς μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν 
ἳπιστούν οὕτε γὰρ ὁ Καῖσαρ τῷ κοινῷ τι ἐπέ-
stειλεν, ὁκνῆσας δημοσίᾳ χαίρων ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ 
νίκῃ φανήσαι (διότερ οὐδὲ ἐπινίκια αὐτῆς ἐπεμψε), 
καὶ ὁ παράλογος πρὸς τε τὴν παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν
2 καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐλπιζόμενα πολὺς ἐφαίνετο. ὡς δ' 
οὖν ἐπιστευσάν ποτε, τὰς μὲν εἰκόνας τοῦ τε 
Πομπήιος καὶ τοῦ Σύλλου ταῖς ἐπὶ τῷ βήματι 
ἐστώσας ἀνείλλον, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν τότε ἐπραξαν 
συχνοί μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ τούτῳ βουλόμενοι ποιῆσαι, 
συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον, μὴ πως ἀναμαχε-
σηται, φοβούμενοι, τῷ τε Καῖσαρι καὶ ἐκεῖνο
3 ἵκανός ἐχειν ἐνόμωζον, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον εὐπαραί-
tητον ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενότεσθαι σφισὶ προσεδόκων. 
ἐπεὶ μὲντοι καὶ ἀπέθανεν, όψὲ μὲν καὶ τοῦτο, καὶ 
οὐ πρότερον πρὶν τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντα 
ἰδεῖν, ἐπίστευσαν (ἐνεγκύλπτο δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τρό-
pia τρία, ἄστερ καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Σύλλου), ὡς δ' 
οὖν ἐτεθυκεῖ, φανερῶς τε ἡδῆ τοῦ μὲν ἐπήνουν 
τὸν δὲ ἐλοιδόρουν, καὶ πάν ὁ τι ποτὲ ἔξευρεν 
ἐξύμαντο ἐσηγούντο δοθήναι τῷ Καῖσαρι. καὶ ἐν

1 ἀγγέλλόμενα Xyl., ἀπολλόμενα L.
2 ἐκεῖνο Xyl., ἐκεῖνω L.
3 εὐπαραίτητον Bs., ἀπαραίτητον L.
side were the very opposite of their public expressions. Hence, as both sides received the various reports in the light of their own advantage, they were inspired sometimes with fear and sometimes with boldness, and inasmuch as many diverse rumours would often be going about on the same day and at the same hour, their position was a most trying one; for they were pleased and distressed, bold and fearful, all within the briefest space of time. When the battle of Pharsalus was announced, they were long incredulous. For Caesar sent no despatch to the government, hesitating to appear to rejoice publicly over such a victory, for which reason also he celebrated no triumph; and furthermore the event was clearly very improbable in view of the relative equipment of the two forces and the hopes entertained. But when at last they gave the story credence, they removed the images of Pompey and of Sulla that stood upon the rostra, but did nothing further at the time. Many, indeed, did not wish to do even this, and many also, fearing that Pompey might renew the strife, regarded this as quite enough for Caesar and expected that it would be a fairly simple matter to placate Pompey on account of it. Even when he had died, they did not believe it for a long time, not, in fact, until they saw his seal-ring that had been sent; it had three trophies carved on it, as had that of Sulla. So when he was really dead, at last they openly praised the victor and abused the vanquished, and proposed that everything in the world which they could devise should be given to Caesar. And not only in this
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te τούτῳ πολλῇ ἦν ¹ παρὰ πάντων ὡς εὑπεῖν τῶν πρώτων ἁμιλλα, ὑπερβάλλειν σφῶν ἀλλήλους τῇ κολαξείᾳ σπουδαζόντων, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἔπιχειρο-
2 τοῖς αὐτῶν τοῖς τε γὰρ ἐπιβοήμασι ² καὶ τοῖς σχήμασι πάντες, ὡς καὶ παρόντος καὶ ὁρῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος, πολὺ πλείστῃν σπουδὴν ἐνε-
δείκνυντο, καὶ ἐνόμιζον εὐθὺς ἀντ' αὐτῶν, ὡσπερ τι αὐτῷ χαριζομένοι ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔξ ἀνάγκης αὑτό ποιοῦντες, ὁ μὲν ἄρχην ὁ δὲ ἱεροσύνην ὁ δὲ καὶ
3 χρήματα ἀντιλήψεσθαι. ἐγὼ οὖν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, ὅσα ἦτοι καὶ ἐτέροις τοίς πρῶτοιν ἐψήφισται, εἰκόνας τε καὶ στεφάνους καὶ προεδρίας τά τε τοιουτότροπα, ἢ καὶνά ³ μὲν καὶ τοτε ἐσενεχέντα πρῶτον ἦν, ὁ ὁμότι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐβεβαιώθη, παραλείψω, μὴ καὶ δὴ ὁχλον γένωμαι
4 εἰ πάντα αὐτὰ ἐπέξειομι τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τούτο καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπειτα, καὶ μᾶλλον γε ὅσῳ καὶ πλείῳ καὶ ἀποπώτερα ἀεὶ ἐσήγητο, ποιήσω. μόνα δὲ δὴ ὅσα ἰδίον τέ τι καὶ ἑξαίρετον ἐχοῦτα ἐκυροῦτο κατα-
λέξω.
20 Τούς τε γὰρ τὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου φρονήσαντας ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτῷ πὰν ὁ τι ⁴ ποτ' ἀν ἐθελήσῃ δρᾶσαι, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ οὐ
toūτ' ἰδὴ λαβῶν εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἰνα καὶ ἐν νόμῳ δὴ ⁵ τινι αὐτὸ ποιεῖν δόξη καὶ πολέμων καὶ εἰρήνης κύριον, προφαίρε τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ
συμπατέον, πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀπε-
δείξαν αὐτῶν, κἀν μὴ δὲν μῆτε τῷ δήμῳ μῆτε
2 τῇ βουλῇ περὶ αὐτῶν κοινώσηται. καὶ ἢν μὲν

¹ ἦν supplied by Bk. ² ἐπιβοήμασι Dind., ἐπιβοήσασι L.
³ καὶνά R. Steph., κενά L. ⁴ πᾶν ὁ τι Bk., πανθ' ʿτι L.
⁵ δὴ Reim., ἢν L.

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

They granted him, then, permission to do whatever he wished to those who had favoured Pompey’s cause, not that he had not already received this right from himself, but in order that he might seem to be acting with some show of legal authority. They appointed him arbiter of war and peace with all mankind—using the conspirators in Africa as a pretext—without the obligation even of making any communication on the subject to the people or the senate. This,
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που καὶ τὸῦτο καὶ πρὶν ἐπ’ ἐκείνῳ ἀτε καὶ
dύναμιν τηλικαὔτην ἔχουσι· τοὺς γοῦν πολέμους οὕς
ἐπολέμησε πάντας ὅλιγον καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἀνείλετο·
ὁμως δ’ οὖν αὐτῷ (πολίται τε γὰρ καὶ αὐτοτελεῖς
ἐτι δοκεῖν εἶναι ἠθέλοι) ταὐτά τε οὕτως ἐφηφίσαντο
καὶ τάλλα πάντα ᾧ 1 καὶ ἀκόντων αὐτῶν ἔχειν.

3 ἐδύνατο. ὑπατός τε γὰρ ἐτη πέντε ἐφεξῆς

γενέσθαι καὶ δικτάτωρ οὐκ ἦν ἐκμήνων ἀλλ’
ἐς ἑναυτὸν ὅλον λεχθήναι ἔλαβεν, τὴν τε
ἐξουσίαν τῶν δημάρχων διὰ βίου ὡς εἰπεῖν
προσέθετο· συγκαθέζοσθαι τε γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν
αὐτῶν βάθρων καὶ ἐς τάλλα συνεξετάζοσθαι

4 σφισιν, ὁ μηδενὶ ἐξήν, εὐρετο. 2 α’ τε 3 ἀρχαι-

ρεσίας πᾶσα, πλὴν τῶν τοῦ πλήθους, ἐπ’
αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο, καὶ διὰ τὸῦτο ἐς τὴν παρουσίαν
αὐτοῦ ἀναβληθεῖσαι ἐπ’ ἐξόδῳ τοῦ ἔτους ἐτελε-
σθησαν. τάς τε ἡγεμονίας τὰς ἐν τῷ ὑπηκόῳ
τοῖς μὲν ὑπάτοις αὐτοῦ δὴθεν ἐκλήρωσαν, τοῖς
δὲ δὴ στρατηγοις τὸν Καίσαρα ἀκληρωτὶ δοῦναι
ἐφηφίσαντο· ἐς τε γὰρ τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ ἐς
τοὺς στρατηγοὺς αὖθις παρὰ τὰ δεδογμένα

5 σφίσιν ἐπανήλθον. καὶ ἔτερον δὴ τι, εἰδυσμένον

μὲν γύγνεσθαι, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ τοῦ καιροῦ διαφθορᾷ
καὶ ἐπιφθονον καὶ νεμεσητὸν ὁν, ἐγνωσαν τοῦ
γὰρ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς τε τοῦ Ἰοβαν καὶ πρὸς
τοὺς Ρωμαίους τοὺς μετ’ αὐτοῦ πολεμῆσαντας,
ὅν ὁ Καίσαρ οὐδέπω τότε οὖδ’ ὅτι γενήσοιτο
ηπίστατο, πέμψαι τινὰ αὐτῷ νικητήρια ὡς
κεκρατηκότι προσέταξαν.

1 & added by Xyl. 2 εὐρετο R. Steph., εὐρητο L.
3 τε Bk., τε γὰρ L.

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of course, also lay in his power before, inasmuch as he had so large an armed force; at any rate the wars he had fought he had undertaken on his own authority in nearly every case. Nevertheless, because they wished still to appear to be free and independent citizens, they voted him these rights and everything else which it was in his power to have even against their will. Thus he received the privilege of being consul for five consecutive years and of being chosen dictator, not for six months, but for an entire year, and he assumed the tribunician authority practically for life; for he secured the right of sitting with the tribunes upon the same benches and of being reckoned with them for other purposes—a privilege which was permitted to no one. All the elections except those of the plebs now passed into his hands, and for this reason they were delayed till after his arrival and were held toward the close of the year.1 In the case of the governorships in subject territory the citizens pretended to allot themselves those which fell to the consuls, but voted that Caesar should give the others to the praetors without the casting of lots; for they had gone back to consuls and praetors again contrary to their decree. And they also granted another privilege, which was customary, to be sure, but in the corruption of the times might cause hatred and resentment: they decreed that Caesar should hold a triumph for the war against Juba and the Romans who fought with him, just as if he had been the victor, although, as a matter of fact, he had not then so much as heard that there was to be such a war.

1 The year 47, in which Caesar came to Rome, is here meant, or else Dio has made an error.
Ταύτ' οὖν οὕτω καὶ ἐψηφίσθη καὶ ἐκυρώθη: καὶ ὁ τε Καϊσαρ τὴν δικτατορίαν παραχρῆμα, καίπερ ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας ὄν, ὑπέστη, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον μηδὲ ἐστρατηγικότα ὑππαρχον προελόμενος, καὶ εἶπε καὶ τούτων ὁ ὑπατός, καίτοι τῶν οἰωνιστῶν σφοδρότατα ἀντειπόντων μηδεὶς ἐξείναι πλείω τοῦ ἐξαμήνου χρόνου ὑππαρχῆσαι.

2 ἂλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γέλωτα ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολὺν ὀφλήσκανον, αὐτὸν μὲν τὸν δικτάτορα ἕς ἑναυτὸν παρὰ πάντα τὰ πάτρια λεχῆναι γυνόντες, περὶ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ὑππάρχου ἀκριβολογούμενον ὁ δὲ δὴ Καλλιος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐχέρατον τολμήσας τὰ περὶ τῶν δανεισμάτων ὑπὸ τοῦ Καϊσαρος ὀρισθέντα, καθάπερ ἦττημένου τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐφθαρμένου, λύσαι, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ τὴν 2 Καμπανίαν ἐκταράξας. οὕτως γὰρ ἐπραξε μὲν ἀνὰ πρῶτους τὰ τοῦ Καϊσαρος, διὸ καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀπεδείχθη ὀργισθεὶς δὲ ὅτι τε μὴ ἠστυνόμησεν καὶ ὅτι καὶ ὁ Τρεβώνιος ὁ συνάρχων αὐτοῦ οὐ κληροτός, ὦσπερ εἴθιστο, ἂλλ' αἴρετος ὑπὸ τοῦ Καϊσαρος ἐς τὴν ἀστυνομίαν προεκρίθη,

3 ἧναντίοντο πρὸς πάντα τῷ συνάρχοντι καὶ οὔτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων οἱ ποιεῖσθαι ἐπέτρεπεν, οὔτε τὰς δίκας κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ Καϊσαρος νόμους τελείσθαι συνεχῶρει, καὶ προσέτι τοῖς ὀφείλουσί τι βοηθήσειν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεδανεικότας καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἀλλοτρίων οἰκοῦσι τὸ ἐνοίκιον ἁφῇ-

4 σειν ἐπηγγέλλετο. προσθέμενος δὲ ἐκ τούτου

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

1 M. Caelius Rufus.
συχνοὺς ἐπήλθε μετ' αὐτῶν τῷ Τρεβωνίῳ, κἀ
ἀπεκτείνειν αὐτῶν εἰ μὴ τὴν τε ἑσθήτα ἡλλάξατο
καὶ διέφυγε σφας ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ. διαμαρτῶν δὲ
tούτοι νόμον ἵδια ἐξέθηκε, προϊκά τε πᾶσιν οἰκεῖν
dιδοὺς καὶ τὰ χρέα ἀποκόπτων.

23 'Ο οὖν Σερουύλιος στρατιώτας τε τινας ἐσ
Γαλατίαν κατὰ τύχην παρίστασα μετεπέμψατο,
καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τῇ παρ' αὐτῶν φρουρᾷ συναγαγὼν
προέθηκε γνώμην περὶ τῶν παρόντων, καὶ κυρο-
θέντος μὲν μηδενὸς (δήμαρχοι γὰρ ἐκώλυσαν)
sυγγραφέντος, δὲ τοῦ δόξαντος ἐκέλευσε τοῖς
2 υπηρέταις καθελείν τὰ πινάκια. ἔπειδή τε ἦ
Καίλως ἐκείνους τε ἀπήλασε καὶ αὐτῶν τοῦ
ὑπατοῦ ἐς θόρυβον κατέστησε, συνήλθον αὖθις
φραξάμενοι τοῖς στρατιῶταις, καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν
τῆς πόλεως τῷ Σερουύλίῳ, ὡσπερ-ἀνω μοι πολ-
3 λάκισ περὶ αὐτῆς εἰρηταὶ, παρέδοσαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν
οὐδὲν ἐκ τούτου τῷ Καίλῳ ὦς καὶ στρατηγοῦντι
πράξαι ἐφήκεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε προσήκοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ
αὐτοῦ ἄλλῳ τῶν στρατηγῶν προσέταξε, καὶ
αὐτὸν ἐκείνον τοῦ τε συνεδρίου εἰρῆκε καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ
βῆματος καταβοδιντὰ τι κατέστασε, τὸν τε
24 δίφρον αὐτοῦ συνετριψεν ὃ δὲ ὄργην μὲν πολλὴν
καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐποιεῖτο, δεδώσε δὲ μὴ καὶ
κολασθῇ (δύσαμιν γὰρ ἀξιόμαχον ἐν τῇ πόλει
eἰχεν) ἐς Καμπανίαν πρὸς Μίλωνα νεωτερίζοντα
2 τι ἀπάραι ἑγὼν. ἐκείνος γὰρ ἐπειδῆ μόνος τῶν
φευγόντων ὅτι κατήχη πρὸς τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἐς τε
τὴν 'Ἰταλίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους,
touś μὲν βίου δεομένους τους δὲ καὶ τιμωρίαν
tinà δεδοτας, συλλέξας τὴν τε χώραν ἐκακούργηε

1 χρέα Xyl., χρύσεα L. 2 πολλὴν R. Steph., πολὺ L.

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

3 προσέβαλλε. πρὸς οὖν τούτον ὁ Καίλιος ἀφορμῆσαι ἐθελήσας ὡς 1 μετ' αὐτοῦ πᾶν ὁ τι δύνατο τὸν Καίσαρα λυπήσῃ, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ μήτε ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς ἐκδημῆσαι ἐδύνατο (παρετηρεῖτο γὰρ) μήτ' αὐτῷ ἐκδράσαι ἐτὸλμα διὰ τὴν τάλλα καὶ ὅτι πολλῷ πλεῖον ἐν τε τῷ σχήματι καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑμόματι τῷ τῆς στρατηγίας ὁν καταπράξειν ἦλπίζει, τῷ τε ὑπάτῳ προσήλθε καὶ παρητείτο αὐτοῦ, λέγων καὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπελθεῖν βούλεσθαι.

4 ὑποτοπήσας οὖν ἐκεῖνος τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ ἐπέτρεψε μὲν οἱ τοῦτο ποιήσαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι πολὺς ἐνέκειτο τό τε τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄνομα ἑπικαλοῦμενος καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπολογίαν δὴ ἐπείγεσθαι σχηπτόμενος, συνέπεμψε δὲ αὐτῷ δήμαρχον τινα, ὡς οἰς τε νεοχώσας τολμήσει κωλυθεῖ. ὡς δὲ ἐν τῇ Καμπανία ἑγένοντο, καὶ ὁ τε Μίλων πταίσας πρὸς τῇ Καπῦθι ἐς τὰ Τιφατίνα 2 ὅρη κατεπεφεύγει καὶ ὁ Καίλιος οὐκέτι περαιτέρω προσχώρει, δείσας ὁ δήμαρχος οὐκαδὲ

25 ἐπαναγαγεῖν αὐτὸν ἠθέλησε. προπυθόμενος οὖν ταῦθ 3 ὁ Σερουλίδος περὶ μὲν Μίλων πόλεμον ἐν τῇ βούλῃ ἐπήγγειλε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίλιον ὑπομείναι μὲν ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ, μὴ καὶ ταράξῃ τι, ἐκέλευσεν, οὐ μέντοι διὰ φυλακῆς ἀκριβοῦς ἀτε καὶ στρατηγοῦντα ἐποίησατο. ἀπέδρα τε οὖν καὶ

3 πρὸς τὸν Μίλωνα ἠπείγετο. καὶ ἐπραξεὶ τι παραχώδες, εἰ ξόντα αὐτοῦ εὐρήκει, νῦν δὲ ἐκ τῆς Καμπανίας ἐκπεσόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν Απολλιανὶ φθαρέντος, ἔσ τε τὴν Βρεττίαν 3 ἠλθεν ὡς ἐνταῦθα

1 ὡς Dind., ὧστε L. 2 Τιφατίνα Dind., τιφατινᾶ L. 3 Βρεττίαν Xyl., Βρεττανίαν L.
BOOK XLII

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

26 Καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀπέθανον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἡσυχίᾳ παρὰ τούτῳ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ συνηνέχθη, ὡσπερ ποιοὶ καὶ τὰ τέρατα προεδήλωσεν. ἐκείνῳ τε γὰρ τῷ ἐτεί τελευτώντι ἄλλα τὰ τινα συνέβη, καὶ μέλισσαι εἰ τῷ Καπίτωλίῳ παρὰ τὸν Ἡράκλεα ἰδρύθησαν.

2 καὶ¹ (ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἱερὰ Ἰσίδι ἐνταῦθα τότε γυνώμενα) ἔδοξε γυνώμη τῶν μάντεων πάντα αὐθις τά τε ἐκείνης καὶ τά τοῦ Σαράπιδος τε-μενίσματα κατασκάψαι γενομένου δὲ τούτον καὶ Ἔννειόν τι χαθὸν σφας προσκαθρήθη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κεράμια ἀνθρωπεῖων σαρκῶν μεστὰ

3 εὐρέθη. τῷ τοῦ ἐχομένῳ σεισμὸς τε ἱσχυρὸς ἐγένετο καὶ βύας ὥφθη, κεραυνοὶ τε ἐς τε τὸ Καπίτωλιον καὶ ἐς τὸν τῆς Τύχης τῆς δημοσίας καλουμένης ναὸν ἐς τε τοὺς τοῦ Καίσαρος κύπτους κατέσκηψαν, κάνταυθα ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν οὐκ ἡμελη-

4 μένων ἀπέθανεν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, καὶ τῷ Τύχαιον αὐτόματον ἀνεφχθη. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις αἱμά τε ἐξ ἐργαστηρίου σιτοποιοῦ προχυθὲν ἀφίκετο πρὸς νεών ἔτερον Τύχης, ἥν ἐκ τοῦ πάντα τά τε ἐν τούς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τά κατόπιν καὶ ἐφορᾷ καὶ ἐκλογίζεσθαι χρήμα τίνα, μηδὲ ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι ἐξ οἷων οἶς ἐγένετο, καὶ ἰδρύσαντο καὶ ἐπε-

5 καὶ βρέφη τινὰ τὰς ἀριστερὰς ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς χειρὰς ἐχοντα ἐγεννῆθη, ὡστε ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων

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

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

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\(^1\) The reference is to Fortuna Respiciens. For her many different attributes see Roscher, *Lex. der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, i. p. 1513. Plutarch called her τῷ καὶ ἐπιστρεφομένη, a name apparently unknown to Dio.
μηδὲν ύψις ὑποπτεύεσθαι, καὶ ἐκ τούτων μάλιστα τὴν τοῦ ὑποδεικτέρων κατὰ τῶν προτετιμημένων ἐπανάστασιν τούς τε μάντεις προειπεῖν καὶ τὸν δῆμον προσδέχεσθαι.

27 Ταύτα μὲν οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ δαμονίου προδειχθέντα ἐταραττεν αὐτούς· συνεπελάβετο δὲ σφιστοὶ τοῦ φόβου καὶ ὡς αὐτὴ τῆς πόλεως καὶ δεινή καὶ ἀνήθης ἐν τῇ νομμηνίᾳ καὶ ἐπειτα ἐπὶ πολὺ γενομένη, ὑπατος μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ στρατηγὸς οὐδέπω ἦν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀντώνιος τῆς 1 μὲν ἔσθητος ἕνεκα (τῇ γὰρ περιπορφύρῳ ἐχρῆτο) καὶ βασιδούχω (τοὺς γὰρ ἐξ μόνους εἰχε) τοῦ τε τὴν βουλὴν ἀθροίζειν εἰκόνα τινὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας παρεῖχετο, τῷ δὲ δή ἦλθεν ὁ 2 παρέξωστο καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν συνούντων οἱ στρατιώται τοὺς τε ἐργοὺς αὐτοὺς ὁτι 3 μάλιστα την μοναρχίαν ἐνεδείκνυτο· καὶ γὰρ ἀρπαγαί καὶ ὑβρεῖς καὶ σφαγαί πολλαὶ ἐγίγνοντο. καὶ ἦν οὗ τὸ παρὸν μόνον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις χαλεπώτατον, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα πολὺ πλεῖον καὶ δεινότερα ὑποπτεύετο· ὅπου γὰρ ἐπιπαρχος οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς παινηύρεσι τὸ ξίφος κατετίθετο (τὰς γὰρ πλείους ταῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος παρασκευαίς 4 ἐπετέλεσεν ὁλίγας γὰρ τινὰς καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι ἐποίησαν), τὰς οὐκ ἂν αὐτοῦ τὸν δικτάτορα ὑπετόπησαν; εἰ γὰρ τις καὶ τὴν χρηστότητα αὐτοῦ, ὑφ' ἔς πολλῶν καὶ ἀντιπολεμησάντων οἱ ἐπέθεστο, ἐνευόει, ἀλλ' οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀμοίων τοὺς τε ἐφιεμένους ἁρχῆς καὶ τοὺς καταπράξαν- τας αὐτὴν μένοντας ἱδόντες καὶ ἐκεῖνων ἀλλοιω- 28 θήσεσθαι προσεδόκων. ἐλυποῦντό τε οὖν, καὶ

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

These portents, thus revealed by Heaven, disturbed them; and their fear was augmented by the very appearance of the city, which had become strange and unfamiliar at the beginning of the year and continued so for a long time. For there was as yet no consul or praetor, and while Antony, in so far as his costume went, which was the purple-bordered toga, and his lictors, of whom he had only the usual six, and his convening of the senate, furnished some semblance of the republic, yet the sword with which he was girded, and the throng of soldiers that accompanied him, and his very actions in particular, indicated the existence of a monarchy. In fact many robberies, outrages, and murders took place. And not only was the existing situation most distressing to the Romans, but they suspected Caesar of intending far more and greater deeds of violence. For when the master of the horse never laid aside his sword even at the festivals, who would not have been suspicious of the dictator himself? Most of these festivals, by the way, Antony gave at Caesar’s expense, although the tribunes also gave a few. Even if any one stopped to think of Caesar’s goodness, which had led him to spare many enemies, even such as had opposed him in battle, nevertheless, seeing that men who have gained an office do not stick to the principles that guided them when striving for it, they expected that he, too, would change his course. They were distressed, therefore, and discussed the
πολλά πρὸς ἄλληνος, οἷς γε καὶ ἀσφάλειά τις ἦν, διελάλουν. οὐ γὰρ ποῦ καὶ πάσιν ἠδεῖς 
συγγίγνυσθαι ἐξῆναντο· καὶ γὰρ οἱ πάνω φίλοι 
dοκούντες 1 τινων εἶναι, συγγενεῖς τε ἔτερον, δι- 
ἐβαλλόν 2 σφας, τὰ μὲν παρατρέποντες τὰ δὲ καὶ 
2 παντάπασι καταψευδόμενοι. ὅθεν οἱ λοιποὶ καὶ 
kατὰ τοῦτο οὐχ ἤκιστα ἐκακοπάθουν, ὅτι μήτε 
προσολοφύρασθαι μήτ' ἐπικοινώσαι ἐχοντες οὐδ' 3 
ἀπαλαγηναι ποτε αὐτοῦ ἐξῆναντο. ἡ μὲν γὰρ 
πρὸς τους ὀμοπαθεῖς συνουσία ἐφεξε τινα αὐτοῖς 
3 κούφισιν, καὶ τις ἀσφαλῶς ἐκλαλήσας τε τι καὶ 
ἀντακοῦσας οἰα ἔπασχον βίων ἐγγυνετο· ἡ δὲ δὴ 
pρὸς τούς οὐχ ὀμοθέεις ἀπιστία καθείργην τε ἐν 
tαις ψυχαῖς αὐτῶν τὴν ἀνίαν καὶ ἐπὶ πλείων 
αὐτάς ἐξέκαε, μήτ' ἀποφυγὴν 4 μήτ' ἀνάπαυσίν τινα 
4 λαμβανούσας. πρὸς γὰρ τῷ κατεχόμενα ἐνδο 
tὰ παθήματα σφας τηρεὶν, καὶ εὐλογεῖν αὐτὰ καὶ 
θαυμάζειν, ἐορτάζειν τε καὶ βουθυτεῖν εὐθυμεῖσθαι 
tε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἤμαγκαζοντο.

29 Ὀύτω· μὲν οἱ 'Ρωμαίοι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε 
ὀντες διετίθεντο· ὥσπερ δὲ οὐκ ἀποχρῶν αὐτοῖς 
ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κακοῦσθαι, Δούκιος τέ 
tis Τρεβέλλιος καὶ Πούπλιος Κορυήλιος Δολο- 
βέλλας δήμαρχοι ἐστασίασαν. οὕτως μὲν γὰρ 
toῖς ὀφείλουσιν, ἐξ ὧν καὶ αὐτῶς ἦν, διὸ 5 καὶ ἐκ 
tῶν εὐπατριδῶν ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τῇ δημαρχίᾳ 
2 μετέστη, συνηγονύζετο· ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἔλεγε μὲν τῶν 
ἀμεινόνων προίστασθαι, 6 εκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ὄμοιου

1 καὶ γὰρ οἱ πάνω φίλοι δοκούντες Bs., καὶ γὰρ πάνω φίλοι 
ἐδόκουν L. 2 διέβαλλον R. Steph., διέβαλλον L. 
3 οὐδ' Pflugk, οὐτ' L. 4 μήτ' ἀποφυγὴν Cary, μηταποραθην L. 5 did Rk., καὶ did L 
6 προίστασθαι H. Steph., προσίστασθαι L.

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

This was the condition of the Romans in the city at that time. And, as if it were not sufficient for them to be abused by Antony, one Lucius Trebellius and Publius Cornelius Dolabella, tribunes, fell to quarrelling. The latter championed the cause of the debtors, to which class he belonged, and had therefore changed from the ranks of the patricians to the plebs, in order to secure the tribuneship. The former claimed to represent the nobles, but issued
αὐτῷ καὶ γράμματα ἐξετίθει καὶ σφαγαῖς ἔχρητο. ¹

ταραχή τε οὖν καὶ ἐκ τοῦτων πολλὴ ἐγέιμετο, καὶ ὅπλα πολλὰ καὶ πανταχοῦ ἐωράτο, καὶ τοῖς τῶν τε Βουλευτῶν ἀπαγορευσάντων μηδὲν πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀφίξεως καινοτομηθῆναι, καὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μηδένα ἐν τῷ ἀστεῖ ιδιώτην ὄπλοφορεῖν. ²

καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐσήκουν, ἀλλὰ πάντα δὴ πάντως καὶ ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους καὶ ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐποίουν, τρίτη στάσις τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίου καὶ τῆς γερουσίας ἐγένετο. ἦν γὰρ καὶ παρ' αὐτῆς τὰ τε ὅπλα καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν ἀπ' ³ αὐτῶν, ἢ φθάσας ἔχρητο, προστεθείσθαι νομισθείη, στρατιώτατα τε ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους τρέφειν καὶ τὴν πόλιν διὰ φυλακῆς μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων

δημάρχων ποιεῖσθαι ἐλαβε. κακὸς τούτων Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἐν νόμῳ δὴ τινὶ πάνθ' ὥσα ἐπεθύμει ἔδρα, Δολοβέλλιας δὲ καὶ Τρεβέλλιος ὄνομα μὲν βιαίου πράξεως εἰχον, ἀντηγωνίζοντο δὲ ὑπὸ τε τῆς θρασύτητος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ ἀλλήλους καὶ ἐκεῖνος, ὡσπερ τινὰ καὶ αὐτὸν ἤγεμονιαν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς εἰληφότες.

Καὶ τοῦτῳ Ἀντώνιος πυθόμενος τὰ στρατόπεδα, ἰ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ὁ Καίσαρ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁς καὶ ἐφευρμένος σφισὶ προεπέμψε, ³ μηδὲν ὑγιεὺς δρᾶν, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ τι νεωτερίσωσι, τὸ μὲν ἀστὺ τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ Λουκίῳ ἐπέτρεψε, πολιαρχοὶ αὐτῶν ἀποδείξας, ὁ μηττώποτε πρὸς ἔπαρχον ἐγείγονε, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξώρμησεν. οἱ οὖν δῆμαρχοι οἱ ἀντιστασιαζόντες σφισὶ τοῦ τε Λουκίου διὰ τὸ γῆρας κατεφρόνησαν, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ, μέχρις οὖν τῶν Καίσαρα τὰ

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

Meanwhile Antony learned that the legions which Caesar after the battle had sent ahead into Italy, with the intention of following them later, were engaged in questionable proceedings; and fearing that they might begin some rebellion, he turned over the charge of the city to Lucius Caesar, appointing him city prefect, an office never before conferred by a master of the horse, and then set out himself to join the soldiers. The tribunes who were at variance with each other despised Lucius because of his advanced age and inflicted many outrages upon one another
3 εξειργάσαντο. ὃς γὰρ οὐκέτι αὐτοῦ ἐπανήχουσαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖ που πρὸς τῶν Ἁγιοπτῶν, ὅσπερ ποι ἦκουν, ἀπολομένου, διεφέροντο. τότε δὲ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἐμετρίασαν, ἔτει δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Φαρνάκην ἐκεῖνος πρὸ τερον ἐπεστράτευσαν, ἐστασίασαν αὐ-
31 θις. ὁ οὖν Ἀντώνιος μὴτε ἐπίσχειν αὐτοὺς δυνάμενος, καὶ τῷ πλήθει διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ἐναντίωσιν προσκρούων, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τούτῳ προσέθετο, καὶ τὸν Ταφέλλιον ἄλλα τε ἐπητιάτο καὶ ὅτι τοὺς στρατιώτας σφε-
2 τέριζοντο. ἔπειτα δὲ αἰσθάμενος τὸν ὁμιλοὺ ἐαυτοῦ μὲν μηδὲν προτιμῶντα τῷ δὲ Δολοβέλλα μόνῳ προσκείμενον, ἥχθεσθη καὶ μετεβάλετο, ἀλλως τε καὶ ὅτι τῆς μὲν παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους χάριτος οὖκ ἐκοινώνει ὅ, τῆς δὲ παρὰ τῶν βουλευτῶν
3 αὕτιας τὸ πλείστον μετελάμβανε. καὶ τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ἐν μέσῳ ἀμφοῖν ἔστη, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ τὸν Ταφέλλιον κρύφα ἀνθείλετο, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα αὐτῷ συνηγονίζετο καὶ στρατιώτας λαβεῖν ἐπέτρε-
ψει. καὶ ὁ μὲν θεατὴς ἐκ τοῦτον καὶ ἄγωνοθέτης αὐτῶν ἐγίγνετο, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐμάχοντο, καὶ τῆς τε πόλεως τὰ ἐπικαιρότατα ἀντικατελάμβανον καὶ φόνους τε καὶ ἐμπρήσεις ἐποίουν, ὡστε καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ποτὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἐστιαίου ὑπὸ τῶν
32 ἀειπαρθένων ἐκκομισθήναι. αὕτις τε οὖν φυ-
λακὴν ὁ βουλευταὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀκριβεστέραν

1 μετεβάλετο Bk., μετεβάλλετο L.
2 οὖν supplied by Reim.
3 ἐμπρήσεις R. Steph., ἐμπρήσεις τε L.
and upon the rest, until they learned that Caesar, having settled affairs in Egypt, had set out for Rome. For they were carrying on their quarrel upon the assumption that he would never return again but would of course perish there at the hands of the Egyptians, as, indeed, they kept hearing was the case. When, however, his coming was reported, they moderated their conduct for a time; but as soon as he set out against Pharnaces first, they fell to quarrelling once more. Accordingly Antony, seeing that he was unable to restrain them and that his opposition to Dolabella was obnoxious to the populace, at first joined himself to that tribune and brought various charges against Trebellius, among them one to the effect that he was appropriating the soldiers to his own use. Later, when he perceived that he himself was not held in any esteem by the multitude, which was attached only to Dolabella, he became vexed and changed sides, the more so because, while not sharing with the plebeian leader the favour of the people, he nevertheless received the greatest share of blame from the senators. So nominally he adopted a neutral attitude toward the two, but in fact secretly preferred the cause of Trebellius, and coöperated with him in various ways, particularly by allowing him to obtain soldiers. Thenceforward he became merely a spectator and director of their contest, while they fought, seized in turn the most advantageous points in the city, and entered upon a career of murder and arson, to such an extent that on one occasion the holy vessels were carried by the virgins out of the temple of Vesta. So the senators once more voted that the master of the horse should keep the
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2 ὃς εἶπεῖν ἡ πόλις ἐπληρώθη. οὐ μὲντοι καὶ παῦλα τις ἐγένετο. ὁ γὰρ Δολοβέλλας ἀπογνώμης τινὸς παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τεῦξεσθαι, μέγα τι κακὸν ἐπεθύμει δράσας ἀπολέσθαι ὡς καὶ ὁνομα ἐκ τοῦτου ἐς ἀεὶ σχῆσων. ἦδη γὰρ τίνες καὶ τῶν κακίστων ἐργών ἐραστὰ ἐπὶ τῇ φήμῃ γλυγονται. ὥς οὕτερ καὶ ἐκεῖνος τὰ τε ἅλλα ἐτάραττε, καὶ τοὺς νόμους, τὸν τε περὶ τῶν χρεῶν καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν ἐνοικίων, ἐν ῥήτῳ τινὶ ἡμέρᾳ.

3 θήσειν ὑπέσχετο. ὃς οὖν τοῦτο τε προεπήγελτο καὶ ὁ ὀχλὸς τὰ τε περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀποφράξας καὶ πύργους ἔστιν ἡ ξυλάνους ἐπικαταστήσας ἐτοιμος παντὶ τῷ ἐναντιωθησομένῳ σφίσιν ἐπιχειρήσας ἐγένετο, ἐνταῦθ᾽ ὁ Ἀντώνιος στρατιώτας ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πολλοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου καταγαγὼν τὰς τε σανίδας τῶν νόμων κατέκοψε, καὶ τινας καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ταραχόδεις ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου κατεκρήμνισεν.

33 Οὐ μὲντοι καὶ ἐπαύσαντο διὰ τοῦτο στασιάζοντες, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς πλείους αὐτῶν ἀπόλλυντο, τόσο μᾶλλον οἱ περὶλιπεῖς ἐδορύβουν, νομίζοντες τὸν Καίσαρα μεγίστῳ τε καὶ δυσχερεστάτῳ πολέμῳ συμπεπλέχαι. οὐδὲ ἐπέσχον πρὶν αὐτὸν ἐκείνον

2 ἐξαπιναῖως σφίσιν ὁφθηναι. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἄκοντες ἥσυχασαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πᾶν ὁ τι ποτὲ ἐνεδέχετο πείσεσθαι προσεδοκῶν, λόγος τε ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς κατὰ πᾶσαν ὁμοίως τὴν πόλιν ἦν, τῶν μὲν τὰ, τῶν δὲ τὰ

1 τεῦξεσθαι Reim., τεῦξασθαι L.
2 προεπήγελτο Bk., προεπηγγέλλετο L.
3 ἐπικαταστήσας Rk., ἀποκαταστήσας L.
4 ἀπ᾽ Rk., ἐπ᾽ L.
5 τοῦτο R. Steph., τεῦτον L.
6 ἦν supplied by Xyl.

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

However, even this did not stop their quarrelling. Instead, the greater the number of those who perished, the greater disturbance did the survivors make, thinking that Caesar had become involved in a very great and difficult war. And they did not cease until he himself suddenly appeared before them; then they reluctantly quieted down. They were expecting to suffer every conceivable ill fate, and there was talk about them all through the city, some judging one way and others another; but
δικαιούντων· ο ὁ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρ τῷ συνήθει οἱ τρόπῳ καὶ τότε ἐχρήσατο. τῇ τε γὰρ παρούσῃ αὐτῶν καταστάσει ἥρκεσθη, καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν προγενομένων ἐπολυπραγμόνησεν, ἀλλὰ πάντων τε ἐφείσατο καὶ τινὰς αὐτῶν καὶ έτίμησεν, ἀλλοὺς τε καὶ τὸν Δολοβέλλαν. εὐεργεσίαν γὰρ τινὰ αὐτῷ ὀφείλων οὐκ ἤξιοσθεν αὐτής ἐκλαθέσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ὅτι ἡδικήθη, διὰ τούτο καὶ ἐκείνης ὀλυγώρησεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὅν εὖ ἐπετόνθη, καὶ ἔτι τούτῳ οἱ συνέγνω, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα αὐτῶν ἐν τιμῇ ἤγαγεν, καὶ ὑπατον οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον μηδὲ στρατηγήσαντα ἀπέδειξε. 34 Ταύτα μὲν ἐν τῇ 'Ῥώμη παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Καισαρος ἀπουσίαν ἐγένετο· χρόνιοι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτήν, καὶ οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Πομπηίου βανάτῳ, ἦλθε διὰ τάδε. οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ταῖς τῶν χρημάτων ἐσπράξει βαρυνόμενοι, καὶ δεινῶς φέροντες ὅτι μηδὲ τῶν ιερῶν τις ἀπείχετο (θρησκεύοντο τε γὰρ πολλὰ περισσότατα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πολέμους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλους, ἀτε μὴ καθ' ἐν ἄλλα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἑαυτοίνιτάτου καὶ αὐτοῖς 1 τιμώντες τινα, ἀναρροῦνται), τοῦτοι τε οὗν ἀγανακτήσαντες, καὶ προσέτι φοβηθέντες μὴ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ ἀτε μέγα παρὰ τῷ Καίσαρι δυναμένη· 3 παραδοθῶσιν, ἐταράχθησαν. ἐκείνη τε γὰρ τένοι μὲν δὲ ἐτέρων παρ' αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐδικάζετο, ἐπείτα δὲ ὡς τάχιστα τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ κατέμαθεν (ἡν γὰρ ἐρωτικώτατος, καὶ πλείστας καὶ ἄλλαις, ὅσαις ποι περιτύχοι, συνεγίγνετο),

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

These were the events which occurred in Rome during Caesar's absence. Now the reasons why he was so long in coming there and did not arrive immediately after Pompey's death were as follows. The Egyptians were discontented at the levies of money and indignant because not even their temples were left untouched. For they are the most religious people on earth in many respects and wage wars even against one another on account of their beliefs, since they are not all agreed in their worship, but are diametrically opposed to each other in some matters. As a result, then, of their vexation at this and, further, of their fear that they might be surrendered to Cleopatra, who had great influence with Caesar, they began a disturbance. Cleopatra, it seems, had at first urged with Caesar her claim against her brother by means of agents, but as soon as she discovered his disposition (which was very-susceptible, to such an extent that he had his intrigues with ever so many other women—with all, doubtless, who chanced to come in his way) she sent
πέμπει πρὸς αὐτοῦ¹ προδίδοσθαί τε ὑπὸ τῶν βίλων λέγονσα καὶ ἁξιοῦσα αὐτὴ δ' ἔαυτής
4 ἀγωνίσασθαι. Ἀλλὰς τε γὰρ περικαλλεστάτη γυναικῶν ἐγένετο, καὶ τότε τῇ τῆς ὀρας ἀκμῇ
πολὺ διέπρεπε, τὸ τε φθέγμα ἀστειότατον εἶχε,
5 καὶ προσομιλήσαι παντὶ τῷ διὰ χαρίτων ἡπί-
στατο, ὡστε λαμπρά τε ἰδεῖν καὶ ἄκουσθήναι
οὕσα, κὰκ τούτοι πάντα τινά καὶ δυσέρωτα καὶ
ἀφηλικέστερον ἐξεργάσασθαι δυναμένη, πρὸς τρό-
πον τε ἐνόμισε τῷ Καίσαρι ἐντεύξεσθαι, καὶ
6 πάντα ἐν τῷ κάλλει τὰ δικαιώματα ἔθετο. ἦτι-
σατό τε οὖν ἐς όψιν αὐτοῦ ἐλθεῖν, καὶ τυχοῦσα
κατεκόσμησε τε ἐαυτὴν καὶ ἐξήσκησεν ὡστε
σεμνοπρεπεστάτη καὶ οἰκτροτάτη αὐτῷ ὀφθηναι.
καὶ ἡ μὲν ταύτα μηχανημένη ἐς τε τὴν πόλιν
ἀμα (ἐξω γὰρ καὶ ἐκείνης ἡν) καὶ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια
35 λάθΡα τοῦ Πτολεμαίου νυκτὸς ἐσήλθεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ
Καίσαρ ἴδὼν τε αὐτὴν καὶ τι φθεγγαμένης ἀκου-
σας οὔτως εὐθὺς ἐδουλώθη ὡστε αὐτίκα ὑπὸ τε
τὴν ἐω τὸν τε Πτολεμαίον μεταπέμψασθαι καὶ
συναλλάξαι σφᾶς ἐπιχειρήσαι· ἣς γὰρ δικαστὴς
πρότερον ἡξιοῦτο εἶναι, τότε ταύτῃ συνεδίκει.
2 ὁ οὖν παῖς, διά τε τούτο καὶ ὅτι τὴν ἀδελφὴν
ἀιφυδίως εἶδεν ἐνδον οὕσαν, ὀργῆς τε ἐπληρώθη,
καὶ ἐκτηδήσας ἐστὶν πλήθος ἐβόα λέγων προδί-
δοσθαι, καὶ τέλος τὸ διάδημα ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς
περισπάσας ἐρρίψε. θορύβουν δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ
μεγάλου συμβάντος ἐκεῖνον μὲν οἱ Καίσαρεῖοι
στρατίωται συνήρπασαν, τὸ δὲ δὴ Αἰγύπτιου
3 ἐταράττετο· καὶ αὐτοβοεῖ τὰ βασίλεια καὶ ἐκ

¹ αὐτὸν Leuncl., αὐτὸν καὶ L.
word to him that she was being betrayed by her friends and asked that she be allowed to plead her case in person. For she was a woman of surpassing beauty, and at that time, when she was in the prime of her youth, she was most striking; she also possessed a most charming voice and a knowledge of how to make herself agreeable to every one. Being brilliant to look upon and to listen to, with the power to subjugate every one, even a love-sated man already past his prime, she thought that it would be in keeping with her rôle to meet Caesar, and she reposed in her beauty all her claims to the throne. She asked therefore for admission to his presence, and on obtaining permission adorned and beautified herself so as to appear before him in the most majestic and at the same time pity-inspiring guise. When she had perfected her schemes she entered the city (for she had been living outside of it), and by night without Ptolemy’s knowledge went into the palace. Caesar, upon seeing her and hearing her speak a few words was forthwith so completely captivated that he at once, before dawn, sent for Ptolemy and tried to reconcile them, thus acting as advocate for the very woman whose judge he had previously assumed to be. For this reason, and because the sight of his sister within the palace was so unexpected, the boy was filled with wrath and rushed out among the people crying out that he was being betrayed, and at last he tore the diadem from his head and cast it away. In the great tumult which thereupon arose Caesar’s troops seized the person of the prince and the Egyptian populace continued to be in an uproar. They assaulted
τῆς γῆς καὶ ἕκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀμα προσβαλόντες εἶλον (τοὺς γὰρ Ῥωμαίους οὐδὲν ἀξίομαχον, ἀτε καὶ φίλων σφῶν δοκοῦντον εἶναι, παρῆν), εἰ μὴ φοβηθείς ὁ Καίσαρ προῆλθε τε ἐς αὐτούς, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεί στὰς πάντα σφίσιν, ὥσα ἀν ἑθηλή-

4 σωσί, πράξειν ὑπέσχετο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς ἐκθλησίαν ἐσελθὼν τὸν τε Πτολεμαῖον καὶ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν παρεστήσατο, καὶ τὰς διαθήκας τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν ἀνέγνω, ἐν αἰς ἑκείνους μὲν συνοικησαί τε ἀλλήλοις κατὰ τὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων πάτρια καὶ βασιλεύειν ἀμα, τὸν δὲ δῆ τῶν Ῥω-

5 μαίων δῆμον τὴν ἑπιτροπέαν σφῶν ἔχειν ἐγέραπτο. πράξεις δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ ἑπειτῶν ὅτι ἐαυτῷ, δικτάτορι ὅντι καὶ πᾶν τὸ τοῦ δήμου κράτος ἔχοντι, τὴν τε ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν παίδων ποιεῖσαί καὶ τὰ δύοντα τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῶν ἐπι-

6 τελεῖν προσήκει, ἑκείνους τε τὴν βασιλείαν ἀμφο-

τέροις ἐδώκε, καὶ τῇ Ἀρσινόη τῷ τε Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ νεωτέρῳ, τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς σφῶν, Κύπρον ἐχαρί-

σατο. τοσοῦτον γὰρ που δέος αὐτῶν ἐσχεν ὡστε μὴ μόνον μηδὲν τῶν τῆς Αἰγύπτου προσλαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν οἰκείων τι αὐτοῖς προσδοῦναι.

36 Τότε μὲν οὖτως ἐπαύσαντο, αὕθες δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὑστεροῦν ἐκνηθησάν ὡστε καὶ πολεμη-

σαί. ὁ γὰρ Ποθείνως ὁ τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου χρημάτων προστεταγμένος (ἐυνοῦχος δὲ ἦν καὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα 2 συννετεταράχει), δείσας μὴ καὶ δίκην ποτὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δῷ, πέμπει κρύφα πρὸς τὸν Ἀχιλλᾶν περὶ τὸ Πηλοῦσιον ἔτι καὶ τότε ὄντα, καὶ αὐτὸν

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

By this action they were temporarily calmed, but not long afterward were roused even to the point of making war. For Pothinus, a eunuch who was charged with the management of Ptolemy's funds and who had taken a leading part in stirring up the Egyptians, became afraid that he might some time have to pay the penalty for his conduct, and he accordingly sent secretly to Achillas, who was still at this time near Pelusium, and by frightening him and
ἐκφοβήσας τε ἀμα καὶ ἐπελπίσας προσηταίρυστο, καὶ μετὰ τούτο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς.

3 τὰ ὅπλα ἑχοντας ὅκειώσατο. πάσι τε γὰρ ὁμοίως δεινὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι ὑπὸ γυναῖκος ἀρχεσθαι, ὑποψίᾳ τοῦ τὸν Κάισαρα τότε μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ καταστάσει σφῶν ἄμφοτέροις δῆθεν αὐτοῖς τὴν βασιλείαν δεδωκέναι, προϊόντος δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου

4 μόνη τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ αὐτὴν προσθήσει καὶ ἀντίπαλοι τῷ τότε παρόντι αὐτοῦ στρατῷ ἐνόμιζον εἶναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν 'Αλεξάν-

37 δρειαν εὐθὺς ἄραντες ἤλασαν. ¹ πυθόμενος δὲ τούτο ο Κάισαρ, καὶ καταδείσας τὸ τε πλῆθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς τόλμας, ἐπεμψε τινας πρὸς τὸν Ἀχιλλᾶν, οὔτι γε τῷ αὐτοῦ ἄλλα τῷ τῷ Πτολεμαίου ὄνοματι, κελεύοντος αὐτῶ τῇ ἡσυ-
χίᾳ ἄγειν. καὶ δὲ συνεις ὅτι οὐ τοῦ παιδὸς ἄλλ' ἐκείνῳ ἡ πρόσταξις ἢ, οὐχ ὅπως οὐκ

2 ἐπῆκουσεν αὐτοῦ, ἄλλα καὶ προσκαταφρονήσας ὡς καὶ φοβουμένου τοὺς τε στρατιώτας συνήγαγε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πολλὰ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῆς τε Κλεοπάτρας εἰπὼν, τέλος καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς πεμφθέντας καῖπερ
Λιγυπτίους ὅντας παρόξυνεν αὐτούς, ὅπως τοῦ τε φόνου σφῶν ἀναπλησθῶσι καὶ ἐς ἀνάγκην

3 ἀσπεῖστον πολέμου καταστῶσι. μαθῶν οὖν ταῦτα ο Κάισαρ τοὺς τε ἐκ τῆς Συρίας στρατιώ-
τας μετεπέμψατο, καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τα τε ἄλλα τὰ πλησίον αὐτῶν οἰκοδομήματα διετάφρευσε

38 καὶ ἀπετείχισε μέχρι τῆς βαλάσσης. καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ὃν Ἀχιλλᾶς μετά τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαβριήλου σὺν τῷ

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

2 ἐκρατύνατο. καὶ τούτου πολλὰ μὲν μάχαι καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ αὐτοῖς ἐγίγνοντο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ κατεπίμπρατο, ὅστε ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ νεώριον τάς τε ἀποθήκας καὶ τοῦ σίτου καὶ τῶν βίβλων, πλείστων δὴ καὶ ἀρίστων, ὡς φασί, γενομένων, καυχῆμαι. ἐκράτει δὲ τῆς μὲν ἡπείρου ὁ Ἀχιλλᾶς, χωρὶς ὃν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνετε-τείχιστο, τῆς δὲ δὴ θαλάσσης ἐκεῖνος, ἀνευ

3 τοῦ λιμένος. καὶ ναυμαχία τε ἐνύκησε, καὶ ἐπείδη διὰ τοῦτο φοβηθέντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι μὴ ἐς τὸν λιμένα σφῶν ἐπεσπεύσθη, τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ πλὴν βραχέος ἔχοσαν, καὶ ἐκεῖνο προσ-απέφραξεν, ὅλακάς λίθων πλῆρες καταπον-τῶσας, ὅστε αὐτοὺς μηδ' εἰ πάνυ τι βούλοιντο

4 ἐκπλεῦσαι, δυνηθήναι ποι ἀπάραι. ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο ρῶν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ὕδωρ ἐπήγετο: τὴν γὰρ αὐτόθεν ὕδρειαν ὁ Ἀχιλλᾶς σφας ἀφήρητο, τοὺς ὦχετος διακόψας.

39 Τούτων δὲ οὕτω πραττομένων Γαυμαήδης τις εὐνοῦχος τὴν Ἀρσινόην οὐ πάνω φρουρουμένην ἐς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ὑπεξῆγαγεν καὶ ταύτην ἑκείνοι βασιλίδα ἀποδείξαντες προθυμότερον τοῦ πολέ-μου, ὡς καὶ προστάτων τινὰ ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Πτολε-μαίων γένους ἔχοντες, ἀντελάβοντο. ὁ οὖν

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

While these events were taking place, one Ganymedes, a eunuch, secretly brought Arsinoë to the Egyptians, as she was not very well guarded. They declared her queen and proceeded to prosecute the war more vigorously, inasmuch as they now had as leader a representative of the family of the
Καίσαρ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ὁ Ποθεινὸς τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐκκλῆσθη, τὸν μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, τὸν δὲ οὐκέτι ἐπικρυπτόμενος ἀκριβῶς ἔφρουρε. παροξυνθέντων δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων, καὶ ἐκεῖνοις μὲν πλειόνων ἀεὶ προσγιγνομένων, τοῖς δὲ δὴ Ρωμαίοις μηδέποτε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκ τῆς Συρίας παρόντων, ἦς φιλίαν αὐτοὺς 3 ὑπαγαγόθαι ήθέλησε, καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαίον ἀναβιβάσας που, ὅθεν ἔξακουσθῆσθαι ἐμελλεῖ, εἰπεὶν σφισσιν ἐκέλευσεν ὅτι οὕτε τι κακὸν ἔχοι οὕτε πολεμεῖν δέουσι· πρὸς τε τὰς σπονδάς αὐτοὺς παρεκάλει, καὶ προσντυχέντο διαπρά- 

4 ξειν αὐτάς. καὶ εἰγε ἐκῶν ταῦτα οὕτω διείλεκτο, ἐπείσεν ἃν σφας καταλύσασθαι· νῦν δ᾽ ὑποτιθάσαντες αὐτὰ ὕπο τοῦ Καίσαρος κατεσκευάσθαι οὐκ ἐνέδοσαν.

40 Προίόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου στάσις τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἀρσινόην οὔσιν ἐνεπεσε, καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Γανυμήδης ἐπείσε τὸν Ἀχιλλᾶν ὡς καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν προδώσωντα 1 ἀποκτείνα. γενομένου δὲ τούτου τὴν τε ἄγγελον πόλεμον στρατιωτῶν παρέλαβε, καὶ τὰ πλοία ὅσα ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ λίμῃ 2 ἦν συνήγαγεν, ἀλλὰ τε προσκατεσκεύασε, καὶ πάντα αὐτὰ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν διὰ τῶν διωρύχων κομίσας τοῖς τε Ρωμαίοις μὴ προσδεχομένοις προσέβαλε, καὶ τὰς μὲν κατέπρησε τῶν ὀλκάδων αὐτῶν τὰς δὲ ἀνεδήσατο, καὶ μετὰ τούτο τὸν τε ἔσπλουν τοῦ λιμένος ἐξεκάθηρε, κάνταυθα 3 ναυλοχῶν 2 πολλὰ σφας ἐλύπει. τηρῆσας οὖν ποτὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καίσαρ ἀμελῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατεῖν

1 προδώσωντα Reim., προδοθέαν L.
2 ναυλοχῶν Xyl., ναυλομαχῶν L.

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

As time went on a dispute arose among the followers of Arsinoë, and Ganymedes prevailed upon her to put Achillas to death, on the ground that he was going to betray the fleet. When this had been done, he assumed command of the soldiers and gathered all the boats that were in the river and the lake, besides constructing others; and he conveyed them all through the canals to the sea, where he attacked the Romans while off their guard, burned some of their freight ships to the water's edge and towed others away. Then he cleared out the entrance to the harbour and by lying in wait for vessels there he caused the Romans great annoyance. So Caesar, having waited for a time when they were acting carelessly by reason of their success, suddenly
ἐχοντας ἐς τε τὸν λιμένα αἰφνιδίως ἐπεσέπλευσε, καὶ συχνὰ πλοῖα καύσας ἐς τε τὴν Φάρον ἀπέβη καὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῇ ἐφόνευσεν. ἦδοντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Αἰγύπτιοι κατὰ τὰς γεφύρας ἐπεβοήθησαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ συχνοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀνταποκτεῖναντες τοὺς λοιποὺς 4 ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσήραξαν. καὶ αὐτῶν ὁποιὸντες καὶ ἀθρόως ἐσβιαζομένων ἐς αὐτὰς ἄλλοι τε πολλοί ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξέπεσον καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ. καὶ διέφθαρτο κακῶς, ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἰματίων βαρυνόμενον καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βαλλόμενος (ἂλουργῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὄντων ἐστοχαζοῦτο), εἴ μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἀπερρίφθησαν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο διανεῖ- 5 σὰς τῇ ἐς ἀκάτιον ἐσεβεβήκει. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὀντως ἐσώθη, μηδὲν τῶν γραμμάτων βρέξας ἄ πολλὰ ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χείρι ἄνεχων ἐνήξατο. τὴν δὲ δὴ ἐσθήτα αὐτοῦ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι λαβόντες πρὸς τὸ τρόπαιον, ὅ ἐστησάν τῆς τροπῆς ταύτης, ἄνεκρέ- μασαν ὡς καὶ ἀυτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἡρικότης. καὶ ἤδη γὰρ καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ἀ ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας μετετε- πεμπτον 1 ἐπλησίασε, τὰς τε κατάρσεις ἐτήρουν 6 καὶ πολλὰ αὐτοὺς ἐβλαπτόν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ 2 πρὸς τὴν Διβύνην σφῶν προσπίπτουσιν ὁ Καῖσαρ τρόπων τινὰ ἡμιν: συχνὰς δὲ δὴ περὶ τὰς τοῦ Νεῖλου ἐκβολάς πυρσοῖς ὡς καὶ Ῥωμαίοι ὄντες ἠπάτων τε καὶ συνελάμβανον, ὡστε τοὺς λοιποὺς μηκέτι τολμᾶν παρακομίζεσθαι, μὲχρις οὐ Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Νέρων ἐς αὐτὸν τότε τῶν ποταμῶν ἀναπλεύσας ἐκεῖνους τε μᾶχῃ ἐκράτησε καὶ τοῖς σφετέροις ἀδεέστερον τῶν πρόσπλουν ἐποίησε.

1 μετετέπεμπτο Dind., μετετέμπετο L. 2 γὰρ supplied by Rk.
sailed into the harbour, burned a large number of vessels, and disembarking on Pharos, slew the inhabitants of the island. When the Egyptians on the mainland saw this, they rushed over the bridges to the aid of their friends, and after killing many of the Romans in turn drove the remainder back to the ships. While the fugitives were forcing their way into these in crowds anywhere they could, Caesar and many others fell into the sea. He would have perished miserably, being weighted down by his robes and pelted by the Egyptians (for his garments, being of purple, offered a good mark), had he not thrown off his clothing and then succeeded in swimming out to where a skiff lay, which he boarded. In this way he was saved, and that, too, without wetting one of the documents of which he held up a large number in his left hand as he swam. The Egyptians took his clothing and hung it upon the trophy which they set up to commemorate this rout, just as if they had captured him himself. They also kept a close watch upon the landings, since the legions which had been sent for from Syria were already drawing near, and were doing the Romans much injury. For while Caesar could defend in a fashion those of them who came ashore on the Libyan side, yet near the mouth of the Nile the Egyptians deceived many of his men by means of signal fires, as if they too were Romans, and thus captured them, so that the rest no longer ventured to come to land, until Tiberius Claudius Nero at this time sailed up the river itself, conquered the foe in battle, and made it safer for his followers to come to land.
41 Καὶ τοῦτῳ Μιθριδάτης ὁ Περγαμηνὸς ἐπικλῆθεις ἐπεξευρήσεις μὲν ἐς τὸ στόμα τοῦ Νείλου τὸ κατὰ Πηλούσιον ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀναβῆναι, ἀποφραξάντων δὲ τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων τοῖς πλοίοις τὸν ἔσπλουν προσεκομίσθη νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν διώρυχα, 2 καὶ ναῦς ἔς αὐτὴν ὑπερενεγκῶν (οὐ γὰρ ἐξήσην ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν) οὕτω διὰ ταύτης ἔς τὸν Νείλον ἀνέπλευσε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο αἰφνίδιον ἐκ τῇ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀμα τοῖς φρουροῦσι τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ προσμίζας τὴν τε ἀπόκλεισιν ἕνεκα τοῦ Πηλούσιον τῷ τῇ πεζῷ ἀμα καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ προσβαλὼν εἰλε. προχωρῶν τε ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, καὶ πυθόμενος Διοσκοριδην τινὸ ἀπαντήσειν σφίσιν, ἐνίδρευσε τε αὐτὸν καὶ κατειργάσατο.

42 Αἰσθόμενοι δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ Ἀιγυπτίιοι τοῦ μὲν τοῦ πόλεμον οὖν ὡς κατελύσαντο, ἀχθεσθέντες δὲ τῇ τοῦ εὖνοχού καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀρχῆς, καὶ νομίζαντες, ἄν τὸν Πτολεμαίον προστήσωνται, 2 καθυπέρτεροι τῶν Ἦρωμαίων ἐσεθαί, ἐπειτ' ἐπειδὴ οὐδένα τρόπον ἐξαρπάσαι αὐτῶν ἡδυνήθησαν (δεινῶς γὰρ ἐφυλάσσετο), ἐπλάσαντο ταῖς τοῖς συμφοραῖς πεπονήσθαι καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμεῖν, καὶ ἐπεμψαν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἑπικηρυκεύμονοι τε καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαίον αἰτοῦντες, ὅπως δὴ σὺν αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν σπουδῶν, ἐφ' ὦ τὰς γενήσιοντο, 3 βουλεύσονται. ὁ οὖν Καίσαρ ἐνόμισε μὲν καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς αὐτοὺς μεταβεβλήθθαι (ἅλλως τε γὰρ καὶ δειλοὺς καὶ ὀξυρρόπους ὄντας ἥκουν, καὶ τότε

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

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

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

4 οὖτε1 γὰρ ἐν ἑκείνῳ τι ἵσχυρὸν ἐκ τῇ τῆς ἥλικίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀπαίδευσίας ἐνεώρα ὦν, καὶ τοὺς Διογένητος ἦτοι συναλλαγήσεσθαι οἱ ἐφ' οἷς ἐβούλετο ἡ δικαιότερον καὶ καταπολεμηθήσεσθαι καὶ καταστραφήσεσθαι ἤλπισεν, ὡστε ἀπ' εὐλόγου δή τινος προφάσεως τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ παραδοθήναι.

5 οὐ γὰρ ποι ὁτιθήσεσθαι ποτὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλώς τε καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως οἱ προσγεγενημένης,

43 προσεδόκησε. παραλαβόντες δὲ τὸ παιδάριον οἱ Διογένητοι τῶν μὲν σπούδων οὐδὲν ἐφρούτισαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Μιθριδάτην παραχρῆμα ὀρμησαν ὡς δὴ καὶ μέγα2 τι ἐν τῷ ὅνοματι καὶ ἐν τῷ γένει τῷ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου κατορθώσουντες· καὶ αὐτὸν πρὸς τῇ λίμνῃ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν

2 ἔλων ἀπολαβόντες ἐθωρύβουν. ὃ σὺν Καϊσαρ ἑκεῖνος μὲν οὐκ ἐπεδίωξεν, δεδιώκτος μὴ λοχισθείν· ἀναχθεὶς δὲ νυκτὸς ὡς πρὸς ἐκβολήν τινα τοῦ Νείλου ἐπειγόμενος, καὶ φῶς, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλείστον ταύτῃ προϊέναι νομισθῇ, πάμπολυ καθ' ἐκάστην νᾶν ἀνάψας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπιπλεῖν ὄρμητο, 3 ἔπειτα δὲ ἀποσβέσας αὐτὸ ἀνεκομίσθη, καὶ παραπλεύσας τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὴν χερσόποισιν τὴν πρὸς τῇ Διβύψ ὅσαν κατήρε, κἀνταύθα τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκβιβάσας περὶ ἔλθε τῇ τὴν λίμνῃ, καὶ τοὺς Διογένητος ἀπροσδόκητος ὑπὸ3 τὴν ἑω πρωπεσῶν εὐθύς τε αὐτὸς κατέπληξεν ὡστε

1 οὔτε Βκ., οὔδε Λ. 2 δὴ καὶ μέγα Βκ., καὶ δὴ μέγα Λ. 3 ὑπὸ Reim., ἐπὶ Λ.

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

44. Οὕτω μὲν τῇ Ἁγίππων ὁ Καίσαρ ἐχειρώσατο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὑπήκοουν αὐτὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλὰ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ, ἦσπερ ἑνέκα καὶ ἐπεπολεμήκει, ἤχαρίσατο. φοβηθεὶς μὲντοι μὴ οἱ Ἁγίππιοι νεωτέρισσωσιν αὐθεὶς γυναικὶ ἄρχειν παραδοθέντες, καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι διὰ τὸ τοῦτο καὶ οτι καὶ συνὴν αὐτὸ χαλεπήνωσι, τοῦ τε ἐτέρῳ ἀδελφῷ συνοικήσαι δῆθεν αὐτὴν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀμφότεροις σφίσθη, ὅς γε καὶ λόγῳ.

3 εἰπεῖν, ἐδωκε. τῷ γὰρ ἐργῷ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα μόνη πᾶν τὸ κράτος σχῆσειν ἐμελλεν· ο τὸ γὰρ ἀνὴρ αὐτὴς παιδίον ἔτι ἦν, καὶ ἐκείνη πρὸς τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος εὔνοιαν οὐδὲν. ὦ τι οὐκ ἐδύνατο,

4 ὡστε πρόσχημα μὲν ός καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ συνοικοῦσα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπίκοινον αὐτὸ ἐχοῦσα ἐκέκτητο, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς μόνη τε ἐβασίλευε καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι συνιδητᾶτο.

45. Καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ 1 πλειον ἀν ἐν τῇ Ἁγίππῳ κατέσχεν, ἢ καὶ ἐσ τῇ Ῥώμῃ εὐθὺς αὐτῷ συναπῆρεν, εἰ μήπερ ὁ Φαρυάκης καὶ ἐκείθεν πάνι ἀκοντα τοῦ Καίσαρα ἐξῆγαγε καὶ ἔς τὴν Ἰταλίαν

2 ἐπειχθῆναι ἐκώλυσεν. οὕτως γὰρ παῖς μὲν 2 τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἦν καὶ τοῦ Βοσπόρου τοῦ Κιμμερίου ἦρχεν, ὦσπερ εἰρηταί, ἐπιθυμήσας δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν πατρόφαν βασιλείαν ἀνακτήσας ἐπανέστη κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν τε τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου.

1 ἐπὶ Rk., ἐτὶ L. 2 γὰρ παῖς μὲν Bk., μὲν γὰρ παῖς L.
their entreaty, a fierce battle later took place in which he was victorious and slew great numbers of the enemy. Ptolemy and some others tried in their haste to escape across the river, and perished in it.

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

She would have detained him even longer in Egypt or else would have set out with him at once for Rome, had not Pharnaces not only drawn Caesar away from Egypt, very much against his will, but also hindered him from hurrying to Italy. This king was a son of Mithridates and ruled the Cimmerian Bosporus, as has been stated¹; he conceived the desire to win back again the entire kingdom of his ancestors, and so he revolted just at the time of the quarrel between Caesar and

¹ xxxvii, 12-14, xlii. 9.
 Dio's Roman History

3 Αἰγύπτῳ κατασχεθέντων, τήν τε Κολχίδα ἀκονίτι προσηγάγετο καὶ τήν Αρμενίαν ἀπόντος τοῦ Δημοτάρου πᾶσαν, τῆς τε Καππαδοκίας καὶ τῶν τοῦ Πόντου πόλεων τινας, αὖ τῷ τῆς Βιθυνίας νομῷ προστετάχατο, κατεστρέψατο. τράσσοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταύτα ὁ Καϊσάρ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἐκινήθη (οὔτε γὰρ ἡ Αἰγύπτος πω καθειστήκει, καὶ ἐλπίδος τι εἴχε δ' ἐτέρων αὐτοῦ χειρώσεσθαι), Γναίον δὲ Δομίτιον Καλουίων ἐπέμψε, τὴν τε Ἀσίαν οἰ καὶ . . . . . 4 στρατόπεδα προστάξας.

2 καὶ δὲ τῶν Δημόταρον καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοράξαν προσλαβόν ἦλασεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῶν Φαρνάκην ἐν τῇ Νικοπόλει οὖντα (καὶ γὰρ ταύτα τὴν προκατειλῆφε), καὶ καταφρονήσας, ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος τὴν παροισίαν αὐτοῦ φοβηθεῖς ἀνοχὴν ἐπὶ πρεσβεύσει ἐτοίμως ἐσχε ποιῆσασθαι, οὔτε ἐσπέισατο αὐτῷ καὶ

3 συμβαλὼν ἡττήθη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τούτων ἐσ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐπειδὴ μήτε ὑξίομαχός οἱ ἤν καὶ ὁ χειμὼν προσημείωσεν, ἀνεχώρησεν. Φαρνάκης δὲ μεγάλα δὴ φρονῶν τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ προσκατεκτήσατο, καὶ Ἀμισόν καὶ περ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀντισχοῦσαν εἴλῃ τε καὶ διήρπασε, τοὺς τε ἡξοντας ἐν αὐτῇ πάντας ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Βιθυνίαν τὴν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς τῷ πατρὶ 4 ἐλπίσων ἠπείγετο. καὶ τούτῳ μαθῶν τῶν Ἀσανδροῦ, δὴ ἐπίτροπον τοῦ Βοστόρου κατελε-
Pompey, and, as the Romans were at that time occupied with one another and afterward were detained in Egypt, he got possession of Colchis without any difficulty, and in the absence of Deiotarus subjugated all Armenia, and [part?] of Cappadocia, and some cities of Pontus that had been assigned to the district of Bithynia. While he was thus engaged, Caesar himself did not stir, inasmuch as Egypt was not yet in a settled state and he had some hope of overcoming Pharnaces through others; but he sent Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus, assigning him charge of Asia and of ... legions. This officer added to his forces Deiotarus and Ariobarzanes and marched straight against Pharnaces, who was at Nicopolis, which he had already seized; and feeling contempt for his enemy, because the latter in dread of his arrival was ready through an embassy to agree to an armistice, he did not conclude a truce with him, but attacked him and was defeated. After that he retired to Asia, since he was no match for his conqueror and winter was approaching. Pharnaces was greatly elated, and after acquiring all the rest of Pontus, captured Amisus also, though it long held out against him; and he plundered the city and put to the sword all the men of military age there. He then hastened into Bithynia and Asia with the same hopes as his father had cherished. Meanwhile, learning that Asander, whom he had left as governor of Bosporus, had
λοίπες, υψονήμωκότα, οὐκέτι περαιτέρω 1 προεχώρησεν· ἐκείνος γάρ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα πόρρω τε ὁ Φαρνάκης ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προίων ἡγγέλθη, καὶ ἐδόκει, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐν γε τῷ παρόντι ἄνθοι, ἀλλ' οὕτι γε καὶ ἐπείτα καλῶς ἀπαλλάξειν, ἐπανέστη αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τι χαρισόμενος τὴν τε δυναστείαν τοῦ Βοσπόρου παρ' αὐτῶν ληψόμενος.

47 Τούτ' οὖν ὁ Φαρνάκης ἀκούσας ὄρμησεν ἐπ' αὐτόν μάτην τὸν γὰρ Καῖσαρα ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ εἶναι καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐπείγεσθαι πυθόμενος ἀνέστρεψε, κάνταθα αὐτῷ περὶ Ζέλαν συνετυχεν. ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ τοῦ τε Πτολεμαίου τελευτήσαντος καὶ τοῦ Δομιτίου οὐκηθέντος οὔτε εὑπρετή οὔτε λυσιτελῇ οἱ τὴν ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ διατριβὴν ἐνόμισεν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἀφωρμῆθη, καὶ τάχει πολλῷ 2 χρησάμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀφίκετο. ἐκπλαγεὶς οὖν ὁ βάρβαρος, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὴν ὀρμὴν ἢ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ καταδέσας, προσέπεμψεν αὐτῷ πρὸν πλησίασαι πολλάκις προκηρυκευόμενος, εἴ πως τὸ παρὸν ἐφ' ὦτιδ' συνιδέμενος 3 ἐκφύγοι. προϊσχέτο δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ὃτι οὐ συνήρατο τῷ Πομπηῖῳ καὶ ἦλπίζειν ὑπάξεσθαι τε αὐτὸν ἐς σποῦδας ἢτε καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὴν τε Ἀφρικὴν ἐπειγόμενον, καὶ ἀπελθόντος αὐτοῦ ῥαδίως αὕθις πολεμήσειν.

4 ὑποπτεύσας οὖν τούτῳ ὁ Καῖσαρ τοὺς μὲν πρῶτος καὶ τοὺς δευτέρους πρέσβεις ἐφιλοφρονήσατο, ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα ἀπροσδοκήτῳ ὦ τῇ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐλπίδε προσπέσῃ, τῶν δὲ τρίτων ἐλθόντων τά τε

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

It was at the news of this that Pharnaces set out against him, but all in vain; for on ascertaining that Caesar was on the way and was hurrying into Armenia, he turned back and met him there near Zela. For now that Ptolemy was dead and Domitius vanquished, Caesar had decided that his delay in Egypt was neither creditable nor profitable to him, and had set out from there and had come with great speed into Armenia. And so the barbarian, alarmed and fearing Caesar's rapidity much more than his army, sent messengers to him before he drew near, making frequent proposals to see if he might on some terms or other escape the present danger. One of the principal pleas that he presented was that he had not coöperated with Pompey, and he hoped to induce Caesar to grant a truce, particularly since the latter was anxious to hasten to Italy and Africa; and once Caesar was gone, he hoped to wage war again at his ease. Caesar suspected this, and so treated the first and second embassies with great kindness, in order that he might fall upon his foe as unexpectedly as possible because of his hopes of peace; but when the third deputation came, he uttered various re-
άλλα ἐπεκάλεσεν αὐτῷ καὶ ὅτι τῶν Πομπηίων τῶν 5 ἐνεργήτην ἤγκατέλιπτεν. καὶ οὐκ ἀνεβάλετο, ἀλλ’ εὔθυς αὐθημεροῦν, ὥσπερ εἶχεν ἐκ τῆς ὅδου, συνέμιξε, καὶ τινὰ χρόνον ὑπὸ τε τῆς ὑπονου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δρεπανηφόρων ἐκταραχθεὶς ἔπειτα τοῖς ὅπλίταις ἐκράτησε. καὶ ἐκείνου μὲν ἐκφυγόντα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ἐς 2 τὸν Βόσπορον μετὰ τοῦτο ἐσβιαζόμενον, ὁ Ἀσανδρός έιρξε τε καὶ 48 ἀπέκτεινε. Καίσαρ δὲ ἔπι τῇ νίκη, καίπερ οὐ πάνυ διαπρεπεὶ γενομένη, πολὺ καὶ ὅσον ἔπτο οὐδεμιὰ ἄλλη ἐφρόνησεν, ὅτι ἐν τε τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ καὶ ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν πολέμιον 2 καὶ εἰδεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐνίκησε. καὶ τὰ τε λάφυρα πάντα, καίτω πλείστα γενόμενα, τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐδωρήσατο, καὶ τρόπαιον, ἐπειδὴ εἶπεν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἀπὸ τοῦ Τριαρίου ἐνταῦθα ποι ἐγγυέρκει, ἀντανέστησεν καθελεῖν μὲν γὰρ τὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἐμπολεμίους θεός ἱερωμένου, τῇ δὲ δῆ τοῦ ὰδίου παραστάσει καὶ ἐκεῖνο συνεσκίασε καὶ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ κατέ- 3 στρεψε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν χώραν ὅσην τῶν τε Ἡρωμαίων καὶ τῶν ἐνόρκων σφίσιν ἀποτετμημένος ὁ Φαρνάκης ἦν ἐκομίσατο, καὶ αὐτὴν πάσαν ὡς ἐκάστοις τοῖς ἀπολέσασιν ἔδωκε, πλὴν μέρους τινὸς τῆς Ἀρμενίας, ὅ τοῦ Ἀρισταρξάνει ἐχαρί- 4 σατο. τοὺς τε Ἀμισινοὺς 3 ἐλευθερία ἦμενενατο, καὶ τοῦ Μιθριδάτη τὸν Περγαμηνῷ τετραρχίαν τε ἐν Γαλατίᾳ καὶ βασιλείας ἴνομα ἔδωκε, πρὸς τε τοῦ Ἀσανδρον πολεμήσαι ἐπέτρεψεν, ὡπως καὶ

1 ἀνεβάλετο H. Steph., ἀνεβάλλετο L.
2 ἐς Bk., ἐπὶ L.
3 Ἀμισινοὺς R. Steph., ἀμισίνος L.

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

¹ A translation of the words *Veni vidi vici*, carried in the triumphal procession.
² Compare xxxvi. 12-13.
τῶν Βόσπορου γρατῆσας αυτοῦ λάβη, ὅτι πονηρὸς ἐς τὸν φίλον ἐγένετο.

49 Πράξας δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῷ Δομιτίῳ καταστήσασθαι κελεύσας, ἐς τὴν Βιθυνίαν ἤλθε, κἀντεῦθεν ἐς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπλευσε, πολλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πάση προφάσει χρήματα
2 παρὰ πάντων, ὠσπέρ καὶ πρίν, ἐκλέγων. τούτῳ μὲν γάρ, ὡσα τινὲς τῷ Πομπηίῳ προὔπεσχνυτό, ἐπράξατο, τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐξώθεν, προσεπικαλῶν τινα, ἦτει. τὰ τε ἀναθήματα τοῦ ἐν τῇ Τύρῳ Ἡρακλέους πάντα ἀνείλετο, ὅτι τὴν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν παίδα τοῦ Πομπηίου ὑπεδέξαντο
3 ὦτε ἔφυγον. καὶ στεφάνους ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις συχνοὺς καὶ παρὰ τῶν δυναστῶν τῶν ταῖς βασιλείων χρυσοὺς ἔλαβε. ταῦτα δὲ ὅμως ὑπὸ κακίας ἐποίει, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐδαπάνα παμπληθή, καὶ ἀνάλωσιν πολὺ πλείω ἐς τε τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐπι
νίκια, τὰ τέ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐλαμπρύνετο, πουήσεων
4 ἔμελλε. τὸ τε σύμπαν εἶπεῖν, χρηματοποιοῖς ἀνήρ ἐγένετο, δύο τε εἶναι λέγων τὰ τὰς δυ
ναστείας παρασκευάζοντα καὶ φυλάσσοντα καὶ ἐπαύξοντα, στρατιώτας καὶ χρήματα, καὶ ταῦτα
5 δι' ἄλληλων συνεστηκέναι. τῇ τε γὰρ τροφῇ τὰ στρατεύματα συνέχεσθαι, καὶ ἐκείνην ἐκ τῶν ὁπλῶν συλλέγοντας, καὶ θάτερον ὀποτερονοῦν τοὺς αὐτῶν ένδεες ἦ, καὶ τὸ ἐπερον συγκαταλυθήσεσθαι.

50 Περὶ μὲν οὐν τούτων οὕτω καὶ ἑφόνει αἰεί καὶ ἐλεγεν· ἐς δὲ δὴ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικήν καὶ πεπολεμωμένην οἰ, ἤπειρθθῃ ὅτι ταραττόμενα τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀστει πυθόμενος ἐφοβήθη

1 ἄλλα R. Steph., ἄλλας L.
2 ὀποτερονοῦν Reim., ὀποτέρου οὖν L.

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also, since Asander had proved base toward his friend.

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

About these matters he ever thought and spoke thus. Now it was to Italy that he hurried and not to Africa, although the latter region had become hostile to him, because he learned of the disturbances in the capital and feared that they might be carried
2 μὴ καὶ ἐς ἀνήκεστον προχωρῆσῃ. οὐ μέντοι καὶ κακὸν οὐδένα οὐδέν, ὠσπερ έἵππου, εἰργάσατο, πλὴν ὅτι κάνταῦθα πολλὰ ἡγυρολογήση, τὰ μὲν τινα ἐν δωρεᾶς μέρει, στεφάνους καὶ ἀγάλματα, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, λαμβάνων, τὰ δὲ καὶ δανειζόμενος δῆθεν, οὐχ ὅτι παρὰ τῶν ἱδιωτῶν
3 ἄλλα καὶ παρὰ τῶν πόλεων. τούτο γὰρ τὸ ὅνομα ταῖς ἐκλογαῖς τῶν χρημάτων, ἐφ' ἀλὸς μηδεμία ἄλλη πρόφασις εὐλογος ἦν, ἐτίθετο, ἐπεὶ τὴν γε ἄλλως καὶ βιαίως, οὐδὲν ἦττον τῶν ὀφειλομένων, καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐπράττετο, καὶ ἐμελλε μηδέποτε ἀποδοθήσεσθαι. ἔλεγεν μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ 1 τοῦ δημοσίου τὰ οἰκεία δεδαπανήκεναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
4 καὶ δανειζόμενα. θεσνπερ καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπᾶς ἀξιοῦντος τοῦ πλῆθους γενέσθαι οὐκ ἐποίησεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι "καὶ αὐτὸς πολλὰ ὀφείλω." εὐδήλος δὲ ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια τῇ δυναστείᾳ παραστῶ-5 μενος. οἳ τε οὖν ἄλλοι διὰ τοῦτο ἠχθοντο αὐτῶ καὶ οἱ ἐταιροί. 2 τῶν γὰρ δεδημεμένων συχνά, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἄξιαν γε ἐστιν αὐτῷ ἐλπίδι τοῦ προϊκα αὐτὰ ἐξεῖν ἀγοράσαντες, πᾶσαν τὴν τιμὴν ἀποτίνευ θναγκάζοντο.
51 ἄλλα τούτων μὲν ἐν 3 οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ τοί καὶ ἐκείνους τρόπον τινὰ ὡς ἐκάστους ἑθεράπευσεν. τοῖς τε γὰρ πολλοῖς ἐχαρίσατο τὸν τε τόκον τῶν ἐποφειλομένων σφισιν ἐξ οὗ πρὸς τὸν Πομπῆιον ἐξεπολεμώθη πάντα, καὶ τὸ ἐνοίκιον ὅσον ἐς πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς ἦν ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐνὸς
2 ἀφεὶς, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰς τιμῆσεις τῶν κτημά-των, ἐν οἷς τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν δανεισμάτων κατὰ

1 ὑπὲρ R. Steph., ὑπὸ L. 2 ἐταιροί R. Steph., ἐτεροί L. 3 ἐν supplied by Leunel.
to dangerous lengths. Nevertheless, as I have said, he did no harm to any one, except that there, too, he collected large amounts, partly in the shape of crowns and statues and the like which he received as gifts, and partly by "borrowing," as he styled it, not only from individual citizens but also from cities. This term "borrowing" he applied to those levies of money for which there was no other reasonable excuse; for he exacted these sums also in a high-handed way and no less by force than he collected money actually due him, and it was his intention never to repay them. He claimed, indeed, that he had spent his private possessions for the public good and that indeed it was for that reason he was borrowing. Accordingly, when the multitude demanded an annulment of debts, he would not grant this, saying: "I, too, owe large amounts." It was easy to see that he was wresting away others' property also by his position of supremacy, and for this his associates as well as others disliked him. For these men, who had bought a great deal of the confiscated property, in some cases for more than its real value, in the hope of retaining it without paying for it, now found themselves compelled to pay the full price.

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

\[1\] Ch. 33.
τους νόμους γίγνεσθαι ἑδει, πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ἀξίαν ἐπαναγαγών, ἐπειδὴ 1 τῷ πλῆθει τῶν δε-3 δημοσιωμένων πολὺ πάντα ἐπευώνιστο. τούτους τε οὖν ταύτα πράξας ἀνυρτήσατο, καὶ τῶν προσεταιριστῶν τῶν τε συναγωνιστῶν τοὺς μὲν βουλευτὰς ἑρωσύναις τε καὶ ἄρχαις ταῖς τε ἐς τὸν λοιπὸν τοῦ ἐτοὺς ἐκείνου χρόνου καὶ ταῖς ἐς νέωτα 2 (ίνα γὰρ πλείους αὐτῶν ἀμείβηται, στρατηγοὺς τε δέκα ἐς τὸ ἐπτὸν ἔτος ἀπεδείξε). 4 καὶ ἱερέας ὑπὲρ τὸ νεομυσμένουν τοὺς τε γὰρ ποντίφεξι καὶ τοὺς οἰωνισταῖς, ὅπως καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν, τοῖς τε πεντεκαίδεκα καλουμένους ἕνα ἑκάστοις προσένειμε, καὶ περ αὐτὸς βουληθεῖσι πάσας τὰς ἑρωσύνας λαβεῖν ὡστὲ ἐφήβιστο), τοὺς δὲ ἑπτάς τοῦ τέλους τοὺς τε ἐκατοντάρχους καὶ τοὺς ὑπομείνας ἄλλους τε τισὶ καὶ τῷ καὶ ἐς τὸ συνεδρίῳ τινας ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολογολότων καταλέξαι.

52. Τὰ δὲ δὴ στρατόπεδα οὐχ ἧσυχὰ αὐτῶν ἐτάραξεν πολλὰ γὰρ λήψεσθαι ἐλπίσαντες, καὶ εὐρομενοι τῆς μὲν ἀξίας οὐκ ἑλάττω τῆς δὲ προσδοκίας καταδειστερα, ἑθορύβησαν. ἐν Καμπανίᾳ δὲ οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικήν προπλευ-2 σόμενοι, ἤσαιν. οὖτοι οὖν τὸν τε 4 Σαλούστιον παρ’ ὅλγον ἀπέκτειναι (στρατηγός γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς βουλείαν ἁναλαβεῖν ἀπεδεικτο), καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκείνος διαφυγὼν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην πρὸς τὸν Καῖσαρα ὀρμησε, τὰ γιγνόμενα οἱ δηλώσων, ἐφέσπυντο τε αὐτῷ συχνοὶ μηδείνοις φειδόμενοι,

1 ἐπειδὴ Bk., ἐπὶ δὲ L. 2 νέωτα R. Steph., νεώτα τα L. 3 ἀπεδείξε R. Steph., ἀποδείξει L. 4 οὖν τὸν τε Bk., τε οὖν τὸν L. 5 βουλείαν Bk., βουλή L.
worth at the time the loan had been made, in view of the fact that everything had become much cheaper as a result of the great amount of confiscated property. By these acts he attached the people to himself; and he attached the members of his party and those who had fought for him in the following manner. Upon the senators he bestowed priesthoods and offices, some of them for the rest of that year and some for the next. Indeed, in order to reward a larger number, he appointed ten praetors for the next year and more than the customary number of priests; for he added one member each to the pontifices and to the augurs, of whom he was one, and also to the Quindecimviri, as they were called, although he had desired to take all the priesthoods himself, as had been decreed. The knights in the army and the centurions and subordinate officers he conciliated in various ways, especially by appointing some of them to the senate to fill the places of those who had perished.

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

1 Quindecimviri sacris faciundis.
καί ἄλλους τε τῶν ἐντυχόντων σφίσι καὶ βου-
λευταίς δύο ἐσφαξαν. ὁ όν πεί Καῖσαρ ὡς τάχιστα
τῆς προσόδου αὐτῶν ἦσθετο, ἦθελησε μὲν τὸ
δορυφορικὸν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἀντιπέμψαι, φοβηθεὶς δὲ
μὴ καὶ ἐκείνου συστασιάσωσι σφισιν ἦσχασε,
μέχρις οὐ ἐς τὸ προάστειον ἄφικυστο. ἐνταῦθα δὲ
δὴ οὕσιν αὐτοῖς προσέπεμψε, καὶ ἐπίθετο τί
4 βουλώμενοι καὶ τίνος χρησκόντες ἦκοιεν. ἀπο-
κριναμένων τε σφῶν ὅτι αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνῳ ἔροῦσιν,
ἐπέτρεψε μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀνευ τῶν
ὀπλῶν, πλὴν τῶν—ξιφῶν, ἔσελθεν· ταῦτα γὰρ
καὶ ἄλλως καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀστεὶ φορεῖν εἰώθεσαν, καὶ
53 τότε οὐκ ἀν ὑπέμειναν καταθέσαν· εἰπόντων
dὲ αὐτῶν πολλὰ μὲν περὶ δῶν καὶ ἐπόνησαν καὶ
ἐκινδύνευσαν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ δῶν ἦλπισαν
ἀξίους τε σφῶς τυχεῖν ἐφασκὸν εἶναι, καὶ μετὰ
tοῦτο ἀφεθῆναι τε τῆς στρατείας ἄξιοντων καὶ
2 δεινῶς διὰ τοῦτ’ αὐτῷ ἐγκειμένων, οὕχ ὅτι καὶ
ἰδιωτεύσαι ἐβούλοντο (ἡκιστα γὰρ, ἀτε καὶ συνή-
θεις ταῖς πλεονεξίαις ἐκ πολλῶν γεγονότες, τοῦτ’
ἡθελον) ἀλλ’ ὅτι καταπλήξειν τε ἐξ αὐτοῦ τῶν
Καῖσαρα καὶ πᾶν ὅτιον καταπράξειν, ἀτε καὶ
ὑπογύνου1 οἱ τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικῆν στρατείας 2
3 οὐσῆς, ἐνόμιζον, περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν σφίςι
τὸ παράταν ἀπεκρίνατο, αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰπὼν
μονα “ἀλλ’ ὅρθως γε, ὁ Κυρίται,” λέγετε· καὶ
γὰρ κεκμήκατε καὶ κατατέρωσθε” πάντας αὐ-
τοὺς παραχῦμα ὡς μηδὲν δὴθεν αὐτῶν δεόμενος
δήκε, καὶ τὸς τὸν τεταγμένον χρόνον ἐστρατευ-

1 ὑπογύνου R. Steph., ὑπογυνόν L.
2 στρατείας H. Steph., στρατείας L.
3 Κυρίται R. Steph., κουρίται L.

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

I.e., Citizens.

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μένους καὶ τὰ γέρα ἑντελῆ δῶσειν ὑπέσχετο.  
4 λεχθέντων δὲ τοιτῶν κατεπλάγησαν ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης αὐτοῦ διανοίας, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι Κυρίτας ἀλλ' οὐ στρατιώτας σφᾶς ὤνόμασε, καὶ ταπεινωθέντες φοβηθέντες τε μὴ πάθωσι τι δεινὸν μετεβάλλοντο,1 καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἱκετεύοντες αὐτοῦ ἔποιον, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι καὶ συστρατεύσειν 2 οἱ ἐθελονται καὶ τὸν πόλεμον μόνοι διαπολεμήσειν 5 ὑπέσχοντο. ὥς οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν, καὶ τις καὶ τῶν στρατιαρχῶν ἐν τοσοῦτῳ, ἢ καὶ ἄφ' ἐαυτοῦ γνώμης ἢ 3 χαρίζομενος τῷ Καίσαρι, διελέξθη τε τινα ὑπέρ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐδεήθη, "ἀφίημι μὲν" ἐφη "καὶ ὑμᾶς τοὺς παρόντας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους 6 πάντας, ὅσοι τὰ τῆς στρατείας ἑτη ἐξήκει· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ δέομαι τι ὑμῶν, τὰ μέντοι γέρα καὶ ὡς ὑμῖν ἀποδόσω, ἵνα μὴ ποτὲ τις εἴπῃ ὅτι ἐγὼ χρησάμενος ὑμῖν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἐπείτα ἀχάριστος ἐγενόμην, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ τὸς σώμασιν ἐρρωμένου καὶ πάντα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσδιασπέρωσαι δυνάμενοι οὐκ ἥθελοτάτε μοι συστρατεύ- 54 σαι." καὶ δὲν ταῦτα τε σοφίζομενοι εἶπε (πάνω γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔχρηζε) καὶ χώραν ἐκ τῆς δημοσίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ δὴ πάσι σφῖσιν ἔνεμεν, ἄλλους ἄλλη, καὶ πάνω πόρρω ἀπ' ἄλληλων, ἀπαρτήσας, ὥστε μήτε τοὺς ὀμοχώρους σφᾶς φοβεροὺς μήτ' αὖ πρὸς νεωτερισμοὺς ἐτοίμους, καθ' ἐν πον 2 συνοικοῦντας, γενέσθαι. τῶν τε ἐποφειλομένων σφῖσι χρημάτων, ἀ πολλὰ καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ὡς εἰπεῖν πράξειν ὑπέσχητο δῶσειν, τὰ μὲν εὐθὺς

1 metebályontos Bk., metebályontos L.  
2 συστρατεύσειν Xiph., συστρατεύσειν L.  
3 ἢ supplied by Reim.

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full to such as had served the appointed time. At these words they were struck with alarm both at his intention in general and particularly because he had called them Quirites instead of soldiers; and so, humiliated and fearing they should meet with some severe penalty, they changed front and addressed him with many entreaties and offers, promising that they would join his expedition as volunteers and would carry the war through for him by themselves. When they had reached this stage and one of their leaders also, either on his own impulse or as a favour to Caesar, had said a few words and presented a few petitions in their behalf, he replied: “I discharge both you who are present here and all the rest whose years of service have expired; for I really have no further need of you. Yet even so I will pay you the rewards, that no one may say that after using you in dangers I later showed myself ungrateful, even though you were unwilling to join my campaign while perfectly strong in body and able to carry through all the wars that remain.” This he said for effect, for they were quite indispensable to him. He then assigned them all land from the public holdings and from his own, settling them in different places, and separating them far from one another, so that they should not, by living somewhere together, either be a source of terror to their neighbours or, again, be ready for rebellion. As to the money that he owed them,—and on the eve of practically every action he had promised to give them large amounts,—he offered to pay part immediately and to settle
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ἀπαλλάξειν, τὰ δὲ οὖκ ἐσ μακρὰν καὶ σὺν τόκῳ γε
dιαλύσειν ἐπηγγείλατο. εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ
dουλωσάμενος αὐτοῦς ὡστε μήτε τι θρασύνεσθαι
καὶ προσέτι καὶ χάριν εἰδέναι, προσεπείπεν
3 “ἀπέχετε μὲν παρ’ ἐμοῦ πάντα, καὶ οὐδένα ἐθ’
ὑμῶν ἀναγκάσω στρατεύσασθαι εἰ μέντοι τις
ἐκουσίος ἔθελοι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μοι συγκατεργά-
σασθαι, ἥδεως αὐτὸν δέξομαι.” ἀκούσαντες δὲ
tούτο ἐκεῖνο ὑπερήθησαν καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως
55 ἀναστρατεύσασθαι ἥθελησαν. ὁ οὖν Καίσαρ
τοὺς ταραχῶδες αὐτῶν, οὐ πάντας ἀλλ’ ὅσοι
μετρίως πως συνόντες γεωργίαις ξῆν ἐδύναντο,
ἀπολέξας τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐχρήσατο. καὶ τούτο καὶ
2 ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν ἐποίησεν τοὺς γὰρ
πάνυ τὰς ἁγίαις καὶ ἱσανοὺς μέγα τι κακὸν δρᾶσι
ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξῆγαγεν, ὅπως μηδὲν ἑκεῖ
καταλειφθέντες νεοχμώσωσιν, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ
Ἀφρικῇ καὶ μάλα ἥδεως, ἄλλους καὶ ἄλλην
πρόφασιν, ἀνάλασε· τοὺς τε γὰρ ἑναντίον ἀμα
δι αὐτῶν κατειργάζετο καὶ ἑκείνων ἀπηλλάττετο.
3 φιλανθρωπότατος τε γαρ ἀνδρῶν ὁν, καὶ πολλὰ
κεχαρισμένα τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τοῖς στρατιωταῖς
μάλιστα ποιῶν, δεινῶς τοὺς στασιάζοντάς σφὼν
ἐμέσει καὶ ἵσχυρότατα αὐτὸν ἐκόλαξε.
4 Ταῦτα τε ἐν ἑκείνῳ τῷ ἔτει, ἐν δὲ δικτάτωρ
μὲν ὅντως αὐτός τὸ δεύτερον ἥρξεν, ὑπατοὶ δὲ
ἐπ’ ἐξόδῳ αὐτοῦ ἀποδείχθεντες οΤ τε Καλλίνος
56 καὶ ὁ Οὐατίνιος ἐλέγοντο εἶναι, ἐποίησε, καὶ
ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν καίτοι τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐνεστη-

1 γε Bk., τε L. 2 συνόντες Rk., όντες L.
3 τε supplied by R. Steph.
4 τε supplied by Bk. 5 Οὐατίνιος R. Steph., οὐλτίνιος L.

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

These were the things he did in that year in which he really ruled alone as dictator for the second time, though Calenus and Vatinius, appointed near the close of the year, were said to be the consuls. He also crossed over to Africa, although winter had set
κότος ἐπεραιώθη. καὶ οὐκ ὄλιγα δὲ ἐκ τούτου, ἀνέλπιστος τοῖς ἐναντίοις προσπεσῶν, κατώρθωσε· πλεῖστον γὰρ παρὰ πάντα καὶ τὸ τάχει καὶ ταῖς ἐκ τού ἀπροσδοκητοῦ στρατείας κατέπραττεν, ὡστ' εἰ τις ἐκλογῆσιοτό ὦτῳ τοσοῦτον τῶν καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπερήμεγκεν, οὐδὲν ἀν ἀλλο τούτου μᾶλλον ὃν ἐμπροσθε παραβαλῶν εὐροῦ. ἦ δὲ Ἰβρικὴ ἡν μὲν οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ φίλη τῷ Καίσαρι, μετὰ δὲ δὴ τὸν τοῦ Κουρίωνος, θάνατον καὶ πάνυ ἐγχειρὰ ἐγένετο. ὁ τε γὰρ Οὐάρος καὶ ὁ Ἰόβας τὰ πράγματα εἶχον, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὁ Κάτων καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων οὐ τε ἄλλοι οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν ὄντες ἐκείστε, ὡσπέρ εἶπον, συγκατέφυγον.

3 κὰκ τοῦτον κοινοσάμενοι τὸν πόλεμον τὰ τε ἐν τῇ ὑπερῴῳ ἐξηρτύσαντο καὶ τῇ τε Σικελία καὶ τῇ Σαρδοῖ ἐπίπλους ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ τἀς τε πόλεις ἐλύπον καὶ τὰ πλοῖα κατῆγον, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὀπλα τὸν τε σίδηρον τὸν ἄλλον, οὕτε ποὺ καὶ μόνου ἔχρυσου, ἐπόριζον, τελευτῶντες τε ἐς τοῦτο καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ τῆς διανοιῶς, οἷα μήτε στρατοῦ σφίσιν ἐναντιομένου καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄστει χρωσάντος, ἀφίκοντο ὡστε καὶ ἐς τὴν Ιβηρίαν τὸν Πομπήγον ἀποστείλατο. στασιάζειν τε γὰρ αὐτὴν πυνθανόμενοι, καὶ ἐκείνον ἐτοιμῶς ἄτε τοῦ Πομπήγου τοῦ Μάγνου παῖδα ὄντα

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

1 Ch. 13, 4.
δέξεσθαι νομίσαντες, παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς τὴν ἔσπερον
καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ ἐκείθεν ὀρμήσων, οἱ δὲ ὡς τὸν πλοῦν
ἀμα τὸν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ποιησομένου. κατ' ἀρχὰς
μὲν γὰρ διατριβῆ τις αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, τοῦ τε Ὀὐαροῦ
τοῦ 3 Σκιπίων τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀμφισβητήσαντος,
ἐπειδή αὐτὸς ἐκ πλείονος ἐν τοῖς ταύτῃ χωρίων
ήρχε, καὶ τοῦ Ἰόβου τῇ νίκῃ ἐπαιρομένου καὶ
2 τὰ πρῶτα δι' αὐτῆς ἀξίωντος φέρεσθαι: συμ-
φρονήσαντες δὲ 4 ο̄ τε Σκιπίων καὶ ο̄ Κάτων, οία
ὁ μὲν τῇ ἀξίωσει ὁ δὲ τῇ συμφέρει πολὺ πάντων
σφῶν προῆκοντες, τοὺς τε ἄλλους προσεποιή-
σαντο καὶ ἐκεῖνους ἐπεισαγαγόν τῷ Σκιπίων πάντα
ἐπιτρέφας. ο̄ γὰρ Κάτων δυνηθεὶς ἰν ἐξ ἕσσον
3 αὐτῷ ἦ καὶ μόνος ἀρξαίι οὐκ ἡθέλησε, τὸ μὲν
ὅτι βλαβερώτατον τοῖς τοιούτοις ἠγείτο εἶναι,
τὸ δὲ ὅτι τῷ πολιτικῷ ἀξιόματι ἠλπιτότο
αὐτοῦ· πολὺ γὰρ ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς στρατιω-
τικοῖς ἑώρα δυνάμενον τὸ τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ νόμῳ
δή τιν τῶν ἄλλων προκεκρίσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
τῆς τε ἀρχῆς ἐκῶν αὐτῷ παρεχώρησε, καὶ προσέτι
4 καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ἀ ἐπηγάγατο παρέδωκε. καὶ ο̄
μὲν ἐκ τοῦτο τῆς τε Ὀὐτικῆν, ὑποτενθεῖσαν τὰ
τοῦ Κάσσαρος φρονεῖν καὶ ὅλιγου καὶ ἀνάστατον
ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ τοῦτω γενομένην, ἐξαιτησά-
μενος ἐς φυλακὴν ὑπεδέξατο, καὶ τὴν χώραν
τὴν τε ἡλάσσαν τὴν ταύτῃ πᾶσαν φρονεῖν
ἐπετράπη τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὁ Σκιπίων αὐτοκράτωρ
5 ἠρχε. καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα πολὺ πάντας

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

58 Μαθὸν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Καίσαρ, καὶ ἵδον ὅτι
καὶ οἱ μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ στρατευόμενοι πεπεισμένοι
τε αὐτὸ οὕτως ἔχειν εἰσὶ καὶ φοβοῦνται, προσ-
παρέλαβε τινὰ ἐκ τε τοῦ γένους τοῦ τῶν Σκιπίω-
νῶν ὄντα καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν ταύτην φέροντα
2 (ἐπεκαλεῖτο δὲ Σαλοντίων), καὶ οὕτω τὸν τε
πλοῦν πρὸς Ἀδρυμῆτον ἔποιησατο (τὰ γὰρ ἐν
τῇ Ὀυτικῇ ἱσχυρῶς ἐφρουρεῖτο), καὶ ἔλαβεν
αὐτοὺς ἀνέλπιστος ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος περαιωθεῖς,
ἐκβάντι δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς νεώς συντυχία τοιάδε
ἐγένετο, ὡς ἡ γε καὶ τι φοβερὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ
δαμοὺν σφίσιν ἐσημαίνετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ
3 γε ἐκεῖνο ἐς ἀγαθὸν ἔτρεψεν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀμα
τῷ τῆς γῆς ἐπιβηκὴν προσέπτωσε, καὶ αὐτὸν
πεσόντα ἐπὶ στόμα οἱ στρατιῶται ἵδοντες ἡθύμη-
σαν καὶ δυσανασχετήσαντες ἐθορύβησαν, οὐ
διηπορήθη, ἀλλὰ ἐκτείνας τῷ χείρε2 τῆν τε
γῆν, ὡς καὶ ἐκών δὴ πεσόν, περιέλαβε καὶ
κατεφίλησε, καὶ ἀναβοήσας εἶπεν „ἔχω σε,
4 Ἀφρικῇ,” ἐκ δὲ τοῦτον προσέβαλε μὲν τῷ
Ἀδρυμῆτῳ, ἀποκρουσθεὶς δὲ καὶ προσέτι καὶ
ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου βιαῖως ἐκβληθεὶς μετέστη
πρὸς πόλιν ἐτέραν Ρούπτινα, καὶ δεχθεὶς ὑπ'
αὐτῶν χειμάδιον τε ἐν αὐτῇ κατεσκευάσατο, καὶ
ἐκεῖθεν ὀρμώμενος ἐπολέμη.  

1 Σαλοντίων Fabr., σαλάττων L.
BOOK XLII

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

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

1 Or Salvito; cf. Plutarch, Caes. 52, and Suetonius, Jul. 59.
BOOK XLIII

Τάδε ἐνεστὶν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Δίωνος 'Ρωμαϊκῶν

α. Ἡ ὁ Καῖσαρ Σκιτίωνα καὶ Ἰδιάν ἐνίκησεν.
β. Ἡ ὁ Νομιδιάν οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι ἔσχον.
γ. Ἡ ὁ Κάτων ἐαυτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν.
δ. Ἡ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἦς 'Ρώμην ἐπανήλθε καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἐπέμψε καὶ τάλλα κατεστήσατο.
ε. Ἡ ὁ ἔτε ἄγορα Καῖσαρος καὶ ὁ ναὸς ὁ τῆς 'Αφροδίτης καθιερώθη.
ζ. Ἡ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐσ τὸν νῦν τρόπον κατεστήσατο.
η. Ἡ ὁ Καῖσαρ Ἰναίον Πομπήιον τὸν τοῦ Πομπηίου νῦν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ ἐνίκησεν.
θ. Ἡ ὁ πρῶτον ὑπατοὶ ἐς οἷς ὀλον τὸ ἐτος ἀπεδείχθησαν.
ι. Ἡ ὁ Καρχηδόν καὶ Κόρινθος ἀπεκλήσθη.
ια. Ἡ ὁ Κερεάλιοι ἄγορανόμοι κατεστάθησαν.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἦτη τρία, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμοῦμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο

Γ. 'Ἰουλίος Γ. ὑ. Καῖσαρ δικτάτωρ τὸ γ' ¹
μετὰ Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου ἱππάρχου
καὶ ὑπάτος τὸ γ' μετὰ Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου ²
Γ. ³ 'Ἰουλίος Καῖσαρ δικτάτωρ τὸ δ'
μετὰ Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου ⁴ ἱππάρχου
καὶ ὑπάτος τὸ δ' μόνος
Γ. ⁵ 'Ἰουλίος Καῖσαρ δικτάτωρ τὸ ε'
μετὰ Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου ἱππάρχου
καὶ ὑπάτος τὸ ε' μετὰ Μ. ⁶ Ἀντωνίου.

Τότε μὲν ταύτ' ἐπράξε, τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει καὶ ἐδικτατορευσεν ἀμα καὶ ὑπάτευσε, τρίτον ἐκάτερον, τοῦ Λεπίδου οἱ ἀμφοτέρῳ ἑπτὰντος.

¹ τὸ γ' Ἁ. τοῦ Λ.
² Λ. adds ἕπταντος after Λεπίδου and Ἀντωνίου. Deleted by Bs.
³ Γ. Bs., γάιος Λ.
⁴ Λεπίδου supplied by Bs.
⁵ ⁶
BOOK XLIII

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

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

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

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

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

5 Π. supplied by Bs. 6 M. supplied by Bs.
7 áμφοτέρωθι v. Herw., áμφοτέροις L.
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επειδὴ γὰρ δικτάτωρ ύπ' αὐτού τὸ πρῶτον ἐξέχθη, παραχρῆμα τε αὐτοῦ μετὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τὴν πλησιαίτεραν ἔστειλε,

2 καὶ ἐπανελθόντα ἐπινικίοις, μήτε τινὰς νικήσαντα μήτ' ἄρχην μαχεσάμενον τιςιν, ἔτιμησε, πρόφασιν ὃτι τοῖς ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Λογγύνου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ

3 Μαρκέλλου πραχθεῖσι παρεγένετο. οὖκοιν οὐδὲ ἐπεμψε τί ἐπ' ἄληθείας, πλὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἀπὸ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐσευλήκει. τοὔτοις τε οὖν αὐτῶν ἤγγισε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ συνάρχοντα ἐκατέρωθι προσεῖλετο.

2 Καὶ αὐτῶν ἄρχόντων ἤδη οἱ τε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐταράχθησαν ὑπὸ σημείων. λύκος τε γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ ὄφθη, καὶ χοῖρος ἐλέφαντι πλὴν τῶν ποδῶν ὁμοίως ἐγεννήθη· καὶ τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ὁ τε Πετρεῖος καὶ ὁ Λαβιήνος τηρήσαντες τὸν Καίσαρα πρὸς

2 κῶμας ἐπὶ σύτον ἐξεληλυθότα, τήν τε ἱππον αὐτὸν μηδέπω καλῶς ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐρραμένην ἐς τοὺς πεζοὺς τοῖς. Νομάσι κατήραξαν, καὶ συνταραχθείσης πρὸς τούτο τῆς ἀστιδος πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν χεραὶν ἀπέκτειναν, πάντας δ' ἀν καὶ τοὺς λουποὺς ἀνειληθέντας ἐπὶ μετέωρον

3 τὶ ἐξέκοψαν, εἰ μὴ ἵσχυρὸς ἐτρώθησαν. ἐπὶ πλεῖον δ' οὖν καὶ ὡς, τοῦτον συμβεβηκότος, τὸν Καίσαρα κατέπληξαν. λογιζόμενος μὲν γὰρ ὡς ὑπὸ ὀλίγων ἐπταυσε, προσδεχόμενος δὲ καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα τὸν τε Ἰόβαν πᾶσας, ὡσπερ ἤγγελλοντο, ταῖς δυνάμεσιν εὐθὺς ἀφίξεσθαι, διηπόρει

4 καὶ οὔκ εἰχεν ὃ τι πράξῃ τὸν τε γὰρ πόλεμον μηδέπω καλῶς διενεγκεῖν δυνάμενος, καὶ τὴν ἐν

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

When now they were in office, the people of Rome were disturbed by prodigies; for a wolf was seen in the city, and a pig was born resembling an elephant save for its feet. In Africa, Petreius and Labienus, after waiting until Caesar had gone out to villages after grain, drove his cavalry, which had not yet thoroughly recovered its strength after the sea-voyage, back upon the infantry with the aid of the Numidians; and while the latter as a result was in great confusion, they killed many of the soldiers in hand-to-hand fighting. Indeed, they would also have cut down all the others, who had crowded together on some high ground, had they not received grievous wounds themselves. Even so, they alarmed Caesar not a little by this deed. For considering how he had been checked by a few, and expecting, too, that Scipio and Juba would arrive directly with all their forces, as it was reported they would, he was greatly embarrassed and did not know what course to adopt. For he was not yet able to carry through the war to a satisfactory conclusion; and he saw that to
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tautō mou ἐπεληνή, καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι σφῶν ἀπέχωνταί, διὰ τὴν τῆς τροφῆς ἀπορίαν, τὴν τε ἀνάστασιν ἀδύνατον τῶν πολέμων καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου καὶ ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπικειμένων οἱ ὄρὸς ὄψετε, ἡθύμει.

3 Ἐνταῦθ οὖν αὐτῷ ὑπὶ Πούπλιος τις Σίττιος, εἶχε εἰκόνιον ἄλλα μή τὸ δαίμόνιον δεῖ λέγειν, τὴν τε σωτηρίαν ἃμα καὶ τὴν ἐπικράτησιν ἐδωκεν. οὕτως γὰρ ἐξέπεσε μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, παραλαβὼν δὲ συμφυγάδας τινὰς καὶ περαιώθεις ἐσ.

2 Μαυριτανίαν χειρὰ τε ἡθροισε, καὶ παρὰ τῷ Βόκχῳ στρατηγήσας ἐπεχείρησε τῷ Καίσαρι, μήτε τινὰ εὐεργεσίαν αὐτοῦ προέχων μὴ ἄλλος ἐν γνώσει οἱ ὄντες, τοὺ τε πολέμου συναίρασθαι καὶ τὰ παρόντα συγκατεργάσασθαι. κακὸ τούτου αὐτῶ μὲν ἔκεινοι οὐκ ἐπήμυνεν· πόρρω τε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἦκουν ὅπλα, καὶ βραχὺ τι ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ (οὐ γὰρ ποι μεγάλην ἵσχυν εἰχέν) ὁφελήσεσθαι εὐμόιζε· τὸν δὲ δὴ Ἰοβαν ἐκστρατεύσαντα τη-

4 ρῆσας ἐσ τὴν Νομιδιὰν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ ταῦτην τε καὶ τὴν ΓαΙτουλίαν μέρος τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ οὕσαν ἐλυμήνατο, ὡστε τὸν βασιλέα τῶν τε ἐν χερσὶν ἀφέσθαι καὶ ἐκ μέσης τῆς ὁδοῦ μετὰ τοῦ πλείονος στρατοῦ ἀναστρέψας· ἔστι γὰρ ὁ τι καὶ τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ συνέπεραυν. ἐξ οὕπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα διεφάνη ὅτι εἰ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐληλύθει, οὐκ ἄν ποτε αὐτοῖς ὁ Καίσαρ ἀντέσχεν. οὐκουν οὕδε μόνῳ τῷ Σκιπίωνι συμβαλείν 3 εὐθὺς ἐτόλμησε· τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, τὸ μὲν τι καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ μάχῃ, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖον ὅτι τὸ

1 ἡθροισε Ἰτ., ἡθροισε Ἰτ. 2 τοῖς Ἱτ., γε Ἰτ. 3 συμβαλεῖν Ἰτ., συμβαλλεῖν Ἰτ.
stay in the same place was difficult because of the lack of subsistence, even if the foe should leave his troops alone, and that to retire was impossible, with the enemy pressing upon him both by land and by sea. Consequently he was dispirited.

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

2 Κἀν τούτῳ οἳ τε Γαίτουλοι προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἔτεροι τίνες τῶν πλησιοχώρων, τὰ μὲν δι' ἐκεῖνους, ἐπειδὴ σφας μεγάλως τιμηθέντας ἦκουσαν, τὰ δὲ καὶ τῇ τοῦ Μαρκίου μνήμῃ, ὅτι

3 προσήκοιν αὐτοῦ ἦν. ὡς δὲ ταύτα τε ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐβαδεόμενοι μὲν καὶ ἐπι-κινδύνως ὑπὸ τε τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων περαιωθέντες, ὅμως δ' οὖν ἥλθον ποτὲ, οὐκέθα ἥσυχασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺναντίον ἥπειροθεῖ πρὸς τήν μάχην, ὅπως πρὶν τὸν Ἰόβαν ἐπελθεῖν

4 φθάσῃ τὸν Σκιπίωνα προκατεργασάμενος. καὶ προχωρήσας ἐπ' αὐτὸν πρὸς πόλιν Οὐζζίττα ἐπὶ λόφου τινός, ὑπὲρ τε ἐκεῖνης καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατο-πέδου ἀμα αὐτῶν ὄντος, ἠδρύθη, προεκκρούσας ἑτ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ἰόβαν ἐπελθεῖν ἐπικαταδραμών

5 ἔκάκωσε. τούτῳ τε οὖν τὸ χωρίον κατέσχε καὶ ἐνετειχίσατο, καὶ ἔτερον ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς πόλεως, τὸν Δαβίδου ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κρατήσας, ἐλαβεί κάκι τούτου καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἀπετείχισεν. ὁ γὰρ Σκιπίων δεῖσας μή προαναλωθῇ, ἐς μάχῃ μὲν

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

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

5 Ἐν δὲ ταύτ’ ἐγίνετο, ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπείρασε μὲν πάντα τρόπον ἐς χείρας τὸν Σκυπίωνα ὑπαγαγέσθαι, μὴ δυνηθεὶς δὲ λόγους τε φίλους ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτοῦ καθῆκε καὶ βιβλία

2 βραχέα διέρρησεν, ὑπισχυούμενος δὲ αὐτῶν τῷ μὲν ἐπιχορίῳ τά τε οἰκεία ἀκέραια τηρήσειν καὶ αὐτοὺς ἑλευθέρους ἀφῆσειν, τὸ δὲ Ῥωμαίῷ τὴν τε ἁδειαν καὶ τὰ γέρα δὲ καὶ τοῖς συνυσίων οἱ ὕφειλε δώσειν καὶ συχνός γε ἐκ τούτου

3 προσεποίησατο. Σκυπίων δὲ ἐπεχείρησε μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ βιβλία καὶ λόγους ἐς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐσβαλεῖν ὡς καὶ σφετερομένοις τινασ, οὐ μέντοι καὶ μεταστήσαι αὐτοὺς ἡδυνήθη, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἂν καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνον τινὲς ἀνθείλοντο, εἶπερ

4 τι τῶν ὁμοίων ἐπηγγέλλετο, ἀλλ’ ὅτι ἄθλον μὲν σφισθαν σφισθαν σφισθαν, τὸν δὲ ἰδίαν τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν τε γερουσίαν ἄλλωσ ἑλευθερώσας αὐτοὺς παρεκάλει. καὶ οὕτως, ἐν δὲ δὴ τὰ εὐπρεπέστερα τῷ λόγῳ μᾶλλον ἥ τὰ χρησιμώτερα τοῖς παρόνισι ἡρέιτο, οὔτένα αὐτῶν ῥκειόσατο.

6 Μέχρι μὲν οὖν μόνος ὁ Σκυπίων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἦν, ταῦτ’ οὕτως ἐγίνετο, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἰόβας ἐπῆλθεν, ἡλλοιώθη. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ καὶ προεκαλοῦντο τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐς μάχην, καὶ μὴ

1 ἀνθείλοντο Melber, ἀνείλοντο L.
battle with Caesar, but kept sending for Juba; and when the latter would not obey his summons, Scipio promised to make him a present of all the territory that the Romans had in Africa. Juba then appointed others to take charge of the operations against Sittius and in person once more set out against Caesar.

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

So long, then, as Scipio alone was in the camp, matters went on thus, but when Juba also came up, the situation was changed. For they both tried to provoke their opponents to battle and harassed them
2 Βουλωμένους συμβαλεῖν ἐλύπουν, τῷ τε ἱππίκῳ τοὺς ἀποσκεδασμένους σφῶν ἵσχυρῶς ἐβλαπτοῦν. οὗ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ οὔτε ἔσχερας αὐτοῖς ἑκὼν ήεί, καὶ τὴν περιτείχισιν ἐπέσχε, καὶ τὴν τροφὴν ἐγαπητῶς ἤρπαξε, καὶ δυνάμεις ἄλλας οἷκοθεν προσμετεπέμπτο. καὶ ὅπερ μὲν καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐλθούσας αὐτάς (οὔτε γὰρ ἀδρόαι ἔσαν ἄλλα κατὰ βραχὺ συνελέγοντο, καὶ πλοῖων ὄσθ᾽ ἀμα περαιωθήναι ἠπόρον)—ἐλθούσας δ᾽ οὖν ποτὲ προσλαβῶν ἀνεθάρσησεν αὐθίς, καὶ ἐπεξε-
γαγὼν παρετάξατο πρὸ τῆς ταφρείας. ἰδόντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ ἐναντίοι ἀντιπαρετάξαντο μὲν, οὐ μὴν καὶ συνέβαλον σφίσιν. καὶ τούτῳ ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας ἐγένετο: πλὴν γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς ἑπεύσιν ἐπὶ βραχὺ συμμιγνύτες ἀνεχώρουν, οὐδὲν οὐδέτεροι μέγα παρέβαλον.
7 Ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ ἐννοήσας ὅτι οὐκ ἂν δύνατο ἀκοντας αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν χωρίων ές χείρας ἐλθεῖν ἐναγκάσαι, πρὸς Θάψου ὄρμησεν, ἵνα τὸ προσβοηθησάντων αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει συμβάλῃ σφίσιν, 2 η ἀνέπαυστος ἐκείνην γε ἔλη. ἥ δὲ δὴ Θάψος κεῖται μὲν ἐν χερσονήσῳ τρόπον τινά, ἐνθεὶ μὲν τῆς βαλάσσης ἐνθεὶ δὲ λίμνης παρηκούσης, στενῶν δὲ δὴ τὸν ἴσθμον καὶ ἐλώδη διὰ μέσου οὕτως ἐχει ὡστε δικῇ μὲν δὲ ἐλαχίστου δὲ ἐφ᾽ ἐκάτερα τοῦ ἐλους παρ᾽ αὐτὴν τὴν βαχίαν ἐτάγετο τοῦ οὖν στενῶν χωρήσας ἐτάφρευε
3 ἀμφοτέρωθιν παριέναι. πρὸς ταύτην οὖν τὴν πόλιν ο Καῖσαρ εἶσω τῶν στενῶν χωρῆσας ἐτάφρευε

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

Accordingly, when Caesar perceived that because of the nature of the land he could not force them to engage in conflict unless they chose, he set out for Thapsus, in order that he might either engage them, if they came to the help of the city, or might at least capture the place, if they left it to its fate. Now Thapsus is situated on a kind of peninsula, with the sea stretching along on one side and a lake on the other; the isthmus between them is so narrow and marshy that one reaches the town by two roads, only a little way apart, running along either side of the marsh close to the shore. On his way toward this city Caesar, when he had got inside the narrowest point, proceeded to dig
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καὶ ἑσταύρου. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐδὲν πράγμα αὐτῶν παρείχον (οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ἀξιόμαχοι), οὐ δὲ δὴ Σκιτίων καὶ ὁ Ἰόβας ἐπεχείρησαν τὸ στόμα τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ, καθ' ὁ πρὸς τὴν ἥπειρον τελευταῖα, σταυρώμασι καὶ ταφρεύμασι διεχόμενον

8 ἀνταποτείχισαι. ἐν ἔργῳ δὲ αὐτῶν ὄντων καὶ πολὺ καθ' ἐκάστην ἥμεραν ἀνυόντων (ὅπως γάρ τοι θάσσον διατείχισσι, τοὺς τε ἐλέφαντας καθ' ὁ μηδέπω διεταφρευτο 1 ἀλλ' εὐφοδόν τι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἡν προσέταξαν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντες

2 εἰργάζοντο) ἐπέθετο ὁ Καίσαρ αἱφνίδιον τοῖς ἐτέροις τοῖς 2 περὶ τῶν Σκιτίωνα, καὶ τούς ἐλέφαντας πόρρωθεν σφενδόνας καὶ τοξεύμασιν ἐκταράξας ἐφέσπετο τε αὐτῶς ἀναχωρήσασι, καὶ παρὰ δόξαν τοῖς ἐργαζόμενοι προσμίξας καὶ ἐκείνους ἐτρέψατο, καὶ σφιν φυγόσκιν ἐς

3 τὸ ἐρύμα συνεσπεσεῖν αὐτοβοεῖ αὐτὸ εἶλεν. ἵδον δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἰόβας οὕτως ἐξεπλάγη καὶ ἐδείσεν ὡς μήτε ἔς χειράς τιν υπομεῖναι ἐλθεῖν μήτε

4 τὸ στρατόπεδον διὰ φυλακῆς ποιήσασθαι. ἐκείνος μὲν οὖν φυγῶν καὶ οἴκατε ἐπεικέθεις, ἐπείτ' ἐπειδὴ μηδεῖς αὐτὸν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ Σιττίου τοὺς ἀντικαταστάντας οἱ προνεικηκότος, ἐδέξατο, ἀπέγνω τε τὴν σωτηρίαν, καὶ τῷ Πετρείῳ μεδεμίαν μηδ' αὐτῶ ἐλπίδα ἀδείας ἔχοντι ἐμονομα-χῆς καὶ συναπέθανε. καὶ συναπέθανε. Καίσαρ δὲ τὸ τε σταυρώμα εὖθὺς μετὰ τὴν φυγῆν αὐτὸ ἑλάβε, καὶ φόνον πλείστον τῶν προστυχόντων ἀπάντων σφίζον ἐποίησεν οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν μεταστάντων ἑφείσατο. καὶ τούτου τὰς τε ἄλλας πόλεις

1 διεταφρευτο Reim., διεταφρευτο L.
2 τοῖς supplied by Reim.
a ditch and to erect a palisade. The townspeople caused him no trouble, as they were no match for him; but Scipio and Juba undertook in their turn to wall off the neck of the isthmus, where it comes to an end at the mainland, by running palisades and ditches across from both sides. They were engaged in this work and were making great progress every day (for in order that they might build the walls across more quickly they had stationed the elephants along the portion not yet protected by a ditch and hence easy for the enemy to attack, while on the remaining portions all were working), when Caesar suddenly attacked the men who were with Scipio, and by using slings and arrows from a distance threw the elephants into great confusion. Then as they retreated he not only followed them up, but fell upon the workers unexpectedly and routed them, too; and when they fled into their camp, he dashed in with them and captured it without a blow. Juba, upon seeing this, was so startled and terrified that he ventured neither to come to close quarters with any one nor even to keep the camp under guard; so he fled and hastened homeward. And then, when no one received him, especially since Sittius had already overpowered all opposition, Juba, despairing of safety, fought in single combat with Petreius, who likewise had no hope of pardon, and together they died. Caesar, immediately after Juba's flight, captured the palisade and caused great slaughter among all who came in the way of his troops, sparing not even those who came over to his side. Next he brought the rest of
2 μηδένος ἀνθισταμένου παρεστήσατο, καὶ τοὺς Νομάδας λαβὼν ἐς τὸ ὑπῆκοον ἐπῆγαγε καὶ τῷ Σαλουστίῳ λόγῳ μὲν ἄρχειν ἔργῳ δὲ ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν ἐπέτρεψεν. ἀμέλει καὶ ἐδωροδοκήσε πολλὰ καὶ ἠρπάσευ, ὡστε καὶ κατηγορηθῇ·

3 καὶ 1 αἰσχύνην αἰσχύσθην ὁφλεῖν, 2 ὅτι τοιαῦτα συγγράμματα συγγράφας καὶ πολλὰ καὶ πικρὰ περὶ τῶν ἐκκαρπωμένων τινὰς εἰπὼν οὐκ ἐμμησατο τῷ ἔργῳ τοὺς λόγους. θειαν εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ὑφείθη ὠπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς γε ἑαυτὸν καὶ πάνυ τῇ συγγραφῇ ἐστηκόπησε.

4 Τούτῳ τε οὖν οὕτως ἐγένετο, καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐν τῇ Διβύῃ ταύτα τὸ μὲν περὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα, ὅ δέ καὶ Ἀφρικήν καλοῦμεν, παλαιών, ὅτι ἐκ πολλῶν κατείργαστο, τὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν Νομάδων νέον, ὅτι νεωστὶ εἰληπτο, ἐποινομάσθη. Σκιπίων δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῆς μάχης ἐφυγε, καὶ πλαίου ἐπιτυχών ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν πρὸς τε τὸν Πομπήιον ἀπήρευ, ἐκπεσών δὲ ἐς τὴν Μαυριτανίαν καὶ τὸν Σίττιον φοβηθεῖς ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο.

10 "Ὁ τε Κάτων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον συγκαταφύγοντων πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλῶν παρεσκευάζετο τῶν τε πραγμάτων ἀντιλαβέσθαι καὶ τῶν Καίσαρα τρόπων τινὰ ἀμύνασθαι. 3 ὡς δὲ οἱ τε Οὐτικήσιοι, 4 ἂτε μηδὲ ἐν τῷ πρὶν ἐχθροδώς τῷ Καίσαρι ἐχοντες καὶ τότε νευκηκότα αὐτὸν ὅροντες, οὐκ ἐπείθοντο αὐτῷ, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας τῶν τε ἑπτῶν παρώντες ἐφοβήθησαν μὴ συλληφθῶσιν ὕπτ' αὐτῶν καὶ δρασμόν ἐβουλευσάντο, αὐτῶς μὲν οὔτ' ἀντιπολεμήσαι (οὔδετε, γὰρ οὗσά τε ἦν) οὔτ' ἀντιπολεμήσαι (οὔδετε).

1 καὶ supplied by Xyl. 2 ὁφλεῖν Bs., ὁφλῆσαι L.
3 ἀμύνασθαι Phülk, ἀμῦνεσθαι L. 4 οὔδε Bk., οὔτε L.
the cities to terms, meeting with no opposition; and taking over the Numidians, he reduced them to the status of subjects, and delivered them to Sallust, nominally to rule, but really to harry and plunder. At all events this officer took many bribes and confiscated much property, so that he was not only accused but incurred the deepest disgrace, inasmuch as after writing such treatises as he had, and making many bitter remarks about those who fleeced others, he did not practice what he preached. Therefore, even if he was completely exonerated by Caesar, yet in his history, as upon a tablet, the man himself had chiselled his own condemnation all too well.

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

Cato, since many had sought refuge with him, was at first preparing to take a hand in affairs and to resist Caesar as best he might. But the people of Utica had not been hostile to Caesar in the first place, and now, seeing him victorious, would not listen to Cato; and the members of the senate and the knights who were present were afraid of being arrested by them, and so meditated flight. Cato himself, therefore, decided neither to war against Caesar,
3 αὐτοὶ προσχωρήσαι τῷ Καίσαρι ἐγνω, οὐχ ὅτι τι ἐδεδίει (καὶ γὰρ ἦπι ἡπίστατο καὶ πάνιν ἀν σπουδάσαντα αὐτῶν ἐαυτοῦ, τῆς ἐπὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ δόξης ἐνεκα, φείσασθαι), ἀλλ' ὅτι τῆς τε ἐλευθερίας ἱσχυρώς ἦρα, καὶ ἤττάσθαι οὐδενὸς ἐς οὐδὲν ἐβούλετο, τοῦ τε θανάτου πολὺ τῶν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔλεον χαλεπότερον ἤγειτο εἶναι.

4 συγκαλέσας δὲ τοὺς παρόντας τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ διερωτήσας ὅποι ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶν ὤρμηται, ἐκείνους μὲν μετ᾽ ἐφοδίων ἔξεπεμψε, τῷ δὲ νιεῖ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐλθεῖν ἐκέλευσε. πυθομένου τοῦ νεανίσκου “διὰ τὶ οὐν οὖχι καὶ συ τοῦτο ποιεῖς;”

5 ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ ὅτι “ἔγω μὲν ἐν τε ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ ἐν παρρησίᾳ τραφεῖς οὐ δύναμαι τὴν δουλείαν ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἐπὶ γῆρως μεταμαθεῖν” σοὶ δ' ἐν τοιαύτῃ καταστάσει καὶ γεννηθέντι καὶ τραφέντι τὸν δαίμονα τὸν λαχόντα σε θεραπεύειν προσήκει.”

11 Ταύτ' οὖν πράξας, καὶ τοὺς Ὀὐτικησίους τὴν τε διοίκησιν ἀπολογισάμενος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ χρήματα τὰ τε ἀλλα ὅσα αὐτῶν εἶχεν ἀποδοὺς, προσπαλλαγήσαι πρὸ τῆς τού Καίσαρος ἀφίξεσιν ἤθέλησε.

2 καὶ μεθ' ἠμέραν μὲν οὐκ ἐπεχείρησε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ὅ τε γὰρ νῦν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ περὶ αὐτῶν ὄντες φυλακῆν αὐτοῦ εἶχον ἔπει δὲ ἐσπέρα ἐγένετο, ξιφίδιον τε τὸ κρύφα ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον ὑπέθηκε, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος βιβλίον τὸ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένον ἤτησε,

3 εἰτ' οὖν πόρρω τῆς ὑποψίας τοῦ τι τοιουτοῦ βουλεύσασθαι τοὺς παρόντας ἀπαγαγεῖν σπουδᾶ-

1 προσχωρήσαι H. Steph., προσχωρήσαι L.
2 οὐδενὸς εἰς οὐδὲν R. Steph., εἰς οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν L.
3 ἀπολογισάμενος Βκ., ἀπολογησάμενος L.

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

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

1 The Phaedo.
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σας, ὡς ἤκιστα παρατηρήθη, εἴτε καὶ παραμύθιον τι πρὸς τὸν θάνατον ἐκ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἑπιθυμήσας. ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνο τε
4 ἀνελέξατο καὶ ἡ νῦξ ἐμέσου,1 τὸ τε ἐγχειρίδιον ὑφεῖλκυσε,2 καὶ ἐαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γαστέρα παίσας εὐθὺς ἀν ἐπελεύνθησαν ἑξαμονομοί, εἰ μὴ καταπεσὼν ἐκ τοῦ σκιμποδίου ψύψῃ τε ἐποίησε καὶ τοὺς προκοιτοῦντας3 ἔξηγε. καὶ οὕτως ὦ τε νῖος καὶ ἀλλοι τινὲς ἐστεσοῦντες τά τε ἐντερά αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν γαστέρα αὕθις κατέσαξαν4 καὶ
5 θεραπεῖαν αὐτὸ προσήγαγον. καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸ τε ἐχιδίον ἤραν καὶ τὰς θύρας ἐκκλείσαν, ὡς ὑπνον λάχη (οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀλλοι πῶς ἀποθανείν αὐτὸν προσεδόκησαν): ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐς τε τὸ τραύμα τὰς χεῖρας ἔνεβαλε καὶ τὰς ραφᾶς αὐτοῦ διαρρήξας ἀπέφυξεν.

6 ὁ μὲν οὖν Κάτων καὶ δημοτικώτατος καὶ ἱσχυρογνωμονέστατος5 πάντων τῶν καθ' ἐαυτόν ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος μεγάλην δόξαν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θανάτου ἔλαβεν, ὡστε καὶ ἐπωνυμίαν Οὐτικήσιος, ὅτι τε ἐν τῇ Οὐτικῇ οὕτως ἐπελεύνθησε καὶ
12 ὅτι δημοσία ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐτάφη, κτήσασθαι: ο ὃ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρ ἐκεῖνῳ μὲν ὀργίζεσθαι ἔφη ὅτι οἱ τῆς ἐπὶ σχηματία αὐτοῦ εὐκλείας ἐθήνησαν, τὸν δὲ νῖον καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν τοὺς πλέον ἄφηκεν, ὡστερ ἐυθεῖστο: οἱ μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπεροῦν, ὅτι τῶν ἀμβλυτέρω αὐτῶ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου γενομένῳ προσ-

1 ἐμέσου Bk., ἐμεσοῦτο I.
2 ὑφεῖλκυσε Dind., ὑφεῖλκυσε L.
3 προκοιτοῦντας R. Steph., προσκοιτοῦντας L.
4 κατέσαξαν Naber, κατέσαξαν L.
5 καὶ ἱσχυρογνωμονέστατος Rk., καὶ ἱσχυρότατος καὶ ἱσχυρογνωμονέστατος L.

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

Thus Cato, who had proved himself at once the most democratic and the strongest-minded of all the men of his time, acquired great glory even from his very death and obtained the title of Uticensis, both because he had died in Utica, as described, and because he was publicly buried by the inhabitants. Caesar declared that he was angry with him, because Cato had begrudged him the distinction of saving such a man, and he released his son and most of the others, as was his custom; for they came over to him of their own accord, some at once, and others later, so as to approach him after time should have
2 ἐλθοσίν, ἑθελουνταὶ προσεχώρησαν. καὶ οἶ μὲν ἐσώθησαν, Ἀφράνιος δὲ καὶ Φαύστος ἐκόντες μὲν ὡς ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτόν (καὶ γὰρ εὗ ἤδεσαν ἀπολού-μενοι), φυγόντες δὲ ἐς Μαυριτανίαν συνελήφθησαν ὕπο τοῦ Σιπτίου. καὶ ἐκεῖνοις μὲν ἄκριτοις ὁ

3 Καῖσαρ ὡς καὶ αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέσφαξεν τὸν δὴ Καῖσαρα τὸν Δούκιον, καὶ περ ἐν γένει οἱ οὖν καὶ ἐθελούσιον ἱκετεύσαντα, ὧμως ἐπειδὴ διὰ παντὸς αὐτῶ προσεπεπολεμήκει, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀποδικήσαι ἐκέλευσεν ὡστε ἐν δίκῃ τινὶ κατεψή-φίσθαι αὐτοῦ δόξαι, ἐπείτα δὲ ὀκνῆσας. αὐτὸν τῇ ἐαυτοῦ φωνῇ θανάτωσαι τότε μὲν ἀνεβάλετο, 1

13 ὑστερον δὲ καὶ κρύφα ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ γὰρ τῶν συνόντων οἱ τοὺς οὕκ ἐπιτηθείους τοὺς μὲν πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων οὐκ ἄκουσίως ἀπέβαλλε, 2 τοὺς δὲ καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τῶν σφητέρον έξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἐν

2 αὕταις ταῖς μάχαις ἀπόλλυσθαι ἐποίει. οὐ γὰρ τοι καὶ φανερῶς πᾶσι τοῖς λυπῆσαί τι αὐτόν, ὅσπερ εἶπον, ἐπεζήσε, ἀλλ' ὅσους μηδενὶ ἄξιοχρεῖ ἐγκλήματι μετελθεῖν ἐδύνατο, ἐν τρόπῳ δὴ τινὶ ἄφανεν ὑπεξήρει, καὶ τοῖς τὰ γράμματα, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἀπορρήτοις τοῦ Σκιπίωνος κιβωτίοις

3 εὐρέθη, πάντα καύσας πρὶν ἀναγνώσαι, καὶ τῶν ἀντιπολεμησάντων οἱ πολλοὶ μὲν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνοις πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ διὰ τοὺς φίλους σώσας τῶν τε γὰρ συναγωγιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων 3

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

\(^1\) It was Caesar’s regular custom to spare those who were taken captive for the first time, but to put them to death if they were captured again (cf. xli. 62, xliii. 17, xlv. 45 f.; Suet. Iul. 75). Hence some would read here “as captives for the second time” (δὲ καὶ πρῦν, or δὲ δίς, αἰχμαλώτους). But, as Boissevain points out, the contrast here is merely between captives and a voluntary suppliant.
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εκάστω ἐνα ἐξαιτεῖσθαι, ὡσπερ εἰρηται, ἐπέτρεπε. 4 καὶ δὴ 1 καὶ τῶν Κάτωνα ἔσωσεν ἄν ὀντω γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐπεθαυμάκει 2 ὡστε τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἐγκώ-

μιον μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτῶν γράψαντος ἀγανακτῆσαι μὲν μηδὲν, καίπερ καὶ ἐκεῖνον οἱ προσπολε-

μῆσαντος, βιβλίον δὲ τι γράψαι ὁ 'Ἀντικάτωνα ἐπεκάλεσε.

14 Καίσαρ μὲν ταῦτα τε πράξας, καὶ τοὺς ἀφηλικεστέρους τῶν στρατιωτῶν παραχρῆμα καὶ πρὶν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περαώθηναι, μὴ καὶ στασιάσωσιν αὖθις, ἀπαλλάξας, τά τε ἄλλα

2 τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ διὰ βραχέος, ὡς ἐνήν μάλιστα, καταστήσας, μέχρι μὲν τῆς Σαρδοῦς παντὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ ἐπέλευσαν, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐς τε τὴν ἸΒηρίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήιον μετὰ Πατιοῦ Διδίου ἐπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκομίσθη, τὸ μὲν πλείστον ἐπὶ 3 τῇ τῶν ἔργων λαμπρότητι, ἥδη δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τῇ βουλῇ

3 δόξασι μεγαλοφρονούμενος. τεσσαράκοντά τε γὰρ ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ αὐτοῦ θύειν ἐγγυσαν, καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια τὰ προεψηφισμένα ἐπὶ τε λευκῶν ἵππων καὶ μετὰ ραβδοῦχων τῶν τε 4 τότε αὐτῶν συνόντων καὶ ἔτερων ὅσοις ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ δικα-

τορίᾳ ἐκέχρητο, ἄλλων τε αὐ ὅσους ἐν τῇ

4 δευτέρα ἐσχήκει, πέμψαι οἱ ἔδοσαν. τῶν τε πρότων τῶν ἐκάστου ἐπιστάτην (οὕτω γὰρ πῶς ὡνομάσθη ὡσπερ οὐκ ἄξιας αὐτοῦ τῆς τοῦ τιμητοῦ προσφήσεως οὔσης) ἐς τρία αὐτὸν ἐτή καὶ δικ-

5 τάτορα ἐς δέκα ἐφεξῆς εἶλοντο. καὶ προσέτε

1 δὴ Bk., τοι L. 2 ἐπεθαυμάκει Bk., ἀναπεθαυμάκει L. 3 ἐπὶ supplied by Bk. 4 te supplied by Rk. 5 πῶς R. Steph., πῶ L.

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

Immediately after these events and before he crossed into Italy Caesar got rid of the older men among his soldiers for fear they might mutiny again. He arranged other matters in Africa just as rapidly as was feasible and sailed as far as Sardinia with his whole fleet. From that point he sent the dismissed troops along with Gaius Didius into Spain against Pompey, and he himself returned to Rome, priding himself particularly upon the brilliance of his achievements, but also upon the decrees of the senate as well. For they had voted that sacrifices should be offered for his victory during forty days, and had granted him permission to ride, in the triumph already voted him, in a chariot drawn by white horses and to be accompanied by all the lictors who were then with him, and by as many others as he had employed in his first dictatorship, together with as many more as he had had in his second. Furthermore, they elected him overseer of every man's conduct¹ (for some such name was given him, as if the title of censor were not worthy of him) for three years, and dictator for ten in succession.

¹ Praefectus moribus (Cic., ad Fam. ix. 15, 5).
6 ἐγηφίσαντο. ἀρμα τε τι αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἀντιπρόσωπον τῷ Δίῳ ἱδρυθήναι, καὶ ἐπὶ εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης χαλκοῦ ἐπιβιβασθῆναι, γραφὴν ἔχοντα ὅτι ἦμεθεός ἐστι, τὸ τε ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀντὶ τοῦ Κατούλου, ὡς καὶ τὸν νεόν, ἔφ' οὐ τῇ ἐκποίησει εὐθύνειν ἐκείνουν ἐπεχείρησεν, ἐκτελέσαντος, ἀντεγ-7 γραφὴν ἐκέλευσαν. ταύτα δὲ μόνα κατέλεξαν οὐχ ὅτι καὶ μόνα ἐγηφίσθη (παμπληθή τε γὰρ ἐσεφέρετο καὶ δήλων ὅτι καὶ ἐκυρότο) ἀλλ' ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παρήκατο, ταύτα δὲ προσεδέχατο.

15 Δεδομένων δὲ ἦδη αὐτῶν ἦλθε τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ ἰδὼν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὴν τε δύναμιν αὐτοῦ φοβουμένους καὶ τὸ φρόνημα ὑποτοπομένους, κακὸ τούτου πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ, οἶα που καὶ πρὶν ἐγεγονεὶ, πείσεσθαι προσδοκῶντας, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ ὑπερόγκους οἱ τιμᾶς κολακεία 2 ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐνοία ἐγηφισμένους, παρεµυθήσατο τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπῆλπισεν εἰπῶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ τουάδε·

"Μήδες ύμῶν, ὦ πατέρες, προσδοκήσῃ μῆτε ἐρεῖν με χαλεπὸν μηδὲν μήτε πράξειν, ὅτι καὶ νενίκηκα καὶ δύναμαι πᾶν μὲν ὃ τι ἂν ἔθελήσω

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

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They moreover voted that he should sit in the senate upon the curule chair with the successive consuls, and should always state his opinion first, that he should give the signal at all the games in the Circus, and that he should have the appointment of the magistrates and whatever honours the people were previously accustomed to assign. And they decreed that a chariot of his should be placed on the Capitol facing the statue of Jupiter, that his statue in bronze should be mounted upon a likeness of the inhabited world, with an inscription to the effect that he was a demigod, and that his name should be inscribed upon the Capitol in place of that of Catulus on the ground that he had completed this temple after undertaking to call Catulus to account for his building of it.\(^1\) These are the only measures I have recorded, not because they were the only ones voted, —for a great many measures were proposed and of course passed,—but because he declined the rest, whereas he accepted these.

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

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

\(^1\) See xxxvii. 44, 1.
Διόνυσιος εἶπεν, πάν ὁ τι ἄν θερίζῃ ὑπὲρ
3 ἐξουσίας δράσαι. μὴ μέντοι μὴ ὅτι καὶ Μάριος
καὶ Κίννας καὶ Σύλλας, οἳ τε ἄλλοι πάντες ὡς
εἶπεν ὃσοι πότε τοὺς ἀντιστασιάζοντας σφιὼν
ἐκράτησαν, ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐπιχειρήσεσι τῶν πρα-
γμάτων πολλὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα καὶ εἰπον καὶ
4 ἐπραξαν, ἐξ ὅν οὐχ ἥκιστα προσαγαγόμενοι1
τινας μᾶλιστα μὲν συμμάχοις αὐτοῖς, εἰ δὲ μὴ,
οὐκ ἄνταγωνισταῖς γε ἔχρισαντο, νικήσαντες
dὲ καὶ ἐγκρατεῖς ὃν ἐπεθύμουν γενόμενοι πολὺ
tάναντία εἰκείνων καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ ἐπραξαν,
καὶ ἐμὲ τις ὑπολάβῃ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιήσειν.
5 οὕτε γὰρ ἄλλως πως πεφυκὼς ἔπειτα τὸν μὲν
ἐμπροσθε χρόνον προσποιητὸς ὑμῖν ἐνωμίλησα,
νῦν δὲ, ὧτι ἐξεστιν, ἅσφαλῶς θρασύνωμαι οὖν,
αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῆς πολλῆς εὐπραγίας ἐξήγημαι καὶ
tετύφωμαι ὥστε καὶ τυραννῆσαι ὑμῶν ἐπιθυμή-
σαι (ταύτα γὰρ ἐμοιγε ἀμφότερα ἦ τὸ γε ἐτερον
6 αὐτῶν ἐκείνων παθεῖν δοκοῦν). ἀλλ’ εἰμί τε
τῇ φύσει τοιοῦτος ὑποῖς μον ἂν πεπείρασθε
(τί γὰρ δεῖ με καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἐπεξίουν ἐπαχθῆ,
ὁσ καὶ ἐμαυτὸν ἐπαινοῦντα, γενέσθαι;) καὶ τὴν
tύχην οὐκ ἂν προπηλακίσασθαί, ἀλλ’ ὅσῳ μᾶλλον
ἀγαθῆς αὐτῆς πεπείραμαι, τῶς μᾶλλον πρός
7 πάντα μετρίως 2 αὐτῇ χρήσομαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ’
ἐπ’ ἄλλο τι τοσοῦτο τ’3 ἱσχύσαι καὶ τηλικοῦτον
αὐξηθῆναι ἐσπούδασα ὡστε πάντας μὲν τοὺς
ἀντιπολεμήσαστας κολάσασθαι πάντας δὲ τοὺς
ἀντιστασιάζοντας νουθετῆσαι, ἣ ἴνα καὶ ἀνδρα-
γαθίζεσθαι ἅσφαλῶς καὶ εὐτυχεῖν εὐκλεῶς δύνω-

1 προσαγαγόμενοι Bk., προσαγόμενοι L.
2 μετρίως Bs., κρείττω L.
3 τ’ Rk., τι L.

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

2 διαλλάξαι. τίς μὲν γὰρ πλείω καὶ μείζω τινὰς εὐ ποιεῖν ὀφείλει τοῦ μάλιστα δυναμένου; τίς δὲ ἦττον ἐξαμαρτάνειν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου δοθεῖσι χρῆσαθαι τοῦ τὰ μέγιστα παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντος; τίς ὀρθότερον τὰ παρόντα ἀγαθὰ μεταχειρίζεσθαι τοῦ πλείστα τε ἔχοντος καὶ μάλιστα περὶ

3 αὐτῶν μὴ καὶ ἀπόληται φοβουμένους; ἢ μὲν γὰρ εὐπραγία σωφροσύνην λαβοῦσα διαμένει, καὶ ἢ ἐξουσία μετριάσασα: πάντα τὰ κτηθέντα τηρεῖ: τὸ τε μέγιστον, καὶ ὅπερ ἦκιστα τοῖς εὖ 2 χωρὶς ἀρετῆς φερομένοις ὑπάρχει, καὶ ξοσίν ἀδόλως φιλεῖσθαι καὶ τελευτήσασιν ἀληθῶς

4 ἐπαινεῖσθαι διδόσιν. ὃ δὲ ἀνέδην 3 ἐς πάντα ἀπλῶς τῇ δυνάμει καταχρόμενος οὔτε εὑροιαν ἄληθῆ οὔτ' ἀσφαλείαν ἀκριβὴ ἐυρίσκεται, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τῷ φανερῷ πλαστῶς κολακεύσει . . . 4 τὸν γὰρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐξουσίας ἀκράτορα 5 οἰ τὲ ἄλλοι πάντες καὶ οἱ μάλιστα αὐτῷ χρώμενοι καὶ ὑποτευνοῦσι καὶ φοβοῦνται.

17 "Ταύτα δὲ οὐκ ἀλλὸς ἐφιλοσόφησα, ἀλλ' ἴνα εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐπίδειξιν, οὐδ' ἀπ' αὐτομάτου

1 δόνωμαι H. Steph., δόναμαι L.
2 εὖ Bk., οὐ L.
3 ἀνέδην Rk., ἀναίδην L.
4 Lacuna recognized by Reim.
5 ἀκράτωρ Bk., αὐτοκράτωρ L.
with honour. For in general it is neither noble nor just for a man to be convicted of doing the things which he has rebuked in those who have differed from him in opinion; nor will I ever think it proper to be likened to such men through my imitation of their deeds, and to differ merely by the reputation of my complete victory. For who ought to confer more and greater benefits upon people than he who has the greatest power? Who ought to err less than he who is the strongest? Who should use the gifts of Heaven more sensibly than he who has received the greatest ones from that source? Who ought to use present blessings more uprightly than he who has the most of them and is most afraid of losing them? For good fortune, if joined to self-control, is enduring, and authority, if it maintains moderation, preserves all that has been acquired; and, greatest of all, and also rarest with those who gain success without virtue, these things make it possible for their possessors to be loved unfeignedly while living and to receive genuine praise when dead. But the man who recklessly abuses his power on absolutely all occasions finds for himself neither genuine good-will nor certain safety, but, though accorded a false flattery in public, [is secretly plotted against (?)]. For the whole world, including his nearest associates, both suspects and fears a ruler who is not master of his own power.

"These statements that I have made are no mere sophistries, but are intended to convince you that what I think and say is not for effect nor yet
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νῦν προσπέσοντα αυτά, ἀλλὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ πρέπειν μοι και συμφέρειν κρίνας καὶ φρονῶ καὶ λέγω, ὡσθ' ὑμᾶς μή πρὸς τὸ παρόν μόνον θαρσείν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον εὐελπίδας εἶναι, ἐνθυμομένους ὦτι, εὗτε πρὸ τοῦ αὐτῶν ἐπιλαττόμην, οὐκ ἂν ἀνεβαλόμην ἄλλ' ἣδη καὶ τίμερον 2 ἐξέφημα. ἀλλ' οὗτε πρὸτερον ἄλλως πως ἐφρόνησα, ὠσπερ ποι καὶ αὐτὰ τά ἔργα τεκμηριοῖ, νῦν τε πολύ μᾶλλον προθυμήσομαι μετὰ πάνης ἐπιεικείας οὐ μὰ Δι' οὐ δεσπόζειν ὑμῶν ἄλλα προστατεῖν, οὐδὲ τυραννεύειν ἄλλ' ἡγεμονεύειν, πρὸς μὲν τᾶλα πάνθ' ὡσα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν δὲ πράττειν καὶ ὑπατος καὶ δικτάτωρ, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸ 3 κακῶς ποιῆσαι τινα ἡδίωτης ὄων. τούτο γὰρ μόνον οὐδὲ ¹ ρηθήναι καλῶν εἰναι νομίζω. πῶς μὲν γὰρ ἀν ² ἀποκτείναμί τινα ὑμῶν τῶν μηδέν με ἡδικηκότων ὁ μηδένα μὲν τῶν μὴ ἀντιταξαμένων ³ μοι φθείρας, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα προθύμως τὰλλά τισι κατ' ἐμοὶ συνήραντο, ⁴ πάντας δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄπαξ ⁵ ἀντικαταστάντας μοι ἐλήγας καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν δεύτερον ἀντιμαχεσαμένων 4 σώσας; πῶς δ' ἂν μνησικακήσαιμ ⁶ τισιν ὃ καὶ τὰ γράμματα, ὡσα καὶ παρὰ τῷ Πομπηῖω καὶ παρὰ τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἀπόρρηται εὐρέθη, μήτ' ἀναγνόν μήτ' ἐκγραφάμενος ⁷ ἄλλ' εὑρὸς κατακαύσας; ὡςτε θαρσοῦντως, ὃ πατέρες, οἰκειωθῶμεν, ἐκλαθόμενοι μὲν πάντων τῶν συμβεβηκότων

¹ οὐδὲ ᾿Rk., οὗ ῾L. ² ἂν added by Bk. ³ μὴ ἀντιταξαμένων ᾿Bk., ἀντιπραξαμένων ᾿L. ⁴ συνήραντο ᾿Rk., προσήραντο ᾿L. ⁵ ἄπαξ ᾿Xyl., ᾿ἅπαν ᾿L. ⁶ ἂν μνησικακῆσαιμ ᾿R. Steph., ἀναμνησικάκησαιμ ᾿L. ⁷ ἐκγραφάμενος Reim., ἐγγραφάμενος ᾿L.

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thoughts that have just chanced to occur to me on the spur of the moment, but rather are convictions regarding what at the outset I decided was both suitable and advantageous for me. Consequently you may not only be of good courage with reference to the present, but also hopeful as regards the future, when you reflect that, if I had really been using any pretence, I should not now be deferring my projects, but would have made them known this very day. However, I was never otherwise minded in times past, as, indeed, my acts themselves prove, and now I shall be far more eager than ever with all reasonableness to be, not your master,—Jupiter forbid!—but your champion, not your tyrant, but your leader. When it comes to accomplishing everything else that must be done on your behalf, I will be both consul and dictator, but when it comes to injuring any one of you, a private citizen. That, in fact, is the one thing which I think should not even be mentioned. For why should I put any one of you to death, who have done me no harm, when I have destroyed none of those who were not arrayed against me, no matter how zealously in general they had joined with some of my enemies against me, and when I have taken pity on all those who withstood me, but once and in many cases have spared even those who fought against me a second time? Why should I bear malice toward any, seeing that I immediately burned all the documents that were found among the private papers both in Pompey's and in Scipio's tents, and that without reading or copying them? Let us, therefore, Conscript Fathers, confidently unite our interests, forgetting all past events as if they had
5 ὡς καὶ ἀνάγκη τινὶ δαιμονίᾳ γεγονότων, ἀρξώ-
μενοι δὲ ἀνυπόπττος ἀλλήλους καθάπερ τινὰς
καινοὺς πολίτας φιλεῖν, ὡς ὑμεῖς τε ὃς πρὸς
πατέρα με προσφέρησθε, τὴν μὲν πρόνοιαν τὴν
τε κηδεμονίαν τὴν παρ’ ἐμοῦ καρπούμενοι, τῶν
δὲ δυσχερεστέρων μηδὲν φοβούμενοι, καὶ ἐγὼ ὡς
6 παίδων ὕμων ἐπιμελῶμαι,1 πάντα μὲν τὰ κάλ-
λιστα ἀεὶ γλυκεῖσθαι ύφ’ ὕμων εὐχόμενος, φέρον
δὲ ἀναγκαῖος τὰ άνθρώπινα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄγαθοὺς
ταῖς προσηκούσαις τιμαῖς ἀγάλλων, τοὺς δὲ
λοιποὺς ἔπανορθῶν καθ’ ὅσον ἐνδέχεται.

18 "Μὴ μέντοι μηδὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας δέοισθε, μηδ’
ἀλλο τι αὐτοὺς ἢ φύλακας τῆς τε ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς
καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀμα νομίστηε εἶναι. τρέφεσθαι
μὲν γὰρ σφας ἀνάγκη πολλῶν ἑνεκα, τραφήσονται
δὲ οὐκ ἔφ’ ὕμας ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ ὕμων, τοῖς δὲ διδο-
μένοις ἀρκοῦμενοι καὶ τοῖς διδόντας αὐτὰ ἀγα-
2 πῶντες. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐπὶ
πλεῖον τοῦ συνήθους ἐισπέττακται, ἵνα τὸ τε
στασιάσαν ἀμα σωφρονισθῇ καὶ τὸ κεκρατηκὸς
αὐτάρκη τροφὴν λαβὸν μὴ στασιάσῃ. οὐ γὰρ
ποὺ2 καὶ ἵδια τι αὐτῶν ἀποκεκέρδαγκα, ὃς γε
πάντα μὲν τὰ υπάρχοντά μοι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ
3 δεδανεισμένοις προσανάλωκα ὕμων. ἀλλ’ ὅρατε
ὅτι τὰ μὲν τίνα αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους3 δεδα-
πάνται, τὰ δὲ καὶ ὕμων τετήρηται, ἢφ’ ὃν ἢ τε
πόλις κοσμηθήσεται4 καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ διωκήθησεται.
ὡστε τὸ μὲν ἐπίφθονον τῆς ἐσπράξεως αὐτὸς
ἀνεδεξάμην, τῆς δ’ ὕφελιάς 5 κοινὴ πάντες ἀπο-

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

"And do not fear the soldiers, either, or regard them in any other light than as guardians of my empire, which is at the same time yours. That they should be supported is necessary, for many reasons, but they will be supported for your benefit, not against you; and they will be content with what is given them and will think well of the givers. This is the reason why the taxes now levied are higher than usual, in order that the seditious element may be made submissive and the victorious element, by receiving sufficient support, may not become seditious. Of course I have received no private gain from these funds, seeing that I have expended for you all that I possessed, and also much that was borrowed. No, you can see that a part of the taxes has been expended on the wars and that the rest has been kept safe for you; it will serve to adorn the city and carry on the government in general. I have, then, taken upon my own shoulders the odium of the levy, whereas you will all enjoy its advantages in common, in the
4 λαύστε, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις· τῶν τε γὰρ ὅπλων ἂεὶ ἦμῖν δεῖ, ἐπειδὴ μὴ οἶον τέ 
ἔστιν ἄνευ αὐτῶν πόλιν τε τηλικαύτην οἰκοῦντας 
καὶ ἀρχὴν τοσαύτην ἔχουσας ἀσφαλῶς ζησαι, καὶ 
ἡ περιουσία τῶν χρημάτων καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἵσχυρός 

5 ὥφελεῖ. μὴ μέντοι καὶ ὑποπτεύσῃ τις ὑμῶν ὅτι 
ἡ τῶν πλουσίων τινὰ λυπῆσω ἥ1 καὶ τέλη τινὰ 
καὶνὰ καταστήσω· τοῖς τε γὰρ παροῦσιν ἀρκεσ- 
θήσομαι, καὶ προθυμήσομαι συνεντορήσαι τι 
μᾶλλον ὑμῖν ἡ διὰ χρήματά τινα ἀδικῆσαι.”

6 Τοιαύτα ὁ Καύσαρ ἐν τῇ συνεδρίᾳ καὶ μετὰ 
τούτο καὶ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ εἰπὼν ἔπεκουφίσε μέν πω 
καὶν αὐτούς τοῦ δέους, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἣδυνήθη 
πεῖσαι παντάπασι θαρσεῖν, πρὶν καὶ τοῖς ἐργοῖς τᾶς 
ἐπαγγελίας βεβαιώσασθαι.

19 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ τούτῳ τά τε ἄλλα λαμπρῶς, ὥσπερ 
εἶκος ἐπὶ τε τοσαύταις καὶ τηλικαύταις ἁμα 
νίκαις ἦν, ἐποίει, καὶ τὰ ἑπτωκια τῶν τε Γαλατῶν 
καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τοῦ τε Φαρνάκου καὶ τοῦ 
Ἰόβου τετραχῇ χρώσει τέσσαριν ἡμέραις ἐπεμψε. 

2 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἡφρανέ που τοὺς ὄρων, ἥ δ' 
Ἀρσινόη ἡ Αἰγυπτία (καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνην ἐν τοῖς 
ἀιχμαλώτοις παρήγαγε) τό τε πλῆθος τῶν βασ-
δουχῶν καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ 
Αφρικῆ ἀπολολώτων πομπεία δεινῶς αὐτοῖς 

3 ἐλύπησεν. οὶ τε γὰρ ἀριθμοὶ τῶν ραβδούχων 
ἐπαχθέστατοι σφισιν ὄχλοι, ἀτε μῆποι πρότερον 
τοσοῦτοις ἁμα ἑορακόσι, παρέσχε· καὶ ἥ Ἀρ-
σινόη γυνὴ τε οὐσα καὶ βασιλίς ποτε2 νομοθείσα 
ἐν τε δεσμοῖς,3 ὁ μηπώποτε ἐν γε τῇ Ὁρώμη ἐγε-

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

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

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

20. Δυσχερῶς μὲν οὖν διὰ ταύθ' ἀπερ έπιτον διετέ-
θῆσαν, ἐλάχιστα δ' οὖν 1 αὐτὰ πρὸς γε τὸ πλήθος
τῶν ἐαλῳκότων καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κατειρ-
γασμένων ἐνόμιζον εἶναι. τούτων τε 2 οὖν ἕνεκα
καὶ ύπερεθαύμαζον αὐτὸν, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τὴν παρ-
ρησίαν τοῦ στρατοῦ πραότατα ἤνεγκε. τοὺς τε
γὰρ ἐσ τὸ συνεδρίουν σφων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταλεκ-
θέντας ἐτώθασαν, καὶ τὰ τὴν ἀλλὰ ὅσα ποτ' έντελιζετο, 3 καὶ ἐν 4 τοὺς μάλιστα τὸν τε τῆς
Κλεοπάτρας αὐτοῦ ἐρωτα καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῷ
Νικομήδει τῷ τῆς Βιθυνίας βασιλεύσαντι δια-
τρῆν, ὅτι μειράκιον ποτε παρ' αὐτῷ ἐγεγόνει,
διεκερτόμησαν, ὡστε καὶ εἴπειν ὅτι Καλσαρ μὲν
Γαλάτας ἑδουλώσατο, Καλσαρα δὲ Νικομήδης.

31 τέλος δὲ ἐφ' ἀπασών αὐτοῖς ἄθροοι ἀναβοσάντες
ἐπιτον ὅτι, ἀν μὲν καλῶς ποιῆσης, κολασθήσῃ, ἄν
dὲ κακῶς, βασιλεύσεις. 5 τούτο δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐβοῦ-
λετο δηλοῦν ὅτι, ἀν μὲν ἄποδῳ 6 τῷ δήμῳ τὴν
αὐτονομίαν, ὅπερ ποὺ δικαίου ἐνόμιζον εἶναι, καὶ
κριθήσεται ἐφ' οἷς ἔξω τῶν νόμων εἰργάσατο καὶ

1 δ' οὖν Pflugk, γοῦν L.
3 εντελίζετο Jacoby, εντίζετο L.
5 βασιλεύσεις Xiph., βασιλεύσης L.

2 τε Bk., γε L.
4 ἐν supplied by Val.
6 ἄποδῳ St., ἄποδῳ L.

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at least in Rome,—aroused very great pity, and with this as an excuse they lamented their private misfortunes. She, to be sure, was released out of consideration for her brothers; but others, including Vercingetorix, were put to death.

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

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

Si male faxis vapulabis, si bene faxis rex eris.

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

at pueri ludentes "rex eris" aiant
"si recte facies."
dίκην ύφέξει,1 ἀν δὲ τῇ δυναστείᾳ ἐμμεῖνη, ὅπερ
που ἀδικοῦντος ἔργον ἦν, μοναρχήσει.1 οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκείνος ἥχθετο ταῦτα αὐτῶν λεγόντων, ἄλλα καὶ πάνυ ἔχαιρεν ὅτι τοσαύτη πρὸς αὐτὸν παρ-ρήσις, πίστει τοῦ μὴ ἀν ὀργισθῆναι ποτε ἑπ' αὐτῇ, ἔχρωντο, πλήν καθ' Ὑσυνουσίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Νικομήδη διέβαλλον. ἔπι γὰρ τούτῳ πάνυ τις ἐδυσκόλαινε καὶ ἐνυδήλος ἦν ἀνυπόμενος, ἀπολογεῖσθαι τε ἐπεχεῖρε καὶ κατ-ώμυνε, κακὸν τούτο καὶ γέλωτα προσεπωφλισ-κανεν.

21 Ἐν δὲ οὖν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν νικητηρίων τέρας οὐκ ἀγαθὸν αὐτῷ ἐγένετο· ὁ γὰρ ἀξίων τοῦ ἄρματος τοῦ πομπικοῦ παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ Τυχαίῳ τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λουκούλλου οἰκοδομηθεῖτο συνετρίβη, ὥστε ἐφ' ἔτερον αὐτὸν τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιτελέσαι. καὶ τότε μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἀναβασμοὺς τοὺς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ τῶν γόνασιν ἀνερριχήσατο μηδὲν μήτε τὸν πρὸς τὸν Δία ἀνιδρυθέν αὐτῷ μήτε τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν ὑπὸ τοῖς ποσίν αὐτοῦ κειμένην μήτε τὸ ἑπίγραμμα αὐτῆς ὑπολογισάμενος, ὑστερον δὲ τὸ τοῦ ἡμιθέου ὄνομα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπῆλευσεν.

3 Οὐτῳ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἔπεμψε, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὸν τε δήμον λαμπρός εἰστίασε καὶ σίτῳν ἐξω τοῦ τεταγμένου καὶ ἔλαιον προσέδωκεν αὐτῷ. καὶ τῷ μὲν σιτοδοτομενῷ ὁχλῷ τάς τε ἐβδομή-κοντα καὶ πέντε δραχμάς ὡς προὔπεσχητο3 καὶ ἐτέρας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, τοῖς δὲ δὴ στρατιώταις πεντακισχιλίας ὠλας ἔνειμεν. οὓς μέντοι καὶ ἀπλῶς ἐμεγαλοφρονεῖτο, ἄλλα τὰ τε ἄλλα διη-

1 ύφέξει, μοναρχήσει Χιρ., ύφέξη, μοναρχήση Λ. 2 τὸ Ρκ., ἐς τὸ Λ. 3 προὔπεσχητο Βκ., προὔπεσχητο Λ.
laws and would suffer punishment; whereas, if he should hold on to his power, which was naturally the course of an unjust person, he would continue to be sole ruler. As for him, however, he was not displeased at their saying this, but was quite delighted that by such frankness toward him they showed their confidence that he would never be angry at it—except in so far as their abuse concerned his intercourse with Nicomedes. At this he was greatly vexed and manifestly pained; he attempted to defend himself, denying the affair upon oath, whereupon he incurred all the more ridicule.

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

After the triumph he entertained the populace splendidly, giving them grain beyond the regular amount and olive oil. Also to the multitude which received doles of corn he assigned the three hundred sesterces which he had already promised and a hundred more, but to the soldiers twenty thousand in one sum. Yet he was not uniformly munificent, but in most respects was very strict; for instance, since
κριβούτο, καὶ τοῦ πλῆθους τοῦ τὸν σῶτον φεροντος ἐπὶ μακρότατον, οὐ κατὰ δίκην ἄλλῳ ὡς ποι ἐν ταῖς στάσεσιν εἰώθε γέγνεσθαι, ἐπαυξηθέντος ἐξέτασιν ἐποίησατο, καὶ τοὺς γε ἡμίσεις ὁμοῦ τι αὐτῶν προσπῆλευσε.

22 Ῥᾶς μὲν δὲ ὡς αὐτῶν ἦν ἀλλας τῶν νυκτημέρων ἡμέρας ὡς τὸν ἐνενόμιστο διήγαγε τῇ δὲ τελευταίᾳ ἐπειδή ἐκ τοῦ δεύτερου ἐγένοντο, ἐστὶ τῇ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ ἀγορᾶν ἐσῆλθε βλαύτας ὑποδεδεμένος καὶ ἄνθεσι παντοδαποῖς ἐστεφανομένος, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν οίκαςε παντὸς μὲν ὡς εἰπέων τοῦ δήμου παραπέμποντος αὐτῶν, πολλῶν δὲ ἐλεφάντων λαμπάδας φερόντων ἐκομίσθη. τῇ γὰρ ἀγορᾷ τῇ ἅπ' αὐτῶν κεκλημένῃ κατεσκεύαστο καὶ ἔστι μὲν περικαλλεστέρα τῆς Ῥωμαίας, τὸ δὲ ἀξίωμα τὸ ἐκεῖνης ἐπηύξησεν, ὡστε καὶ μεγάλὴν αὐτὴν ὁνομάζεσθαι. παύτην τε οὖν καὶ τὸν νεοῦ τοῦ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ὡς καὶ ἀρχηγότερος τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ ὡς τούτων, ποιήσας καθιέρωσεν εὐθὺς τότε καὶ πολλοὺς γε ἔπ τοῦ οὐτοῦ καὶ παντοδαποὺς ἀγώνας ἔθηκε, θεάτρων τι κυνηγητικὸν ἰκριώσας, διὰ καὶ ἀμφιθεάτρων ἐπὶ τοῦ πέριξ πανταχόθεν ἔδρας ἀνέφεκε προσερρήθη. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ καὶ θηρίων σφαγᾶς καὶ ἀνδρῶν ὁπλομαχίας ἐποίησεν, ἦν ἐὰν τις τῶν ἄριστον γράψῃ ἐθελήσῃ, ὅχλον ἄν τῇ συγγραφῇ οὐδ' ἀληθῇ ἴσως παράσχων πάντα γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον ἂεί κομποῦται. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ τὸν σῶτον φεροντος ἐπὶ μακρότατον, οὐ κατὰ δίκην ἄλλῳ ὡς ποι ἐν ταῖς στάσεσιν εἰώθε γέγνεσθαι, ἐπαυξηθέντος ἐξέτασιν ἐποίησατο, καὶ τοὺς γε ἡμίσεις ὁμοῦ τι αὐτῶν προσπῆλευσε.

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1 ὑποδεδεμένος R. Steph., ὑποδεδημένος L, Xiph.
2 ἅπ' R. Steph., ἅπ' L.
3 κατεσκεύαστο Melber, κατεσκευάστο L.
4 προσερρήθη Xiph., προσερρέθη L.
5 τοῦτῳ R. Steph., τοῦτῳ L.
the multitude receiving doles of corn had increased enormously, not by lawful methods but in such ways as are common in times of strife, he caused the matter to be investigated and struck out half of their names at one time before the distribution.

The first days of the triumph he passed as was customary, but on the last day, after they had finished dinner, he entered his own forum wearing slippers and garlanded with all kinds of flowers; thence he proceeded homeward with practically the entire populace escorting him, while many elephants carried torches. For he had himself constructed the forum called after him, and it is distinctly more beautiful than the Roman Forum; yet it had increased the reputation of the other so that that was called the Great Forum. So after completing this new forum and the temple to Venus, as the founder of his family, he dedicated them at this very time, and in their honour instituted many contests of all kinds. He built a kind of hunting-theatre of wood, which was called an amphitheatre from the fact that it had seats all around without any stage. In honour of this and of his daughter he exhibited combats of wild beasts and gladiators; but anyone who cared to record their number would find his task a burden without being able, in all probability, to present the truth; for all such matters are regularly exaggerated in a spirit of boastfulness. I shall accordingly pass over this and other like events.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

έπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὁμοίων τῶν ἔπειτα γενομένων ἐάσω, πλήν εἰ μή τι πάνυ μοι δόξειν ἀναγκαῖον
23 εἰπεῖν εἶναι· περὶ δὲ δὴ τῆς καρπήλοπαρδάλιδος ὀνομασμένης ἔρω, ὅτι τότε πρῶτον ἐς τε τὴν
Ῥώμην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐσήχθη καὶ πᾶσιν ἐπεδείχθη. 1
τὸ γὰρ ξύον τούτῳ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κάμηλὸς ἔστι, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἱσοῦ τῶν κώλων ἔχει.
2 τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὀπίσθια αὐτοῦ χθαμαλώστερά ἐστιν ἀρχόμενον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν γλουτῶν ὑψοῦται κατὰ
βραχὺ ὧςτ' ἀναβαίνοντι ποι ἐοικέναι, καὶ μετε-
ωρίσθεν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὸ μὲν ἄλλο σῶμα ἐπὶ τῶν
ἐμπροσθίων σκελῶν ἐρείδει, 2 τὸν δ' αὐχένα ἐς
ὕψος αὐ ἱδιον ἀνατείνει. τὴν δὲ δὴ χρώνα κατε-
στικταὶ ὅσπερ πάρδαλις, καὶ διὰ τὸ κατὰ τὸ
3 ὀνομα ἐπίκοινον ἀμφιτέρων φέρει. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ
tοιοῦτὸν ἔστιν τοὺς δ' ἄνδρας συνεβαλλε μὲν
καὶ ἕνα ἐν ἑν τῇ ἁγορᾷ, ὅσπερ εἰδιστο, συνε-
βαλλε δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ πλείσους, καὶ
ιπτέας ἰππεύοντες καὶ πεζοὺς πεζοῖς, ἄλλους τε
ἀναμίξ ἀλλήλως ἱσοὺς. καὶ τινες καὶ ἀπ' ἓλε-
4 φῶς τῶν τεσσαράκοντα ἐμαχέσαντο. καὶ τέλος
ναυμαχίαν οὐκ ἐν τῇ βαλάσσῃ οὐδὲ ἐν λίμνῃ τινὶ
ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἥπειρῳ ἐποίησε· χωρίον γὰρ τι ἐν τῷ
'Αρείῳ πεδίῳ κοιλάνας 3 ὑδρῷ τε ἐς αὐτὸ ἔσήκε
καὶ ναῦς ἐσήγαγεν. ἐμάχοντο δὲ ἐν πάσι τοῖς
ἀγώσιν οἳ τε αἰχμάλωτοι καὶ οἱ θάνατον ὡφλη-
5 κότες· καὶ τινες καὶ τῶν ἱππεῶν, οὐχ ὅτι τῶν
ἀλλῶν ἄλλα καὶ ἐστρατηγικὸτος τινὸς ἄνδρος
νιός, ἐμονομάχησαν. καὶ βουλευτὴς δέ τις

1 ἐπεδείχθη Bk., ὑπεδείχθη L.
2 ἐρείδει supplied by Bk.
3 κοιλάνας Xiph., κοιλήνας L.

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that took place later, except, of course, where it may seem to me quite essential to mention some particular point, but I will give an account of the so-called camelopard, because it was then introduced into Rome by Caesar for the first time and exhibited to all. This animal is like a camel in all respects except that its legs are not all of the same length, the hind legs being the shorter. Beginning from the rump it grows gradually higher, which gives it the appearance of mounting some elevation; and towering high aloft, it supports the rest of its body on its front legs and lifts its neck in turn to an unusual height. Its skin is spotted like a leopard, and for this reason it bears the joint name of both animals. Such is the appearance of this beast. As for the men, he not only pitted them one against another singly in the Forum, as was customary, but he also made them fight together in companies in the Circus, horsemen against horsemen, men on foot against others on foot, and sometimes both kinds together in equal numbers. There was even a fight between men seated on elephants, forty in number. Finally he produced a naval battle, not on the sea nor on a lake, but on land; for he hollowed out a certain tract on the Campus Martius and after flooding it introduced ships into it. In all the contests the captives and those condemned to death took part; yet some even of the knights, and, not to mention others, the son of one who had been praetor fought in single combat. Indeed a senator named
Φόλουνος Σεπίνος ἠθέλησε μὲν ὅπλομαχήσαι, ἐκωλύθη δὲ ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ ἀπηύξατο ὁ Καῖσαρ μήποτε συμβιναῖ, τοὺς δ' ἵππεας περιεῖδε μαχο-6 μένους. τὴν τε ἱππασίαν τὴν Τροίαν καλουμένην οἱ παϊδεὶς οἱ εὐπατρίδαι κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐποιή-σαντο· καὶ ἐφ' ἀρμάτων οἱ νεανίσκοι οἱ ὀμότιμοι αὐτοῖς ἡμιλήσαντο.

24 Ἐσχε μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ πλῆθει τῶν φονευ-μένων αἰτίαν, ὅτι μὴ ἄντος διακορῆσα φαγῶν ἐγεγόνει καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τὰς τῶν οἰκείων κακῶν εἰκόνας ἐπεδείκνυε, πολὺ δὲ δὴ μείζον ὅτι ἀμύθητα χρήματα ἐς πάντα ἑκεῖνα ἀνάλοσεν, ὡς καὶ καθ' ἐκάτερον ἐπιβοῶσθαι, καὶ ὅτι ἀδίκως ἄντων τὰ πλέον συνελέξατο, καὶ ὅτι ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτα αὐτοῖς

2 κατεχρήσατο. ἐν γὰρ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῆς τότε γενομένης ἐχόμενον εἰπὸν καὶ τάλλα δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα σημανῶ. ἦν γὰρ μηδένα τῶν θεωμένων ο ἡλίους λυπήσῃ, παραπετάσματα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν σημικά, ὡς γε τινὲς φασίν, ὑπερεπέτασεν. τούτῳ δὲ τὸ ψαφα χλιδῆς βαρβάρου ἔργον ἐστί, καὶ παρ' ἑκεῖνων καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐς τρυφήν τῶν

3 πάνυ γυναικῶν περιττῆν ἐστεφοίτηκεν. ἐπ'] οὖν τούτως οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι καὶ ἀνάγκη τὴν ἱσυχίαν ἤγουν, οἱ δὲ δὴ στρατιῶται ἐθορύβησαν, οὐχ ὅτι ἐμελὲ σφισὶ τῶν εἰκῆ δαπανομένων, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐ

1 Both names are probably corrupt; Dio regularly has Φούλονος for Fulvius.
2 σφαγῶν Oddey, σφῶν L.
3 ἐπιβοῶσθαι Xiph., ἐπεκβοῶσθαι L.

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

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

1 This is possibly a corruption for the Furius Leptinus mentioned by Suetonius, Iul. 39.
2 This ludus Troiae, or simply Troia, is first mentioned in the time of Sulla, and then on the present occasion; later we hear of it often (cf. xlix. 43, 3, li. 22, 4, liii. 1, 4, liv. 26, 1, etc.). Virgil's account (Aen. v. 553-603) of the boys' contest at the funeral games in honour of Anchises may be regarded as a correct description in the main of what he saw at the contest in honour of Actium.
καὶ αὐτὸι καὶ τὰ ἑκεῖνων ἔλαβον. καὶ οὗ πρότερον 
γε ἐπαύσαντο ταραττόμενοι πρὶν τὸν Καίσαρα 
ἀφὼ τε αὐτοῖς ἐπελθεῖν καὶ κρατήσαντά τινα 
4 αὐτοχειρία πρὸς τιμωρίαν παραδοῦναι. οὖτος 
μὲν οὖν διὰ ταύτα ἐδικαιώθη, ἄλλοι δὲ δύο ἄνδρες 
ἐν τρόπῳ τινὶ ἱερουργίας ἐσφάγησαν, καὶ τὸ μὲν 
αὐτίου οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν (οὔτε γὰρ ἡ Σίβυλλα 
ἐχρησεν, οὔτε ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτο λόγιον ἐγένετο), ἐν 
ὁ οὖν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ πρὸς τε τῶν ποινιφίκων 
καὶ πρὸς τῷ ἱερέως τοῦ Ἀρεώς ἐτύθησαν, καὶ αἱ 
γε1 κεφάλαι αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ βασίλειον ἀνετέθησαν. 
25 Ταύτα τε ἀμα ἐπράττετο, καὶ ἐνομοθετεῖτο 
πολλά, ὥν ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παραλείψω, τῶν δὲ 
δὴ λόγου μάλιστα ἂξιών μνησθῆσομαι. τὰ τε 
γὰρ δικαστήρια τοὺς τε Βουλευταῖς καὶ τοὺς 
ἰππεύσι μόνοις ἐπέτρεψεν, ὡς τὸ καθαρώτατον 
2 ὁτι μάλιστα ἅπι δικάζον πρότερον γὰρ καὶ ἐκ 
τοῦ ὀμίλου τινὸς συνδειγνώσκον αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ 
ἀναλώματα τῶν τι ἐχόντων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὑπ’ 
ἀσωτίας ἐξηγήμενα οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ μόνον ἐμετρίασεν, 
ἄλλα καὶ τὸ ἐργῷ ἱσχυρὸς ἐν φυλακῇ ἐποιήσατο. 
ἐπειδὴ τε δεινὴ ὁλογανθρωπία διὰ τὸ τῶν ἀπολο- 
λότων πλῆθος, ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἀπογραφῶν (καὶ γὰρ 
ἐκείνας τα τε ἄλλα ὦσπερ τις τιμητὴς ἐποίησε) 
καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως αὐτῆς ἥλεγχετο, ἦν,2 πολυ- 
3 παιδίας ἄθλα ἐπέθηκεν. ὅτι τε αὐτὸς πολλοῖς 
τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐφέξῆς ἐτεσίν ἄρξας ἐς τῆν 
ἐπιθυμίαν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τῆς δυναστείας μᾶλλον 
προήχθη καὶ ἐς τὴν παρασκευὴν τῆς ἰσχύος 
ἐπηνύξηθη, κατέκλεισε νόμῳ τοὺς μὲν ἐστρατηγη-

1 αἱ γε ν. Herw., γε αἱ L. 2 ἦν Xyl., ἦν L.
themselves did not receive the citizens' wealth too. In fact they did not cease their rioting until Caesar suddenly came upon them, and seizing one man with his own hands, delivered him up to punishment. So this man was executed for the reason given, and two others were slain as a sort of ritual observance. The true cause I am unable to state, inasmuch as the Sibyl made no utterance and there was no other similar oracle, but at any rate they were sacrificed in the Campus Martius by the pontifices and the priest of Mars, and their heads were set up near the Regia.

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

1 The tribuni aerarii.
κότας ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν τοὺς δὲ ὑπατευκότας ἐπὶ δύο ἔτη κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς ἄρχειν, καὶ μηδεὶς τὸ παράπαν ἐπὶ πλείον ἡγεμονίαν τινὰ ἔχειν ἐξείναι.

26 Ταῦτα τε ἐνυμοθέτησε, καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἐτῶν οὖ πάντῃ ὁμολογούσας σφίσι (πρὸς γὰρ τὰς τῆς σελήνης περιόδους ἐτὶ 1 καὶ τότε τοὺς μήνας ἡγοῦ) κατεστήσατο ὡς τὸν νῦν τρόπον, ἐπὶ τὰ καὶ ἐξήκοντα ἡμέρας ἐμβαλὼν, ὅσαυπερ ἐστὶ τὴν ἀπαρ- 2 τιλογίαν παρέφερον. ἦδη μὲν γὰρ τινὲς καὶ πλείους ἐφασαν ἐμβληθῆναι, τὸ δ' ἠλθῆς οὕτως ἔχει. τούτω δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ διατριβής ἐλαβε, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τριακονθε- μέρους τοὺς μήνας λογίζονται, ἐπειτα ἐπὶ παντὶ τῷ ἐτεὶ τὰς πέντε ἡμέρας ἐπάγουσιν, ὃ ὅτι Ἰα- Κίσσαρ ἔστι μήνας ἐπὶ τὰς 2 ταῦτας τε καὶ τὰς ἑτέρας 3 δύο, ὅς ἐνὸς μηνὸς ἀφείλεν, ἐνήρμοσε. τὴν μέντοι μίαν τὴν ἐκ τῶν τεταρτημορίων συμπληρωμένην διὰ πέμπτων καὶ αὐτῶς ἐτῶν ἐσήγαγεν ὡς τε μηδεν ἐτι τὰς ὠρας αὐτῶν πλὴν ἐλαχίστον παραλλάττειν, ἐν γοὺς χιλίοις καὶ τετρακοσίοις καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἐνι 3 ἐτεὶ μίᾶς ἄλλης ἡμέρας ἐμβολίμον δέονται.

27 Καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι, τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐβουλεύετο, οὔτ' ἰδιογνωμονὸν 4 οὔτ' ἰδιο- βουλῶν ἐπραττεν, ἄλλα πάντα δὴ πάντως τῶς πρῶτος τῆς βουλῆς, ἐστὶ δ' ὅτε καὶ πάση αὐτῇ;

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1 ἐτὶ Xiph., ἐτη L.
2 ἐπὶ τα Bk., τε L.
3 ἐν R. Steph., ἐν ἐνι L.
4 ἰδιογνωμονὸν Reim., ἰδιογνωμών L.
proconsuls to two consecutive years, and enacted that no one whatever should be allowed to hold any command for a longer time.

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

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

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

\(^2\) As a matter of fact, the average length of the Julian year is too great by about eleven minutes, amounting to one day in 128 years. Thus the Julian calendar, still employed in Russia and Greece, is now (since 1900) thirteen days behind the Gregorian, the Council of Nice (325 A.D.) being the point of departure.
ἐπεκοίνων.¹ καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο οὐχ ἦκιστα, καίτοι τραχυτερὸν τινα νομοθετήσας, ὁμως ἦρεσε σφισι.

2 καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τούτοις καὶ ἐπιαυνὼν ἐλάμβανεν, ὅτι δὲ δὴ τῶν φευγόντων ἐκ δικαστηρίου πολλοὺς διὰ δημάρχων δὴ τινῶν κατήγαγε, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς δεκασμοῦ² ἐπ' ἀρχής ἀποδείξει ἀλούσιν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ διαιτάσθαι ἐπέτρεψεν, ἐτὶ τε ἐς τὴν βουλήν αὖθις οὐκ ἄξιοις τινάς αὐτής ἐγκατέλεξε,

3 πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ ἐθρυλεῖτο. πλείοστιν δ' οὖν ὁμως αὐτίαν ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἔρωτι, οὐ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ἀγάπτῳ ἐπὶ (ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἥκουσε) ἄλλα τῷ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ρώμῃ, παρὰ πάντων ἐσχεν. ἦλθε τε γὰρ ἐς τὸ ἀστυ μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ ἐς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καῖσαρος ἐσφόρκισθη, ὡστε καὶ ἐκεῖνον ³ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι κάκως ἀκοῦσαι. οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐμελέν οἱ οὐδὲν, ἄλλα καὶ ἐς τοὺς φίλους σφᾶς τοὺς τε συμμάχους τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐσέγραψε.

28 Καὶ τοῦτο ᾗ έμάνθανε μὲν πάντα καθ' ἕκαστον ὃν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ ἐποίει, οὐ⁵ μέντοι καὶ δυσνίκητον⁶ αὐτῶν εἶναι νομίζων πρῶτερον μὲν τὸ ναυτικόν ἐκ τῆς Σαρδοῦς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀπετείλειν, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα τὰ ἕκ καταλόγου ἐπεμψεν ὡς καὶ δ' ἑτέρον διαπολεμή-

2 σων. ἔπει δὲ ἡσθετο ἐκείνον τε ἐπὶ μέγα προ-
χωροῦντα καὶ τοὺς πεμφθέντας οὐχ ἰκανοὺς ἀντιπολεμεῖν αὐτῷ ὃντας, οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξεστράτευσεν, τὴν πόλιν τῷ τε Λεπίδῳ καὶ

¹ ἐπεκοίνων R. Steph., ἐπεκείνων L.
² δεκασμοῦ Palm., δεκασμοῖς L.
³ ἐκείνον cod. Peir., ἐπ' ἐκείνων L.
⁴ κἀν τοῦτο Bk., κἀκ τοῦτο L.
⁵ οὖ Bk., καὶ L.
⁶ δυσνίκητον Xyl., δυσκίνητον L.
⁷ τὰ supplied by Rk.

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

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

29 Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Δογγίνου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου τὰ στρατόπεδα τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ ἐκκυνήθη καὶ τινες καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἐνεωτέρισαν, ἥμερας μὲν τινας τοῦ Δογγίνου ἀπαλλαγέντος καὶ τοῦ Τρεβώνιου τὴν διαδοχὴν αὐτοῦ λαβὼν-2 τος, ἡσύχασαν, ἐπειτα δέει τῆς ἐκ τοῦ Καίσαρος τιμωρίας ἐπρεσβεύσαντο κρύφα πρὸς τὸν Σκι-πίωνα, μεταστήναν βουλόμενοι καὶ ὃς ἄλλους τέ σφισι καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τὸν Γυαλόν ἀπέστειλε. προσέχων δὲ ἐκείνος ταῖς Γυμνησίαις 3 νήσοις τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀμαχεῖ, τὴν δὲ Ἐβεσον σὺν πόνῳ παρεστήσατο, κανταῦθα νοσήσας μετὰ τῶν 3 στρατιωτῶν διέτριψε. χρονίζοντος οὐν αὐτοῦ, πυθόμενοι οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ τὸν τε Σκιπίωνα ἀπολοῦσα καὶ τὸν Δίδιον ἐπιπλέοντά σφισι, καὶ φοβηθέντες μὴ διαφθαρῶσι πρὶν τὸν Πομπήιον ἐλθεῖν, οὐκ ἐμείναν αὐτοῦ, ἄλλα Τίτον τε Κύντιον 4 Σκαπούλαν καὶ Κύντιον Ἀπώνιον ἀνδρας ἵππες προστησάμενοι τὸν τε Τρεβώνιον ἐξέβαλον καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τὸ Βατικόν πᾶν συν- απέστησαν.

30 Πραξάντων δὲ ταῦτα αὐτῶν Πομπήιος ὅρισας ἐς τὴν ἥπειρον τὴν κατ' ἀντιπέρας διέπλευσε, καὶ ἄλλας μὲν τινας πόλεις εὔθυς ἐκουσίας προσ- εποιήσατο (ταῖς τε γὰρ ἐπιτάξει τῶν ἐφεστηκό- των σφίσιν ἄχθομενοι, καὶ ἐς ἐκείνον οὐκ ὀλίγα ἔκ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μνήμης ἐπελπίζοντες

1 πολιανόμοις R. Steph., παλιανόμοις L. 2 ἡ Xyl., μὴ L. 3 Γυμνησίαις Reim., γυμνησίαις L. 4 Κύντιον Reim., κύντιον L.
number of prefects—eight as some think, or six as is more commonly believed.

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

They had gone thus far when Pompey, recovering from his illness, sailed across to the mainland opposite. He immediately won over several cities without resistance, for, being vexed at the commands of their rulers and also reposing no little hope in him because of the memory of his father, they readily received
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έτοίμως αυτοῦ ἐδέξαντο), Καρχηδόνα δὲ οὐκ 2 ἑθελήσασαν ὀμολογήσαι ἐπολιόρκει. μαθόντες οὖν τούτο οἱ περὶ τὸν Σκαπούλαν 1 ἦλθον τε ἐν-ταῦθα, καὶ στρατηγὸν· αὐτοκράτορα αὐτοῦ ἐλο-μενοὶ προσεῖχόν τε αὐτῷ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ προεθυ-μούντο ἱσχυρότατα, τὰ κέρδη τὰ ἐκείνου ἱδια καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς οἰκείας ποιούμενοι, ὡστ’ ἄφ’ ἐκατέρου, τὰ μὲν ὅπως λάβωσι, τὰς 2 δ’ ὅπως μὴ 3 πάθωσιν, ἔρρωσθαί· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Πομπήιος, οὐα ἐν τοιαύταις ταραχαῖς 3 καὶ καταστάσεις πάντες εἰώθασι ποιεῖν, καὶ μάλιστ’ ἐπείδη τινες τῶν Ἀλλοβρόγων, οὓς οἱ ὁ 4 Ἰόβας ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Κουρίωνα πολέμου ἱσορρόπας ἐδεδώκει, ἡπτο-μόλησαν, οὐδὲν ὁ τι οὐχὶ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐχαρίζετο. οὕτοι τε οὖν αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πολὺ προθυμότεροι ἐγένοντο, καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων συχνοὶ, καὶ μάλισθ’ ὁσοὶ σὺν τῷ Ἀφρανίῳ ποτὲ ἐστράτευντο, 5 προσεχώρησαν τῶν τε ἐκ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Σέξτος ὁ τε Οὐάρος καὶ ὁ Δαβιδός σὺν τῷ ναυτικῷ 5 πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἦλθον. καὶ τούτου τὸ πλῆθει τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τῇ προβομιᾷ ἄρθεις τὴν τε χώραν ἅδεως διεπορεύετο, καὶ πόλεις τὰς μὲν ἐκούσας τὰς δὲ ἀκούσας προσετίθετο, καὶ ἐδόκει 31 καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν πατέρα ἱσχυεῖν. ἦσαν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατηγοῦ Κύιντος τε Φάβιος Μάξιμος καὶ Κύιντος Πέδιος, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀξιόμαχοι οἱ νομίζοντες εἶναι αὐτοὶ τε ἡσύχα-ζον καὶ ἐκείνων σπουδὴ μετεπέμποντο.

1 Σκαπούλαν R. Steph., σκαπίανα L. 2 τὰς Bk., τὰ L. 3 ταραχαῖς Rk., ἄρχαῖς L. 4 οἱ δ Βs., οἱ Rk., ὁ L. 5 ἐστράτευντο Bk., ἐστρατεύοντο L.

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

\(^1\) New Carthage.
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2 Τέως μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο· ἐπεί δὲ τῶν τε προσπεμφθέντων τινὲς ἐκ τῆς 'Ρώμης ἀφίκουσo καὶ προσεδοκήθη καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἤξειν, φοβηθεὶς ὁ Πομπήιος, καὶ νομίσας ὅuκ ἰκάνος ἐναι πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰβηρίαν κατασχεῖν, ὥσπερ ἀνέμεινε πταίσας γε μεταγενώναι, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς, πρὶν πειραθῆναι τῶν 3 ἐναντιῶν, ἐς τὴν Βατικήν ἀνεχώρησε. καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ ἡ μὲν θάλασσα παραντικὰ ἤλλοτριότηθη, Οὐνάρος τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Διδίου περὶ Καρτηλίαν ἐναυκρατήθη, καὶ εὗρε μὴ προκαταφυγὼν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀγκύρας ἐς τὸ στόμα τοῦ λιμένος ἄλλας πρὸς ἄλλας ἕνεβεβλήκει καὶ περὶ αὐτάς οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν διωκόντων σφᾶς ὡσπερ περὶ ἔρμα ἐπταίκεσαν, πάν ἀν τὸ 4 ναυτικὸν ἀπωλωλέκει. ἡ δὲ ἡ ἤπειρος ἡ ἤκει πᾶσα πλὴν Οὐλίας πόλεως συνεμάχει· ταύτην γὰρ μὴ ἐθελήσασαν οἱ προσχωρήσαι ἐπολιορκεῖ.

32 Καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ μετ' ὀλίγων ἐξαίφνης ἀδοκήτοισ ὅuκ ὁτι τοῖς περὶ τῶν Πομπήίων ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ στρατιῶταις ἐπὴλθε· τοσοῦτω γὰρ τῷ τῆς πορείας τάχει ἀχρήσατο ὡστε καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἁμα καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὀφθήναι πρὶν καὶ ὅτι ὀλος ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ γέγονεν ἀκουσθήναι. 2 καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦτον, τῆς τε παρουσίας τῆς αὐτοῦ μονής, καὶ ἐς τα ἄλλα καταπλῆξεν τῶν Πομπήίου καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πολιορκίας ἀπαλλάξειν ἠλπισε· τὸ γὰρ πλεῖον στράτευμα κατὰ τὴν ὦδον

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

Meanwhile Caesar, too, with a few men suddenly came up unexpectedly, not only to Pompey's followers, but even to his own soldiers. For he had employed such speed in crossing over that he appeared to both his adherents and his opponents before they had even heard that he was in Spain at all. He hoped by this very circumstance and by his mere presence to alarm Pompey and in particular to lure him from the siege; for most of his army had been left behind on the road. But Pompey, thinking that one
ουκ ἀνελθεῖσαι ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης.
man was not much superior to another and feeling full confidence in his own strength, was not seriously alarmed at the other's arrival, but continued to besiege the city and kept making assaults upon it just as before. Hence Caesar left there a few troops from among those who had arrived first and set out himself for Corduba, partly, to be sure, in the hope of taking it by betrayal, but chiefly in the expectation of drawing Pompey away from Ulia through fear for this place. And so it turned out in the end. At first Pompey left a part of his army in position, and going to Corduba, strengthened it, and then, as Caesar did not resist his troops, put his brother Sextus in charge there. After this he failed to accomplish anything at Ulia. On the contrary, when a certain tower had fallen, and that not shaken down by his own men either, but broken down by the crowd that was making a defence from it, a few who rushed in fared badly; and Caesar, approaching, lent assistance secretly by night to the citizens, and marched against Corduba again himself, putting it under siege in turn. Then at last Pompey withdrew entirely from Ulia and hastened to the other town with his entire army, accomplishing the desired result. For Caesar, learning of it in time, retired, as he happened to be ill. Afterwards, when he had recovered and had taken charge of the additional troops who had followed on after him, he was compelled to carry on warfare even in the winter; for, being housed in miserable little huts, they were suffering distress and running
33 ποντο. 1 ἐξειδεύετο ἢτα τότε, καὶ ὑπατος ὡφε λογος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀποτελέσθη, τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἐν τῇ ὑπαρχίᾳ τοῦ ἐνδομάς τοῦ ἐνδομάς συναγόντος. ὑπάρχησε ὑπάρχησε ὑπάρχησε τότε, αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν ἐν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ ἐπείπρον ὑπαρχον παρὰ τὰ πάτρια.

2 Ἀναγκασθείς οὖν ὁ Καίσαρ, ὀστερε ἑποιν, καὶ ἐν τῷ χειμώνι πολεμήσαι, ἡ μὲν Κορδούβη οὐ προσέβαλεν (ἰσχυρῶς γὰρ ἐφυλάττετο), πυθὸμενος δὲ ἐν Ἀτταγοὺς πολεί σίτον πολὺν εἶναι πρὸς ἐκείνην καὶ τοῦ καρτερᾶν οὕσαν ἐτράπετο, ἐκλύογα τῷ τε πλήθει τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τῇ παρ' ἐαυτοῦ αἱρετῷ ἐκπλήξει καταφοβήσας σφοὺς αἱρήσεις καὶ αὐτὴν διὰ βραχέος καὶ ἀπε-

3 σταύρωσε καὶ περιετάφρευσεν. ὁ γὰρ Πομπήιος τῇ φύσει τοῦ χωρίου θαρσῶν, καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρα ὁικ ἐπὶ πολὺ διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα προσέβαλεν αὐτῶν νομίζων, τοὺς τέ ἐαυτοῦ στρατιώτας μὴ βουληθείς εἰν τῷ ρήγαι κακώσαι, περιείδε 3 καὶ οὐκ ἐπῆμυνεν αὐτοῖς τὴν γε πρώτην. ὑστερον γὰρ, ὡς τῷ τοῦ πόλισμα ἀπετεεῖχιστο καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ αὐτῷ προσεκάθητο, δεῖσας ἐπεβοήθησε σφισί, καὶ νυκτὸς ἐξαίφνης ὀμυγλώδους τοὺς προφύλαξιν προσμικὰς συχνοὺς ἐφθείρεν, ἐπειδὴ τε ἀστρατήγησοι οἱ εὐδοὶ ἡσαν, Μουνάτιαν αὐτοὺς Φλάκκον

34 ἐσέπεμψεν. ἕδυνθη γὰρ ἐκείνος ὡδε εἰσώ παρελθείν. νυκτὸρ τῶν φυλάκων τινὰς μόνος, ὡς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς ἐφοδείαν ἀπεσταλμένος, ἀνήρετο τὸ σύνθημα, καὶ μαθὼν (οὔτε γὰρ ἐγνώσκετο, καὶ κατὰ μόνας οὐκ ἂν ποτε ὑποπτεύθη

1 ἐνελείπτωτο H. Steph., ἐνελείπτοντο L. 2 καὶ R. Steph., γὰρ L. 3 περιείδε Rk., προείδε L.
short of food. Caesar was at that time dictator, and at length, near the close of the year, he was appointed consul, after Lepidus, who was master of the horse, had convoked the people for this purpose; for Lepidus had become master of the horse at that time also, having given himself, while still in the consulship, that additional title contrary to precedent.

Caesar, accordingly, being compelled, as I have said, to carry on warfare even in the winter, did not attack Corduba, which was strongly guarded, but turned his attention to Ategua, a city in which he had learned there was an abundance of grain. Although it was a strong place, he hoped by the size of his army and the sudden terror of his appearance to alarm the inhabitants and capture it. And in a short time he had cut it off by a palisade and surrounded it by a ditch. For Pompey, encouraged by the nature of the place and thinking that Caesar because of the winter would not besiege it very long, paid no heed and did not try at first to repel the assailants, since he was unwilling to distress his own soldiers by the cold. Later, to be sure, when the town had been walled off and Caesar was encamped before it, he grew afraid and came with assistance. Falling in with the pickets suddenly on a misty night, he killed a number of them; and since the inhabitants were without a general, he sent in to them Munatius Flaccus. For this man contrived in the following way to get inside. He went alone by night to some of the guards, as if appointed by Caesar to visit the sentries, and asked and learned the watchword; for he was not known, and inasmuch as he was alone, would never have been suspected of being anything but a friend when he
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μὴ φίλιος σφίσιν ὅν τοῦτο ποιήσαι) ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἡμεῖς, ἐκπεριελθῶν δὲ ἐτέρωσε τοῦ περιτεχνίσματος ἄλλους τισὶ πῦλαξιν ἐνέτυχε, καὶ τὸ τε σύνθημα αὐτοῖς εἰπὼν, καὶ ἐπὶ προδοσία τῆς πόλεως παρεῖναι τις πλασάμενος, δι' ἐκόντων τε αὐτῶν καὶ παραπεμπόντων γε ἐσήλθεν, οὐ μὲντοι καὶ περιεποιήσατο αὐτὴν. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα πολλά, καὶ ποτὲ πῦρ ἐσ τας μηχανὰς καὶ ἐς τὰ σταυρώματα τὰ τῶν Ρωμαίων ἐμβαλόντες ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὐδὲν ὁ τι καὶ ἀξιόλογον ἔβλασθαν, αὐτὸι δὲ ἄνεμου σφίσιν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐν τούτῳ σφοδρῷ προσπεσόντος κακῶς ἀπῆλλαξαν τὰ τὲ γὰρ οἰκοδομήματα ἐπεφλέξθη, καὶ ἀνθρώποι συνήνοι τοῖς τε λίθοις καὶ τοῖς βέλεσι, μηδὲ προϊδέσθαι τι ὑπὸ τοῦ καπνοῦ δυνηθέντες, ἐξώλησον. ὡς οὖν τοῦτο τε αὐτοῖς συνεβεβήκει καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐπορθεῖτο τοῦ τείχους τινὰ ἐξ ὑπονόμων ἐπιπτεν, ἐστασίασαν, καὶ πρότερος μὲν ὁ Φλάκκος ἐπὶ άδελα ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν συνόντων οἱ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα διεκηρυκεύσατο, ἐπείτα δὲ οὕτος μὲν (οὐ γὰρ ἦθελησε τὰ ὑπλα παραδοῦναι) διήμαρτεν αὐτῆς, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπρεσβεύσαντο καὶ συνέβησαν ἐφ' οἷς ἐκελεύοντο.

35 'Εκεῖνης δὲ δὴ τῆς πόλεως ἀλούσης οὐκέτ' οὔδὲ οἱ ἄλλοι ἠτρέμιζον, ἄλλα πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα πρεσβευσάμενοι μεθίσταντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπίνυτα αὐτῶν τούς τε

1 παρεῖναι Reim., εἶναι L.
2 ἐμβαλόντες R. Steph., ἐμβάλλοντες L.
3 μήδε Bk., μήτε L.
4 τινὰ Dind., τινὰς L.
5 ἀδελα R. Steph., ἀδελα L.
6 ἑαυτοῦ Bs., αὐτοῦ Bk., αὐτοῦ L.
7 οὐδὲ St., οὐδὲν L.
8 ἀλλὰ Bk., ἀλλὰ L.

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

Upon the capture of this city the other tribes also no longer held back, but many of their own accord sent envoys and espoused Caesar's cause, and many received him or his lieutenants on their approach.
2 ὑποστρατήγουσ αὐτοῦ ἔδεχοντο, ὡστε τὸν Πομ- plummet άππορήσαντα ὁ τι χρῆ πρᾶξαι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἄλλοτε ἄλλη τῆς χώρας μεθιστάμενον πλανᾶσθαι, ἐπειτα δὲ φοβηθέντα μὴ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τούτου καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ αὐτῶν ἐγκαταλή- 3 ματος, διακινδυνεύσαι ἐθελήσαι, καίτοι τὸν δαι- 1 πλλανάριαν τὴν ἠτταν ἑναργέστατα αὐτῶς προσημή- μονίον τὴν ἦτταν ἑναργέστατα αὐτῶς προσημή-

4 προφαίνοντο, διεδήλων: οἱ δὲ δὴ ἀδετὸ τῶν ἑκτὸν ἐκ τῶν ἑκτὸν ἑκτὸς καὶ τῶν καρπῶν, οὐς ἐν τοῖς ποσί τινες αὐτῶν ἅμα ἕφερον, ἐκβαλόντες ἐκεῖνον τὸ κακὸν ἀντικρο ἑκράκηστον καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπεπέτοντο. ἄλλο γὰρ τὸ δακρύμαι, ἐν τῇ ὀλιγώρᾳ αὐτῷ ἐπούσατο, καὶ ἐς πόλιν Μούνδαν 3 πρὸς μάχην δὴ κατέστη.

36 Ἐξεύου μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τε πολι- τικοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἰευνικοῖς στρατεύμασι πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἑπιχορίων πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ Μαύρουν ἀμφο- τεροί. Βόκχος μὲν γὰρ τοὺς νείις τῷ Πομπῆυς ἐπεμψε, Βογούας δὲ αὐτὸς τῷ Καίσαρι συνεστρά- τευσεν· δὲ ἀγὼν οὐχ ὡς τῶν ἄλλων ἄλλος ὡς αὖ-

2 τῶν τῶν Ρωμαίων ἑγένετο. οἳ τε γὰρ Καισάρειοι στρατίωται τῷ τε πλῆθει καὶ τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ παρὰ

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

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

3 ἄν μῆ κρατησοσσιν, ἐρρωμένοι προεθυμοῦντο. οἴα γὰρ μετὰ τε τοῦ Ἀφραίνου καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Οὐάρ-ρωνος οἱ πλείουσι αὐτῶν καὶ ἀλόντες καὶ σωθέν-
tes, καὶ μετὰ τούτο τῷ τε Δογγίνῳ ἀποδοθέντες καὶ ἀπτ' αὐτοῦ ἀποστάντες, οὔτε τινὰ ἐλπίδα 

συγγνώμης ἤττθεντες εἴχον, κάκ τούτον πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν, ὡς καὶ κρατῆσαι1 τότε2 ἡ πάντως γε

4 ἀπολέσθαι δεόμενοι, προήχθησαν. συμμύκαντες 

οὐν ἐμάχοντο. οὔδε γὰρ οὔδε αἰδώ τινα ἀλλήλων 

εἴχον ἐτώ, τοσαυτάκις3 ἀντιπεπολεμημέκοτες, καὶ

37 διὰ τούτῳ μηδὲ παραπέσεσθος τινὸς δεόμενοι. καὶ 

τούτῳ τὰ μὲν συμμαχικὰ ταχέως ἐκατέρωθεν 

ἐτράπη καὶ ἐφυγεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκείνοι συσταθὸν 

ἀνακόπτοντες4 ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ πλείστον ἡγωνι-

σαντο. οὔδε γὰρ5 ἐνέδωκεν αὐτῶν οὔδεις, ἀλλ' 

ἐν χώρα μένοντες ἐσφάζον έθνησκον, ὡς καὶ 

αὐτός ἐκαστὸς ἢ τῆς ύκης ἢ τῆς ἦτης καὶ 

2 τοῖς ἀλλοις ἀπασιν αὐτίος ἐσομένοι. καὶ διὰ 

τούτῳ οὔδε ἐμελεν αὐτοῖς ὅπως οἱ σύμμαχοι 

σφών ἐμάχοντο, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ μόνοι κινδυνεύοντες 

προεθυμοῦντο.6 καὶ οὔτε ἐπαινώνιξα7 τὶς αὐτῶν 

οὔτε ἑστενεν, ἀλλὰ τοσότῳ8 μόνον ἐκάτεροι

1 κρατησαι Wagner, θαρσησαι L. 2 τότε Bk., πότε L.
3 ἐτι τοσαυτάκις Xyl., ἐπιτοσαυτάκις L.
4 ἀνακόπτοντες Naber, ἀντικόπτοντες L.
5 οὔδε γὰρ R. Steph., οὔτε L.
6 προεθυμοῦντο Bk., ὑπερεθυμοῦντο L.
7 ἐπαινώνιξε Bs., after Bk., ἐπαινώνιξεν L.
8 τοσότῳ R. Steph., τοσότωι L, τοσότοι?
leader's presence, and so were anxious to be done with the war and its attendant miseries. Pompey's men were inferior in these respects, but, becoming strong through their despair of safety, should they fail to conquer, they were full of eagerness. For inasmuch as the majority of them had been captured with Afranius and Varro, had been spared, and afterwards delivered to Longinus, and had revolted from him, they had no hope of safety if they were beaten, and hence were reduced to desperation, feeling that they must now win or else perish utterly.¹ So the armies came together and began the battle; for they no longer felt any compunction at killing each other, since they had been so many times opposed in arms, and hence required no urging. Thereupon the allies on both sides were quickly routed and fled; but the legions themselves struggled in close combat to the utmost in their resistance of each other. Not a man of them would yield; they remained in their places slaying and perishing, as if each individual were to be responsible to all the rest as well for the issue of victory or defeat. Consequently they were not concerned to see how their allies were battling, but fought as eagerly as if they alone were struggling. Neither sound of paean nor groan was to be heard from any one of them, but both sides merely shouted

¹ Cf. note on p. 231.
βοώτες, "παίσον, ἀπόκτεινον," πολὺ τῷ ἔργῳ
3 τὰς γλώσσας σφῶν ἐφθανον. ὁρῶντες οὖν ταῦτα ἀπὸ τὴν ἱππίων καὶ ἀπὸ μετεώρων τινῶν χωρίων ὅ τε Καλῆσαρ καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος οὐκ ἔχον οὐθ’ ὅτως ἔλπίσσωσιν 1 οὖθ’ ὅτως ἀπογυώσιν, ἀλλ’ ἀμφίβολοι ταῖς γνώμαις γιγνόμενοι δ’ ἵσον καὶ 4 τῷ δέει καὶ τῷ θάρσει ἐκακοπάθουν. ἀντιπάλου γὰρ τῆς μάχης οὔσης ταῖς τε ὡφαι δεινῶς ἐκαμνον, ἐπιθυμοῦντες τι ἰδεῖν πλεονέκτημα καὶ ὁκνοῦντες τι ἰδεῖν ἐλάσσωμα, καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς, εὐχόμενοι τε τι ἅμα καὶ ἀπευχόμενοι καὶ ὅμων- νύμενοι καὶ φοβούμενοι. οὐκον οὐθ’ ἤδυνηθήσαν ἐπὶ πολὺ καρτερῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καταπηδήσαντες 5 ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππίων συμμετέχον ἄντὶς. οὔτω ποὺ τῷ τοῦ σώματος καὶ πόνῳ καὶ κινδύνῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς συντάσσει συνεῖναι 2 εἴλοντο, ῥοπὴν τίνα τοῖς ἔαντοι στρατιώταις ἐκάτερος τῇ τῆς μάχης κοινωνία παρέξειν ἐλπί- σαντες· ἢ εἰγε ἐκείνης ἀμάρτοιεν, συντελευτῆσαι γε αὐτοῖς ἠθέλησαν.

38 Καὶ οἱ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐμάχοντο· τοῖς δὲ δὴ στρατοπέδοις πλεονεξία μὲν οὐδεμία οὐδετέροις ἐκ τοῦτον ἐγένετο, μακρῷ δὲ δὴ πλεῖσσον, 3 ὡς ἐκείνους συγκυινδυνεύοντας σφισὶν εἰδον, τοῦ τε σφετέρου θανάτου καταφρόνησις καὶ τοῦ τῶν ἐναντίων ὀλέθρου ἐφεσὶς ἄμφοτέροις ὀμοίως ἐνέ- 2 πεσε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε ἐφυγον τότε γε οὐ- δέτεροι, ἀλλ’ ἵσοπαλεῖς ταῖς γνώμαις οὔτε ἵσοκρατεῖς καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐγγύνοντο· κἂν

1 οὖθ’ ὅτως ἔλπισσωσιν supplied by “N” in Reimars ed.
2 συνεῖναι Leuncl., συνιέναι L.
3 πλεῖσσον R. Steph., πλεῖο L.

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

The leaders, then, took part in the battle themselves; yet no advantage came of this to either army. On the contrary, when the men saw their chiefs sharing their danger, a far greater disregard for their own death and eagerness for the destruction of their opponents seized both alike. Accordingly neither side for the moment turned to flight, but, matched in determination, they proved also to be matched in physical strength. All would have
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πάντες ἀπέθανον ἣ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀγχώμαλοι
diekrιθησαν, εἰ μὴ ὁ τε ὁ Βογοῦας ἐξωθέ ποὺ τῶν
συνεστηκότων ὄν ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου στρατό-
pεδον ὄρμησε, καὶ ὁ Δαβίδην ὁς τοῦτο εἶδε,
tὴν τε τάξιν ἐξέλιπε καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐτράπετο.

3 φεύγειν γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ Πομπηίειοι νομίζαντες
ἡθύμησαν. καὶ ἔμαθον μὲν ποὺ τὸ ἄληθὲς
ὕπτερον, οὐ μὲντοι καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν ἑαυτοὺς ἐτ'
ἡδυνήθησαν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν πόλιν οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ
tάφρευμα ἀποφυγόντες οὗτοί τε τοὺς προσμίζ-

αντίς σφίσιν ἱσχυρῶς ἀπεμαχέσαντο, καὶ οὐ
πρότερον γε ἐπεσον πρὶν ἀμφίβολοι γενέσθαι,

καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὸ τείχος ἐπὶ πολὺ διέσωσαν, ὡστε
μὴ πρότερον αὐτὸ ἀλώναι πρὶν πάντας σφᾶς ἐν
ταῖς ἐκδρομαις ἀπολέσθαι. τοσοῦτον δ' οὖν τὸ
σύνολον τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων πάθος ἐκατέρωθεν ἐγένετο

ὡστ' ἀπορήσαντας ὡπως τὴν πόλιν, μὴ καὶ νυκτὸς
ἐκδρωσὶ tines, ἀποτείχισσον, αὐτὰ τὰ σώματα
τῶν νεκρῶν αὐτῇ περινῆσαι.2

39 Κρατήσας δὲ οὕτως ὁ Καίσαρ καὶ τὴν Κόρδου-

βαν εὐθὺς ἔλαβεν ὁ τε γὰρ Σέξτος οἱ προεξε-

χώρησε,3 καὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, καίτοι τῶν δοῦλων
ἂνθισταμένων σφίσιν ἐπειδὴπερ ἥλευθέρωντο,

προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ. καὶ ὡς τοὺς μὲν ἐν τοῖς
ὀπλοῖς ὄντας ἀπέσφαξε, τοὺς δὲ λουπούς ἐξηγυρί-

σατο. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς τὴν Ἡσπαλιν
ἐχοντας ἔδρασεν, οὐ4 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς καὶ
ἐκουσίοι φρουρὰν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐσεδέξαντο, ἐπειτα

de διαφθείραντες τοὺς ἐλθόντας ἐπολέμησαν.

3 ἐπεστράτευσε τε οὐν ἐπ' αὐτοῦς, καὶ ἀμελέστερον

1 ὁ τε Βκ., ὁτι γε Λ. 2 περιγῆσαι Madvig, ἐρινῆσαι L.
3 προεξεχώρησε Xyl., προσεξεχώρησε L.
4 ἔδρασεν οὐ Βκ., ἔδρασε καὶ Λ.

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

Caesar, having thus conquered, straightway took Corduba also. For Sextus had retired out of his way and the natives came over to his side, although their slaves, since they had been made free, resisted them. He slew the slaves under arms and sold the rest. And he adopted the same course also with those who held Hispalis; for they had at first pretended to accept a garrison from him willingly, but afterwards destroyed the soldiers who came there, and entered upon war. So he made a campaign against them,
δήθεν προσεδρεύων ἐλπίδας σφίσω ὡς καὶ διαφυγεῖν δυνησομένοις παρέσχε. κακὸ τούτον περιορῶν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἐξώντας ἐκείνονσ

τε ἐλόξιζε καὶ ἀπώλλυ, καὶ τὴν πόλιν οὐτως ἄνδρῶν κατὰ βραχὺ ἔρημωθείσαν ἐπὶ. καὶ μετὰ τούτο καὶ τὴν Μοῦδαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, τὰ μὲν ἀκούσια σὺν πολλῷ φόνῳ, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἠθελούσια παρέλαβε καὶ ἡγυρολόγησεν, ὡστε μηδὲ τῶν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἀναθημάτων τῶν ἐν τοῖς Γαδείρους ἀνακειμένων φείσασθαι, χώρας τε τίνων ἀπετέμετο, καὶ ἐτέρως τὸν φόρον προσεπηύξησε.

ταῦτα μὲν τοὺς ἀντιπολεμήσαντάς οἱ ἔδρασε, τοῖς δὲ εὐνοιαν τίνα αὐτοῦ σχούσιν ἐδωκε μὲν καὶ χωρία καὶ ἀτέλειαν, πολυτείαν τε τισι, καὶ ἄλλοις ἀποίκοις τῶν 'Ρωμαίων νομίζεσθαι, οὐ μὴν καὶ προῖκα αὐτά ἐχαρίσατο.

Καίσαρ μὲν δὴ ταύτ’ ἐπραττε, Πομπῆιος δὲ διαφυγών πως ἐν τῇ τροπῇ ἦλθε μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ὡς καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ τῷ ἐν τῇ Καρτηνίᾳ ὀρμοῦντι χρησόμενος, εὑρὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν κρατοῦντα ἀποκεκλικότας ἑπέβη μὲν πλοίου τινός, προσδοκήσας ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ διαδράσεσθαι, πληγεῖς δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ ἀθυμῆσας τῇ τε γῇ αὐθίς προσέγγιε, κἀπταῦθα συνελθόντας τινὰς παραλαβὼν πρὸς τὴν μεσόγειαν άφημης. καὶ αὐτὸς τε Καίσεννίῳ Δεντωνὶ περιπεσῶν ἡττήθη, καὶ ἐς ὕλην τινὰ καταφυγῶν ἐφθάρη καὶ ὁ Δίδιος ἀγνοῶν τε τούτο, καὶ πλανώμενος ὡς καὶ συμμύξων ποὺ αὐτῷ, συνέτυχεν ἑτέρους τισι καὶ ἀπώλετο.

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

While Caesar was thus occupied, Pompey, who had escaped in the rout, reached the sea, intending to use the fleet that lay at anchor at Carteia, but found that the men had gone over to the victor’s side. He then embarked on a vessel, expecting to escape in this manner; but being wounded in the course of the attempt, he lost heart and put back to land, and then, taking with him some men who had assembled, set out for the interior. He met Caesennius Lento and was defeated; and taking refuge in a wood, perished there. Didius, ignorant of his fate, while wandering about in the hope of meeting him somewhere, met some other troops and perished.
41 Ειλετο δ' ἀν καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐκεῖ ποὺ προσ τῇ τῶν ἐτὶ ἀνθεστηκότων καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ πολέμου δόξῃ πεπτωκέναι μᾶλλον ἢ ὁπερ οὐκ ἦς μακρὰν ἐπαθείς, ἐν τῇ πατρίδι καὶ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ πρὸς τῶν 2 φιλτάτων σφαγήναι. τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον τελευταίον κατώρθωσε καὶ ταῦτη τὴν νίκην ἐσχάτην ἀνείλετο, καὶ περ οὐδὲν ὁ τι οὐχὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν μεγίστων καταπράξεων ἐλπίσας διὰ τῇ τᾶλλα, καὶ οὐχ ἦκιστα ὅτι βλαστός τις ἐκ φοίνικος ἐν τῷ τῆς μάχης χωρίῳ οὕτος εὕθυς ἐπὶ τῇ νίκη ἐξέφυ. καὶ οὐ λέγω μὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἔφερε1 ποιὸ τοῦτο, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνῳ γε ἐτὶ, ἀλλὰ τῷ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ ἐγγόνῳ τῷ Ὁκταονίῳ συνε- στρατεύετο τε γὰρ αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐκ τῶν πόλων τῶν τε κυνδύνων αὐτοῦ ἐκλάμψεων ἐμελλεῖν. ἀγνοῶν δ' οὕν τοῦτο, καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ἐτὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἐλπίζων, οὐδὲν μέτριον ἐπράττεν, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ 42 ἀθανατός ὑν ὑπερεφρόνησε. τὰ τε γὰρ ἐπινίκια, καίτοι μηδενὸς ἀλλοτρίου κρατῆσας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοσοῦτο πλῆθος πολιτῶν ἀπολέσας, οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ἐπεμψε, πάντα τὸν δήμον ἐν αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ κοινοῖς τισιν ἀγαθοὶς αὕτις ἐστιάσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Φαβίῳ τῷ Κυίντῳ τῷ τε Κυίντῳ Πεδίῳ,3 καίτοι ὑποστρατηγησάσιν αὐτῷ καὶ μηδεν ἴδια 2 κατορθώσασι, διειστάσαι ἐπέτρεψε. καὶ ἦν μὲν που γέλως ἐπὶ τε τούτῳ, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ξυλίναις ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐλεφαντῖναις ἔργον τε τινων εἰκόσιν ἅλλοις τε τοιοῦτοις ποιμείναι ἔχρισαντο· οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἐμφανέστατα τριττά τε νικητῆρια καὶ

1 οὐκ ἔφερε Caes.2 ποι Bk., πη. L. 3 τῷ Φαβίῳ τῷ Κυίντῳ τῷ τε Κυίντῳ Πεδίῳ Mommsen, τῷ Φαβίῳ τῷ τε Κυίντῳ L.
Caesar, too, would doubtless have chosen to fall there, at the hands of those who were still resisting and amid the glory of war, in preference to the fate he met not long afterward of being murdered in his own land and in the senate at the hands of his dearest friends. For this was the last war that he carried through successfully, and this the last victory that he won, in spite of the fact that there was no other project so great that he did not hope to accomplish it. In this hope he was confirmed especially by the circumstance that from a palm that stood on the site of the battle a shoot grew out immediately after the victory. Now I do not assert that this had no bearing in some direction, yet it was no longer for him, but for his sister's grandson, Octavius; for the latter was making the campaign with him, and was destined to gain great lustre from his toils and dangers. As Caesar did not know this, and hoped that many great successes would still fall to his own lot, he showed no moderation, but was filled with arrogance, as if immortal. For, although he had conquered no foreign nation, but had destroyed a vast number of citizens, he not only celebrated the triumph himself, incidentally feasting the entire populace once more, as if in honour of some common blessing, but also allowed Quintus Fabius and Quintus Pedius to hold a celebration, although they had merely been his lieutenants and had achieved no individual success. Naturally this occasioned ridicule, as did also the fact that they used wooden instead of ivory representations of certain achievements together with other similar triumphal apparatus. Nevertheless, most brilliant triple triumphs and

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Τριτταί πομπαί τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ἑκείνων ἐποιήθησαν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἱερομνύται ἐπὶ πεν-

3 τήκοντα ἡμέρας ἦχθησαν. τά τε 1 Παρίλια ἰπ’

ποδραμία ἀθανάτω, οὕτω γε καὶ διὰ τήν πόλιν, ὡτι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκτιστο, ἀλλὰ διὰ τήν τοῦ Καίσαρος

νίκην, ὡτι ἡ ἀγγελία αὐτῆς τῇ προτεραίᾳ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἄφικετο, ἐστιμηθη.

43 Τούτω μὲν δὴ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἔδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τήν τε

στολὴν τήν ἐπινίκιον εν πάσαις ταῖς πανηγύρεσι

κατά δόγμα ἐνεδύετο, καὶ τῷ στεφάνῳ τῷ δαφνίῳ

ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ ὁμοίως ἐκοσμεῖτο. καὶ πρό-

φασιν μὲν ἐποιεῖτο τούτου 2 ὡτι ἀναφαλαντίας ἦν,

παρείχε δὲ καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἑκείνου λόγον τινά, καὶ

ὡτι 3 τότε ἔτι, καὶ περ παρηβηκός, ἐς κάλλος ἴσκει.

2 τῇ τε γὰρ ἐσθήτη χαυνοτέρα εν πάσιν ἐνηβρύνετο,

καὶ τῇ ὑποδέης καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐνίστε καὶ

ὑψηλή καὶ ἐρύθροχρόν κατὰ τούς βασιλεάς τοὺς

ἐν τῇ Ἀλβή ποτε γενομένους, ὡς καὶ προσήκων

3 σφίς διὰ τόν Ἰουλον, 4 ἔχρητο. τό τε ὅλον τῇ

τε Ἀφροδίτη πᾶς ἀνέκειτο, 5 καὶ πείθειν πάντας

ἡθελεν 6 ὡτι καὶ ἀνόθω τι ὀρας ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ἐχον’

καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ γλύμμα αὐτῆς ἐνσπλεν ἐφόρει,

καὶ σύνθημα αὐτῆ καὶ τοῖς πλείστοις καὶ μεγίστοις

4 κινδύνοις ἐποιεῖτο. τό δ’ οὖν χαῦνον τοῦ ζώματος 7

αὐτοῦ ο μὲν Σύλλας ὑπετόπησεν, ὡστε καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτοῦ ἠθέλησαι, τοῖς τε ἔξαιτησικένως

ἐπείν 8 ὡτι 8 ἐγὼ μὲν χαριοῦμαι τοῦτον ὑμῖν,

ὑμεῖς μέντοι καὶ πάνυ τούτον τὸν κακῶς ζωνυ-

1 τε Ρκ., τε γὰρ Λ. 2 τούτου Ρκ., τούτο Λ.

3 ὡτι supplied by Leuncl. 4 Ἰουλον Xyl., Ἰουλιον Λ.

5 ἀνέκειτο Xyl., ἀνεκινεῖτο Λ.

6 πάντας ἡθελεν R. Steph., πάντες ἡθελον Λ.

7 ζώματος Xyl., σώματος Λ Χιφ. 8 εἰπείν Xiph., εἶπεν Λ.

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triple processions of the Romans were held in honour of those very events, and furthermore a thanksgiving of fifty days was observed. The Parilia was honoured by permanent annual games in the Circus, yet not at all because the city had been founded on that day, but because the news of Caesar's victory had arrived the day before, toward evening.

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

1 Implying licentiousness and general laxity of morals.
μενον φυλάττεσθε” ὁ δὲ δὴ Κικέρων ὁυ συνενο-5 σεν, ἄλλα καὶ σφαλεῖς ἐφη ὅτι “οὐκ ἂν ποτε προσεδόκησα τὸν κακῶς οὗτο ζωνύμενον Πομ-πηίου κρατήσειν.”

Τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ἐν ἑκβολῇ τοῦ λόγου, ὡστε μηδένα μηδέν τῶν περὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος λεγομένων 44 ἀγνοῆσαι, ἔγραψα:1 ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῇ νίκῃ ἐκείνα τε ὅσα εἶπον ἡ γερουσία ἔγνω, καὶ προσέτι αὐτῶν τε Ἐλευθερωτήν καὶ ἐκάλου καὶ ἐς τὰ γραμματεῖα ἀνέγραφον, καὶ νεὼν Ἐλευθερίας δημοσία ἐψηφί-2 σαντο. τὸ τε τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα οὐ κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐτὶ μόνον, ὡσπερ ἄλλοι τε καὶ ἐκεῖνος πολλάκις 2 ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ἐπεκλήθησαν, οὐδὲ ὡς οὐ τινα αὐτοτελὴ ἤγεμονίαν ἢ καὶ ἄλλην τινὰ ἐξουσίαν λαβόντες ἢνομάζοντο, ἄλλα καθάπαξ τούτῳ δὴ τὸ καὶ νῦν τοῖς τὸ κράτος ἀεὶ ἔχοντι διδόμενον ἐκείνῳ τότε πρώτῳ τε καὶ πρῶτον,

3 ὡσπερ τι κύριον, προσέθεσαν. καὶ τοσαύτη γε 3 ὑπερβολὴ κολακείας ἐχρήσαντο ὡστε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς τε ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ οὗτος καλεῖσθαι ψηφίσασθαι, μήτε τέκνον τι αὐτῶν ἔχοντο καὶ γέροντος ἢδε ὄντος. ἄθεντες καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοκράτορας ἡ ἐπίκλησις αὐτή,4 ὡσπερ τις ἱδία τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν οὔσα καθάπερ 4 καὶ ἡ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἄφικετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκ τούτου κατελύθη, ἀλλ’ ἔστιν ἐκάτερον καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ δεύτερον ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ἐπάγεται, ὅταν νίκην τινὰ τοιαύτην ἄνελωνται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο αὐτοκράτορες ἀπαξ τῇ προσηγορίᾳ

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

This I have written by way of digression from my history, so that no one might be ignorant of any of the stories told about Caesar. In honour of his victory the senate passed all those decrees that I have mentioned, and further called him "Liberator," entering it also in the records, and voted for a public temple of Liberty. Moreover, they now applied to him first and for the first time, as a kind of proper name, the title of imperator, no longer merely following the ancient custom by which others as well as Caesar had often been saluted as a result of their wars, nor even as those who received some independent command or other authority were called by this name, but giving him once for all the same title that is now granted to those who hold successively the supreme power. And such excessive flattery did they employ as even to vote that his sons and grandsons should be given the same title, though he had no child and was already an old man. From him this title has come down to all subsequent emperors, as one peculiar to their office, just like the title "Caesar." The ancient custom has not, however, been thereby overthrown, but both usages exist side by side. Consequently the emperors are invested with it a second time when they gain some such victory as has been mentioned. For those who are imperatores in the special sense use
ταύτη, ὥσπερ ¹ ταῖς ἄλλαις, καὶ πρῶτη γε
5 χρωνταί: οὗ ² δ' ἂν καὶ διὰ πολέμων ἀξίων τι αὐτῆς κατορθώσωσι, καὶ ἐκείνην τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου προσλαμβάνουσι, καὶ τούτων καὶ δεύτερον τις καὶ τρίτων πλεονάκις τε, ὁσάκις ἂν παράσχῃ οἱ, αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπονομάζεται.
6 Ταύτα τε οὖν τότε τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ οἶκλαν ὡστε ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ οἴκειν, ἱερομηνίαν τε ἐξαίρετον ὁσάκις ἂν νῦκῃ τῇ τις συμβῇ καὶ θυσίαν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἐγγυωνται, καὶ μῆτε συστρατεύσηται μῆθ' ὅλως ἐπικοινωνήσῃ ³ τῶν καταπραχθέντων.
6 ἐδοσαν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλῳ ἐκείνῳ μὲν εἰ καὶ ὑπέρογκα ἐξώ τε τοῦ καθεστηκότος τιαίν ⁴ ἐδόκει εἶναι, οὕτω γε καὶ ἀδημοκράτητα ἦν. έτερα δὲ δὴ τοιάδε ἐγκόσιαντο δι' ὅν καὶ μόναρχον αὐτὸν ἀντικρυς ἀπεδείξαν. τὰς τε γὰρ ἀρχὰς αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς τοῦ πλῆθους ἀνέθεσαν, καὶ ὑπατον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δέκα ἐτη, ὡστε καὶ δικτάτορα πρότερον, προεχειρί.
2 σαντο. στρατιώτας τε μόνον ἔχειν καὶ τὰ δημόσια χρήματα μόνον διακείναι εκέλευσαν, ὡστε μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ μηδετέρῳ αὐτῶν, ὅτι μὴ ⁵ ἐκείνος ἐπιτρέψειεν, ἐξείνα χρήσθαι. καὶ τότε μὲν ἀνδριάντα αὐτοῦ ἐλεφάντινον, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἄρμα ὅλον ἐν ταῖς ἱπποδρομίαις μετὰ τῶν θείων ἐν ἀγαλμάτων πέμπτεςθαι ἐγνωσαν. ἀλλην τε τίνα εἰκόνα ἐσ τοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ⁶ ναὸν Θεοῦ ἀνικήτω ἐπιγράψαντες, καὶ ἀλλὴν ἐσ τὸ Καπιτῶλου παρὰ τοὺς βασιλεύσαντάς ποτε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη.

¹ ῥοπερ Βκ., ῥοπερ ἐν Λ. ² οἱ Δινδ., οἰς Λ.
³ καὶ μῆτε συστρατεύσηται μῆθ' ὅλως ἐπικοινωνήσῃ Ναβερ, καὶ μῆτε συστρατεύσης τις μῆθ' ὅλως ἐπικοινωνῆσαι Λ.
⁴ τοὶ Ναβερ, σφίσιν Λ. ⁵ μη Βκ., μηδὲ Λ.
⁶ Κυρίου Ρ. Στεφ., κυρίου Λ.

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

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

46 Ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τῇ ἑτέρη ἑτέρῃ (λέγω ἢ δὲ οὐ πάντα, ἅλλ' ὅσα ἀξιόλογα εἶναι μοι ἐδοξεῖν) οὐκ ἐν μίᾳ γε ἡμέρᾳ, ἅλλ' ὅς πον καὶ ἔτυχεν, ἅλλο ἅλλη ἐκμοίραθε καὶ σφον ὁ Καίσαρ τοὺς μὲν χρῆσθαι ἥρξατο τοῖς δὲ ἔμελλεν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μᾶλιστα τινα

2 αὐτῶν παρῆκατο. τῆν δ' οὖν ἄρχην τὴν ὑπατον παραχρῆμα μὲν, καὶ πρὶν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσέλθειν, ἄνέλαβεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ διὰ τέλους ἐσχεν, ἅλλ' ἐν τῇ Ἐρώμη γενόμενος ἀπειπέ τε αὐτήν καὶ τῷ Φαβίῳ τῷ Κύντῳ τῷ τε Τρεβωνίῳ τῷ Γαίῳ ἐνεχείρισε. καὶ ἐπειδῆ γε ὁ Φάβιος τῇ τελευταίᾳ τῆς ὑπατείας ἡμέρα ἀπέθανεν, εὐθὺς ἂντ' αὐτοῦ ἔτερου πρὸς τάς περιλοίπους ὀρας Γαίου

3 Καύνινον τ' Ῥήβιλον ἀνθέειλεν. πρῶτων μὲν δὴ τοτὲ τούτο παρὰ τὸ καθεστικὸς ἐγένετο, τὸ μήτε ἐτησίαν μήτε ἐς πάντα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον τοῦ ἐτους τὴν ἄρχην ἐκείνην τον αὐτῶν ἐχειν, ἅλλα ἕως τίνα αὐτῆς καὶ μή ἀναγκασθέντα μήτε ἐκ τῶν πατρίων μήτε ἐξ ἐπηγορίας τινὸς ἐκστήναι,

1 ὃγδοις Bk., ὃγδοι L.
2 τῇ supplied by Pflugk.
3 ἡ τῷ βροῦτῳ τῶν Ταρκυνίων καταλύσαντι L.
4 τῇ supplied by Pflugk.
5 λέγω L.
6 ὑπατον L.
7 Καύνινον R. Steph., κάννινον L.
8 Ῥήβιλον Wagner, Ῥήβιον L.
9 τῶν πατρίων Rk., πατρίων L.
now it occurs to me to marvel at the coincidence: there were eight such statues,—seven to the kings, and an eighth to the Brutus who overthrew the Tarquins,—and they set up the statue of Caesar beside the last of these; and it was from this cause chiefly that the other Brutus, Marcus, was roused to plot against him.

These were the measures that were passed in honour of his victory (I do not mention all, but as many as have seemed to me notable), not in one day, to be sure, but just as it happened, at different times. Caesar began to avail himself of some, and was intending to use others in the future, however emphatically he declined some of them. Thus he took the office of consul immediately, even before entering the city, but did not hold it through the whole year; instead, when he got to Rome he renounced it, turning it over to Quintus Fabius and Gaius Trebonius. When Fabius died on the last day of his consulship, he straightway named another man, Gaius Caninius Rebilus, in his place for the remaining hours. This was the first violation of precedent at this time, that one and the same man did not hold that office for a year or even for all the rest of the same year, but while living withdrew from it without compulsion from either ancestral custom or any accusation, and another took
καὶ ἕτερον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἀντικαταστῆναι. δεύτερον
de ὅτι ὁ Κανίνιος ἀπεδέιχθη τε ἀμα ὑπατος καὶ
ὑπάτευσε καὶ ἐπαύσατο· ὅπερ καὶ ὁ Κικέρων
dιασκώπτων τοσαύτη ἐφή τὸν ὑπατον καὶ ἀνδρέα
καὶ φροντίδι ἐν τῇ ἄρχῃ κεχρήσθαι ὡστε μηδὲ τὸ
βραχύτατον ἐν αὐτῇ κεκοιμήσθαι. ἐκ δ' οὖν τοῦ
χρόνου ἐκείνου οὐκέτι οἱ αὐτοὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ
ἐτους, πλὴν ὀλίγων πάλαι γε, ὑπάτευσαν, ἀλλ' ὡς
που καὶ ἐτυχον, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ πλείους οἱ δὲ ἐπ' ἐλάτ-
tous, οἱ μὲν μήνας οἱ δὲ ἤμερας, ἔπει γιν' γε οὔδεὶς
οὔτε ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν οὔτε ἐσ πλείω διμήνου χρόνον

καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὔδὲν διαφέρομεν ἄλληλων, τὴν
dὲ ἐξαρίθμησιν τῶν ἐτῶν οἱ κατὰ πρῶτας αὐτῶν
ὑπατεύοντες καρποῦνται. καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν τῶν μὲν
ἀλλων τοὺς τοὺς πράγμασιν ἀναγκαίους ὄνομάσω,
πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὴν τῶν αἰε πραττομένων δηλωσιν
tους πρῶτους ἀρξαντας, κἂν μηδέν ἔργον ἐσ αὐτὰ
παράσχωνται.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοὺς ὑπάτους ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐγένετο·
οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες λόγῳ μὲν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ
πλήθους καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὰ πάτρια
(τὴν γὰρ ἀπόδειξιν αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἔδειξα το),
ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπ' ἐκείνου κατέστησαν, καὶ ἔσ γε τὰ
ἐθυν ἀκληρωτὶ ἐξεπέμφθησαν. ἀριθμὸν δὲ οἱ
μὲν ἄλλοι ὁσιπερ καὶ πρότερον, στρατηγοὶ δὲ
tεσσαρεσκάιδεκα ταμίαι τε τεσσαράκοντα ἀπε-
δείχθησαν. πολλοῖς γὰρ δὴ πολλὰ ὑπεσχημένος

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

While the consuls were appointed in this manner, the remaining magistrates were nominally elected by the plebs and by the whole people, in accordance with ancestral custom, since Caesar would not accept the appointment of them; yet really they were appointed by him, and were sent out to the provinces without casting lots. As for their number, all were the same as before, except that fourteen praetors and forty quaestors were appointed. For, since he had made many promises to many people,
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οὔς εἶχεν ὅπως σφᾶς ἄλλως ἀμέιψηται, καὶ 3 διὰ τούτο ταύτ' ἐποίει. καὶ προσέτι παμπληθεῖς μὲν ἐς τὴν γεροντιάν, μηδὲν διακρίνων μὴν εἰ τις στρατιώτης μὴν εἰ τις ἀπελευθέρου παῖς ἢν, ἐσέγραψεν, ὡστε καὶ ἑνακοσίους τὸ κεφάλαιον αὑτῶν γενέσθαι, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς εὐπατρίδας τοὺς τε ὑπατευκότας ἢ καὶ 4 ἀλλὴν 3 ἀρχὴν τινα ἄρξαντας ἐγκατέλεξεν. εὑθυνομένους τε ἐπὶ δώροις τινὰς καὶ ἐξελεγχομένους γε ἀπέλυσεν, ὡστε καὶ αἰτίαν δωροδοκίας ἔχειν. προσσυνελάβετο γὰρ τοῦ λόγου τούτου ὅτι καὶ τοὺς χώρους τοὺς δημοσίους, οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς βεβήλους ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς ἱεροὺς, πάντας τε ἐξέθηκεν ἐς τὸ 4 πρατήριον, καὶ ἀπεκήρυξε τοὺς πλείους.

5 συχνὰ δ' οὖν ὅμως καὶ ἐν ἀργυρίῳ τῇ τε πράσει τῶν χωρίων ἐστὶν οἷς ἑνειμένα καὶ Δουκίῳ τινι Βασίλῳ ὁ ἡγεμόνια μὲν ἔθνους οὐδεμίαν καίτοι στρατηγοῦντι ἐπέτρεψε, χρήματα δὲ ἀντὶ αὐτῆς πάμπολλα ἐχαρίσατο, ὡστε καὶ ἐπιβόητον αὐτόν ἐν τε 6 τούτῳ γενέσθαι, καὶ ὅτι προπηλακισθείς ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ υπ' αὐτοῦ ἀντεκαρτέρησε. 7

6 ταῦτα δὴ πάντα τοῖς μὲν λαμβάνουσι τῇ καὶ προσδοκώσι λήψεσθαι ἀρεστὰ ἐγίγνετο, μηδὲν τοῦ κοινοῦ προτιμῶσι πρὸς τὸ ἀεὶ δ' αὐτῶν αὑξεσθαν. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι πάντες δεινῶς ἑφερον, καὶ πολλὰ ἐλογοποίουν πρὸς τε ἄλληλους, καὶ ὅσοις γε καὶ ἀσφάλεια τις ἢν, παρρησιαξὸμενοι, καὶ βιβλία δὲ 8 ἀνώνυμα εἰκεθέντες.

1 ἐς Bs., ἐπὶ L.  2 ἑνακοσίους Bk., ἑνακοσίους L.  3 ἀλλὴν supplied by Nipperdey.  4 ἐξέθηκεν ἐς τὸ supplied by R. Steph.  5 Βασίλῳ Bs., Βασίληως L.  6 τε Bk., γε L.  7 ἀντεκαρτέρησε Bs., ἀπεκαρτέρησε L.  8 ἐς St., τε L.
he had no other way to reward them, and hence took this method. Furthermore, he enrolled a vast number in the senate, making no distinction whether a man was a soldier or the son of a freedman, so that the sum of them grew to nine hundred; and he enrolled many also among the patricians and among the ex-consuls and such as had held some other office. He released some who were on trial for bribery and were being proved guilty, so that he was charged with bribe-taking himself. This report was strengthened by the fact that he also put up at auction all the public lands, not only the profane, but also the consecrated lots, and sold most of them. Nevertheless, he granted ample gifts to some persons in the form of money or the sale of lands; and in the case of a certain Lucius Basilus, who was praetor, instead of assigning him a province he bestowed a large amount of money upon him, so that Basilus became notorious both on this account as well as because, when insulted during his praetorship by Caesar, he had held out against him. All this suited those citizens who were receiving or even expecting to receive something, since they had no regard for the public weal in comparison with the chance of the moment for their own advancement by such means. But all the rest took it greatly to heart and had much to say about it to each other and also—as many as felt safe in so doing—in outspoken utterances and the publication of anonymous pamphlets.
48 'Εν δ' οὖν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ἐκείνα τε ἐπράξθη, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως δύο τῶν πολιανομοῦντων, ἐπειδὴ ταμίας οὐδεὶς προεκειχειροτόνητο, ἐγένοντο. ὡσπερ γὰρ ποτε πρότερον, καὶ τότε ἐν τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος οἱ πολιανόμοι πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀστεί πράγματα μετὰ τοῦ Λεπίδου

2 ἰππαρχοῦντος ἔσχον, καὶ αὐτιαδέντες γε ὁτι καὶ ῥαβδοῦχοι καὶ τῇ ἐσθῆτι τῷ τε δίφρω τοῖς ἀρχικοῖς, ὡσπερ καὶ ὁ ἰππαρχὸς, ἐκέχρηντο, ἀφείθησαν, νόμον τινά προβαλλόμενοι δι' οὐ πᾶσι τοῖς παρὰ δικτάτορος ἀρχήν τινα λαβοῦσι

3 χρήσθαι αὐτοῖς ἐδίδοστο. τὸ δ' οὖν κατὰ τὴν διοικήσιν, ἐξ ἐκείνου δι' ἀπερ εἶπον παρατραπέν, οὐκέτι τοῖς ταμίαις ἀπει ἐπετράπη, ἀλλὰ τὸ τελευταῖον τοῖς ἐστρατηγικοῖς προσετάξθη. τοὺς τε οὖν θησαυροὺς τοὺς δημοσίους δύο τότε τῶν πολιανομοῦντων διοίκησαν, καὶ τὰ Ἀπολλώνια ὁ ἑτερος αὐτῶν τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος παρασκευῆ

4 ἐπετέλεσε. καὶ οἱ ἀγορανόμοι οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πλῆθους τὰ Μεγαλῆσια κατὰ δόγμα ἐποίησαν. πολιαρχός τε τις ἐν ταῖς ἀνοχαῖς καταστάς ἑτερον αὐτὸς τῆς υστεραίας ἀνθείλετο, καὶ ἐκείνοις ἀλλούν ὁ μὴτε πρότερον μὴθ' ύστερον ποτε ἐγένετο.

49 Ταύτα μὲν τότε ἐπράξθη τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει, ἐν δ' οἱ Καίσαρ ἐδικτατόρευσε τε ἀμα τὸ πέμπτον, ἰππαρχοῦν τὸν Λέπιδου προσλαβὼν, καὶ ὑπάτευσε τὸ πέμπτον, συνάρχοντα τὸν Ἀντώνιου προσελόμενος, στρατηγικοὶ τε ἐκκαΐδεκα ἡρξαν (καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἔτη ... 2), καὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐν μέσῳ ποι πρότερον τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὅν ἐς τοῦ νῦν τόπον

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

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

2 Πομπηίαν εἶκὼν ἀπεδόθη. καὶ ἔπι τε 1 τούτω εὐκλειαν ὁ Καίσαρ ἔσχεν, καὶ ὅτι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ τῆς δόξης τοῦ ἐργοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπιγραφῆς παρεχόμεθη. θεάτρον τε τι κατὰ τὸν Πομπηίαν οἰκοδομῆσαι ἑθελήσας προκατεβάλετο 2 μὲν, οὐκ ἐξετέλεσε δὲ. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὁ Αὔγουστος μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκποιήσας ἀπὸ Μάρκου

3 Μαρκέλλου τοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦ 3 ἐποιόμασε τὰς δὲ οἰκίας τοὺς τε ναοὺς τοὺς ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐκεῖνῳ ὁντας ὁ Καίσαρ καθελὼν αἰτίαν ἔλαβεν, ὅτι τε τὰ ἀγάλματα, ξύλινα πλὴν ὀλίγων ὁντα, κατεκαυσε, καὶ θησαυρούς χρημάτων συχνοὺς εὐρῶν πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐσφετερίσατο.

50 Ταῦτα τε ἐποίει καὶ νόμους ἐσέφερε τό τε πωμήριον ἔπι πλείον ἐπεξήγαγε· καὶ ἐν μὲν τούτοις ἀλλοις τὲ τις ὧνοι τῷ Σύλλα πρᾶξαι ἑδοξεν ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τοσὶ τε περιελειφθεὶσι τῶν ἀντιπολεμησάντων οἱ τὰς τε αἰτίας ἀφεῖναι καὶ

2 ἄδειαν ἔπι τε τῇ ῥήσῃ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ὧμοιᾳ δούναι, καὶ ἐκείνων τε τὰς ἀρχὰς προσαγαγείν καὶ ταῖς γυναικὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων τὰς πρόκεισαι ἀποδοῦναι, τοῖς τε παισὶν αὐτῶν μέρη τῶν οὐσίων χαρίσασθαι, τήν τε τοῦ Σύλλου μιαφονίαν μεγάλως ἤλεγξε, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔπ' ἄνδρεία μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ χρηστοτήτι ἰσχυρῶς εὐδοκίμησεν, καίτοι χαλεπῶν ὃν ὦς πληθεὶ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ

3 διαπρέσαι. τοῦτοις τε οὖν ἐσεμνύνετο, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα τὴν τε Κόρινθον ἀνέστησεν.

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

Besides this, he introduced laws and extended the pomerium; in these and other matters his course was thought to resemble that of Sulla. Caesar, however, removed the ban from the survivors of those who had warred against him, granting them immunity on fair and uniform terms; he promoted them to office; to the wives of the slain he restored their dowries, and to their children he granted a share of the property, thus putting Sulla's cruelty mightily to shame and gaining for himself a great reputation not alone for bravery but also for goodness, although it is generally a difficult thing for the same man to excel both in war and in peace. This was a source of pride to him, as was also the fact that he had restored again Carthage and Corinth.
πολλὰς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλας ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἔξω πόλεις τὰς μὲν ἀνφυκοδόμησε, τὰς δὲ καὶ
4 ἐκ καύνης καταστήσατο· ἄλλα τούτο μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἐπέπρακτο, τὴν δὲ δὴ Κόρινθον
τὴν τε Καρκηδώνα, πόλεις ἀρχαίας λαμπρὰς ἐπι-
σήμους ἀπολογυνάς, ἥμεν ἀπουκίας Ρωμαίων
ἐνόμισεν, ἀπόκισεν, ἥμὲν δὲ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ὁνόμασιν
5 ἐτίμησεν, ἀπέδωκεν τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν ἐνοικησάντων
ποτὲ αὐτάς, μηδὲν διὰ τὴν ἐκεῖνων ἐχθραν τοῖς
χωρίοις τοῖς μηδὲν σφας ἀδικήσασι μυησική-
σας.

Καὶ αἱ μὲν, ὡσπερ ἄμα πρότερον καθηρέθησαν,
οὖτω καὶ τότε ἀμα ἀνεβιώσκοντο καὶ ἔμελλον καὶ
51 αὖθις ἀνυθήσειν πράττοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ἐπι-
θυμία τε πᾶσι τοῖς Ρωμαίοις ὁμοίως ἐσήλθε
τιμωρήσαι τῷ τε Κράσσῳ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ
φθαρέσι, καὶ ἐλπὶς τότε, εἴπερ ποτέ, τοὺς Πάρ-
θους καταστρέψεσθαι. 2 τὸν τε οὖν πόλεμον τῷ
Καίσαρι ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐφηφίσαντο, καὶ τὴν παρα-
2 σκευὴν 3 αὐτοῦ πολλὴν ἐποιοῦντο. τὰ τε γὰρ
ἄλλα, καὶ ὡς ἐκεῖνὸς τε πλείοσιν ὑπηρέταις
χρήσαι ἔχῃ, καὶ ἥ πολὺς μῆτ’ ἀνευ ἄρχοντων ἐν
τῇ ἀπονεία αὐτοῦ γενήται μῆτ’ αὐθ’ ἐαυτην
ἀἱρουμένη 5 τινὰς στασιάσῃ, διενοοῦντο μὲν καὶ ἐς
τρία ἐτὶ αὐτοὺς προκαταστήσαι (τοσοῦτον γὰρ
χρόνου πρὸς τὴν στρατεύαν χρήσειν ἐδόκουν) οὐ
3 μέντοι καὶ πάντας προαπέδειξαν. ἥρεῖτο δὲ τῷ
μὲν λόγῳ 6 τοὺς ἠμύσεις ὁ Καίσαρ, ἐν νόμῳ τινὶ

1 ἧ R. Steph., ἦ L.
2 καταστρέψεσθαι Bs., καταστρέψασθαι L.
3 παρασκευὴ Rk., κατασκευὴ L. 4 ἥ Rk., ἥ τε L.
5 αἱρουμένη R. Steph., αἱρουμένης L.
6 δὲ τῷ μὲν λόγῳ Bs., μὲν τῷ λόγῳ L.
To be sure, there were many other cities in and outside of Italy which he had either rebuilt or founded anew; still, other men had done as much. But in the case of Corinth and Carthage, those ancient, brilliant, and distinguished cities which had been laid in ruins, he not only colonized them, in that he regarded them as colonies of the Romans, but also restored them in memory of their former inhabitants, in that he honoured them with their ancient names; for he bore no grudge, on account of the hostility of those peoples, towards places that had never harmed the Romans.

So these cities, even as they had once been demolished together, now began to revive together and bade fair to flourish once more. But while Caesar was thus engaged, a longing came over all the Romans alike to avenge Crassus and those who had perished with him, and they felt some hope of subjugating the Parthians then, if ever. They unanimously voted the command of the war to Caesar, and made ample provision for it. Among other details, they decided that he should have a generous number of assistants, and also, in order that the city should neither be without officials in his absence nor, again, by attempting to choose some on its own responsibility, fall into strife, that the magistrates should be appointed in advance for three years, this being the length of time they thought necessary for the campaign. Nevertheless, they did not designate them all beforehand. Nominally Caesar chose half of them, having a certain legal right to do this, but in reality
τούτο ποιησάμενος, ἔργῳ δὲ πάντας. καὶ ἐσ μὲν τὸ πρῶτον ἐτος ταμίαν τεσσαράκοντα προεχειρισθησαν ὡσπέρ καὶ πρότερον, καὶ ἀγορανόμοι τότε πρῶτον δύο μὲν καὶ ἐξ εὐπατριδῶν, τέσσαρες δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους, ὡν οἱ δύο τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Δήμητρος ἐπίκλησιν φέρουσι, ὅπερ που καὶ ἐσ τόδε ἐξ ἐκεῖνον καταδειχθεῖν ἐμμεμενήκε. στρατηγοὶ δὲ ἀπεδείχθησαν μὲν ἐκκαίδεκα: ἀλλ’ οὐ τούτο γράφω (καὶ γαρ πρὸσθεν ἐγεγόνεσαν) ἀλλ’ ὅτι 1 καὶ ὁ Πούπλιος ὁ Οὐεντίδιος 2 ἐν αὐτοῖς ἤρέθη. οὗτος γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ἐκ τοῦ Πικήνου, ὡσπέρ εἰρηταὶ μοι, ἢν, ἀντυπολεμήσας δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὤτε 5 οἱ σύμμαχοι σφισίν ἐπολεμώθησαν, ἦλω τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου τοῦ Στράβωνος καὶ ἐν τοῖς νικητηρίων αὐτοῦ δεδεμένοι ἐπόμπευσε, καὶ μετὰ τούτο ἀφεθεὶς ἐσ τὸ συνεδριον χρόνῳ ὑστερον ἐνεγράφη καὶ στρατηγὸς τὸτε ὑπὸ 3 τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπεδείχθη, καὶ ἐσ τοσοῦτον γε προϊόν ἐπηνεξήθη ὡστε καὶ τοὺς Πάρθους νικήσαι καὶ ἐπενίκια αὐτῶν 6 πέμψαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν τῷ πρῶτῳ μετ’ εκεῖνο ἔτει ἀρξοντες πάντες προκατέστησαν, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὸ δεύτερον οὗ τε ὑπατοὶ καὶ οἱ δῆμαρχοι μόνοι τοσοῦτον 7 ἐδέσῃ καὶ ἐσ τὸ τρίτον των ἀποδειχθῆναι. καὶ ἐμέλλε καὶ αὐτὸς δικτάτωρ ἐν ἀμφοτέροις αὐτοῖς ἄρξειν, τοὺς τε ἰππαρχῆσοντας 4 ἄλλοι τε τῶν καὶ τοῦ Ὀκτάουνοι, καίπερ μειράκιον ἔτι καὶ τότε 8 ὄντα, προεχειρίσατο. ἐς τε τὸ παρόν, ἐν ὧς ταύτ’ ἐγίγνετο, ὑπατοὺς τε ἄνθ’ εαυτοῦ τῶν Δολοβέλλαν ἀντικατέστησε, 5 καίτοι τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πάντα τὸν

1 ἀλλ’ ὅτι Bk., ἀλλ’ ὅτι ἄλλοι τε Rk., ἄλλοι τε L.
2 Οὐεντίδιος R. Steph., οὐεντίλιος L. 3 ὑπὸ Rk., ἐπὶ L.
4 τοὺς τε ἰππαρχῆσοντας Leuncl., τοὺς τε ἰππαρχῆσαντας L.
5 ἀντικατέστησε R. Steph., ἀντικατέστησε L.
he chose the whole number. For the first year, as previously, forty quaestors were elected, and now for the first time two patrician aediles as well as four from the plebs. Of the latter two have their title from Ceres,\(^1\) a custom which, then introduced, has remained to the present day. And praetors were appointed to the number of sixteen; it is not of this, however, that I would write, since there had formerly been just as many, but of the fact that among those chosen was Publius Ventidius. He was originally from Picenum, as has been remarked, and fought against Rome when her allies were at war with her. He was captured by Pompeius Strabo,\(^2\) and marched in chains in that general’s triumph. Later he was released and subsequently was enrolled in the senate, and now was appointed praetor by Caesar; and he went on advancing until he finally conquered the Parthians and held a triumph over them. All were thus appointed in advance who were to hold office the first year after that, but for the second year only the consuls and tribunes; so far were they from appointing anybody for the third year. Caesar himself intended to be dictator both years, and designated as masters of horse another man and Octavius, though the latter was at that time a mere lad. \(^*^\) For the time being, while this was going on, Caesar appointed Dolabella consul in his own stead, leaving Antony to finish out his

\(^1\) The Aediles Cereales.
\(^2\) The father of Pompey the Great.
ἐνιαυτὸν μέλλοντος ἄρξειν· καὶ τῷ Δεπίῳ τὴν τε
Γαλατίαν τὴν περὶ Νάρβωνα καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν
tὴν πλησιόχωρον προστάξας, δύο ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ¹
ἐτέρους, ἰδίᾳ γε ἐκάτερον, ἰτπαρχῆσαι ἐποίησε.

9 πολλοῖς γὰρ εὐεργεσίας ² ὀφείλον διὰ τε τῶν
τοιούτων αὐτὰς καὶ διὰ τῶν ἱερωσυνῶν ἀπεδίδου,
ἐς τε τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα ἑνα καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἐπτὰ αὐτὰ
καλουμένους τρεῖς ἐτέρους προσαποδείξας.

¹ αὐτοῦ St., αὐτῶν L. ² εὐεργεσίας Leuncl., εὐεργεσίαν L.
year in office. To Lepidus he assigned Gallia Narbonensis and Hither Spain, and appointed two men masters of horse in his place, each to act separately. For owing favours, as he did, to many persons, he repaid them by such appointments as these and by priesthoods, adding one man to the Quindecimviri, and three others to the Septemviri, as they were called.
Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαίων

α. Περὶ τῶν τῷ Καίσαρι ψηφισθέντων.

β. Περὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τῆς ἐπ’ αὐτῶν συντάξεως.

γ. Ὅς Καίσαρ ἐσφάγη.

δ. Ὅς δόγμα ἐγένετο μὴ μνησικακεῖν αὐτοὺς ἄλληλοι.

ε. Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ταφῆς καὶ τοῦ λεχθέντος ἐπ’ αὐτῷ λόγου.

Χρόνου πλῆθος μέρος τι 1 τῆς Ιουλίου Καίσαρος δικτατορίας τὸ ε’ μετὰ Αιμίλιου Δεσίδου ἵππαρχου καὶ ὑπατείας τὸ ε’ μετὰ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου.

'Ὁ μὲν οὖν Καίσαρ ταύθ’ οὕτως ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους στρατεύσων ἐπραξεν, ὁπότερος δὲ τισιν ἀληθριώδης φθόνῳ τε τοῦ προῆκοντος 2 καὶ μίσει τοῦ προτετιμημένου σφῶν προσπεσὼν ἐκεῖνον τε ἀνόμως ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὸν ἀνοσίου δόξης ὅνομα προσλαβὼν, καὶ τὰ ψηφισθέντα διεσκέδασε, εἰς ὑπερτερίας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους παρεσκεύασεν ἐλέγον μὲν γὰρ καθαίρεται τε τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἐλευθερώτατον τοῦ δήμου γεγονότα, τὸ δὲ ἀληθῆς ἐκεῖνο ποίησαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὀρθῶς.

1 μέρος τι Ὁσ., μέχρι L.
2 προῆκοντος Leuncl., προσῆκοντος L.
BOOK XLIV

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

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

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

All this Caesar did as a preliminary step to his 
campaign against the Parthians; but a baleful frenzy 
which fell upon certain men through jealousy of 
his advancement and hatred of his preferment to 
themselves caused his death unlawfully, while it 
added a new name to the annals of infamy; it 
scattered the decrees to the winds and brought 
upon the Romans seditions and civil wars once more 
after a state of harmony. His slayers, to be sure, 
declared that they had shown themselves at once 
destroyers of Caesar and liberators of the people: 
but, in reality, they...impiously plotted against him, 
and they threw the city into disorder when at last it
2 ἡδὴ πολιτευομένην ἐστασίασαν. δημοκρατίᾳ γὰρ ὄνομα μὲν εὐσχήμον ἔχει καὶ τινα καὶ ἵσομοιρίαν πᾶσιν ἐκ τῆς ἰσονομίας φέρειν δοκεῖ, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς ἐργοῖς ἐλέγχεται μηδὲν ὀμολογοῦσα τῷ προσρήματι καὶ τούναντίον ἡ μοναρχία δυσχερὲς μὲν ἀκοῦσαι, χρησιμώτατον δὲ ἐμπολιτεύσασθαι ἐστί. ὅταν τε γὰρ ἐνα τινὰ χρήστων ἡ πολλοὺς
2 εὑρεῖν· ἂν τε ἕκειν· γὰρ προς ἐχεῖν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀρετὴν κτάσθαι. εἰ δὲ οὖν καὶ φαύλος τοις αὐταρχήσειν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ γε 3 πλήθους τῶν ὀμοίων αἱρετότερος ἔστιν, ὥσπερ ποὺ καὶ τὰ ἔργα τά τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τά τῶν βαρβάρων, τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν,
3 τεκμηριῶτ. τά τε γὰρ ἀμεῖνο πολὺ μεῖζω καὶ πλείω καὶ πόλεσι καὶ ἰδιώταις ἐκ βασιλέων ἡ δήμων ἀεὶ ποτε ἐγένετο, καὶ τά δυσχερέστερα ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις ἡ ταῖς ὀχλοκρατίαις συμβαίνει. εἰ γὰρ ποὺ καὶ δημοκρατίᾳ τῆς ἤθησεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν γε βραχεὶ χρόνῳ ἥκμασεν, μέχρις οὐ μήτε μέγεθος μήτ᾽ ἱσχὺν ἐσχὼν ὅστε ἡ ὑβρεῖς σφίζων ἐξ εὐπραγίας ἡ φθόνους ἐκ φιλοτιμίας ἐγγενέσθαι.
4 πόλιν δὲ 5 αὐτὴν τε τηλικαύτην οὖσαν καὶ τοῦ τε καλλίστου τοῦ τε πλείστου τῆς ἐμφανοῦς οἰκουμένης ἀρχουσαν, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἡθὴ καὶ διάφορα κεκτημένην πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ μεγάλους πλούτους ἔχουσαν, ταῖς τε πράξεσι καὶ ταῖς

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

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possessed a stable government. **Democracy,** indeed, has a fair-appearing name and conveys the impression of bringing equal rights to all through equal laws, but its results are seen not to agree at all with its title. **Monarchy,** on the contrary, has an unpleasant sound, but is a most practical form of government to live under. For it is easier to find a single excellent man than many of them, and if even this seems to some a difficult feat, it is quite inevitable that the other alternative should be acknowledged to be impossible; for it does not belong to the majority of men to acquire virtue. And again; even though a base man should obtain supreme power, yet he is preferable to the masses of like character, as the history of the Greeks and barbarians and of the Romans themselves proves. For successes have always been greater and more frequent in the case both of cities and of individuals under kings than under popular rule, and disasters do [not] happen [so frequently] under monarchies as under mob-rule. Indeed, if ever there has been a prosperous democracy, it has in any case been at its best for only a brief period, so long, that is, as the people had neither the numbers nor the strength sufficient to cause insolence to spring up among them as the result of good fortune or jealousy as the result of ambition. But for a city, not only so large in itself, but also ruling the finest and the greatest part of the known world, holding sway over men of many and diverse natures, possessing many men of great wealth, occupied with every imaginable pursuit, enjoying every imaginable fortune, both
τύχαις παντοδαπαίς καὶ ἱδίας, καὶ ἰδιοσίᾳ χρωμένην, ἀδύνατον μὲν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ σωφρονήσαι, ἀδύνατότερον δὲ μὴ σωφρονοῦσαν ὀμονήσαι. 5 ὥστε ἐπερ ταῦτα οὕτως ὦ τε Βρούτος ὦ Μᾶρκος καὶ ὦ Κάσσιος ὦ Γάιος ἐξελογίσαντο, σὺν τινι ποτέ τὸν τε προστάτην καὶ τὸν κηδεμόνα αὐτῆς ἀπεκτείναν, οὐδὲ ἂν μυρών αὐτίων κακῶν καὶ ἕαυτοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις ἐγένοντο. 3 Ἐσχέ δὲ ὅδε, καὶ αὐτίαν τήνδε ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ ἔλαβεν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀναίτιον πάντῃ τὸ ἐπί-φθονον ἐκτήσατο, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον αὐτὸι οἱ βουλευταὶ ταῖς τε καινότητι καὶ ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς τῶν τιμῶν ἐξάραντες τε αὐτῶν καὶ φυσήσαντες ἐπέτη αὐταῖς ἐκείναις καὶ ἔμεμφοντο καὶ διέβαλλον ὡς ἢδέως τε σφας λαμβάνοντα καὶ

2 ὁγκρότερον ἀπ' αὐτῶν ζώντα. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ὄτε καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἦμαρτε, δεξάμενός τε τινα τῶν ψηφισθέντων οἱ καὶ πιστεύσας οὕτως αὐτῶν ἀξιούσθαι, πλείστον δὲ ὅμως ἐκείνοι, οὕτινες ἀρξάμενοι τιμῶν αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ ἄξιον, προῆγαγον

3 ἐσ αὐτίαν οἷς ἐψηφίζωντο. οὔτε ὅ γὰρ διωθεῖσθαι πάντα αὐτὰ ἐτόλμα, μὴ καὶ ὑπερφρονεὶν νομισθεῖν, οὔτε οὗ λαμβάνων ἀσφαλῆς εἶναι ἐδύνατο· τὸ γὰρ ὑπερβάλλον τῶν τε τιμῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπαινῶν χαυνοτέρους πως καὶ τοὺς πάνω σωφρονας, ἀλλώς τε κἂν ἀληθῶς γίγνεσθαι δοκῶσιν, ποιεῖν.

4 Ἐγένετο δὲ τὰ δοθέντα αὐτῷ μετ' ἐκείνα ὡσα εἰρηται τοσάδε καὶ τοιόδε· καθ' ἐν γὰρ, εἶ καὶ μὴ πάντα ἁμα μὴτε ἐσηνέχθη μὴτε ἐκυρώθη;

1 οὔτε Bk., οὐ L. 2 ἐδύνατο St., ἢδύνατο L. 3 ἀλλώς τε Rk., ὡστε L.
individually and collectively,—for such a city, I say; to practise moderation under a democracy is impossible, and still more is it impossible for the people, unless moderation prevails, to be harmonious. Therefore, if Marcus Brutus and Gaius Cassius had only reflected upon these things, they would never have killed the city's head and protector nor have made themselves the cause of countless ills both to themselves and to all the rest of mankind then living.

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

The privileges that were granted him, in addition to all those mentioned, were as follows in number and nature; for I shall name them all together, even if they were not all proposed or passed at one
2 λελέξεται. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρώτα ϕέρεσθαι τε αὐτοῦ ἀεὶ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει τὴν στολὴν τὴν ἐπι
νίκιον ἑνδεδυκότα, καὶ καθέξεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ
dιάφορον πανταχῇ πλὴν ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν,
ἐψηφίσαντο· τότε γὰρ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ δημαρχικοῦ
βάθρου καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀεὶ δημαρχοῦντων θεάσθαι

3 ἔλαβε· σκύλα τέ τινα ὁπίμα ἐς τὸν τοῦ Δίδος τοῦ
Φερετρίου νεῶν ἀναθεῖναι οἱ ὀσπερ τινὰ πολέμιον
αὐτοστράτηγον αὐτοχειρία πεφονευκότι, καὶ τοὺς
ραβδουχοὺς δαφνηφοροῦσιν ἀεὶ χρήσθαι, μετὰ τε
τὰς ἀνοχὰς τὰς Δατίνας ἐπὶ κέλητος· ἐς τὴν πόλιν

4 ἐκ τοῦ Ἀλβανοῦ ἐσελάυνει ἐδοσαν. πρὸς τε τοῦ-
τοις τοιούτους οὐσι πατέρα τε αὐτοῦ τῆς πατρίδος
ἐπωνομασαν καὶ ἐς τὰ νομίσματα ἐνεχάραξαν, τὰ
tε γενέθλια αὐτοῦ δημοσία θύειν ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ
ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τοῖς τε ναοῖς τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ

5 πᾶσιν ἀνδριάντα τινα αὐτοῦ εἶναι ἐκέλευσαν, καὶ
ἐπὶ γε τοῦ ἱματος δύο, τὸν μὲν ὡς τοὺς πολίτας
σεσωκότος τὸν δὲ ως τὴν πόλιν ἐκ πολυρκίας
ἐξηρημένου, μετὰ τῶν στεφάνων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς
tοιούτοις νεομισμένων ἰδρύσαντο. νεῶν τε

6 ἐκ τοῦ Ὁμονοίας καινῆς, ὡς καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ εἰρηνοῦντες,
οἰκοδομῆσαι, καὶ πανηγυρυν αὐτῇ ἔτησιαν ἄγειν

5 ἐγνωσαν. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐδέξατο, τα τε ἐλη ὦι τα
Πομπτίνα ἀνακωκέας καὶ τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ τῶν τῆς Πελο-

7 πονησαν διορύξας βουλητήριον τε τὸ καίνου
ποιησαν προσέταξαν, ἐπειδὴ το Ὅστίλλον καὶ περ

2 ἀνοικοδομηθέν καθηρέθη, πρόφασιν μὲν τοῦ ναὸν

1 θεάσθαι Bk., θεᾶσθαι L.
2 πεφονευκότι Bk., ποι πεφονευκότι L.
3 κέλητος Reim., κέλητα L.
4 αὐτοῦ R. Steph., αὐτῶν L.
5 αὐτῆ Leuncl., αὐτὴν L.
6 ὡς ὑπὸ Bk., ὑπὸ L.
7 Πομπτίνα R. Steph., πομπίνα L.
time. First, then, they voted that he should always ride, even in the city itself, wearing the triumphal dress, and should sit in his chair of state everywhere except at the games; for at those he received the privilege of watching the contests from the tribunes' benches in company with those who were tribunes at the time. And they gave him the right to offer spolia opima, as they are called, at the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, as if he had slain some hostile general with his own hand, and to have lictors who always carried laurel, and after the Feriae Latinae to ride from the Alban Mount into the city on horseback. In addition to these remarkable privileges they named him father of his country, stamped this title on the coinage, voted to celebrate his birthday by public sacrifice, ordered that he should have a statue in the cities and in all the temples of Rome, and they set up two also on the rostra, one representing him as the saviour of the citizens and the other as the deliverer of the city from siege, and wearing the crowns customary for such achievements. They also resolved to build a temple of Concordia Nova, on the ground that it was through his efforts that they enjoyed peace, and to celebrate an annual festival in her honour. When he had accepted these, they assigned to him the charge of filling the Pontine marshes, cutting a canal through the Peloponnesian isthmus, and constructing a new senate-house, since that of Hostilius, although repaired, had been demolished. The reason assigned for its destruction was that a
Εὐς τυχίας ἐνταῦθ' οἰκοδομηθῆναι, ὡν καὶ ὁ Δέπιδος ἱππαρχήσας ἐξεποίησεν, ἕργῳ δὲ ὅπως μῆτε ἐν ἐκείνῳ τὸ τοῦ Σύλλου ὄνομα σῶζοιτο καὶ ἔτερον ἐκ καὶ ἴνα κατασκευασθέν 'Ἰουλίον ὄνομασθεὶ, ὥσπερ που καὶ τὸν τε μήνα ἐν ὁ ἐγεγέννητο Ἰουλίον κὰ τῶν φυλῶν μίαν τὴν κλήρῳ λα-χοῦσαν Ἰουλίαν ἐπεκάλεσαν, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν τιμητὴν καὶ μόνον καὶ διὰ βίου εἶναι, τά τε τοῖς δημάρχοις δεδομένα καρποῦσθαι, ὅπως, ἃν τὸς ἢ ἔργο πολὺ καὶ λόγῳ αὐτοῦ ὑβρίσῃ, ἱερὸς τε ἢ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀγεί ἑκέχειται, τὸν δὲ δὴ νῦν, ἃν τινα γεννήσῃ ἢ καὶ ἔσποιησθήται, ἄρχιερεά ἀποδειξθῇ ἤ ποτε ὄσι ἔσηζαντο. Ὅσι δὲ καὶ τούτως ἔχασαι, δίφρος τε ὃ εἶπός σοι, καὶ στολὴ ἢ ποτε οἱ βασιλίς ἐκέχρησαν, φρουρά τε ἐκ τῶν ἰππέων καὶ ἐκ τῶν Βουλευτῶν ἔδοθη καὶ προσέτε καὶ εὐχέσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἐκάστων, τὴν τε τὐχὴν αὐτοῦ ὀμνύναι, καὶ τὰ πραξ-θησόμενα αὐτῷ πάντα κύρια ἐξειν ἐνόμισαν.

καὶ τοῦτο καὶ πενταετηρίδα οἱ ὂς ἦρωι, ἱεροποιώς τε ἐς τὰς τοῦ Παινὸς γυμνοπαιδίας, τρίτην τινὰ ἑταίριαν ἢν Ἰουλίαν ὄνομασάν, καὶ ταῖς ὀπλομαχίαις μίαν τινὰ ἀεὶ ἡμέραν καὶ ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀλλῆ Ἰταλία ἀνέθεσαν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τούτως ἀρέσκετο, αὐτῷ δὴ ἐς τὰ τὰθεατρα τὸν τε δίφρον αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπίχρυσον καὶ τὸν στέφανον τὸν διάλιθον καὶ διάχρυσον, ἐξ ἵππου τοῖς τῶν θεῶν, ἐσκομίζεσθαι καὶ ταῖς ἰπποδρομίαις ὥχον ἐσάγεσ-
temple of Felicitas was to be built there, which Lepidus, indeed, brought to completion while master of the horse; but their real purpose was that the name of Sulla should not be preserved on it, and that another senate-house, newly constructed, might be named the Julian, even as they had called the month in which he was born July, and one of the tribes, selected by lot, the Julian. And they voted that Caesar should be sole censor for life and should enjoy the immunities granted to the tribunes, so that if any one insulted him by deed or word, that man should be an outlaw and accursed, and further that Caesar’s son, should he beget or even adopt one, should be appointed high priest. As he seemed to like all this, a gilded chair was granted him, and a garb that the kings had once used, and a body-guard of knights and senators; furthermore they decided that prayers should be offered for him publicly every year, that they should swear by Caesar’s Fortune, and should regard as valid all his future acts. Next they bestowed upon him a quadrennial festival, as to a hero, and a third priestly college, which they called the Julian, as overseers of the Lupercalia, and one special day of his own each time in connection with all gladiatorial combats both in Rome and the rest of Italy. When he showed himself pleased with these honours also, they accordingly voted that his golden chair and his crown set with precious gems and overlaid with gold should be carried into the theatres in the same manner as those of the gods, and that on the occasion of the games in the Circus his chariot should be brought in.
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4 ὑπερείσαντο. καὶ τέλος Δία τε αὐτῶν ἀντικρυς Ἰουλιον προσηγόρευσαν, καὶ ναὸν αὐτῷ τῇ τ’ Ἔπειεκεία αὐτοῦ τέμενος θηναὶ ἔγνωσαν, ἰερέα σφίσι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὄσπερ τινὰ Διάλοιν προχειρισάμενοι.

7 Καὶ ἂ γε μάλιστα τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐξέφηνεν, ἀμα τε ταῦτα ἐψηφίζοντο καὶ τάφον αὐτῷ ἐντὸς τοῦ πωμηρίου ποιῆσασθαι ἔδοσαν· τὰ τὸ δόγματα τὰ περὶ τούτων γιγνόμενα ἐσ μὲν στῆλας ἀργυρᾶς χρυσοῖς γράμμασιν ἔνεγραψαν, ύπὸ δὲ δὴ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Δίως τοῦ Καπιτώλιου ὑπέθεσαν, δηλοῦντες οἱ καὶ μάλα ἐναργῶς ὅτι ἀνθρώπους εἶν.  

2 ἠρέαντο μὲν γὰρ τιμᾶν αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ μετριάσοντα· προχωροῦντες δὲ, ἐπειδὴ χαίροντα τοῖς ψηφιζομένοις ἔόρων (πλὴν γὰρ ὅλους τινῶν πάντα αὐτὰ ἐδέξατο), ἀεὶ τι μείζον ἄλλος ἄλλο καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν ἐσέφερον, οἱ μὲν ὑπερκολακεύοντες αὐτῶν οἱ δὲ καὶ διασκόπτοντες. ἀμέλει καὶ γυναιξὶν ὅσας ἀν ἔθελήσῃ 3 συνειδαί οἱ ἐτολμησάν τινες ἐπιτρέψαι, ὅτι πολλαίς καὶ τότε ἐτί, καίπερ πεντῆκοντάτης ὅν, ἔχρητο. ἔτεροι δὲ, καὶ οἴ γε πλείους, ἐς τὸ ἐπίφθονον καὶ ἐς τὸ νεμεσητὸν προάγειν αὐτῶν ὅτι τάχιστα βουλόμενοι τοῦτ’ ἐποίουν, ἵνα 4 θάσσον ἀπόληται. ὅπερ ποὺ ἐγένετο, καίτοι τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ δ’ αὐτὰ ταῦτα θαρσήσαντος ὡς οὐκ ἄν ποτε οὔθ’ ὑπ’ ἐκείνων τοιαύτα γε ψηφιζομένων οὔθ’ ὑπ’ ἄλλου τινὸς δ’ αὐτῶν ἐπιβολευθησομένων, κακὰ τοῦτον οὔδὲ 4 σωματοφύλαξιν ἐτίχρησαμένου· τὸ γὰρ δὴ λόγῳ τὸ 5 πρὸς τε τῶν

1 τ’ supplied by Reim.  2 αεὶ R. Steph., ἀλλ’ εἰ L.  
3 ἔθελήσῃ Bk., θελήσῃ L.  4 οὔδὲ Bk., δὲ L. 
5 τὸ Leuncl., τῶι L.
And finally they addressed him outright as Jupiter Julius and ordered a temple to be consecrated to him and to his Clemency, electing Antony as their priest like some flamen Dialis.

At the same time with these measures they passed another which most clearly indicated their disposition: it gave him the right to place his tomb within the pomerium; and the decrees regarding this matter they inscribed in golden letters on silver tablets and deposited beneath the feet of Jupiter Capitolinus, thus pointing out to him very clearly that he was a mortal. When they had begun to honour him, it was with the idea, of course, that he would be reasonable; but as they went on and saw that he was delighted with what they voted,—indeed he accepted all but a very few of their decrees,—different men at different times kept proposing various extravagant honours, some in a spirit of exaggerated flattery and others by way of ridicule. At any rate, some actually ventured to suggest permitting him to have intercourse with as many women as he pleased, because even at this time, though fifty years old, he still had numerous mistresses. Others, and they were the majority, followed this course because they wished to make him envied and hated as quickly as possible, that he might the sooner perish. And this is precisely what happened, though Caesar was encouraged by these very measures to believe that he should never be plotted against by the men who had voted him such honours, nor, through fear of them, by any one else; and consequently he even dispensed henceforth with a body-guard. For nominally he accepted the privilege of being watched over
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΟΥΔΕΜΟΤΩΝ ὁ Ἱππέων θηρεύθαι προσέμενος, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν φρουράν προσκατέλυσεν. Ἐπείδη γὰρ ἐν μιᾷ ποτὲ ἡμέρᾳ τὰ τε πλεῖον καὶ τὰ μείζων σφῶν ψηφισάμενοι (πλὴν γὰρ τοῦ Κασσίου καὶ τινῶν ἄλλων, οὓς περιβόητοι ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐγένοντο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἑπαθὼν τι, ἐξ οὔτερον καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἡ ἐπιείκεια αὐτῶν διεφάνη, τοῖς γε ἄλλοις ὀμοθυμαδὸν ἐγνώσθη) προσήλθον αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου προνάρῳ καθημένῳ ὡς καὶ πάντες ἀμα τὰ δεδουμένα σφίσιν ἀπαγγέλοντες ἦτελουταί αὐτὰ ποιεῖν, ἔχρηματιζον, καθημένος σφας, εἰτ' οὖν θεοβλαβεῖα τινὶ εἰτε καὶ περιχαρεία, προσεδέξατο, καὶ ὀργὴν ἐκ τούτου πᾶσιν, οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, τοσαύτην ἐνέβαλεν ὡστε ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα πρόφασιν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τοῖς ἀποκτείνασιν αὐτὸν παρασχεῖν. Ἐλεγον μὲν γὰρ ἀπολογούμενοι τινὲς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα ὡτι τῆς τε κοιλίας ἀκρατῆς ὑπὸ διαρροίας ἐγεγονεί, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ἵνα μὴ ἐξιδίσῃ, κατέμενεν· οὐ μέντοι καὶ πείθειν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐδūναντο διὰ τὸ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐξεγερθέντα αὐτὸν αὐτόποδία οὐκαδε κομισθήναι, ἀλλ' ὑπετόποι τε αὐτὸν ὑπεραυχεῖν, καὶ δὴ ἐμίσουν ὡς ὑπερήφανον ὅν αὐτοῦ ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς τῶν τιμῶν ὑπέρφρονα ἐπεποίηκεσαν. τούτου δὲ δὴ τοιούτου γενομένου προσεπνξήσει τὴν ὑποψίαν ὅτι καὶ δικτάτωρ διὰ βίου μετὰ ταῦτα ἀποδειχθεῖς ἤνεσχέτο.

1 προσέμενος Βσ., προσέμενον Λ.
2 καθημένος Χιπ., καθημένοι Λ.
3 τε Ρφλογκ, γε Λ.
4 δὴ ἐμίσουν Ρκ., διεμίσουν Λ.

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by the senators and knights, and so dismissed the guard he had previously had. Indeed, when once they had voted to him on a single day an unusually large number of these honours of especial importance,—which had been granted unanimously by all except Cassius and a few others, who became famous for this action, yet suffered no harm, whereby Caesar's clemency was conspicuously revealed,—they then approached him as he was sitting in the vestibule of the temple of Venus in order to announce to him in a body their decisions; for they transacted such business in his absence, in order to have the appearance of doing it, not under compulsion, but voluntarily. And either by some heaven-sent fatuity or even through excess of joy he received them sitting, which aroused so great indignation among them all, not only the senators but all the rest, that it afforded his slayers one of their chief excuses for their plot against him. Some who subsequently tried to defend him claimed, it is true, that owing to an attack of diarrhoea he could not control the movement of his bowels and so had remained where he was in order to avoid a flux. They were not able, however, to convince the majority, since not long afterwards he rose up and went home on foot; hence most men suspected him of being inflated with pride and hated him for his haughtiness, when it was they themselves who had made him disdainful by the exaggerated character of their honours. After this occurrence, striking as it was, he increased the suspicion by permitting himself somewhat later to be chosen dictator for life.
Ενταύθα οὖν αὐτοῦ ὄντος οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐνδοιαστῶς οἱ ἐπιβουλευόντες οἱ ἔπραττον, ἀλλὰ ὅπως δὴ καὶ τοῖς πάνυ φίλοις ἐν μίσει γένηται, ἀλλὰ τε ἐπὶ διαβολῆ αὐτοῦ ἐποίουν καὶ τέλος βασιλέα αὐτοῦ προσηγόρευον, καὶ πολὺ τοῦτο τούνομα καὶ κατὰ σφάς διεθρύλουν. Ἐπειδὴ τε ἐξίστατο μὲν αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπετίμα τῇ τοῖς οὖτως αὐτῶν ἐπικαλούσιν, οὐ μὲντοι καὶ ἐπραξε τῇ δι' οὐ ἂν ἀχθεσθαι τῷ προσρήματι ὡς ἁλθῆς ἐπιστεύθη, τῇ εἰκόνᾳ αὐτοῦ τῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ βῆματος ἐστώσαν διαδήματι λάθρα ἀνέδησαν. καὶ αὐτὸ Γαύνο τε Ἐπιδίου Μαρύλλου καὶ Δουκίου Καισίτου Φλάουνο δημάρχων καθελόντων ἵσχυρός ἐξακέπτηνε, καίτοι μήτε τι ύβριστικόν αὐτῶν εἰπόντων, καὶ προσέτη καὶ ἐπαινεσάντων αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πλήθει ὡς μηδενὸς τοιοῦτον δεόμενον. καὶ τότε μὲν καίπερ ἀσχάλλων ἠσύχασεν ως μέντοι μετὰ τοῦτο ἐστισχένουτα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλβανοῦ βασιλέα αὖθις τινες ἀνόμασαν, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὖκ ἐφή βασιλεύς ἀλλὰ Καίσαρ καλεῖσθαι, οἱ δὲ δὴ δήμαρχοι ἐκεῖνοι καὶ δίκην τῷ πρώτῳ αὐτῶν εἰπόντι ἔλαχον, οὐκετί τῇ ὀργῇ κατέσχεν, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνων προστασιαζόμενον ὑπερηγαγάκτησε. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι οὖδὲν δεινὸν αὐτοῦ ἐδρασεν, ὑστερον δὲ σφών προγραφὴν ἐκθέντων ὡς οὔτε ἐλευθέραν οὔτ' ἀσφαλῆ τῇ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ παρρησίαν ἐχόντων περιοργῆ ἐγένετο, καὶ παραγαγόν σφάς ἐς τὸ βουλευτῆριον κατη-

1 ὑπ' R. Steph., ἀπ' L cod. Peir.
2 προστασιαζόμενον Reim., προστασιαζόμενος L cod. Peir.
3 προγραφὴν R. Steph., προσγραφὴν L.
When he had reached this point, the men who were plotting against him hesitated no longer, but in order to embitter even his best friends against him, they did their best to traduce him, finally saluting him as king, a name which they often used also among themselves. When he kept refusing the title and rebuking in a way those who thus accosted him, yet did nothing by which it could be thought that he was really displeased at it, they secretly adorned his statue, which stood on the rostra, with a diadem. And when the tribunes, Gaius Epidius Marullus and Lucius Caesetius Flavus, took it down, he became violently angry, although they uttered no word of abuse and moreover actually praised him before the populace as not wanting anything of the sort. For the time being, though vexed, he held his peace. Subsequently, however, when he was riding in from the Alban Mount and some men again called him king, he said that his name was not king but Caesar; but when the same tribunes brought suit against the first man who had termed him king, he no longer restrained his wrath but showed great irritation, as if these very officials were really stirring up sedition against him. And though for the moment he did them no harm, yet later, when they issued a proclamation declaring that they were unable to speak their mind freely and safely on behalf of the public good, he became exceedingly angry and brought them into the senate-house, where he
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3 καὶ οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε μὲν αὐτοὺς, καίτοι καὶ τούτοι τινῶν τιμησάντων σφίσι, προσπαλλάξας δὲ ἐκ τῆς δημαρχίας διὰ Ἐλονίου Κίννου συνάρχοντος αὐτῶν ἀπῆλεψεν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔχαριν τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἡ καὶ ἐπιλάττοντο, ὡς οὐδεμίαν ἀνάγκην ἔξοντες παρρησιαζόμενοι κινδυνεύσαι, καὶ ἔξω τῶν πραγμάτων οὔτε τὰ γεγονόμενα ὄσπερ ἀπὸ σκοπίας καθεφόρων ὁ δὲ Ἰ.Καίσαρ καὶ ἐκ τούτου διεβλήθη, ὅτι δεόν αὐτῶν τούς τὸ ὅνομά τι τὸ βασιλέως προστιθέντας μισέων, ὁ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι ἀφεῖς τοῖς δημάρχοις ἂντ αὐτῶν ἐνεκάλει.

11 Τούτων δ’ οὖν οὕτω γενομένων τοιόνδε τι ἔτερον, οὐκ ἔστω μακρὰν συνενεχθέν, ἐπὶ πλέον ἔξηλεγξεν ὅτι λόγῳ μὲν διεκρύβη τῇ ἐπίκλησιν, ἐργῷ δὲ λαβεῖν ἐπεθύμει. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τῶν Δυκαίων γυμνοπαιδίᾳ ἐς τε τὴν ἄγορὰν ἐσήλθε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος τῇ τε ἐσθητὶ τῇ βασιλικῇ κεκοσμημένος καὶ τῷ στεφάνῳ τῷ διαχρύσῳ λαμπρονόμενος ἑσTAB λόγῳ τὸν κεχρυσωμένον ἐκαθίζετο, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντώνιος βασιλέα τε μετὰ τῶν συνιερέων προσηγόρευε καὶ διαδήματι ἀνέδησεν, ἔτοι “τούτῳ σοι ὁ δήμος δι’ ἐμοῦ διδωσίν,” ἀπεκρίνατο μὲν ὅτι “Zeus5 μόνος τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς εἶπ,” καὶ τὸ διάδημα αὐτῶ 6 ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐπεμψεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὄργην ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τὰ ὑπομιμήματα ἐγγραφῆναι ἐποίησεν ὅτι τῇ βασιλείαν παρὰ

1 σκοπίας Hemsterhuis, σκιάς L. 2 τὸ Bk., τοῦ L.
3 ἄγορὰν XyI., βασιλεύαν L. 4 ἐς Bs., καλ L.
5 Zeus supplied by R. Steph. 6 αὐτῷ Rk., αὐτῷ L.
accused them and put their conduct to the vote. He did not put them to death, though some declared them worthy even of that penalty, but he first removed them from the tribuneshop, on the motion of Helvius Cinna, their colleague, and then erased their names from the senate. Some were pleased at this, or pretended to be, thinking they would have no need to incur danger by speaking out freely, and since they were not themselves involved in the business, they could view events as from a watch tower. Caesar, however, received an ill name from this fact also, that, whereas he should have hated those who applied to him the name of king, he let them go and found fault with the tribunes instead.

Another thing that happened not long after these events proved still more clearly that, although he pretended to shun the title, in reality he desired to assume it. For when he had entered the Forum at the festival of the Lupercalia and was sitting on the rostra in his gilded chair, adorned with the royal apparel and resplendent in his crown overlaid with gold, Antony with his fellow-priests saluted him as king and binding a diadem upon his head, said: “The people offer this to you through me.” And Caesar answered: “Jupiter alone is king of the Romans,” and sent the diadem to Jupiter on the Capitol; yet he was not angry, but caused it to be inscribed in the records that he had refused to accept the kingship when offered to him by the
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12 ξυνον. γράμματα τε γάρ, τῇ ὀμωνυμίᾳ αὐτοῦ τῇ πρὸς τὸν πάνυ Βροὔτον τὸν τοὺς Ταρκυνίους 1 καταλύσαντα καταχρώμεναι, πολλὰ ἐξετίθεσαν, φημίζοντες αὐτὸν ψευδῶς ἀπόγονον ἐκείνου εἶναι· ἀμφοτέρους γὰρ τοὺς παῖδας, τοὺς μόνους οἱ γενομένους, μειράκια ἔτι ὀντας ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ 2 οὐδὲ ἔγγονον ὑπελίπτετο. 2 οὐ μὴν ἄλλα τοῦτο τε οἱ πολλοὶ, ὅπως ὡς καὶ γένει προσήκες υἱὸς αὐτῷ ἐσ 4 ὀμοῖοτροποῦ ἐργα προαχθεῖν, ἐπλάττοντο, καὶ συνεχῶς ἀνεκάλουν αὐτὸν, “ὦ Βροὔτε Βροὔτε” ἐκβοῶντες, καὶ προσεπιλέγοντες ὑπὲρ “Βροὔτου 3 χρῆσομεν.” καὶ τέλος τῇ τε τοῦ παλαιοῦ Βροὔτου εἰκόνι ἐπέγραψαν “εἴθε ἦς,” καὶ τῷ τοῦτον βήματι (ἐστρατήγησε γὰρ καὶ βήμα καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτο ὄνομαζεται ἐφ’ οὐ τίς ἤζομενος δικάζει) ὑπὲρ “καθεῦδες, ιε Βροὔτε” καὶ “Βροὔτος οὐκ εἰ.”

13 Ταύτα τε οὖν αὐτοῦ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἄπτ’ ἀρχῆς ἀντιπολεμήσαντα τῷ Καίσαρι, ἀνέπεισαν ἐπιθέσθαι οἱ καὶ περ ἐνεργήτη μετὰ τοῦτο γενομένοι,

1 Ταρκυνίους R. Steph., ταρκυνίους L.
2 ὑπελίπτετο R. Steph., ὑπελίπτετο L.
3 προσήκες Leuncl., προσήκες L.
4 ἐσ R. Steph., ὡς καὶ L.
people through the consul. It was accordingly suspected that this thing had been deliberately arranged and that he was anxious for the name, but wished to be somehow compelled to take it; consequently the hatred against him was intense. After this certain men at the elections proposed for consuls the tribunes previously mentioned, and they not only privately approached Marcus Brutus and such other persons as were proud-spirited and attempted to persuade them, but also tried to incite them to action publicly. Making the most of his having the same name as the great Brutus who overthrew the Tarquins, they scattered broadcast many pamphlets, declaring that he was not truly that man’s descendant; for the older Brutus had put to death both his sons, the only ones he had, when they were mere lads, and left no offspring whatever. Nevertheless, the majority pretended to accept such a relationship, in order that Brutus, as a kinsman of that famous man, might be induced to perform deeds as great. They kept continually calling upon him, shouting out “Brutus, Brutus!” and adding further “We need a Brutus.” Finally on the statue of the early Brutus they wrote “Would that thou wert living!” and upon the tribunal of the living Brutus (for he was praetor at the time and this is the name given to the seat on which the praetor sits in judgment) “Brutus, thou sleepest,” and “Thou art not Brutus.”

Now these were the influences that persuaded Brutus to attack Caesar, whom he had opposed from the beginning in any case, although he had later accepted benefits from him. He was also influenced
καὶ ὅτι τοῦ Κάτωνος τοῦ Οὐτικησίου κληθέντος, ὥσπερ εἶπον, καὶ ἀδελφίδοις καὶ γαμβρὸς ἦν. καὶ μόνη γε γυναικῶν ἡ γαμετή αὐτοῦ ἡ Πορκία
2 τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, ὡς φασί, συνέγυω. φροντίζοντι γάρ τι αὐτῷ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων ἐπιστάσασα ἀνεπίθετο ὃ τι σύννυις εἶναι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἀπεκρύματο, ὑπόπτευσε τε διὰ τὴν τού σώματος ἀσθένειαν ἀπιστεύσας, μὴ καὶ ἄκουσά τι ἐκ βασάνων ἔξειπη, καὶ πράγμα μέγα ἐτολμήσε. 3 τὸν γὰρ μηρὸν τὸν ἐαυτὴς κρύφα κατέπρωσεν, ὅπως πειραθείη εἰ δύνατο πρὸς αἰκισμοὺς ἀντικαρτερῆσαι καὶ ἐπειδὴ μὴ περήληγησεν, κατεφρόνησε τοῦ τραύματος καὶ προσελθοῦσα αὐτῷ ἔφη "σὺ μὲν, ὅ ἀνερ, καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ μου πιστεύων ὅτι οὗτον ἐκλαλήσει, ὡς ἦπιστευς τῷ σώματι, καὶ ἔπασχές γε τι ἀνθρώπινον ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο εὐρηκα σιωπάν δυνάμενον.” ταῦτα εἰποῦσα τὸν τε μηρὸν ἐπέδειξέν ὦ, καὶ τὴν αὐτίαν τοῦ γεγονότος ἐκφήμασα ἔφη "λέγε τοῖς ψυχὴν πάνθρωπον συγκρύπτεσι: ἔμε γὰρ οὗ πῦρ, οὐ μάστιγες, οὐ κέντρα ἀναγκάσει τι ἐκλαλήσαι· οὐχ οὗτῳ γυνῇ γεγένημαι. ὥς, ἃν γε ἀπιστήσῃς μοι ἐτί, καλῶς ἔχει μοι 1 τεθυναί μᾶλλον ἡ ξυνή· ἢ μηκέτι με μηδές μῆτε Κάτωνος θυγατέρα μῆτε σὴν γυναίκα νομιζέτω.” ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Βροῦτος ἔθαυμασε, καὶ οὗτον ἔτε αὐτὴν ἀπεκρύψατο, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς τε ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἔρρωσθη καὶ 2 ἐκείνη πάντα διηγήσατο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν Κάσιον τὸν Γάιον, σωθέντα μὲν καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάισάρος καὶ προσέτι καὶ στρατηγία τιμηθέντα, τῆς δὲ 2 ἀδελφῆς ἄνδρα ὄντα, προσέλαβε. κακὸς τού-

1 ἔχει μοι R. Steph., ἐχοιμα L. 2 δὲ Bk., τε L.
by the fact that he was both nephew and son-in-law of that Cato who was called Uticensis, as I have stated. And his wife Portia was the only woman, as they say, who was privy to the plot. For she came upon him while he was pondering over these very matters and asked him why he was so thoughtful. When he made no answer, she suspected that she was distrusted on account of her physical weakness, for fear she might reveal something, however unwillingly, under torture; hence she ventured to do a noteworthy deed. She secretly inflicted a wound upon her own thigh, to test herself and see if she could endure torture. And as soon as the first intense pain was past, she despised the wound, and coming to him, said: "You, my husband, though you trusted my spirit that it would not betray you, nevertheless were distrustful of my body, and your feeling was but human. But I have found that my body also can keep silence." With these words she disclosed her thigh, and making known the reason for what she had done, she said: "Therefore fear not, but tell me all you are concealing from me, for neither fire, nor lashes, nor goads will force me to divulge a word; I was not born to that extent a woman. Hence, if you still distrust me, it is better for me to die than to live; otherwise let no one think me longer the daughter of Cato or your wife." Hearing this, Brutus marvelled; and he no longer hid anything from her, but felt strengthened himself and related to her the whole plot. After this he obtained as an associate Gaius Cassius, who had also been spared by Caesar and moreover had been honoured with the praetorship; and he was the husband of Brutus' sister. Next they pro-
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του καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰ αὐτά σφισι βουλομένους ἦθροιζον. καὶ ἐγένοντο μὲν οὖν ὅλων ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὁνόματα οὔδὲν δέομαι καταλέγειν, ὅποι μὴ καὶ δὲ ὄχλου γένωμαι, τὸν δὲ δῆ Τρεβώνιον τὸν τε Βρούτον τὸν Δέκιμον, δυνατοὶ, Ἐλβινὸν τε ἐπεκάλουν, οὐ δύναμαι

4 παραλιπέντεν. πλείστα γὰρ καὶ οὕτως ἐνεργηθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ ὁ θεὸς Δέκιμος καὶ ὑπάτος ἐστὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἐτος ἀποδεδειγμένος καὶ τῇ Γαλατίᾳ τῇ πλησιοχόρῳ προστεταγμένος, ἐπεβούλευσαν αὐτῷ.

15 Καὶ ὅλων γε ἐφωράθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν συνειδότων, καὶ τοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος μῆτε λόγου τινὰ περὶ τοιοῦτο τινὸς προσδεχομένου καὶ πάνω ἵσχυρός τοὺς ἐσαγγέλλουτάς τι τοιοῦτοτροπὸν

2 κολάζοντος, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ διαμέλλειν. αἰδῶ τε γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσι ἔχοντες, καὶ φοβοῦμενοι, καίπερ μηδεμιὰ ἐτὶ φουρὰ χρωμένου, μὴ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν ἀεὶ ποτὲ ὄντων φθαρώσι, δυνὴν, ὡστε καὶ κινδυνεύσαι ἐλευθέρως ἀπολέσθαι. καὶ ἔπαθον ἀν τούτῳ, εἰ μὴ οὐνταχύνατο τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα καὶ ἀκοῦτες ἡμαῖς κατέβησαν. λόγου γὰρ τινος, εἰτ' οὖν ἄληθοὺς εἶτε καὶ ψευδοὺς, οἷα ποῦ φιλεῖ λογοποιεῖσθαι, διελθόντος ὡς τῶν ἱερέων τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα καλουμένων διαθρούντων ὁτι ἡ Σίβυλλα εἰρηκυία εἰη μήποτ' ἀν τοὺς Πάρθους ἄλλοις πως

3 τὴν ὑπὸ Βασιλέως Ἀλῶνα, καὶ μελλόντων διὰ τούτο αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ταύτην τῷ Καίσαρι ὀδηγῆσαι ἐσηγήσεσθαι, τούτῳ τε πιστεύσαντες

1 Δέκιμον, Δέκιμος Leunel., δέκιον, δέκιος L (and so in ch. 18).
2 αὐτοῦ R. Steph., αὐ τοῦ L.
ceeded to get together all the others who were of the same mind as themselves and these proved to be not a few in number. There is no need to give a full list of the names, for I might thus become wearisome, but I cannot omit to mention Trebonius and Decimus Brutus, who was also called Junius and Albinus. For these joined in the plot against Caesar, notwithstanding that they also had received many benefits at his hands; Decimus, in fact, had been appointed consul for the next year and had been assigned to Hither Gaul.

They came very near being detected for two reasons. One was the number of those who were privy to the plot, although Caesar would not receive any information about anything of the sort and punished very severely those who brought any news of the kind. The second reason was their delay; for they stood in awe of him, for all their hatred of him, and kept putting the matter off, fearing, in spite of the fact that he no longer had any guard, that they might be killed by some of the men who were always with him; and thus they ran the risk of being discovered and put to death. Indeed, they would have suffered this fate had they not been forced even against their will to hasten the plot. For a report, whether true or false, got abroad, as reports will spread, that the priests known as the Quindecimviri were spreading the report that the Sibyl had said the Parthians would never be defeated in any other way than by a king, and were consequently going to propose that this title be granted to Caesar. The conspirators believed this to be true, and
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άληθες εἶναι, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ἄρχονσιν, δυναρ
καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος ἦν, ἡ ψήφος ἄτε καὶ
ὑπὲρ τηλικούτου βουλεύματος ἐπαχθήσοτο, καὶ
οὔτ' ἀντειπεῖν τολμῶντες 1 οὔτε σιωπήσαι
ὑπομένοντες, ἔπεσπευσαν τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν πρὶν καὶ
ὅτι οὖν περὶ αὐτοῦ χρηματισθῆναι.

16 Ἐδέδοκτο δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τὴν ἐπι-
χείρησιν ποιῆσαθαι. τὸν τε γὰρ Καίσαρα Ἦκιστα
ἐνταῦθα ὑποτοποῦντα τί πείσεσθαι εὐαλωτότερον
ἐσεσθαι, καὶ σφίσιν εὐπορίαν ἀσφαλῆ ξιφῶν ἐν
κιβωτίοις ἀντὶ γραμματεῖων τινῶν ἐσκομμαθέντων
ὑπάρξειν, τοὺς τε ἄλλους οὐ δυνῆσεσθαι; 2 οίᾳ
2 που καὶ ἀόπλους ὄντας, ἀμύναι προσεδόκων εἰ
d' οὖν τις καὶ τολμῆσει ποι, ἄλλα τοὺς γε μυο-
μάχους, οὔς πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ Πομπηίου 3 θεάτρῳ,
προφασιν ὡς καὶ ὀπλομαχήσοντας, προπαρα-
σκευάσαντο, βοηθῆσειν σφίσιν ἠλπιζοῦν ἐκεῖ γὰρ
ποὺ ἐν οἰκήματι τινος τοῦ περιστόφου συνεδρεύειν
ἐμελλον. καὶ οἱ μὲν, ἐπειδὴ ἡ κυρία ἤκεν, ἦς τε
τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀμα ἐφ 4 συνελέγησαν καὶ τὸν
17 Καίσαρα παρεκάλουν· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ προέλεγον μὲν καὶ
μάντεις τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, προέλεγε δὲ καὶ ὀνείρατα.
ἐν γὰρ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐν ᾗ ἐσφάγη ἢ τε γυνὴ αὐτοῦ
tὴν τε οἰκίαν σφῶν συμπεπτωκέναι καὶ τὸν
ἀνδρα συντετρωθαί τε ὑπὸ τινῶν καὶ ἐς τὸν
κόλπον αὐτῆς καταφυγεῖν ἐδοξε, καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ
ἐπὶ τε τῶν νεφῶν μετέωρος αἰωρεῖσθαι καὶ τῆς
2 τοῦ Δίος χειρὸς ἀπτεσθαι. πρὸς δὲ ἐτι καὶ
σημεία οὔτ' ὀλίγα οὔτ' ἀσθενὴ αὐτῷ ἐγένετο· τὰ

1 τολμῶντες R. Steph., τολμῶντος L.
2 δυνῆσεσθαι R. Steph., δυνηθῆσεσθαι L.
3 Πομπηίου H. Steph., πομπηίω L. 4 ἐφ Rk., ὡς L.

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because a vote would be demanded of the magistrates, among whom were Brutus and Cassius, owing to the importance of the measure, and they neither dared to oppose it nor would submit to remain silent, they hastened forward their plot before any business connected with the measure should come up.

It had been decided by them to make the attempt in the senate, for they thought that there Caesar would least expect to be harmed in any way and would thus fall an easier victim, while they would find a safe opportunity by having swords instead of documents brought into the chamber in boxes, and the rest, being unarmed, would not be able to offer any resistance. But in case any one should be so rash, they hoped at least that the gladiators, many of whom they had previously stationed in Pompey's Theatre under the pretext that they were to contend there, would come to their aid; for these were to lie in wait somewhere there in a certain room of the peristyle. So the conspirators, when the appointed day was come, gathered in the senate-house at dawn and called for Caesar. As for him, he was warned of the plot in advance by soothsayers, and was warned also by dreams. For the night before he was slain his wife dreamed that their house had fallen in ruins and that her husband had been wounded by some men and had taken refuge in her bosom; and Caesar dreamed he was raised aloft upon the clouds and grasped the hand of Jupiter. Moreover, omens not a few and not without significance
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3 τά τε ίερὰ δ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐθύσατο οὐδὲν αἷσιον ὑπέφηνε, καὶ οἱ ὄρνιθες δι' ὅν ἐμαντεύετο οὐκ ἐπέτρεπον αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἐξελθεῖν. ήδη δὲ τισι καὶ τὸ τοῦ δίφρου τοῦ ἐπιχρύσου ἐνθύμιον μετά γε τὴν σφαγὴν αὐτοῦ ἔγενετο, ὅτι αὐτὸν ὁ ὑπηρέτης βραδύνοντος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐξεκόμισεν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, νομίσας μηκὲν' αὐτοῦ χρείαν ἔσεσθαι.

18 Χρονίζοντος δ' οὖν διὰ ταῦτα τοῦ Καίσαρος, δεῖσαντες οἱ συνωμόται μὴ ἀναβολής γενομένης (θροῦς γὰρ τις διήλθην ὅτι οἶκοι τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην μενεὶ) τὸ τε ἐπιβούλευμα σφισι διαπέσῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ φωραθῶσι, πέμπουσι τὸν Βροῦτον τὸν Δέκιμον, ὡπως ὥς καὶ πάνυ φίλος αὐτῷ δοκῶν εἶναι ποιήσῃ

2 αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι. καὶ δ' τα τε προταθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φαυλίσασας, καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν σφόδρα ἐπιθυμεῖν ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν εἰπὼν, ἐπεισε προελθεῖν. καὶ τοῦτῳ εἰκών τις αὐτοῦ, ἢν ἐν τοῖς προθύροις ἀνακειμένην εἰχε, κατέπεσεν ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου καὶ

3 συνεθραύσθη. ἀλλ' ἐδει γὰρ αὐτὸν τότε μεταλλάξαι, οὐδὲν οὔτε 2 τοῦτον ἐφρόντισε οὔτε τινὸς τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν οἱ μηνύντων ἦκουσε. καὶ βιβλίον τι παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόν, ἐν δ' πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθεσίν παρεσκευασμένα ἀκριβῶς ἐνεγέραττο, οὐκ ἀνέγρω, νομίσας ἄλλο τι αὐτὸ τῶν οὐκ ἐπει-

4 γόντων ἔχειν. τὸ τε σύμπαν οὔτως ἔθαρσε ὅστε

1 ἀνεψιχθεὶς Νιν. ἧνεψιχθεὶς Λ, Χιφ. 2 οὔτε Βκ., οὐδὲ Λ.
came to him: the arms of Mars, at that time deposited in his house, according to ancient custom, by virtue of his position as high priest, made a great noise at night, and the doors of the chamber where he slept opened of their own accord. Moreover, the sacrifices which he offered because of these occurrences were not at all favourable, and the birds he used in divination forbade him to leave the house. Indeed, to some the incident of his golden chair seemed ominous, at least after his murder; for the attendant, when Caesar delayed his coming, had carried it out of the senate, thinking that there now would be no need of it.

Caesar, accordingly, was so long in coming that the conspirators feared there might be a postponement,—indeed, a rumour got abroad that he would remain at home that day,—and that their plot would thus fall through and they themselves would be detected. Therefore they sent Decimus Brutus, as one supposed to be his devoted friend, to secure his attendance. This man made light of Caesar’s scruples and by stating that the senate desired exceedingly to see him, persuaded him to proceed. At this an image of him, which he had set up in the vestibule, fell of its own accord and was shattered in pieces. But, since it was fated that he should die at that time, he not only paid no attention to this but would not even listen to some one who was offering him information of the plot. He received from him a little roll in which all the preparations made for the attack were accurately recorded, but did not read it, thinking it contained some indifferent matter of no pressing importance. In brief, he was so confident
καὶ πρὸς τὸν μᾶς τῶν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην φυλάσσεσθαι ποτὲ αὐτῷ προαγορεύσαντα εἰπεῖν ἐπισκόπτον "ποῦ δὴ τὰ σου τὰ μαντεύματα; ἢ οὔχ ὅρας ὅτι τε ἡ ἡμέρα ἡν ἐξεδίεις πάρεστι, καὶ ἐγὼ ξός;" καὶ ἐκεῖνος τοσοῦτον, ὥς φασί, μόνον ἀπεκρίνατο, ὃτι "ναὶ1 πάρεστιν, οὐδέπω δὲ παρελήλυθεν."

19 Ὑπὸ δ’ οὖν ἀφίκετο ποτὲ πρὸς τὸ συνέδριον, Τρεβώνιος μὲν Ἀντώνιον ἔξω ποι ἀποδιέτριψεν. ἐβουλεύσαντο μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τὸν Δέπιδον ἐποκτείναν; φοβηθέντες δὲ μὴ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν ἁπλομένων διαβληθῶσιν ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ δυναστεία ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐπ’ ἐλευθερώσει τῆς πόλεως, ἢν2 προεβάλλοντο, τὸν Καίσαρα πεφουνεκότες, οὐδὲ παρείναι τὸν Ἀντώνιον τῇ σφαγῇ αὐτοῦ ἠθέλησαν, ἐπεὶ ὦ γε Δέπιδος ἔξεστράτευτο καὶ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἦν. ἐκείνῳ μὲν δὴ Τρεβώνιος διελέγετο· οὐ δὲ δὴ ἄλλου τοῦ Καίσαρα ἐν τούτῳ ἄθροι περιστάντες (ἐὐπρόσοδός τε γὰρ καὶ φιλοπροσήγορος εἰς τοὺς μάλιστα ἦν) οὐ μὲν ἐμυθολόγουν, οὐ δὲ ἐκέτευν δῆθεν αὐτὸν, ὅτως ἦκιστα τι υποπτεύσῃ. ἐπεὶ τε ὁ καιρὸς ἐλάμβανε, προσήλθε τις αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ χάριν τινὰ γιγνώσκων, καὶ τὸ ἰμάτιον αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὠμοῦ καθεῖλκυσε, σημεῖον τι3 τοῦτο κατὰ τὸ συγκέιμενον τοῖς συννομόταις αἱρών· κὰκ τοῦτο προσπεσόντες αὐτῷ ἐκείνοι πολλαχόθεν ἀμα κατέτρωσαν αὐτῶν, ὡςθ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους αὐτῶν μήτ’ εἰπεῖν μήτε πρᾶξαι τι τὸν Καίσαρα δυνηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ συγκαλυφάμενον σφαγὴν πολλοὶ τραύμασι. ταῦτα μὲν τάληθες-

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

Now when he finally reached the senate, Trebonius kept Antony employed somewhere at a distance outside. For, though they had planned to kill both him and Lepidus, they feared they might be maligned as a result of the number they destroyed, on the ground that they had slain Caesar to gain supreme power and not to set free the city, as they pretended; and therefore they did not wish Antony even to be present at the slaying. As for Lepidus, he had set out on a campaign and was in the suburbs. While Trebonius, then, talked with Antony, the rest in a body surrounded Caesar, who was as easy of access and as affable as any one could be; and some conversed with him, while others made as if to present petitions to him, so that suspicion might be as far from his mind as possible. And when the right moment came, one of them approached him, as if to express his thanks for some favour or other, and pulled his toga from his shoulder, thus giving the signal that had been agreed upon by the conspirators. Thereupon they attacked him from many sides at once and wounded him to death, so that by reason of their numbers Caesar was unable to say or do anything, but veiling his face, was slain.
20 Θορύβου δ' οὖν πολλοῦ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τε ἐνδον ὄντων καὶ τῶν ἐξωθεὶ τροποθηκότων πρὸς τοῦ αἰφνίδιον τοῦ πάθους, καὶ ὃτι ἡγόουν τοὺς τε σφαγέας καὶ τὸ πλήθος τὴν τε διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, γενομένου πάντες ὡς καὶ κινδυνεύοντες ἐταράσσοντο, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε ἐς φυγὴν ὀρμησαν ἡ ἐκαστὸς ἐδύνατο, καὶ τοὺς προστυχανοῦντας σφίσιν ἐξέπλησσον, σαφὲς μὲν οὐδὲν λέγοντες, αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα μόνον βοῶντες, "φεύγε, κλείε, κλείε," καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ παραλαμβάνοντες παρ' ἄλληλων ός ἐκαστὸς διεβόων, καὶ τὴν τε πόλιν θρήνου ἐπιλήρουν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τα ἐργαστήρια καὶ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἐσπίπτοντες ἀπεκρύπτοντο, καίτοι τῶν σφαγέων ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ὡσπερ εἶχον ὀρμησάντων, καὶ τοῖς τε σχῆμασιν εὐδεικνυμένων καὶ προσεκβοώντων μη φοβεῖσθαι. إ 21 ἔκεινοι μὲν γὰρ τούτῳ τε ἀμα ἐλεγον καὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα συνεχῶς ἀνεκάλουν, δ' ἄν μελος οὗτ' ἄλλωσ ἐπίστευε σφίσιν ἀληθεύειν οὔτε ῥαδίως καθίστατο· ὡς οὖν ποτε καὶ μόλις, ὡς οὔτε τις ἐφονεύετο οὔτε συνελαμβάνετο, θαρσήσαντες ἑσύχασαν. καὶ συνελθόντων αὐτῶν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν πολλὰ μὲν κατὰ τοῦ Καλοσαρος πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας οἱ σφαγεῖς εἴπον, θαρσεῖν τε σφας καὶ μηδὲν δεινὸν προσδέχεσθαι ἐκέλευον.

1 ἵσχυρὸς Xiph., τοῦ ἵσχυρῷς L.
2 πατάξαντα Xiph., παρατάξαντα L.
3 τῶν supplied by R. Steph.
4 διεβόων R. Steph., διαβόων L.
5 οὔτ' ἄλλως Pflugk, οὔ' ἄλλως L.
with many wounds. This is the truest account, though some have added that to Brutus, when he struck him a powerful blow, he said: "Thou, too, my son?"

A great outcry naturally arose from all the rest who were inside and also from those who were standing near by outside, both at the suddenness of the calamity and because they did not know who the assassins were, their numbers, or their purpose; and all were excited, believing themselves in danger. So they not only turned to flight themselves, every man as best he could, but they also alarmed those who met them by saying nothing intelligible, but merely shouting out the words: "Run! bolt doors! bolt doors!" Then all the rest, severally taking up the cry one from another, kept shouting these words, filled the city with lamentations, and burst into the workshops and houses to hide themselves, even though the assassins hurried just as they were to the Forum, urging them both by their gestures and their shouts not to be afraid. Indeed, while they were telling them this, they kept calling for Cicero; but the crowd did not believe in any case that they were sincere, and was not easily calmed. At length, however, and with difficulty, they took courage and became quiet, as no one was killed or arrested. And when they met in the assembly, the assassins had much to say against Caesar and much in favour of democracy, and they bade the people take courage and not expect any harm. For they
οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ δυναστείᾳ οὔτ' ἐπ' ἀλλη πλεονεξία οὐδεμιᾷ ἀπεκτοῦναι αὐτὸν ἐφασαν, ἀλλ' ἵν' ἐλευθεροὶ τε καὶ αὐτῶνοι οὗτε ὅρθως πολεμεύναται.

2 τοιαύτα ἀττα εἰπόντες τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς κατεστησαν, καὶ μάλιστ' ὅτι οὐδένα ἥδικουν' αὐτοὶ δὲ δὴ φοβούμενοι καὶ ὡς μὴ τις σφίσιν ἀντεπιβουλεύσῃ, ἀνήλθον ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὡς καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς προσευξόμενοι, καὶ ἐκεῖ τὴν τε ἰμέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἐνδιέτριψαν. καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν πρώτων ἀφ' ἐστέρας, τῆς μὲν ἐπιβουλῆς οὐ συμμετασχόντες, τῆς δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς δόξης, ός καὶ ἐπαινούμενοι σφάς ἔωραν, καὶ τῶν ἁθλῶν ἄ

3 προσεδέχοντο μεταποιησόμενοι,1 συνεγένοντο. καὶ συνέβη γε αὐτοῖς ἐς τούναντίον τὸ πρᾶγμα δικαι-ότατα περισσηναί. οὔτε γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἔργου ἄτε μηδὲν αὐτοῦ προσκοινωνήσαντες ἐλαβον, καὶ τοῦ κυνδύνου τοῦ τοῖς δράσασιν αὐτὸ συμβάντος ός καὶ συνεπιβουλεύσαντές2 σφιοι μετέσχον.

22 Ἦδων δὲ ταύτα ὁ Δολοβέλλας οὐδ' αὐτοῖς ἰξίου τῆς ἰσχίαν ἄγειν, ἀλλ' ἐς τῇ ὑπατον ἀρχὴν καύπερ μηδέπω οἱ προσήκουσιν ἐσῆλθε, καὶ δημηγοργῆσα τὶ περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐς τὸ 2 Καπιτώλιον ἀνέβη. τούτων δὲ ἐνταῦθα οὖντων, ὁ Δέπιδος μαθὼν τὰ γεγενημένα τὴν τε ἀγοράν μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῆς νυκτός κατέλαβε, καὶ κατὰ τῶν σφαγῶν ἀμα ἐφ' ἐδημηγόρει. ὁ οὖν Ἀντώνιος, καύτου παραχρῆμα μετὰ τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος θάνατον φυγὼν καὶ τὴν τε ἐσθήτα τὴν ἀρχικῆν, ὅπως διαλάθη, θέμας καὶ τὴν νύκτα 3 κρυφθεῖς, ὦμως ἐπειδὴ τοὺς τε σφαγεέας ἐν τῷ

1 μεταποιησόμενοι H. Steph., μεταποιησόμενοι L.
2 συνεπιβουλεύσαντές Leuncl., ἐπιβουλεύσαντές L.

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had killed him, they declared, not to secure power or any other advantage, but in order that they might be free and independent and be governed rightly. By speaking such words they calmed the majority, especially since they injured no one. But fearing, for all that, that somebody might plot against them in turn, they themselves went up to the Capitol, in order, as they claimed, to pray to the gods, and there they spent the day and night. And at evening they were joined by some of the other prominent men, who had not, indeed, shared in the plot, but were minded, when they saw the perpetrators praised, to lay claim to the glory of it, as well as to the prizes which they expected. But for them the event proved most justly the very opposite of their expectations; for they did not secure any reputation for the deed, because they had not had a hand in it in any way, but they did share the danger which came to those who committed it just as much as if they themselves had been in the plot.

Seeing this, Dolabella likewise thought it incumbent on him not to keep quiet, but entered upon the office of consul, even though it did not yet belong to him, and after making a short speech to the people on the situation ascended to the Capitol. While affairs were in this state Lepidus, learning what had taken place, occupied the Forum by night with his soldiers and at dawn delivered a speech against the assassins. As to Antony, although he had fled immediately after Caesar's death, casting away his robe of office in order to escape notice and concealing himself through the night, yet when he ascertained that the assassins were on the Capitol
Καπιτωλίῳ καὶ τὸν Δέπιδον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ὄντα ἱσθετο, τὴν τε γερουσίαν ἐς τὸ τῆς Γῆς τέμενος ἡθορισε καὶ γυνόμας ύπὲρ τῶν παρόντων προέθηκε. καὶ εἰπὼν ἄλλοι τε ἄλλα, ὡς ἑκαστὸς αὐτῶν ἐγγύγωσκε, καὶ ὁ Κικέρον τάδε, οἶσπερ καὶ ἐπείσθησαν.

23 "Αεί μὲν ἔγνως σήμερα χρῆμα μηδένα μηδὲν μήτε πρὸς χάριν μήτε πρὸς φιλονεικίαν λέγειν, ἀλλ' ὁ βέλτιστον ἑκαστὸς εἶναι νομίζει, τούτ' ἀποφαίνεσθαι. Δεινὸν γὰρ εἰ τοὺς μὲν στρατηγούντας τοὺς θ' ὑπατεύοντας πάντα ἀπὸ ὁρθῆς τῆς διανοιας ποιεῖν ἀξίωσομεν, κἀν ἄρα πὼς σφαλῶσιν, εὐθύνας παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς τύχης ἀπατηθοςμεν, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ βουλεύεσθαι, ἐν οἳ κυριώτατοι τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν γνώμης ἐσμέν, τὰ κοινὴ συμφέροντα τῶν ἱδίων ἑνεκα πλεονεξίων προσομεθα. ἀεί μὲν δὴ διὰ τάδα, ὃ πατέρες, πάντα ἀπλῶς καὶ δικαίως ἦγομαι δείων ἡμᾶς συμβουλεύειν υμῖν, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν, ἐν οἷς ἄν μὲν 4 μηδὲν 5 πολυπραγμονήσαντες ὁμονοῆσομεν, αὐτῶ τε σωθησόμεθα καὶ τούς ἄλλους ἀπαντας 6 περιποιήσομεν, ἄν δ' ἁκρίβως πάντα ἔξετάσαι ἐθελήσωμεν, δεδοικα μὴ κακώς—δυσχερες δ' οὔδεν ἀρχόμενος τῶν λόγων εἰπεῖν βούλομαι. πρὸτερον μὲν γὰρ, οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἐξ οὗ χρόνος, οἱ τὰ ὄπλα ἔχοντες καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἐγκρατείς ὅσ πολὺ ἐγγύγοντο, ὡστ' αὐτοὺς ὃ τι δεὶ βουλεύειν υμῖν ἐπιτάττειν, ἀλλ'..."
and Lepidus in the Forum, he assembled the senate in the precinct of Tellus and brought forward the business of the hour for deliberation. When some had said one thing and some another, according to what was in their thoughts, Cicero, whose advice they actually followed, spoke to this effect:

"No one ought ever, I think, to say anything either out of favour or out of spite, but every one ought to declare what he believes to be best. We demand that those serving as praetors or consuls shall do everything from upright motives, and if they make any errors, we demand an accounting from them even for their misfortune; how absurd, then, if in discussion, where we are complete masters of our own opinion, we shall sacrifice the general welfare to our private interests! For this reason, Conscript Fathers, I have always thought that we ought to advise you with sincerity and justice on all matters, but especially in the present circumstances, when, if without being over-inquisitive we come to an agreement, we shall both be preserved ourselves and enable all the rest to survive, whereas, if we wish to inquire into everything minutely, I fear that ill—but at the very opening of my remarks I do not wish to say anything that might offend. Formerly, not very long ago, those who had the arms usually also got control of the government and consequently issued orders to you as to the subjects on which you were to deliberate, instead of your
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οὐχ ὑμᾶς ὦ τι χρῆ πράττειν ἐκείνους προσκοπεῖν. 2 νῦν δ' ἐς τούτο καιρὸν πάνθ' ὥς εἰπεῖν τὰ πράγ-ματα πάρεστιν ὡστε ἐφ' ὑμῖν 1 τε αὐτὰ εἶναι καὶ ἐς ὑμᾶς 1 ἀνακείσθαι, καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν 1 ᾧτοι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ μετὰ ταύτης τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἡ στάσεις καὶ πολέμους ἐμφυλίους ἀνθίς καὶ 3 ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ δεσπότης λαβεῖν. ὦ τι γὰρ ἀν τῆμερον ψηφίσῃσθε, τούτῳ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἀκολουθήσουσι. 2 τούτων οὖν οὕτως, ὡς γε ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, ἐχόντων φημὶ δεῖν ὡμᾶς τὰς μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἕχθρας ἢ φιλονεικίας, ἢ ὅπως ἂν τις αὐτᾶς ὁνομᾶσῃ, καταλύσασθαι, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὴν παλαιὰν ἐκείνην εἰρήνην καὶ 4 φιλίαν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν ἐπανελθέως, εἶνθυμηθέντας τοῦτό γε, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, ὅτι τέως μὲν ἐκεῖνος ἐπολυτευόμεθα, καὶ χώρας καὶ πλοῦτους καὶ δόξαν καὶ συμμάχους ἔκτησάμεθα, ἀφ' οὐ δὲ ἐσ τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους κακὰ προήχθημεν, οὖχ ὧσον οὐκ ἀμείνους ἄλλα καὶ πολὺ χείρους ἐγενόμεθα. 5 καὶ ἔγογγε τοσοῦτον 3 δεὼ νομίζειν 4 ἄλλο τι σῶσαι ἄν ἐν 5 τῷ παρόντι τὴν πόλιν, ὡστ' ἄν μὴ τι τήμερον καὶ ἡδὴ γε ὅτι τάχιστα προβο-λεύσωμεν, οὐδ' ἀναλαβεῖν δυνησόμεθα.

25 "Σκοπεῖτε δὲ ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγω, πρὸς τε τὰ παρόντα ἀπιδόντες καὶ τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἀναλογισάμενοι. ἡ οὖχ ὃρατε μὲν τὰ γεγραμμένα, καὶ ὅτι διαιρεταὶ τε καὶ περιστάται ὁ δῆμος ἀνθίς, καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα οἱ δὲ ἐκεῖνα προαιρούμενοι διχῇ τε ἢδη

1 ὑμῖν, ὑμᾶς, ὑμῶν R. Steph., ἡμῖν, ἡμᾶς, ἡμῶν L.
2 ἀκολουθήσουσι R. Steph., ἀκολουθήσωσι L.
3 τοσοῦτον Bk., τοσοῦτωι L. 4 νομίζειν Xyl., ὁνομάζειν L.
5 ἐν Polak, μὲν ἐν L.

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determining what it was their business to do. But now practically everything is at such an opportune point that matters are in your hands and depend upon you; and from yourselves you may obtain either harmony and with it liberty, or seditions and civil wars once more and a master at the close of them. For whatever you decide on to-day, all the rest of the citizens will follow. This being the state of the case, as I am convinced, I declare that we ought to give up our mutual enmities, or jealousies, or whatever name should be applied to them, and return to that old-time state of peace and friendship and harmony. For you should remember this, if nothing else, that so long as we conducted our government in that way we acquired lands, riches, glory, and allies, but ever since we were led into injuring one another, so far from becoming better off, we have become decidedly worse off. Now I am so firmly convinced that nothing else at present can save the city that if we do not to-day, at once, with all possible speed, adopt some policy, I believe we shall never be able to regain our position at all.

"That you may see, now, that I am speaking the truth, look at present conditions and then consider our position in olden times. Do you not see what is taking place—that the people are again being divided and torn asunder and that, with some choosing this side and some that, they have already fallen into two
2 nevēmēntai kai διχῇ στρατοπεδεύονται, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸ Καπιτώλιον προκατειλήφασιν ὁσπερ τινὰς Γαλάτας φοβούμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἁγορᾶς πολιορκεῖν αὐτοὺς παρασκευάζονται καθάπερ Καρχηδόνιοι τινες ἀλλʼ οὐ 'Ρωμαίοι καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἀκούετε δὲ ὅτι καὶ πρότερον πολλάκις διχογνωμονήσαντων τινῶν ὡστε καὶ τὸν 'Αουεντινὸν ποτὲ καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ἐστὶ δ’ οὔς αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ὀρος κατασχεῖν, ὁσάκις μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἴσοις, ἢ καὶ βραχὺ τι συγχωρήσαντες οἱ ἐτεροὶ τοὺς ἐτέρους, κατηλλάγησαν, μυσόντες τε ἀλλήλους εὐθὺς ἐπαύσαντο, καὶ ἐν εἰρήνη καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ χρόνου διήγαγον οὕτως ὡστε καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους πολέμους κοινῇ κατορθῶσαι ὁσάκις δὲ δὴ πρὸς φόνους καὶ σφαγὰς ἔχωρησαν, οἱ μὲν δικαιώσει τοῦ ἀμύνεσθαι τους προϋπάρξαντας, οἱ δὲ καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἐλασσούσθαι δοκεῖν ἀπατηθεῖν, οὐδὲν πῶς τὸν χρηστὸν ἐγένετο; τί γὰρ δεῖ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἦττον ὑμᾶς εἰδότας τὸν Οὐαλέριον, τὸν Ὀράτιον, τὸν Σατορύνον, τὸν Γλαυκίαν, τοὺς Γοάκχους λέγοντα 1 διατρίβειν; τοιαύτ' οὖν παραδείγματα, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀλλότρια ἀλλʼ οὐκ ἔχοντες, μὴ μελλήσητε τὰ μὲν ξηλῶσαι τὰ δὲ φυλάξασθαι, ἀλλʼ ἀτε ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν πείραν τῆς ἐκβάσεως δὲν βουλεύσθη προειληφότες, μηκέτι τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους ὡς καὶ βήματα διασκοπεῖτε, ἀλλὰ τὰ 2 τῷ κοινῷ διαφέροντα ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἦδη οὔτα θεωρεῖτε.

7 οὐδὲ γὰρ άσαφεῖ τινὶ ἐνθυμήσει τάφανὶς τῆς

1 λέγοντα R. Steph., λέγοντας L.
2 τὰ added by Pflugk.
parties and two camps, and that the one side has seized the Capitol as if they feared the Gauls or somebody, while the others with headquarters in the Forum are preparing, as if they were so many Carthaginians and not Romans, to besiege them? Have you not heard how, though formerly citizens often quarrelled, even to the extent of occupying the Aventine once, and the Capitol, and some of them the Sacred Mount, yet as often as they were reconciled on fair terms, or by yielding a little one to the other, they at once stopped hating one another, and lived the rest of their lives in such peace and harmony that together they carried through successfully many great wars? And how, on the other hand, as often as they had recourse to murders and bloodshed, the one side deluded by the plea of defending themselves against aggression, and the other side by an ambition to appear to be inferior to none, no good ever came of it? Why need I waste time by reciting to you, who know them equally well, the names of Valerius, Horatius, Saturninus, Glaucia, the Gracchi? With such examples before you, examples chosen not from foreign countries but from your own, do not hesitate to imitate the right course and to guard against the wrong, but in the conviction that you have already had in the events themselves a proof of the outcome of the plans you are now making, do not any longer look upon what I say as mere words, but consider that the interests of the state are already involved. For thus you will not be led by any vague notion to put to the hazard
Διός Ῥωμανός Ιστορία

26 "Τπάρχει μὲν οὖν ὑμὶν¹ τοῦθ', ὡτερ εἴπον, οὐκοθεν καὶ παρὰ τῶν προγόνων λαβοῦσιν ὄρθως βουλεύσασθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔδε ξενικοῖς παρα- δείγμασι χρήσθαι ᾨθέλησα, μυρία ἂν εἴπειν ἐχον. ἐν δ' οὖν ὀμος τῆς ἀρίστης καὶ ἀρχαιο- τάτης πόλεως, παρ' ἦς οὐδ' οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐπάγεσθαι τινας νόμους ἀπηξίωσαν, παρέξομαι.

καὶ γὰρ αὐσχρόν ἂν εἰη τοσοῦτον ἡμᾶς καὶ τῇ ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπέρεχοντας χείρον αὐτῶν βουλεύεσθαι. ἐκεῖνοι τοῖνυν (λέγον \( \delta' \) τῶν πάντως ἵστε) στασιάσαντες ποτε, καὶ ἐκ τοῦτον καὶ ὑπὸ² τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καταπολε- μήσειτε καὶ ὑπὸ² τῶν δυνατωτέρων πολιτῶν

3 τυραννήσεστε, οὐ πρὸτερον ἀπηλλάγησαν τῶν κακῶν πρὶν συνθέσθαι καὶ διομολογήσασθαι τῶν τε συμβεβηκότων σφίσι, πολλῶν που καὶ δεινῶν ὀντων, ἐπιλήσεσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μὴτε ἑγκαλέσειν ποτε μὴτε μηχισκακήσειν τινί. τοιγάρτοι σωφρονήσαντες οὐτός οὐχ ὅτι τυραννούμενοι καὶ στασιάζοντες ἐπάσαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν εὐθένησαν³ καὶ τὴν τε πόλιν ἀνεκτήσαντο καὶ της τῶν Ἕλληνων ἀρχῆς ἀντεποιήσαντο, καὶ τέλος κύριοι καὶ σώσαι καὶ ἀπολέσαι καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀντοὺς καὶ τοὺς Θεβαίους πολλάκις ἐγένοντο. καὶ τοῖς εἰ ἡθελήκεσαν⁴ ἐκείνοι οἱ τῆς Φυλῆς καταλαβόντες καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς κατελθόντες τιμωρήσασθαι

¹ ὑμῖν R. Steph., ἡμῖν L. ² ὑπὸ Pflugk, ἐκ L. ³ εὐθένησαν Dind., εὐθήνησαν L. ⁴ ἡθελήκεσαν St., ἐτεθελήκεσαν L.
your hopes, doubtful at best, but will foresee with justifiable confidence the certainty of your calculations.

"It is in your power, then, if you will receive this evidence that I mentioned from your own land and your own ancestors, to decide rightly; and that is why I did not wish to cite examples from abroad, though I might have mentioned countless such. One example, however, I will offer from the best and most ancient city, from which even our fathers did not disdain to introduce certain laws; for it would be disgraceful for us, who so far surpass the Athenians in might and intelligence, to deliberate less wisely than they. Now they were once at variance among themselves, as you all know, and as a result were overcome in war by the Lacedaemonians and were subjected to a tyranny of the more powerful citizens; and they did not obtain a respite from their ills until they made a compact and agreement to forget their past injuries, though these were many and severe, and never to bring any accusation whatever or to bear any malice against any one because of them. Accordingly, when they had thus come to their senses, they not only ceased being subject to tyrannies and seditions, but flourished in every way, regaining their city, laying claim to the sovereignty of the Greeks, and finally gaining the authority, as often happened, to save or destroy the Lacedaemonians themselves and also the Thebans. And yet, if the men who seized Phyle and returned from the Peiraeus had chosen to take vengeance
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tous ek tou *asteos uper *i *h dikhnto, euilogon
men *i pneuma petoynknevai ededoxhesan, tollla
* i an kai ededrakesev kakva kai epeponthesan.

6 oster per har kreetous auton par a tin 'elpida
egenuncto, ta* i an ti kal 'hlastrapthev sa athis.

27 ou har estin eu tois toios tois bebaion oudevin,
ou'd i 'e *i isichyoi tis, prods epikratous, alla
pamptollai men tharsoin thespai, pamptollai
de zetosin a'munasthai tina prosapollonto.

2 outhe har to pleonektomemo ev tin panta
evtrichei, dioti kai adikeita, outhe to dynamei
proouk hon panta katorboi, dioti kai prothkei,2
all 'amfortera ap* i ths ish kai to paralogo
to anathropinou kai to astatymh tis tuxhs
upokeimena, kai thn ropi a' polakies ou prods to
sfeperon euelpi alla prods to ekeivnou adokhton

3 laimvanei. othen ek te toutow kai ek tis
philoneia (deinov har estin anathropos adikheies
i nomia ge adikeiorthai uper dynamin thrasynas-
thetai) kai polloi polakies kai par a thn ischyn
epaironta diakinthynevin os kai krateisontes hi

4 outhe ge kai anaiwstoi dioloumenoi, kai ou'tov 3 ta
men nikontes ta de *ippomev, kai toto meg
antepikratontes allon toto de anatelapto-
menoi, o i men pasesudi syinaapolluntai, oi de
thn te Kadmeian leugomenvi nikh nikov, kai en
to *rho, o't oude *phiolos estin, aisianontai oti
ekkos e'mouleuvanto.

28 "Kal ou ti tain* ou'tos e'xei, kai ou'meis e'rho
mamathike. skopeite de: ischus te tina *rho

1 ou'd Pflugk, ou't L. 2 prothkei Leunck., pronte L.
3 ou't Bk., ou'toi L.
on the city party for the wrongs they had suffered, while they would, to be sure, have been thought to have performed a justifiable action, yet they would have suffered, as well as caused, many evils. For just as they exceeded their hopes by defeating their foes, they might perhaps in turn have been unexpectedly worsted. Indeed, in such matters there is no certainty with regard to victory, even as a result of one’s power, but vast numbers who are confident fail and vast numbers who seek to take vengeance upon others perish at the same time themselves. For the one who is overreached in any transaction is not bound to be fortunate just because he is wronged, nor is the one who has the greater power bound to be successful just because he surpasses, but both are equally subject to the perversity of human affairs and to the instability of fortune, and the turn of the scale often corresponds, not to their own hopefulness, but to the unexpected play of these other factors. As a result of this and of rivalry (for man is very prone when wronged or believing himself wronged to become bold beyond his power) many are frequently encouraged to incur dangers even beyond their strength, with the idea that they will conquer or at least will not perish unavenged. So it is that, now conquering and now defeated, sometimes triumphing in turn and in turn succumbing, some perish utterly, while others gain a Cadmean victory, as the saying goes; and at a time when the knowledge can avail them nothing they perceive that they have planned unwisely.

“That this is true you also have learned by experience. Consider a moment: Marius for a

1 A proverbial expression for a victory which is of doubtful advantage to the conqueror.
ἐν τοῖς στασιωτικοῖς ὁ Μάριος, εἰτ’ ἐκπεσών καὶ δύναμιν ἀθροίσας ἥστε οἷα εἰργάσατο. ὡμοίως ὁ Σύλλας, ἦν πῆ τὸν Κίνναν μήδ’ τὸν Στράβωνα μήδ’ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς διὰ μέσου καταλέγον, δυνηθεῖς τὴν πρώτην, εἰτ’ ἐλαττωθεῖς, ἐπειτ’ δυναστεύσας οὐδὲν ὁ τι οὐχὶ τῶν δεινοτάτων ἐπράξε. τί γὰρ δεῖ τὸν Μάριον τὸν 1 δεύτερον ἢ τὸν Κίνναν ἐκείνου αὐτόν ἢ τὸν Κάρβωνα ὅνο-2 μάζευν; 2 μετὰ ταῦτα Δέπτιδος ἰδίαν τέ τινα, ὡς δὴ καὶ τούτοις ἑπεξίων, στάσιν ἠγείρε, καὶ πάσαν ὁλίγον τήν Ἰταλίαν ἐτάραξεν. ὡς δ’ ἀπηλλάγη-μέν ποτε καὶ τούτον, μέμνησθε ὡς αὐτ’ καὶ οἰα πρὸς τε τοῦ Σερτορίου καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων τῶν
3 μετ’ αὐτοῦ φυγόντων ἐπάθομεν. τί δ’ ὁ Πομπήιος, τί δ’ ὁ Καίσαρ αὐτὸς οὗτος; ἦν μηδὲν ἐνταῦθα μῆτε τοῦ Κατιλίνου μῆτε τοῦ Κλωδίου μην-μονεύσω. οὐ πρότερον μὲν ἐπολέμησαν ἄλληλοις,
καὶ ταῦτα συγγενεῖς οὕτε, ἐπειτ’ μυρίων κακῶν οὐ μόνον τῆν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἢ καὶ τήν λοιπήν Ἰταλίαν, ἄλλα καὶ πάσαν ὡς εἰπεῖν τήν οἰκου-
4 μένην ἀνέπλησαν; ἄρ’ οὖν μετὰ τε τοῦ τοῦ
Πομπῆίου θάνατον καὶ τὸν πολλὸν ἐκείνων τῶν
πολιτῶν ὀλεθροῦν ἡσυχία τις ἐγένετο; πόθεν;
πολλοῦ γε καὶ δει. οἶδε δὲ ἡ Ἀφρική, οἶδεν ἡ
Ἰβηρία τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐκατέρωθι ἄπολομένων.
5 τί οὖν; ἐπὶ γε τούτοις εἰρηνησαμεν; καὶ πῶς;
ὅποτε κεῖται μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ Καίσαρ οὗτο σφαγεῖς,
κατέχεται δὲ τὸ Καπιτόλιον, καὶ πεπλήρωται μὲν
ἡ ἀγορὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν, πεπλήρωται δὲ καὶ πᾶσα

1 τοῦ Xyl., το L.
2 This sentence savours strongly of an interpolation. Reiske bracketed it.
3 μὲν added by Bk.
time was strong amid civil strife; then he was driven out, collected a force, and accomplished—you know what. Likewise Sulla,—not to speak of Cinna or Strabo or the rest who came between,—powerful at first, later defeated, finally making himself master, was guilty of every possible cruelty. And why name the second Marius, or even that same Cinna, or Carbo? After that Lepidus, ostensibly with the purpose of punishing these men, got together a faction of his own and stirred up almost all Italy. When we at last got rid of him, too, remember what we suffered from Sertorius and from his fellow-exiles. What did Pompey, what did this Caesar himself do, to make no mention here of Catiline or Clodius? Did they not at first fight against each other, and that in spite of their relationship, and then fill with countless evils not only our own city or even the rest of Italy, but practically the entire world? Well then, after Pompey’s death and that great slaughter of the citizens, did any quiet appear? By no means. How could it? Africa knows, Spain knows, the multitudes who perished in each of those lands. What then? Did we have peace after this? Peace, when Caesar himself lies slain in this fashion, when the Capitol is occupied, when the Forum is filled with arms and the whole city

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1 See note on Greek text.
2 At Pharsalus.
29 ἡ πόλις τοῦ φόβου. οὔτως ἐπειδὰν ἀρξώνται τινες στασιάζειν, καὶ τὰ βίαία ἀεὶ τοῖς βιαίοις ἀμύνεσθαι ζητῶσι, καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας μήτε πρὸς τὸ ἐπιεικὲς μήτε πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἀλλὰ πρὸς τε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὁπλῶν ποιῶνται, κύκλος τις ἔξ ἀνάγκης ἀεὶ τῶν κακῶν γίγνεται καὶ ἀνταπόδοσις ἐκ διαδοχῆς τῶν δεινῶν συμβαίνει. τὸ τε γὰρ εὐτυχήσαν ὑβρεῖ τε πλεονάζει καὶ οὐδένα ὅρον τῆς πλεονεξίας ποιεῖται, καὶ τὸ πταῖσαν ὅργῃ τῆς συμφορᾶς, ἃν γε μὴ παραχρήμα ἀπόληται, ἀντιτιμηρήσασθαι τὸν ἀδικήσαντα ἐπιθυμεῖ μέχρις ἃν τὸν θυμὸν ἐκ- πλήσῃ. καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλήθος, κἂν μὴ συμμετάσχῃ τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ τότε γε τῷ τε ἐλέος τοῦ νευκηκένου καὶ τῷ φθόνῳ τοῦ κεκρατηκότος, δεῖσάν τε ἁμα μὴ καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ἑκένω πάθη, καὶ ἐλπίσαν τὰ αὐτὰ τούτῳ δράσεν, συναίρεται. καὶ οὔτω καὶ τὰ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν στασιάζειν προάγεται, καὶ ἄλλοι τε ἐπ᾽ ἄλλους τὸ κακὸν, προφάσει τιμωρίας τῶν ἀεὶ ἑλαττομένων, ὡσπερ τι ἔννομον καὶ ἑγκύκλιον πράγμα, ἀνταμιμομενοι διαδέχονται, καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ὡς ἐκαστοὶ ἀπαλλάσσουσι, τὸ δὲ δὴ κοινὸν ἐξ ἀπαντὸς τρόπου φθείρουσιν. ἡ οὖν ὅρατε πόσον μὲν χρόνον κατατετρίμμεθα πολεμοῦντες ἀλλήλοις, ὅσα δὲ καὶ οία ἐν αὐτῷ πεπόνθαμεν, καὶ ὃ γε ἐτὶ ¹ τούτου δεισότερον ἐστὶ, καὶ δεδράκαμεν;

2 καὶ τίς ἄν ἀριθμηση ² δύνατο τὸ πλῆθος τῶν χρημάτων ἄ τοὺς τε συμμάχους περιδύνοντες καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς περισυλύοντες, καὶ προσέτι καὶ αὐτοὶ

1 καὶ ὃ γε ἐτὶ Bs., καὶ ὃ γε Bk., καίτοι τι L.  
2 ἀν ἀριθμηση Leunol., ἀνταριθμησαι L.
with fear? In this way, when men begin sedition and seek ever to repay violence with violence and inflict vengeance without regard to decency or humanity, but according to their desires and the power that arms give them, there necessarily occurs each time a kind of cycle of ills, and alternate requitals of outrages take place. For the fortunate side abounds in insolence and sets no limit to its greed, and the defeated side, if it does not perish immediately, rages at its misfortune and is eager to take vengeance on the oppressor, until it sates its wrath. And the remaining multitude, also, even though it has not taken sides, now through pity for the vanquished and envy of the victorious side coöperates with the oppressed, fearing that it may itself suffer the same evils as the one party, and hoping also that it may cause the same evils as the other. Thus the citizens who have remained neutral are brought into the dispute, and one class after another, on the pretext of avenging the side which is for the moment at a disadvantage, takes up the sorry business of reprisals as if it were a legitimate, everyday affair; and while individually they escape, they ruin the state in every way. Or do you not see how much time we have wasted in fighting one another, how many great evils we have meanwhile endured, and, what is worse than this, inflicted? And who could count the vast amount of money of which we have stripped our allies and robbed the gods and moreover have even contributed ourselves from what
3 δεδαπανήμεθα; τίς τὸ πλήθος τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀπολολώτων, οὐχ ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων, ἐπεὶ τούτῳ γ' ἀνεξεύρετον ἦστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἵππεων καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν, οὕτως ἐκαστός καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ἐν τοῖς θυνείοις πολέμωις σώσαι καὶ ξῶν καὶ ἀποθανόν ἔδωντο; πόσοι μὲν γὰρ Κούρτιοι, πόσοι δὲ Δέκιοι Φάβιοι Γράκχοι Μάρκελλοι Σκιτίωνες τεθνήκασιν; οὐ μᾶ Ἱδ' οὐχ ἵνα Σαυνίτας ἢ Δατίνους ἢ Ἰβηρας ἢ Καρχηδωνίους ἀμύνονται, ἀλλ' ἵνα ... καὶ αὐτοὶ προσαπόλωνται. 

5 καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς τετελευτηκότων, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἐκείνου ὁδύρατο ἃν τις, ἀλλ' ἤττον γι' ἀξίων ἐστίν ὀλοφύρασθαι· ἐς τε γάρ τὰς μάχας ἔθελονται, εὑρεθήσαται τοὺς ἀναγκασθέντας φόβῳ καλεῖν δεῖ, ἥλθον, καὶ θάνατον εἰ καὶ ἄδικον ἀλλὰ ἀνδρεῖον γι' ὑπέμειναν, ἐν τε ἄγονι ἱσοπαλεὶ καὶ ἐν ἐπιτίδι τοῦ κανεὶς περιγενέσθαι καὶ κρατήσατε ἐπέσον 2 ἀναισθήτως. τοὺς δὲ ἐν τε ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὅδοις τῇ τε ἀγορᾷ τῷ τε βουλευτηρίῳ αὐτῷ τῷ τῇ Καπιτωλίῳ αὐτῷ βιαίῳ, οὐχ ὅπως ἀνδραὶ ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκες, οὐχ ὅπως ἀκμάζοντας ἀλλὰ καὶ γέροντας καὶ παιδάς, οἰκτρῶς ἐξολωλότας πῶς ἂν τις κατ' ἄξιαν θρηνήσεως; 

7 καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα 3 οία καὶ ὅσα οὔτε αὐτοὶ ποτέ πρὸς πάντων ἁμα τῶν πολεμίων ἔπαθομεν οὔτε ἔκεινους ἐδράσαμεν, διατιθέντες ἀλλήλους οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἄχθομεθα, οὔδ' 4 ἀπαλλαγῆναι ποτὲ αὐτῶν ἀνδρικῶς ἔθελομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαίρομεν καὶ ἐορτάζομεν καὶ ἐνεργήτας τούς ποι- 

1 Lacunae recognized by Reim. 2 ἐπεσον Oddey, ἐπαιον L. 3 καὶ τοσαῦτα supplied by Bk. 4 οὔτ Rk., οὔτ' L.
we did not possess, only to expend it against one another? Or who could number the multitude of men who have been lost, not only of ordinary persons (for that is beyond computation) but of knights and senators, each one of whom was able in foreign wars to preserve the whole city by his life or by his death? How many Curtii, how many Decii, Fabii, Gracchi, Marcelli, and Scipios have been killed? And not, by Jupiter, to repel Samnites or Latins or Spaniards or Carthaginians, but [to kill citizens(?)] and to perish also themselves. As for those who have died under arms, no matter how much we may mourn their loss, yet there is less reason to lament in their case. For they entered their battles as volunteers (if it is proper to call by the name of volunteers men compelled by fear), and they met a death which, even if uncalled for, was at least a brave one; in an equal struggle and in the hope that they might really survive and conquer they fell without suffering. But how can one mourn as they deserve those who have perished miserably in their homes, in the streets, in the Forum, in the very senate-chamber, on the very Capitol, all by violence—not only men, but women, too, not only those in their prime, but also old men and children? And yet, while subjecting one another to so many and so terrible reprisals as all our enemies put together never inflicted upon us nor we upon them, so far from loathing such acts and manfully wishing to have done with them, we even rejoice and hold festivals.
8 οὖντας αὐτὰ ὄνομαξομεν· καίτοι ἐγὼγε οὐδ' ἀνθρωποιν’ τινα βίον ἡγούμαι τούτον ἡμᾶς βεβιοκεναι, ἀλλά τινων θηρίων, ἀ δι’ ἀλλήλων φθείρεται.

31 "Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἡδῆ συμβεβηκότα τί ἄν ἐτί πλέον ὀδυραίμεθα; οὐ γὰρ ποὺ καὶ ἀγένητα ἄν 1 αὐτὰ ποιησαίμεθα· τῶν δὲ δὴ μελλόντων προϊδώμεθα·

2 διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ ἐκείνων ἐμμημονεύσα, οὐχ ἵνα τὰς κοινὰς συμφορὰς, ἃς ἴνα μηδὲ γενέσθαι ὁφελε, καταλέξω, ἀλλὰ ἴν’ ὑμᾶς εξ αὐτῶν ἀναπείσω τὰ γοῦν λοιπὰ διασώσαι· τοῦτο γὰρ ἄν τις 2 μόνον τῶν κακῶν ἀπόναιτο, τὸ μηδὲν αὖθις ὁμοίων σφισι

3 παθεῖν φυλάξασθαι. ἔξεστι δὲ τοῦθ’ ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μάλιστα ποιῆσαι, ἐὼς ἐτί τὸ δεινὸν ἄρχεται· καὶ οὔτε πολλοὶ πω 3 συνεστήκασιν, ο’ τε κεκιμημένοι οὔτε πεπλεονεκτήκασιν ἀτ’ ἀλληλῶν οὔτ’ ἠλάττωται, ὡστ’ ἤ 4 ἐλπίδι τοῦ κρείττονος ἤ 5 ὀργὴ τοῦ καταδεστέρου καὶ παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον σφίσιν ἀπερισκέπτωσιν κινδυνεύσαι προ-

4 ἀχθῆναι. καὶ τούτο μέντοι τηλικοῦτο ὅν 6 κατ’ ὀρθώσετε μήτε πόνον τινὰ ποιῆσαντες μήτε κιν-

32 δυνεύσαντες, μὴ χρήματα ἀναλώσαντες, μὴ σφαγὰς ποιῆσαντες, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ἡγισάμενοι,

μὴ μυθισκακεῖν ἀλλήλοισ. εἰ γὰρ τό τινα καὶ ἡμάρτηται τισιν, ἀλλ’ οὔτε γε καίρος ἐστὶν οὔτε πολυπραγμονήσαι αὐτὰ οὔτε ἐξελέγξαι οὔτε τιμωρήσασθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ δικάζετε τισιν ἔν 7 τῷ παρόντι, ὡστε τὸ 8 πάνυ ἀκριβεῖς δίκαιον ζητηθῆναι δεῖν, ἀλλὰ βουλεύεσθε περὶ τῶν ἐνεστηκότων,

1 ἄν supplied by St.
2 ἄν tis supplied by Xyl.
3 πω Pflugk, που L.
4 ὡστ’ ἤ Rk., ὡς τῇ L.
5 ἤ supplied by Reim.
6 ὡν supplied by Pflugk.
7 ἐν Leuncl., ἄν ἐν L.
8 ὡστε τὸ Xyl., ὡς τότε L.
and term those who are guilty of them benefactors. Verily, I do not regard this life that we have been leading as human; it is rather that of wild beasts which are destroyed by one another.

"Yet why should we lament further what is already past? We cannot now prevent its having happened. Let us rather provide for the future. This, indeed, is the reason why I have been recalling former events, not for the purpose of giving a list of our public calamities (would to Heaven they had never occurred!) but that by means of them I might persuade you to save at least what is left. For this is the only benefit one can derive from evils, to guard against having ever again to suffer their like. And this is within your power especially at the present moment, while the danger is just beginning, while not many have yet united, and while those who have been stirred to action have gained no advantage over one another nor suffered any set-back, that they should be led by hope of their superiority or anger at their inferiority to incur danger heedlessly and contrary to their own interests. Great as this task is, however, you will deal with it successfully without incurring any hardship or danger, without spending money or causing bloodshed, but simply by voting this one thing, to bear no malice against one another. Even if mistakes have been made by certain persons, this is no time to enquire minutely into them, to convict, or to punish. For you are not at the present moment sitting in judgment upon any one, that you should need to search out with absolute accuracy what is just, but you are deliberating about the situation that has arisen and
2 ὅπως ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα καταστῇ. τούτο δὲ οὐκ ἂν ὑπάρξειν ἡμῖν, εἰ μὴ τὶ παρίδομεν, ὡσπερ που καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν παίδων ποιεῖν εἰώθαμεν. οὐτὲ γὰρ πάντα ἀκριβῶς ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ἐκλογιζόμεθα, καὶ πολλά καὶ παρορώμεν ἀναγκαίως τῶν γὰρ μετρίων ἀμαρτημάτων ἐνεκα οὐδέν’ ἀνηκέστως δεῖ.

3 κολάζειν, ἀλλὰ πρῶς σωφρονίζειν. καὶ νῦν οὖν, ἀτε καὶ κοινὸι παντὸς τοῦ δήμου πάτερες οὐ μόνον ὁνομαζόμενοι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀληθῶς ὄντες, μὴ καὶ πάντα ἀκριβολογόμεθα, ἔτει τοι πολλά μὲν ἂν τις καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐγκαλέσειν, ὡστε καὶ δικαίως αὐτὸν

4 πεφονεύσθαι δόξαι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀποκτείναντας αὐτὸν αὐτίσαντο, ὡστε καὶ τιμωρίας αὐτοὺς ἁξίους εἶναι νομισθῆναι. ἀλλὰ τούτο μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἔργον ἐστὶ στασιάσαι αὕθις ἐπιθυμοῦντων. δεὶ δὲ τοὺς ὀρθῶς βουλευομένους μὴ τὸ πάντη δίκαιον ἔξακριβοῦντας βλάπτεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ

5 ἐπιεικεὶ προσχρομένους σώζεσθαι. ὡστε τὰ μὲν γεγενημένα ταῦτα χαλάζῃς τέ τινος καὶ κατακλυσμοῦ τρόπον συμβεβηκέναι νομίζαντες λήθη παράδοτε γνωρίσαντες δὲ νῦν γε ἀλλήλους, ἀτε καὶ ὁμόφυλοι καὶ πολῖται συγγενεῖς τε ὄντες, ὀμονοὴσατε.

33 "Καὶ ὅπως γε μηδὲς ύμῶν ὑποπτεύσῃ με χαρίσασθαι τι τοῖς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀποκτείνασιν, μὴ μὴ δίκην δῶσιν, ὅτι ποτὲ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Πομπηίου μερίδι

2 ἐγενόμην, βούλεσθαι, ἐν τῷ ύμῖν ἐρώ. καὶ γὰρ τοι καὶ νομίζω πάντας ύμᾶς πεπείθοσαι σαφῶς ὅτι οὔτε φιλίαν οὔτε ἐχθραν πρὸς οὐδένα πῶποτε δι’ ἐμαυτῶν ἀνειλόμην, ἀλλ’ ἀεὶ πάντας ύμῶν ἐνεκα

1 οὐδέν’ Reim., οὐδέν L. 2 βούλεσθαι Lœunel., βούλεσθε L.
as to how it may in the safest way be righted. But this is something we cannot accomplish unless we overlook some things, as we are wont to do in the case of children. When dealing with them, now, we do not take careful account of everything, but of necessity overlook many things, since for moderate errors it is not right to punish one of them remorselessly, but rather to admonish him gently. And now, since we are in common the fathers of all the people, not in name only, but in reality, let us not enter into a discussion of all the fine points, lest we all perish. For that matter anybody could find much to blame in Caesar himself, so that he would seem to have been justly slain, or again might bring numerous charges against those who killed him, so that they would be thought to deserve punishment. But such a course is for men who are eager to stir up strife again, whereas it is necessary for those who deliberate wisely not to cause their own hurt by meting out strict justice, but to secure their own safety by employing clemency with justice. Regard this, then, that has happened as if it were some hail-storm or deluge that had taken place, and consign it to oblivion. And learn at last to know one another, since you are countrymen and fellow-citizens and relatives, and so live in harmony.

"In order, now, that none of you may suspect me of wishing to grant any indulgence to Caesar's slayers to prevent their paying the penalty, in view of the fact that I was once a member of Pompey's party, I will make one statement to you. For I think that all of you are firmly convinced that I have never adopted an attitude of friendship or hostility toward any one for purely personal
καὶ τῆς κοινῆς καὶ ἑλευθερίας καὶ ὁμονοίας τοὺς μὲν ἐμώσησα τοὺς δὲ ἡγάπησα. δι’ οὖν τοῦτο τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ εάσω, βραχὺ δὲ τι ύμῖν μόνον φράσω.
3 τοσοῦτον γὰρ δεὼ τὸ τότε ποιεῖν καὶ μὴ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας προσκοπεῖν, ὡστε καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις οὐχ ὅτι τὴν ἄδειαν ἀπάντων δὲν ἐπιτολάσατο ἐπὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐξω τοῦ καθεστηκότος ἐποίησαν δοθῆναι φήμη χρῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τιμᾶς καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς δωρεᾶς, ὡσα ἐλαβον παρ’ αὐτοῦ, καὶπερ ὃν ἀρεσκομενὸς τίσιν αὐτῶν, φυλαχθῆναι.
4 πρᾶξει μὲν γὰρ ἐτὶ καὶ προχειρίσασθαι τι τοιούτων οὐκ ἄν ύμῖν συμβουλευσάμεθα. ἐπειδὲ δὲ γέγονεν, οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνον οἷοι οὖν ἵνα πολυ- πραγμονῆσαι. τὰ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ζημιωθῇ τοσοῦτον, ἢν τί ὁ δεῖνα ἢ ο δεῖνα ἐξω τοῦ δικαίου καὶ παρά τὴν ἀξίαν λαβῶν ἐχῆ, ὡσον ὀφεληθῇ τῇ καὶ φόβου μῆτε ταραχὴν τοῖς γε δυνηθείσι τότε παρα- σχόντες;
5 “Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πρὸς τὸ κατεπείγον ἦδη λέγω· ἐπειδὰν δὲ καταστῇ τὰ πράγματα, τότε καὶ περὶ τῶν λουπῶν σκεψόμεθα.”
34 Κικέρων μὲν τοιαῦτα ἐπιτὼν ἔπεισε τὴν γερου- σίαν μηδένα μηδενι μνησικακήσαι ψηφίσασθαι· ἐν οϋ δὲ ταῦτ’ ἐγίγνετο, καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς ὑπέσχοντο τοῖς στρατιώταις μηδὲν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος
2 πραχθέντων καταλύσειν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δεινῶς αὐτῶς ἀγανακτοῦντας ἥσθοντο μὴ καὶ τῶν δο- θέντων σφίσιν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ στερηθῶσιν, ἐσπευσάν, πρὶν καὶ ὀτιοῦν τὴν βουλὴν διαγινώσκα, προκατα-

1 τούτῳ Bk., ταῦτα L.
2 ἐτί Bk., τι L.
3 τι supplied by Bk.
reasons, but that it was always for your sake and for the public freedom and harmony that I hated the one side and loved the other; for this reason I will pass over everything else and make merely one brief statement to you. So far, indeed, am I from acting in the way I have mentioned, instead of looking out for the public safety, that I affirm that the others, too, should not only be granted immunity for their high-handed acts, contrary to established law, in Caesar’s lifetime, but that they also should keep the honours, offices and gifts which they received from him, though I am not pleased with some of these. I should not, indeed, advise you to do or to grant anything further of the kind; but since it has been done, I think you ought not to be troubled overmuch about any of these matters, either. For what loss could you sustain, even if this man or that does hold something that he has obtained apart from justice and contrary to his deserts, so far-reaching as the benefits you would obtain by not causing fear or disturbance to the men who were formerly powerful.

“This is what I have to say for the present, in face of the pressing need. But when matters have become settled, let us then consider the questions that remain.”

Cicero by the foregoing speech persuaded the senate to vote that no one should bear malice against any one else. While this was being done, the assassins also promised the soldiers that they would not undo any of Caesar’s acts. For as soon as they perceived that the troops were very ill at ease for fear that they would be deprived of what he had given them, they made haste, before the senate reached any decision whatever, to get them on their
λαβεῖν αὐτοῦς, κὰκ τοῦτον τοὺς τε παρὸντας αὐτοῦ κάτω προκαλοῦντες ἐς ἐπήκουν διελέγοντο

3 σφισι τὰ προσήκοντα, καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄγορὰν γράμματα καταπέμποντες ἐπηγγέλλοντο μὴν ἀφαιρήσεσθαι μηδένα μηδὲν μὴν ἀλλὰς λυπήσειν, τὸ τε κύρος σύμπασι τοῖς πραχθέσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκβεβαιοῦν· καὶ ἐς τὴν ὁμόνοιαν αὐτοῦς προετρέποντο, ὁρκοῖς τοῖς μεγίστοις ἡ μὴν ἀφεν- δήσειν πάντα πιστούμενοι. ὃς οὐν καὶ τὰ τῇ Βουλῇ δόξαντα διηγγέλθη, οὕτε οἱ στρατιῶται τῷ Λέπιδῳ ἐπὶ προσέχον οὕτε ἐκεῖνοι δέος τι αὐτοῦ ἔσχον, ἀλλὰ ἐς τὰς καταλλαγάς, τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τὰ μάλιστα ἐνάγοντος σφας, καὶ παρὰ τὴν γνώμην

5 αὐτοῦ ὁρμησαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Λέπιδος πρόσχημα τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος τιμωρίαν ποιούμενος νεστέρων πραγμάτων ἐπεθύμη, καὶ ἀτε καὶ στρατεύματα ἔχουν τὴν τε δυναστείαν αὐτοῦ διαδέχεσθαι καὶ ἐν κράτει γενησέσθαι προσεδόκα, καὶ διὰ ταῦτ·

6 ἐπολεμοποίει. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος τὰ τε ἐκείνον τοιαῦθ᾽ ὅρων ὅντα, καὶ αὐτὸς μηδεμίαν ἵσχυν περιβεβλημένος, οὕτε τι ἐτόλμησε τότε γε νεοχμῶσαι, καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον ἦττηθῆναι τοῦ πλείονος, ἵνα μὴ μεί- Ἲων γένηται, προσανέπεισεν· συνέβησαν μὲν οὖν ἐφ᾽ οἷσπερ ἐψήφιστο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πρότερον οἱ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ὄντες κατέβησαν πρὶν τὸν τοῦ Λέπιδου καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου παῖδα ἐν ὁμῇρων λόγῳ λαβεὶν. καὶ Βροῦτος μὲν πρὸς τοὺν

7 Λέπιδου (καὶ γὰρ ἐν γένει αὐτῷ ἦν), Κάσσιος δὲ  

1 μὴν Pflugk, μην L. 
2 ἀφαιρήσεσθαι Pflugk, ἀφαιρεθήσεσθαι L. 
3 σύμπασι Xyl., σὺν πᾶσι L. 
4 προετρέποντο H. Steph., προετράποντο L. 
5 διαδέχεσθαι R. Steph., διαδέχασθαι L. 

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side. Next they invited those who were present at the foot of the Capitol to come within hearing distance and addressed suitable words to them; and they also sent down a letter to the Forum announcing that they would not confiscate anybody's goods or cause injury in other ways, and that they confirmed the validity of all the acts of Caesar. They also urged them to harmony, binding themselves by the strongest oaths that they would faithfully carry out these promises. When, therefore, the action of the senate also was made known, the soldiers no longer paid heed to Lepidus nor did the conspirators have any fear of him, but all hastened to become reconciled, chiefly at the instance of Antony, and quite contrary to Lepidus' purpose. For Lepidus, while making a pretence of avenging Caesar, was really eager for a revolution, and inasmuch as he had legions also at his command, he expected to succeed to Caesar's position as ruler and to come to power; with these motives he was disposed to begin war. Antony, perceiving his rival's favourable situation and having himself no force at his back, did not dare to begin any revolutionary movement for the time being, and in order to prevent the other from becoming stronger, he furthermore persuaded him to bow to the will of the majority. So they came to an agreement on the terms that had been voted, but those on the Capitol would not come down till they had secured the son of Lepidus and the son of Antony as hostages; then Brutus [descended] to Lepidus, to whom he was related, and Cassius to
πρὸς τὸν Ἐντώνιον ἐπὶ ἀσφαλεία... ... 1 συνδειπνοῦντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἄλλα τε, ὡσπερ εἰκὸς ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ, πολλὰ ἐλέγετο, καὶ ἐπήρετο τὸν Κάσσιον ὁ Ἐντώνιος "ἄρα γε καὶ ὑmination tι ὑπὸ μάλης ἕχεις;" καὶ ὁς "μάλα" ἐφη "μέγα, ἂν γε καὶ σὺ τυραννῆσαι ἐπιθυμήσῃ.

35 Τότε μὲν δὴ ταύθ' οὕτως ἐπράχθη, καὶ δεινὸν οὔδέν οὔτε ἐγίγνετο οὔτε ἦπτιζετο, ἀλλ' οἱ τε πολλοὶ ἔχαιρον τῆς δυναστείας τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπηλλαγμένου (καὶ τινὲς καὶ ἄταφον τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ρίψας ἑνενόυν), καὶ ἐκεῖνοι εὐθυμουῦντο μήτε προσπεριεργαζόμενοι τι καὶ ἐλευθεροταλ

2 τυραννοφόνοι τε ὁνομαζόμενοι. τῆς δὲ διαθήκης αὐτοῦ μετὰ ταύτα ἀναγνωσθεῖσα, μαθὼν ὁ δήμος ὅτι τὸν τε Ὁκτάουνον ύιὸν πεποίηται, καὶ τὸν Ἐντώνιον τὸν τε Δέκιον καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους τῶν σφαγέων ἐπιτρόπους τε αὐτοῦ καὶ κληρονόμους τῆς οὔσιας, ἀν γε μὴ ἐσ ἐκεῖνον ἐλθῇ, 4 καταλέλοιπε, καὶ προσέτε καὶ δωρεὰς ἄλλους τε τινὰς καὶ τῇ πόλει τοὺς τε κήπους τοὺς παρὰ τὸν Τίβεριν καὶ δραχμάς, ὡς μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ Ὁκτάουνος γράφει, τριακοντα, ὡς δὲ ἔτεροι, πέντε καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα ἐκάστῳ σφῶν δοθῆναι κεκέλευκεν, ἐταράχθησαν. 4 καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἐντώνιος ἐπιπαράγγειν, τὸν τε νεκρὸν ἐς τὴν ἀγορᾶν ἀνοητότατα 5 κομίσας, καὶ προθεμενος ἡματωμένον τε, ὡσπερ εἴχε, καὶ τραύματα ἐκφαίνοντα, καὶ τινὰ καὶ λόγον ἐπὶ αὐτῶ, ἄλλως μὲν 6 περικαλλή καὶ λαμπρόν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ

1 Lacuna recognized by Bs. 2 μάλης Xiph., μασχάλης L. 3 τῆς Bk., τῆς τε L. 4 ἐλθῇ Diind., ἐλθοί L. 5 Here begins Codex Marcianus 395 (M). 6 μὲν Pflügk, τε LM.
Antony, under promise of safety. And while they were dining together they naturally, at such a juncture, discussed a variety of topics and Antony asked Cassius: "Have you perchance a dagger under your arm even now?" To which he answered: "Yes, and a big one, if you too should desire to make yourself tyrant."

This was the way things went at that time. No injury was inflicted or expected, but instead the majority were glad to be rid of Caesar's rule, some of them even conceiving the idea of casting his body out unburied, and the conspirators, well pleased at being called liberators and tyrannicides, did not busy themselves with any further undertaking. But later, when Caesar's will was read and the people learned that he had adopted Octavius as his son and had left Antony along with Decimus and some of the other assassins to be the young man's guardians and heirs to the property in case it should not come to him, and, furthermore, that he not only had made various bequests to individuals but had also given his gardens along the Tiber to the city and one hundred and twenty sesterces, according to the record of Octavius himself, or three hundred, according to some others, to each of the citizens,—at this the people became excited. And Antony aroused them still more by bringing the body most inconsiderately into the Forum, exposing it all covered with blood as it was and with gaping wounds, and then delivering over it a speech, which was very
συμφέροντα τοῖς τότε παροῦσιν, εἶπόν. ἔλεγε γὰρ τοιάδε·

36 "Εἰ μὲν οὖτος ἰδιωτεύων ἐτεθυήκει κἀγὼ ἐν ἰδιωτείᾳ ὅν ἐτύγχανον, οὔτε ἀν πολλῶν, ὡς Κυρίται, λόγον ἐδεήθην, οὔτε ἂν πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπραγμένοις ἐπεξήλθον, ἀλλ' ὅλιγα ἂν περὶ τοῦ γένους καὶ περὶ τῆς παιδείας τῶν τε τρόπων αὐτοῦ εἰπόν, καὶ πη καὶ τῶν ἔστο κοινῶν αὐτῷ πεπολιτευμένων μημοθείς, ἦρκεσθην, ἵνα μὴ καὶ δι᾽ ὁχλον τοῖς οὐδὲν οἱ προσήκουσι γένωμαι.

2 ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὖτος τε τὴν μεγίστην ἐν ὦμίν ἲγεμονίαν ἔχων ἀπόλολε καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν δευτέραν ἄρχων λαβὼν, τὸν τε λόγον ἀνάγκη μοι διπλοῦν, τὸν μὲν ὡς κληρονόμῳ γεγραμμένῳ τὸν δὲ ὡς ἄρχοντι, ποησάσθαι, καὶ μηδ' ὅτι τῶν λεχθῆναι ὁφειλόντων παραλιπέσαι, ἀλλ' ἀπέρ ἄν ὁ σύμπας δήμος ἀπὸ μίας γλώσσης, εὑρεῖ μέναν

3 φωνήν ἤδυνήθη λαβεῖν, ὑμηθεῖν, εἰπεῖν. εὐ μὲν γὰρ οἴδα τοῦθ', ὅτι χαλεπόν ἐστὶ τῆς διανοίας ὦμόν τυχεῖν. ἄλλως τε γὰρ οὐ βάδον τῶν τηλικοῦτων ἐφικέσθαι: τᾶς γὰρ ἂν λόγος ἐργος μεγάλοις ἐξισωθεῖν; καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ βουλήματα ἀπλήστα ἔξ ὄν σύνιστε ἑχοντες οὐκ εὑχερεῖς

4 αὐτῶν κρυταί γενήσεσθε. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἀγνωσί τισιν οἱ λόγοι ἐγίγνοντο, ράστον ἂν ἦν αὐτοὺς τῷ γε 1 μεγέθει τῶν ἐργῶν ἐκπληξάντα πεῖσαίν. νῦν δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ συνήθους ἐλαττοῦν ἀνάγκη ἔστι 2 πάν τὸ λεχθησόμενον τοῦ πεπραγμένου νομισθήναι.

5 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀλλότριοι, καὶ ἀπιστήσωσιν αὐτοῖς διὰ φθόνον, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γε ἐκείνου πᾶν τὸ

1 γε Rk., τε LM.
2 ἀνάγκη ἔστι R. Steph., ἀναγκασθῆι LM.

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ornate and brilliant, to be sure, but out of place on that occasion. He spoke somewhat as follows:

"If this man had died as a private citizen, Quirites, and I had happened to be in private life, I should not have required many words nor have rehearsed all his achievements, but after making a few remarks about his family, his education, and his character, and perhaps mentioning his services to the state, I should have been satisfied, desiring only not to become wearisome to those who were unrelated to him. But since this man when he perished held the highest position among you and I have received and hold the second, it is requisite that I should deliver a two-fold address, one as the man set down as his heir and the other in my capacity as magistrate, and I must not omit anything that ought to be spoken, but must mention the things which the whole people would have celebrated with one tongue if they could speak with one voice. Now I am well aware that it is difficult successfully to utter your thoughts; for it is no easy task in any case to measure up to so great a theme—indeed, what speech could equal the greatness of his deeds?—and you, whose wishes are not easily satisfied because you know the facts as well as I, will prove no lenient judges of my efforts. To be sure, if my words were being addressed to men ignorant of the subject, it would be very easy to win their approval by astounding them by the very magnitude of his achievements; but as the matter stands, because of your familiarity with them it is inevitable that everything that shall be said will be thought less than the reality. Strangers, even if through jealousy they doubt the deeds, yet for that very reason deem each
Διώνουσθεν αὐταρκῆς ἡγοῦνται: τὸ δὲ ύμέτερον ἀκόρεστον ὑπὸ τῆς εὐνοίας ἐξ ἀνάγκης γίγνεται. τῶν γὰρ ἀρετῶν τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ πλείστον ἀπολελαυκότες καὶ τὸν ἐπαινοῦν αὐτῶν οὐ φθονερῶς, ὡς οὖν δὲν προσήκοντα, ἀλλὰ εὔμενῶς, ὅς οἰκεῖον ἀπαίτειτε. σπουδᾶσω δ' οὖν ἐπὶ μακρότατον τὰς βουλήσεις ὦμῶν ἀποπληρώσαι, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι ὑπὸ τὴν δύναμιν μου τῶν λόγων καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐξετάσετε, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῆς προθυμίας καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐκείνην ἐνδεές ἀνισώσετε. 1

37 "Δέξω δὲ περὶ τού γένους αὐτοῦ πρώτον, οὐχ ὅτι λαμπρότατον ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦτο οὐ σμικρὸν ἐς ἀρετῆς φύσιν φέρει, τὸ μῆτε ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου τινά ἀλλ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς συγγενοῦσ
2 ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐξ εὐγενῶν φύντες δύναντο μὲν ἂν καὶ προσποιητῶς ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι, δύναντο δ' ἂν καὶ ἐλεγχθῆναί ποτε ἐς τὸ κακογενεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ συμφύτου. ὅσος δὲ ἀνωθὲν ἐκ πολλοῦ σπέρμα ἀνδραγαθίας υπάρχει, πάσα αὐτοῦς ἀνάγκη καὶ αὐτόφυτον καὶ
3 διαρκῆ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχειν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐγγις οὐ τοῦτο μάλιστα νῦν ἐπαινὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅτι τὰ μὲν νεώτατα ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ γενναῖων ἀνδρῶν ἐφι, τὰ δὲ ἀρχαιότατα ἐκ βασιλέων καὶ θεῶν ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν ὀλγης συγγενῆς ἑστὶν (ἐκ γὰρ ὅν οὕτος ἐγεννήθη, πρὸς
4 τούτων ἡμεῖς φύλισθημεν), ἔπειθ' ὅτι τῶν προπατόρων αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ θείον δ' ἀρετὴν ἀνήκειν νομισθέντων οὐχ ὅπως ἐπηλήθευσε τὴν

370 1 ἀνισώσετε Dind., ἀνασώσετε LM.
statement they hear strong enough; but your minds, because of your good-will, must inevitably prove impossible to satisfy. For you yourselves have profited most by Caesar’s virtues, and you demand their praises, not half-heartedly, as if he were unrelated to you, but with deep affection as for your own kinsman. I shall strive, therefore, to meet your wishes to the fullest extent, and I feel sure that you will not judge my good-will by the feebleness of my words, but will supply from my zeal whatever is lacking in that respect.

"I shall speak first about his lineage, though not because it is the most brilliant. Yet this, too, has considerable bearing on the nature of virtue, that a man should become good, not through force of circumstances, but by inherited power. Those, to be sure, who are not born of noble parents may disguise themselves as noble men, but may also some day be convicted of their base origin by their inborn character; those, however, who possess the seed of a noble nature, handed down through a long line of ancestors, cannot possibly help possessing a virtue both spontaneous and enduring. Still, I am praising Caesar now, not so much because his recent lineage is through many noble men, his ancient origin from kings and gods, but because, in the first place, he is a kinsman of our whole city,—for those who founded his line also founded our city,—and, secondly, because he not only confirmed the renown of his forefathers who were believed to have attained divinity through their virtue, but
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φήμην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπηύξησει, ὡστ' εἰ καὶ τις ἡμιφεσβήτηε 1 πρότερον μῆποτ' ἀν ἐκ τῆς Ἀφροδι- 
της τὸν Αἰνείαν γενέσθαι, νῦν δὴ πιστευσάτω.

5 θεοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἤδη τινὲς οὐκ ἄξιοι παίδες ἐπεφημίσθησαν τούτου δὲ οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ἀπαξ- 
ιώσειεν θεοὺς τοὺς προγόνους γεγονέναι. ἔβασιλευε μὲν γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Αἰνείας καὶ τῶν 
ἔγγονων αὐτοῦ τινές ποσοῦτῳ δὲ οὕτως ἀμείων ἐκεῖνων ἐγένετο ὅσω οἱ μὲν Λαονίνιον 2 καὶ 

6 Ἀλβης ἐμονάρχησαν, οὕτως δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης οὐκ ἰθέλησε βασιλεῦσαι, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν κρηπίδα τῆς 
pόλεως ἡμῶν προκατεβάλοντο, οὕτως δὲ ἐς τοσούτων αὐτὴν ἐπῆρεν ὡστε τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ 
ἀποκίνησε μείζους ὅν ἐκεῖνοι πόλεως ἔβασιλευον καταστήσασθαι.

38 "Τὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ γένους οὕτως αὐτὸ ἔχειν ὅτι δὲ 

δὴ τὴν τε τροφὴν καὶ τὴν παιδείαν ἀκόλουθον τῷ 
tῆς εὐγενείας ὅγκω ἔλαβεν, πῶς ἂν τις μᾶλλον 
kατανοήσειεν ἢ οὐ τὰ ἔργα πίστιν ἀναγκαίαν 

2 αὐτῷ παρέχεται; ὃ γὰρ τὸ τε σῶμα διαρκέστατον 

καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ πολυαρκεστάτη πρὸς πάνθ' ὁμοίωσ 
kαὶ τὰ εἰρηναία καὶ τὰ πολέμια διαφανῶς 

3 ὑπῆρξε, πῶς οὐκ ἀνάγκη τούτων καὶ τεθράφθαι 

ἀριστα; καὶ τοῦ χαλεπῶν μὲν περικαλλέστατον 

τινὰ ἀνδρῶν οὔτα καρτερικώτατον γενέσθαι, 

3 χαλεπῶν δὲ ἱσχυριζόμενον τινὰ 

τὼ σώματι 

φρονιμότατον ἐκβηήναι, παγχάλεπου δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν 

καὶ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις διαπρέψαι. 

οὕτως γε 4 μὴν — λέγω δὲ ἐν εἰδόσιν, ὡστε μήτε 

1 ἡμιφεσβήτει Bs., ἡμιφεσβήτει LM.

2 Λαονίνιον BK., λαβίνιον LM. 3 διαφανῶς Reim., διαφανὲς LM.

4 τεθράφθαι St., τετράφθαι LM.

5 τινὰ Rk., τί LM. 6 γε R. Steph., τε LM.

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actually enhanced it; so that if anyone was inclined formerly to argue that Aeneas could never have been born of Venus, let him now believe it. For, although in times past some unworthy sons have been imputed to the gods, yet no one could deem this man unworthy to have had gods for his ancestors. Indeed, Aeneas himself ruled as king and so did some of his descendants; but this man proved himself so much superior to them that, whereas they were monarchs of Lavinium and Alba, he refused to become king of Rome; and whereas they laid the foundation of our city, he raised it to such a height that he even established colonies greater than the cities over which they ruled.

“So much, then, for his family. That he also received a nurture and a training corresponding to the dignity of his noble birth how could one better realize than by the cogent proof his deeds afford? For is it not inevitable that a man who possessed to a conspicuous degree a body that was altogether adequate and a spirit that was more than adequate for all contingencies alike of peace and of war, must have been reared in the best possible way? And yet it is difficult for any man of surpassing beauty to show the greatest endurance, and difficult for one who is powerful in body to attain to the greatest wisdom, but it is particularly difficult for one and the same man to shine both in words and in deeds. Yet this man—I speak among those who know the
ti ἀρχήν ψεύσασθαι, καὶ γὰρ ἂν αὐτὸφωρός ἀλισκοίμην, μήτε ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον ὅγκωσαι, καὶ γὰρ ἢν ἢς τούναντίον οὗ Βούλομαι καθισταίμην.

4 αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἀλαζονεύσθαι δικαιότατα, ἀν γέ τι τοιύτο ποιήσω, ὑποπτευθήσομαι, καὶ τὴν τούτον ἀρέτην ἐλάσσω τῇ ὑπαρχοῦσιν αὐτῷ παρ' ὑμῖν δόξης φαίνεσθαι ποιεῖν νόμισθήσομαι.

5 ἐχει' τὸ γὰρ συνειδὸς τῶν ἀκροσομένων, οὐχ ὁμολογοῦν τῷ πεπλασμένῳ, πρὸς τε τὴν ἀλήθειαν φέρεται, καὶ τάχα ἀρκεσθὲν αὐτῇ μανθάνει τε ἀμα ὀποίον τινα ἔχρην εἶναι, καὶ παραβάλλον ἔκατερα καταφωρᾶ τὸ λείπον. ἀλήθευων οὖν λέγω τοῦθ', ὅτι ὁ Καίσαρ ὁ πότε τὸ τε σῶμα ἀμα ἱκανώτατος καὶ τὴν θυσίν εὐκολώτατος ἐγένετο. τῇ τε γὰρ τῆς φύσεως ἰσχὺν ἐλαμβαντικὴ ἐκέχρητο, καὶ παϊδεία παντόδαπῃ ἀκριβῶς ἐσκήνη, καὶ διὰ τούτο οὐκ ἀπεικότως καὶ γνώναι πᾶν τὸ δέον ἐξύτατα καὶ ἐρμηνεύσαι πιθανώτατα διάθεσαι τε καὶ διοικῆ- 

7 σασα διέλαθα.5 πάντα γὰρ ἂει πρὶν ἐπαρτη-

1 ᾧ supplied by Pflugk.
2 Βούλομαι V, Βουλεύομαι LM.
3 τοιύτο R. Steph., τούτο LM.
4 τὸ βραχύτατον ψεύδος Bk., τὸ βραχὺ τὸ ψεῦδος LM.
5 διέλαθη Rk., διελάθητο LM cod. Peir.
6 ἐπαρτήθηναι Rk., ἐπαρτήθηναι L.
7 τῶν L (and M by cor.), τὶ cod. Peir. (and M originally).
facts, so that I shall not falsify in the least degree, since I should be caught in the very act, nor heap up exaggerated praises, since then I should accomplish the opposite of what I wish. For if I do anything of that sort, I shall be suspected with full justice of boasting, and it will be thought that I am making his virtue appear less than the belief in it which is already in your own minds. In fact, every utterance delivered under such conditions, in case it contains even the smallest amount of falsehood, not only bestows no praise upon its subject but actually involves censure of him; for the knowledge of the hearers, not agreeing with the fictitious report, takes refuge in the truth, where it quickly finds satisfaction, and not only learns what kind of man he ought to have been, but also, by comparing the two, detects what he lacked. Stating only the truth, therefore, I affirm that this Caesar was at the same time most capable in body and most versatile in spirit. For he enjoyed a wonderful natural force and had been carefully trained by the most liberal education, which always enabled him, not unnaturally, to comprehend everything that was needful with the greatest keenness, to interpret the need most convincingly, and then to arrange and handle the matter most prudently. No critical turn in a situation came upon him so suddenly as to catch him off his guard, nor did a secret menace, no matter how long the postponement, escape his notice. For he decided always with regard to every crisis before it was at hand, and was prepared beforehand for every contingency that could happen to one. He
te cruptōmenov ἵσχυρῶς ἀνευρεῖν καὶ τὸ φαινόμενον πιθανός ψευδαγγυνεῖν, τὸ τε λανθάνον¹ εἶδέναι προσποιήσασθαι καὶ τὸ γνωσκόμενον ἀποκρύψασθαι, τοὺς τε καιροὺς σφισιν ἔφαρμόσαι καὶ τοὺς λογισμούς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπιτελέσαι καὶ ἐπεξελθεῖν πάνθ᾽ ὡς ἔκαστα καλῶς ἥπιστατο.

39 τεκμήριον δὲ, τά τε ἱδία εὐνοικότατός τε ἁμα καὶ εὐδαπανώτατος ἐγένετο, ἀκριβῆς μὲν ὡς ἐς τὸ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα διαρκῶς φυλάξαι, δαψίλης δὲ ἐς τὰ τὰ προσήκοντα ἀφειδῶς ἀναλώσαι, καὶ τοὺς συγγελεῖς πάντας πλὴν τῶν ἀνοσιωτάτων

2 ἵσχυρῶς ἡγάπησεν. οὗτε γὰρ δυστυχήσαντά τινα αὐτῶν ὑπερείδεν οὗτε εὐτυχήσαντί τινι ἐφθόνησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτοις τὰ προὔπαρχοντα συνεπηξῆσε καὶ ἐκείνοις τὰ ἐπελήρωσε, τοῖς μὲν χρήματα τοῖς δὲ χωρία τοῖς δὲ ἀρχάς

3 τοῖς δὲ ἱερωσύνας δούς. καὶ μέντοι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους τοὺς τὰ ἄλλους τοὺς προσομιλοῦντάς οἱ θαυμαστῶς προσεφέρετο. οὗτε γὰρ ὑπερεφρόνει τινά αὐτῶν οὔθ᾽ ὑβρίζειν, ἀλλὰ εὐπροσήγορος πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ὧν τοὺς τὰ ὑποργοῦντάς τι πολλαπλασίως ἡμείβετο καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς εὐνεγεσίας ἀνηρτάτο, καὶ οὔτε λαμπρυνόμενον τινα. ἐβάσκηνε ποτε οὕτω αὐξανόμενον ἔταπει

4 νωσει, ἀλλὰ ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ πάντων σφῶν καὶ μεγαλυνόμενος καὶ ἱσχὺν καὶ κόσμον προσκτώμενος, ἐχαίρε πλείστους ἐαυτῷ παρισουμένους. τοιούτοις μέντοι περὶ τοὺς φίλους καὶ περὶ τοὺς γνωρίμους ὧν οὔδ᾽ ἐς τοὺς ἔχθρους ὦμος οὖδ᾽

¹ Λανθάνον Leuncl., Λανθάνειν LM cod. Peir.
understood well how to discern shrewdly what was concealed, to dissimulate plausibly what was evident, to pretend to know what was hidden, to conceal what he knew, to adapt occasions to one another and to draw the proper inferences from them, and furthermore to accomplish and carry out in detail every enterprise. A proof of this is that in his private affairs he showed himself an excellent manager and very liberal at the same time, being careful to keep enough of what he had inherited, yet lavish in spending with an unsparing hand what he had acquired, and for all his relatives, except the most impious, he possessed a strong affection. For he did not neglect any of them in misfortune, nor did he envy those in good fortune, but he helped these to increase the property they already had, and made up to the others what they lacked, giving some of them money, some lands, some offices, and some priesthoods. Again, his conduct toward his friends and other associates was remarkable. He never scorned or insulted any of them, but while courteous to all alike, he rewarded many times over those who assisted him in any project and won the devotion of the rest by benefits, never disparaging any one of brilliant position, nor humiliating any one who was bettering himself, but, just as if he himself were being exalted through all of them and were acquiring strength and honour, he took delight in seeing great numbers become equal to himself. And yet, while he behaved thus toward his friends and acquaintances, he did not show himself cruel or
aparantitios ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς μὲν καὶ τῶν ἰδία τι προσκρουσάντων οἵ ἄθροισις ἄφηκε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν προσπολεμησάντων ἀπέλυσε, καὶ τισιν αὐτῶν καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ἀρχὰς ἔδωκεν. οὕτω ποὺ πάν πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐπεφύκει, καὶ κακίαν οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς οὐκ εἶχεν ἄλλο οὔδε ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἐνείναι ἐπίστευεν.

40 "Εσεῖ δὲ ἐς τούτους τοὺς λόγους ἀφικόμην, ἀρξομαί περὶ τῶν κοινῶν αὐτοῦ πολιτεμμάτων λέγειν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ἐβεβίωκει, τάχ' ἀν ἀνέλεγκτον τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐσχεν. νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ πλείστον αὐξηθείς, καὶ μέγιστος οὐχ ὅτι τῶν καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων τῶν τι δυνηθέντων γενόμενος, ἐκπρεπέστερον αὐτὴν ἐπεδείξατο. ἐκεῖνοις μὲν γὰρ σχεδὸν τι πάντας αὐτὴ ἡ ἡξουσία διήλεγξε, τούτων δὲ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἐξέφηνε. τὸ γὰρ μεγέθει τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντιπάλους πράξεις λαβῶν ἰσοστάσιοι αὐταῖς ἡὐρέθη, καὶ μόνος ἀνθρώπων τηλικαύτην αὐτῷ τύχην ἢ ἀνδραγαθίας κτησάμενος οὔτε διέβαλεν αὐτὴν οὖθ' ὑβρίσεν. όσα μὲν οὖν ἄλλως στρατευόμενος ἐλαμπρύνετο, ἢ όσα ἐν ταῖς ἑγκυκλίοις λειτουργίαις ἐμεγαλοφρονήσατο, παραλείψω, καὶ περὶ τοσαύτα ὅντα ὅστ' ἄλλῳ τινὶ καὶ πάνυ ἄν ἐς ἐπαίνον ἐξάρκεσαι. πρὸς γὰρ τοι τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ ἐργῶν σμικρολογεῖσθαι δόξω, ἢν καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἄκριβῶς ἐπεξίωκεν ὅσα δὲ δὴ ἄρχων ὑμῶν ἐπιτραξε, ταῦτ' ἀρικόμην R. Steph., ἀφικόμαι LM cod. Peir.

2 τάχ' ἀν ἀνέλεγκτον L, τάχ' ἀν ἀνανέλεγκτον M, τάχα ἀνέλεγκτον cod. Peir.

3 ἐπεδείξατο Bk., ἐπεδείξατο LM cod. Peir.

inexorable even to his enemies, but let off scot-free many of those who had come into collision with him personally and released many who had actually made war against him, even giving some of them honours and offices. So strong a natural bent had he toward virtue, and not only had no vice himself, but would not believe that it existed in anybody else.

"And since I have reached this topic, I will begin to speak about his public services. If he had lived in quiet retirement, perhaps his virtue would not have been clearly proved; but as it was, by being raised to the highest position and becoming the greatest not only of his contemporaries but of all others who ever wielded any power, he displayed it more conspicuously. For in the case of nearly all the others this authority had served only to reveal their weakness, but him it made more illustrious, since by reason of the greatness of his virtue he undertook correspondingly great deeds, and was found to be equal to them; he alone of men after obtaining for himself so great good fortune as a result of his nobility of character neither disgraced it nor treated it wantonly. I shall pass over, then, the brilliant successes which he regularly achieved in his campaigns and the high-mindedness he showed in his ordinary public services, although they were so great that for any other man they would warrant high praise; for, in view of the distinction of his subsequent deeds, I shall seem to be dealing in trivialities, if I also rehearse these scrupulously. I shall therefore only mention his achievements
4 ἔρω μόνα. καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτα μέντοι πάντα καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἀκριβῶς διηγήσομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐξικεῖσθαι ποτ’ ἀν αὐτῶν δυνηθεὶν, καὶ πάμπολυν ἄν ύμιν ὀχλον ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰδόσι ταύτα παράσχομι.

41 “Ὁ γὰρ ἀνήρ οὕτως πρῶτον μὲν πάντων στρατηγήσας ἐν Ἰβριμία, καὶ ὑπομόνα αὐτὴν εὐρών, οὐ περειδεῖ σφας ὧτ’ τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης ὑνώματι ἀναταχωνίστους γιγνομένους, οὐδ’ εἰλετο αὐτὸς ἣν ὑσυχία τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνον διαγενεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ κοινῆ συμφέροντα πράξαι, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδῆπερ ἐκόντες οὐ μετεμέλοντο, καὶ ἀκούτας σφας ἐσώθησεν, ὡστε καὶ τοὺς πρῶτον ποτὲ εὐδοκιμησάντας καὶ’ αὐτῶν τοσοῦτον ὑπερβαλέσθαι ὅσον τὸ φυλάξαι τὶ τοῦ κτήσασθαι χαλεπώτερον ἔστι, καὶ τὸ μηδ’ αὐθίς ποτὲ νεωτέρισαι τινὰς δυνηθήναι ἐξεργάσασθαι τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς υπηκόους αὐτοὺς, ἀκεραίως τῆς δυνάμεως σφισιν οὕσης, ποιησάσαις λυσιτελέστερον. τοιγάρτοι καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτῷ διὰ τούτ’ ἐψηφίσασθε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ὑπατον εὐθὺς ἐδόκατε. ἐξ οὗ δὴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα διεφάνη τοῦθ’, ὅτι οὔτε ἐπιθυμίας οὔτε εὐκλείας οἰκείας ἔνεκα τὸν τε πόλεμον ἑκείνου ἐποιήσατο καὶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ παρεσκευάζετο.

42 “Καὶ ὅσα μὲν παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει διώκησεν, ἢ μυρίᾳ ἄν εἰς λέγειν’ ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐκ τε ἑκείνης ἐξῆλθε καὶ πρὸς τὸν Γαλα-

1 αὐτὸς R. Steph., αὐτὸ LM cod. Peir.
2 γοῦν Bk., οὖν LM cod. Peir.
3 πέμψιν R. Steph., μέμψιν LM cod. Peir.

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while he was your magistrate. Yet I shall not even relate all these with scrupulous detail, for I could never get to the end of them, and I should cause you excessive weariness, particularly since you already know them.

"First of all, then, this man was praetor in Spain, and finding it secretly disloyal, did not allow the inhabitants under the name of peace to become unconquerable, nor was it his own choice to spend the period of his governorship in quiet instead of accomplishing what was for the advantage of the state. Hence, since they would not willingly change their course, he brought them to their senses against their will, and in doing this he surpassed the men who had previously won glory against them in just so far as keeping a thing is more difficult than acquiring it, and reducing men to a condition where they can never again become rebellious is more profitable than making them subject in the first place, while their power is still undiminished. That is the reason why you voted him a triumph for this and immediately gave him the office of consul. Indeed, from this very circumstance it became most evident that he had waged that war, not for his own pleasure or glory, but as a preparation for the future. At all events he waived the celebration of the triumph because of the business that was pressing, and after thanking you for the honour he was content with that alone for his glory, and entered upon the consulship.

"Now all his administrative acts in the city during his tenure of that office would verily be countless to name. But as soon as he had ended it and had been
τικόν πόλεμον ἐστάλη, θεωρήσατε ὡςα αὖ καὶ
2 ἡλίκα ἐνταῦθα κατειργάσατο. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ
συμμάχους οὐχ ὅπως βαρὺς ἔγενετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ
προσεβοήθησεν, ἐπειδὴ μὴτε τι αὐτοὺς ὑπώπτευσε
καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀδικουμένους εἰδε· τοὺς δὲ δὴ
πολεμίους, οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς προσοικοῦντας αὐτοῖς
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας τοὺς τὴν Γαλατίαν
νέμοντας, κατεστρέψατο, καὶ τούτο μὲν χώραν
παμπληθῇ τούτο δὲ καὶ πόλεις ἀναριθμήτους,
ὅν οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα πρότερον ἤδειμεν, προσεκτή-
σατο. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα, μήτε δύναμιν
ἀξιόχρεων μὴτε 1 χρήματα αὐτάρκη παρ' ὑμῶν
λαβὼν, οὕτω μὲν ταχέως κατέπραξεν ὡστε καὶ
πρὶν αὐθέσθαι τινὰ ὑμῶν ὅτι πολεμεῖνευκικηκέναι,
οὕτω δὲ ἀσφαλῶς κατεστήσατο ὡστε 2 καὶ ἐπι-
βατὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν καὶ τὴν
4 Βρεττανίαν πονήσατ. καὶ ὑνὶ δεδούλωται μὲν
Γαλατία ἡ τούς τε Ἀμβρωνάς 3 καὶ τοὺς Κλύβρους
ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀποστείλασα, καὶ γεωργεῖται πάσα
ὡσπερ αὐτῇ ἡ Ἰταλία, πλεῖσται δὲ οὐ 'Ροδανὸς
ἐτὶ μόνος οὐδ' Ἄραρις, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μόσας καὶ
Δίγρος καὶ Ῥῆνος αὐτὸς καὶ ὁκεανὸς αὐτὸς.
5 ὃν γὰρ οὐδὲ τὰς ἐπικλήσεις ἀκούντες ἐπιστεύο-
μεν αὐτὰ εἰναι, ταῦθ' ἡμῖν προσκατείργασατι,
ἐμβατὰ μὲν τὰ πρὶν ἁγνώστα, πλωτὰ δὲ τὰ πρὶν
ἀδιερεύνητα ἀπὸ τε τῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας καὶ ἀπὸ
43 τῆς μεγαλογνωμοσύνης πονήσας. καὶ εἴγε μὴ
φθονήσαντες αὐτῷ τίνες, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑμῖν, ἑστασιά-

1 μὴτε St., μηδὲ LM cod. Peir.
2 ὡστε cod. Peir., καὶ ὡστε LM.
3 Ἀμβρωνας LM, ἄμβρωνας cod. Peir.
sent to conduct this war against the Gauls, observe how many and how great were his achievements there. So far from becoming a burden to our allies, he even went to their assistance, because he was not at all suspicious of them and saw, moreover, that they were being wronged. But our foes, both those who dwelt near the friendly tribes, and all the rest who inhabited Gaul, he subjugated, acquiring, on the one hand, vast stretches of territory, and on the other, numberless cities of which we knew not even the names before. All this, moreover, he accomplished so quickly, though he had received neither a competent force nor sufficient money from you, that before any of you knew that he was at war, he had conquered; and he settled affairs on so firm a basis as to make these places stepping-stones to Germany and to Britain. So now Gaul is enslaved, which sent against us the Ambrones and the Cimbri, and is all under cultivation like Italy itself; and ships sail not only the Rhone and the Arar, but the Mosa, the Liger, the very Rhine, and very ocean itself. Places of which we had not even heard the names, to lead us to think that they existed, he likewise subdued for us; the formerly unknown he made accessible, the formerly unexplored he made navigable, by the greatness of his purpose and the greatness of his resolution. And had not certain persons in their envy of him, or rather of you, begun a revolt and
κεσαν, καὶ δεύρο αὐτὸν πρὸ τοῦ προσήκοντος καιροῦ ἐπανελθεὶν Ἦναγκάκεσαν,1 πάντως ἄν καὶ τὴν Βρεττανίαν ὀλίγη μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων νῆσων τῶν περικειμένων2 αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν πάσαν μέχρι τοῦ ἀρκτικοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ἐκεχειρωτό, ὡσθ᾽ ἡμᾶς ὄροις μὴ γῆν μηδ’ ἀνθρώπους το λοιπὸν, ἄλλα ἀέρα καὶ τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν ἔχειν. διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ ύμεῖς, ὅρωντες τὸ τε μέγεθος τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὴν τύχην, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἄρξαι αὐτῷ προσετάξατε· ὡπερ, ἀφ’ οὐ εἴδημοκρατήθημεν, οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ὑπηρέξε, λέγω δὲ τὸ ὅκτω ἑτεσίῳ ὀλοις ἐφεξῆς ἥγεμονεύσαι. οὕτως αὐτὸν πάντα ἐκεῖνα υἱῶν ὄντως προσκτάσθαι ἐνομίσατε, καὶ οὐδέπώποτε ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς αὐξηθήσεθαι ὑπωπτεύσατε.

3 "Ἀλλὰ ύμεῖς μὲν ἔπι μακρότατον αὐτὸν ἐγχρονίσαι τοῖς χωρίοις ἐκεῖνοι ἑπεθυμήσατε· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἑπέτρεψαν οἱ τὴν πολιτείαν μηκέτι κοίνην ἄλλη ἰδίαν αὐτῶν3 νουμίζοντες εἶναι οὔτε τοῦτῳ τὰ λοιπὰ προσκταστρέψασθαι οὐθ’ υἱῶν πάντων αὐτῶν κυριεύσαι, ἄλλα τῇ ἁσχολίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀποχρησάμενοι πολλὰ καὶ4 ἀνόσια ἐτόλμησαν, ὡσθ’ υμᾶς5 τῆς παρ’ αὐτῶν βοθείας δεηθῆναι. καὶ διὰ τούτο καταλυτὼν τὰ προκειμένα ταχέως υἱῶν ἐπεκουρήσε, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐκ τῶν ἐπαρτηθέντων αὐτῇ κινδύνων ἠλευθέρωσε, καὶ προσέτι τὴν τε Ἰβηρίαν ἄλλο-

1 Ἦναγκάκεσαν Bk., Ἦναγκασαν LM.
2 περικειμένων M cod. Peir., προκειμένων L.
3 αὐτῶν Reim., αὐτῶν Rk., αὐτὴν LM cod. Peir.
4 πολλὰ καὶ Bk., καὶ πολλὰ LM cod. Peir.
forced him to return here before the proper time, he would certainly have subdued all Britain together with the other islands which surround it and all Germany to the Arctic Ocean, so that we should have had as our boundaries for the future, not land or people, but the air and the outer sea. For these reasons you also, beholding the greatness of his purpose, his deeds, and his good fortune, assigned him the right to hold office for a very long period,—a privilege which, from the time that we became a republic, no other man has enjoyed,—I mean holding the command during eight\(^1\) whole years in succession. So fully did you believe that it was really for your sake he was making all these conquests and so far were you from ever suspecting that he would grow powerful to your hurt.

"Nay, you desired that he should tarry in those regions as long as possible. He was prevented, however, by those who regarded the government as belonging no longer to the public but as their own private property, from subjugating the remaining countries, and you were kept from becoming masters of them all; for these men, making an evil use of the opportunity afforded by his being occupied, ventured upon many impious projects, so that you came to require his aid. Therefore, abandoning the victories within his grasp, he quickly came to your assistance, freed all Italy from the dangers which threatened it, and furthermore won back Spain, which was being estranged. Then,

\(^1\) See xxxix. 33 and note.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τριομένην ἐκομίσατο, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τὴν τε
πατρίδα καταλιπόντα καὶ βασιλείαν ἵδιαν ἐν
2 Μακεδονία κατασκευάζοντα, καὶ ἐκεῖσε πάντα
τὰ ύμέτερα ἀγαθὰ μεταφέροντα, τοὺς τε ὑπηκόους
ὑμῶν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς συσκευαζόμενον καὶ τοὺς χρήμασιν
ὑμῶν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς χρώμενον ἵδιον τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
πείσαί πως ἠθέλησε, καὶ ἱδία καὶ κοινὴ προσ-
pέμπων, παύσασθαι 1 καὶ μεταθέσθαι, πίστεως
λαβόντα μεγίστας ἢ μὴν ἐν τοῖς ἱσοῖς καὶ ὁμοίοις 2
3 αὕτης αὐτοῦ γενήσεσθαι: ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδένα τρόπον
ἡδυνήθη τοῦτο πούρσαι, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος τά τε ἄλλα
καὶ τὴν συγγένειαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα αὐτῷ
ὑπάρξασαν ὑπερβᾶς ἀντιπολεμεῖν ὑμῖν εἴλετο,
οὕτω δὴ καταναγκασθεὶς τοῦ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου
προσάψασθαι τί μὲν δεῖ λέγειν 3 ὡς ευτόλμως ἐπ' 4
αὐτὸν, καὶ περ ἥμινδὸν ὁντος, ἐπλέυσε, τί δὲ ὡς
ἐυθαρσὸς αὐτῷ, καὶ τοι πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖ χωρία
ἐχοντι, συνέμιξε, τί δὲ ὡς ἀνδρικῶς αὐτοῦ, καὶ κρεὶ
πολὺ τῷ πλῆθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔλαττούμενος,
ἐκράτησεν; ἂν γὰρ τις καθ' ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν
ἐπεξελθεῖν εὐθελίσῃ, πάϊδα ἄν ἀποδείξει τὸν
θαυμαστὸν ἐκείνου Πομπήιον: οὕτως ἔν πᾶσιν
αὐτοῖς κατεστρατηγηθῇ.
45 "Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐάσω: οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὁ
Καίσαρ ἐσεμνύνατο ποτὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, μυσῶν ἂεὶ
tὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης: ἐπεῖ δὲ τὸ δαιμόνιον δικαιότατα
τὴν μάχην ἔκρινε, τίνα μὲν τῶν τότε πρῶτον
ἀλόντων ἀπέκτεινε, τίνα δὲ οὐκ ἐτίμησεν, οὐχ ὤτι

1 παύσασθαι H. Steph., παύσεσθαι LM cod. Peir.
2 καὶ ὁμοίως Rk., ὁμοίας LM cod. Peir.
4 ἐκεῖ χωρία Pflugk, ἐπιχάρια LM cod. Peir.
5 ἂεὶ τὰ Kübler, αὕτα LM, ἄδ τὰ cod. Peir.

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when he saw that Pompey, who had abandoned his country and was setting up a kingdom of his own in Macedonia, was transferring thither all your possessions, equipping your subjects against you, and using your own money against you, he at first wished to persuade him somehow to stop and change his course, sending mediators to him both privately and publicly and offering the most solemn pledges that he should again attain an equal and like position with himself. When, however, he found himself unable in any way to effect this, but instead Pompey burst all restraints, even the relationship which had existed between himself and Caesar, and chose to fight against you, then at last he was compelled to begin the civil war. But what need is there of relating how daringly he sailed against him in spite of the winter, or how boldly he assailed him, though Pompey held all the strong positions, or how bravely he vanquished him, though much inferior in the number of his troops? Indeed, if one wished to recite the whole story in detail, he could show the renowned Pompey to have been a mere child, so completely was he outgeneralled at every point.

"But all this I will omit, since not even Caesar himself ever took any pride in it, always hating, as he did, the deeds enforced by necessity. But when Heaven had most justly decided the issue of the battle, whom of those then captured for the first time did he put to death? Whom, rather, did he
τῶν βουλευτῶν ἢ τῶν ἱππέων ἢ καὶ ὁλως τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τῶν τε ὑπη-
κών; οὐδὲ γὰρ οὔδὲ ἐκεῖνων τις οὔτ' ἀπέθανε
βιαῖσις οὔτε αἰτίαν ἔλαβεν, οὐκ ἰδιώτης, οὐ βασι-
λεὺς, οὐκ ἔθνος, οὐ πόλις· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν καὶ συν-
εξητάσθησαν αὐτῷ, οἱ δὲ τὴν γοῦν ἄδειαν ἐντίμως
ἐσχον, ὡστε τότε δὴ καὶ πάντας ὄδυρεσθαι τῶν
3 ἀπολωλότων. τοσαῦτη γὰρ περιουσία φιλανθρω-
πίας ἐχρήσατο ὡστε τοὺς μὲν συναραμένους τῷ
Πόμπηῳ ἐπανέσαι καὶ πάντα σφίσει τὰ δοθέντα
υπ' αὐτοῦ φυλάξαι, τὸν δὲ δὴ Ἡ Φαρνάκην καὶ τὸν
'Ὀρώδην μισήσαι ότι οὐκ ἐπεκούρησαν φίλοι
4 αὐτοῦ ὄντες. καὶ διὰ τούτο γε οὐχ Ἦκιστα τῷ
μὲν οὐκ ἐσ μακρᾶν ἐπολέμησε, τῷ δὲ ἐπιστρα-
τεύσειν ἐμελλε. πάντως δ' ἂν καὶ . . . 2 ζῶντα
eιλήφει. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι μήτε εὑθὺς αὐτὸν
ἐπεδώξεν ἀλλὰ κατὰ σχολὴν εἴασε φυγεῖν, καὶ
5 τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἄγδος Ἦκουσε, τοὺς τε φονεύ-
σαντας αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπήνεσεν ἄλλα καὶ ἀνταπ-
ἐκτείνειν οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον, καὶ αὐτὸν γε τὸν
Πτολεμαίου, ὅτι καίτοι παῖς ὃν τὸν εὐεργέτην
ἀπολόμενον περιεἴδε, προσδιέφθειρε.

46 "Μετὰ ταῦτα τούτων ὅπως μὲν τὴν Ἁλέγγυττον
cατεστήσατο, καὶ ὅσα χρήματα ἐκείθεν ὕμῖν
ἐκόμισε, περιττὸν ἄν εἴη λέγειν· στρατεύσας
dὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Φαρνάκην οὐκ ὄλγα ἤδη τοῦ τε Πόντου
καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἔχοντα, προσηγγέλθη τε ἀμα
αὐτῶ προσιῶν καὶ ὅφθη πάρων καὶ συνέβαλεν
2 αὐθημεροῦ καὶ ἐνίκησεν. ἀφ' ὀντερ οὐχ Ἦκιστα
dιέδειξεν ὅτι οὔδεν χείρων ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ

1 Ἡ cod. Peir., om. LM.
2 Lacuna recognized by Xyl.
not honour, not alone of the senators or knights or of the citizens in general, but even of the allies and subjects? For no one, even of them, either died a violent death, or was censured,—no civilian, no king, no tribe, no city. On the contrary, some arrayed themselves on his side, and others obtained at least pardon with honour, so that all then lamented the fate of those who had perished. Such exceeding humanity did he show, that he praised those who had coöperated with Pompey and allowed them to keep everything that Pompey had given them, but hated Pharnaces and Orodes, because, though friends of the vanquished, they had not assisted him. It was chiefly for this reason that he not long afterward waged war on Pharnaces and was preparing to conduct a campaign against Orodes. And he certainly [would have spared] even [Pompey himself if] he had captured him alive. A proof of this is that he did not pursue him at once, but allowed him to flee at his leisure. Also he was grieved when he heard of Pompey's death and did not praise his murderers, but put them to death for it soon after, and moreover even destroyed Ptolemy himself, because, though a child, he had allowed his benefactor to perish.

"How after this he brought Egypt to terms and how much money he conveyed to you from there, it would be superfluous to relate. And when he made his campaign against Pharnaces, who already held a considerable part of Pontus and Armenia, he was on one and the same day reported to the king as approaching him, was seen confronting him, engaged him in conflict, and conquered him. This better than anything else showed that he had not become weaker in Alexandria and had not
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ἐγένετο, οὐδ' ὑπὸ τρυφῆς ἐν αὐτῇ ἐνεχρόνισε· πῶς γὰρ ἄν ῥαδίως ἔκεινα ἐπραξε μὴ πολλή μὲν παρασκευὴ διανοίας πολλῇ δὲ καὶ ρώμῃ χρώμενος;

3 ὡς δ' οὖν καὶ ὁ Φαρνάκης ἐφυγε, παρεσκευάζετο μὲν εὐθὺς ἐτί τὸν Πάρθον στρατεύσαι, στασιασάντων δὲ αὐθίς ἑνταῦθα τινών ἀνεκομίσθη τε ἄκων, καὶ οὕτως αὐ καὶ ταῦτα διέθετο ὡστε

4 μὴ δ' ὅτι ἀρχὴν ἑταράχθη πιστευθῆναι. οὔτε γὰρ ἀπέθανεν οὕτε ἐφυγεν, ἀλλ' οὕδ' ἤτιμώθη τὸ παράπαν εξ' ἑκείνων τῶν πραγμάτων οὕδεις, οὐχ ὅτι οὔ δικαιώτατα ἂν πολλοὶ ἐκολάσθησαν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους ἀφειδῶς ἀπολλύον τοὺς δὲ δὴ πολίτας σῶξειν, καὶ φαύλοι τινὲς ὅσιν,

5 ἤγείτο δεῖν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῇ μὲν ἀνδρείᾳ τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους κατηγωνίζετο, τῇ δὲ φιλανθρωπία καὶ τοὺς στασιαζόντας τῶν πολιτῶν, καίτοι καὶ ἀναξίους πολλάκις τοῦτον γεγονότας ἄφ' ὀν ἐπραττόν, διετήρει. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ τῇ τε Ἰβηρίᾳ αὐθίς ἐπραξε, πάντας ὤσοι μὴ καὶ πρότερον ποτὲ ἠλόντες ὑπ' 1 αὐτοῦ

6 ἠλένυτο 2 ἀφείς. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς πολλάκις ἐπιβουλεύοντάς οἱ αἱ περιποιεῖσθαι μωρίαν, οὐ φιλανθρωπίαν ἐνόμιζε· τὸ δὲ ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοις ἀμαρτήμασι συγγεγυνόσκειν τισί, καὶ μὴ ἀκατ- ἀλλακτὸν ὀργὴν ἔχειν καὶ προσέτι καὶ τιμὰς νέμειν, ἂν δὲ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐμμένωσιν, ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ πάνυ ἄνδρος ἔργον ἠγείτο

7 εἶναι. καίτοι τί τοῦτο εἶπον; πολλοὺς γὰρ τοι καὶ ἑκείνων ἐσώσε, δοὺς τοῖς τε ἑταῖροις ἅπασι καὶ τοῖς συνυκίσασιν αὐτῷ ἕνα ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἠλόντων περιποιήσασθαι.

1 ὑπ' R. Steph., ἐν' LM cod. Peir.
2 ἠλένυτο cod. Peir., ἠλένυτο LM.
delayed there out of voluptuousness. For how could he have won that victory so easily without having great mental vigour in reserve and great physical strength? When now Pharnaces had fled, he was preparing to conduct a campaign at once against the Parthian, but as certain men had begun a strife here he returned reluctantly and settled this dispute, too, so well that no one would believe there had been any disturbance at all. For not a person was killed or exiled or even disgraced in any way as a result of that trouble, not because many might not justly have been punished, but because he thought it right while destroying the enemy unsparingly to preserve the citizens, even if some of them are of little account. Therefore by his bravery he overcame foreigners in war, but by his humanity he kept unharmed even the seditious citizens, although many of them by their acts had often shown themselves unworthy of this favour. This same policy he followed again both in Africa and in Spain, releasing all who had not previously been captured and been pitied by him. For while he considered it folly, not humanity, always to spare the lives of those who frequently plotted against him, on the other hand, he thought it the duty of one who was truly a man to pardon opponents on the occasion of their first errors instead of harbouring implacable anger, yes, and even to assign honours to them, but if they clung to their original course, to get rid of them. Yet why do I relate this? Many of these also he spared by allowing all his associates and those who had helped him conquer to save the life of one captive each.
“Καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα ἀπ’ ἐμφύτου χρηστότητος, καὶ ὦτε προσποιήτως ὦτε ἐπὶ κατασκευή πλεονεξίας τινός, ὦσπερ ἔτεροι συχνοὶ ἐφιλανθρωπεύσαντό τινα, ἔπραξε, μέγιστον μὲν καὶ ἐκεῖνο μαρτύριον ἐστιν, ὅτι πανταχοῦ καὶ διὰ πάντων ὁμοίως ἐγένετο καὶ ὦτ’ ὅργῃ τις αὐτὸν ἦγριαν ὦτε εὐπραγία διέθειρεν, ὦ τὸ κράτος ἡ ἱλλοϊωσεν, οὐχ ἡ ἐξουσία μετέβαλεν. καὶ τοῖς χαλεπώτατοι ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καὶ τοιούτοις καὶ προσέτε καὶ ἐπαλλήλοις πράγμασιν ἔξετασθέντα, καὶ τὰ μὲν κατωρθωκότα τὰ δὲ ἐν χερσὶν ἐτ’ ἔχοντα τὰ δ’ ὑποπτεύοντα, χρηστὸν τε ἀεὶ δι’ ἔσον γενέσθαι, καὶ μὴν τραχύ μηδὲ δεινόν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρὸς τιμωρίαν τῶν παρεληλυθοτῶν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς γε φυλακὴν τῶν μελλόντων ἐθελήσαι ποιή-σαν, ἵκανά μὲν καὶ ταῦτα τὴν χρηστότητα αὐτοῦ τεκμηριώσαι ἐστὶν; οὕτω γὰρ ἐκ θεῶν ὄντως ἐφύσετε ὦν τούτοις, εἰκὼς τοὺς τοῖς σώζεσθαι δυναμένους προσέτε δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνα, ὅτι τοῖς τε αὐτῷ πολεμήσασι τὸ μηδ’ ὑπ’. ἀλλού τινὸς κολασθήσαι παρεσκέυασε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ πρὶν ἐπται-κότας ἀνεκτήσατο. πᾶσι μὲν γὰρ τοῖς μετὰ τοῦ Λεπίδου καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Σερτωρίου γενομένους ἄδειαν δοθῆναι ἐποίησε, πᾶσι δὲ ἐκ τούτου τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐπικεκρυθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου περιλειφθεῖαι τὴν σωτηρίαν ὑπάρξαι παρεσκεύασε, καὶ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τούτο κατῆγαγε, τοὺς τε παιδὰς ἀπάντων τῶν ὑπ’ ἐκείνου θανατωθέντων καὶ τιμῶν καὶ ἄρχῶν ἡξίωσεν. καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, πάντα ἀπλῶς

1 ἐν τοῖς R. Steph., ἐς τοῖς LM.
2 χρηστόν τε M, χρηστότε L. 3 γε R. Steph., τε LM.
6 καὶ Bk., καὶ τοί LM cod. Peir.

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"That he did all this, moreover, from inherent goodness and not for appearances or to reap any advantage, as many others have displayed humanity, there is this further very strong evidence, that everywhere and in all circumstances he showed himself the same: anger did not brutalize him, nor good fortune corrupt him; power did not alter, nor authority change him. Yet it is very difficult when tested in so many enterprises of such magnitude, in enterprises, moreover, that follow one another in rapid succession, when one has been successful in some, is still engaged in conducting others, and only surmises that others are yet to come, to prove equally good on all occasions and to refrain from wishing to do anything harsh or terrible, if not out of vengeance for the past, at least as a measure of safeguard for the future. This alone is enough to prove his goodness; for he was so truly a scion of gods that he understood but one thing, to save those who could be saved. But there is also this further evidence, that he took care not to have those who warred against him punished even by anyone else, and that he won back those who had met with misfortune earlier. For he caused amnesty to be granted to all who had been followers of Lepidus and Sertorius, and next arranged that safety should be afforded to all the survivors of those whom Sulla had proscribed; somewhat later he brought them home from exile and bestowed honours and offices upon the sons of all who had been slain by Sulla. Greatest of all, he burned absolutely all the secret
τὰ γράμματα ὅσα ἢ παρὰ τῷ Πομπήῳ ἢ παρὰ τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἀπόρρητα εὐρέθη κατέκαυσε, μὴν ἀναγνώσθη τι αὐτῶν μὴτε τηρήσας, ἵνα μηδὲν ἄλλο των ποιηθεμένων τι ἀντὶ αὐτα ἐγγένηται. ὡς δὲ ταῦθ' οὐτώς οὐκ ἔπει μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ἐπραξε, δηλοὶ τὰ ἔργα οὔδεὶς γοῦν ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐκείνων οὐχ ὃσον οὐκ ἐπαθεῖ τι δεινῶν, ἄλλ' οὖδὲν ἔφοβηθη. οὐκον οὐδὲν οὔδεν οὔδεὶς τους έξ αὐτῶν περιγγενομένους πλὴν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων. τούτῳ γάρ ἐστι παραδοξότατον καὶ μηδὲν ἐπερβολὴν ἔχων, ὅτι τε ἀφείδθησαν πρὶν αἰτιαθήσαται καὶ ὅτι ἐσώθησαν πρὶν κινδυνευσαί, καὶ οὖδ' αὐτῶς ὁ περιποίησας σφᾶς ἐμαθείν οὐς ἡλέψε. 48 "Καὶ γάρ του διὰ τε ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τὰλλα ὅσα ἐνομοθέτησε καὶ ἐπηνώρθωσε, μεγάλα μὲν αὐτὰ καθ' ἐαυτά ὄντα, παρὰ μικρὸν δ' ἀν πρὸς ἐκείνα νομισθέντα, ὡς ἐκ χρή ἀκριβῶς ἐπεξείναν, καὶ ἐφιλήσατε αὐτὸν ὡς πατέρα καὶ ἡγαπήσατε ὡς ἐνεργήτην, τιμαῖς τε οἷοις οὔδενα ἄλλον ἡγῆλατε, 2 καὶ προστάτῃ διατελῆ τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ τῆς ἁρχῆς ἀπάσης ἔχειν ὑπεθυμήσατε, μηδὲν περὶ τῶν ὄνομάτων διενεχθέντας, ἄλλα καὶ πάντα αὐτῶ ὡς καὶ ἐλάττονα αὐτοῦ προσθέντες, ὡς ὁποὺ καθ' ἐκαστον αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ νομιζομένου πρὸς τὸ τελειότατον καὶ τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐνέδει, τούτῳ ἐκ τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συντελείας ἀντανα- 3 πληρωθῆ. διὰ γάρ τούτῳ ἁρχιερεὺς μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, ύπατος δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἀυτοκράτωρ δὲ

1 μηδ' Bk., μητ' LM cod. Peir.
2 οὐδ' St., οὐδ' LM cod. Peir.
3 περιγγενομένου Leuncl., περὶ γένους LM cod. Peir.
4 ἐνομοθέτησε καὶ ἐπηνώρθωσε cod. Peir., ἐνομοθέτησε ἐπηνώρθωσε LM.

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documents found in the tent of either Pompey or Scipio, neither reading nor yet keeping any of them, in order that no one else any more than he himself should use them for mischievous ends. And that this was not only what he said he had done, but what he actually did, the facts show clearly; at any rate, no one as a result of those letters was even frightened, much less suffered any harm. Hence no one even knows those who escaped this danger except the men themselves. This is a most astonishing fact and one without a parallel, that they were spared before they were accused and saved before they encountered danger, and that not even he who saved their lives learned who it was he pitied.

"For these and for all his other acts of legislation and reconstruction, great in themselves, but likely to be deemed small in comparison with those others which I need not recount in detail, you loved him as a father and cherished him as a benefactor, you exalted him with such honours as you bestowed on no one else and desired him to be continual head of the city and of the whole domain. You did not quarrel at all about titles, but applied them all to him, feeling that they were inadequate to his merits, and desiring that whatever each of them, in the light of customary usage, lacked of being a complete expression of honour and authority might be supplied by what the rest contributed. Therefore, for the gods he was appointed high priest,
πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας, δικτάτωρ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπεδείχθη. καὶ τὶ ταῦτ’ ἐξαρισμοῦμαι, ὅποτε καὶ πατέρα αὐτὸν ἐνὶ λόγῳ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπεκαλέσατε; ἡμὴ τὰς ἄλλας αὐτοῦ προσηγορίας καταλέγω.

49 "Ἀλλ’ οὗτος ὁ πατήρ, οὗτος ὁ ἄρχιερεὺς ὁ ἄσυλος ὁ ἥρως ὁ θεὸς τέθνηκεν, οἱμοι, τέθνηκεν οὐ νόσῳ βιασθεῖς, οὔδε γῆρᾳ μαρανθεῖς, οὔδε ἐξω ποὺ ἐν πολέμῳ τινὶ τρωθεῖς, οὔδε ἐκ δαιμονίῳ τινὸς αὐτομάτως ἄρπασθεῖς, ἀλλὰ ἐνταῦθα ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους ἐπιβουλευθεῖς ὁ καὶ ἐσ Βρεττάνιαν

2 ἀσφαλῶς στρατεύσας, ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐνεδρευθεὶς ὁ καὶ τὸ πωμήριον αὐτῆς ἐπαυξήσας, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ κατασφαγεῖς ὁ καὶ ἰδιον ἄλλο κατασκεύασας, ἀσπλος ὁ εὐπόλεμος, γυμνὸς ὁ εἰρήνοποιός, πρὸς τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ὁ δικαστής, πρὸς ταῖς ἄρχαις ὁ ἄρχων, ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ὃν μηδεὶς τῶν πολεμίων μηδ’ ἐσ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκπεσόντα ἀποκτείνα ήδυνῆθη, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐταίρων ὁ πολλάκις αὐτοὺς ἐλεήσας.

3 ποῦ δῆτα σοι, Καϊσαρ, ἡ φιλανθρωπία, ποῦ δὲ ἡ ἄσυλία, ποῦ δὲ οἱ νόμοι; ἀλλὰ σὺ μέν, ὅπως μηδ’ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τις φονεύῃται, πολλὰ ἐνομοθέτησας, σὲ δὲ οὕτως οἰκτρῶς ἀπέκτειναν οἱ φίλοι, καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ πρόκεισαι ἐσφαγμένος, δι’ ἡς πολλάκις ἐπόμπευσας ἐστεφανωμένος, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἔρρυψαι κατατετρωμένος, ἀφ’ οὗ πολλάκις ἐδημηγόρησας. οἱμοὶ πολιῶν ἥματωμένων, ὁ στολῆς ἐσπαραγμένης, ἦν

1 ἐνὶ λόγῳ Rk., ἐν ὅλιγῳ LM.
2 ἐπεκαλέσατε M, ἐπεκαλέσατο L.
3 ἄρπασθεῖς Reim. (so Zon. BC), ἄρπαχθεῖς LM Zon. AD.
for us consul, for the soldiers imperator, and for the enemy dictator. But why do I enumerate these details, when in one phrase you called him father of his country—not to mention the rest of his titles?

"Yet this father, this high priest, this inviolable being, this hero and god, is dead, alas, dead not by the violence of some disease, nor wasted by old age, nor wounded abroad somewhere in some war, nor caught up inexplicably by some supernatural force, but right here within the walls as the result of a plot—the man who had safely led an army into Britain; ambushed in this city—the man who had enlarged its pomerium; murdered in the senate-house—the man who had reared another such edifice at his own expense; unarmed—the brave warrior; defenceless—the promoter of peace; the judge—beside the court of justice; the magistrate—beside the seat of government; at the hands of the citizens—he whom none of the enemy had been able to kill even when he fell into the sea; at the hands of his comrades—he who had often taken pity on them. Of what avail, O Caesar, was your humanity, of what avail your inviolability, of what avail the laws? Nay, though you enacted many laws that men might not be killed by their personal foes, yet how mercilessly you yourself were slain by your friends! And now, the victim of assassination, you lie dead in the Forum through which you often led the triumph crowned; wounded to death, you have been cast down upon the rostra from which you often addressed the people. Woe for the blood-bespattered locks of gray, alas for the
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50 Τοιαύτα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου λέγοντος ὁ δῆμος τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἤρεθείτο, ἔπειτα δὲ ὁργίζετο, καὶ τέλος οὕτως ἐφλέγμην ὡστε τούς τε φονέας αὐτοῦ ζητείν καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις βουλευταῖς ἐγκαλεῖν, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἀπέκτειναν οἱ δὲ ἐπείδου ἀποβυθίσκοντα ἀνδρὰ ὑπὲρ οὐ δημοσίᾳ κατ᾽ ἐτος εὐχεσθαι ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ οὐ τὴν τε ὑγίειαν τὴν τε τύχην ὁμώνυμαν, καὶ ὃν ἔξ ἵσου τοῖς δημάρχοις ἄσυλον ἑπετυγκεσαν. κἂν τούτον τὸ τε σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἀρπάσαντες οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸ οἴκημα ἐν ὃ ἀπέσφακτο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον κομίσαι τε ἐβούλοντο καὶ ἐκεῖ καῦσαι, κωλυθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν φόβῳ τοῦ μὴ καὶ τὸ θέατρον τοὺς τε ναοὺς συγκαταπρησθῆναι, αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ὅσπερ εἴχον, ἐπὶ πυρᾶν ἐπέθηκαν. πολλὰ δ’ ἄν καὶ ὅσ τῶν περίξ οἰκοδομμάτων ἐφθάρη, εἰ μὴ οἱ τε στρατιῶται ἔμποδον ἐγένοιτο καὶ τινας τῶν θρασυτέρων οἱ ὑπάτοι κατὰ τῶν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου πετρῶν ἔωσαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπαύσαντο διὰ τούτο οἱ λοιποὶ ταραττόμενοι, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν σφαγέων ὀρμησαν, καὶ ἀλλοὺς τε ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ελευθερίῳ Κίνναν δημαρχοῦντα μάτην ἀπέκτειναν οὐ γὰρ ὅπως ἐπεβούλευσε τῷ Κάλσαρι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα αὐτοῦ ἰγάπα. ἐπλανήθησαν δὲ ὅτι Κορνήλιος Κίννας ο 51 στρατηγὸς συμμετέχει τῆς ἐπιθέσεως, καὶ μετὰ τούτο ἀπευπόντων τῶν ὑπάτων μηδένα ἔξω τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔνοπλον εἶναι, τῶν μὲν φόνων ἀπέ-

1 te Bk., μὲν LM. 2 εἴχον Xyl., εἶπον LM. 3 ἔωσαν Dind., ἔσαν L, ἔσαν M.
rent robe, which you assumed, it seems, only that you might be slain in it!"

At this deliverance of Antony's the throng was at first excited, then enraged, and finally so inflamed with passion that they sought his murderers and reproached the other senators, because while the others had slain they had looked on at the death of a man on whose behalf they had voted to offer public prayers each year, by whose Health and Fortune they had sworn their oaths, whose person they had made as inviolable as the tribunes. Then, seizing his body, some wished to convey it to the room in which he had been slaughtered, and others to the Capitol, and to burn it there; but being prevented by the soldiers, who feared that the theatre and temples would be burned to the ground at the same time, they placed it upon a pyre there in the Forum, without further ado. Even so, many of the surrounding buildings would have been destroyed had not the soldiers prevented and had not the consuls thrust some of the bolder ones over the cliffs of the Capitoline. For all that, the rest did not cease their disturbance, but rushed to the houses of the assassins, and during the excitement killed, among others, Helvius Cinna, a tribune, without just cause; for this man had not only not plotted against Caesar, but was one of his most devoted friends. Their mistake was due to the fact that Cornelius Cinna, the praetor, had taken part in the attack. After this, when the consuls forbade any one except the soldiers to carry arms, they
σχοντο, βωμὸν δὲ τινα ἐν τῷ τῆς πυρᾶς χωρίῳ ἰδρυσάμενοι (τὰ γὰρ ὄστα 1 αὐτοῦ οἱ ἔξελεύθεροι προανέβλοντο καὶ ἐς τὸ πατρὸνυ μνημεῖον κατέθεντο) θύειν τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ κατάρχεσθαι τῷ
2 Καίσαρι ὡς καὶ θεῷ ἐπεχείρουν. οἱ οὖν ὑπατοὶ ἐκεῖνον τε ἀνέτρεψαν, καὶ τινας ἀγανακτήσαντας ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐκόλασαν, καὶ νόμον ἔξελθηκαν 2 μηδένα ἀνθίς δικτάτορα γενέσθαι, ἠρᾶς τε ποιησάμενοι καὶ θάνατον προεπόντες ἂν τέ 3 τις ἐσηγήσηται τοῦτο ἀν θ᾽ ὑποστῆ, καὶ προσέτε καὶ χρήματα
3 αὐτοὺς ἀντικρὺς ἐπικηρύξαντες. ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τὸ ἐπείτα προείδοντο, 4 ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς ὑνόμαι τῆς τῶν ἔργων δεινότητος οὐσίας, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ὀπλῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐκάστου τρόπων καὶ γιγνο-
μένων αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς τῆς ἔξουσίας, ἐν ἣ ποτ᾽ ἂν τύχῃ δρόμενα, προσφέρεις 5 διαβαλλόντων ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε παρόντι τοὺς τε κληρούχους τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος προκεχειρισμένους ἐστὶς ἀποκιάσ εὐθὺς, μή καὶ νεοχμώσωσί τι, ἔστείλαν, καὶ τῶν σφαγέων τοὺς μὲν ἄρξαι τινῶν εἰληχότας ἐς τὰ ἔθνη, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἄλλους ἄλλοσε ἐπὶ προφάσει τινί ἐξέπεμψαν καὶ αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ ενεργέται σφῶν πολλοῖ ἑτύμησαν.

52 Οὗτῳ μὲν ὁ Καίσαρ μετῆλλαξε. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇ τῷ τοῦ Πομπηίου οἰκοδομήματι καὶ παρὰ τῷ ἀνδριάντι αὐτοῦ τῷ τότε ἐκεῖ ἐστώτι ἐσφάγῃ, ἐδοξέ τινα τιμωρίαν αὐτῷ δεδωκέναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ 6 οὗτος ἀπλέτοι καὶ ὑετὸς λάβρος

1 ὄστα supplied by Leuncl.
2 ἔξελθηκαν Bk., ἐπέθηκαν LM.
3 τε supplied by Rk.
4 προείδοντο Bk., προϊδοντες LM.
5 προσφέρεις Xiph., προσφέρει LM.
6 καὶ added by Bk.
refrained from bloodshed, but set up an altar on the site of the pyre (for the freedmen of Caesar had previously taken up his bones and deposited them in the family tomb), and undertook to sacrifice upon it and to offer victims to Caesar, as to a god. But the consuls overthrew this altar and punished some who showed displeasure at the act, at the same time publishing a law that no one should ever again be dictator and invoking curses and proclaiming death as the penalty upon any man who should propose or support such a measure, besides openly setting a price upon the heads of any such. This provision they made for the future, assuming that the shamefulness of men's deeds consists in the titles they bear, whereas these deeds really arise from their possession of armed forces and from the character of the individual incumbent of the office, and disgrace the titles of authority under which they chance to occur; but for the time being they sent out immediately to the colonies such as held allotments of land already assigned by Caesar, out of fear that they might begin an uprising, while of the assassins they sent out those who had obtained governorships to the provinces, and the rest to various places on one pretext or another; and these men were honoured by many as their benefactors.

In this way Caesar met his end. And inasmuch as he had been slain in Pompey's edifice and near his statue which at that time stood there, he seemed in a way to have afforded his rival his revenge, especially as tremendous thunder and a furious rain
ἐπεγένετο. ἐν δὲ οὖν τῷ θορύβῳ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τοιούτῳ τι οὐκ ἀπάξιον μνήμης συνηνέχθη.

2 Γάιος γὰρ τις Κάσκας δημαρχῶν, καὶ ἵδιν ὅτι ὁ Κίννας ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν ὅμωνυμίας ἀπόλετο, ἐφοβήθη μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποθάνῃ, ὅτι Πούπλιος Σερούλιος Κάσκας ἐκ τῶν δημάρχων

3 καὶ ἐκ τῶν σφαγέων ἤν, καὶ γράμματα ἔξις ἐθηκε τὴν τε κοινωνίαν σφῶν ἐκ τῆς μίας προσηγορίας καὶ τὴν διαφόραν τῆς γνώμης δηλών. καὶ ἔπαθε μὲν οὐδέτερος δεινῶν οὐδέν (καὶ γὰρ ὁ Σερούλιος ἵσχυρὸς ἐφυλάσσετο), λόγον δὲ δὴ τινα ὁ Γάιος, ὡστε καὶ μνημονεύσθαι διὰ τούτο, ἔσχεν.

53 Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα πρός τε τῶν ἀλλῶν καὶ πρὸς τῶν ὑπάτων ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, καίτοι μὴ βουληθεὶς τὰ πρῶτα ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡς οὐδέτω καθήκουσαν οἱ προσλαβεῖσιν,

2 ὅμως προσέθετο, δείσας μὴ στασιάσῃ. ὡς μέντοι ὁ τε θόρυβος κατέστη καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὸ τε ἔξετάσαι τὰ διοικηθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τὸ 2 πάντα τὰ δόξαντα αὐτῷ ποιήσαι ἐπετράπη, οὐκέτι ἐσωφρόνησεν, ἀλλὰ ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐγκρατήσεως τῶν γραμμάτων αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, πολλὰ μὲν ὀπῆλεψε πολλὰ δὲ καὶ 3 ἀντενέγραψεν, ἀλλὰ τε

3 καὶ νόμους. καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἄρημα καὶ ἄρχας τὰς μὲν ἀφειλετὸ τίνων τὰς δὲ ἔδωκεν ἀλλοις, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου δὴ γραμμάτων 4 αὐτὰ ποιῶν. κὰκ τούτου συνεχὰ μὲν αὐτόθεν ἤρπασε, συνεχὰ δὲ καὶ παρ’ ἰδιωτῶν τῶν τε 5 δήμων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων

1 μὴ βουληθεὶς XyI., μὴ φοβηθεὶς LM.
2 τὸ R. Steph., ὅτι LM.
3 καὶ cod. Peir., om. LM.
4 δὴ γραμμάτων Bk., διαγραμμάτων LM cod. Peir.
5 τὸ M cod. Peir., τότε L.

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followed. In the midst of that excitement there also took place the following incident, not unworthy of mention. One Gaius Casca, a tribune, seeing that Cinna had perished as a result of his cognomen being the same as the praetor's, and fearing that he too might be killed, because Publius Servilius Casca was one of the tribunes and also one of the assassins, issued a statement which showed that they had in common only the single name and pointed out the difference in their sentiments. Neither of them suffered any harm, as Servilius was strongly guarded; but Gaius gained some notoriety, so that he is remembered for this act.

These were the actions of the consuls and of the others at that time. I say consuls, for Antony, fearing that Dolabella would head a revolt, took him as his colleague in the consulship, although he was at first not disposed to do so, on the ground that the office did not yet belong to him. When, however, the excitement subsided, and Antony himself was charged with the duty of investigating the acts of Caesar's administration and carrying out all his behests, he no longer acted with moderation, but as soon as he had got hold of the dead man's papers, made many erasures and many substitutions, inserting laws as well as other matters. Moreover, he deprived some of money and offices, which in turn he gave to others, pretending that in doing so he was carrying out Caesar's directions. Next he seized large sums of money there in Rome, and collected large sums also from private persons, communities,
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ἡργυρολόγησε, τοῖς μὲν χώραν, τοῖς δὲ ἐλευθερίαν, ἄλλοις πολιτείαις, ἄλλοις ἀτελείαιν πολλῶν, καίτοι τῆς βουλῆς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ψηφισαμένης μηδεμίαν στήλην ὡς καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος συγγεγραφότος τι ἀνατεθήναι (ἐς γὰρ στήλας χαλκᾶς πάντα τὰ τοιαύτα ἑσεγράφετο), ἐπεὶ δὲ, ὲς ἔκεινος ἐνέκειτο λέγων πολλὰ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προβεβουλεύσθαι, κελευσάσης πάντας τοὺς πρῶτους κοινῇ αὐτὰ διακρίναι. ἀλλ' οὔτε τι τούτων ἐφρόντισε, καὶ τὸ σύμπαν τοῦ μὲν ὁ Ὀκταούλιον ἀτε καὶ μειρακίον καὶ πραγμάτων ἀπείρου, τῆν τε κληρονομίαν ὡς καὶ χαλεπὴν καὶ δυσμεταχείριστον ὦσιν ἀπωθομένου, κατεφρόνησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς καὶ κληρονόμος οὐ μόνον τῆς οὐσίας ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς δυναστείας τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ὅν πάντα διεχειρίζετα τέ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ φυγάδας τινὰς κατήγαγεν.

6 ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ Δέσπος ἱσχύς τε μεγάλην εἰχὲ καὶ φόβου αὐτῷ πολὺν ἐπήρτα, τὴν τε θυγατέρα τῷ ὑπεὶ αὐτοῦ συνῴκισε καὶ ἀρχιεραία ἀυτῶν ἀποδειχθῆναι παρεσκεύασεν, ἵνα μηδὲν δὲν ἐπράττε

7 πολυπραγμονοτη. ὅπως γὰρ δὴ ῥαδίως αὐτὸ ποιήσῃ, ἐς τε τοὺς ἰερέας αὐθίς ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου τὴν αἱρέσιν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἐπανήγαγε, καὶ τούτοις αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἢ ὅλιγα τῶν νεομισμένων πράξεως ἐτέλεσε, δυνηθείς ἂν αὐτὸς ιερόσασθαι.

1 μὲν supplied by Bk. 2 καὶ M, om. L.
and kings, selling to some land, to others freedom, to others citizenship, to others exemption from taxes. And this was in spite of the fact that the senate had voted at first that no tablet should be set up on account of any law alleged to have been framed by Caesar (all such matters were inscribed upon bronze tablets), and that later, when he persisted, declaring that many urgent matters had been provided for by Caesar, it had ordered that all the foremost citizens should jointly determine them. Antony, however, paid no attention to them, and, in a word, despised Octavius, who, as a stripling and inexperienced in business, had declined the inheritance because it was troublesome and hard to manage; and thus he himself, claiming to be the heir not only of the property but also of the power of Caesar, managed everything. One of his acts was to restore some exiles. And since Lepidus had great power and was causing him considerable fear, he gave his daughter in marriage to this leader's son and made arrangements to have Lepidus himself appointed high priest, so as to prevent his meddling with what he himself was doing. In fact, in order to carry out this plan with ease, he transferred the election of the high priest from the people back to the priests, and in company with the latter he consecrated him, performing few or none of the accustomed rites; and yet he might have secured the priesthood for himself.
Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ τετταρακοστῇ πέμπτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαίων

α. Περὶ Γαίου Ὀκταουλίου τοῦ μετὰ ταύτα Ἀυγοῦστον ἐπικληθέντος.

β. Περὶ Σεξτοῦ Πομπηίου τοῦ Πομπηίου νεός.

γ. Ὅσα Καῖσαρ καὶ Ἀντώνιος στασιάζειν ἤρξαντο.

δ. Ὅσα Κικέρων κατὰ Ἀντωνίου ἔδημηγόρησεν.

Χρόνου πλῆθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Γ. ἰούλιον Καῖσαρος δικτατορίας τῷ ε' μετὰ M. Αἰμιλίου ἐπιπάρχον καὶ ὑπατεῖας τῷ ε' μετὰ M. Ἀντωνίου.

'Ἀντώνιος μὲν δὴ ταύτ᾽ ἐποίει, ὅ δὲ δὴ Γάιος ὁ Ὀκτάουλος Καυπίας (οὔτω γὰρ ὃ τῆς Ἀττιάς τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀδελφιδῆς τις τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀδελφιδῆς νεός ὁκταούλιος, ὃρφανὸς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀκταουλίου τοῦ πατρὸς καταλείψθαι ἐγέρθη μὲν παρὰ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ παρὰ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ὁ αὐτῆς Δονικίῳ Φιλίππῳ, αὔξηθαί τε καὶ συνδιέτριβε τῷ 2 Καίσαρι. ἀπαίς τε γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὃν καὶ μεγάλας ἐπὶ αὐτῶ ἐλπίδας ἔχοι ἢγάπα τε καὶ περιείπεν αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ τής ἕξουσίας τής τε μοναρχίας διάδοχον καταλείψων, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ

1 τῆς Γ. Βς., ἔτη γ' ΛΜ.
2 μετὰ M. Ἀντωνίου H. Steph., μ' μετὰ Ἀντωνίου ΛΜ. There follows in ΛΜ the gloss: πατὴρ αὐγοῦστον ὀκταούλιος μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Ἀττία ἡ ἀδελφὴ καίσαρος ὃς εἶναι τὸν αὐγοῦστον ἀνεψιὸν

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BOOK XLV

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

About Gaius Octavius, who afterward was named Augustus (chaps. 1-9).
About Sextus, the son of Pompey (chap. 10).
How Caesar and Antony began to quarrel (chaps. 11-17).
How Cicero delivered a public speech against Antony (chaps. 18-47).

B.C. 44 Duration of time, the remainder of the fifth dictatorship of C. Iulius Caesar, with M. Aemilius Lepidus as his master of the horse, and of his fifth consulship with Marcus Antonius.

So much for Antony's conduct. Now Gaius Octavius Caepias, as the son of Caesar's niece, Attia, was named, came from Velitrae in the Volscian country; after being bereft of his father Octavius he was brought up in the house of his mother and her husband, Lucius Philippus, but on attaining maturity lived with Caesar. For Caesar, being childless and basing great hopes upon him, loved and cherished him, intending to leave him as successor to his name, authority, and sovereignty. He was

\[\text{ίουλιος καΐσαρος ("the father of Augustus was Octavius, his mother was Attia, sister of Caesar, so that Augustus was nephew of Julius Caesar").}\]

\[\text{5 \ ἄδελφος Xyl., ἄδελφης LM Xiph. Zon.}\]

\[\text{4 \ ἄνδρι Xyl., ἄδελφος LM Xyl.}\]
 Fiorou Los R. Steph., φίλους LM Χιφ. Ζον.
2 τῶν Xiph., om. LM.
influenced largely by Attia's emphatic declaration that the youth had been engendered by Apollo; for while sleeping once in his temple, she said, she thought she had intercourse with a serpent, and it was this that caused her at the end of the allotted time to bear a son. Before he came to the light of day she saw in a dream her entrails lifted to the heavens and spreading out over all the earth; and the same night Octavius thought that the sun rose from her womb. Hardly had the child been born when Nigidius Figulus, a senator, straightway prophesied for him absolute power. This man could distinguish most accurately of his contemporaries the order of the firmament and the differences between the stars, what they accomplish when by themselves and when together, by their conjunctions and by their intervals, and for this reason had incurred the charge of practising some forbidden art. He, then, on this occasion met Octavius, who, on account of the birth of the child, was somewhat late in reaching the senate-house (for there happened to be a meeting of the senate that day), and upon asking him why he was late and learning the cause, he cried out, "You have begotten a master over us." At this Octavius was alarmed and wished to destroy the infant, but Nigidius restrained him, saying that it was impossible for it to suffer any such fate. These things were reported at that time; and while the child was being brought up in the country, an eagle snatched from his hands a loaf of bread and after soaring aloft flew down and gave it back to him. When he was now a lad and was staying in Rome, Cicero dreamed that the boy had been let
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ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καθιμήσθαι καὶ μάστιγα 1 παρὰ τοῦ Δίως εἰληφέναι καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἥπιστατο ὅστις ἦν, περιέτυχε τε αὐτῷ τής ὑστεραίας ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Καπιτώλιον, καὶ γνωρίσας αὐτὸν
3 διηγήσατο τοῖς παρούσι τήν ὠψιν, ὅ τε Κάτουλος οὖν αὐτός πῶ 2 ἐροκός τὸν Ὄκταούνιον, ἐνόμισε τοὺς παιδας ἐν τοῖς ὑπονοί τοὺς εὐγενεῖς πάντας ἐν τῷ Καπιτώλιῳ πρόσοδον πρὸς τὸν Δία πεποιήσθαι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν θεὸν εἰκόνα τινὰ τῆς
4 Ῥώμης ἐς τὸν ἐκείνου κόλπον ἐμβεβληκέναι· ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀνήλθεν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον προσευξόμενος τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸν Ὄκταούνιον εὐροῦ ἀλλὰς ἀναβεβηκότα τὸ τε εἴδος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἐνύπνιον προσήμισε καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῆς
5 ὠψεως ἐβεβαιώσατο. μειρακιωθέντος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἐφύσους ἐσιόντος, τήν τε ἐσθήτα την ἀνδρικήν ἐνδύμας, ὁ χιτῶν περιερράγη τε ἐκατέρθησθεν ὕπο τῶν ἐπωμίδων καὶ μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν κατερρήνη, τοῦτο ἀυτὸ μὲν κἂν ἐαυτὸ οὐχ ὁπως τέκμαρσίν τινα ὡς καὶ ἀγαθὸν
6 τι προσημαίνον 3 ἐφερεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡνίασε τοὺς παρόντας, ὅτι ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἀνδρικοῦ χιτῶνος ἐνδύσει συνεβαθήκει· ἐπελθὼν δὲ τῷ Ὄκταουνῷ εἰπείν 4 ὅτι "τὸ ἀξίωμα τὸ βουλευτικὸν πάν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας μου σχῆσω," ἐκβασίω πρὸς τὸ λεχθέν
7 ἔλαβεν, ἐξ οὗν τούτων ὁ Καϊσαρ μεγάλα ἐπὶ αὐτῷ ἐπελπίσας ἐς τοὺς εὐπατρίδας αὐτὸν ἐσῆγαγε καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἦσκε, καὶ πάνθ' ὥσα προσήκει τῷ μέλλοντι καλῶς καὶ κατ' ἀζίαν

1 μάστιγα Xiph., μάστιγας LM.
2 πῶ Pflugk, που LM Xiph.
3 προσημαίνον Reini., προσημαίνοι LM.
4 εἰπείν Xiph., εἰπέν LM.
down from the sky by golden chains to the Capitol and had received a whip from Jupiter. He did not know who the boy was, but meeting him the next day on the Capitol itself, he recognized him and told the vision to the bystanders. Catulus, who had likewise never seen Octavius, thought in his sleep that all the noble boys had marched in a solemn procession to Jupiter on the Capitol, and in the course of the ceremony the god had cast what looked like an image of Rome into that boy's lap. Startled at this, he went up to the Capitol to offer prayers to the god, and finding there Octavius, who had gone up for some reason or other, he compared his appearance with the dream and convinced himself of the truth of the vision. When, later, Octavius had grown up and reached maturity and was putting on man's dress, his tunic was rent on both sides from his shoulders and fell to his feet. Now this event in itself not only foreboded no good as an omen, but it also distressed those who were present because it had happened on the occasion of his first putting on man's garb; it occurred, however, to Octavius to say, "I shall have the whole senatorial dignity beneath my feet," and the outcome proved in accordance with his words. Caesar, accordingly, founded great hopes upon him as a result of all this, enrolled him among the patricians, and trained him for the rule, carefully educating him in all the arts that should be possessed by one who was
τηλικοῦτο κράτος διοικήσειν ὑπάρχειν ἀκριβῶς
8 ἑξεπαίδευσε· λόγοις τε γὰρ ῥητορικοῖς, οὐχ ὅτι
tῇ τῶν Δατίνων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ γλώσσῃ, ἡσκεῖτο, καὶ ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις ἐρωμένως ἑξε-
pονεῖτο, τὰ τε πολιτικὰ καὶ τὰ ἄρχικα ἱσχυρῶς ἐδιδάσκετο.
3 Οὕτως οὖν ὁ Ὄκτασιος ἔτυχε μὲν τότε, ὅτε ὁ
Καῖσαρ ἐσφάγη, ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνία τῇ ἑττος τῷ Ἰονίῳ ὥν κόλπῳ ἐπὶ παίδεια (κατὰ γὰρ
tῆς στρατείας αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦς Πάρθους ἐκεῖσε
προεπέπεμπτο), πυθόμενος δὲ τὸ συμβεβηκός
ηλυχεὶ μὲν ὀσπερ εἶκός ἦν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ

2 γεγονότι ἡγγέλλετο τὴν πρώτην. περαιωθεὶς
dὲ ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, καὶ τὰς τε διαθήκας ἀμα
cαὶ τὴν γυνώμην τοῦ δήμου τήν δευτέραν μαθῶν,
οὐκέτ' ἀναβόλας ἐποιήσατο, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι
καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ στρατιώτας συχνῶς
συμπροπεμφθέντας εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τε ὑνόμα τοῦ
Καῖσαρος παραχρῆμα ἀνέλαβε καὶ τοῦ κλήρου

4 ἀυτοῦ διεδέξατο, τῶν τε πραγμάτων εὐχετε. καὶ
tότε μὲν προπετῶς τε τισι τούτῳ καὶ τολμηρῶς
πεποιηκέναι ἐδοξέεν, ὑστερον δὲ ἐκ τε τῆς εὐτυχίας
καὶ εἷς ὧν ἐπικατάρθωσε καὶ ἄνδρείας ὑνόμα

2 προσεκτήσατο. πολλὰ γὰρ ἤδη τινὲς οὐκ ὀρθῶς
ἐπιχειρήσαντες δόξαι, ὅτι ἐπιτυχεῖς αὐτῶν ἐγέ-
νοντο, εὐβουλίας ἔσχον· καὶ ἐτεροὶ ἀριστά τινα

1 τῇ Rk., ἐτὶ LM Xiph.
2 προεπέπεμπτο Bk., προεπέπεμπτο LM.
3 ἡκηκόει πω Bk., ἡκηκόει Rk., ἡκηκότο LM.
destined to direct well and worthily so great a power. Thus he was practised in oratory, not only in the Latin language but in the Greek as well, was vigorously trained in military service, and thoroughly instructed in politics and the art of government.

Now this Octavius chanced at the time that Caesar was murdered to be in Apollonia on the Ionic Gulf, pursuing his education; for he had been sent ahead thither in view of Caesar's intended campaign against the Parthians. When he learned what had happened, he was of course grieved, but did not dare to begin a revolution at once; for he had not yet heard that he had been made Caesar's son or even his heir, and moreover the first news he received was to the effect that the people were of one mind in the affair. When, however, he had crossed to Brundisium and had been informed about Caesar's will and the people's second thought, he made no delay, particularly as he had large sums of money and numerous soldiers who had been sent ahead under his charge, but immediately assumed the name of Caesar, succeeded to his estate, and began to busy himself with public affairs. At the time he seemed to some to have acted recklessly and daringly in this, but later, thanks to his good fortune and the successes he achieved, he acquired a reputation for bravery for this act. For it has often happened that men who were wrong in undertaking some project have gained a reputation for good judgment, because they had the luck to gain their ends; while others, who made the best possible choice, have been
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προελάμβανεν μωρίαν, ὅτι μὴ κατέτυχον αὐτῶν,
3 ὁφλον.1 καὶ ἐκείνοις σφαλερῶς μὲν καὶ ἐπικείμενοις ἐποίησεν ὅτι τὴν τε ἡλικίαν τὴν ἁρτί ἐκ παίδων ἄγων (ὄκτωκαιδεκάτης γὰρ ἦν) καὶ τὴν διαδοχὴν καὶ τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τοῦ γένους καὶ ἐπιφθονον καὶ ἐπαίτιον ὁρῶν οὕσαν, ἐπείτ' ἐπὶ τοιαῦτα ὀρμησὲν ἐφ' οἷς ὦ τε Καῖσαρ ἐπεφόνευτο καὶ τιμωρία συνεργία αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ οὕτε τοὺς σφαγέας οὐτε τὸν Λέπιδον τὸν τε Ἀντώνιον
4 ἔδεισεν οὗ μέντοι καὶ κακῶς βεβουλεύσθαι ἔδοξεν, ὅτι καὶ κατώρθωσε. τὸ μέντοι δαμόνιον πάσαν οὐχ ἀσαφῶς τὴν αὐτόθεν μέλλουσαν σφινταραχὴν ἔσεσθαι προεσθημένην· ἐσ γὰρ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσίντος αὐτοῦ ἴρις πάντα τὸν ἠλιον πολλὴ καὶ ποικίλη περιέσχεν.

5 Οὕτως ὁ πρῶτερον μὲν 2 Ὁκτάοιοιν, τότε δὲ ἔδη Καῖσαρ, μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ Αὐγουστος ἐπικληθεῖς ὁψατο τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ κατέπραξε καὶ κατειργάσατο παντὸς μὲν ἁνδρός νεανικώτερον, παντὸς δὲ πρεσβύτου 3 φρονιμώτερον.
2 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ, ως καὶ ἐπὶ μόνη τῇ τοῦ κλήρου διαδοχῆ, καὶ άδιωτικῶς καὶ μετ' ὀλίγων, ἀνευ ὄγκου τινός, ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσθῆθην· ἐπείτ' οὔτ' 4 ἦπειλει οὐνειν οὐδὲν, οὕτε ἐνεδείκνυτο ὅτι ἁθοῦτο τε τοῖς γεγονόσιν καὶ τιμωρίαν αὐτῶν ποιήσοιτο.
3 τὸν τε Ἀντώνιον οὕχ ὅσον οὐκ ἀπήτευ τι τῶν χρημάτων ὄν προηρπάκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεράπευε, καίτοι καὶ προπηλακίζομενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀδικούμενος· τὰ τε γὰρ ἅλλα ἐκείνοις καὶ λόγω

1 ὁφλον Σχ.Ι., ὁφειλον ΛΜ.
2 ὁ πρῶτερον μὲν Βκ., μὲν ὁ πρῶτερον ΛΜ Χιφ.
3 πρεσβύτου Βκ., πρεσβυτέρου ΛΜ, γέροντος Χιφ.
4 οὔτ' Βκ., οὔδ' Ι.Μ.
charged with folly because they were not fortunate enough to attain their objects. He, too, acted in a precarious and hazardous fashion; for he was only just past boyhood, being eighteen years of age, and saw that his succession to the inheritance and the family was sure to provoke jealousy and censure; yet he set out in pursuit of objects such as had led to Caesar's murder, which had not been avenged, and he feared neither the assassins nor Lepidus and Antony. Nevertheless, he was not thought to have planned badly, because he proved to be successful. Heaven, however, indicated in no obscure manner all the confusion that would result to the Romans from it; for as he was entering Rome a great halo with the colours of the rainbow surrounded the whole sun.

In this way he who was formerly called Octavius, but already by this time Caesar, and subsequently Augustus, took a hand in public affairs; and he managed and dealt with them more vigorously than any man in his prime, more prudently than any graybeard. In the first place, he entered the city as if for the sole purpose of succeeding to the inheritance, coming as a private citizen with only a few attendants, without any display. Again, he did not utter threats against any one nor show that he was displeased at what had occurred and would take vengeance for it. Indeed, so far from demanding of Antony any of the money that he had previously plundered, he actually paid court to him, although he was insulted and wronged by him. For Antony did him many injuries both in word and deed,
καὶ ἔργῳ αὐτοῦ ἔκάκου, καὶ τὸν νόμον τὸν φρατριατικὸν ἐσφερόμενον, καθ’ ὅν τὴν ἐσποίησιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐς τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος γενέσθαι
4 ἐδει, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐσπούδαζε δῆθεν ἐσενεγκείν, διὰ δὲ δημάρχων τινῶν ἀνεβάλλετο, ὅπως, ὡς μηδέπω
παίς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ὄν, μήτε τι τῆς οὐσίας πολυπραγμονοῖ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα ἀσθενέστερος
6 εἰς. ἐπ’ οὖν τούτως ὁ Καίσαρ ἠσχάλλε μὲν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀσφαλῶς παρρησιάσασθαι τι δυνάμενος ἦνείχετο, μέχρις οὐ τὸ πλήθος, ὡς οὖν τὸν πατέρα αὐξηθέντα ἦπίστατο, προσεποιή
2 σατο. ὁργὴν τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔπι τῷ ἔκεινον θανάτῳ ἔχοντας εἰδὼς, καὶ ἐαυτὸν ὃς καὶ παίδα αὐτοῦ σπουδάσειν ἐλπίσας, τὸν τε Ἀντώνιον διὰ τὴν ἑπαρχίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν σφαγῶν οὐ τιμωρίαν μισοῦντας αἰσθόμενος, ἐπεχείρησε μὲν δημαρχῆσαι πρὸς τὴν τῆς δημαγωγίας ἀφορμὴν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν
3 τῆς ἐξ αὐτῆς δυναστείας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς τοῦ Κίννου χώρας κενῆς οὐσίς ἀντεποίησατο, κωλυθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὐχ ἠσύχασεν, ἀλλὰ Τιβέριου Καννούτιον δημαρ-
χοῦντα ἀναπείσας ἐς τὸν ὅμιλον ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐσήχθη, πρόφασιν τὴν δωρεὰν τὴν καταλειψθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ποιησάμενοι, καὶ δημη-
γορῆσας ὅσα ἠρμοττε, ταύτην τε εὐθὺς ἐκτίσει σφίσιν ὑπέσχετο καὶ ἄλλα αὐτοὺς 2 πολλὰ
4 προσεπῆλπισε. καὶ μετὰ τούτο τὴν πανήγυριν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου ἐκποιήσει καταδειχ-
θεῖσαν, ἧν ὑποδεξάμενοι τινὲς ξώντος ἐτε τοῦ

1 φρατριατικὸν R. Steph., φρατρικὸν LM.
2 αὐτοῦς Rk., αὐτοῦ LM.
particularly when the *lex curiata* was proposed by which the transfer of Octavius into Caesar's family was to take place; Antony himself pretended to be doing his best to have it passed, but through some tribunes he kept securing its postponement, in order that the young man, not being as yet Caesar's son according to law, might not meddle with the property and might be weaker in all other ways. Caesar was vexed at this, but as he was unable to speak his mind freely, he bore it until he had won over the multitude, by whom he understood his father had been raised to honour. For he knew that they were angry at Caesar's death and hoped they would be devoted to him as his son, and he perceived that they hated Antony on account of his conduct as master of the horse and also for his failure to punish the assassins. Hence he undertook to become tribune as a starting point for popular leadership and to secure the power that would result from it; and he accordingly became a candidate for the place of Cinna, which was vacant. Though hindered by Antony's followers, he did not desist, and after using persuasion upon Tiberius Cannutius, a tribune, he was by him brought before the populace; and taking as his pretext the gift bequeathed the people by Caesar, he addressed them in appropriate words, promising that he would discharge this debt at once and giving them cause to hope for much besides. After this came the festival appointed in honour of the completion of the temple of Venus, which some, while Caesar was still alive, had promised
Καίσαρος ἐπιτελέσειν ἐν ὀλυγωρίᾳ, ὡσπερ ποῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν Παριλίων ἰπποδρομίαν, ἐποιοῦντο, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πλῆθους θεραπεία, ὡς καὶ προσήκουσαν διὰ τὸ γένος, τοὺς οἰκείους τέλεσι
5 διέθηκε. καὶ τότε μὲν οὐτὲ τὸν δίφρον τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος τὸν ἐπίχρυσον οὐτέ τὸν στέφανον τῶν διάλιθον ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἔσηγαγεν ὡσπερ ἐψη-
7 φιστο, φοβηθεὶς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἄστρον τι παρὰ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας ἐκ τῆς ἀρκτοῦ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐξεφάνη, καὶ αὐτὸ 
κομήτην τε τῶν καλοῦντων καὶ προσημαίνειν οἰᾳ ποὺ εἰσθανε λεγόντων οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐπίστευον, τῷ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρι αὐτὸ ὡς 
καὶ ἀπῆθανατισμένῳ καὶ ἐς τὸν τῶν ἄστρων ἀριθμοῦ ἐγκατελευγέον ἀνετίθεσαν, χαράσσα 
χαλκοὺν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον, ἀστέρα ὑπὲρ 
2 τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχοντα, ἐστησεν. ἐπειδή τε οὐδὲ
τοῦτο τις φόβοι τοῦ ὀμίλου ἐκώλυσεν, οὐτό δὴ 
καὶ ἀλλὰ τινὰ τῶν ἐς τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος τιμὴς 
προδεδομένων ἐγένετο· τὸν τε γὰρ μὴν τὸν 
Ἰουλιον ὀμοίως ἐκάλεσαν, καὶ ἱερομηνίαις τιςὶ
ἐπινικίως ἵδιαν ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ 
ἐβουθύτησαν. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται 
ἐτοίμως, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ χρήμασι θεραπευθέντων 
τινῶν, συνίσταντο πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα.
3 Ὁροῦς -τε οὖν ἐγύγνετο, καὶ ἔδόκει τι νέον ἔσεσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτῶ
ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἀπὸ μετεώρον καὶ ἀπὸ περιόπ-
του τινὸς, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰώθει ποιεῖν, 
ἐντυχεῖν τι ἐθελήσαντα οὐ προσεδέξατο, ἀλλὰ

1 παριλίων Μ, παραλίων Λ.
2 οὐδὲ Rk., οὐτε LM.
to celebrate, but were now holding in slight regard, even as they did the games in the Circus in honour of the Parilia;¹ so, to win the favour of the populace, he provided for it at his private expense, on the ground that it concerned him because of his family. At this time out of fear of Antony he did not bring into the theatre either Caesar's gilded chair or his crown set with precious stones, as had been permitted by decree. When, however, a certain star during all those days appeared in the north toward evening, which some called a comet, claiming that it foretold the usual occurrences, while the majority, instead of believing this, ascribed it to Caesar, interpreting it to mean that he had become immortal and had been received into the number of the stars, Octavius then took courage and set up in the temple of Venus a bronze statue of him with a star above his head. And when this act also was allowed, no one trying to prevent it through fear of the populace, then at last some of the other decrees already passed in honour of Caesar were put into effect. Thus they called one of the months July after him, and in the course of certain festivals of thanksgiving for victory they sacrificed during one special day in memory of his name. For these reasons the soldiers also, particularly since some of them received largesses of money, readily took the side of Caesar.

A rumour accordingly got abroad and it seemed likely that something unusual would take place. This belief was due particularly to the circumstance that once, when Octavius wished to speak with Antony in court about something, from an elevated and conspicuous place, as he had been wont to do in his father's lifetime, Antony would not permit it,

¹ Cf. xliii. 42.
καὶ κατέσπασε καὶ ἐξῆλασε διὰ τῶν ῥαβδουχῶν.

8 δεινῶς γὰρ δὴ πάντες ἡγανάκτησαν, καὶ οὕς ἦκιστα ὅτι ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐδὲ ἦν ἀγορὰν ἐτί, πρὸς τε τὸ ἐκεῖνον ἐπίφθονον καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ πλῆθους ἐπαγωγόν, ἐφοίτησε. φοβηθεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος διελέξατό ποτε τοῖς παροῦσιν ὅτι οὗτε τινὰ ὀργὴν τὸ Καῖσαρι ἔχοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὑνοιαν αὐτῷ ὀφείλοι, καὶ ὅτι ἔτοιμος εὑθ πάσαν τὴν ὑποψίαν ἀπολύσασθαι. ἀγγελθέντων δὲ τούτων ἐκεῖνῳ συνῆλθον μὲν ἐς λόγους, καὶ κατηλλάξθαι τίς των ἐδοξασθεὶς (τὰς τε γὰρ γνώμας σφόν ἄκριβῶς εἶδότες, καὶ ἐξελέγξας τὸτε αὐτὰς ἀκαίρων εἶναι νομίσαντες, ἀνθυπείξας τινὰ ἂλλήλους 1 συμβιβαζόμενοι), καὶ ἠμέρας μὲν τινας ἡσύχασαν, ἑπείτα δὲ ἀνθυποπτεύσαντες ἂλλήλους, εἰτ' ἐξ ἄληθος ἐπιβουλῆς εἴτε καὶ ἐκ ψευδοῦς διαβολῆς, οἷα ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι, διηνέχθησαν αὖθις.

2 ὅταν γὰρ τινας ἐκ μεγάλης ἔχθρας συνενεχθοσί, πολλὰ μὲν μηδὲν δεινῶν ἔχουτα πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ συντυχίας συμβαίνοντα 2 ὑποτοποῦσιν πάν γὰρ ἐνὶ λόγῳ ὡς καὶ ἐξεπίτηδες καὶ ἐπὶ κακῷ την γυμνόμενον πρὸς τὸ προὔπάρξαν ἔχθος λαμβάνοντα, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν τούτῳ καὶ οἱ διὰ μὲν ὄντες συνεπιτίθενται διαγγέλλοντες γὰρ τινὰ προσποιήσει εὐνοίας ἐπιπαρξοῦνος αὐτοὺς.

3 πλεῖστον τε γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦ βουλόμενον πάντας τοὺς τι δυναμένους ἂλλήλοις διαφέρεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τούτω ἐπιχαίροντες αὐτῶν καὶ συν- ἐπιβουλεύον ὁφείλει καὶ ῥάςτου ἀπατηθῆναι λό-

1 ἂλλήλοις Reim., ἂλλήλους LM.
2 συμβαίνοντα Bk., λαμβάνοντες LM.
3 διὰ τούτω ἐπιχαίρον τε Bk., διὰ τούς ἐπιχαίροντας LM.
but caused his lictors to drag him down and drive him out. All were exceedingly vexed, especially as Caesar, with a view to casting odium upon his rival and attracting the multitude, would no longer even frequent the Forum. So Antony became alarmed, and in conversation with the bystanders one day remarked that he harboured no anger against Caesar, but on the contrary owed him good-will, and was ready to end all suspicion. The statement was reported to the other, they held a conference, and some thought they had become reconciled. For they understood each other’s feelings accurately, and, thinking it inopportune at that time to put them to the test, they tried to come to terms by making a few mutual concessions. And for some days they kept quiet; then they began to suspect each other afresh, as a result either of some actual treachery or some false calumny, as regularly happens under such conditions, and fell out again. For when men become reconciled after some great enmity they are suspicious of many acts that have no significance and of many chance occurrences; in brief, they regard everything, in the light of their former hostility, as done on purpose and for an evil end. And in the meantime those who are neutral aggravate the trouble between them by bearing reports back and forth under the pretence of good-will and thus exasperating them still further. For there is a very large element which is anxious to see all those who have power at variance with one another, an element which consequently takes delight in their enmity and joins in plots against them. And the one who has previously suffered from calumny is very easy to deceive with
γοις ἐπιτετηδευμένοις ἐκ φιλίας ἀνυπόπτου τὸ προδιαβεβλημένον. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτου καὶ ἐκείνου, οὔδὲ ἐν τῷ πρὶν πιστεύοντες ἀλλήλοις, ἐπὶ πλέον ἠλλοτριώθησαν.

9 Ὁρὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος τῶν Καίσαρα αὐξανόμενον, ἐπεχείρησε δελεάσαι τὸ πλήθος, εἶ πως ἐκείνου τε αὐτοῦσ ἀποσπάσει καὶ ἐαυτῷ προσποιήσει, καὶ χῶραν ἄλλην τε πολλήν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι τοῖς Πομπτίνοις, ὡς κεχωσμένους ἤδη καὶ 1 γεωργεῖσαι δυναμένοις, κληρουχηθῆναι διὰ Λουκίου Ἀντωνίου ἀδελφοῦ δημαρχοῦντος ἐσηγή-2 σατο. τρεῖς γὰρ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ Ἀντώνιοι οὗτοι ὄντες ἀρχὰς ἀμά πάντες ἔσχον, ὁ μὲν Μάρκος ὑπατεύων, ὁ δὲ Λούκιος δημαρχῶν, ὁ δὲ Γάιος στρατηγῶν: οθεν οὐχ ἢκιστα ἑυνήθησαν τοὺς μὲν τότε τῶν συμμάχων καὶ τῶν ὕπηκόων ἀρχου-τας, πλὴν τῶν σφαγέων τῶν πλειόνων, ἄλλων τέ τινων οὓς πιστούς σφισιν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι, παῦσαι, 3 ἐτέρους δὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἀνθελέσθαι, καὶ τισιν ἐπὶ μακρότερον, παρὰ τὰ νενομοθετημένα πρὸς 2 τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀρχεῖν ἐπιτρέψαι, καὶ τὴν μὲν Μακε-δονίαν τὴν τῷ Μάρκῳ ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου δεδομένην ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Γάιος σφετερίσασθαι, τὴν δὲ Γαλατίαν τὴν ἐντὸς τῶν Ἀλπεων, ἢ ὁ Βροῦτος ὁ Δέκιμος προσετέστακτο, αὐτὸς ἐκείνος μετὰ τῶν στρατευμάτων τῶν 3 ἐς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν προ-πεμφθέντων, ως καὶ ἰσχυροτάτην καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν οὖσαν, ἀντιλαβεῖν. 4 ταῦτα τε οὖν ἐψηφίσθη, καὶ τῷ Πομπτίῳ τῷ ἴδιᾳ δύναμιν ἤδη πολλὴν ἔχοντι ἢ τε ἀδεια,

1 καὶ Reim., καὶ τε (τει M) LM.  
2 πρὸς Bs., παρὰ LM.  
3 τῶν supplied by Rk.
words adapted to the purpose by friends whose attachment is free from suspicion. Thus it was that these men, who even before this had not trusted each other, became now more estranged than ever.

So Antony, seeing that Caesar was gaining ground, attempted to attract the populace by various baits, to see if he could detach them from his rival and win them to himself. Hence he introduced a measure for the opening up to settlement of a great amount of land, including the region of the Pontine marshes, since these had already been filled in and were capable of cultivation. He did this through his brother Lucius Antonius, who was tribune; for the three Antonii, who were brothers, all held offices at the same time, Marcus being consul, Lucius tribune, and Gaius praetor. This in particular enabled them to remove those who were then governing the allies and subjects (except the majority of the assassins and some others whom they regarded as loyal) and to choose others in their place, and also to grant to some the privilege of holding office for an unusually long term, contrary to the laws established by Caesar. And thus Macedonia, which had fallen to Marcus by lot, was appropriated by his brother Gaius, while Marcus himself with the legions previously sent to Apollonia took in its place Cisalpine Gaul, to which Decimus Brutus had been assigned, because it was very powerful in soldiers and money. After these arrangements had been voted, the pardon granted to Sextus Pompey, who already had considerable influence, was confirmed, in spite of the fact that it had
καίτων υπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δοθεῖσα, ἐβεβαιώθη, καὶ τὰ χρήματα, ὡσα ἐν τε ἀργυρίῳ καὶ ἐν χρυσίῳ τὸ δημόσιον ἐκ τῆς πατρίως αὐτοῦ οὐσίας εἰλήφει, ἀποδοθῆναι ἐγνώσθη· τῶν γὰρ χωρίων αὐτῆς ¹ τὰ πλεῖόν Ἀντώνιος ἔχων οὐδεμιὰν ἀπόδοσιν ἐποιήσατο.

10 'Εκείνοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπραττον, διηγήσομαι δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τῶν Σέξτων γενόμενα. ὡς γὰρ τότε ἀπὸ τῆς Κορδούβης ἐφυγε, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐς Δακητανίαν ἐλθὼν ἐνταῦθα ἐκρύφθη· ἐπεδίωχθη μὲν γὰρ, διέλαθε δὲ εὐνοίκος τῶν ἐπιχωρίων οἱ διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς μνήμην ἔχοντων ² ἐπείτα δὲ ἐπειδὴ ο τε Καίσαρ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπῆρε καὶ ἐν τῇ Βαυτικῇ στράτευμα ὑπολυ ὑπελείψθη, συνε- στήσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκείνοι καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς μάχης διασωθέντες, καὶ οὕτω μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐς τῇ τῆς Βαυτικῆς, ὡς καὶ ἐπιτυγχεῖσαν ἐμπολεμήσαι ³ οὕτως, αὕτης ἀφικετο, κανταῦθα καὶ στρατιωτας καὶ πόλεις, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὃ Καίσαρ ἀπέ- θανε, τὰς μὲν ἐκούσας τὰς δὲ καὶ βία προσλαβῶν (ὁ γὰρ ἄρχων αὐτῶν Γάιος Ἀσύνιος Πωλίων ² οὐδὲν ἱσχυρὸν εἶχεν) ὀφρυσε μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Καρ-

4 χηδόνα τὴν Ἰβηρικήν, ἐπιθεμένου δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τοῦ Πωλίωνος ² τῇ ἀποσία αὐτοῦ καὶ κακώσαντὸς τινα ἐπανήλθε χειρὶ πολλῆ, καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτῶν τε ἐτρέψατο, καὶ τοὺς λιτούς ἱσχυρῶς ἀγωνιζο- μένους ἐπείτ' ἐκ ὑπνοιασία ποιάσακε ἐξεπλήξε καὶ ἐνίκησεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκείνος μὲν τὴν χλαμύδα τὴν στρατηγικήν ³ ἀπέρριψεν ὧστε ράον τῇ φυγῇ.

¹ αὐτῆς R. Steph., αὐτοῖς LM, αὐτοῦ Xiph.
² Πωλίων, Πωλίωνος Reim., πολίων, πολίωνος LM.
³ στρατηγικήν Bk., στρατιωτικήν LM.
originally been granted by Caesar to him as to all the rest. It was further resolved that whatever money in silver or gold the public treasury had received from his ancestral estate should be restored; but as for the lands belonging to it, Antony held the most of them and made no restoration.

This was the business in which these men were engaged. I shall now relate how Sextus had fared. When he had fled from Corduba on the former occasion,\(^1\) he first came to Lacetania and concealed himself there. He was pursued, to be sure, but eluded discovery because the natives were kindly disposed to him out of regard for his father's memory. Later, when Caesar had set out for Italy and only a small army was left behind in Baetica, Sextus was joined both by the natives and by those who had escaped from the battle; and with them he came again into Baetica, because he thought it a more suitable region in which to carry on war. There he gained possession of soldiers and cities, particularly after Caesar's death, some voluntarily and some forcibly; for the commander in charge of them, Gaius Asinius Pollio, had no strong force. He next set out against Spanish Carthage, but since in his absence Pollio made an attack and did some damage, he returned with a large force, met his opponent, and routed him, after which the following accident enabled him to terrify and conquer the rest also, who were contending fiercely. Pollio had cast off his general's cloak, in order to suffer less chance of detection

\(^{1}\) Cf. xliii. 39, 1.
λαθείν, ἐτέρος δὲ τις ὁμώνυμος τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπιφανὴς ὑπενύμη ἐπεσε, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκεῖνο ὃ δὲ ἐαλάκωκε, τὸ μὲν ἀκοὐσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ δὲ ἱδόντες ἠπατήθησαν ὅς καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σφων ἀπο-

6 λωλότος καὶ ἐνεδόσαν. καὶ οὐτὼς ὁ Σέξτος νική-

σας πάντα ὁλίγου τὰ ταύτη κατέσχε. δυνατοῦ δὲ ἤδη αὐτοῦ ὄντος ὁ Λέτιδος τῆς τε ὁμόρου Ἰβηρίας ἀρξεὶν ἀφίκετο, καὶ ἐπείγον αὐτῶν ἐς ὁμολογίαν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ πατρίδα κομίσασθαι. καὶ οὐτὼ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος διὰ τε τῆν τοῦ Λεπίδου φίλλαν καὶ διὰ τῆν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐχθραν ψηφισθήναι ἐποίησεν.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω τε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτοι ἐκ τῆς

11 Ἰβηρίας ἀπηλλάγην. Καίσαρ δὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιος πάντα μὲν ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους ἐπράττετο, οὐ μὲντοι καὶ φανερῶς πω συνερρώγεσαν, ἀλλὰ καίπερ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐκπεπολεμομένου, τῇ γοῦν δοκήσει ἐπεκρύπτοντο. κἀκε τούτου καὶ τὰλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντα ἐν 2 τε ἀκρισία 4 πολλῇ ἢν καὶ συνεκέχυτο. εἰρήνουν ἐτὶ καὶ ἐπολέμουν ἦδης τὸ τε τῆς ἐλευθερίας σκῆμα ἐφαντάζετο καὶ τὰ τῆς δυναστείας ἐργα ἐγιγνετο, καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ ἐμφανεὶ 5 ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἀτε καὶ ὑπατεύων, ἐπιλευκέστην, ἡ δὲ ἀποδῶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐποίει, τὸ μὲν διὰ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ τὸ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας ὃν ὑπισχεῖτο, μέγιστον δὲ ὅτι τῳ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ πολυ δυναμένῳ ἥχοντο καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι μηδέπω 3 ἱσχύνοντι συνήροτο. ἐφίλουν μὲν γὰρ οὐδέτερον, νέων δὲ δὴ ἅρι πραγμάτων ἐπιθυμοῦντες, καὶ τὸ

1 ἐαλάκωκε L ἀλάκωκε M. 2 ὁμόρων Xiph., ὁμοχώρου LM.
3 τῷ L Xiph., τῷ M. 4 ἀκρισία L Xiph., ἀκρασίαι M.
5 ἐμφανεὶ Xiph., ἀφανεὶ LM. 6 δὲ Rk., τε LM Xiph.

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in his flight, and another man of the same name, a distinguished knight, had fallen. The soldiers, hearing the name of the latter, who was lying there, and seeing the garment, which had been captured, were deceived, thinking that their general had perished, and so surrendered. In this way Sextus conquered and gained possession of nearly the whole region. When he had thus become powerful, Lepidus arrived to govern the adjoining portion of Spain, and persuaded him to enter into an agreement on the condition of recovering his father's estate. And Antony, influenced by his friendship for Lepidus and by his hostility toward Caesar, caused such a decree to be passed.

So Sextus, in this way and on these conditions, departed from Spain. As for Caesar and Antony, in all their acts they were opposing each other, but had not yet fallen out openly, and while in reality they had become enemies, they tried to disguise the fact so far as appearances went. As a result all other interests in the city were in great confusion and turmoil. The citizens were still at peace and yet already at war; the appearance of liberty was kept up, but the deeds done were those of a monarchy. To a casual observer Antony, since he held the consulship, seemed to be getting the best of it, but the zeal of the masses was for Caesar. This was partly on his father's account, partly on account of their hopes for what he kept promising them, but above all because they were displeased at the great power of Antony and were inclined to assist Caesar while he was as yet devoid of strength. Neither man, to be sure, had their affection; but they were always eager for a change of government, and it
μὲν κρείττον οὐν αὐτῶν καθαυρεῖν τῷ δὲ πιεζομένῳ βοηθεῖν πεφυκότες, ἀπεχρώντο αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰ σφέτερα ἐπιθυμήματα. ταπεινώσαντες οὖν τότε διὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἔπειτα κάκειον
καταλύσατε ἐπεχείρησαν. τοὺς γὰρ τὶ οὐκ ἰδω-μένους βαρυνόμενοι τοὺς τε ἀσθενεστέρους προσε-λάμβανον καὶ διὰ τούτων αὐτοὺς καθήρουν· ἔπειτα καὶ ἐκείνους ἠλλοτριώνυμο. κακὸ τούτον ἀντικαθιστάντες σφᾶς ἐς τὸ ἐπίφθονον τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐφίλουν καὶ ἔμισον, καὶ ἦνξον καὶ ἐταπείνων.

12 Ὅπως οὖν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ τοῦ Καίσαρα καὶ
περὶ τοῦ Ἀντώνιον ἐχόντων ἀρχὴν τήρητε ὁ πόλε-
μος ἐλαβεν. ο Καίσαρ τοῦ Ἀντώνιου ἐς τὸ
Βρεντέσιον πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς
Μακεδονίας περαιωθέντας ἀφορμήσαντος ἐκεῖσε

2 μὲν ἔτερους τινὰς μετὰ χρημάτων, ὅπως σφᾶς
σφετερίσωσι, προσαπέστειλεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μέχρι
Καμπανίας ἐλθὼν πλήθος ἀνδρῶν ἐκ τῆς Κατάης
μάλιστα, ἀτε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, ὧ
τιμωρεῖν ἔλεγε, τὴν τε χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν
eἰληφότων, ἠθροίσεν, ὑπισχυεῖτό τε σφισὶ πολλά,
καὶ ἐδώκεν εὐθύς τότε κατὰ πεντακοσίας δραχμάς.

3 ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἱουκάτων
σύστημα, οὔς ἀνακλήτους ἀν τις ἐλληνίσας, ὅτι
πεπαυμένου τῆς στρατείας 2 ἔτ' αὐτὴν 3 αὖθις
ἀνεκλήθησαν, ὑνομάσειν, ἐνυμίσθη. καὶ αὐτοὺς
παραλαβὼν ὁ Καίσαρ ἥπειρηθε τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην
πρὶν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνακομισθῆναι, καὶ ἐς τὸν

1 ἱουκάτων Xyl., ἱουκάτων ἢ βηκάτων LM.
2 στρατείας H. Steph., στρατείας LM.
3 αὐτὴν R. Steph., αὐτὸν LM.

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was their nature to overthrow every party that had the upper hand and to help the one that was being oppressed. Consequently they made use of the two to suit their own desires. Thus, after humbling Antony at this time through Caesar, they next undertook to destroy the latter also. For in their irritation against the men successively in power they regularly took up with the weaker side and attempted with its help to overthrow the others; afterwards they would become estranged from this side also. Thus exposing both of them to envy in turn, they alternately loved and hated, elevated and humbled, the same persons.

While they were thus disposed toward Caesar and Antony, the war began in the following way. When Antony had set out for Brundisium to meet the soldiers who had crossed over from Macedonia, Caesar sent some men to that city with money, who were to arrive there before Antony and win over the men, while he himself went to Campania and collected a large number of men, chiefly from Capua, because the people there had received their land and city from his father, whom he said he was avenging. He made them many promises and gave them on the spot two thousand sesterces apiece. From these men was constituted the corps of evocati, which one might translate the "recalled," because after having ended their military service they were recalled to it again. Caesar took charge of them, hastened to Rome before Antony returned, and came
ομιλοῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καννουτίου παρασκευασθέντα αὐτῷ ἐσεθῶν πολλὰ μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦς ἀνέμυσεν, ἐπεξιῶν ὡσα καλῶς ἐπεπούηκε, πολλὰ
5 δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μέτρια διελέξθη, τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίου κατηγόρησε, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἀκολουθήσαντάς οἱ ἐπήνευσεν ὡς καὶ ἔθελοντι1 πρὸς ἐπικουρίαν τῆς πόλεως παρόντας καὶ ἑαυτοῦ τε ἐπ’ αὐτῇ προκεχειρισμένους καὶ δι’ ἑαυτοῦ
6 πάσι ταῦτα δηλοῦντας,2 ἐπαινῶν τε ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκ τε τῆς ἄλλης παρασκευῆς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συνόντος αὐτῷ πλήθους τυχόν ἀπήρευ3 ἐς τὴν Τυρσηνίαν,
13 ὅπως καὶ ἐκεῖθεν δύναμιν τινα προσλάβῃ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ’ ἔπραττεν, Ἀντώνιον δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀρχήν φιλοφρόνως οἱ στρατιῶται ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ ἐδέξαντο, προσδοκήσαντες πλείω παρ’ αὐτοῦ τῶν προτεινομένων σφίσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος λήψεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πολλῷ πλείῳ κεκτήσθαι αὐτὸν
2 ἐκείνου ἐνόμιζον· ὡς μέντοι ἐκατόν τε ἐκάστῳ δραχμαὶ δώσειν ὑπέσχετο, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ θορυβησάντων σφαγὴν ἄλλους τὲ τινας καὶ4 ἐκατοντάρχους ἐν τε τοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῆς
3 γνώκεται ὁφθαλμοῖς ἐκέλευσε, τότε μὲν ἠπύκασαν, πορευόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀστυ γεγενημένοι ἐνεοτέρισαν, καὶ καταφρονήσαντες τῶν ὑποστρατήγων τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων σφίσι συχνὸ πρὸς τοῦ Καίσαρα μετέστησαν· καὶ τὸ γε ’Αρειον τὸ τε5 τέταρτον στρατόπεδον ὁμομασμέ-νον ὄλον αὐτῷ προσεχώρησε. παραλαβὼν οὖν αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ ἐκείνους ὅμοιος δοὺς,

1 ἔθελοντι Η. Steph., ἔθελοντι ΛM.
2 δηλοῦντα Χυλ., δηλοῦν ΛM. 3 ἀπήρευ Βκ., ἀπήρε τε ΛM.
4 τινας καὶ cod. Peir., om. ΛM. 5 τε added by Bs.
before the people, who had been made ready for him by Cannutius. There he reminded them in detail of the many excellent deeds his father had performed. delivered a lengthy, though moderate, defence of himself, and brought charges against Antony. He also praised the soldiers who had accompanied him, saying that they had come voluntarily to lend aid to the city, that they had elected him to preside over the state, and that through him they made known these facts to all. For this speech he received the approbation of his following and of the throng that stood by, after which he departed for Etruria with a view to obtaining an accession to his forces from that region. While he was doing this Antony had at first been kindly received in Brundisium by the soldiers, because they expected to secure more from him than was offered them by Caesar; for they believed that he possessed much more than his rival. When, however, he promised to give them merely four hundred sesterces apiece, they raised an outcry, but he reduced them to submission by ordering centurions as well as others to be slain before the eyes of himself and of his wife. So for the time being the soldiers were quiet, but when they arrived near the capital on the way to Gaul they mutinied, and many of them, despising the lieutenants who had been set over them, changed to Caesar's side; in fact, the Martian legion, as it was called, and the fourth went over to him in a body. Caesar took charge of them and won their attachment by giving money to them likewise,—an act which added
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προσέθετο καὶ ἄλλους ἐκ τούτου πολλοὺς, καὶ τοὺς τε ἐλέφαντας τοὺς τοῦ Ἀὐτώνιου πάντας ἐλαβεν ἡμῖν ἑξαπίνης παρακομιζομένους σφίσιν ἐντυ-χὸν, ἐπειδὴ τε ἐκεῖνος ἄλλα τε τινα ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διοικήσας, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς λουποὺς τοὺς τε βουλευτὰς τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ὄντας ὀρκώσας, ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν ἔξωρμησε 2 φοβηθεῖς μὴ καὶ αὐτῇ τι 3 νεοχμώσῃ, οὐδ' ὁ Καίσαρ ἀνεβάλετο, ἀλλ' ἐπηκολουθήσειν αὐτῷ.

14 Ἡρχε μὲν δὴ τότε τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης ὁ Βροῦτος ὁ Δέκιμος, καὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἀὐτώνιος ἐλπίδα πολλὴν εἰχεν ἀτε καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπεκτονότος, ἐπράξῃ δὲ ὅδε. ὁ Δέκιμος οὔτε τι ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ὑποπτεύων (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπηπείλει τι τοῖς σφαγεύσι) καὶ τὸν Ἀὐτώνιον οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνον πολέμιον ἢ καὶ ἕαυτον τοὺς τε ἅλλους τὸν τι δυναμένων ὑπ' ἐμφύτου πλεονεξίας ὤρον ὄντα, οὐχ ἤπειξεν αὐτῷ. μαθὼν οὖν τούτο ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἦπόρησεν

2 ὁ τι πραξῆ. ἐμίσης μὲν γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους αὐτοὺς, οὐ μέντοι καὶ εἰχεν ὡς ἐκατέρφω ἀμα μάχοτον οὐδὲ γὰρ τῷ ἐτέρῳ σφῶν ὅποτερφοῦν αὐτύπαλος ἡδὴ ἦν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἐδεῖ εἰ μὴ τοῦτο τολμῆσας συντήσῃ τε αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις καὶ καθ' ἐν ἀμφο-

3 τέροις 5 πολεμήσῃ. λογισάμενος οὖν ὅτι ὁ μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀὐτώνιον ἄγων ἡδὴ τε ἐνεστήκη καὶ ἐπείγει, τῆς δὲ τιμωρίας τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδέπω καιρὸς εἶν, τὸν Δέκιμον προσηταίρισατο. καὶ γὰρ εὖ ἠπίστατο ὅτι τούτῳ μὲν, ἀν τῶν ἀντικαθεστή-

1 ἐν Leuncl., καὶ ἐν LM.
2 ἐξώρμησε Ζον., ἐφαρμησε LM.
3 τι Μ, τε Λ.
4 Δέκιμος Leuncl., δέκιος LM (and similarly below).
5 ἀμφοτέροις L, ἀμφοτέρος M.
many more to his cause. He also captured all the elephants of Antony, by falling in with them suddenly as they were being driven along. Antony stopped in Rome only long enough to arrange a few affairs and to administer the oath to all the rest of the soldiers and the senators who were in their company; then he set out for Gaul, fearing that it, too, might begin an uprising. Caesar, on his side, did not delay, but followed after him.

The governor of Gaul at this time was Decimus Brutus, and Antony placed great hope in him, because he had helped to slay Caesar. But matters turned out as follows. Decimus had no suspicion of Caesar, for the latter had uttered no threats against the assassins; and, on the other hand, he saw that Antony was as much a foe of himself as of Caesar or of any of the rest who had any power, as a result of his natural cupidity; therefore he refused to give way to him. Caesar, when he heard of this, was for some time at a loss what course to adopt. For he hated both Decimus and Antony, but saw no way in which he could contend against them both at once; for he was by no means yet a match for either one of the two, and he was furthermore afraid that if he risked such a move he might throw them into each other’s arms and have to face their united opposition. After stopping to reflect, therefore, that the struggle with Antony had already begun and was urgent, but that it was not yet a fitting season for avenging his father, he made a friend of Decimus. For he well understood that he should find no great difficulty in fighting against
κότων ἔρημον μετὰ τούτο ὁ προσπολεμήσας ἔξει, ἐκείνων δὲ ὑσχυρῶν αὐθίς πολέμιον ἐχθέσει τοσοῦτον που ἀλλήλων διέφερον. τέμψας οὖν πρὸς τὸν Δέκιμον φιλίας τε αὐτῷ ἐπηγγείλατο, καὶ συμμαχίαν, ἀν μὴ τῶν Ἀντώνιου δέχηται, προσυπισχυεῖτο. καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει τὴν χάριν τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος συνήρεντο. τότε μὲν οὖν (ἤδη γὰρ ὃ τε ἐνιαυτὸς ἔξηγεν καὶ ὑπάτος οὖν παρῆν· ὁ γὰρ Δολοβέλλας ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντώνιου προεξεπέπεμπτο) ἐπαινοῦ ἐν τῇ βουλῇ αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνως καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς τῶν Ἀντώνιου ἐγκαταληπτοῦσιν, τῶν δημάρχου ἐπιψηφισάντων, ἐγένοντο. καὶ ὅπως γε μετὰ ἀδείας τοῦ νέου ἔτους ἐνστάντος βουλεύσωνται περὶ τῶν παρόντων, φρουρᾶς σφίσι στρατιωτῶν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ χρῆσθαι ἐδοξέ. ταύτα γὰρ ἥρεσε μὲν καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις τοῖς πλείοσι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη τότε ὄντων (τὸν γὰρ Ἀντώνιον δεινὸς εἴμισθον), μάλιστα δὲ δὴ τῷ Κικέρωνι· διὰ γὰρ τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθος σφοδρότατον ὑπάρχων τὸν τε Καίσαρα ἑθεράπευε, καὶ πάν ὅσον ἐδύνατο καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἐργῷ τούτῳ τε ἐβοήθει καὶ ἐκείνων ἐκάκου. καὶ διὰ τούτο, καίτοι ἐκχωρήσας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ώς καὶ τὸν νῦν Ἀθήναζ ἐπὶ παιδεία προπέμψων, ἐπανήλθεν ἐπειδῆπερ ἐκπεπολεμώμενος σφᾶς ἦσθετο.

1 ἀντικαθεστηκότων Rk., καθεστηκότων LM.  
2 πολέμιον R. Steph., πόλεμον LM.  
3 ἐγένοντο L., ἐγένετο M.  
4 φρουρᾶς Cohet, φρουραῖς LM.  
5 Σερουήλιον XYL., σουλπίκιος LM.  

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Decimus later, if with his aid he could first overcome his adversaries, but that in Antony he should again have a powerful antagonist; so serious were the differences between them. Accordingly he sent to Decimus, proposing friendship and also promising alliance, if he would refuse to receive Antony. This proposal caused the people in the city likewise to espouse Caesar's cause. Just at this time the year was drawing to a close and no consul was on the ground, Dolabella having been previously sent by Antony to Syria; nevertheless, eulogies both of Caesar and Brutus themselves and of the soldiers who had abandoned Antony were delivered in the senate with the concurrence of the tribunes. And in order that they might deliberate about the situation in security when the new year should begin, they voted to employ a guard of soldiers at their meetings. This pleased nearly all who were in Rome at the time, since they cordially detested Antony, and it was particularly gratifying to Cicero. For he, on account of his very bitter hostility toward Antony, was paying court to Caesar, and so far as he could, both by speech and by action, strove to assist him in every way and to injure Antony. It was for this reason that, although he had left the city to accompany his son to Athens in the interest of the young man's education, he returned on ascertaining that the two men had become enemies.

Besides these events which took place that year, Servilius Isauricus died at a very advanced age. I have mentioned him both for this reason and to
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τότε Ὁρμαίοι τούς τε τῷ ἀξιώματι προήκοντας ἠδούντο καὶ τοὺς ἀναίδεια τινὶ χρωμένους καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐλαχίστους ἐμίσουν ὡςτε, ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος τιμα ἐν ὁδῷ ποτὲ ἀπαντήσαντα οἱ βαδίζοντι ἰππεύοντα, καὶ μῆτε ἀποπηδήσαντα καὶ προσέτι ἵσχυρὸς προσεξελάσαντα, ἐγνώρισε τε μετὰ τούτῳ ἐν δικαστηριῷ κρινόμενον καὶ εἶπε τοῖς δικασταῖς τὸ γενόμενον, οὕτε λόγον ἐτ' αὐτῷ ἐδοσαν καὶ κατεψυχήσαντο πάντες.

17 Ἀύλου δὲ δὴ Ἰρίτιον μετὰ Γαίου Οὐιβίου ὑπατεύσαντος (οὗτος γὰρ, καίτοι τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐσ τὰ λευκώματα τὰ Σύλλεια ἐσγραφέντος, ὑπατος τότε ἀπεδείχθη) βουλῇ τε ἐγένετο καὶ γνώμαι ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἐφεξῆς ἡμέρας, ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς νυμφηνίας ἀρξάμεναι, προετέθησαν· ἐκ τε γὰρ τοῦ πολέμου ἐν χερσὶν ὄντος καὶ ἐκ τεράτων, ἀ πλείστα καὶ ἐξαισιώτατα ἐγεγονεί, ταρασσόμενοι· ὡδὲ τῆς ἀποφράδος, τὸ μὴ ἐν ἐκείναις βουλευσασθαί· τοὺς συμφερόντων σφίσιν, ἀπεσχοντο· κεραυνοί τε γὰρ παμπληθεῖς ἐπεσον, καὶ τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸν νεῶν τοῦ τὸ Διὸ τὸ Καπιτωλίῳ ἐν τῷ Νικαιῷ ὄντα κατέσκηψαν· καὶ πνεῦμα μέγα ἐπιγενόμενον τὰς τε στῆλας τὰς περὶ τὸ Κρόνιον καὶ περὶ τὸν τῆς Πίστεως νεῶν προσπεπηγήσας ἀπέρρησε καὶ διεσκέδασε, καὶ τὸ ἀγαλμα τὸ τῆς Ἄθηνᾶς τῆς Φυλακίδος, ὁ πρὸ τῆς φυγῆς ὁ Κικέρων ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνετεθείκει, κατέβαλε

1 προήκοντας Leuncl., προσήκοντας LM.
2 ἑγνώρισε Leuncl., ἑγνώρισθαι LM.
3 εἶπε Leuncl., εἴπόντος LM. 4 Οὐιβίον Xyl., νῦν ΛΜ.
5 ἡμέρας R. Steph., ἡμεραίς LM.
6 βουλευσασθαί Bk., βουλευσαλ ΛΜ.
7 ὄντα R. Steph., ὄντι ΛΜ. 8 ἀνετεθείκει Bk., ἀνετήθη ΛΜ.
show how the Romans of that period respected men who were prominent through merit and hated those who behaved insolently, even in the smallest matters. This Servilius, it seems, had once while walking met on the road a man on horseback, who, so far from dismounting at his approach, galloped right on. Later he recognized the fellow in a defendant in court, and when he mentioned the incident to the jurors, they gave the man no further hearing, but unanimously condemned him.

In the consulship of Aulus Hirtius and Gaius Vibius (for Vibius was now appointed consul in spite of the fact that his father's name had been posted on the tablets of Sulla) a meeting of the senate was held and opinions expressed for three successive days, including the very first day of the year. For because of the war which was upon them and the portents, very numerous and unfavourable, which took place, they were so excited that they failed to observe even the dies nefasti and to refrain on those days from deliberating about any of their interests. Vast numbers of thunderbolts had fallen, some of them descending on the shrine of Capitoline Jupiter which stood in the temple of Victory; also a mighty windstorm occurred which snapped off and scattered the tablets\(^1\) erected about the temple of Saturn and the shrine of Fides and also overturned and shattered the statue of Minerva the Protectress, which Cicero had set up on the Capitol before his

\(^1\) i.e., the bronze tablets containing laws, etc.
4 καὶ κατέθραυσε. καὶ τούτο μὲν καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Κικέρωνι τὸν ὀλέθρον προεδήλωσε: τούτοις δὲ ἄλλους ἐκεῖνα τε ἐτάραττε καὶ σεισμὸς μέγας γενόμενος, ταῦτος τε τις τυθεὶς τε δὲ αὐτὸν ἑν τῷ Ἑστίατῳ καὶ ἀνατηρήσας μετὰ τὴν ἱερουργίαν, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τούτους τοιούτους οὕση λαμπάς ἀπ᾿ ἀνύσχουτος ἥλιον πρὸς δυσμάς διέδραμε, καὶ τις ἀστὴρ καυσὸς ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας 5 ὀφθη. τὸ τε φῶς τοῦ ἥλιου ἐλαττοῦσθαί τε καὶ σβέννυσθαί, τοτὲ δὲ ἐν τρισὶ κύκλους φαντα-ζεσθαί ἐδόκει, καὶ ἔνα γε αὐτῶν στέφανος σταχύων πυρώδης περιέσχεν, ὥστε εἰπερ τι ἄλλο, καὶ τούτο ἑναργέστατα αὐτοῖς ἐκβῆναι οὐ τε γὰρ ἀνδρεῖς οἱ τρεῖς ἐδυνάστευον, λέγω δὲ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Δέπιδου καὶ τὸν Ἱλωνίου, καὶ εἰ αὐτῶν ὁ Καίσαρ μετὰ τούτο τὴν ἡμέραν ἔλαβεν. 6 τότε δὲ οὖν ταύτα τε ἐγένετο, καὶ λόγια πρὸς κατάλυσιν τῆς δημοκρατίας φέροντα παντοῖα ἤδετο. κόρακες τε ἐς τὸ Διοσκόρειον ἐσπετόμενοι τὰ τῶν ὑπάτων τοῦ τε Ἱλωνίου καὶ τοῦ Δολο-βέλλου ὄνοματα, ἐνταῦθα που ἐν πινακίῳ ἐγγε-γραμμένα, ἐξεκόλαφαν. καὶ κύνες πολλοὶ νυκτὸς κατά τε τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν καὶ πρὸς τῇ τοῦ ἄρχιερέως τοῦ Δεπίδου οἰκία μάλιστα συστρεφό-μενοι ὄρυγοντο. ὡς τε Ἡρωδανὸς ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς πέρις γῆς πελαγίσας ἐξαίφνης ἀνεχόρησε, καὶ παμπληθεῖς ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ ὄψεις ἐγκατέλυπε. καὶ ἤχος ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἁμύθητοι κατὰ τὰς τού

1 αὐτῶν Rk., αὐτῶν LM. 2 ἑν R. Steph., ἐς LM. 3 Ἑστίατῳ R. Steph., ἐστίδιῳ LM. 4 τότε Xiph., τότε LM. 5 περιέσχεν Xiph., περιέσχον LM. 6 ὥστε εἰπέρ Rk., ἐσπέρ LM. 7 Διοσκόρειον Dind., διοσκόρειον LM.
exile. This, now, also portended death to Cicero himself. Another thing that frightened the rest of the population was a great earthquake which occurred, and the fact that a bull which was being sacrificed on account of it in the temple of Vesta leaped up after the ceremony. In addition to these omens, clear as they were, a flash darted across from the east to the west and a new star was seen for several days. Then the light of the sun seemed to be diminished and even extinguished, and at times to appear in three circles, one of which was surmounted by a fiery crown of sheaves. This came true for them as clearly as ever any prophecy did. For the three men were in power,—I mean Caesar, Lepidus and Antony,—and of these Caesar subsequently secured the victory. At the same time that these things occurred all sorts of oracles foreshadowing the downfall of the republic were recited. Crows, moreover, flew into the temple of Castor and Pollux and pecked out the names of the consuls, Antony and Dolabella, which were inscribed there somewhere on a tablet. And by night dogs would gather together in large numbers throughout the city and especially near the house of the high priest, Lepidus, and howl. Again, the Po, which had flooded a large portion of the surrounding territory, suddenly receded and left behind on the dry land a vast number of snakes; and countless fish were cast up from the sea on the shore near the
Τιβέριδος ἔκβολας ἐς τὴν ἦπειρον ἐξέπεσον.  
8 ἔπεγένετο μὲν οὖν καὶ λοιμὸς ἐπ’ ἀυτῶς πάση ὡς εἰπεῖν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἰσχυρός, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ τε βουλευτήριον τὸ Ἐστίλιον ἀνοικοδομηθῆναι καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ ἡ ναιμαχία ἐγεγόνει συγχωσθῆναι ἐψηφίσθη: οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐνταῦθα στίςεθαι τὸ δεινὸν ἔδοκεν, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοῦ Ὀὐβίου τὰ ἐσιτήρια τῇ νομηνίᾳ θύντως ῥαβδοῦχος τὸς αὐτὸς ἐπεσεν ἐξαίφυης καὶ ἀπέθανεν. διὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα καὶ ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐβουλευσάντο τε, καὶ εἰπον ἅλλοι τε ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα πολλοῖ καὶ ὁ Κικέρων ὁδὲ:  
18 Ὡν μὲν ἕνεκα τῆς ἀποδήμων, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐκδημήσων, ἐστειλάμην, καὶ διὰ ὅπουδής τῆς ἐπάνοδον, ὡς καὶ πολλὰ ύμᾶς ὁφελήσων, ἐποιησάμην, ἥκουσατε πρῷην, ὦ πατέρες, οἴδ᾽ ὑμῶν περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων ἀπελογησάμην. οὐτε γὰρ ἐν δυναστείᾳ καὶ τυραννίδι ζην ὑπομείναι ἀν, ἐν ἡ μῆτε πολιτεύσασθαι ὀρθῶς μῆτε παρρησιάσασθαι ἀσφαλῶς μῆτε τελευτῆσαι χρησίμως ύμῖν δύναμαι, οὔτε ἄρ παρὸν τῶν δεόντων τὶ πράξαι, κατοκυνῆσαι ἀν καὶ μετὰ κινδύνου τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.
3 νομίζω γὰρ ἄνδρος ἀγαθοῦ ὀμολογεῖ ἐργὸν εἶναι τοῖς τε τῆς πατρίδος συμφέρουσι τηρεῖν εαυτόν, φυλαττόμενον μὴ μάτην ἀπόλληται, καὶ τοῦτο μηδὲν ἐξελείπων τῶν προσηκόντων μῆτε λέγοντα μῆτε πράττοντα, καὶ ἄρα τι καὶ παθεῖν σώζοντα αὐτὴν ἀναγκαίον ἢ.

1 λοιμὸς v. Herw., ὁ λοιμὸς LM.  
2 Οὐβίου Xyl., ιουλίου ΛΜ.  
3 ἐσιτήρια Xyl., ἐσιτήρια LM.  
4 ὀρθῶς supplied by Bk.  
5 παρὸν τῶν δεόντων τι R. Ste h., παρὸν τῶν δεόντων Μ, παρασχόντων δεόνται L.
mouths of the Tiber. Succeeding these terrors a terrible plague spread over nearly all Italy, because of which the senate voted that the Curia Hostilia should be rebuilt and that the spot where the naval battle had taken place should be filled up. However, the curse did not appear disposed to rest even then, especially since, when Vibius was conducting the opening sacrifices on the first day of the year, one of his lictors suddenly fell down and died. Because of these events they took counsel during those days, and among the various men who spoke on one side or the other Cicero addressed them as follows:

"You have heard recently, Conscript Fathers, when I made a statement to you about the matter, why I made preparations for my departure, thinking that I should be absent from the city for a long time, and then hastily returned, with the idea that I should benefit you greatly. For I could not, on the one hand, endure to live under a monarchy or a tyranny, since under such a government I cannot live rightly as a free citizen nor speak my mind safely nor die in a way that would be of service to you; and yet, on the other hand, if opportunity should be afforded to perform any necessary service, I would not shrink from doing it, though it involved danger. For I deem it the business of an upright man equally to keep himself safe in his country's interest, taking care that he may not perish uselessly, and at the same time not to fail in any duty either of speech or of action, even if it be necessary to suffer some harm while saving his country.

1 Cf. xl. 50. 2 Cf. xliii. 23, 4.
19 “Oútw ðè tòutwv èxòntwv òìv mèn pòulì kai pàrâ tòv Kaisáros kai èmòi kai úmìn àsfáleia pòròs tò tà déontà boulévíasathai èpèi ðè kai métà phrourás svneltheív èphèfíasathe, pànth' ìmàs òutw ðèi 1 kai èiòpèi kai pràxai tìmèrou òstè kai tà pàrònta katásthsasathai kai tòv mèlloutos proïdèsthai, ìhì 2 kai àùthìs

2 ànagkasòmèn òmòwos ùptèr àútwv diagwònai. òtì mèn òunì 3 xalèpà kai déinà kai pòllìs èpti-melèias kai phrontídos déòmena tà pràgmata ìmòw ìstì, kai úmèis àútòi ðèlou, eì kai èk mèdènovs álloù, álì' òun èk tòutò ìn ìpàpòi-kate: ou và èphèfíasatìe fìlakìnov tòv boulèntiðróu sçèinv, eìgè èfìì èmìn èn te 4 tà èiwòthì kòsmw kai èn òunìxìa ìdèwos tì boulèusá-sèi. 5
dèi èk ìmàs kai dià tòus stratìwòtâs tòus pàròntas àxfìloçìnov tì pràxai,ìna ìhì kai àiîgìhìùn òphlòmèn, àiòpèantas mév àútòis òs kai fòbòúmenov tìnas, àmelèhòantas ðè tòw pràgmàtaw òs èn èuðèvì ðèivòf kàthekìkòtes, kai lágìw mèn sófâs ùptèr òtìs pòlèwos èpì 'Anòvìnov pròseî-

3 àpò-àpò-àpò-àpò-àpò-

4 lìfòîtes, èírhoì ðè èkeînìv kàdh' ìmòw àútòw dèwòkètes, òsòpèr dèw àútòw, pròs tòw álloù stratèumàsèi à kàtà òtìs pàtrìdòs svnikròtei, kai àútòw tòútòs pòsòlæbeïv, ìna mèdèn mèdè tìmèrou kàt' àútòù èphèfísìstìe.

20 “Kàutoi tìves ès tòut' ànàideías èllhìðhàsiv òstè tòlmìn àlègein ès ou pòlèmei tì pòlèi, kai tòsaùtìn ìn èvìfhìeiv èmòw àtegnòkàsiv òstè

1 ðèì L, ìhì M. 2 ìhì Rk., òstè ìhì LM. 3 òun supplied by Rk. 4 te Rk., ìe LM. 5 boulèusáasèh Bk., boulèusáasè LM.
"This being the case, although a large measure of safety was afforded even by Caesar both to you and to me for the discussion of pressing questions, yet since you have further voted to assemble under guard, we must frame all our words and acts this day in such a fashion as to settle the present difficulties and to provide for the future, that we may not again be compelled to decide in a similar way about them. Now that our situation is difficult and dangerous and requires much care and thought, you yourselves have made evident, if in no other way, at least by this measure; for you would not have voted to keep the senate-house under guard, if it had been possible for you to deliberate without fear in accordance with your accustomed good order and in quiet. We must also accomplish something of importance by very reason of the soldiers who are here, so that we may not incur the disgrace that would certainly follow from asking for them as if we feared somebody, and then neglecting affairs as if we were liable to no danger. We should then appear to have acquired them only nominally on behalf of the city against Antony, but in reality to have given them to him to be used against ourselves, and it would look as if in addition to the other legions which he is gathering against his country he needed to acquire these very men also, in order that you might not pass any vote against him even to-day.

"Yet some have reached such a point of shamelessness as to dare to say that he is not warring against the state, and have credited you with a simplicity
καὶ νομίζειν τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς ἑαυτῶν πεύσειν ὑμᾶς

2 προσέχειν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ἐκείνου. καὶ
tίς ἀν ἀφεῖς τὸ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ σκοπεῖν, καὶ
tὴν στρατεύαν ἢν ἐπὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἠμῶν μὴ
tῆς βουλῆς μὴ τοῦ δήμου προστάζαντος πεποίη-
tαί, καὶ τὰς χώρας ὡς κατατρέχει, καὶ τὰς πόλεις ὡς
pολιορκεῖ, καὶ τὰς ἀπειλᾶς ὡς πάσιν ἠμῶν ἀπειλεῖ,
kαὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἢ τοῖς τούτων καὶ ταῖς ψευδο-
λογίαις ἀις ἀναβάλλουσιν ὑμᾶς, σκήψεις καὶ
προφάσεις λέγοντες, ἐθελήσειε πεισθεῖν ἀπολέ-

3 σθαί; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ τοσοῦτον δέω ταῦτα ποιοῦντα
αὐτόν ἐνυμόν τι καὶ πολιτικῶν 2 πρᾶγμα φαναὶ
πράττειν, ὡστε καὶ ὅτι τὴν τῆς Μακεδονίας
ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου προσταχθεῖσαν αὐτῷ
κατέλυσε, καὶ ὅτι τὴν τῆς Γαλατίας ἀρχὴν τῆς
μηδεν αὐτῷ προσήκουσαν ἀνθείλετο, καὶ ὅτι
στρατεύματα ἃ ὁ Καῦσαρ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους
προὔπεμψε, συλλαβῶν περὶ αὐτῶν, μηδενὸς ἐν τῇ
Ἰταλίᾳ δεινοῦ ὄντος, ἔχει, καὶ ὅτι τὴν πόλιν ἐν τῷ
tῆς ὑπατείας χρόνῳ ἐκλιπὼν περιέρχεται 3 τὴν
χώραν πορθᾶν καὶ λυμαινόμενος, πᾶλαι φιμὶ
pολέμιον αὐτῶν ὑπάντων ἠμῶν εἶναι. εἰ δὲ μὴ
παραχρῆμα τὸτε ἡσθάνεσθε μηδὲ ἢ τὸ κατόπι
ἀυτῶν ἡγανακτεῖτε, ἐκεῖνον μὲν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο 4 ἔτι
μᾶλλον μισεῖν ἢ ἐκεῖνον ἡμῶν, ὅτι τοιοῦτος ὄντας
ὑμᾶς ἀδικῶν οὐ παύεται, καὶ δυνηθεῖς ἄν ἰσως
συγγνώμης ἢ τῷ πρῶτῳ ἢμαρτε τυχεῖν, ἐς
tοσοῦτο τῇ συνεχέια τῆς πονηρίας προελήφθειν

1 τοῖς supplied by Dind. 2 πολιτικῶν Hug, παντὶ κακῶν LM.
3 περιέρχεται Rk., ἐκπεριέρχεται LM.
4 τούτο Bk., ταύτα LM.

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so great as to think that they will persuade you to pay heed to their words rather than to his acts. But who would choose to shut his eyes to his acts and the campaign he has made against our allies without any orders from the senate or the people, the countries he is overrunning, the cities he is besieging, the threats he is hurling against us all, and the hopes with which he is doing all this, and would choose instead to believe, to his own ruin, the words of these men and their false statements, by which they put you off with pretexts and excuses? I, for my part, do not admit that in doing this he is acting legally or constitutionally. Far from it: he abandoned the province of Macedonia, which had been assigned to him by lot, chose instead the province of Gaul, which did not belong to him at all, assumed control of the legions which Caesar had sent ahead against the Parthians and keeps them about him, though no danger threatens Italy, and after leaving the city during the period of his consulship now goes about pillaging and ruining the country; for these reasons I declare that he has long been an enemy of us all. And if you did not perceive it immediately at the outset or feel indignation at each of his actions, he deserves to be hated all the more on that very account, in that he does not stop injuring you who are so long-suffering. He might perchance have obtained pardon for the errors which he committed at first, but now by his persistence in them he has reached such a pitch of knavery that he ought to be brought
ὅστε καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων χρῆναι δίκην ὑποσχεῖν·

2 ὑμῶν δὲ ἐς ὑπερβολὴν ἐπιμελητέον ἔστι τῶν πραγμάτων, ὅροι δὲ καὶ λογιζόμενοι τούθ', ὅτι τὸν τοσαυτάκις υμῶν ἐν τοσούτοις πράγμασι κατα-

πεφρονηκότα ἀδύνατον ἐστὶν ἐκούσιον ύπὸ τε τῆς

αὐτῆς ἐπιεικείας καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς φιλανθρωπίας

ὑμῶν σωφρονισθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη καὶ ἀκοντα

νῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον, τοῖς ὀπλοῖς κολασθῆναι. 

22 "Μὴ γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ψηφίσασθαι τινα αὐτῶ τὰ

μὲν ἀνέπεισεν ύμᾶς 2 τὰ δὲ ἐξεβιάσατο, ἦττον τι

παρὰ τούτῳ ἀδικεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐλάττωνος διὰ τούτο

2 ἀξίων τιμωρίας εἶναι νομίσητε. πάν γὰρ τοὐ-

νατίον καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦτο μάλιστα δίκην

όφειλε δοῦναι, ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ προελόμενος

δρᾶσαί δι' ὑμῶν τὲ τινὰ αὐτῶν ἐποίησατο, καὶ

ταῖς παρ' υμῶν ἀφορμαῖς, ὡς οὔτε εἰδότας οὔτε

προσρομένους τι τοιούτου ἐξαπατήσας ἡνάγκασεν

αὐτῷ ψηφίσασθαι, ἐφ' ύμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπεχρήσατο.

3 ποῦ γὰρ ἂν ἔκοντες ύμεῖς τὰς μὲν παρὰ τοῦ

Καίσαρος ἢ καὶ τὸν κλήρου δοθείας ἐκάστους

ἡγεμονίας κατελύσατε, τοῦτο δὲ ἐπετρέφατε τὰ τε

ἀλλα πολλὰ τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἑταῖρους διαδοῦναι,

καὶ ἐς μὲν τὴν Μακεδονίαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Γαίον

πέμψας, τὴν δὲ δὴ Γαλατίαν ἐαυτῷ μετὰ τῶν

στρατευμάτων, οίς οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ υμῶν χρήσασθαι

4 εἶχε, προστάξας; 3 ἢ οὐ μέμνησθε ὅτως 4 ταραττο-

méνους ύμᾶς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος τελευτῇ λαβὼν

πάνθ' ὡσα ἡβουλὴθη διεπράξατο, τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ-

κοινῶν ύμῶν ὑπούλως καὶ 5 ἀκαίρως, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶς

1 κολασθῆναι Bk., κολυθῆναι LM.

2 ύμᾶς R. Steph., ὑμᾶς LM.

3 προστάξας R. Steph., προστάξας LM.

4 ὅτως added by R. Steph. 5 καὶ added by R. Steph.
to book for his former offences as well. And you ought to be excessively careful in regard to the situation, when you see this and ponder it—that the man who has so often despised you in matters so weighty cannot, as he would like, be corrected by the same gentleness and kindliness as you have shown before, but must now, even though never before, be chastised, quite against his will, by force of arms.

"And do not, because he partly persuaded and partly compelled you to vote him certain privileges, imagine that this makes him less guilty or deserving of less punishment. Quite the reverse: for this very procedure he particularly deserves to be punished, because, after determining beforehand to commit many outrages, he not only accomplished some of them through you, but also employed against you yourselves the resources which came from you, which by deception he forced you to vote to him when you neither realised nor foresaw anything of the sort. For after you had abrogated of your own free will the positions of command assigned by Caesar or by the lot to each man, would you ever have allowed this fellow to distribute numerous appointments to his friends and companions, sending his brother Gaius to Macedonia, and assigning to himself Gaul together with the legions, which he had no occasion to use in your defence? Do you not recall how, when he found you in consternation over Caesar's death, he carried out all the schemes that he chose, communicating some to you carefully dissimulated and at inopportune moments, and executing others on his own responsibility, thus adding villainy to
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5 ύμων ἐχρήσατο. καὶ τοῦτο θαυμάσειν ἂν τις, εἰ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἐψηφίσθη τι ὁιον οὐκ ἐχρήν, ὅποτε μηδὲ νῦν παρρησιάν ἄλλως εἴπειν τι καὶ πράξαι τῶν δεόντων, εἰ μὴ μετὰ φρούρας, ἐσχήκαμεν; ἦν εἰ τότε περιβεβλημένοι ἤμεν, οὔτ' ἄν ἐκείνος ὧν φίλει τις αὐτῶν τυχεῖν ἔτυχεν, οὔτ' ἄν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐξηθεὶς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπράξε.

6 μὴ οὖν ὁσα κελευνώμενοι καὶ καταναγκαζόμενοι καὶ θρηνοῦντες διδωκέναι αὐτῶ ἐδοξαμεν, ταὐτὰ τις ὡς καὶ νομίμως καὶ δικαίως γεγονότα προβαλλέσθω. 1 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἴδιοις, ὡς ἄν τις ἔτερος ύπ' ἐτέρου βιασθεὶς πρᾶξῃ, κύρια ταῦτα τηρεῖται.

23 "Καίτοι ταῦτα μέν, ὅσα γε ψηφίσασθαι 2 δοκεῖτε, καὶ βραχέα καὶ οὐ πάνω ἔξω τοῦ καθεστηκότος οὔτα 3 εὑρήσετε. τί γὰρ δεινὸν εἰ ἔτερος ἀνθ' ἔτερου Μακεδονίας ἤ Γαλατίας ἄρξειν ἐμμελλεν; ἢ τί χαλεπόν εἰ 4 τις στρατιώτας ὑπατεύων ἠλαβεν; ἀλλ' ἐκείνα χαλεπτα καὶ σχέτλια, τὸ τὴν χώραν ἴμων κακογρεῖσθαι, τὸ τὰς πόλεις τὰς συμμαχίδας πολλορκεῖσθαι, τὸ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἠμετέρους ἐφ' ἴμασ ὀπλίζεσθαι, τὸ τὰ ἡμέτερα καθ' ἴμων ἀναλύσκεσθαι: ἦ μήτε ἐψηφίσασθε μήτε ἐμμελλήσατε. μὴ τοῖς, ὅτι τινὰ ἓδοκατε αὐτῷ, διὰ τοῦτο αὐτῶν ἐάτε 5 καὶ τὰ μὴ δοθέντα πράττειν μὴδ' ὅτι τινὰ συνεχρήσατε, παρὰ τοῦτο οὐεσθε δειν καὶ τὰ μὴ συγχωρη-

1 προβαλλέσθω Rk., παραβαλλέσθω LM.
2 ψηφίσασθαι Leuncl., ἐψηφίσασθη LM.
3 οὔτα Leuncl., οὕτως LM. 4 εἰ R. Steph., ἢ LM.
5 τινὰ supplied by Oddey. 6 ἔατε R. Steph., ὑτε LM.

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his deception, while all his acts were accomplished by violence? At least he employed soldiers, and barbarians, too, against you. And need any one be surprised that in those days an occasional vote was passed which should not have been passed, when even now we have not obtained freedom to say and do anything that is needful in any other way than by the aid of a body-guard? If we had then been encompassed by this guard, he would not have obtained what some one may say he has obtained, nor would he have risen thereby to power and have done the deeds that followed. Accordingly, let no one retort that the rights which at his command and under compulsion and amid laments we had the appearance of giving him were legally and rightfully bestowed. For even in private business that is not observed as binding which a man does under compulsion from another.

"And yet all these measures which you may seem to have voted you will find to be unimportant and differing but little from established custom. What was there so serious in the fact that one man was destined to govern Macedonia or Gaul instead of another? Or what was the harm if a man obtained soldiers during his consulship? But these are the things that are harmful and abominable,—that our land should be ravaged, the allied cities besieged, our soldiers armed against us, and our wealth expended to our detriment; this you neither voted nor would ever have voted. Do not, then, merely because you have granted him certain privileges, allow him to usurp what was not granted him; and do not imagine that, because you have conceded certain points, he ought therefore to be permitted to do
θέντα αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ἔξειναι. πάν γὰρ τοῦνατίον καὶ δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ μισεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὁφείλετε, ὅτι καὶ τῇ τιμῇ καὶ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τῇ παρ’ ὑμῶν οὐκ ἐν τούτοις μόνοις ἄλλα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασί καθ’ ὑμῶν ἐτόλμησε
χρήσασθαι. σκοπεῖτε δὲ ἐψηφίσασθε τὴν τε εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν ὁμονοίαν τὴν πρὸς ἄλληλους, ἐμοὶ ¹ πεισθέντες. ταῦτὴν οὕτως προτανεύσαι κελευσθεὶς οὕτω διήχε ² πρόσφαι τὴν τοῦ Καῖσαρος ταφὴν ποιησάμενος, ὡστε πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν πόλιν ὄλγου κατα πρησθῆναι, παμπόλλους δὲ αὖθις φοιενθῆναι. ἐβεβαιώσατε πάντα τὰ δοθέντα τισὶ καὶ νομοθετήθέντα πρὸς τοῦ Καῖσαρος, οὗχ ὡς καλῶς πάντ’ έχοντα. (πολλοὶ γε καὶ δεῖ), ἀλλ’ ὅτι μηδὲν αὐτῶν μετακινηθῆναι συνεφερεν, ὅπως ἀνυπόπτως χωρίς ὑποῦλοι τινὸς ἄλληλοις συνώμεν. τούτων ἐξετάστης οὕτως γενόμενος πολλὰ μὲν τῶν πραχθέντων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καταλέλυκε, πολλὰ δὲ ἑτέρα ἀντεγγέγραφε. ³
καὶ γὰρ χώρας καὶ πολιτείας καὶ ἀτελείας καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς τιμὰς τοὺς τέ έχοντας ἀφήρηται, καὶ ἐδίωτας καὶ βασιλείας καὶ πόλεις, καὶ τοὺς μὴ λαβούσι δέδωκε, παραποιησάμενος ⁴ τὰ τοῦ Καῖσαρος ὑπομημάτα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν μηδὲν ἐθελήσαντας αὐτῷ προϊέσθαι καὶ τὰ δοθέντα αὐτοῖς ἄφελόμενος, τοῖς δ’ ὡνητιάσασι ⁵ καὶ 7 ἐκείνα καὶ τάλλα πάντα πωλήσας. καίπερ ὑμεῖς αὐτῇ ταῦτα προορῶμενοι ἐψηφίσασθε μηδεμίων στήλην μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Καῖσαρος θάνατον,

¹ ἐμοὶ Bk., καὶ ἐμοὶ LM. ² διήχε Bk., διήγε LM. ³ ἀντεγγέγραφε Pflugk, ἀντεγγέγραφε LM. ⁴ παραποιησάμενος R. Steph., παραποιησάμενος LM. ⁵ ὡνητιάσασι Dind., δὲν ὡνητιάσασι LM.

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what has not been conceded. Quite the reverse: you should for this very reason both hate and punish him, because he has dared not only in this case but in all other cases to use against you the honour and kindness you have bestowed. Consider a moment. Through my influence you voted that there should be peace and harmony amongst you. This man, when he was ordered to manage the business, performed it in such a way, taking Caesar's funeral as a pretext, that almost the whole city was burned down and once more great numbers were slaughtered. You ratified all the grants made to various persons, and all the laws laid down by Caesar, not because they were all excellent—far from it!—but because it was inadvisable to make any change in them, if we were to live together free from suspicion and without malice. This man, appointed to examine into Caesar's acts, has abolished many of them and has substituted many others in the documents. He has taken away lands and citizenship and exemption from taxes and many other honours from their possessors, whether private persons, kings, or cities, and has given them to men who did not receive them, by altering the memoranda of Caesar; from those who were unwilling to give up anything to his grasp he took away even what had been given them, and sold this and everything else to such as wished to buy. Yet you, foreseeing this very possibility, had voted that no tablet should be set up after Caesar's death
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...καὶ παρ’ ἐκείνου τῷ ἃς ἡμεῖς μὲν μετὰ τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν προσετάξατε αὐτῷ ταῦτα διαλέξαι, ἐκείνος δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν φροντίσας, πάντ’ ὁ σά σῷ βούλετο μόνος καὶ περὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ περὶ τοὺς φυγάδας καὶ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἃ μικρὸ πρόσθεν ἔποιη ἔξειργάσατο. οὕτω ποιεῖ τὰ δοκοῦντα ὑμῖν ποιεῖν βούλεται.

24. “Ἀρ’ ὦν ἐν τούτοις μόνον τοσοῦτος γέγονε, τὰ ἄλλα ὅρθως διώκηκε; τοῦ; πόθεν; οὗ τὰ χρήματα τὰ κοινὰ τὰ καταλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Καῖσαρος ἐπιζητήσαι καὶ ἀποδείξαι κελευσθείς ἥρπακε, καὶ τὰ μὲν τοὺς δανεισταῖς ἀποδέδωκε τὰ δὲ ἐς τρυφὴν κατανάλωσεν, ὡστε μηκέτ’ αὐτῷ μιὰ ὑπὸ τῶν περιείναι; οὗ τὸ ὅνομα τὸ τοῦ δικτάτορος μισησάντων ὑμῶν διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου δυναστείαν καὶ παντελῶς ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ἐκβαλόντων, τοῦτο μὲν ὡσπερ τι αὐτὸ ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ ἀδικήσαι δυνάμενον οὐκ ἐπιτέθεται, τὰ δὲ ἔργα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν ἐν τῷ τῆς ὑπατείας προσρήματι ἐπιδείκται; οὗχ ὑμεῖς μὲν πρύτανιν αὐτὸν τῆς ὁμονοίας ἀπεδείξατε, οὕτω δὲ πόλεμον αὐτὸς ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ τηλικότου, οὔτε προσήκοντα οὕτε ἐγνωσμένον, ἀνήρρητα πρὸς Καῖσαρα καὶ Δέκιμον, οὗς ὑμεῖς ἐπαινεῖτε; 4 μυρία δ’ ἄν εἴῃ λέγειν, ἐὰν τις ἐπεξείναι καὶ θ’

1 τῷ Bk., τῷ LM. 2 ὡς Bk., οὕτως LM. 3 τῶν τοῦ Leunel., τῶν τοῦ LM. 4 ἔξειργάσατο St., ἐξαιρήσατο LM.
purporting to contain any privilege granted by him to any one. Nevertheless, when it happened many times after that, and he claimed that it was necessary for some provisions found in Caesar’s papers to be specially singled out and put into effect, you assigned to him, in company with the foremost men, the task of making such excerpts; but he, paying no attention to the others, carried out everything alone according to his wishes, in regard to the laws, the exiles, and the other matters which I enumerated a few moments ago. This, indeed, is the way he chooses to execute all your decrees.

"Has he, then, shown himself to be this sort of man only in these affairs, while managing the rest rightly? When or how? Though ordered to search out and produce the public moneys left behind by Caesar, has he not seized them, paying a part to his creditors and spending a part on high living, so that he no longer has any left even of this? Though you hated the name of dictator on account of Caesar’s sovereignty and rejected it entirely from the state, has not Antony, even though he has avoided adopting it,—as if the name in itself could do any harm,—nevertheless exhibited a dictator’s behaviour and his greed for gain under the title of the consulship? Though you assigned to him the duty of promoting harmony, has he not on his own responsibility begun this great war, neither necessary nor sanctioned, against Caesar and Decimus, whom you approve? Indeed, innumerable cases might be mentioned, if one wished to go into
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ēkastον ἑθελήσειεν δὲν ύμεῖς μὲν ἐπετρέψατε αὐτῷ ὡς ὑπάτῳ διοικήσαι, ἐκεῖνος δὲ οὐδ' ὦτιον ἐσ δέον ἐπραξεί, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τὰναντία καθ' ύμῶν τῇ παρ' ύμῶν ἐξουσία δοθεῖσι χρώμενος

5 πεποίηκεν. ἄρ' οὖν ἐς ύμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀναδέξεσθε καὶ τάυτα τὰ κακῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπραγμένα, καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντων σφῶν αὐτοὶ γεγονέναι φήσετε, ὅτι τὴν διοίκησιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν ἐξετασμὸν αὐτῷ

6 προσετάξατε; ἀλλὰ ἀτοπον. οὗδε γὰρ ἂν στρατηγὸς ἢ καὶ πρεσβευτής τις αἴρεθείς μηδὲν τῶν δεόντων δράσῃ, τούτου τὴν αἰτίαν ύμεῖς οἱ πέμψαντες αὐτοὺς ἐξέτε. καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἰς δεινὸν εἰ πάντες οἱ προχειριζόμενοι τι πράξαι τὰ μὲν κέρδη καὶ τὰς τιμὰς αὐτοὶ λαμβάνοιες, τὰ δὲ ἐγκληματα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐφ' ύμᾶς ἀναφέροιεν.

25 οὐκοῦν οὗδε τούτῳ προσέχειν προσήκει λέγοντι ύμεῖς γὰρ τὴν Γαλατίαν ἄρχειν ἐπετρέψατε, ύμεῖς τὰ χρήματα τὰ κοινά διοικήσαι ἐκελεύσατε, ύμεῖς τὰ στρατεύματα τὰ ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας

2 ἐδώκατε. ἐψηφίσθη μὲν γὰρ τάυτα οὕτως, εἰγε δεὶ τούτο εἴπειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου δίκην παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν, ὅτι ταῦθ' ύμᾶς ἡμάνγκασε γνώμαι: οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ τοὺς φυγῶδας κατάγειν, οὐδὲ τὸ τοὺς νόμους παρεγγράφειν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰς ἀτελείας πολεῖν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὰς κοινὰ κλέπτειν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἀρπάζειν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὰς πόλεις κακουργεῖν, οὐδὲ τὸ τῆς πατρίδος τυραννεῖν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐδώκατε ποτε

3 αὐτῷ. οὗδε γὰρ οὗδ' ἄλλω τινί, καὶ τοιοῦ πολλά

1 ἀναδέξεσθε R. Steph., ἀναδέξασθε LM.
2 πρεσβευτῆς R. Steph., πρεσβύτης LM.
3 ύμᾶς R. Steph., ἡμᾶς LM. 4 τὰ supplied by Rk.
5 ύμᾶς R. Steph., ἡμᾶς LM. 6 κατάγειν M, καταγγαγεῖν L.
details, in which you have entrusted business to him to transact as consul, not a bit of which he has performed as the circumstances demanded, but has done quite the opposite, using against you the authority that you granted. Will you, then, take upon yourselves also these base acts that he has committed and say that you yourselves are responsible for all that has happened, because you assigned to him the management and investigation of the matters in question? How absurd! Why, if any one who had been chosen general or envoy should fail in every way to do his duty, you who sent him would not incur the blame for this. Indeed it would be a sorry state of affairs, if all who are elected to perform some task should themselves receive the advantages and the honours, but lay upon you the complaints and the blame. Accordingly, it is not fitting to pay any heed to him when he says, 'But it was you who permitted me to govern Gaul, you who ordered me to administer the public finances, you who gave me the legions from Macedonia.' It is true these measures were voted,—if, indeed, you ought to put it that way, and not, instead, exact punishment from him for his action in compelling you to pass the decree; yet surely you never at any time gave him the right to restore the exiles, to add laws surreptitiously, to sell the privileges of citizenship and of exemption from taxes, to steal the public funds, to plunder the possessions of the allies, to injure the cities, or to undertake to play the tyrant over his native country. In fact, you never
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πολλοῖς ψηφισάμενοι, συνεχωρῆσατε ὡσα ἐβούλουτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ δίκην ἀεὶ ποτε παρὰ τῶν τοιούτων, ὡσων γε καὶ ἡδυνήθητε, ἐλάβετε, ἄστερ ποὺ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τούτου λήψεσθε, ἔν γε ἐμοί νῦν 4 πεισθῆτε. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τούτων μόνων τοιοῦτος γέγονεν ὁποῖον αὐτὸν ἥστε καὶ ἐοράκατε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων ἄπλῶς ὡσα πώποτε πρὸς τὰ 2 κοινὰ προσελθὼν πέπραξε.

26 "Τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἰδιὸν αὐτοῦ βίον τάς τε ἴδιας ἀσελγείας καὶ πλεονεξίας ἔκων παραλείψω, οὖχ ὅτι οὐχὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις εὐροὶ τις ἀν 3 αὐτόν πεποιηκότα, ἀλλ' ὅτι αἰδοῦμαι νη τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀκριβῶς καθ' ἑκαστον, ἀλλως τε καὶ 4

2 πρὸς οὐδὲν ἦττον εἰδότας ὑμᾶς, λέγειν ὅπως μὲν τὴν ὄραν τὴν ἐν παισιν 5 ὑμῖν διέθετο, ὅπως δὲ τὴν ἀκμὴν τὴν ἐφ' ἡβης ἀπεκήρυξε, τὰς ἐταιρῆσεις αὐτοῦ τὰς λαθραίας, τὰς πορνείας τὰς ἐμφανεῖς, ὡσα ἐπαθεν ἐως 6 ἐνεδέχετο, ὡσα ἐδρασεν ἀφ' οὔτερ ἡδυνήθη, τοὺς κώμους, τὰς μέθας, τἀλλα

3 πάντα τὰ τοιοῦτος ἐπόμενα. ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀνθρωπον ἐν τε ἀσελγεία καὶ ἐν ἄναιοσχυντία τοσαυτῇ τραφέντα μὴ οὐ πάντα τὸν ἐαυτοῦ βίον μιᾶναι ὅθεντερ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱδίων καὶ τὴν κιναιδίαν καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν προῆγαγε.

4 ταύτα μὲν οὐν ἐάσω, καὶ νη Δία καὶ την ἐς Δαγνυπτον αὐτοῦ πρὸς Γαβίνων ἀποδημίαν, τὴν τε ἐς Γαλατίαν πρὸς Καίσαρα ἀπόδρασιν, ἵνα μὴ με τὶς φῆ πάντα ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι, αἰσχυνθείς ὑπὲρ υμῶν ὅτι τοιούτων αὐτῶν ὄντα εἰδότες καὶ

1 ἡδυνήθητε Dind., ἐδυνήθητε LM. 2 τὰ M, τὸ L.
3 ἀν supplied by St. 4 καὶ supplied by Pflugk.
5 ἐν παισιν R. Steph., ἐν ποσιν L, ἐμποσιν M.
6 ἐως Bk., ὡς LM.

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conceded to any others all that they desired, though you have voted many privileges to many persons; on the contrary, you have always punished such men so far as you could, as, indeed, you will also punish him, if you take my advice now. For it is not in these matters alone that he has shown himself to be such a man as you know and have seen him to be, but absolutely in all the undertakings which he has ever performed since entering public life.

"His private life, and his personal acts of licentiousness and avarice I shall willingly pass over, not because one would fail to discover that he had committed many dreadful deeds of this sort too, but because, by Hercules, I am ashamed to describe minutely and in detail, especially to you who know it as well as I, how he spent his youth among you who were boys at the time, how he sold to the highest bidder the vigour of his prime, his secret lapses from chastity, his open fornications, what he let be done to him as long as it was possible, what he did as early as he could, his revels, his drunken debauches, and all the rest that follows in their train. It is impossible for a person brought up in so great licentiousness and shamelessness to avoid defiling his entire life; and so from his private life he brought his lewdness and greed into his public relations. I shall let this pass, then, and likewise, by Jupiter, his visit to Gabinius in Egypt and his flight to Caesar in Gaul, that I may not be charged with going minutely into every detail; for I feel ashamed for you, that knowing him to be such a man, you
δήμαρχον καὶ ἵππαρχον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπατον ἀπεδείξατε· ἂ δὲ ἑπ’ αὐτοῖς τοῦτοι ἐπαρόνησε καὶ ἐκακοῦργησε, μόνα νῦν ἔρω.

27 "Ὅτους τοῖς δημαρχήσας πρῶτον μὲν ἀπάντων ἐκώλυσεν ὑμᾶς τὰ τότε περιστάντα πράγματα εὐθέσθαι, βωῶν καὶ κεκραγὼς καὶ μόνος ἔξ ἀπάντων ἐναντιοῦμενος τῇ κοινῇ τῆς πόλεως έἰρήνην, ἐπειτὰ δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἀγανακτήσαντες ἐψηφίσασθε δὴ αὐτῶν ἀπερ ἐψηφίσασθε, τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξέδρα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγκαταλιπὼν, ὦ μηδεμίαν ἐκ τῶν νόμων νύκτα ἀποδημήσαι ἔξην, τοῦτο δὲ ἐς τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὃπλα αὐτομολήσας ἐκεῖνον τε ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐπήγαγε καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐκ τε τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀλλῆς Ἰταλίας ὀλῆς ἐξήλασε, καὶ ἐνι λόγῳ 3 πάντων τῶν κακῶν τῶν ἐμφυλίων τῶν μετὰ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν 4 συμβαίνων αὐτιώτατος ἐγένετο.

3 εἰ γὰρ μὴ τότε τοῖς βουλήμασιν ὑμῶν 5 ἀντεπεπράχει, οὐκ ἂν ποτε ὁ Καίσαρ οὔτε 6 σκῆσιν οὐδεμίαν τῶν πολέμων εὑρήκη, οὔτε εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀπηνασχύντει, δύναμιν γε 7 τινα ἀξιόχρεων παρὰ τὰ δόγματα ὑμῶν 8 ἡθοίκει, ἀλλ᾽ ἦτοι ἐκὼν ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων ἀπήλλακτο 9 ἢ καὶ ἃκων ἐσεσωφρόνιστο. νῦν δὲ οὔτος ἐστιν ὁ καὶ ἐκεῖνος τὰς προφάσεις ἐνδοὺς καὶ τὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀξίωμα καταλύσας, τὸ τε θράσος τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπαύξησας· οὔτος ὁ τὸ σπέρμα τῶν κακῶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκφύντων ἐμβαλὼν, οὔτος ὁ κοινὸς ἀλητήριος οὐχ ὑμῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς

appointed him tribune and master of the horse and subsequently consul. But I shall at present mention only his acts of drunken insolence and of villainy in these very offices.

"Well, then, when he was tribune, he first of all prevented you from accomplishing satisfactorily the business you then had in hand, by shouting and bawling and alone of all the people opposing the public peace of the state, until you became vexed and because of his conduct passed the vote that you did. Then, though, as tribune, he was not permitted by law to absent himself for a single night, he ran away from the city, abandoning the duties of his office, and going as a deserter to Caesar's camp, brought Caesar back against his country, drove you out of Rome and from all the rest of Italy, and, in short, became the prime cause of all the civil disorders that have since taken place among you. Had he not at that time acted contrary to your wishes, Caesar would never have found an excuse for the wars and could not, in spite of all his shamelessness, have gathered a sufficient force in defiance of your resolutions; but he would either have voluntarily laid down his arms or have been brought to his senses unwillingly. As it is, this fellow is the man who furnished Caesar with his excuses, who destroyed the prestige of the senate, who increased the audacity of the soldiers. He it is who planted the seeds of the evils which sprang up afterward; he it is who has proved the common bane, not only of us, but also of practically
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οικουμένης διέγον πάσης γενόμενος, ὡς που καὶ 5 τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐναργῶς ἔσημην. ὅτε γοῦν τοὺς  ἥλεμαστοὺς ἐκείνους νόμους ἐσέφερε, βροντῶν  πάντα καὶ ἀστραπῶν ἐπιλήψθη. ὅπως οὖν ὁ  μιαρὸς ὄντος, καὶ περ ὁδώρισθης εἶναι λέγων,  φροντίσας, κακῶν καὶ πολέμων, 1 ὡςπερ έιπον,  οὐ τὴν πόλιν μόνον ἄλλα καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπέληψε.

"Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν τί μεν δεὶ λέγειν ὡς ἐπ'  ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον ἰππάρχησεν, ὁ μῆπω πρῶτος 28 ἐγεγόνει; τί δ' ὅτι καὶ τότε μεθύσων 2 τε ἐπαρόνει  καὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τὴν κραυτάλην ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ 2 βήματος μεταξὺ δημηγορῶν ἐξήμει; τί δ' ὅτι καὶ  πόρνους καὶ πόρνας, καὶ γελωτοποιούς ὑμᾶς ὅτι  ἀνδρας ἄλλα καὶ γυναῖκας, μετὰ τῶν ῥαβδούχων  δαφνηφορούντων ἐπαγόμενος τὴν Ἰταλίαν περι- 3 ἤτε; τί δ' ὅτι τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου οὐσίαν μόνος  ἀνθρώπων ἀγοράσαι ἐτόλμησε, μήτε τὸ ἐαυτοῦ  ἄξωμα μήτε τὴν ἐκείνου μνήμην αἴδεσθείς, ἄλλ',  ἐφ' ὅτι πάντες ἔτι καὶ τότε ἐθρηνοῦμεν, ταῦτα  μεθ' ἱδονῆς ἀρτάσας; καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ἐκείνα καὶ ἐπ'  ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐπεπίδησεν ὡς μηδεμίαν αὐτῶν τιμῆν 4 ἀποδόσων. ἄλλα καὶ ταύτῃ μετὰ πάσης ὑβρεως  καὶ Βίας ἐσεπράξθη· οὔτως αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ  κατέγυρ· καὶ πάλι' ὅσαπερ ἐκτήσατο, παμπληθῆ  τε γενόμενα καὶ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ἀργυρολογη- 39 ὑέντα, κατακεκύβευκε καὶ καταπεπτόρευκε καὶ  καταβέβρωκε καὶ καταπέτωκεν ὡςπερ ἡ Χάρυβδις.  "Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν 3 εάσω· τὰς δὲ δὴ ὑβρεῖς  ἃς τὸ κοινὸν ὑβρίσε, καὶ τὰς σφαγᾶς ὡς κατὰ

1 πολέμων Dind., πολλῶν LM.
2 μεθύσων Rk., μηθ' ὡμῶν LM. 3 οὖν supplied by Schenkl.

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the whole world, as, indeed, Heaven clearly indicated. For when he proposed those astonishing laws, the whole city was filled with thunder and lightning. Yet this accursed fellow paid no attention to all this, though he claims to be an augur, but filled not only the city but also the whole world with evils and with wars, as I have said.

"Now after this is there any need of mentioning that he served as master of the horse a whole year, something which had never before occurred? Or that during this period also he was drunk and maudlin and in the assemblies would frequently vomit the remains of yesterday's debauch on the very rostra in the midst of his harangues? Or that he went about Italy at the head of pimps and prostitutes and buffoons, women as well as men, in the company of his lictors bearing their festoons of laurel? Or that alone of all men dared to buy the estate of Pompey, having no regard for his own dignity or that great man's memory, but grasping with delight these possessions over which we all even at that time lamented? Indeed, he fairly threw himself upon this and many other estates with the expectation of making no recompense for them. Yet the price was nevertheless exacted from him with every indignity and show of violence; so thoroughly did even Caesar condemn his course. And all that he has acquired, vast in extent and levied from every source, he has swallowed up in dicing, in harlotry, in feasting and in drinking, like a second Charybdis.

"All this, now, I will omit; but regarding the insults which he offered to the state and the blood-
πᾶσαν ὁμοίως τὴν πόλιν εἰργάσατο, πῶς ἂν τις σιωπήσειν; ἢ ὦ μέμωσθε πῶς βαρύς μὲν ὕμων καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ ὤψει, βαρύτατος δὲ τοῖς ἐργοῖς ἐγένετο; ὅστις, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί, πρῶτον μὲν ἐτόλμησεν ἐνταῦθα, ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους, ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτήριῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, τὸ τε ἐσθήμα ἀμα τὸ περιτορφυρὸν ἐνδύεσθαι καὶ ξίφος παραζώνυνθαι βασιλέως τε χρήσθαι
καὶ ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν δορυφορεῖσθαι. ἔπειτα δυνηθεὶς ἂν καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων καταπαύσαι, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐποίησε τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁμονοοῦσας ὑμᾶς ἐστασίασεν, τῇ μὲν αὐτὸς τῇ δὲ καὶ δὴ ἐτέρων. καὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνους ἐν τῷ μέρει προσλαμβάνων, καὶ τοτε μὲν συναίρομενός σφιος τοτε δὲ ἐναντιούμενος, αὐτιώτατος μὲν ἐγένετο τοῦ παμπληθεὶς σφων σφαγῆναι, 4 αὐτιώτατος δὲ τοῦ μη πάντα τὰ τοῦ Πόντου τῶν τε Πάρθων εὕθως τότε ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ τοῦ Φαρνάκου νίκη χειρωθῆναι πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς παττόμενα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ δεύτερ διὰ ταχέων ὁ Κάισαρ ἐπειχθεὶς οὐδὲν ἐκείνων, ὡς γε καὶ ἡδυνήθη, παντελῶς κατειργᾶσατο.
30 "Καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα μέντοι αὐτῶν ἐσωφρόνισεν, ἀλλ’ ὑπατεύσας γυμνός, ὦ πατέρες, γυμνός καὶ μεμυρισμένος ἐς τε τὴν ἁγορὰν ἐσήλθε, πρόφασιν τὰ Δυκαία ποιησάμενος, κανταύθα πρὸς τὸ βῆμα μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων προσήλθε, καὶ ἐκεῖ κάτωθεν ἐδημηγόρησεν. ὦπερ, ἀφ’ οὐ γέγονεν ἡ πόλις, οὐδένα ἄλλον οὐχ ὅτι ὑπατον ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ στρατηγὸν οὐδὲ δήμαρχον οὐδ’ ἀγορανόμον οὐδεὶς οὐδεὶς πε- 1 σφιοι τοτε δε ἐναντιούμενος supplied by Bk.
2 του supplied by Bk. 3 γε Rk., τε LM.
shed which he caused throughout the whole city alike how could any man remain silent? Do you not recall how oppressive the very sight of him was to you, but most of all his deeds? Why, merciful heavens, he first dared, within the city walls, in the Forum, in the senate-house, on the Capitol, at one and the same time to array himself in the purple-bordered robe and to gird on a sword, to employ lictors and to have a body-guard of soldiers.\(^1\) Then, when he might have checked the turmoil of the others, he not only failed to do so, but even set you at variance when you were harmonious, partly by his own acts and partly with the aid of others. Nay more, he took up those very factions in turn, and by now assisting them and now opposing them was chiefly responsible for great numbers of them being slain and for the fact that the whole region of Pontus and Parthia was not subdued at that time immediately after the victory over Pharnaces. For Caesar, hastening hither with all speed to see what he was doing, did not entirely complete any of those projects, as he certainly might have done.

"And even this result did not sober him, but when he was consul he came naked—naked, Conscript Fathers—and anointed into the Forum, taking the Lupercalia as an excuse, then proceeded in company with his lictors toward the rostra, and there harangued us while standing below. Why, from the day the city was founded no one can point to any one else, even a praetor, or tribune, or aedile, much less a

\(^1\) Cf. xlii. 27, 2; xlvi. 16, 5.
διονυσία. τὰ γὰρ Δυκαία ἦν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐταιρικοῦ τοῦ Ἰουλίου ἐτέτακτο: ταῦτα γὰρ ὁ Σέξτος αὐτῶν ὁ Κλάδιος τῶν δισχιλίων πλέθρων τῶν ἐν
3 τῇ Δεσπότηνον γῆ δοθέντων ἐξεπαιδεύσετε. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπάτευμε, ὁ χρηστεί (ἔρω γὰρ ὡς πρὸς παρόντα σε), καὶ οὔτε ἔπρεπε σοι οὔτε ἔξην τοιοῦτο ὁντι ἐν 1 τῇ ἀγορᾷ πρὸς τὸ βήματι, πάντων ἡμῶν παρόντων, τοιαῦτ' εἰπεῖν, ἵν' ἁμα το τὸ
θαυμαστὸν σου σῶμα καὶ εὐσαρκοὶ καὶ βδελυρόν θεωρόμεν, καὶ τῆς μιαρᾶς σου φωνῆς τῆς μεμυρισ-
4 μένης τὰ δεινὰ ἐκεῖνα λεγούσης ἀκούώμεν· τοῦτο γὰρ περὶ τοῦ στόματός σου μᾶλλον ἢ τι ἔτερον εἰπεῖν βούλομαι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ Δυκαία καὶ ἄλλως ἃν τῆς προσηκούσης θρησκείας οὐκ ἀπέτυχε, 2 σὺ
dὲ πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τὴν πόλιν κατῆχονα, ἵνα μηδὲν
5 μηδὲν περὶ τῶν τότε λεκθέντων εἶπω· τὸ γὰρ ὅκι δὲν ὅτι ἡ ὑπάτεια δημοσία τοῦ δήμου παν-
tός ἐστι, καὶ δεὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα αὐτῆς πανταχοῦν σῶξεται καὶ μηδαμοῦ μήτε γυμνοῦσθαι μήθ'
ὑβρίζεσθαί. τάχα γ' ἂν οὗτος ἢ τὸν Ὄρατιον τὸν
παλαιὸν ἐκεῖνον ἢ καὶ τὴν Κλοιλίαν τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐμμηνόστο, ὅτι ἡ μὲν τὴν ἐσθήτα πᾶσαν ἐνδεδυκάν
τὸν ποταμὸν διενήξατο, ὅ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐς τὸ ρέμα ἐαυτὸν ἐνέβαλεν. ἀξιόν γε (οὐ γάρ;
καὶ τούτου τινὰ εἰκόνα στῆσαι, ἵν' ὃ μὲν καὶ ἐν τῷ
Τιβέριδι ὁπλισμένος, ὃ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ γυμνὸς
2 ὀρότο. καὶ γὰρ τοι διὰ ταῦτα ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἡμᾶς
καὶ ἑσωξον καὶ ἠλευθέρουν, οὔτος δὲ πᾶσαν μὲν
tὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν, ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἦν, ἀφείλετο,

1 οὐκ ἀπέτυχε 
2 οὐκ ἀπέτυχε 

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consul, who ever did such a thing. But it was the Lupercalia, you will say, and he had been put in charge of the Julian College.\footnote{Cf. xlv. 6.} Of course, though, it was Sextus Clodius who had trained him to conduct himself so, in return for the two thousand plethra of the land of Leontini.\footnote{Cf. Cic. Philp. ii. 4, 17, 34, 39; iii. 9.} But you were consul, my fine fellow,—for I will address you as though you were present,—and it was neither proper nor permissible for you as such to speak thus in the Forum, hard by the rostra, with all of us present, and to cause us not only to behold your wonderful body, so plump and detestable, but also to hear your accursed voice, dripping with unguents, uttering those outrageous words,—for I wish to speak of this matter of your mouth rather than anything else. The Lupercalia would not have failed of its proper reverence without this; but you disgraced the whole city at once,—to say nothing as yet about your remarks on that occasion. For who does not know that the consulship is public, the property of the whole people, that its dignity must be preserved everywhere, and that its holder must nowhere strip naked or behave wantonly? Perchance he was imitating the famous Horatius of old or Cloelia of bygone days; yet the latter swam across the river with all her clothing on, and the former cast himself with his armour into the flood. It would be fitting, would it not, to set up a statue of Antony also, so that as the one man is seen armed even in the Tiber so the other might be seen naked even in the Forum. It was by such conduct as has been cited that those heroes of yore were wont to preserve us and give us liberty, while he took away all our liberty from us, so far as was in his power,
πάσαν δὲ τὴν δημοκρατίαν κατέλυσεν, καὶ δεσπό-
την μὲν ἀντὶ υπάτου τύραννον δὲ ἀντὶ δικτά-
τορος ἡμῶν ἀντικατέστησε. 1 μέμνησθε γὰρ οἷα
μὲν προσελθὼν πρὸς τὸ βῆμα εἶπεν, οὐ δὲ ἄνα-
βας ἑπ’ αὐτὸ ἐπραξε. καὶ τοιοῦ ὅστις ἐτόλ-
μησε, Ῥωμαίος τε ὅν καὶ ἕπατεύων, βασιλέα
τινα Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ καὶ
πρὸς τῷ βῆματι τῷ ἐλευθερίῳ, παντὸς μὲν τοῦ
δήμου πάσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς παρούσης ἀνευπεῖν,
καὶ τὸ τε διάδημα εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ
4 ἐπιθείναι, καὶ προσκαταψεῦσαθαι πάντων ἡμῶν
ἀκοινώνων ὅτι αὐτοὶ ταῦτα αὐτῷ καὶ εἰπεῖν καὶ
πραξεῖ ἐπεσκήψαμεν, τι μὲν οὔκ ἄν τῶν δεινοτά-
των τολμήσει, τίνος δ’ ἄν τῶν χαλεπωτάτων
32 ἀπόσχοιτο; ἡμεῖς, δ’ Ἀντώνιος, ἡμεῖς σοι 2 ταῦτ’
ἐνετειλάμεθα, οἱ τοὺς Ταρκυνίους 3 ἐξέλασαντες,
οἱ τὸν Βρούτον ἁγαπῆσαντες, οἱ τὸν Καπιτώλιον 4
κατακρημνίσαντες, οἱ τὸν Σπούριον ἀποκτείναντες;
2 ἡμεῖς βασιλέα τινα ἀσπάσασθαι σε προσετάξα-
μεν, οἱ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ
προσέτι καὶ τὴν τοῦ δικτάτορος δι’ ἐκείνην,
ἐπάρατον ποιησάμενοι; ἡμεῖς τύραννον τινα ἀπο-
δείξαι σοι ἐκελεύσαμεν, οἱ τὸν Πύρρον ἐκ τῆς
Ἰταλίας ἐκβαλόντες, οἱ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ὑπὲρ τὸν
Ταύρον ἀπελάσαντες, οἱ καὶ Μακεδονίαν τυραν-
3 νομεύνῃ παύσαντες; οὐ μὰ τὰς βάρδους τὰς
Οὐαλερίου καὶ τὸν νόμον τὸν Πορκίου, οὐ μὰ τὸ
σκέλος τὸ Ὀρατίου καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τὴν Μουκίου, οὐ
4 μὰ τὸ δόρυ τὸ Δεκίου καὶ τὸ ξίφος τὸ Βρούτου. σὺ

1 ἀντικατέστησε M, ἀντικατέστησε L.
2 σοι M, οἱ L.
3 Ταρκυνίους R. Steph., ταρκυνίους LM.
4 Καπιτώλιον R. Steph., Καπιτώλιον LM.
destroyed the whole republic, and set up a despot in place of a consul, a tyrant in place of a dictator over us. For you recall the nature of his language when he approached the rostra, and the manner of his behaviour when he had mounted it. And yet, when a man who is a Roman and a consul has dared to name any one king of the Romans in the Roman Forum, beside the rostra of liberty, in the presence of the whole people and the whole senate, and straightway to set the diadem upon his head and further to affirm falsely in the hearing of us all that we ourselves bade him say and do this, what outrageous deed will that man not dare, and from what terrible act will he refrain? Did we lay this injunction upon you, Antony, we who expelled the Tarquins, who cherished Brutus, who hurled Capitolinus headlong, who put Spurius to death? Did we order you to salute any one as king, we who laid a curse upon the very name of king and because of it upon that of dictator as well? Did we command you to appoint any one tyrant, we who repulsed Pyrrhus from Italy, who drove Antiochus back beyond the Taurus, who put an end to tyranny even in Macedonia? No, by the rods of Valerius and the law of Porcius, no, by the leg of Horatius and the hand of Mucius, no, by the spear of Decius and the sword of Brutus! But you, unspeakable

1 P. Valerius Publicola, consul in B.C. 509, lowered his fasces upon entering the assembly in token of the superior power of the people. See Frag. 13, 2, and Livy ii. 7.
δέ, ὁ παγκάκιστε, καὶ ἐδέσω καὶ ἱκέτευς ἦνα δουλεύσης, ὡς Ποστούμιος ὁπώς Σαυνίτας ἐκδοθή, 1 ὡς Ῥήγουλος ὁπώς Καρχιδονίοις ἀποδοθή, 1 ὡς Κοῦρτιος ἦνα ἐς τὸ χάραμα ἐμπέση. 1 καὶ ποῦ τούτο γεγραμμένον 2 εὗρες; ὦπερ 3 καὶ τὸ τούς Κρήτας ἐλευθέρους μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Βρούτον ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι, ἄν ἢμεῖς ἐκεῖνον μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος θάνατον ἄρξαι ἐψηφισάμεθα.

33 "Εἴτ' ἐν τοσοῦτοι καὶ τηλικοῦτοι πράγμασι τὴν ἀληθηρώδη γνώμην αὐτοῦ πεφωρακότες ὦν τιμωρήσεσθε αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ ἀναμενεῖτε 4 καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ μαθεῖν τί ἄν δράσεις ὑμᾶς ὀπλισμένοι ὁ τοιαῦτα
gυμνὸς εἰργασμένος; ἦν οἰκείας ὃτι οὐκ ἐπιθυμεῖ τῆς τυραννίδος, ὅτι οὐκ εὐχεταί ποτε αὐτής τυχείν, ἀλλ' ἐκβαλεὶ ποτε ἐκ τῆς διανοίας τῆς ἐφεσιν ταύτην, ἦν ἀπαξ ἐς τὸν νοῦν ἐγκατέθετο, καὶ καταβαλεὶ ποτε τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς μοναρχίας, ὕπερ ἧς τοιαῦτα καὶ εἴπτων καὶ ποιῆσας ἀτιμώρητος ἐγένετο; καὶ τῖς ἀνθρώπων ἡ 5 ἄλλῳ τῷ συμπράξαι, τῆς φωνῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ μόνης κυριεύων, ἐπιχειρήσει, ταύτ' οὐκ ἄν αὐτῶς ἐαυτῷ δυνηθεὶς κατεργάσαιτο; τῖς δ' ἄν ἐτερον τύραννον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ ἔφ' ἐαυτὸν ἀμα ἀποδείξει τολμήσας ὑμῖν ἄν αὐτῶς μοναρχῆσαι
34 ἐθελήσεις; ὡστε εἰ καὶ τότε αὐτοῦ ἐφείσασθε, ἀλλὰ νῦν γε καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνα αὐτοῦ μισήσατε· μηδ' ἐθελήσητε μαθεῖν τί κατορθώσας ὡσα 6 βούλεται δράσει, 7 ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἡδὴ προτετολμημένων αὐτῷ

1 ἔκδοθη, ἀποδοθή, ἐμπέση Rk., ἐκδοθῆς, ἀποδοθῆς, ἐμπέσης LM.
2 γεγραμμένον R. Steph., γεγραμμένον LM.
3 οὔπερ Bk., έσσερ LM. 4 ἀναμενεῖτε Pflugk, ἀναμένετε LM.
5 & supplied by Reim. 6 ὡσα Rk., ὡσα LM.
6 δράσει Rk., δράσειν LM.

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villain, begged and pled to be made a slave, as Postumius pled to be delivered to the Samnites, as Regulus to be given back to the Carthaginians, as Curtius that he might hurl himself into the chasm. And where did you find this recorded? In the same place, I suppose, where you discovered that the Cretans were to be made free after Brutus' governorship, although it was after Caesar's death that we voted he should govern them.

"So then, seeing that you have discovered his baneful disposition in so many and so great matters, will you not take vengeance on him instead of waiting to learn by experience, too, what the man who caused so much trouble stripped would do to you when he is armed? Do you think that he is not eager for the tyrant's power, that he does not pray to obtain it some time, but will some day cast the desire of it out of his thoughts after having once allowed it a resting-place in his mind, and will some day abandon the hope of sole rulership for which he has spoken and acted as he has with impunity? What human being who, while possessing nothing but his own voice, would undertake to help some one else to secure certain advantages, would not win them for himself when he gained the power? Who that has dared to name another as tyrant over his country and himself as well would not wish to be monarch himself? Hence, even though you spared him then, hate him now for those acts too. Do not wish to learn what he will do when his success equals his desires, but taught by his previous audacity, plan
2 τὸ μηδὲν ἐτὶ δεινὸν παθεῖν προφήσατε. καὶ γάρ τοι τί καὶ φήσεις ἀν τις; ὥρθως τότε τὸν Καί-
σαρα ποιήσαι μὴ προσδέξαμεν μὴτε τὸ ὄνομα 
tοῦ βασιλέως μὴτε τὸ διάδημα; οὐκόν οὕτος 
κακὸς ταῦτα αὐτῷ προὔπειν ἐμὴ δὲ ἐκεῖνον 
3 ἤρεσεν. ἀλλ' ἀμαρτείν ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοιοῦτό 
tί ἄκουσας καὶ ἰδὼν ἤνεσχετο; οὐκόν εὕπερ 
ἐκεῖνος εἰκότως ἐπὶ τοῦτοις τέθυνηκε, πῶς οὐ καὶ 
οὕτος, ὁμολογῶν τρόπον τινὰ τυραννῆσαι ἐπιθυ-
μεῖν, δικαιότατός ἐστιν ἀπολέσθαι; ὅτι γὰρ ταῦθ' 
οὕτως ἔχει, δῆλον μεν ἐστὶ καὶ ἐκ τούτων ὅπω 
προείρηκα, φανερῶτατα δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν δὲν μετὰ 
tαῦτ' ἔπραξεν ἐλέγχεται. τίνος μὲν γὰρ ἄλλου 
ἐνεκα, ἐξὸν αὐτῷ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀσφαλῶς ἄγειν, 
ταράττειν τὰ πράγματα καὶ πολυτραγμονεῖν ἐπι-
κεχείρηκε; τίνος δὲ, παρὸν αὐτῷ ἄκινδυνὸς οἴκοι 
μένειν, στρατεύεσθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν ἐπανήρθηται; διὰ 
tί, πολλῶν μηδὲ ἐς τὰς ἐπιβαλούσας αὐτοῖς ἄρχας 
βουλήθέντων ἐξελθεῖν, οὕτως οὐχ ὦτι τῆς Γαλατίας 
οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσης ἀντιποιεῖται, ἀλλὰ καὶ 
6 ἄκουσαν αὐτὴν βιάζεται; διὰ τί, τοῦ Βροῦτον τοῦ 
Δεκάμοι καὶ έαυτόν καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τὰς 
πόλεις ἕμιν 1 παραδιδόντος, οὕτως οὐχ ὅπως οὐκ 
ἐμμησάτο αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλορκεὶ κατακλεί-
σας; οὐκ ἐστὶν ὅπως οὐκ ἐπ' ἄλλο τί καὶ ἐφ' 
ἡμᾶς 2 κάκεῖνα καὶ τάλλα πάντα παρασκευάζεται.
35 "Ταῦτ' οὖν ὅροντες μέλλομεν καὶ μαλακιζόμεθα, 
καὶ τηλικοῦτον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς 3 τύραννον ἀσκοῦ-
μεν; καὶ πῶς οὐκ οἰσχρὸν τοὺς μὲν προγόνους 
ἡμῶν ἐν δουλείᾳ τραφέντας ἐπιθυμῆσαι ἐλευθερίας,

1 ἕμιν H. Steph., ἕμιν L. 2 ἡμᾶς H. Steph., ἡμᾶς LM. 3 αὐτοὺς Bk., αὐτὸν LM.
beforehand to suffer no further harm. What, indeed, is one to say? That Caesar acted rightly at that time in accepting neither the name of king nor the diadem? Then this man did wrong to offer something which pleased not even Caesar. Or, on the other hand, that Caesar erred in enduring at all to look on and listen to anything of the sort? If, then, Caesar justly suffered death for this error, does not this man, also, who admitted in a way that he desired to be tyrant, most richly deserve to perish? That this is so is evident even from what I have previously said, but is proved most clearly by what he did after that. For with what other object than supremacy has he undertaken to stir up trouble and to meddle in affairs, when he might have enjoyed quiet with safety? With what other object has he chosen to make campaigns and to carry on war, when it was in his power to remain at home without danger? For what reason, when many have been unwilling to go out and take charge even of the provinces that fell to them, does he not only lay claim to Gaul, which does not belong to him in the least, but uses force upon it because of its unwillingness? For what reason, when Decimus Brutus is ready to surrender to us himself and his soldiers and his cities, has this man not imitated him, instead of shutting him up and besieging him? Surely it can only be for this purpose and against us that he is strengthening himself in this and in every other way.

"Seeing all this, then, do we delay and give way to weakness and train up so monstrous a tyrant against ourselves? Would it not be disgraceful if, after our forefathers, who had been brought up in slavery,
καὶ τὴς μὲν μοναρχίας τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἡδέως, καίπερ 1 πολλὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀγαθὰ προπαθόντας, ἀπαλλαγῆναι, τούτου δὲ δεσπότην αὐθαίρετον ἀνθελόσθαι, ὡς τοσοῦτον ἐκείνου χελρων ἐστὶν ὅσον ὁ μὲν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κρατήσας πολλῶν ἐφείσατο, οὕτως δὲ, πρὸν καὶ δυνηθήναι τι, τριακοσίους στρατιώτας, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκατοντάρχους τινάς, μηδὲν ἁδικήσαντας, οὐκοι παρ ἑαυτῷ, παροῦσης τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ βλεπούσης, ἐφόνευσεν, ὡστε καὶ τοῦ αὐτότου αὐτὴν ἀναπλησαι. καίτοι τοῦ οὗτος ὁμός ἐκείνους, ὅτε καὶ θεραπεύειν αὐτοὺς ὄφειλε, χρησάμενον τί οὐκ οἴεσθε 2 τῶν δευτέρατων πάντας ὕμᾶς, ἀν καὶ νικήσῃ, ποιήσειν; καὶ τὸν ἁσελγῶς οὗτω μέχρι νῦν βεβιωκότα πῶς οὐκ ἐπὶ πάν υβρεως, ἀν καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὁπλών ἐξουσίαν προσλάβῃ, χωρῆσεν νομίζετε; 26 "Μη τοίνυν ἀναμείνητε παθῶντες τι τοιοῦτο μεταγινώναι, ἄλλα πρὶν παθεῖν φυλάξασθε· σχέτλιων γάρ, ἐξ' ὑπὸ προκαταλαβεῖν τὰ δεινά, εἶτα περιμένεται αὐτὰ γενόμενα μετανοήσαι. μηδὲ ἔθελήσητε, προέμενοι τὰ παρόντα, Κασσίου τινὸς αὐθίς ἄλλου καὶ Βρούτων 3 τινῶν ἄλλων δειηθήμαι· γελοίον γάρ, ἐξ' ὑπὸ αὐτοὺς ἐαυτοῖς τὰ κἀτὰ καρδών βοηθήσαι, ξητείν μετὰ ταῦτα τοὺς ἐλευθεροῦντας ἡμᾶς. οὕς ἵσως οὐδὲ εὐρήσομεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ οὕτω τοῖς παρόνι χρησώμεθα. τίς γὰρ ἐν ἰδίᾳ ύπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας κινδυνεύσαι ἔθελήσειν,

1 καίπερ M by correction, καὶ L (and M originally).
2 οἴεσθε R. Steph., οἴεσθαι LM.
3 Βρούτων M, βρούτον τῶν L.
felt the desire for liberty, we, who have lived under a free government, should become slaves of our own accord? Or, again, if after gladly ridding ourselves of the dominion of Caesar, though we had already received many benefits at his hands, we should deliberately choose as our master in his stead this man, who is far worse than he? For Caesar spared many after his victories in war, whereas this man before attaining any power slaughtered three hundred soldiers, among them some centurions, guilty of no wrongdoing, in his own country, and in the presence and sight of his wife, so that she was actually stained with their blood. And yet what do you think the man who treated them so cruelly, when he owed them care, will not do to all of you,—aye, down to the utmost outrage,—if he shall conquer? And how can you believe that the man who has lived so licentiously up to the present time will not proceed to every extreme of insolence, if he shall also secure the authority given by arms?

"Do not, then, wait until you have suffered some such treatment and then rue it, but be on your guard before you suffer; for it is rash to allow dangers to come upon you and then to repent of it, when you might have anticipated them. And do not choose to neglect the present opportunity and then ask again for another Cassius or other Brutuses; for it is ridiculous, when we have the power of aiding ourselves in time, to seek men later on to set us free. Perhaps we shall not find them, either, especially if we handle the present situation in such a manner. For who would choose to encounter danger personally for the republic, when he sees that
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ὅρων ἡμᾶς δημοσίᾳ πρὸς τὴν δουλείαν ἐτοίμως ἔχοντας; καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε ὁ στήσεται ποτε ταῦτα ποιῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς πόρρω καὶ ἐλάττωσιν ἐφ'

3 ἡμᾶς αὐξάνεται, παντὶ δῆλον ἐστὶν. οὐ γὰρ ποὺ δι' ἄλλο τι Δεκάμῳ πολεμεῖ καὶ Μοῦτιναν πολιορκεῖ ἢ ἡνα νικήσας αὐτοὺς καὶ λαβὼν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς συσκευάσῃται: οὔτε γὰρ ἡδίκηται τι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὡςτ' ἀμύνασθαι δοκεῖν, οὔτ' αὑ τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν τῶν παρ' ἐκεῖνοις ἐπιθυμεῖ, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ πόνους καὶ κινδύνους ὑπομένει, τῶν δ' ἡμετέρων, οὔ καὶ ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἀλλὰ πολλὰ κεκτήμεθα,

4 ἐθελοντῆς ἀφέξεται. τοῦτ' οὖν ἀναμενούμεν, ἦν καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἀλλὰ ἀττα προσλαβών δυσπολέμητος γένηται; καὶ πιστεύσομεν ἐξαπατῶντι

37 αὐτῷ καὶ λέγοντι ὅτι 2 οὐ πολεμεῖ τῇ πόλει; καὶ τίς οὗτως εὐήθης· ἐστὶν ὅστε τοῖς ρήμασι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν πολεμοῦντα ἡμῶν ἢ μὴ σκοπεῖν; ἤγῳ μὲν γὰρ οὐ νῦν πρῶτον, ὡτε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκδήρακε καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἑστράτευκε καὶ Βρούτῳ προσβάλλει καὶ τὰς πόλεις πολιορ-

2 κεῖ, κακόνον 3 αὐτὸν ἡμῶν εἶναι φημι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ὧν πρότερον ποτε, οὐχ ὅτι τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Καύσαρος ἀλλὰ καὶ ξώντος ἐτι, καὶ κακῶς καὶ ἀσελγῶς ἔπραξεν, καὶ ἐχθρὸν καὶ ἐπίβουλον καὶ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἡμῶν γεγονέναι

3 διορίζομαι τῖς γὰρ ἀν τὴν πατρίδα φιλῶν ἢ τῖς πυραυνίδα μισῶν ἐν γε τὶ τούτων ἐποίησεν ἅ πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ οὕτως δέδρακε; πολέμιος μὲν δὴ πάλαι καὶ πανταχόθεν ὃν ἡμῶν ἐλέγχεται,

1 πιστεύσομεν R. Steph., πιστεύσωμεν LM.
2 ὅτι supplied by Dind.
3 κακόνον R. Steph., κακὸν οὖν LM.

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we are publicly resigned to slavery? And yet it is evident to everybody that Antony will not stop short with what he is now doing, but that even in remote and smaller matters he is strengthening himself against us. Surely he is warring against Decimus and besieging Mutina for no other purpose than that he may, after conquering them, take them and employ them against us. For he has not been wronged by them, that he can appear to be defending himself; nor, again, will he, while desiring the goods that they possess and with this in view enduring toils and dangers, be willing to refrain from the possessions belonging to us, who own their property and much besides. Shall we, then, wait for him to secure this prize and still others, and thus become a dangerous foe? Shall we trust his deception when he says that he is not warring against the city? Who is so simple as to decide whether a man is making war on us or not by his words rather than by his deeds? I claim that this is not the first time he has been unfriendly to us, now that he has abandoned the city and made a campaign against our allies and is assailing Brutus and besieging the cities; but in view of his former evil and licentious behaviour, not only after Caesar's death but even in the latter's lifetime, I decide that he has shown himself an enemy of our government and of our liberty and a plotter against them. For who that loved his country or hated tyranny would have committed a single one of the many and manifold offences which he has perpetrated? Surely he is proved to have been for a long time and in every way an enemy of ours, and the case stands
ἐχει δὲ οὖτως. ἀν μὲν ἦδη καὶ τὴν ταχύτητν ἀμυνωμέθα αὐτῶν, πάντα καὶ τὰ προειμένα 1
4 ἀναληψόμεθα. ἀν δὲ ἀμελήσαντες τούτο ποιεῖν περιμένωμεν ἐως ἂν ἦμιν αὐτός ἐκεῖνος ἐπιβου-
λεύειν ὁμολογήσῃ, πάντων ἀμαρτησόμεθα. τούτο μὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ἀν πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν προσελαύνῃ
ποιήσει, ὡσπερ οὐδ' ὁ Μάριος οὐδ' ὁ Κίννας οὐδ'.
5 ὁ Σύλλας. ἀν δὲ ἐν τῷ κράτει τῶν πραγμάτων γένηται, οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ τι οὐ δράσει τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνος, ἢ καὶ χαλεπώτερου. ἄλλα τε γὰρ λέγει
οἱ πράξαι τι 2 γλυχόμενοι καὶ ἄλλα ποιεῖν οἱ κατορθώσαντες εἰσώθασιν πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ κρατῆσαι τούτου πάντα πλάττονται, τυχόντες δὲ
6 αὐτοῦ οὐδενὸς δὲν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἀπέχονται. καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰ τετολμημένα τισίν οἱ ἐπινιγγόμενοι
νικῶν ἄει ἑθέλουσι, τὸ μὲν ὀμοίων ὡς καὶ σμικρὸν ἐκ τοῦ προπεπράχθαι νομίζοντες, τὸ δὲ ἀτοπον ὡς καὶ μόνων 3 σφῶν ἀξιον ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου
προαιροῦμενοι.
38 "Ταύτ' οὖν ὀράντες, ὁ πατέρες, μηκέτι μέλλομεν, μηδ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ παρόντι ῥαστώνης δελεα-
ζώμεθα, ἀλλὰ τῆς πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἀσφαλείας 2 προϊδώμεθα. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν Καῖσαρα
μέν, ἀρτι τε ἐκ παῖδων προεληφθότα καὶ οὐ
πολὺς ἐξ οὐ χρόνος ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐγγεγραμ-
μένων, τοσαύτην τοῦ κοινοῦ πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι
ἂντε καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ
ἀναλίσκειν καὶ στρατιώτας ἀθροίζειν, ἡμᾶς δὲ
μήτ' αὐτούς τι τῶν δεόντων πράξαι μῆτε ἐκεῖνο

1 προειμένα R. Steph., προειμένα LM.
2 πράξαι τι Plługk, τι πράξαι Rk., πράξαι LM.
3 μόνων Reim., μόνων LM.
thus. If we now take measures against him most speedily, we shall also recover all that has been lost; but if we neglect to do this and wait till he himself admits that he is plotting against us, we shall lose everything. For this he will never do, not even if he should actually march upon the city, any more than did Marius or Cinna or Sulla; yet if he gets control of affairs, he will not fail to act precisely as they did, or still worse. For men who are eager to accomplish some object are wont to say one thing, and those who have succeeded in accomplishing it are wont to do quite a different thing; to gain their end they pretend anything, but after obtaining it there is no desire they deny themselves. Furthermore, the latest comers always desire to surpass what their predecessors have ventured, thinking it a small achievement to behave like them because that has been done before, but preferring to do something original as the only thing worthy of themselves, because unexpected.

"Seeing all this, then, Cons script Fathers, let us no longer delay nor fall a prey to the indifference of the moment, but let us provide for the safety of the future. Is it not shameful, when Caesar, who has just emerged from boyhood and was but recently registered among the youths of military age, shows so great thought for the state as to spend his money and gather soldiers for its preservation, that we should neither choose to perform our duty ourselves
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συνάρασθαι 1 προελέσθαι, καίπερ πείραν ἐργῷ τῆς
3 εὐνοίας αὐτοῦ εἰληφότας; τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἴδεν ὅτι 2
ei µὴ μετὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καμπανίας στρατιωτῶν
ἐνταῦθα ἄφικτο, πάντως ἁν 3 Ἀντώνιος ἐκ τοῦ
Βρεττεσίου εὐθὺς, ὡσπερ εἶχεν, ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἦµῶν
µετὰ πάντων τῶν στρατευμάτων ὡσπερ τίς χει-
4 µάρρους ἐσεπεπτώκει; καὶ µὴν καὶ ἐκεῖνο δεινον,
tοὺς µὲν πάλαι ἐστρατευμένους ἐκουσίους ἐαυτοὺς
ὑµῶν πρὸς τὰ παρούτα πράγµατα ἐπὶδεδω-
κέναι, µήτε τὴν ἕλκιαν µήτε τὰ τραύµατα, ἂ
πρότερον ποτὲ πολεµοῦντες ύπὲρ ὑµῶν ἐλαβον,
ὑπολογισµένους, ὑµᾶς ⁴ δὲ µηδὲ επικυρώσαι τὸν
πόλεµον ἐθελήσαι τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων προ-
5 κεχειροτονηµένον, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτοι χεῖρος καὶ τῶν
κινδυνεύοντων αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι ὡστε ἐπαινεῖν
µὲν τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς τὴν τε µιαρίαν
τοῦ Ἀντώνιου κατιδόντας καὶ ἐκείνου µὲν καὶ
ὑπατεύοντος ἀποστάντας, τῷ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρι, τοῦτ
ἐστιν ὑµῶν δι' αὐτοῦ, προσθεµένους, ἂ δ' ὀρθῶς
αὐτοὺς πεποιηκέναι φατε, ταῦτ' ὁκνῆσαι ψηφίσα-
σθαι. καὶ µέντοι καὶ τῷ Βρούτῳ χάριν ἵσµεν ὅτι
µήτε τὸ κατ' ἄρχας ἐσεδέξατο τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐς
τὴν Γαλατιὰν καὶ υἱὸν ἐπιστρατεύσαντα ἀπω-
θεῖται. τὶ ποτ' οὖν οὐχὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ αὐτὰ
ποιούµεν; τὶ δὲ οὗ τοὺς ἄλλους οὓς ὀρθῶς
39 φρονοῦντας ἐπαινοῦµεν, µιµοῦµεθα ⁵; καὶ τοῖς δυοῖν
ἡµᾶς ἀνάγκη θάτερον, ἤ τούτους πάντας, τῶν
Καῖσαρα λέγω, τῶν Βρούτου, τοὺς πάλαι στρατιώ-

1 συνάρασθαι R. Steph., συναρασθαί LM.
2 ὅτι added by Dind. ³ ἂν added by Bk.
4 ὑµᾶς Bs., ἡµᾶς LM.
5 µιµοῦµεθα Reim. (so L by correction), οὗ µιµούµεθα M.

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nor to cooperate with him, even after obtaining a tangible proof of his good-will? For who does not realize that, if he had not arrived here with the soldiers from Campania, Antony would certainly have rushed at once from Brundisium, just as he was, and would have burst into our city with all his armies like a torrent? This also is disgraceful, that when the veterans have voluntarily placed themselves at your service for the present crisis, taking thought neither for their age nor for the wounds which they received in past years while fighting for you, you should both refuse to approve the war already declared by these very men, and show yourselves altogether inferior to them who are facing the dangers. For while you praise the soldiers who discovered the wickedness of Antony and withdrew from him, though he was consul, and attached themselves to Caesar,—that is, to you through him,—you shrink from voting for that which you say they were right in doing. And yet we are grateful to Brutus because he not only did not admit Antony to Gaul in the first place, but is trying to repel him now that the other has made a campaign against him. Why in the world, then, do we not do the same ourselves? Why do we not imitate the rest whom we praise for their proper attitude? Yet there are only two courses open to us: either we must say that all these men,—Caesar, I mean, and Brutus, the veterans,
tas, ta stratotopeia,1 kakkos te beboulus siai
fainai kai timorion dein uposchein oti mhe 2
meste tov dhimou ypsiastamenv ev tolmyisaia, oi me
ton upatov sforon katalipontes oi de ep auton
2 athetai stentes, prospoltemiisaia autw 3 he
ton 'Antonion palai te kai vun 3 vap hma
4 tois ergous autous pollemon omologeiv einai kekrishai,
kal xrhmai kai koin gwnomi pros panton hma
koiasin. kai mhn oti touto oin monon dikaiot-
teron allia kai lusilesteron hma 5 estin,
3 oudeis angelei. o mhn gar 6 ou ep autous xrhisaia
pragmasin epistatai (pws gar he tothe anthetaivos
en medon kai kybois zov; ) outhe ton synoton
oudeia oion axion einai logon echei tois gar to
omoioues eautou monous kai agapi kai koinonious
4 apantow kai hpeton kai uporriton poieita. kai
menvon kai deilostatos en tois megistois ton
kivdunon kai apistotatos kai pros tois pan
filous estin oin oudeiteron strathtyia kai pollemon
40 proskei. tis men gar ouk oidev oti autous hma
panta ta emfylia kaka parasskenasas epein'
ept elagysoston ton kivdwnon metaxich, epi polu
men en7 tov Brevtesios kataameinas 8 upo deilias,
osta olignon ton Kalapara monwthenta di auton
ptaisai, panta de tois meta taunta pollemon,
ton pros Achnactious, ton pros Farnakhn, ton ev
2 'Afrik, ton ev 'Ibheria ekostas; tis de ouk oidev oti
ton te Kladion prosopoihsameneos kai teta

1 stratotopeia Rk., stratotope av LM.
2 hma H. Steph., hma LM. 3 vun supplied by Bs.
3 hma H. Steph., hma LM. 4 hma Bk., hma LM.
6 gar Bs., ge LM. 5 estin added by Xyl.
8 kataameinas R. Steph., kata monas LM.
and the legions,—have planned unwisely and ought to suffer punishment, because without our sanction or that of the people they have dared to offer armed resistance to their consul, some having deserted his standard, and others having been gathered against him; or else we must say that Antony has in our judgment long since admitted and still admits by his deeds themselves that he is our enemy and ought to be punished by common consent of us all. Now no one can fail to be aware that the latter course is not only more just but more expedient for us. For the man neither understands how to handle business himself—how or by what means could one who lives in drunkenness and dicing?—nor has he any companion who is of any account; for he loves only such as are like himself and makes them the confidants of all his open and secret undertakings. Moreover he is most cowardly in the gravest dangers and most treacherous even to his intimate friends; and neither of these qualities is suited for generalship and war. Who does not know that after causing all our domestic troubles himself he then shared the dangers as little as possible, tarrying long in Brundisium through cowardice, so that Caesar was isolated and almost failed on his account, and holding aloof from all the wars that followed against the Egyptians, against Pharnaces, Africa, and Spain? Who does not know that he won the favour of Clodius, and after using
αὐτοῦ πρὸς πάντα τὰ δεινῶτατα ἀποχρισάμενος κὰν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτοχειρία, εἰς ἐγὼ τὴν ὑπὸ σχέσιν
3 αὐτοῦ ταύτην ἐδεδεγμὴν καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι τοῦτο μὲν ταμείῳ στρατηγοῦντι ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ συνεξ-
ετασθεὶς, τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῇ δημαρχίᾳ παρὰ τὴν ἀπάντων ἡμῶν γνώμην προσθέμενος, καὶ μετὰ
τοῦτο καὶ χρήματα παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἀμύθητα καὶ τιμᾶς ύπερόγκους λαβὼν, ἐπεχείρησεν αὐτὸν ἐς τε
μοναρχίας ἐπιθυμόμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἐς διαβολὴν ἐμβαλεῖν, ύφ’ ὀνυπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀπέθανεν;

41 ὁ Καίτοι εἰπὲ ποτε ὅτι ἐγὼ τοὺς σφαγέας ἐπ’
αὐτοῦ παρεσκεύασα: οὕτω γὰρ ἀνοίητος ἐστιν
ὡστε μου καταψεύδεσθαι τολμᾶν τηλικοῦτοις
ἐπαίνους. ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτόχειρα μὲν αὐτοῦ οὐ λέγω
γεγονεῖν τοῦ Καίσαρος, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἠθέλησεν,
ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο κατέδεισε· τοῖς μὲντοι
πράγμασιν αὐτοῖς φημὶ ἐκεῖνον ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἀπο-
2 λόλεναι. ο γὰρ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῷ τοῦ δικαίως
ἐπιβεβουλεύσθαι δοκεῖν παρασχῶν οὕτος ἐστιν ὁ
βασιλέα αὐτὸν προσάγορεύσας, ὅ τὸ διάδημα
αὐτῷ δοῦσι, ὁ καὶ τοῖς φιλοῦσιν αὐτὸν πρότερον
diabalw. ἢ ἐγὼ μὲν χαίρω τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ
Καίσαρος ὁ μηδὲν ἔξω τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀπ’ 1
3 αὐτοῦ ἀπολαύσας, Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἄχθεται ὁ πᾶσαν
μὲν τὴν ἐκείνου οὐσίαν διαρπάσας, πάμπολλα δὲ
ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν γραμμάτων αὐτοῦ προφάσει κακουρ-
γήσας, καὶ τέλος πρὸς τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς δυναστείας
αὐτοῦ ἐπειγόμενος;

42 ἀλλ’ ἐκείσθε ἐπάνειμι, ὅτι οὔτ’ αὐτοῦ ἀξιο-
στρατηγητὸν τι ἢ ἄξιονικον ἔχει οὔτε στρατεύ-
the other's tribuneship for all the most outrageous ends, would have killed him with his own hand, if I had accepted this offer of his? And again, as regards his relations to Caesar, that after being first associated with him as quaestor, when Caesar was praetor in Spain, then attaching himself to him during the tribuneship, contrary to the liking of us all, and later receiving from him countless sums and excessive honours, he tried to inspire him with a desire for sole rulership and in consequence to expose him to calumny, which two things more than anything else were responsible for Caesar's death?

"Yet he once declared that it was I who instigated the assassins against Caesar; so senseless is he as to venture to invent such high praise for me. Now I, for my part, do not say that he was the actual slayer of Caesar,—not because he was not willing, but because here, too, he was timid,—yet I do say that by the very nature of his conduct Caesar perished at his hands. For the one who provided the motive, so that there seemed to be some justice in plotting against Caesar, is this fellow who called him king, who gave him the diadem, who previously slandered him even to his friends. Do I then, rejoice at the death of Caesar, I, who never enjoyed anything but liberty at his hands, and is Antony grieved, who has seized upon all his property and has done much mischief on the pretext of his papers, and who, finally, is eagerly striving to succeed to his sovereignty?

"But I return to my point that he has none of the qualities of a great general or such as to win victories and does not possess many or
ματα πολλὰ ἢ ἀξιόμαχα κέκτηται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πλείστοι οἱ τε ἀριστοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐγκατα-
λελούπασιν αὐτῶν, καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐστέρηται: οἱ δὲ δὴ λουπὸι ὑβρίζειν καὶ ἄρπάζειν τὰ τῶν συμμάχων μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμεῖν μεμε-

2 λετήκασι. τεκμηρίου δὲ τοῦ μὲν τρόπου τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτῶν, ὅτι καὶ νῦν ἔτ' αὐτῶ συστρα-
teύονται, τῆς δὲ ἀνανδρίας, ὅτι τὴν Μούτιναν τοσοῦτον ἢδη χρόνον πολυροκοῦντες οὐχ ἱρήκασι. καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τῶν τε συνούπτων αὐτῶ

3 τοιαῦτα ὅντα εὐρίσκεται: τὰ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρος τοῦ τε Βρόυτος καὶ τῶν συνεξεταζομένων σφίσι δύσμαχα μὲν καὶ καθ' ἑαυτά ἐστιν (ἀμέλει Καίσαρ μὲν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ συχνῶς ἐσφετέρι-

σται, Βρόυτος δὲ ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας αὐτῶν ἔχειργει),

4 ἢν δὲ δὴ καὶ ύμεῖς ἐπικουρήσητε αὐτοῖς, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπανέσαντες σφας ἐφ' ὅς ἱδιογνώμονήσαντες ἐποίησαν, ἐπείτα δὲ τὰ πραχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν βεβαιώσαντες, πρὸς τε τὸ μέλλον ἐξουσίαν ἐνυμον αὐτῶν δόντες, ἐπείτα τοὺς ύπάτους ἀμφότερους ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκπέμψαντες, οὐκ ἐστιν ὅπως βοηθήσουσι1 τινας αὐτῷ τῶν νῦν

5 συνόντων. οὐ μὴν οὖδ' ἢν τὰ μάλιστα συμ-

μείνωσιν, ἀντισχεῖν γε πρὸς πάντας ἄμα τοὺς ἄλλους δυνήσεται,2 ἀλλ' ἦτοι ἐκών, ἐπειδὰν πρῶτον πῦθηται ταῦθ' ύμᾶς 3 ἐψηφίσαμένους, τά τε ὅπλα καταθήσεται καὶ ἐφ' ύμῖν ἑαυτὸν ποιή-

σεται, ἢ καὶ ἂκον ἐκ μιᾶς μάχης ἀλώσεται.

6 "Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταῦθ' ύμῖν παραίνω, καὶ εἶνε

1 βοηθήσουσι Dind., βοηθήσωσί LM.
2 δυνήσεται Oddey, δυνήσονται LM.
3 ύμᾶς R. Steph., ἕμᾶς LM.
formidable legions. For the majority of the soldiers and the best ones have deserted him, yes, and what is more, he has been deprived of his elephants; as for the rest of his troops, they have practised outraging and pillaging the allies more than waging war. Proof of the sort of spirit that animates them is seen in the fact that they still adhere to him, and proof of their lack of bravery in their failure to take Mutina, though they have now been besieging it for so long a time. Such is the condition of Antony and of his followers found to be. But Caesar and Brutus and those arrayed with them are formidable opponents quite by themselves,—Caesar, at any rate, has won over many of his rival's soldiers, and Brutus is keeping him out of Gaul,—and if you also come to their assistance, first by approving what they have done on their own initiative, next by ratifying their acts, at the same time giving them legal authority for the future, and then by sending out both the consuls to take charge of the war, it is certain that none of his present associates will continue to aid him. However, even if they cling to him most tenaciously, he will not be able to resist all the others at once, but will either lay down his arms voluntarily, as soon as he ascertains that you have passed this vote, and place himself in your hands, or will be captured against his will as the result of a single battle.

"This is my advice to you, and, if it had been
υπατεύων ἔτυχον, πάντως ἂν καὶ ἐποίησα, καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον, ὅτε καὶ τὸν Κατιλίναν καὶ τὸν Δέντουλον, αὐτῷ τοῦτῳ προσήκοντα

43 ἐπιβουλεύσαντας ἡμῖν ἡμυνάμην. εἰ δὲ τις ἡμῶν ταύτα μὲν ὀρθῶς ἤγειται λέγεσθαι, πρέσβεις δὲ πρότερον ἡμᾶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποστείλαν δεῖν ὅτε, καὶ ἐπείτα μαθοῦντα τῇ γνώμῃ αὐτοῦ, ἄν μὲν ἐκὼν ἀπαλλάττηται τῶν ὁμλων καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτὸν ἐπιτρέπῃ, τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ

2 ἁγείν, ἂν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμένῃ, τότε καὶ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῷ ψηφισθὼν (ταύτα γὰρ πυνθάνομαι τινας παρανείποι ἡμῖν οὖν ἔθελεν), λόγῳ μὲν εὐπρεπέστατον, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ καὶ αἰσχρόν καὶ ἐπικίνδυνον τῇ πόλει πράγμα ποιεῖ. πῶς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ αἰσχρόν κήρυξιν ἡμᾶς καὶ πρεσβείας πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας χρῆσθαι; τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀλλοφύλους καὶ ἐπικηρυκεύσαντας καὶ διαπρεσβευσθαί δει πρότερον καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἐστι, τοῖς δὲ δὴ πολίτας τοῖς ἀδικοῦσί τι παραχρῆμα τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐπάγειν, ἄν μὲν ὑπὸ ταῖς ψήφοις αὐτοὺς λάβητε, δικαζόντας, ἄν δὲ τοῖς ὁπλοῖς, πολεμοῦντας.

3 δοῦλοι γὰρ εἰσὶ πάντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν νόμων, ἂν τε ἐθέλωσιν ἄν τε καὶ μὴ καὶ οὗτος θρύπτειν αὐτοὺς οὔτε ἔξ ἵσον τοῖς ἐλευθερωτάτοις ἁγεῖν προσήκον ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ ὠσπερ τοὺς οἰκέτας τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας καὶ

44 μετιέναι καὶ κολάζειν ἐκ τοῦ ὑπέρφρονος. πῶς δὲ οὐ δεινὸν ἐκείνον μὲν μὴ μελλήσαι ἡμᾶς ἀδικεῖν, ἡμᾶς δὲ δὴ μέλλειν ἀμύνασθαι; καὶ

1 ἐπιβουλεύσαντας R. Steph., ἐπιβουλεύσαντα L.M.
2 καὶ L., om. M.
3 εὐπρεπέστατον Xyl., εὐπρεπέστατω L.M.
my lot to be consul, I should certainly have carried it out, as I did in former days when I defended you against Catiline and Lentulus (a relative of this very man), who had conspired against you. Perhaps, however, some of you, while regarding these suggestions as well made, think we ought first to send envoys to him, and then, after learning his decision, in case he voluntarily gives up his arms and submits himself to you, to take no action, but if he persists in the same course of action, to declare war upon him; for this is the advice which I hear some persons wish to give you. Now this plan is very attractive in theory, but in point of fact it is disgraceful and dangerous to the city. For is it not disgraceful that you should employ heralds and embassies to your fellow-citizens? With foreign nations it is proper and necessary to treat first through heralds and envoys, but upon citizens who are guilty of some wrong-doing you should inflict punishment straightway, by trying them in court if you can get them within reach of your votes, and by warring against them if within reach of your arms. For all such are your servants and servants of the people and of the laws, whether they wish it or not; and it is not fitting either to coddle them or to put them on an equal footing with the freest of the citizens, but to pursue and chastise them like runaway servants, in the consciousness of your own superiority. Is it not shameful that while he does not hesitate to wrong us, we hesitate to defend ourselves? Or,
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έκείνου μὲν ἐκ πολλοῦ τὰ ὀπλὰ ἐν χεραὶν ἔχοντα πάντα τὰ τοῦ πολέμου πράττειν, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐν ψηφίσμασι καὶ προσβείαις τοὺς χρόνους κατατρίβειν, καὶ ὅν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἀδικοῦντα πάλαι πεφωράκαμεν, τοῦτον συλλαβαίος καὶ

2 ρήμασι μόνοις μεταχειρίζεσθαι; τί προσδοκόωντας; ἢ ὅτι ὑπακούσει ποτὲ ἡμῖν καὶ αἰδεσθήσεται ποτε ἡμᾶς; καὶ πῶς, ὅσ γε ἐς τούτ᾽ ἦδη προκεχώρηκεν ὡστε μηδὲ ἄν βούληται δύνασθαι δημοκρατικῶς ἡμῖν συμπολιτεύσαι; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἱσως καὶ κοινῶς ζην ἡβούλετο, οὐδὲ ἄν ἄρχης τοιοῦτοι πράγμασιν ἐπεχείρησεν, εἰ τε καὶ ὑπ᾽ ἀνοίας ἢ καὶ προπετείας τοῦτ᾽ ἐποίησε, πάντως ἄν ἐκδον

3 εὐθὺς αὐτῶν ἀπηλλάγην τῆν δ᾽ ἀπαξ καὶ ἐκ τῶν νόμων καὶ ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ἐκβάς, καὶ τινα καὶ δύναμιν ἐκ τοῦτον καὶ ἐξουσίαν προσλαβῶν, οὐκ ἐστιν ὅπως ἄν ἐθελούσιος μεταβάλλοιτο 1 καὶ τῶν δογμάτων τι τῶν ὑμετέρων προτιμήσειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀνάγκη τοῦ τοιοῦτον αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὀπλοῖς, οἰσπέρ ἡμᾶς ἀδικεῖν ἐτολμήσει, καὶ κολασθῆναι.

45 καὶ μοι νῦν μάλιστα τὸ λέχθεν ποτὲ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου μνημονεύσατε, ὅτι οὐχ οἶδον τὲ ἔστιν ὡμῖν, ἄν μὴ κρατήσητε, σωθῆναι. οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλλο ποιοῦσιν οἱ κελεύουσες ὡμᾶς προσβείσασθαι ἢ ὅπως ὡμεῖς μὲν βραδύνητε, κακὸν τούτον καὶ τὰ τῶν συμμαχοῦντων ὡμῶν ἀργότερα καὶ ἀθυμότερα

2 γένηται, ἐκείνως δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καθ᾽ ᾧσυχίαν πάνθ᾽ ὡσα ἄν βούληται πράξῃ, καὶ τὸν τε Δέκιμον

1 μεταβάλλοιτο R. Steph., μεταβάλλοιτο LM.

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again, that while he for a long time, weapons in hand, has been carrying out all the deeds of war, we are wasting our time in decrees and embassies, and that we retaliate only with words and phrases upon the man whom we have long since discovered by his deeds to be a wrong-doer? What are we hoping for? That he will some day render us obedience and pay us respect? Yet how would this be possible in the case of a man who has come to such a point that he would not be able, even should he wish it, to live as an ordinary citizen with us under a democratic government? Indeed, if he were willing to live on a basis of common equality, he would never have entered in the first place upon such a career as his; and even if he had done so under the influence of folly or recklessness, he would certainly have given it up speedily of his own accord. But as the case stands, since he has once overstepped the limits imposed by the laws and the constitution, and has acquired some power and authority by this action, it is not conceivable that he would change of his own free will or heed any one of your resolutions, but it is absolutely necessary that such a man should be punished with those very weapons with which he has dared to wrong us. And I beg you now to remember particularly the remark which this man himself once uttered, to the effect that it is impossible for you to be saved unless you conquer. Hence, those who bid you send envoys are doing nothing else than causing you to delay and causing your allies to become in consequence more remiss and dispirited; while he, on the other hand, will meanwhile do whatever he pleases, will destroy
εξέλη καὶ τὴν Μούτωναν ἐκπολιορκήσῃ τὴν τε Γαλατίαν πάσαν λάβη, ὡστε μηκέθ' ἦμᾶς ὅπως αὐτὸ χρησώμεθα εὑρεῖν δυνηθήναι, ἀλλ' ὑποδεδεῖν τε καὶ θεραπεύειν αὐτὸν καὶ προσκυνεῖν

3 ἀνάγκην ἕχειν. ἐν δὲ ἔτι τοῦτο περὶ τῆς προσβείας εἰπὼν παύσομαι, ὅτι οὖν ὁ 'Αντώνιος λόγον τινὰ ὕμων ἔδωκε περὶ ὅν πρᾶττειν ἐμελλεν, ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς τοῦτο ποιήσητε.

4 "Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ διὰ ταλλὰ πάντα συμβουλεύω ὑμῖν μή μέλλειν μηδὲ διατρίβειν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τάχιστα αὐτῷ πολεμήσαι, λογισμένους ὅτι τὰ πλείω τῶν πραγμάτων τοῖς καυροῖς ἡ ταῖς δυνάμεις κατορθοῦντας, καὶ πάντως που καὶ ἐκ τούτου συνιέναι ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐν ἡ καὶ πλεῖστον ἱσχύον καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δόξαν ἐκτασάμην, ἄφεις, εἴγε καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ εἰρήνη ἦν, πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ γε καὶ συμφέρειν

46 ἡγοῦμην, παρήνσεα. καὶ σοὶ δὲ, ὁ Καλήνη, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις τοῖς ταῦτα σοι φρονοῦσι συμβουλεύω καθ' ἴσυχίαν ἐπιτρέψαι τῇ γεροντία τὰ προσήκοντα ψηφίσασθαι, καὶ μὴ τῆς ἰδίας ὑμῶν πρὸς 'Αντώνιον χάριτος ἑνέκα τὰ κοινὴ πάσιν ἦμων 2 συμφέροντα καταπροδούναι. ὁς ἐγὼ γε οὕτω γνώμης, ὁ πατέρες, ἔχω ὡστ', ἂν μὲν πεισθῆτε μοι, καὶ πάνυ ἂν ἴδεώς καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας μεθ', ὑμῶν ἀπολαύσαι, ἂν δ' ἄλλο τι ψηφίσησθε, τεθύναι μᾶλλον ἡ ξίνη ἐλέσθαι.

3 οὕτε γὰρ ἅλλως τῶν θάνατῶν ποτε τοῦ ἐκ τῆς

1 ἀνάγκην R. Steph., ἀναγκῇ LM. "2 ἔτι M, ὅτι L. 3 κατορθοῦται Reim., κατορθοῦνται LM. 4 εἰρήνη ἦν Bk., εἰρήνῃ LM. 5 παρήνσεα Dind., παραινέσαι LM. 6 σοὶ R. Steph., σοῦ LM. 7 τῇ Rk., τῇ τε LM. 8 πάνυ Reim., πάντα LM.
Decimus, will take Mutina by storm, and will capture all Gaul, with the result that we shall no longer be able to find means of dealing with him, but shall be under the necessity of trembling before him, paying court to him, and worshipping him. Just this one point further about the embassy and I am done: Antony did not on his part give you any account of what he intended to do, that you should do so yourselves.

"I, therefore, for these and all the other reasons advise you not to delay or to lose time, but to make war upon him as quickly as possible, reflecting that the majority of enterprises owe their success rather to opportune occasions than to their strength; and you should by all means feel perfectly sure for this very reason that I would never have given up peace, in the midst of which I have most influence and have acquired wealth and reputation, if it really were peace, nor would have urged you to make war, did I not think it to your advantage. And I advise you, Calenus, and the rest who are of the same mind as you, to be quiet and allow the senate to vote the requisite measures, and not for the sake of your private good-will toward Antony to betray the common interests of us all. For this is my feeling, Conscript Fathers, that if you heed my counsel, I shall very gladly enjoy freedom and safety with you, but that if you vote anything different, I shall choose to die rather than to live. For I have never at any time been afraid of death
παρρησίας ἐφοβήθην. (καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ κατώρθωσα πλείστον τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι καὶ θύσαι καὶ ἑορτάσαι ἐφ' οἷς υπάτευν ἐποίησα ἐψηφίσασθε, ὅπερ οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἄλλῳ μὴ οὐκ ἐν πολέμῳ γέ τι καταπράξαντι ἐγένετο), νῦν δὲ καὶ ἥκιστα.

καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν 1 θάνατος οὐκ ἀν ἄωρος ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸ τοσοῦτον ἐτῶν ὑπατευκότι μοι γένοιτο (καίτοι μνημονεύετε ὅτι τοῦτο καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὑπατείᾳ ύμῶν εἶπον, ἵνα μοι πρὸς πάντα ὅς καταφρονοῦντι αὐτοῦ προσέχητε). τὸ δὲ δὴ φοβηθήναι τινα καθ' ὕμῶν καὶ τὸ δουλεύσαι τινι μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ πάνυ ἄν μοι ἀωρότατον 2 συμβαίνῃ.

5 θευτερό τοῦτο μὲν καὶ συμφορὰν καὶ ὀλέθρων, οὐ τοῦ σώματος μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς τε δόξης, ψ' ἡς ποι καὶ μόνης αἴδιοι πρόπον τινα γυγύμεθα, εἶναι νομίζω: τὸ δὲ δὴ λέγοντά τε καὶ πράττοντα ὑπέρ ύμῶν ἀποθανεῖν ἰσοστάσιον ἰθανασία 3 ἀγω.

47 "Καὶ εἶγε καὶ Ἀντώνιος ταῦτ' ἐγιγνώσκεν, οὐκ ἀν ποτε ἐς τοιαῦτα πράγματα προκύρησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἄν, ὅσπερ ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ, μᾶλλον ἦ τι τῶν ὁμοίων τῷ Κίννα τῷ ἐκείνου 2 ἀποκτείναντι πούσαι προελετο. πρὸς γὰρ αὐ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁ μὲν Κίννας οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον ἀντεσφάγη διὰ τε τοῦτο καὶ διὰ τὰλλα ἄ κακῶς ἑπραττε (διὸσπερ καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ Ἀντώνιου τεθαύμακα, ὅτι τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ μιμούμενος οὐ φοβεῖται μῆποτε ὄμοια καταστροφῆ περιπέσῃ), ἐκεῖνος δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ τούτῳ τὸ δοκεῖν τινι εἶναι

1 καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν Bk., καὶ ὁ μὲν γὰρ ΛM.
2 ἀωρότατον Dind., δωρότατον ΛM.
3 ἰθανασία Rk., ἰθανασίαν ΛM.
as a consequence of my outspokenness (this accounts, indeed, for my overwhelming success, the proof of which lies in the fact that you decreed a sacrifice and festival in memory of the deeds done in my consulship, an honour which had never before been granted to anybody except one who had achieved some great success in war) and now I fear it least of all. For death, if it befell me, would not be at all unseasonable, especially when you consider that my consulship was so many years ago (yet remember that in that very consulship I expressed the same sentiment, in order that you might pay heed to me in everything, knowing that I despised death), but to dread any one for what he may do against you, and to be a slave to any one in common with you would prove most unseasonable to me. Therefore I deem this last to be the ruin and destruction not only of the body but also of the soul and reputation, by which, and by which alone, we become in a certain sense immortal; but to die speaking and acting in your behalf I regard as equivalent to immortality.

"Now if Antony, also, realized this, he would never have entered upon such a career, but would have even preferred to die as his grandfather died rather than to behave like Cinna, who killed him. For, to mention nothing else, Cinna was in turn slain not long afterward for this and the other crimes he had committed; so that I am surprised also at this feature in Antony's conduct, that, imitating his deeds as he does, he shows no fear of some day falling a victim to a similar fate. The murdered man, on the other hand, left behind to this very descendant
κατέληπτεν. ἀλλ' οὕτι γε καὶ σώζεσθαι διὰ τούς συγγενεῖς ἐτί δίκαιος ἦστι, μήτε τὸν πάππον ἥλωσας μήτε τὸν πατέρα τῆς οὐσίας κληρονομήσας. τίς γὰρ οὖν οίδε τοῦθ', ὅτι πολλοὺς φεύγοντας καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων δὴ τῶν ἐκείνου καταγαγὼν

οὔκ ἐπεκούρησε τῷ θείῳ, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν συγκυβευτὴν τὸν Δεντίκουλον τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ βίου ῥαδιουργία φυγόντα ἐπανήγαγε, καὶ τὸν Βαμβαλίωνα τὸν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ἑπιβόητον ἀγαπᾶ, τοῖς δὲ δὴ συγγενεστάτους οὕτως ὦσπερ εἶπον κέχρηται, καθάπερ τινὰ ὄργην αὐτοῖς

ἐχὼν ὅτι τοιούτος ἐγενήθη. τουγαροῦν τῶν μὲν ἐκείνου χρημάτων οὐκ ἐκληρονόμησεν, ἀλλὰν δὲ δὴ καὶ πάνυ πολλοὺς, τοὺς μὲν μήτ' ἵδων μήτ' ἀκούσας πώποτε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐτι ξύντας οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀποδέδυκε καὶ σεσύληκεν ὡστε μηδέν σφας νεκρῶν διαφέρειν.

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1 τοῦθ' Bk., ταῦθ' LM. 2 καταγαγὼν Rk., ἀγαγὼν LM. 3 ὦσπερ εἶπον Bk., ὦς προεὶπον LM. 4 ἐκείνου V, ἐκείνων LM.
the reputation of greatness. But Antony has no longer any claim to be saved on account of his relatives, since he has neither emulated his grandfather nor inherited his father's property. Who, indeed, is unaware of the fact that in restoring many who were exiled in Caesar's time and later, in accordance, forsooth, with the directions of Caesar's papers, he did not aid his uncle, but brought back his fellow-gambler Lenticulus, who had been exiled for his unprincipled life, and cherishes Bambalio,¹ who is notorious for his very cognomen, while he has treated his nearest relatives as I have described, as if he were half angry at them because he was born to so noble a name? Consequently he never inherited his father's goods, but has been the heir of very many others, some of whom he never saw or heard of, and others who are still living; for he has so stripped and despoiled them that they differ in no way from dead men."

¹ M. Fulvius Bambalio, Antony's father-in-law. The name Bambalio signifies "stutterer."
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