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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY
VI
DIO'S
ROMAN HISTORY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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ON THE BASIS OF THE VERSION OF
HERBERT BALDWIN FOSTER, Ph.D.

IN NINE VOLUMES
VI

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY
Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Διωνος Ῥωμαίων

α. Ὁσ Καίσαρ νικήσας περὶ Ἀκτιον τὰ παρόντα διέθετο.
β. Περὶ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας καὶ δὲ ἐπραξαν μετὰ τῆς ἡπταν.
γ. Ὁσ Ἀντώνιος ἦττηθεὶς ἐν Ἀἱγύπτῳ ἐαυτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν.
δ. Ὁσ Καίσαρ Ἀγυπτίων ἐχειρώσατο.
ἐ. Ὁσ Καίσαρ ἐσ Ὀμην ἠλθε καὶ τὰ ἑπινίκια ἤγαγεν.
ζ. Ὁσ τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ Ἰουλίου καθιερώθη.
η. Ὁσ Μυσία ἑάλω.

Χρόνου πλήθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Καίσαρος τὸ γ’ καὶ Μ. Ουαλερίου
Κορουλίνου Μεσσαλοῦ ὑπατελας καὶ ἄλλα ἐτῆ δύο ἐν οἷς ἁρχοντες οἱ
ἀριθμοῦμενοι οἴδε ἐγένοντο

Καίσαρ τὸ δ’
Μ. Δικλίνιος Μ. νῦ.
Καίσαρ τὸ ε’
Σέξτος Ἀπολέιος 2 Σέξτου νῦ.

Τοιαύτη τις ἡ ναυμαχία αὐτῶν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τοῦ
Σεπτεμβρίου ἐγένετο. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως εἶπον
(οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰσῆλθα αὐτὸ ποιεῖν) ἀλλ’ ὅτι τότε
πρώτου ο Καίσαρ τὸ κράτος πᾶν μόνος ἔσχεν,
2 ὡστε καὶ τὴν ἀπαρίθμησιν τῶν τῆς μοναρχίας

1 Κράσσος supplied by H. Steph.
2 Ἀπολέιος Cary, ἀπολήθιος M, ἀποτλίος V.
The following is contained in the Fifty-first of Dio's Rome:—

How Caesar after his victory at Actium settled matters of immediate concern (chaps. 1-4).
Concerning Antony and Cleopatra and their movements after their defeat (chaps. 5-8).
How Antony, defeated in Egypt, killed himself (chaps. 9-10).
How Caesar subdued Egypt (chaps. 15-18).
How Caesar came to Rome and celebrated his triumph (chap. 21).
How the Curia Iulia was dedicated (chap. 22).
How Moesia was conquered (chaps. 23-27).

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

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

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

3 οὐ. supplied by Bs.
αὐτοῦ ἐτῶν ἀπ’ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἀκριβοῦσθαι. καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῇ τῷ τῷ ἑτ’ Ἀκτίῳ τριήρῃ τε καὶ τετρήρῃ, τά τε ἄλλα τά ἐξῆς μέχρι δεκή-
ρους, ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων νεῶν ἀνέθηκε, καὶ ναὸν μεῖξο φῦκοδόμησεν, ἀγώνα τέ τινα καὶ γυμ-
νικὸν καὶ μουσικὴν ἰπποδρομίας τε πεντετερικὸν ἱερὸν (οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς τὴν σίτησιν ἔχοντας ὅνομα-
ξουσι) κατέδειξεν, "Ἀκτία αὐτὸν προσαγορεύσας.

3 τόλιν τέ τινα ἐν τῷ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τόπῳ, τοὺς μὲν συναγείρας τοὺς δ’ ἀναστῆσας τῶν πλειο-
χώρων, συνύκισε, Νικόπολιν ὅνομα αὐτῇ δούσ. τό τε χωρίον ἐν φ’ ἐσκήνησε, Λίθου τε τετραπέδοις ἐκρηπίδωσε καὶ τοὺς ἀλοῦσιν ἐμβόλοις ἐκόσμη-
σεν, ἔδος τι ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὑπαίθριον ἰδρυσάμενος.

4 Ταῦτα μὲν ὑστερον ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ μέρος μὲν 1 τι τῶν νεῶν ἐσ δίωξιν τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίου καὶ τής Κλεοπάτρας ἐστείλε καὶ ἐκείνοι ἐπεδίωξαν μὲν αὐτούς, ἐπεὶ δ’ οὐκ ἐν καταλήψει 2 ἐφαίνοιτο, ἀνεχόρησαν· ταῖς δὲ λοιπαὶ τὸ τάφρευμα αὐτῶν, μηδενὸς ἐναντιομένου δι’ ὀλγότητα, ἔλαβε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν στρατὸν ἐς Μακε-
δονίαν ἀπίόντα καταλαβὼν ἄραχε παρεστήσατο.

5 ἤδη δὲ καὶ διέφυγον ἄλλοι τε καὶ τῶν πρῶτων οἱ μὲν Ὑπομαῖοι πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον, οἱ δ’ ἔτεροι οἱ συμμαχήσαντες αὐτῷ οἴκαδε. οὐ μέντοι γε καὶ ἀντεπολέμησαν οὕτωι γε ἔτι τῷ Καίσαρι,

1 μὲν Βκ., ἐν ΒΜ.
2 ἐν καταλήψει R. Steph., ἐγκαταλήψει ΒΜ.
the years of his reign are properly reckoned from that day.\(^1\) In honour of the day he dedicated to Apollo of Actium from the total number of the captured vessels a trireme, a quadrireme, and the other ships in order up to one of ten banks of oars; and he built a larger temple. He also instituted a quadrennial musical and gymnastic contest, including horse-racing,—a "sacred" festival, as they call those in connexion with which there is a distribution of food,—and entitled it Actia. Furthermore, he founded a city on the site of his camp by gathering together some of the neighbouring peoples and dispossessing others, and he named it Nicopolis.\(^2\)

On the spot where he had had his tent, he laid a foundation of square stones, adorned it with the captured beaks, and erected on it, open to the sky, a shrine of Apollo.

But these things were done later. At the time he sent a part of the fleet in pursuit of Antony and Cleopatra; these ships, accordingly, followed after the fugitives, but when it became clear that they were not going to overtake them, they returned. With his remaining vessels he captured the enemy's entrenchments, meeting with no opposition because of their small numbers, and then overtook and without a battle won over the rest of the army, which was retreating into Macedonia. There were various important contingents that had already escaped; of these the Romans fled to Antony and the allies to their homes. The latter, however, no longer fought

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\(^1\) Dio is very careful to date each emperor's reign precisely. Cf. Preface to vol. i. p. xiii.

\(^2\) i.e. "City of Victory." The same name had been given by Pompey to a town founded after his defeat of Mithridates. See xxxvi. 50.
ἀλλὰ καθ’ ἡσυχίαν καὶ ἐκείνου καὶ οἱ δῆμοι πάντες, ὃσιοι καὶ πρότερον ἐρρωμαίζον, οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς οἱ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ’ ὁμολόγησαν. καὶ ὃς τὰς μὲν πόλεις χρημάτων τε ἐσπράζει καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ἐς τοὺς πολίτας σφῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐξουσίας παραρέσει μετῆλθε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ δυνάστας τούς τε βασιλέας τὰ μὲν χωρία, ὡσα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀρτονύου εἰλήφεσαν, πάντας πλὴν τοῦ τε Ἀμύντα του καὶ τοῦ Ἀρχελάον ἀφείλετο, Φιλοπάτορα δὲ τὸν Ταρκονιδιμότου καὶ Δυκομήδην ἐν μέρει τοῦ Κατταπαδοκίου Πόντου βασιλεύουσα τὸν τε Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ τοῦ Ἰαμβλίχου ἀδελφόν καὶ τῶν δυναστεῖων ἐπαυσε· καὶ τούτον, ὅτι μωσθὼν αὐτὴν τῆς ἐκείνου κατηγορίας εἰλήφει, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐπινικία παραγαγὼν ἀπέκτεινε. τὴν δὲ τοῦ Δυκομήδους Μηδείῳ τινὶ ἐδωκεν, ὅτι τοὺς τε Μυσοὺς τοὺς ἔν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτονύου πρὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἀπέστησε, καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐν τῇ μερίδι αὐτοῦ οὖσιν ἐπολέμησε. Κυδωνίάτας τοις ταῖς λαμπαίοις ἔλευθέρους ἀφῆκεν, ὅτι τινὰ αὐτῷ συνήραντο· καὶ τοῖς γε Δαμπαίοις καὶ τῇ πόλιν ἄνεστοσαν συγκατόκισε. τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἑπτέων τῶν τε ἅλλων τῶν κορυφαίων τῶν συμπραξάντων τι τῶ Ἀρτονύῳ πολλοὺς μὲν χρήμασιν ἐξημώσε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐφόνευσε, καὶ τινῶν καὶ ἐφείσατο. καὶ ἐν μὲν τούτοις ὅ τοι Σόσσιος ἐπιφανῆς ἐγένετο (πολλάκις τε γὰρ ἀντιπολεμήσας αὐτῷ καὶ τότε φυγὼν καὶ κατακρυφθεὶς, χρόων τε υπερον εὔρεθείς, ὅμως ἐσώθη) καὶ Μάρκος τῆς Σκαύρου· ἄδελφός τε γὰρ τοῦ Σέξτου ὁμομήτριος ὃν καὶ θανατωθῆναι κελευσθεὶς

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

1 Cf. note on xlix. 36.
2 Usually called Lappa.
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είτα διὰ τὴν μητέρα τὴν Μουκίαν ἀφείθη. τῶν δὲ κολασθέντων Ἁκύλιοι τε Φλώροι καὶ Κουρίων ὄνομα μάλιστ' ἔσχον, οὕτος μὲν ὅτι τοῦ Κουρίωνος ἐκείνου τοῦ ποτὲ τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ πολλὰ

6 συναραμένου νῦς ἦν, οἳ δὲ δὴ Φλώροι ὅτι τὸν ἔτερον τὸν λαχόντα κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ σφαγῆναι ἀμφότεροι διεφθάρησαν. ἦσαν μὲν γὰρ πατήρ τε καὶ παῖς· ὡς δ' οὗτος πρὶν λαχεῖν αὐτὸς ἔαντον τῷ σφαγεῖ ἐκὼν παρέδωκε, περιήληψε τε ἐκεῖνος καὶ αὐτοχειρία αὐτῷ ἐπαπέθανεν.

3 Οὔτοι μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἀπῆλλαξαν, ὁ δ' ὀμίλος τῶν Ἀντωνιέων στρατιωτῶν ἐς τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατόπεδα κατετάχθη, καὶ ἔπειτα τοὺς μὲν πολίτας τοὺς ἔξω τῆς ἡλικίας ἀπ' ἀμφότερον, μηδὲν μηδενὶ δοὺς, ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπέπεμψε,

2 τοὺς δὲ δὴ λαοὺς διέσπειρεν· ἔπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ φοβεροὶ οἱ μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἐγένοτο, ἔδεισε μὴ καὶ αὖθις θορυβῆσωσι, καὶ διὰ τούτ' ἔσπευσε, πρὶν καὶ ὁτιοῦν ὑποκινηθῆναι, τοὺς μὲν παντελῶς ἐκ τῶν ὄπλων ἀπελάσαι, τῶν δὲ τὸ

3 πλῆθος διασπάσαι. τοὺς τε ἐξελευθέρους δι' ὑποψίας ἔτι καὶ τότε ἔχων τὴν τετάρτην αὐτοῖς ἐσφορὰν ἀφῆκεν, ἢν ἐκ τῶν προσταχθέντων σφίσαι χρημάτων ἐπώφειλον. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ὅτι ἐστέρησαν τινῶν ἐμνησικάκοιν ἔτι, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ

4 λαβόντες οὐσα μὴ συνεσῆνεγκαν ἔχαιρον· οἳ τε ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ ἔτι1 καὶ τότε ὄντες, τὸ μὲν τι πρὸς τῶν στρατιαρχῶν κατεχόμενοι, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον

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

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

1 i.e. one-quarter of the tax of 12½ per cent. levied upon them a little earlier. See 1. 10. 4.
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τῇ τοῦ Ἀιγυπτίου πλούτου ἐλπίδι, οὐδὲν ἐνεχωμοσαν' οἱ δὲ δὴ συννικήσαντες αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς στρατείας ἀφεθέντες ἦσαν ἄτε μηδὲν γέρας εὐρόμενοι, καὶ στασιάζειν οὐκ ἦς μακρὰν ἁρξάντω.

5 καίτοι ὁ Καίσαρ ὑποτοπῆσας τε αὐτούς, καὶ φοβηθεῖς μὴ τοῦ Μαϊκῆνου, ὃ καὶ τότε ἦ τε Ρώμη καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ Ἰταλία προσετέκτικτο, καταφρονήσωσιν ὅτι ἱππεύς ἦν, τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ὢς καὶ κατ' ἄλλο τε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπεμψε. καὶ τοσαῦτην γ' ἐπὶ πάντα καὶ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῷ Μαϊκῆνα ἔξουσίαν ἐδωκεν ὥστε σφάς καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ὡς τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγγραφε, προσαναγιγνώσκειν, κἀκε τούτου καὶ μεταγράφειν ὡς ἐβουλοντο.

6 καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ δακτύλιον ἐλαβον παρ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐπίσφραγίζοντας αὐτὸς ἔχωσι. ἔπληθε γὰρ δὴ σφραγίδα, ἦ μάλιστα τότε ἐχρῆτο, ἐπεποίητο, σφίγγα ἐν ἐκατέρα ὁμοίων ἐκτυπώσας. ὥστερον γὰρ τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐγγυλύφας ἐκεῖνη τὰ πάντα ἐσημαίνετο. καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοκράτορες, πλὴν Γάλβου, ἐχρῆσαντο. οὕτως γὰρ προγονικῷ των σφραγίσματι, κύνα ὃ κορφάς νεώς προκύπτοντα ἔχοντες, ἐνόμισαν. ἐπέστελλε δὲ καὶ ἐκείνους καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς πάνω φίλοις, ὅπως τι δέοιτο δι' ἀπορρήτων σφίσι δηλώσαι, τὸ δεύτερον ἀεὶ στοιχεῖον τοῦ τα' ῥήματι προσηκοντος αὐτ' ἐκείνου ἀντεγγράφουν.

7 πάντα ἐσημαίνετο. καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοκράτορες, πλὴν Γάλβου, ἐχρῆσαντο. οὕτως γὰρ προγονικῷ των σφραγίσματι, κύνα ὃ κορφάς νεώς προκύπτοντα ἔχοντες, ἐνόμισαν. ἐπέστελλε δὲ καὶ ἐκείνους καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς πάνω φίλοις, ὅπως τι δέοιτο δι' ἀπορρήτων σφίσι δηλώσαι, τὸ δεύτερον ἀεὶ στοιχεῖον τοῦ τα' ῥήματι προσηκοντος αὐτ' ἐκείνου ἀντεγγράφουν.

4 Καὶ ὁ μὲν, ὡς οὔδενος ἐτὶ δεινοῦ παρὰ τῶν ἐστρατευμένων ἐσομένου, τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι διίκησε καὶ τῶν τῶν θεῶν μυστηρίων μετέλαβεν, ἐς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν κομισθεῖς καὶ ἐκεῖνα προσκαθι-

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

Now Caesar, believing there would be no further danger from the veterans, administered affairs in Greece and took part in the Mysteries of the two goddesses.\(^1\) He then went over into Asia and

\(^1\) Demeter and Koré.
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2 στατο, τά τε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἀμία ἐκαραδόκει· οὐ γάρ πω σαφές τι ὅπη διεπεφέυγε ἐπέτυστο, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ὀρμήσων, ἂν τι ἀκριβώςῃ. θορυβησάντων δ' αὐτῶν ἐν τούτῳ φανερῶς ἀτε καὶ πολὺ ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀπαρτώντος αὐτοῦ, ἐφοβηθη μή τι κακὸν προστάτου τινὸς

3 λαβόμενοι δράσωσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' Ἀντώνιον μὲν ἄλλοις ἀναζητήσαι προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἥπειχθη μεσούντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐν Ὡ τὸ τέταρτον μετὰ 1 Μάρκου Κράσσου ἤρχεν· οὕτος γάρ, καίπερ τά τε τοῦ Σέξτου καὶ τά τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πράξεις, τότε μηδὲ στρατηγήσας συνυπάτευσεν αὐτῷ. ἐλθοῦν δὲ ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον οὐκέτι

4 περαιτέρω προυχώρησεν. ἐπεὶ γάρ ἦ τε γερουσία πυθομένη τὸν πρόσπλουν αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἐκείσε, πλὴν τῶν τε δημάρχων καὶ στρατηγῶν δύο κατὰ δόγμα καταμείναντο, ἀπήντησε, καὶ ἦ ἱππάς τοῦ τε δήμου τὸ πλεῖον καὶ ἔτεροι, οἱ μὲν κατὰ πρεσβείας οἱ δὲ ἐθελονταί, πολλοὶ συνήλθον,

5 οὐκέτι οὐδέν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς πρὸς τε τὴν ἀφίξῃν αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν πλείονων σπουδὴν ἐνεοχμώθη, καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι, οἱ μὲν φόβῳ, οἱ δὲ ἐλπίσαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ μετάπεμπτοι, πρὸς 2 τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἀφίκοντο· καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Καίσαρ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις χρήματα ἔδωκε, τοῖς δὲ διὰ παντὸς αὐτῷ συστρατεύσασι

6 καὶ γῆν προσκατέευμε. 3 τοὺς γὰρ δήμους τοὺς

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

7 θ ὑπέσχετο. συχνὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τῆς νίκης ἐκτήσατο, πολλῷ δὲ ἐτι πλείω ἀνήλισκε. καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ προέγραψεν ἐν τῷ πρατηρίῳ τὰ τε ἐαυτοῦ κτήματα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐταίρων, ἵνα ἀν τε πρίασθαι τι αὐτῶν ἄν τε καὶ ἀντιλαβεῖν τις

8 ἔθελής, τοῦτο ποιήσῃ, καὶ ἐπράθη μὲν οὐδὲν, οὐδὲ ἀντεδόθη οὐδὲν τίς γὰρ ἀν καὶ ἐτόλμησεν ὁποτερονοῦν αὐτῶν πράξαι; τῆς δὲ δὴ ἐπαγγελίας ἁναβολῆν ἐκ τούτου εὐπρεπῆ λαβῶν ὑστερον αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων λαφύρων ἀπῆλλαξε.

5. Ταύτα τε ὅνω καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἑπείγοντα διοικήσας, τοῖς τε τινα ἄδειαν λαβοῦσι καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ διαιτάσθαι (οὐ γὰρ ἔξην) δοὺς, καὶ τὸν δὴμον τὸν ἐν τῇ 'Ῥώμῃ ὑπολειφθέντα παρέμενεν ὅτι μὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦλθεν, ἔσ τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα αὐθις τριακοστῇ μετὰ τὴν ἀφίξεως ἡμέρα ἀπῆρε, 2 καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ τοῦ τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὰς ναῦς ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμώνος ὑπερευνεγκών οὔτω ταχέως ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀνέκομισθη ὡστε καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον τὴν τε Κλεοπάτραν ἐκάτερον ἀμα, καὶ ὅτι ἀφωρ-

3 μήθη καὶ ὅτι ἐπανηλθε, μαθεῖν. ὡς γὰρ τὸτε ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἐφυγον, μέχρι μὲν τῆς Πελοπον-

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

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

1 In order to avoid the dangerous passage around Cape Malea.
νήσου ὁμοῦ ἀφίκοντο, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τῶν συνόντων τινάς, ὅσους ὑπόπτευον, ἀποπέμψαντες (πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄκοντων αὐτῶν ἀπεχώρησαν) Κλεοπάτρα μὲν ἐς τὴν Αἰγύπτων, μὴ τὶς συμφορᾶς σφῶν
4 προπυθόμενοι νεωτερίσωσιν, ἥπειροι, καὶ ὅπως γε καὶ τὸν πρόσπλον ἀσφαλῆ ποίησηται, τάς τε πρώρας ὦς καὶ κεκρατηκυία κατέστησε καὶ ὁδῆς τινας ἐπινικίους ὑπ’ αὐλητῶν ἕδειν ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἄσφαλει ἐγένετο, πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν πρῶτων, ἀτε καὶ ἀεὶ οἱ ἄχθομενοι καὶ τότε ἐπὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ
5 αὐτῆς ἐπηρμένων, ἐφόνευσε, πολὺν δὲ καὶ πλοῦτον ἑκ τε τῶν ἐκείνων κτημάτων καὶ ἑκ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ὅσιὼν καὶ θείων, μηδενὸς μηδὲ τῶν πάνω ἄβατων ἱερῶν φειδομένη, ἥθροιζε, δυνάμεις τε ἔξηρτύετο καὶ συμμαχίας περιεσκόπει, τόν τε Ἀρμενίον ἀποκτείνασα τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ τῷ Μῆδῳ, ὡς καὶ ἐπικουρῆσοντι σφίσι διὰ τούτ',
6 ἐπεμψεν. Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἐπλευσε μὲν ἐς τὴν Διβύην πρὸς τε Πινάριον Ἐκάρπον καὶ πρὸς τὸ στράτευμα τὸ μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς Αἰγύπτου φυλακῆ ἐνταῦθα προσυνειλεγμένον· ἐπεὶ δ’ οὔτε προσδέξεσθαι αὐτῶν ἐφη, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοὺς προπεμφθέντας ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἔσφαξε, τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν δὲ ἡρχεν ἀγανακτήσαντάς τινας ἐπὶ τούτω διέφθειρεν, οὕτω δ’ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν μηδὲν περάνας ἐκομίσθη.
6 Καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡς ἐπὶ ταχεῖ πολέμῳ παρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ τοὺς νιεῖς, Κλεοπάτρα μὲν Καίσαρίωνα Ἀντώνιος δὲ Ἀντυλλόν, ὃν ἐκ τῆς Φουλοῦιας γεννηθέντα οἱ ἔχεν, ἐς ἐφήσιον ἐσέ-

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

Now among the other preparations they made for speedy warfare, they enrolled among the youths of military age, Cleopatra her son Caesarion and Antony his son Antyllus, who had been born to him by Fulvia and was then with him. Their purpose was
γραφαν, ἵνα τε Αἰγύπτιοι ὡς καὶ ἀνδρός τινος ἡδη βασιλεύοντος σφων προθυμηθῶσιν, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι προστάταις ἐκεῖνοις, ἀν γε τι δεινόν σφισιν

2 συμβὴν, ἔχοντες καρτερῆσωσι. καὶ τοῖς μὲν μειράκιοις καὶ τούτο αἵτινοι τοῦ ὀλέθρου ἐγένετο· οὐδετέρου γαρ αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἄντων καὶ πρόσχημα τι προστασίας ἐχόντων, ἐφέσσατο· ἐκεῖνοι δ' οὖν παρεσκευάζοντο μὲν ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεῖξι πολεμη-

3 σοντες, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ ἑδυν τὰ ὀμόχωρα τοὺς τε βασιλέας τοὺς φίλους σφίσι προσπαρεκάλουν, ἡτοιμάζοντο δ' οὐδὲν ἤττον ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἱβηρίαν, ἀν τι κατεπείξη, πλευσούμενοι καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ ἄλλος τε καὶ τῇ πλῆθε τῶν χρημάτων ἀποστῆσοντες, ἥ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐρυθράν θάλασσαν

4 μεταστησόμενοι. καὶ ὅπως γε ἐπὶ πλείστων βουλευόμενοι ταῦτα διαλάθωσιν, ἥ καὶ ἔξαπατήσωσί τη τὸν Καῖσαρα ἥ καὶ δολοφονήσωσιν, ἑστειλάν τινας ἐκείνω μὲν λόγους υπὲρ εἰρήνης τοῖς δὲ δὴ συνούσιν αὐτῷ χρήματα φέροντας.

5 καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἦ Κλεοπάτρα σκηπτρὸν τῇ τι 1 χρυσοῦν καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν τὸν τε δίφρον τὸν βασιλικὸν, κρύφα τοῦ 'Αντωνίου, ὡς καὶ τὴν ἀρχήν οἱ δ' αὐτῶν 2 διδοῦσα ἐπεμψεν, ἵνα ἀν καὶ

6 ἐκείνῳ ἐξθήρην, ἀλλ' αὐτήν γε ἐλεήσῃ. ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν δόρα ἐλαβεν οἰωνόν ποιούμενος, ἀπεκρίνατο δὲ τῷ μὲν 'Αντωνίῳ οὐδὲν, τῇ δὲ Κλεοπάτρᾳ φανερῶς μὲν ἄλλα τε ἀπειλητικὰ καὶ ὅτι, ἄν τῶν τε ὀπλῶν καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀποστῆ, βουλευσεται

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

7 Ἐν φ’ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, τὰς τε ναῦς τὰς ἐν τῷ Ἀραβικῷ κόλπῳ πρὸς τὸν ἐς¹ τὴν ἑρυθρὰν θάλασσαν πλοῦν ναυπηγηθείσας ὁι Ἀράβιοι, πεισθέντες ὑπὸ Κύντου Διδίου τοῦ τῆς Συρίας ἀρχωντος, κατέπρησαν, καὶ τὰς ἑπικουρίας καὶ οἱ δὴμοι καὶ οἱ δυνάσται πάντες ἀπηρήσαντο. καὶ μοι θαυμᾶσαι ἔπερχεται ὅτι ἄλλοι μὲν συχνοί, καλπερ πολλὰ παρ’ αὐτῶν εἰληφότες, ἐγκατελιπτόν σφας, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὀπλομαχίαις ἐν τοῖς ἀτιμοτατα τρεφόμενοι προθυμία τε ἐς αὐτοῦς πλείστη

3 ἐχρήσαντο καὶ ἀνδρείώτατα ἠγωνίσαντο. οὗτοι γὰρ ἐν Κυζίκῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπινικίους ἁγώνας, οὗς ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἄξειν ἠλπίζον, ἀσκοῦμενοι, τότε ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῶν γεγονότων ἠσθοντο, ὄρμησαν

4 ἐς τὴν Αἰγυπτίου ὡς καὶ βοηθήσοντες αὐτοῖς, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τῶν Ἀμύνταν ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Ταρκονδιμότου παῖδας ἐν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ, φίλους μὲν σφίσιν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα γενομένους, τότε δὲ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα μεταστάντας, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὸν Διδίου κωλύοντα σφας τῆς διόδου ἐδρασαν.

5 οὐ μέντοι καὶ διαπεσεῖν ἐς τὴν Αἰγυπτίου ἡδυνηθησαν, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ πανταχόθεν περιεστουχησθησαν, λόγον μὲν οὐδ’ ὡς οὐδένα, καὶ τοῦ Διδίου συχνὰ σφισιν ὑπεισχυνομένου, προσεδε-

¹ ἐς Μ, πρὸς Β.
he would consider what ought to be done in her case, he secretly sent word that, if she would kill Antony, he would grant her pardon and leave her realm inviolate.

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

1 The "Red Sea" of the ancients is the Persian Gulf of to-day, their "Arabian Gulf" the modern Red Sea.
ΔΙΟ’Σ ΡΩΜΑΝΗ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ

ξαντό, τόν δὲ Ἀντώνιον μεταπέμψαντες ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ἀμείνων μετ’ αὐτοῦ πολεμήσωντες,

6 ἔπειτ’ ἐπειδὴ ἐκείνους μὴν αὐτὸς ἦλθε μὴν ἀγ-


γελιαν τινὰ αὐτοῖς ἐπεμψεν, οὕτω δὴ νομίσαντες αὐτὸν ἀπολωλέναι καὶ ἄκουσαν ὁμολόγησαν ἐπὶ τῷ μηδέποτε μονομαχῆσαι, καὶ τὴν γε Δάφνην παρὰ τοῦ Διδίου, τὸ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων προάστειον, ἐνοικεῖν μέχρι ᾗν τῷ Καίσαρι ταύτα δηλωθῇ ἐλαβον.

7 Καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μεσσάλου ὦστερον ἀπατη-

θέντες ἐπέμφθησαν ἄλλος ἄλλοσ ὡς καὶ ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα καταλεχθησόμενοι, καὶ ἐκ τρόπου δὴ

8 τῶν ἐπιτηδείου ἐφθάρησαν. Ἀντώνιος δὲ καὶ Κλεοπάτρα ἄκουσαν τῶν πρόσβεσιν τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος σφισιν ἐπισταλέντα, ἐπεμψαν αὖθις, ἡ μὲν χρήματα αὐτῷ πολλὰ δόσειν ὑπεισ-


χνουμένη, ὁ δὲ τῆς τε φιλίας καὶ τῆς συγγενείας αὐτοῦ ἀναμμυνήσκων, καὶ προσέτη καὶ περὶ τῆς συνουσίας τῆς πρὸς τὴν Δίαντιαν ἀπολογοῦ-

μενος, ὅσα τε συνηράσθησάν ποτε καὶ ὅσα

2 συνενεανεύσαντο ἀλλήλοις ἐξαρθημοῦμενος. καὶ τέλος Πούτλιον Τουρούλλιον βουλεύσας τοῦ οὐντα καὶ σφαγέα τοῦ Καίσαρος γεγονότα τότε τε φιλικῶς οἱ συνόντα ἐξέδωκεν αὐτῷ, καὶ εὐαντόν, ἂν γε καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα σωθῆ, κατα-

3 χρήσεσθαι ἐπηγγείλατο. Καίσαρ δὲ τῶν μὲν Τουρούλλιον ἀπέκτεινε (καὶ ἐνυχε γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἐν Κό τοῦ Ἀσκληπίου ὕλης ξύλα ἐς ναυτικὸν κεκο-


φώς, δίκην τινὰ καὶ τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι ἐκεῖ ἐδικαιώθη, δοῦναι ἐδοξε), τῷ δ’ Ἀντωνίῳ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τότε

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

These men were later deceived by Messalla and sent to various places under the pretext that they were to be enlisted in the legions, and were then put out of the way in some convenient manner. Antony and Cleopatra, for their part, upon hearing from the envoys the demands which Caesar made of them, sent to him again. Cleopatra promised to give him large amounts of money, and Antony reminded him of their friendship and kinship, made a defence also of his connexion with the Egyptian woman, and recounted all the amorous adventures and youthful pranks which they had shared together. Finally, he surrendered to him Publius Turullius, who was a senator and one of the assassins of Caesar and was then living with Antony as a friend; and he offered to take his own life, if in that way Cleopatra might be saved. Caesar put Turullius to death (it chanced that this man had cut wood for the fleet from the grove of Aesculapius in Cos, and since he was executed in Cos, he was thought to be making amends to the god as well as to Caesar), but this time also he gave no answer to Antony. So Antony despatched a
καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Ἀντύλλου μετὰ χρυσίου πολλοῦ
αὐτῶ ἐπεμψαν· ὦ δὲ τὰ μὲν χρήματα ἐλαβεν,
ἐκεῖνον δὲ διὰ κενῆς ἀνταπέστειλε, μηδεμίαν
ἀπόκρισιν δοὺς. τῇ μέντοι Κλεοπάτρᾳ πολλά,
ὡσπέρ τὸ πρῶτον, οὕτω καὶ τὸ δεύτερον τὸ τε
τρίτον καὶ ἐπηπείλησε καὶ ὑπέσχετο. φοβηθεὶς
ὁ οὖν καὶ ὃς μῆ πῶς ἀπογυνώτες συγγυνώμης παρ'
αὐτοῦ τεῖξεσθαί διακαρτηρήσωσι, καὶ ἦτοι καὶ
καθ' ἑαυτοὺς περιγένωνται, ἦ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν
τὴν τε Γαλατίαν ἀπάρωσιν, ἥ καὶ τὰ χρήματα,
ἀ παμπληθῇ ἦκουν εἶναι, φθεῖρωσιν (ἂ γὰρ
Κλεοπάτρα πάντα τε αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ μυμεῖον, ὦ ἐν
τῷ βασιλείῳ κατεσκεύαζεν, ἥθροικε, καὶ πάντα,
ἀν γε τινος καὶ ἐλαχίστου διαμάρτη, κατακαύσεων
μεθ' ἐαυτῆς ἥπειλε), Θύρσον ἐξελεύθερον ἑαυτοῦ
ἔπεμψεν ἄλλα τε πολλά καὶ φιλάνθρωπα αὐτῇ
ἐροῦτα, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἔρων αὐτῆς τυγχάνει, εἰ πῶς
ἐκ γε τούτου, οὐα ἄξιούσα πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώ-
πων ἑρᾶσθαι, τὸν τε Ἀντώνιον ἀναχρήσαιτο καὶ
ἐαυτὴν τα τε χρήματα ἀκέραια τηρήσειε. καὶ
ἐσχεν οὕτως.

Πρὸν δὲ δὴ 1 ταῦτα γίνεσθαι, μαθῶν ὁ
Ἀντώνιος ὅτι Κορνήλιος Γάλλος τὸ τε τοῦ
Σκύρτου στράτευμα παρείληφε καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν
tο Παραιτόνιον ἔξαϊφνης παρελθὼν κατέσχηκεν,
ἐς μὲν τὴν Συρίαν, καὶ τοῦ βουληθεὶς κατὰ τὴν
τῶν μονομάχων μετάπεμψιν ὀρμῆσαν, οὐκ ἐπο-

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

But before this happened, Antony learned that Cornelius Gallus had taken over Scarpus' army and had suddenly marched with these troops upon Paraetonium and occupied it. Hence, although he wished to set out for Syria in response to the summons of the gladiators, he did not go thither, but proceeded against Gallus, in the hope of winning over the troops without a struggle, if possible, inasmuch as they had been with him on campaigns and were fairly well disposed toward him, but otherwise of subduing them by force, since he was leading
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dύναμιν πολλήν καὶ ναυτικήν καὶ πεζήν ἐπαγό- 3 μενος. οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ1 διαλεξθήναι τι αὐτοῖς ἡδυνήθη, καίπερ πρὸς τε το τείχος προσελθὼν καὶ γεγονοῦν βοήσας· ο γὰρ Γάλλος τοὺς σαλ- πικτάς 2 συνηχείν κελεύσας οὐδὲν οὐδεὶς ἐσακοῦσαι ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ προσέτε καὶ ἐπεκδρομῆ αἰφνιδίω ἐπτασε, καὶ μετὰ τούτο καὶ ταῖς ναυσίν ἐσφάλη.

4 ἀλύσεις γάρ τινας υφύδρους νύκτωρ διὰ τοῦ στο- ματος τοῦ λιμένος ο Γάλλος διατείνας οὐδεμίαν αὐτοῦ φανερὰν φυλακὴν ἐποίησατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ ἄδεως εἰςω μετά καταφρονήματος ἐσ- πλέοντας σφας περείδειν ἐπεί μέντοι ἐνδον ἐγένοντο, τὰς τε ἀλύσεις μηχαναὶς ἀνέσπασε, καὶ πανταχόθεν ἀμα τὰς ναῦς αὐτῶν ἐκ τε τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων τῆς τε θαλάσσης περισχῶν 5 τὰς μὲν κατέπρησε τὰς δὲ κατεπόντωσε. καὶ ντούτω καὶ τὸ Πηλούσιον ο Καίσαρ, λόγῳ μὲν κατὰ τὸ ῥυχυρὸν ἔργῳ δὲ προδοθέν ὑπὸ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας, ἐλάβει. ἐκείνη γὰρ ὡς οὗτε τις ἐβοήθησε σφίσι καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἀνανταγώνι- στον οὔτα ἥσθετο, τὸ τε μέγιστον ἀκούσασα τοὺς διὰ τοῦ Θύρου πεμφθέντας οἱ λόγους, ἐπίστευσεν ὅπως ἔρασθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι καὶ ἐβούλετο, ἐπείτα δὲ ὅτι καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ τὸν τε 6 Ἀντώνιον ὁμοίως ἐδεδούλωστο. καὶ τοῦτον οὐχ ὅπως τὴν τε ἀδειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βα- σιλείαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κράτος ἔξειν προσεδόκησε, τὸ τε Πηλούσιον εὖθυς αὐτῷ προή- κατο, καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ προσελαύνοντι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐκώλυσε τοὺς Ἀλεξανδρέας λάθρα ἐπεξελ-

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

10 'Ὁ δ' οὖν Ὀντώνιος ἐκ τοῦ Παραίτονίου πρὸς τὴν περὶ τοῦ Πελούσιου πῦστιν ἐπανελθὼν προ- απήνυσε πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ αὐτὸν κεκμηκότα ἐκ τῆς πορείας ὑπολαβὼν τοῖς ἔπευψιν ἐνίκησεν. ἀναθαρσήσας τε ἐκ τε τοὐτοῦ καὶ ὅτι βιβλία ἔστω στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ τοξεύ- μασιν ἐσέπεμψε πεντακοσίας σφίσι καὶ χιλιάς δραχμᾶς ὑπισχυοῦμενος, συνέβαλε καὶ τῷ πεζῷ καὶ ἠττήσθη ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ αὐτὸς τὰ βιβλία ἑθελοντῆς τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀνέγγιν, τόν τε Ὀντώ- νιον διαβάλλων καὶ ἐκείνους ἐστὶ τὴν τῆς προ- δοσίας αἰσχύνην καὶ ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ ἐαυτοῦ προδο- μέαν ἀντικαθιστάς, ὡστε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ τῇ τῆς πειρασ ἀγανακτήσει καὶ τῇ τοῦ μη ἐθελο- kakeiin doxai enedezi ei spoudasaiai. kai o men epee- dh pera doxan hlaattath, prds te to vautikov apektelw, kal paraskenazeto ws kai vauvaxhsow h pantws ge es tyn Ibehriam plenousymenos idousa de toud' h Kleostaptra tas te vav automolhsai

5 ἐποίησε, καὶ αὐτὴ ἐστὶν ἡ ἱγμὸν ἐξαίφνης ἐσεπήδησε, λόγῳ μὲν ὡς τὸν Καίσαρα φοβομένη καὶ προ- διαφθείραι τρόπον τινά ἐαυτὴν βουλομένη, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὀντώνιον ἐκείσθη ἐσελθεῖν προκαλου- μένης ὑπετόπει μὲν γὰρ προδίσθαι, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπίστευεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ὃς εὑτείν εἰκείνην ἡ ἐαυτὸν ἡλεει. ὀπέρ ποι ἡ Kleostaptra akribōs eidiuia helisiein 2 ὅτι, ἄν πύ- θηται αὐτὴν τετελευτηκάν, οὐκ ἐπιβιωσεται ἀλλὰ παραχρῆμα ἀποθανεῖται. καὶ δία τοῦτο ἐς

1 ἐαυτὸν M, ἐαυτὴν V. 2 ἡλισειν M, ἡλιςειν V.
BOOK LI

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

At the news concerning Pelusium Antony returned from Paraetonium and went to meet Caesar in front of Alexandria, and attacking him with his cavalry, while the other was wearied from his march, he won the day. Encouraged by this success, and because he had shot arrows into Caesar's camp carrying leaflets which promised the men six thousand sesterces, he joined battle also with his infantry and was defeated. For Caesar of his own accord personally read the leaflets to his soldiers, at the same time reviling Antony and trying to turn them to a feeling of shame for the suggested treachery and of enthusiasm for himself; the result was that they were fired by zeal through this very incident, both by reason of their indignation at the attempt made upon their loyalty and by way of demonstrating that they were not subject to the suspicion of being base traitors. After his unexpected setback, Antony took refuge in his fleet, and was preparing to give battle on the sea or at any rate to sail to Spain. But Cleopatra, upon perceiving this, caused the ships to desert, and she herself rushed suddenly into the mausoleum, pretending that she feared Caesar and desired by some means or other to forestall him by taking her own life, but really as an invitation to Antony to enter there also. He had a suspicion, to be sure, that he was being betrayed, yet in his infatuation he could not believe it, but actually pitied her more, one might say, than himself. Cleopatra, doubtless, was fully aware of this and hoped that if he should be informed that she was dead, he would not wish to survive her, but would die at once. Accordingly
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te τὸ μνημεῖον σὺν τε εὐνούχῳ τινὶ καὶ σὺν θερα-
paίναις δύο ἐσέδραμε, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἀγγελίαν αὐτῷ
7 ὡς καὶ ἄπολυλία ἐπεμψε. καὶ ὃς ἀκούσας τούτο
οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλὰ ἐπαποθανεῖν αὐτῇ ἐπεθύμησεν.
καὶ τὸ μὲν πρότον τῶν παρόντων τινὸς ἐδείχθη ἵνα
αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνῃ ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος σπασάμενος τὸ
ξίφος ἑαυτὸν κατειργάσατο, ξηλώσας τε αὐτὸν
ἡθέλησε καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔτρωσεν, καὶ ἐπεσεὶ τε ἐπὶ
στόμα καὶ δόξαν τοῖς παρούσιν ὡς καὶ τεθυνὼς
8 παρέσχε. θορύβου τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενομένου ὧςθετό
τε ἡ Κλεοπάτρα καὶ ὑπερκύψευν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μνη-
μείου αὐτῷ μὲν ὡς θύραι αὐτοῦ συγκλεεσθεὶς
ἀπαξ οὐκέτι ἀνοιχθῆναι ἢ μηχανήματος τινὸς
ἐδύναντο, τὰ δ’ ἄνω πρός τῇ ὀροφῇ οὐδέπω παν-
tελῶς ἔξειργαστο. ἐντεῦθεν οὖν ὑπερκύψασαν
αὐτὴν ἰδόντες τινὲς ἀνεβόησαν ὡστε καὶ τὸν Ἀν-
tώνιον ἑσακοῦσαι καὶ δὲ μαθῶν ὅτι περίσσῃ,
ἐξανέστη μὲν ὡς καὶ ξησί δυνάμενος, προχυθέν
tος δ’ αὑτῷ πολλοῦ αἵματος ἀπέγνω τε τὴν σωτη-
ρίαν, καὶ ἰκέτευσε τοὺς παρόντας ὅπως πρὸς τε
τὸ μνήμα αὐτῶν κομίσοσι καὶ διὰ τῶν σχοινίων
tῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀνολκήν τῶν λίθων κρεμαμένων ἀνε-
μήσοσι.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐνταῦθα οὖτω καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῆς Κλεο-
pάτρας κόλπως ἐναπέθανεν, ἑκεῖνη δὲ ἐθάρρυνε
μὲν πως τὸν Καίσαρα, καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτῷ τὸ γεγονὸς
ἐδήλωσεν, οὐ μὴν καὶ πάνω ἐπίπεπε μηδὲν κακὸν
πείσεσθαι. κατείχεν οὖν ἐαυτὴν ἐνδού, ὅπ’ εἰ καὶ
diὰ μηδὲν ἄλλο σωθεῖν, τῷ γε φόβῳ τῶν χρημά-
tων καὶ τὴν ἄδειαν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκπρῆται.

2 οὗτω ποιεῖν καὶ τότε ἐν τηλικάυτῇ συμφορᾷ οὖσα
tῆς δυναστείας ἐμέμνητο, καὶ μᾶλλον γε ἐν τῷ
30
she hastened into the tomb with a eunuch and two maidservants, and from there sent a message to him from which he should infer that she was dead. And he, when he heard it, did not delay, but was seized by a desire to follow her in death. He first asked one of the bystanders to slay him; but when the man drew his sword and slew himself, Antony wished to imitate his courage and so gave himself a wound and fell upon his face, causing the bystanders to believe that he was dead. At this an outcry was raised, and Cleopatra, hearing it, peered out over the top of the tomb. By a certain contrivance its doors, once closed, could not be opened again, but the upper part of it next to the roof was not yet fully completed. Now when some of them saw her peering out at this point, they raised a shout so that even Antony heard. So he, learning that she survived, stood up, as if he had still the power to live; but, as he had lost much blood, he despaired of his life and besought the bystanders to carry him to the monument and to hoist him up by the ropes that were hanging there to lift the stone blocks.

So Antony died there in Cleopatra's bosom; and she now felt a certain confidence in Caesar, and immediately informed him of what had taken place; still, she was not altogether convinced that she would suffer no harm. She accordingly kept herself within the building, in order that, even if there should be no other motive for her preservation, she might at least purchase pardon and her kingdom through his fear for the money. So thoroughly mindful was she even then, in the midst of her dire misfortune, of her royal rank, and chose rather to
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...ονόματι καὶ ἐν τῷ σχήματι αὐτῆς ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ἱδιωτεύσασα ξῆν ἥρειτο. ἀμέλει εἰρχε μὲν καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ τοὺς χρήμασιν, εἰρχὲ δὲ καὶ ἀσπίδας ἀλλὰ τε ἐρπετὰ ἐφ' ἑαυτῇ, προπειραθείσα αὐτῶν ἐν ἀνθρώπως, ὅτινα τρόπον ἐκαστὸν σφῶν ἀποκτίνων.

3 Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐπεθύμει μὲν καὶ τῶν θησαυρῶν ἐγκρατῆς γενέσθαι καὶ ἐκείνην ξώσαν τε συλλαβεῖν καὶ ἐς τὰ νικητήρια ἀναγαγεῖν, οὐ μὲντοι καὶ αὐτὸς πλέον τινὰ αὐτὴ δοὺς ἀπατεών δόξαι γεγονέναι ᾧ ὅς καὶ αἴχμαλωτος καὶ ἁκουσία τρόπον τινὰ χειροθείς χρῆσται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπεμψε πρὸς αὐτὴν Γαίων τε Προκούλειον ἤπτέα καὶ Ἐσπαφρόδιτον ἐξελεύθερον, ἐντειλάμενος σφισίν ὅσα καὶ εἴπειν καὶ πρᾶξαι ἔχρην. καὶ οὕτως ἐκείνοι συμμίξαντες τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ καὶ μέτρια τινὰ διαλεχθέντες, ἐπείτε ἐξαίφυς συνήρπασαν

4 αὐτὴν πρῶ τι ὄρμολογηθῆναι. κακὸ τοῦτον ἐκποδῶν πάντα ἀν' ὑψὸν ἀποθανεῖν ἐδύνατο ποιησάμενοι, ἡμέρας μὲν τινὰς κατὰ χώραν αὐτῇ τὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου σώμα ταριχευούσῃ διατρίψαι ἐπέτρεψαν, ἐπειτά δὲ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια αὐτὴν ἠγαγον, μῆτε τῆς ἀκολούθιας τι μῆτε τῆς θεραπείας τῆς συνήθους οἱ παραλύσαντες, ὅπως ἑτὶ καὶ μάλλον ἐλπίζῃ τε ὅσα ἐβούλετο καὶ μηδὲν κακῶν ἐαυτὴν δράσῃ.

5 ἀμέλει καὶ ὄφθηναι καὶ διαλεχθῆναι τι τῷ Καῖσαρι ἐθελήσασα ἐπέτυχε· καὶ ἧνα γε ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀπατηθῇ, αὐτὸς ἀφίξεθαι πρὸς αὐτὴν ὑπέσχετο.

6 ὁμόν τε οὐν ἐκπρετῇ καὶ κλίμνῃ πολυτελῆ παρασκευάσασα, καὶ προσέτει καὶ εαυτὴν ἡμελημένος πως κοσμήσασα (καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πενθίμῳ

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1 Προκούλειον Βς., προκούλιον VM.
die with the name and dignity of a sovereign than to live in a private station. At all events, she kept at hand fire to consume her wealth, and asps and other reptiles to destroy herself, and she had the latter tried on human beings, to see in what way they killed in each case. Now Caesar was anxious not only to get possession of her treasures but also to seize her alive and to carry her back for his triumph, yet he was unwilling to appear to have tricked her himself after having given her a kind of pledge, since he wished to treat her as a captive and to a certain extent subdued against her will. He therefore sent to her Gaius Proculeius, a knight, and Epaphroditus, a freedman, giving them directions as to what they were to say and do. Following out this plan, they obtained an audience with Cleopatra, and after discussing with her some moderate proposals they suddenly seized her before any agreement was reached. After this they put out of her way everything by means of which she could cause her own death and allowed her to spend some days where she was, occupied in embalming Antony's body; then they took her to the palace, but did not remove any of her accustomed retinue or attendants, in order that she should entertain more hope than ever of accomplishing all she desired, and so should do no harm to herself. At any rate, when she expressed a desire to appear before Caesar and to have an interview with him, she gained her request; and to deceive her still more, he promised that he would come to her himself.

She accordingly prepared a splendid apartment and a costly couch, and moreover arrayed herself with affected negligence,—indeed, her mourning
σχήματι δεινῶς ἐνέπρεπεν) ἐκαθέζετο ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, πολλάς μὲν εἰκόνας τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ παντοδαπᾶς παραθεμένη, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τὰς παρ’ ἐκείνου οἱ πεμφθείσας ἐς τὸν κόλπον
2 λαβοῦσα. καὶ μετὰ τὸῦτο ἐσελθόντος τοῦ Καί-
σαρος ἀνεπτήδησε τε ἐρρυθμισμένη, καὶ ἐφὶ "χαῖρε ὁ δέσποτα: σοὶ μὲν γὰρ τὸῦτο θεὸς ἐδω-
κεν, ἐμὲ δὲ ἀφείλετο. ἀλλ’ ὅρας μὲν ποὺ καὶ
αὐτὸς τὸν πατέρα σοῦ τοιοῦτον οἶος πολλάκις πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐσήλθεν, ἀκούεις δὲ ὅπως τὰ τὲ ἀλλὰ ἐτύμησε μὲ καὶ δὴ καὶ βασιλίδα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων
3 ἐποίησεν, ἵνα δ’ οὖν τι καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου περὶ ἐμὸν πῦθη, λάβε καὶ ἀνάγνωθι τὰ γράμματα ἀ
μοι αὐτοχειρία ἐπέστειλε.”

Ταῦτά τε ἁμα ἔλεγε, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἐρωτικὰ αὐτοῦ ῥήματα ἀνεγέρνωσκε. καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἐκλαε
καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς κατεβίλευ, τοτὲ δὲ πρὸς τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ προσέπιπτε καὶ ἐκείνας προσεκύνει.
4 τά τε βλέφαρα ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπενέκλα; καὶ ἐμμελῶς ἀνωλοφύρετο, θρυπτικὸν τέ τι προσέ-
φθέγγετο, ἀλλοτε μὲν λέγουσα “ποῦ μοι, Καίσαρ,
ταῦτα σοῦ τὰ γράμματα;” ἀλλοτε δὲ ὅτι “ἀλλ’ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ σὺ μοι ζῆς;” εἶτα αὐθίς “ἐἴθε σου
προετθύκειν,” καὶ μάλα αὐθίς “ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων ἔχουσα σὲ ἔχω.”
5 Τοιαύτῃ τινὶ ποικιλία καὶ τῶν ῥημάτων καὶ τῶν σχημάτων ἐχρήτο, μελιχρὰ ἅττα καὶ 2 προσβλέ-
πουσα αὐτῷ καὶ λαλοῦσα. ὁ οὖν Καίσαρ συνίει
μὲν αὐτῆς καὶ παθαίνομενης καὶ πληκτιξομένης,

1 ἐρρυθμισμένη is the reading of VM; some editors have
preferred ἤρρυθμισμένη, the reading found in Xiphilinus’
Epitome. 2 καὶ Μ, om. V.
garb wonderfully became her,—and seated herself upon the couch; beside her she placed many images of his father, of all kinds, and in her bosom she put all the letters that his father had sent her. When, after this, Caesar entered, she leaped gracefully to her feet and cried: "Hail, master—for Heaven has granted you the mastery and taken it from me. But surely you can see with your own eyes how your father looked when he visited me on many occasions, and you have heard people tell how he honoured me in various ways and made me queen of the Egyptians. That you may, however, learn something about me from him himself, take and read the letters which he wrote me with his own hand."

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

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

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

2 That is, the power she had exercised over Caesar, in consequence of which he had become her willing subject, was of no avail in the case of Augustus.
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οὖ μέντοι καὶ προσεποιεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν γῆν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐρείσας τοῦτο μόνον εἶπεν, "θάρσει, ὦ γύναι, καὶ θυμῶν ἔχε ἀγαθῶν: οὐδὲν γὰρ κακὸν πείσῃ." περιαλγήσασα οὖν ἐκείνη ὅτι μήτε προσεῖδεν αὐτὴν μήτε τι ἤ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἤ καὶ ἐρωτικὸν τι ἐφθέγξατο, πρὸς τε τὰ γόνατα αὐτοῦ προσέπεσε καὶ ἀνακλαύσασα "ξῆν μὲν" ἐφη, "Καίσαρ, οὐτε ἐθέλω οὔτε δύναμαι ταύτην δὲ σε τὴν χάριν ἐς τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς μνήμην αὐτῶ, ἤ᾽ ἐπειδὴ με 'Αντώνίῳ μετ' ἐκεῖνον ὁ δαίμων παρέ-

7 δωκε, μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποθάνω. εἰδὴ μὲν γὰρ ἀπωλώλειν εὐθὺς τότε μετὰ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπεὶ δὲ μοι καὶ τοῦτο παθεῖν ἐπέπρωτο, πέμψαν με πρὸς 'Αντώνιον, μηδὲ μοι τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ ταφῆς φθονήσῃς, ὥστε δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἀποθνήσκω, οὔτω καὶ ἐν "Αἰδοῦ αὐτῷ συνοικήσω."

13 Ἐποιεῖτο, ὅπως οἱ τὰ ἐπίνικια ἐπιλαμπρύνη. τοῦτό τε οὖν ὑποτπήσασα, καὶ μυρίων θανάτων χαλεπώτερον αὐτῷ νομίσασα εἶναι, ὅτως τε ἀποθανεὶν ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τὸν Καίσαρος, ὅπως τροπον τινὰ ἀπόληται, ἐδεῖτο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ ἐμηχανάτο. ἐπεὶ δ' οὔδὲν ἐπέραινε, μεταγιγνώσκειν τε ἐπιλάσατο ὡς καὶ ἐλπίδα πολλὴν μὲν καὶ ἐκεῖνον πολλὴν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Διονύσαν ἠχοῦσα, καὶ ἐκουσία τε πλευσσέσθαι ἠλεγε, καὶ κόσμους τινὰς ἀποθέτους ἐς δῶρα ἦτοιμάζετο, εἰ πῶς πῖ-

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

Such words she uttered, expecting to move him to
pity, but Caesar made no answer to them; fearing,
however, that she might destroy herself, he exhorted
her again to be of good cheer, and not only did not
remove any of her attendants but also took special
care of her, that she might add brilliance to his tri-
umph. This purpose she suspected, and regarding
that fate as worse than a thousand deaths, she con-
ceived a genuine desire to die, and not only addressed
many entreaties to Caesar that she might perish in
some manner or other, but also devised many plans
herself. But when she could accomplish nothing,
she feigned a change of heart, pretending to set
great hopes in him and also in Livia. She said she
would sail of her own free will, and she made ready
some treasured articles of adornment to use as gifts,

1 That is, that she had not been able to die with Caesar.
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στιν ἐκ τούτων μὴ τεθνήξειν ¹ λαβοῦσα ἦττὸν τε
4 τηρηθεὶς καὶ εὐαυτὴν ἐξεργάσατο. ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο.
ἐπείδὴ γὰρ οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὁ Ἐμπαιρόδιτος, ὑπερὶ ἐπετέτραπτο, πιστεῦσαντες ταῦθ' ὡς ἄληθῶς φρο
νεῖν, τῆς ἀκριβοῦς φυλακῆς ἡμέλησαν, παρεσκευ
άζετο ὅπως ὡς ἀλυπότατα ἀποθάνῃ. καὶ γραμ
ματεῖον τι, δι' οὐ ἐδείξῃ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἦν, αὐτὴν μετὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ταφῆναι κελεύσῃ, αὐτῷ τῷ
5 Ἐπαιφροδίτῳ σεσημασμένον, ὅπως προφάσει τῆς ἀποκομιδῆς αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ ἄλλο τι ἐχοντος ἐκπο
δῶν οἱ γεννηται, δοῦσά ἔργου εὗχετο. τὴν τε γὰρ ἔσθητα τὴν περικαλλεστάτην ἐνδύσα, καὶ εὐαυτὴν εὔπρεπόστατα εὐθετῆσασα, τὸ τε σχῆμα τὸ βασι
λικὸν πᾶν ἀναλαβοῦσα, ἀπέθανε.
14. Καὶ τὸ μὲν σαφὲς οὐδεὶς οἴδειν ὁ τρόπῳ δι
εφθάρη. κεντημάτα γὰρ λεπτὰ περὶ τὸν βραχίονα αὐτῆς μόνα εὐρέθη. λέγουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ὅτι ἀσπίδα ἐν υδρία ³ ἢ καὶ ἐν ἀνθεσι τισιν ἐσκομισθεῖσῶν οἱ
2 προσέβησιν, οἱ δὲ ὅτι βελόνην, ἢ τὰς τρίχας ἀν
εἰρεύν, ἢ τινι, δύναμιν τοιαῦτην ἔχοντι ὡστε ἄλλως μὲν μηδὲν τὸ σῶμα βλάπτειν, ἢν δ' αἴματος καὶ βραχυτάτου ἄψιτα, καὶ τάχιστα καὶ ἀλυπότατα αὐτὸ φθείρειν, χρίσασα τεώς μὲν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐφόρει ἀσπερ εἰώθει, τότε δὲ προκατανύ
ξασα ⁴ τὸν βραχίονα ἐς τὸ αἷμα ἐνέβαλεν.
3 οὕτω μὲν, ὅτι ἐγγυτάτα, μετὰ τῶν δύο θερα
παινών ἀπώλετο. ὁ γὰρ εὐνοῦχος ἄμα τῷ συλ
ληθηνα ἀποτελεῖ τοῖς τε ἐρπετοῖς ἐαυτοῖς ἐθελοντῆς

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

No one knows clearly in what way she perished, for the only marks on her body were slight pricks on the arm. Some say that she applied to herself an asp which had been brought in to her in a water-jar, or perhaps hidden in some flowers. Others declare that she had smeared a pin, with which she was wont to fasten her hair, with some poison possessed of such a property that in ordinary circumstances it would not injure the body at all, but if it came in contact with even a drop of blood would destroy the body very quickly and painlessly; and that previous to this time she had worn it in her hair as usual, but now had made a slight scratch on her arm and had dipped the pin in the blood. In this or in some very similar way she perished, and her two handmaidens with her. As for the eunuch, he had of his own accord delivered himself up to the serpents at the very time
παρέδωκε, καὶ δηχθεῖς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐς σορὸν προ-παρεσκευασμένην οἱ ἐσεπεπηδήκει. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὴν τελευτήν αὐτῆς ἔξεπλάγη, καὶ τὸ τε σῶμα αὐτῆς εἰδε, καὶ φάρμακα αὐτῷ καὶ Ψύλ-λους, εἰ πως ἀνασφήλειε, προσήνεγκεν. οἱ δὲ δὴ Ψύλλοι οὗτοι ἄνδρες μὲν εἰσὶ (γυνὴ γὰρ οὐ γί-γνεται Ψύλλα), δύνανται δὲ πάντα τέ ἵνα παντὸς ἐρπετοῦ παραχρῆμα, πρὶν θυσίσκειν τινά, ἐκμυζᾶν, καὶ αὐτοὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ μηδενὸς αὐτῶν δηχθέντες

βλάπτεσθαι. φύσιν τοῖς ἀλλήλων, καὶ δοκι-μάζουσι τὰ γεννηθέντα ἦτοι μετ’ ὀφεών ποι ἐνδύς ἐμβληθέντα, ἢ καὶ τῶν σπαργάνων αὐτῶν ἐπι-βληθέντων τισίν: οὔτε γὰρ τῷ παῖδίῳ τι λυμαί-νονται, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐσθήτος αὐτοῦ ναρκῶσι.

tοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ μηδένα τρόπων ἀναβιώσασθαι τὴν Κλεοπάτραν δυνηθεῖς ἐκεῖνην μὲν καὶ θάμισας καὶ ἠλέησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἰσχυρῶς ἐλυπήθη ὡς καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ δόξης ἐστερημένος.

Ἀντώνιος μὲν δὴ καὶ Κλεοπάτρα, πόλλῳ μὲν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις πολλῶν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ρωμαίοις κακῶν αὐτοὶ γενόμενοι, οὕτω τε ἐπολέμησαν καὶ οὕτως ἐπελεύσαν, ἐν τε τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ ἐπαρι-χέυθησαν, καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ θήκῃ ἐτάφησαν. ἔσχον δὲ τὴν τε φύσιν τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὴν τύχην τοῦ

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

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

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έξ ἵσον ἔχρητο, καὶ τὰ τέ ἄλλοτρια ἦρπαζε καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα προϊέτο, ἢλεει τε ἄλογως συχνοὺς καὶ
3 ἐκόλαζεν ἀδίκως πλείονας· κάκ τούτων ἱσχυρό-
tatós τε ἐξ ἀσθενεστάτου καὶ πλούσιωτάτου ἐξ ἀπορρωτάτου γενόμενος οὐδετέρου αὐτῶν ἀπώνητο,1 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κράτος τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μόνος ἐξεν
4 ἐλπίσας αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀπέκτεινε. Κλεοπάτρα δὲ ἀπληστος μὲν Ἀφροδίτης ἀπληστος δὲ χρημάτων
γενομένη, καὶ πολλῇ μὲν φιλοτιμίᾳ φιλοδοξῷ
πολλῇ δὲ καὶ περιφρονήθη θρεπεία χρησμασμένη,
tὴν τε βασιλείαν τὴν τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων ὑπ’ ἔρωτος
ἐκτήσατο, καὶ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων λήψεθαι δι’
αυτοῦ ἐλπίσασα ταύτης τε ἐσφάλη καὶ ἐκείνην
προσαπώλεσε, δύο τε ἀνδρῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν καθ’
ἑαυτὴν μεγίστων κατεκράτησε, καὶ διὰ τὸν τρίτον
ἑαυτὴν κατεχρήσατο.

5 Οὕτωι μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτοι τε ἐγένοντο καὶ οὕτως
ἀπήλλαξαν· τῶν δὲ δὴ παῖδων αὐτῶν Ἀντυλλος
μὲν, καίτοι τὴν τε τοῦ Καίσαρος θυγατέρα
ἡγγαμένος 2 καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἱρφον,
ὁ Κλεοπάτρα ἐπετοιήκει, καταφυγὼν, εὐθὺς
ἐσφάγη, Καίσαρίων δὲ ἐς Ἀλθισιάν φεύγων κατε-

6 λήψθη τε ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ καὶ διεθάρη. ἦ τε Κλεο-
pάτρα Ἰουβα τῷ τοῦ Ἰουβου παιδί συνόκησε·
tοῦτῳ γὰρ ὁ Καίσαρ τραφέντι τε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ
καὶ συντρατευσμένῳ οἱ ταύτῃν καὶ τὴν
βασιλείαν τὴν πατρίαν ἐδώκε, καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ
tῶν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τῶν Πτολεμαίων ἑχαρίσατο.

7 ταῖς τε ἀδελφίδαις, ἃς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἦ Ὁκτα-
ούνια ἀνήρητο τε καὶ ἐτετρόφει, χρήματα ἀπὸ

1 ἀπώνητο Naber, ἀπάνατο VM cod. Peir.
2 ἡγγαμένος Dind., ἡγγαμένος M, ἡγγαμένος V.

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

Such were these two and such was their end. Of their children, Antyllus was slain immediately, though he was betrothed to the daughter of Caesar and had taken refuge in his father's shrine, which Cleopatra had built; and Caesarion while fleeing to Ethiopia was overtaken on the road and murdered. Cleopatra was married to Juba, the son of Juba; for to this man who had been brought up in Italy and had been with him on campaigns, Caesar gave both the maid and the kingdom of his fathers, and as a favour to them spared the lives of Alexander and Ptolemy. To his nieces, the daughters whom Octavia had had by Antony and had reared, he assigned money from their father's estate. He
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tόν πατρὸς ἀπένειμε. καὶ τῷ Ἰούλλῳ τῷ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τῆς τῆς Φουλινιας νυεὶ τοῦ ἐξελευθέρους αὐτοῦ πάνθ᾽ ὡσα τελευτῶντας σφας καταλιποῖς αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἔδει παραχρῆμα δοῦναι 16 ἔκελευσε. τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μέχρι τότε πραξάντων τοὺς μὲν ἐκόλασε τοὺς δὲ ἄφῆκεν, ἢ δὲ ἔαντον ἢ διὰ τοὺς φίλους. ἐπειδὴ τε συχνοὶ παρ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ δύναστῶν καὶ βασιλέων παῖδες οἱ μὲν ἐφ᾽ ὀμηρεία οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐφ᾽ ὑβρεῖ τρεφόμενοι εὐρῆθησαν, τοὺς μὲν οἰκάδε αὐτῶν ἀπέστειλε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλληλοις συνώκισεν, ἐτέρους 2 τε κατέσχεν. ὃν ἐγὼ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἔασω, δύο δὲ δὴ μόνων ὅνοματι μνησθῆσομαι τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἰωτάπτην τῷ Μῆδῳ καταφυγὸντε μετὰ τὴν ἦτταν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκόνω ἀπέδωκε, τῷ δὲ Ἀρτάξῃ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ περ ἀἰτήσαντι ὅπι ἐπεμψεν, ὅτι τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ Ῥωμαίους ἀπεκτόνει.

3 Περὶ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους τουαύτα ἐγίγνετο, τῶν δὲ Αἰγυπτίων τῶν τε Ἀλεξάνδρεών πάντων ἐφείσατο ὡστε μὴ διολέσαι τινά, τὸ μὲν ἀλῆθες ὅτι οὐκ ἥξισε τοσούτους τε αὐτοὺς ὄντας καὶ χρησμωτάτους τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐς πολλὰ ἀν γενο- 4 μένους ἀνήκεστον τι δρᾶσαι πρόφασιν δὲ ὦμως προυβάλλετο τὸν τε θεὸν τὸν Σάραπιν καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν οἰκιστὴν αὐτῶν, καὶ τρίτον Ἀρειον τὸν πολίτην, δὴ που φιλοσοφοῦντι τε καὶ συνόντι οἱ ἔχρητο. καὶ τὸν γε λόγον δὲ οὖ συνέγγων σφίσιν, ἠλληνιστὶ, ὅπως συνώσιν αὐτοῦ, 5 εἰπε. καὶ μετὰ ταύτα τὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου σῶμα εἶδε, καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ προσήψατο, ὡστε τῇ τῆς ρινός, ὡς φασὶ, θραυσθήναι τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν

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also ordered Antony's freedmen to give at once to Iullus, the son of Antony and Fulvia, every-thing which by law they would have been required to bequeath him at their death. As for the rest who had been connected with Antony's cause up to this time, he punished some and pardoned others, either from personal motives or to oblige his friends. And since there were found at the court many children of princes and kings who were being kept there, some as hostages and others out of a spirit of arrogance, he sent some back to their homes, joined others in marriage with one another, and retained still others. I shall omit most of these cases and mention only two. Of his own accord he restored Iotape to the Median king, who had found an asylum with him after his defeat; but he refused the request of Artaxes that his brothers be sent to him, because this prince had put to death the Romans left behind in Armenia.

This was the disposition he made of such captives; and in the case of the Egyptians and Alexandrians, he spared them all, so that none perished. The truth was that he did not see fit to inflict any irrepar-able injury upon a people so numerous, who might prove very useful to the Romans in many ways; nevertheless, he offered as a pretext for his kindness their god Serapis, their founder Alexander, and, in the third place, their fellow-citizen Areius, of whose learning and companionship he availed himself. The speech in which he proclaimed to them his pardon he delivered in Greek, so that they might under-stand him. After this he viewed the body of Alex-ander and actually touched it, whereupon, it is said, a piece of the nose was broken off. But he declined
Πτολεμαίων, καίτοι τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων σπουδὴ
βουληθέντων αὐτῶ ψείξαι, οὐκ ἐθεάσατο, εἰπὼν
ὄτι "βασιλέα ἀλλ' οὐ νεκροὺς ἰδεῖν ἐπεθύμησα."
κακ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης αἰτίας οὐδὲ τῷ "Ἀπιδι
ἐυτυχεῖν ἡθέλησε, λέγων θεοὺς ἀλλ' οὐχὶ βοῦς
προσκυνεῖν εἰθίσθαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὴν τε Διογ-
νιττού ὑποτελῆ ἐποίησε καὶ τῷ Γάλλῳ τῷ Κορυμλίῳ
ἐπέτρεψε· πρὸς τε γὰρ τὸ πολὺνδρον καὶ τῶν
πόλεων καὶ τῆς χώρας, καὶ πρὸς τὸ βάδιον τὸ τε
κούφον τῶν τρόπων αὐτῶν, τὴν τε σιτοπομπίαν
καὶ τὰ χρήματα, οὐδενὶ βουλευτῇ οὐχ ὅπως
ἐγχειρίσαι αὐτὴν ἔτολμησεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἑνεπι-
δημεῖν αὐτὴν ἔξοςιαν ἔδωκεν, ἄν μὴ τινι αὐτὸς

2 ὅνομαστὶ συγχωρήσῃ. οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἑκεῖνοι
βουλεύειν ἐν τῇ 'Ῥώμῃ ἐφήκεν. ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν
ἀλλοῖς ὅς ἐκάστοις, τοῖς δ' Ἀλεξανδρεύσαιν ἄνευ
βουλευτῶν πολιτεύεσθαι ἐκέλευσε· τοσαύτην ποι

3 νεωτεροποιιῶν αὐτῶν κατέγων. καὶ σφων οὔτω
τότε ταχθέντων τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ νῦν ἰσχυρῶς
φυλάσσεται, βουλεύουσι δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξα-
νέα, ἐπὶ Σεούρουν αὐτοκράτορος ἄρξάμενοι, καὶ
ἐν τῇ 'Ῥώμῃ, ἐπ' Ἀντωνίου τοῦ νιέος αὐτοῦ
πρῶτον ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν ἐσγραφέντες.

4 Αἰγύπτως μὲν οὔτως ἐδούλωθη· πάντες γὰρ οἱ
ἀντισχόντες αὐτῶν χρόνον τινὰ ἐχειρώθησαν,
ὡς πού καὶ τὸ δαιμονίων σφων ἐναργέστατα
προέδειξεν. ὑσε τε γὰρ οὐχ ὅπως ὕδατι, ἐνθα
μηδὲ ἐφέκασε ποτὲ, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰματι· ταύτα τε
άμα ἐκ τῶν νεφῶν ἐξέπιπτε καὶ ὅπλα παρε-

5 φαίνετο. κτυπηματά τέ τινα ἐτέρωθι καὶ τυ-
πάνω καὶ κυμβάλων καὶ βοήματα καὶ αὐλῶν

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to view the remains of the Ptolemies, though the
Alexandrians were extremely eager to show them,
remarking, "I wished to see a king, not corpses."
For this same reason he would not enter the presence
of Apis, either, declaring that he was accustomed
to worship gods, not cattle. Afterwards he made
Egypt tributary and gave it in charge of Cornelius
Gallus. For in view of the populousness of both the
cities and country, the facile, fickle character of the
inhabitants, and the extent of the grain-supply and
of the wealth, so far from daring to entrust the land
to any senator, he would not even grant a senator
permission to live in it, except as he personally made
the concession to him by name. On the other hand
he did not allow the Egyptians to be senators in
Rome; but whereas he made various dispositions as
regards the several cities, he commanded the
Alexandrians to conduct their government without
senators; with such capacity for revolution, I suppose,
did he credit them. And of the system then imposed
upon them most details are rigorously preserved at
the present time, but they have their senators both
in Alexandria, beginning first under the emperor
Severus, and also in Rome, these having first been
enrolled in the senate in the reign of Severus' son
Antoninus.

Thus was Egypt enslaved. All the inhabitants
who resisted for a time were finally subdued, as, in-}
indeed, Heaven very clearly indicated to them
beforehand. For it rained not only water where no
drop had ever fallen previously, but also blood; and
there were flashes of armour from the clouds as this
bloody rain fell from them. Elsewhere there was
the clashing of drums and cymbals and the notes of
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καὶ σαλπίγγων ἐγένετο, καὶ τὶς δράκων ὑπερ-
μεγέθης ἐξαίφυς σφίσιν ὁθεῖς ἀμήχανον ὦς
ἐξεσύρισε. καὶ τοῦτῳ καὶ ἀστέρες κομῆται ἐωρῶντο,
καὶ νεκρῶν εἰδωλα ἐφαντάζετο, τά τε ἀγάλματα ἐςκυθρώπασε, καὶ ὁ Ἀπίς ὀλοφυρτικὸν
tι ἐμυκήσατο καὶ κατεδάκρυσε.

6 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖτως ἐγένετο, χρήματα δὲ πολλὰ
μὲν ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ εὐρέθη (πάντα γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν καὶ
tά ἐκ τῶν ἀγωνιῶν ἱερῶν ἀναθήματα ἡ
Κλεοπάτρα ἀνελομένη συνεπλήθυσε τὰ λάφυρα
tοῖς Ρωμαίοις ἄνευ τινὸς οἰκείου αὐτῶν μισάμα-
tος1), πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' ἐκάστου τῶν αἵτιαθέντων
7 τὶ ἡθροίσθη. καὶ χωρὶς οἱ λουποὶ πάντες, ὅσοι
μηδὲν ὕδιον ἐγκλήμα λαβεῖν ἐδύναντο, τὰ δύο
μέρη τῶν ὦσιῶν ἡτήθησαν.2 καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν
πάντες μὲν οἱ στρατιώται τὰ ἐποφειλόμενα σφίσιν
ἐκομίσαντο, οἱ δὲ δὴ καὶ τότε τῷ Καίσαρι συγγε-
νόμενοι πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας δραχμάς, ὡστε
8 μὴ διαρτάσαι τὴν πόλιν, προσπέλαβον. τοῖς
tε προδανείσασι τὸ πάντα ἀπηλλάγῃ, καὶ τοῖς
συμμετασχόοι τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν
tα καὶ τῶν ἱππών πάμπολλα ἐδόθη, τὸ τε σύμπαν
ἡ τε ἀρχὴ ἡ τῶν Ρωμαίων ἐπλουτίσθη καὶ τα
ἰερὰ αὐτῶν ἐκομίσθη.

18 'Ο δ' οὖν Καίσαρ ὡς τα τε προειρημένα ἔπραξε,
καὶ πόλιν καὶ ἐκεὶ ἐν τῷ τῆς μάχης χωρὶς
συνώκισε, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸν ἀγώνα αὐτῆς
ὀμοίως τῇ προτέρα δούσ, τας τε διαώρυξας τὰς μὲν
ἐξεκάθηρε τὰς δὲ ἐκ καίνης διώρυξε, καὶ τᾶλα
tα προσήκοντα προσδιψκήσεν, ἐς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν

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

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

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

1 See chap. 1, 3.
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τὸ ἔθνος διὰ τῆς Συρίας ἦλθε, κανταῦθα παρεχέμασε, τά τε τῶν ὑπηκόων ὡς ἔκαστα καὶ τὰ 2 τῶν Πάρθων ἀμα καθιστάμενος. στασιασάντων γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ τινος Τιριδάτου τῷ Φραάτη ἐπαναστάντος, πρότερον μέν, καὶ ἔως ἔτη τα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἀνθειστήκει, οὕτως οὐ προσέθετό τῷ 2 αὐτῶν συμμαχίαν αἰτησάντων, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἀπεκρίνατο ἄλλο οὕδεν ἃ ὅτι βουλεύσεται, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς καὶ περὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτοῦ ἀσχολίαν ἰχνών, ἐργῇ δὲ ἐν ἐκτρυχω- 3 θεῖεν ἐν τούτῳ μαχόμενοι πρὸς ἄλληλους. τότε δὲ ἔπειδὴ ὁ τε Ἀντώνιος ἐπελεύθησε, καὶ ἐκεῖνων ὁ μὲν Τιριδάτης ἡττηθεὶς ἐς τὴν Συρίαν κατέφυγεν, ὁ δὲ Φραάτης κρατήσας πρεσβεῖς ἐπεμψε, τούτως τε φιλικῶς ἐχρημάτισε, καὶ τῷ Τιριδάτῃ βοηθήσειν μὲν οὕτω ὑπέσχετο διαιτάσθαι δὲ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ἐπέτρεψεν, νῦν τέ τινα τοῦ Φραάτου ἐν ἐυεργεσίαις 3 μέρει παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαβὼν ἐς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνήγαγε καὶ ἐν ὁμορείᾳ ἐποιήσατο.

19 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἔτι πρότερον συχιῶ μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ναυμαχίας νίκη ὡς ἐν οἴκῳ Ῥωμαίου ἐψηφίσαντο. τά τε γὰρ νικητήρια αὐτῶ, ὡς καὶ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας, καὶ ἀψίδα τροπαιοφόρον ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ καὶ ἑτέραν ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ ἀγορᾶ 2 ἐδωκαν: τήν τε κρητίδα του Ἰουλιείου ἡρῴου τοὺς τῶν αἰχμαλωτῶν νεῶν ἐμβόλους κοσμηθήναι, καὶ πανήγυρίν ὁ πεντετήριδα ἀγεσθαι, ἐν τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ τῆς ἀγγελίας τῆς νίκης ἡμέρᾳ ἑρομυρίαν εἰναι, καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσίτοντι αὐτῷ τάς τε ἱερείας τὰς

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

During this time and still earlier the Romans at
home had passed many resolutions in honour of
Caesar's naval victory. Thus they granted him a
triumph, as over Cleopatra, an arch adorned with
trophies at Brundisium and another in the Roman
Forum. Moreover, they decreed that the foundation
of the shrine of Julius should be adorned with the
beaks of the captured ships and that a festival should
be held every four years in honour of Octavius; that
there should also be a thanksgiving on his birthday
and on the anniversary of the announcement of his
victory; also that when he should enter the city the
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ἀειπαρθένους καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τὸν τε δήμον μετὰ τε τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἀπαν-

3 τήσαι ἐγγυσαν. τὰς γὰρ εὐχὰς τὰς τε εἰκόνας καὶ τὴν προεδρίαν καὶ τάλλα τὰ τοιοῦτότροπα περιττόν ἔστω ἥδη λέγειν. τὴν μὲν ὅποιν πρώτην ἐκείνην τε¹ ταῦτ' ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ τὰ τοῦ 'Αν-

tωνίου κοσμήματα τὰ μὲν καθείλον τὰ δ' ἀπ' ἱ-

λειψαν, τὴν τε ἡμέραν ἔν ἦ ἐγγεγένητο μιαρὰν ἐνόμισαν, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Μάρκου πρόσρημα ἀπεῖπον

4 μηδενὶ τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτοῦ εἶναι. ὡς μέντοι καὶ τεθνεῶτα αὐτὸν ἐπύθοντο (ἡγγέλθη δὲ τούτῳ Κικέ-

ρωνος τοῦ Κικέρωνος παιδὸς ἐν μέρει τοῦ ἑτοὺς ὑπα-

τεύοντος), τοῦτο τε τινες ὡς ὡς ὁδεῖ δὴ συμβαν ἐλάμβανον, ἐπειδῆπερ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ

5 'Αντωνίου ὅτι μάλιστ' ἐπεθυμεί, καὶ προσεψη-

φίσαντο τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ στεφάνους καὶ ἱερομη-

νίας πολλὰς, καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐτερα ἐπινίκια ὡς καὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀγανεὶν ἔδοσαν τὸν γὰρ Ἀντώνιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ῥωμαίους τοὺς σὺν ἐκείνῳ ὑπε-

θέντας οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε τότε, ὡς καὶ ἑορτάζειν

6 σφᾶς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς δέον, ὄνομασαν. τὴν τε ἡμέραν ἐν ἦ ἦ ἐν Ἁλεξάνδρεια ἐάλω, ἀγαθὴν τε εἶναι καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐπείτα ἐτη ἀρχῆν τῆς ἀπαριθμήσεως αὐτῶν νομίζεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τὴν τε ἐξουσίαν τὴν τῶν δημάρχων διὰ βίου ἔχειν, καὶ τοὺς ἑπταοκόνους αὐτὸν καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ πολιτείαν καὶ ἔως μέχρις ὀγδόου ἡμισταδίου ἀμύνειν, ὅ μηδενὶ

¹ τὸ M, om. V. ² ὡς supplied by Bk.
Vestal Virgins and the senate and the people with their wives and children should go out to meet him. But it would be quite superfluous to go on and mention the prayers, the images, the privilege of the front seat, and all the other honours of the sort. At the beginning, then, they not only voted him these honours but also either took down or effaced the memorials of Antony, declared the day on which he had been born accursed, and forbade the use of the surname Marcus by any of his kin. When, however, they learned of Antony's death, the news of which came while Cicero, the son of Cicero, was consul for a part of the year, some held that it had come to pass not without divine direction, since the consul's father had owed his death chiefly to Antony; and they voted to Caesar crowns and thanksgivings in great number and granted him the privilege of celebrating another triumph, this time over the Egyptians. For neither on the previous occasion nor at this time did they mention by name Antony and the other Romans who had been vanquished with him and thus imply that it was proper to celebrate their defeat. The day on which Alexandria had been captured they declared a lucky day, and directed that in future years it should be taken by the inhabitants of that city as the starting-point in their reckoning of time. They also decreed that Caesar should hold the tribunician power for life, that he should aid those who called upon him for help both within the pomerium and outside for a distance of one mile,¹—

¹ Literally, "as far as the eighth half-stade," which means seven and a half stades, that is, one mile, according to Dio's usage. See note on xxxviii. 18.
7 τῶν δημαρχοῦντων ἦσθι, ἔκκλητόν τε δικάζειν, καὶ ψήφον τινα αὐτοῦ ἐν πάσι τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ὡσπερ Ἀθηνᾶς φέρεσθαι, τούς τε ιερέας καὶ τὰς ιερείας ἐν ταῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς βουλῆς εὐχαίς καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου ὀμοίως εὐχεσθαι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς συσσιτίοις ὦν ὅτι τοὺς κοινοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις πάντας αὐτῷ σπένδειν ἐκέλευσαν.

20 Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐγνώσθη, ὑπατεύοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ πέμπτον μετὰ Σέξτου Απουλείου τά τε πραξθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Ἰανοναρίου νομομαθείας ὀρκοῖς ἐβεβαιώσαντο, καὶ ἐπείδη καὶ τά περὶ τῶν Πάρθων γράμματα ἤλθεν, ἐς τε τοὺς ὑμνους αὐτὸν ἐξ ἱσοῦ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐσγράφησθαι, καὶ φυλῆν Ἰουλίαν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπονομαζέσθαι, τῷ τε στεφάνῳ αὐτοῦ τῷ ἐπίγειῳ διὰ πασῶν τῶν πανηγύρων χρήσθαι, καὶ τοὺς συνυκήσαντάς οἱ Βουλευτάς ἐν περιπορφύροις ἱματίοις τήν πομπήν αὐτῷ συμπέμψαι, τήν τε Ἰμέραν ἐν ζῇ ἄν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐξέλθῃ θυσίας τε πανθημελ ἀγαλθῆναι καὶ ιερὰν ἀεὶ ἄγεσθαι, ιερέας τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἄρθρου, ὅσοις ἄν ἀεὶ ἑθελήσῃ, προαιρεῖσθαι προσκατεστήσαντο ὅπερ που ἐξ ἐκείνου παραδοθὲν ἐς ἀόριστον ἐπηνεχθῆ, ὅστε μηδὲν ἐπὶ χρήσαι με περὶ τοῦ πλῆθους 3 αὐτῶν ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι. οὐ δὲν Καίσαρ τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ πλὴν βραχέων ἐδέξατο, τὸ δὲ δὴ σύμπαντας αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντας ἀπαντῆσαι ἐσγράφεσθαι Μ, ἐγγράφεσθαι Β.

1 The tribunes' authority, as a matter of fact, extended to the first mile-stone outside the city; see Livy iii. 20, 7. Dio is apparently labouring under a misapprehension.
a privilege possessed by none of the tribunes,—also that he should judge appealed cases, and that in all the courts his vote was to be cast as Athena's vote.

The priests and priestesses also in their prayers in behalf of the people and the senate were to pray for him likewise, and at all banquets, not only public but private as well, everybody was to pour a libation to him.

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

2 That is, in case of a tie vote, Caesar's vote, like Athena's in the Areopagus at Athens, was to decide in favour of acquittal. Cf. Aesch., Eumen. 737 ff.; Eur., Iph. T. 965 f., 1472.
παρηγήσατο ἀντικρος μὴ γενέσθαι. πλείστον δὲ ὁμις ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ψυφισθέντα οἱ υπερήφανοι ὅτι τὰς τε πύλας τὰς τοῦ Ἰανοῦ ὡς καὶ πάντων σφίσι τῶν πολέμων παντελῶς πεπαυμένων ἐκλεισαν, καὶ τὸ οὐώνισμα τὸ τῆς Τηγείας ἐποίησαν. 5 καὶ γὰρ τότε δὴ ἀπέρε ἐπιον διελέειπτο. ἦσαν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ὁπλοις ἐτί καὶ Τρήνοεροι Κελτοὺς ἐπαγαγόμενοι καὶ Κάνταβροι καὶ Ούακκαίοι καὶ "Ἀστυρες" καὶ οὕτω μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ταύρου τοῦ Στατιλίου, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ὑπὸ Νωνίου Γάλλου κατεστράφησαν ἅλλα τε ὡς καθ' ἐκάστους ταραχῶδη συχνὰ ἐγίγνετο. ἅλλ' ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν μέγα ἀπ' αὐτῶν συνηνέχθη, οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι τότε πολεμείσθαι ἐνόμιζον οὔτε ἐγὼ ἐπιφανεῖς τι. 6 περὶ αὐτῶν γράψαι ἔχω.

6 Καίσαρ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τά τε ἅλλα ἔχρημάτιζε, καὶ τεμένῃ τῇ τε Ἡρώμη καὶ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, ἦρωα αὐτῶν Ἰούλιον ὄνομάσας, ἐν τε Ἑφέσῳ καὶ ἐν Νικαίᾳ γενέσθαι ἐφήκεν αὐταί γὰρ τότε ἀι πόλεις ἐν τε τῇ Ἁσίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ 7 προετετίμησε. καὶ τούτως μὲν τοῖς Ἡρωμαῖοι τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐποικούσι τιμᾶν προσέταξε τοῖς δὲ δὴ ξένοις, Ἑλληνάς σφας ἐπικαλέσας, ἐαντῷ τινα, τοῖς μὲν Ἀσιανοῖς ἐν Περγάμῳ τοῖς δὲ Βιθυνοῖς ἐν Νικομηδείᾳ, τεμενίσαι ἐπέτρεψε. καὶ τούτ' ἐκείθεν ἀρξάμενον καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων αὐτοκρατόρων οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἔδνεσιν, ἅλλα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα τῶν Ἡρωμαίων ἀκούει, 8 ἐγένετο. ἐν γὰρ τοῦ τῷ ἀστεῖ αὐτῷ τῇ τε ἅλλῃ

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

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

1 Cf. xxxvii. 24. 2 *i.e.* Divus Iulius.
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'Ἰταλία οὖκ ἦστιν ὁστίς τῶν καὶ ἐφ' ὁποσονοῦν λόγου τινὸς ἀξίων ἐτολμῆσε τούτῳ ποιήσαι· μεταλάβασιν μέντοι κανταῦθα τοῖς ὀρθῶς αὐταρχήσασιν ἀλλαὶ τε ἰσόθεοι τιμὴν δίδονται καὶ δὴ καὶ ἴρῳ ποιεῖται.

9 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ χειμώνι ἐγένετο, καὶ ἔλαβον καὶ οἱ Περγαμηνοὶ τὸν ἁγώνα τὸν ἱερὸν ἀνομα- σμένον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ναοῦ αὐτοῦ τιμὴ ποιεῖν. τοῦ δὲ δὴ θέρους ἐστὶ οἱ τῇ Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπεραιώθη, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθόντος οἱ τῇ ἀλλοι ἔθυσαν, ὡσπερ εἰρηταί, καὶ ὁ ὑπατός Οὐαλέριος Ποτίτος· ἐκείνος μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο πᾶν τὸ ἔτος, ὡσπερ καὶ τὰ δύο τὰ πρότερα, ὑπάτευσε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Σέξτον ὁ

2 Ποτίτος διεδέξατο. οὗτος οὖν δημοσίᾳ καὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀφίξει ἐβουθύτησεν· ὁ μὴ τῶν πρότερον ἐπὶ μηδὲν ἄλλον ἐγεγόνει. μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ τούς τοὺς ὑποστρατηγοὺς καὶ ἐτή-

3 νεσε καὶ ἐτίμησεν ὡσπερ εἴδιστο, καὶ τὸν τῷ Ἀγρίππαν ἄλλους τέ τισι καὶ σημεῖον κυνοει-

4 δεῖ ναυκρατητικὸ προσεπτεσέμυνε, καὶ τοῖς στρα-

tιτωταις ἐδωκέ τινα· τῷ τῇ δήμῳ καθ' ἑκατὸν 2

δραχμαῖς, προτέροις μὲν τοῖς ἐν ἄνδρας τελοῦσιν,

ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ διὰ τὸν Μάρκελλον τὸν

ἀδελφιδοῦν, διένεμε. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτωι, καὶ ὁτι παρὰ τῶν τόλεων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τὸ χρυσίον τὸ τοῖς στεφάνοις προσήκον οὐκ ἐδέξατο,

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

1 Cf. chap. 1, 2. 2 Cf. chap. 20, 3.

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

All this took place in the winter; and the Pergamenians also received authority to hold the "sacred" games, as they called them, in honour of Caesar's temple. In the course of the summer Caesar crossed over to Greece and to Italy; and when he entered the city, not only all the citizens offered sacrifice, as has been mentioned, but even the consul Valerius Potitus. Caesar, to be sure, was consul all that year as for the two preceding years, but Potitus was the successor of Sextus. It was he who publicly and in person offered sacrifices in behalf of the senate and of the people upon Caesar's arrival, a thing that had never before been done in the case of any other person. After this Caesar bestowed eulogies and honours upon his lieutenants, as was customary, and to Agrippa he further granted, among other distinctions, a dark blue flag in honour of his naval victory, and he gave gifts to the soldiers; to the people he distributed four hundred sesterces apiece, first to the men who were adults, and afterwards to the children because of his nephew Marcellus. In view of all this, and because he would not accept from the cities of Italy the gold required for the crowns they had voted him, and because, won a triumph, for the cities of his province to send gold crowns, which were carried before him in the triumphal procession. By Cicero's time it was a common practice to send, instead of the crowns themselves, their value in money (aureum coronarium); and this was now regarded as a form of tribute.
kai oti 1 kai panta a te autous ofeile tisw apedwke, kai a oi allloi epwfeilou ouk eseprafev, osper eirhata, twn te duscheron panton oi 'Rwmaioi epeladontos, kai ta epivikia autou hdeos ws kai alllofyloun apantow ton htphe-thentow owtow eifon tosooton gar to plhthos ton chrismatow dia paseis omoiws theis poleos exorphiseun oste te men ktima epitimethinai, tae de daveismata agaphtos eipi drachyma proteron owtatote epi tpo tritthmorion auitas geneveitai. efortase de tis menei prwti hmera ta te twn Pannovwn kai ta twn Delmaton, thes te 'Iapudias 2 kai twn proskhrono sphi, 3 Keltwn kai kai Galaton ton.
furthermore, he not only paid all the debts he himself owed to others, as has been stated, but also did not insist on the payment of others' debts to him, the Romans forgot all their unpleasant experiences and viewed his triumph with pleasure, quite as if the vanquished had all been foreigners. So vast an amount of money, in fact, circulated through all parts of the city alike, that the price of goods rose and loans for which the borrower had been glad to pay twelve per cent. could now be had for one third that rate. As for the triumph, Caesar celebrated on the first day his victories over the Pannonians and Dalmatians, the Iapydes and their neighbours, and some Germans and Gauls. For Gaius Carrinas had subdued the Morini and others who had revolted with them, and had repulsed the Suebi, who had crossed the Rhine to wage war. Not only did Carrinas, therefore, celebrate the triumph,—and that notwithstanding that his father had been put to death by Sulla and that he himself along with the others in like condition had once been debarred from holding office,—but Caesar also celebrated it, since the credit of the victory properly belonged to his position as supreme commander. This was the first day's celebration. On the second day the naval victory at Actium was commemorated, and on the third the subjugation of Egypt. Now all the processions proved notable, thanks to the spoils from Egypt,—in such quantities, indeed, had spoils been gathered there that they sufficed for all the processions,—but the Egyptian celebration surpassed them all in costliness and magnificence. Among other features, an effigy of the dead Cleopatra upon a couch was carried by, so that

1 Cf. chap. 17, 8.
τοῦ θανάτου μιμήματι παρεκομίσθη, ὡστε τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ἐκείνην μετὰ τε τῶν ἄλλων αἰχμαλώτων καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ καὶ Ἡλίου, τῆς τε Κλεοπάτρας τῆς καὶ Σελήνης, τῶν τέκνων, ὡς 9 πομπείου ὄφθηναι. μετὰ δὲ δὴ τούτῳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔφ' ἀπασίν αὐτοῖς ἐσελάσας τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ τὸ νομιζόμενον ἔπραξε, τὸν δὲ δὴ συνύπατον τοὺς τε λοιποὺς ἀρχούτας περιεῖδε παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐπιστομένους οἱ μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν βουλευτῶν τῶν συνυνικηκότων εἰώθεσαν γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἤγείσθαι οἱ δὲ ἐφέπεσθαί. 1

22 Ἐπει δὲ ταῦτα διετέλεσε, τὸ τε Ἄθηναίων τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν ὄνομασμένον καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ Ἰουλίειον, τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τιμῇ γενόμενον, καθιέρωσεν. ἐνέστησε δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ ἀγαλμα τὸ τῆς Νίκης τὸ καὶ νῦν ὄν, δηλῶν, ὡς 2 έοικεν, ὅτι παρ' αὐτῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκτήσατο· ἢν δὲ δὴ τῶν Ταραντίνων, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην κομίσθην ἐν τῇ συνεδρίᾳ ἱδρύθη καὶ Ἁγιαστίος λαφύροις ἐκοσμήθη. καὶ τούτῳ καὶ τῷ τοῦ 3 Ἰουλίου ἡρῴῳ ὀσιωθέντι τότε ὑπῆρξε· συχνὰ γὰρ καὶ ἐς ἐκεῖνο ἀνετέθη, καὶ ἔτερα τῷ τε Διὶ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ καὶ τῇ Ἡρα τῇ τε Ἅθηνα ἱερώθη, πάντων τῶν πρότερον ἐνταῦθα ἀνακείσθαι δοκοῦτων ἢ καὶ ἐτί κειμένων ἐκ δόγματος τότε καθαιρεθέντων ὡς καὶ μεμιασμένων. 2 καὶ οὕτως ἢ Κλεοπάτρα καίπερ καὶ ἡττηθείσα καὶ ἀλούσα

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

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

[The custom was for the magistrates to issue from the city to meet the victorious general, and then to turn and march ahead of him. Octavius, by putting them behind him, symbolized his position as chief citizen of the state.]
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εδοξάσθη, ὅτι τὰ τε κοσμήματα αὐτῆς ἐν τοις ἀεροῖς ἦμον ἀνάκειται καὶ αὐτῇ ἐν τῷ 'Αφροδισίῳ χρυσῇ ὑπάται.

4 Ἔν δὲ οὖν τῇ τοῦ ἡρώου ὁσιώσει ἀγὼνες τε παντοδαποὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ τὴν Τροίαν εὐπατρίδα Παῖδες ὑπευσαν, ἀνδρεῖς τε ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων σφίνεν ἐπὶ τε κελητῶν καὶ ἐπὶ συνωρίδων ἐπὶτε τεθρίπτων ἀντηγωνίσαντο, Κύντος τε τῆς Οὐιτέλλιος

5 Βουλευτὴς ἐμονομάχησε. καὶ θηρία καὶ βοτὰ ἄλλα τε παμπληθῆ καὶ ρυνόκερως ἢππος τε ποτάμως, πρῶτον τότε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὀφθέντα, ἐσφάγη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἢππος ὀποίος ἐστι, πολλοῖς τε εἰρηταί καὶ πολὺ πλείσσιν ἑώραται. ὁ δὲ δὴ ρυνόκερως τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐλέφαντι πῇ προσέυκε, κέρας δὲ τὶ κατ’ αὐτὴν τὴν ρίνα προσέχει, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὗτῳ κέκληται. ταυτά τε οὖν ἔσηχθη, καὶ ἀθρόοι πρὸς ἄλληλους Δακοῦ τε καὶ Σοῦββοι ἐμαχέσαντο. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι μὲν Κελτοὶ, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ δὴ Σκύθαι τρόπον τινᾶ καὶ οἱ μὲν πέραν τοῦ Ῥήμου ὡς γε τάκριβες εἶπεν (πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι τοῦ τῶν Σοῦββων ὄνοματος ἀντιποιούνταί), οἱ δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἀμφότερα τοῦ Ἰστρου νέμονται.

6 ἄλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τάδε αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τῇ Τρι-βαλλικῇ οἰκοῦντες ἐς τῇ τῆς Μυσίας νομὸν τελοῦσι καὶ Μυσοί, πλὴν παρὰ τοῖς πάνω ἢπί-χωρίους, ὄνομάζονται, οἱ δὲ ἐπέκεισα Δακοὶ κέ-κληνται, εἰτε δὴ Γέται τινὲς εἴτε καὶ Θράκες τοῦ Δακικοῦ γένους τοῦ τῆς 'Ροδόπην ποτε ἐνοικη-σαντος ὄντες. οὗτοι οὖν οἱ Δακοὶ ἐπερεσβεύσαντο μὲν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου τούτου πρὸς τὸν Καῖσαρα,

1 ἐπὶ Πολάκ, τῶν VM.
2 τοῦ τῶν Pflugk, τούτων τῶν V, τούτων τοῦ M.

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

9 ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ θεωρία ἀπασα ἐπὶ πολλάς, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, ἡμέρας, οὐδὲ διέλιπεν καίτοι τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀρρωστήσαντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπόντος αὐτοῦ δι᾿ ἐτέρων ἐποιήθη. καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς οἱ βουλευταὶ μίαν τινὰ ὡς ἔκαστοι ἡμέραν ἐν τοῖς τῶν οἰκιῶν σφῶν προθύρως εἰστιάθησαν, οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅθεν ἐσ τούτῳ προαχθέντες· οὐ γὰρ παραδέδοται.

23 Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦθ᾽ οὕτως ἐπράξθη, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρος τὸ τέταρτον ἔτι ὑπατεύοντος ὁ Ταύρος ὁ Στατίλιος θέατρόν τι ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ κυνηγετικὸν λίθων καὶ ἐξεποίησε τοῖς έαυτοῦ τέλεις καὶ καθιέρωσεν ὀπλομαχία, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο στρατηγὸν ἔνα παρά τοῦ δήμου κατ᾽ ἐτοῖς αἱρεῖσθαι ἐλάμβανε.

2 Κατὰ δὲ δὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους χρόνους ἐν οἷς ταῦτ᾽ ἐγίγνετο, ὁ Κράσσος ὁ Μάρκος ἐς τῇ τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πεμφθείς τοῖς τῇ Δακοῖς καὶ τοῖς 3 Βαστάρναις ἐπολέμησε. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἐκείνων, οὕτως τῇ εἰσὶ καὶ διὰ τῇ ἐπο-

3 λεμώθησαν, εἰρηταὶ· Βαστάρναι δὲ Σκύθαι τε ἀκριβῶς νευομίδαται, καὶ τότε τὸν Ἰστρὸν διαβάντες τῇ τὴν Μυσίαν τῇ κατ’ ἀντιπέρας σφῶν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς ὀμόρους αὐτή ἄντας τοὺς τῇ Δαρδάνους ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ ἐκείνων οἰκούντας ἐχειρώσαντο. τέως μὲν οὖν ταῦτ’ ἐποίουν, οὐδὲν σφισὶ πράγμα πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπικείμενος

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

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

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

\(^1\) This was the first stone amphitheatre in Rome.
4 ἦν ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν τε Ἀλμον ὑπερέβησαν καὶ τὴν Ὀράκην τὴν Δευθελητῶν ἐνσπούδαν αὐτοῖς ὠῦσαν κατεδραμον, ἐνταῦθα ὁ Κράσσος τὸ μὲν τὶ τῷ Σιτᾶ τῷ τῶν Δευθελητῶν βασιλεῖ τυφλῷ ὦντι ἀμύνου, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον περὶ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ φοβηθεὶς ἀντετηλθὲ σφισι, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς προσόδου μόνης καταπλῆξας ἐξέωσεν ἀμαχεῖ ἐκ τῆς χώρας. κάκ τούτου οἴκαδε ἀναχωροῦντας ἐπιδιώκον τὴν τε Σεγετικὴν καλουμένην προσεποίησαν καὶ ἔς τὴν Μυσίδα ἑνέβαλε, καὶ τὴν τε χώραν σφῶν ἐκάκωσε καὶ πρὸς τείχὸς τι καρτερὸν προσελάσας τοῖς μὲν προδρόμοις ἑπτασε (μόνους γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ Μυσοὶ οἰηθέντες εῖναι ἐπέξοδον ἑποιήσαντο), προσβοθήσας δὲ σφισι παντὶ τῷ λοιπῷ στρατεύματι καὶ ἀνέκοψεν αὐτοὺς καὶ
24 προσεδρεύσας ἐξείλε. πράσσοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα οἱ Βαστάρναι τῆς τε φυγῆς ἑπέσχον καὶ πρὸς τῷ Κέδρῳ ποταμῷ κατέμεναν, περιορώμενοι τὰ γενησόμενα. ἐπειδὴ τε νικήσας τοὺς Μυσοὺς καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνους ἀρμῆσε, πρέσβεις ἑπεμψαν ἀπαγορεύσαντες αὐτῷ μὴ διώκειν σφᾶς, ὡς οὐδὲν τούς
2 Ῥωμαίους ἱδικηκότες. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Κράσσος κατασχὼν ός καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν δῶσων, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐφιλοφρονήσατο καὶ κατεμέθυσαν ὡστε πάντα τὰ βουλεύματα αὐτῶν ἐκμαθεῖν ἀπλήστως τε γὰρ ἐμφορεῖται πάν το Σκυθικὸν φύλον οἴου, καὶ ὑπερκορέσ αὐτοῦ ταχύ
3 γίγνεται. Κράσσος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐς ὑλῆν τινὰ προχωρῆσας, καὶ προσκόπους πρὸ αὐτῆς καταστήσας, ἀνέπαυσε τε τὸ στράτευμα,

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

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

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1 The spelling is uncertain; the forms Cebrus, Cibrus, and Ciabrus are also found. Now the Tzibritza.
καὶ μετὰ τούτο τῶν Βασταρνῶν μόνος τε ἐκεῖνος εἶναι νομισάντων καὶ ἑπιδραμόντων σφίσιν, ἐς τὰ λάσια ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐπακολούθησάντος, πολλοὺς μὲν ἐνταῦθα πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ

4 φυγοῦντας ἐφθείρεν· ὑπὸ τὲ γὰρ τῶν ἁμαξῶν κατόπων αὐτοῖς οὐσῶν ἐνεποδίσθησαν, καὶ προσ-ἐτί καὶ τοὺς παύδας τὰς τε γυναίκας σῶσαι ἑθελήσαντες ἐπταίσαν. καὶ τὸν γε βασιλέα αὐτῶν Δέλδωνα αὐτὸς ὁ Κράσσος ἀπέκτεινε· καὶ τὰ σκύλα αὐτοῦ τῷ Φερετρίῳ Δύ ως καὶ ὀπίμα ἀνέθηκεν, εἴπερ αὐτοκράτωρ στρατηγὸς ἐγεγόνει.

5 ἐκεῖνὰ τε οὖν οὕτως ἐπράξηθη, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς ἀλλος τι καταφυγόντες περιπετήσθησαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τείχος τι ἑσπηδήσαντες ἐξηρέθησαν. ἄλλοι ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον ἐμπεσόντες, ἄλλοι κατὰ τὴν χώραν

6 σκεδασθέντες ἐφθάρησαν. περιλειψθέντων δ' οὖν καὶ ὃς τινως, καὶ χωρίων ἰσχυρὸν καταλαβόντων, ἡμέρας μὲν τινας μάτην σφίσιν ὁ Κράσσος προσ- ἕδρευσεν, ἐπείτα Ἡρώλου οἱ Γετῶν τινων

7 βασιλέως ἐπικουρήσαντος ἐξείλειν αὐτοὺς. καὶ ὁ τε Ἡρώλης πρὸς τὸν Καϊσαρα ἐλθὼν φίλος τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ σύμμαχος αὐτοῦ ἐνομίσθη, καὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ πολλοὶ τοῖς στρατιώταῖς διεδόθησαν.

25 Πράξας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κράσσος ἐπὶ τοὺς Μυσοὺς ἐτράπτετο, καὶ τὰ μὲν πειθὼν τινας τὰ δὲ ἐκφοβοῦν τὰ δὲ καὶ βιαξόμενος, πάντας μὲν πλὴν πάνω ὄλγων, ἐπιτρόποις δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐπικινδύνως κατεστρέψας

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

After accomplishing this task Crassus turned his attention to the Moesians; and partly by persuasion in some cases, partly by terrifying them, partly also by applying force, he subdued all except a very few, though only after great hardships and dangers. And for the time being, since it was winter, he retired into friendly territory, after suffering greatly from
πολλῷ δὲ ἔτι πλεῖω ὑπὸ τῶν Ὑρακῶν, δὴ ὁν ὡς φίλων ἔπαινηε, παθῶν· οθεντερ γνώμην ἔσχεν ἀρκεσθήναι τοῖς κατεργασμένοις. καὶ γὰρ καὶ θυσίαι καὶ νικητήρια οὐχ ὅτι τῷ Καίσαρι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνῳ ἐψηφίσθη· οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα, ὡς γε τινὲς φασίν, ἔλαβεν, 3 ἀλλ' ὁ Καίσαρ μόνος αὐτὸ προσέθετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Βαστάρναι ταῖς τε συμφοραῖς ἀχθόμενου, καὶ μηκέτ' αὐτῶν ἐπιστρατεύσειν σφίσι πυθόμενοι, πρὸς τε τοὺς Δευθελήτας καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σιτᾶν αὖθις ὡς καὶ αἰτιώτατον αὐτοῖς τῶν κακῶν γεγονότα ἐτράποντο, οὔτω καὶ ἄκων ἐξανέστη, καὶ σπουδὴ χωρῆσας ἀνέλπιστος τε αὐτοῖς ἐπέπεσε, καὶ κρατήσας σπουδᾶς ὁποίας ἦθελησεν 4 ἐδωκεν. ὡς δὲ ἀπαξ τῶν ὅπλων αὖθις ἤψατο, ἐπεθύμησεν ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς Θράκας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀνακομιδῇ τῇ ἐκ τῆς Μυσίας λυτήσαντας αὐτῶν· καὶ γὰρ τότε χωρία τε ἐντείχιζόμενοι καὶ πολεμησίμουτες ἤγγελλοντο. καὶ σφών Μαίδους μὲν καὶ Σερδους μάχαις τε κατακρατῶν, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας τῶν ἀλισκομένων ἀποτέμνων, οὔκ ἀπόνοις μὲν, ἐχειρόσατο δὲ οὖν· τὰ δ' ἄλλα πλῆν τῆς τῶν 5 Οδρυσῶν γῆς κατέδραμε. τούτων γάρ, ὅτι τῷ τε Διονύσῳ πρόσκεινται καὶ τότε ἀνευ τῶν ὅπλων ἀπήντησάν οί, ἐφείσατο· καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐν ἕ καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀγάλλουσιν ἐχάρισατο, Βησσαίους τοὺς κατέχοντας αὐτὴν ἀφελόμενος.

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

While he was thus engaged, Roles, who had become embroiled with Dapyx, himself also king of
πέμψατο. καὶ δὲ ἐπικουρήσας οἱ τὴν τε ὑπον τῶν έιναντίων ἐς τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐσήραξε, καὶ συμφωβήσας ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐκείνους μάχην μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἐτ' ἐποιήσατο, φόνον δὲ δὴ φευγόντων
2 ἐκατέρων πολύν εἰργάσατο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν Νάπυγα πρὸς φρούριον τῷ καταφυγόντα ἀπολαβὼν ἐπολιώρκει· κἂν τῇ προσεδρείᾳ ἐλληνιστὶ τις αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀσπασάμενος ἐς τε λόγους οἱ ἦλθε καὶ προδοσίαν συνεθετο. ἀλισκόμενοι οὖν ὁμοίως οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ὄρμησαν, καὶ ὁ τε Δάπυξ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ. τὸν μέντοι ἄδελφον αὐτοῦ ξωγήσας ὁ Κράσσος οὐχ ὅτι τὸν ἐδρασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄφηκε.
3 Ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῷ στήλαιον τὴν Κειριν καλουμένην ἐστρατεύσατο· τοῦτο γὰρ μέγιστον τε ἀμα καὶ ἐχυρώτατον ὦτος δὴ καὶ τοὺς Τιτάνας ἐς αὐτὸ μετὰ τὴν ἡτταν τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν δὴ σφισι γενομένην συγκαταφυγεὶν μυθεύοντα, καταλαβόντες οἱ ἑπιχώριοι πλήθει πολλῷ τὰ τε ἀλλὰ τὰ τιμιώτατα καὶ τὰς ἀγέλας ἐς αὐτὸ
4 πάσας ἐσεκομίσαντο. ὁ οὖν Κράσσος τὰ τε στόμια αὐτοῦ πάντα σκολιὰ καὶ δυσδιερύητα ὠντα ἀναξιητῆς ἀποκοδόμησε, κἂν τούτου κακείσους λιμῷ κατεστρέφατο. ὃς δὲ ταῦτα αὐτῷ προεχώρησεν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων Γετῶν, καίτερ
5 μηδὲν τῷ Δάπυγι προσηκόντων, ἀπέσχετο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Γένουκλα τὸ εὐερκέστατον τῆς Ζυράξου ἀρχής τείχος ἦλθεν, ὅτι τὰ σημεῖα, ὁ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Γαίου οἱ Βαστάρμαι πρὸς τῇ τῶν Ἰστριανῶν
2 πόλει ἀφήρηντο, ἐνταῦθα ἦκονεν ὄντα· καὶ αὐτὸ
1 τι M, om. V. 2 Ιστριανῶν Leuncl., Ἰστράνων VM.
a tribe of the Getae, sent for him. Crassus went to his aid, and by hurling the horse of his opponents back upon their infantry he so thoroughly terrified the latter also that what followed was no longer a battle but a great slaughter of fleeing men of both arms. Next he cut off Dapyx, who had taken refuge in a fort, and besieged him. In the course of the siege someone hailed him from the walls in Greek, obtained a conference with him, and arranged to betray the place. The barbarians, thus captured, turned upon one another, and Dapyx was killed along with many others. His brother, however, Crassus took alive, and not only did him no harm but actually released him.

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

1 Cf. xxxviii. 10.
Ταύτα μὲν ἐν Γέταις ἔπραξε, τῶν δὲ δὴ Μυσοῦ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν κεχειρωμένων ἐπαναστάντας δι’

27 ἐτέρων ἀνεκτήσατο, ἐπὶ δὲ 'Αρτακίους ἄλλους τε τινὰς οὐδ’ ἀλώντας ποτὲ οὔτ’ αὐ’ προσχωρήσαλ οἱ ἑθέλοντας, καὶ αὐτοὺς τῇ μέγιστον ἐπὶ τούτῳ φρονοῦντας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὀργῆν τῇ ἄμα καὶ νεωτερισμὸν ἐμποιοῦντας, αὐτὸς τ’ ἐπεστράτευσε, καὶ σφαὶ τὰ μὲν βία, δράσαντας οὐκ ὀλίγα, τὰ δὲ καὶ φόβῳ τῶν ἄλισκομένων προσηγάγετο.

2 Ταύτα μὲν ἐν χρόνῳ ἐγένετο, γράφω δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡς ποιν παραδεδοται, καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ὄνοματα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πάλαι Μυσοὶ τε καὶ Γέται πᾶσαν τὴν μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Λίμου καὶ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ οὕσαν ἐνέμοντο, προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἐς ἄλλα

3 τινὲς αὐτῶν ὄνοματα μετέβαλον, καὶ μετὰ ταύτ’ ἐς τὸ τῆς Μυσίας ὀνομα πάνθ’ ὤσα ὁ Σάουνος ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον ἐμβάλλων, ὑπὲρ τε τῆς Δελματίας καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Μακεδονίας τῆς τε Θράκης, ἀπὸ τῆς Παννονίας ἀφορίζει, συγκεχώρηκει. καὶ ἔστων ἐν αὐτοῖς ἄλλα τε ἑθνὴ πολλὰ καὶ οἱ Τριβαλλοὶ ποτὲ προσαγορευθέντες, οὐ τε Δαρδάνωι καὶ νῦν οὔτω καλοῦμενοι.
BOOK LI

land and from the Ister (the city is built upon the river), and in a short time, though with much toil, despite the absence of Zyraxes, he took the place. The king, it seems, as soon as he heard of the Romans' approach, had set off with money to the Scythians to seek an alliance, and had not returned in time.

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

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

Τάδε ἐνεστὶν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Δίωνος 'Ρωμαϊκῶν' 

α. Ὡς Καίσαρ ἐβουλεύσατο τὴν μοναρχίαν ἀφείναι. 

β. Ὡς αὐτοκράτωρ καλεῖσθαι ἤρξατο.

Χρόνου πλῆθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Καίσαρος τὸ ε' καὶ 1 Σέξτου Ἀπουλέιου ὑπατείας. 2

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ταῦτα τῇ δυναστείᾳ, πέντε τε καὶ εἰκοσι καὶ ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσι, καὶ ἑπτακόσιοι τοιοῦτοι ἐπεραξάν οἱ 'Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἑπαθοῦν· ἐκ δὲ τούτου μοναρχεῖσθαι αὕτης ἀκριβῶς ἤρξατο, καίτοι τοῦ Καίσαρος βουλευσαμένου τὰ τῇ ὅπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ τὰ πράγματα τῇ τῇ γερουσίᾳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἐπιτρέψαι. 2 ἐποιήσατο δὲ τὴν διάγνωσιν μετὰ τὸ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Μαικήνου (τούτως γὰρ πάντα τὰ ἀπόρρητα ἄνεκοιν), καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀγρίππας πρότερος εἰπε τοιάδε: 2

"Μὴ θαυμάσῃς, ὦ Καίσαρ, εἰ μέλλω σε ἀποτρέπειν ἀπὸ τῆς μοναρχίας, καίτερ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ἀπολαύσας ἀν ἀπ' αὐτῆς σοῦ γε αὐτὴν ἔχοντος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ σοὶ ὁφέλιμος γενήσεσθαι ἔμελλε, καὶ πάντων ἄν αὐτὴν ἐσπούδασα: 2 ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐδὲν ὁμοιον τοῖς τε αὐταρχοῦσι καὶ

1 καὶ supplied by R. Steph.
2 Ἀπουλέιου ὑπατείας Μ, om. V.
BOOK LII

The following is contained in the Fifty-second of Dio's Rome:—
How Caesar planned to lay aside his sovereignty (chaps. 1-40).
How he began to be called emperor (chap. 42).
Duration of time, the remainder of the consulship of Caesar (V) and Sextus Apuleius. (B.C. 29.)

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

"Be not surprised, Caesar, if I shall try to turn your thoughts away from monarchy, even though I should derive many advantages from it, at least if it was you who held the position. For if it were to be profitable to you also, I should advocate it most earnestly; but since the privileges of a monarchy
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toις φίλοις σφῶν παρέχεται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν καὶ ἀνεπιφθόνως καὶ ἀκινδύνως πάνθ' ὡσα ἔθελουσι καρποῦνται, τοῖς δὲ καὶ φθόνοι καὶ κίνδυνοι συμβαίνοντες, οὐ τὸ ἐμαυτοῦ ἵδιον, ὅσπερ οὕτω ἐν τοῖς ἅλλοις, ἀλλὰ τὸ σὸν τὸ τε κοινὸν προϊδέσθαι ἡδικάσωσα.

3 "Σκεψώμεθα δὲ καθ' ἡσυχίαν πάντα τὰ προσόντα αὐτῇ, καὶ ὅτι ποτ' ἂν ὁ λογισμὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγάγη τραπόμεθα· οὐ γάρ ποι καὶ ἔξ ἀπαντος τρόπον φήσει τις δειν ἡμᾶς ἔλεσθαι

4 αὐτῇ, κἂν μὴ λυσιτελοῦσα ἡ. εἰ δὲ μὴ, δόξομεν ζτοι τῆς τε ἐνυπαγίας ἠττήσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν κατωρθωμένων ἐκπεφρονηκέναι, ἢ καὶ πάλαι αὐτῆς ἐφιέμενοι τόν τε πατέρα καὶ τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν εὑσεβείαν ἐσκήφθαι καὶ τὸν δήμον τὴν τε γερουσίαν προβεβλῆσθαι, οὐχ ἤνα αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐπι- βουλευσάντων σφίσιν ἀπαλλάξωμεν, ἀλλ' ἤνα

5 ἐαυτοῖς δουλωσώμεθα. ἐκάτερον δὲ ὑπαίτιον. τῖς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄν ἄγαν ἀνακτήσειεν ἀλλὰ μὲν ὁρῶν ἡμᾶς εἱρηκότας, ἀλλὰ δὲ ἀισθανόμενος πεφρον- κότας; πῶς δ' οὐκ ἂν μᾶλλον νῦν μισήσειεν ἡμᾶς ἢ εἰ κατ' ἀρχᾶς εὗθυς τὴν τε ἐπιθυμίαν ἀπε- γυμνώσαμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν μοναρχίαν ἀντίκρυς

6 ὁρμῆσαμεν; τὸ μὲν γὰρ βλαίων τι τολμᾶν προσ- ηκειν πως τή τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσει, καὶ πλεονεκτικόν εἶναι δοκῆ, πεπιστευται· πᾶς γὰρ ὁ προ- φέρων ἐν τινι πλέον ἄξιοί τοῦ καταδεικτέρου ἔχειν, καὶ κατορθώσας τὲ τὶ ἐς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς

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

"Let us consider, now, at our leisure all the characteristics of this system of government and then shape our course in whichever direction our reasoning may lead us. For surely no one will assert that we are obliged to choose monarchy in any and all circumstances, even if it be not profitable. If we choose it, people will think that we have fallen victims to our own good fortune and have been bereft of our senses by our successes, or else that we have been aiming at sovereignty all the while, making of our appeals to your father and of our devotion to his memory a mere pretext and using the people and the senate as a cloak, with the purpose, not of freeing these latter from those who plotted against them, but of making them slaves to ourselves. And either explanation involves censure for us. For who could help being indignant when he finds that we have said one thing and then discovers that we have meant another? Would he not hate us much more now than if we had at the outset laid bare our desires and set out directly for the monarchy? To be sure, men have come to believe that it somehow is an attribute of human nature, however selfish that may seem, to resort to deeds of violence; for every one who excels in any respect thinks it right that he should have more than his inferior, and if he meets with any success, he ascribes his success to the force
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ισχύν ἀναφέρεται, καὶ διαμαρτών τινος τῆς τοῦ
7 δαιμονίου φορᾶ προστίθεται. ὁ δὲ εξ ἐπιβουλῆς
cαὶ κακουργίας τοιοῦτο τοι ποιῶν πρώτων μὲν
dολερὸς καὶ σκολιὸς καὶ κακοῆθης καὶ κακό-
τροπος εἶναι νομίζεται, ἀπέρευ ἄδιδ᾽ ὅτι περὶ
σοῦ οὐδένα ἄν υπομείνεις εἰπεῖν ἢ φρονήσαι,
oὐδ' εἰ πάσης ἐκ τοῦτο τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀρξειας·
ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ καταρθώσας ἅδικον τὴν πλεονεξίαν
πεποιήσθαι καὶ σφαλέως δικαίαν τὴν κακοπραγίαν
3 εἰληφέναι δοκεῖ. τοῦτον δὲ δὴ οὐτως ἔχοντος,
oὐδὲν ἄν ἦττον ἐπικαλέσεις τις ἡμῖν καὶ εἰ μηδὲν
tοιοῦτον ἀπὸ πρῶτης ἐνθυμηθέντες ἐπείτα νῦν
ἐπιθυμῆσαιμεν αὐτοῦ, τὸ γάρ τοι τῶν τε παρον-
των νικᾶσθαι καὶ μῆτε ἕαυτος κατέχειν τοῖς τε
παρὰ τῆς τύχης δοθεῖσι μὴ καλῶς χρῆσθαι πολὺ
2 χεῖρον ἔστι τοῦ ἐκ κακοπραγίας ἅδικεὶν τινα· οἱ
μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ αὐτῶν τῶν συμφορῶν πολλάκις
ἀναγκάζονται πρὸς τὴν τοῦ συμφέροντός σφισι
χρείαν καὶ ἀκοντες πλημμελεῖν, οἱ δ' ἐθελονταὶ
ἀκράτορες ἕαυτῶν καὶ παρὰ τὸ λυσιτελόν γί-
γονται. τοὺς δὲ δὴ μὴθ' ἀπλότητά τινα ἐν τῇ
ψυχῇ ἔχοντας μήτε τὰ δοθέντα σφίσιν ἀγαθὰ
μετριάσαι δυναμένους πῶς ἂν τις προσδοκήσειν
ἡτοι τῶν ἄλλων καλῶς ἡγεμονεύσειν ἢ ταῖς
3 συμφοραῖς ὁρθῶς χρῆσται; ὡς οὖν μηδέτερον
αὐτῶν πεποιθότες, μηθ' ἀλόγοσ τι πράξαι ἐπι-
θυμοῦντες, ἀλλ' ὃ τι ποτ' ἂν βουλευσάμενοι ἡμῖν
ἀριστον φανῇ τοῦθ' αἰρησόμενοι, τὴν διάγνωσιν
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of his own intelligence, whereas if he fails, he lays the blame for his failure upon the influence of the divine will. But, on the other hand, the man who, in following such a course, resorts to plotting and villainy, is, in the first place, held to be crafty and crooked, malicious, and depraved,—an opinion which I know you would not allow anyone to express or to entertain about you, even if you might rule the whole world by such practices; and, in the second place, if he succeeds, men think that the advantage he has gained is unjust, or if he fails, that his discomfiture is merited. This being the case, men would reproach us quite as much if we should now, after the event, begin to covet that advantage, even though we harboured no such intention at the outset. For surely it is much worse for men to let circumstances get the better of them and not only to fail to hold themselves in check but to abuse the gifts of Fortune, than to wrong others in consequence of failure. For men who have failed are often compelled by their very misfortunes to commit wrongs even against their will in order to meet the demands of their own interests, whereas the others voluntarily abandon their self-control even when it is unprofitable to do so. And when men have no straightforwardness in their souls, and are incapable of moderation in dealing with the blessings bestowed upon them, how could one expect them either to rule well over others or to conduct themselves properly in adversity? In the conviction, therefore, that we are guilty of neither of these shortcomings, and that we have no desire to act irrationally, but that we shall choose whatever course shall appear to us after deliberation to be best, let us proceed to make our decision

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αυτοῦ ποιησώμεθα. Λέξω δὲ μετὰ παρρησίας·
οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀλλὰς ἀν τι εἰπεῖν δυναῖς, οὔτε
σοὶ σύνοιδα τὰ ψευδή μετὰ κολακείας ἥδεως
ἀκούοντι.

4 "Η μὲν τοῖνυν ἱσονομία τὸ τε πρόσρημα εὐώ-
νυμον καὶ τὸ ἔργον δικαιότατον ἐχεῖ. τὴν τε
γὰρ φύσιν τὴν αὐτήν τινας εἰληχώτας καὶ ὄμο-
φύλους ἀλλήλοις οὐντας, ἐν τὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἦθεςι
τεθραμμένοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὀμοίοις νόμοις πεπαί-
2 δευμένους, καὶ κοινὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων καὶ
tὴν τῶν ψυχῶν χρήσιν τῇ πατρίδι παρέχοντας,
pῶς μὲν οὐ δίκαιον καὶ τάλα πάντα κοινοῦσθαι,
pῶς δ' οὐκ ἀριστον ἐν μηδειν πλὴν ἀπ' ἀρετῆς
3 προτιμᾶσθαι; ἢ τε γὰρ ἱσογνωσία ἱσομοιρίας ὀρι-
γνάται, καὶ τυχοῦσα μὲν αὐτῆς χαίρει, διαμαρ-
τούσα δὲ ἀμέθητα· καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον πᾶν, ἀτε
ἐκ τε θεῶν γεγονός καὶ ἔσθεον ἀφήξουν, ἀνω
βλέπει, καὶ οὔτε ἐθέλει ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ διὰ παντὸς
4 ἀρχεσθαί, οὐθ' ὑπομένει τῶν μὲν πάνων καὶ τῶν
κινδύνων τῶν τε δαπανημάτων μετέχου, τῆς δὲ
κοινωνίας τῶν κρειττόνων στερόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἀναγκασθῇ τι τοιοῦτον υποστηῖαι, μισεῖ τὸ βε-
βιασμένον, κἂν καιρὸν λάβηται, τιμωρεῖται τὸ
5 μεμοσμένον. ἀρχεῖν τε γὰρ πάντες ἄξιοῦσι, καὶ
diὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀρχεσθαί ἐν τῷ μέρει υπομένουσι·
καὶ πλεονεκτεῖσθαι οὐκ ἐθέλουσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
οὐδ' αὐτοῖ πλεονεκτεῖν ἀναγκάζονται. ταῖς τε
τιμαῖς ταῖς παρὰ τῶν ὀμοτίμων χαίρουσι, καὶ
6 τὰς τιμωρίας τὰς ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἔπαινοῦσι. κἂν
οὐτω πολιτεύωνται, κοινὰ ¹ μὲν τὰ ἀγαθὰ κοινὰ

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

"Equality before the law has an auspicious name and is most just in its workings. For in the case of men who are endowed with the same nature, are of the same race with one another, have been brought up under the same institutions, have been trained in laws that are alike, and yield in an equal degree the service of their bodies and of their minds to their country, is it not just that they should have an equal share in all other things also, and is it not best that they should secure no distinctions except as the result of excellence? For equality of birth demands equality of privilege, and if it attains this object, it is glad, but if it fails, it is displeased. And the human race everywhere, sprung as it is from the gods and destined to return to the gods, gazes upward and is not content to be ruled forever by the same person, nor will it endure to share in the toils, the dangers, and the expenditures and yet be deprived of partnership in the better things. Or, if it is forced to submit to anything of the sort, it hates the power which has applied coercion, and if it obtains an opportunity, takes vengeance upon what it hates. All men, of course, claim the right to rule, and for this reason submit to being ruled in turn; they are unwilling to have others overreach them, and therefore are not obliged, on their part, to overreach others. They are pleased with the honours bestowed upon them by their equals, and approve of the penalties inflicted upon them by the laws. Now if they live under this kind of polity and regard the blessings and also the
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δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐναντία νομίζοντες εἶναι, οὔτε τι κακὸν οὐδὲν τῶν πολιτῶν γέγνεσθαι βούλονται, καὶ πάντα τὰ κρείττω πάσιν αὐτοῖς συνεύχονται.

7 καὶ ἂν τε τις αὐτὸς ἀρετὴν τινα ἔχῃ, καὶ προ-φαίνει αὐτήν προχείρως καὶ ἀσκεῖ προθύμως καὶ ἐπιδείκνυσιν ἀσμενέστατα, ἀν τε καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ ἱδη, καὶ προάγει ἑτοίμως καὶ συναύξει σπουδαίως

8 καὶ τιμᾶ λαμπρότατα. καὶ μέντοι κἂν κακύνηται τις, πᾶς αὐτῶν μισεί, κἂν δυστυχῇ, πᾶς ἐλεεί, κοινὴ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν ἔξωμαι καὶ τήν αἰσχύνῃ τὴν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν εἶναι νομίζων.

5 “Αὐτὴ μὲν ἡ τῶν δῆμων κατάστασις, ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς τυραννὶς πάντα τάναντία συμβαίνει, καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ τί δεῖ μηκύνειν λέγοντα; τὸ δὲ δὴ κεφάλαιον, χριστὸν μὲν οὐδὲς οὐδὲν οὔτ’ εἰδέναι οὔτ’ ἔχειν δοκεῖν βούλεται (πολέμων γάρ αὐτῷ πᾶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸ κρατοῦν ὡς πλήθει γίγνεται).

2 τὸν δὲ ἐκείνου τῆς τρόπου κανόνα τοῦ βίου ποιησάμενος, ὁ τι ποτ’ ἂν ἐλπίσῃ δι’ αὐτοῦ πλεονεκτήσας ἀκινδύνως κερδανεῖν, μετέρχεται καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἱ πλείονσι σφῶν τὸ τε καθ’ έαυτοὺς. μόνον σπεύδουσι καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους μισοῦσι, τάς τε εὔπραγίας αὐτῶν οἰκείας ζημίας καὶ τάς συμφορὰς ἱδιὰ κέρδη ποιούμενοι.

3 “Τοιούτων δὲ δὴ τούτων ὑπερβολὴ ὁ χρὸνός τοῦ ποτ’ ἂν εἰκότως ἐπάρειε σε μοναρχήσαι εἰπθυμήσαι. πρὸς γὰρ τὸ τοῖς δῆμοις χαλεπὸν εἶναι τὸ πολιτεμα, πολὺ δυσχερέστερον αὐτῷ σοι γένοιτο ἢν.

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

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

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

"Such being the state of the case, I do not see what motive could reasonably induce you to desire to become sole ruler. For that system, besides being difficult to apply to democracies, would be vastly more difficult still for you yourself to put into effect.
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4 αυτής ἦτι καὶ νῦν παρατεται; καὶ χαλεπὸν μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ τῶν ὁμιλών ἡμῶν, τοσοῦτοι ἔτεσιν ἐν ἑλευθερίᾳ βεβιωκότα, καταλύσαι, χαλεπὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ τοὺς συμμάχους τοὺς τε ὑπηκόους, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ δημοκρατουμένους τοὺς δ᾽ ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἠλευθερωμένους, ἐς δουλείαν αὕθις καταστήσαι, τοσοῦτων πέριξ πολεμίων ἡμῶν προσκειμένων.

6 "Καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τοῦ βραχυτάτου ἀρξῶμαι, ἐχρήματα σοι πολλὰ καὶ πανταχόθεν ἀναγκαῖον ἔσται πορίζειν ἀδύνατον γὰρ τὰς νῦν οὕσας προσόδους πρὸς τε τάλλα καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν τροφὴν ἐξαιρεῖσαι. τούτῳ δὲ ἐστὶ μὲν καὶ ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαισι οὐ γὰρ οἶδον τε 2 πολιτείαν τινὰ ἀνευ δαπάνης συστήναι. ἀλλ᾽ εὖ μὲν ἐκεῖνας μᾶλλον μὲν ἐκόντες πολλοὶ πολλὰ ἐπιδιδόσι, ἐν δὲ πολλοὶ πολλὰς πρὸς τοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν τροφῆν ἐξαιρέσθω. τούτῳ δὲ πολλοῖς πολλάς τὴν ἐσφορὰν γένωσται, ἐαυτοῖς τε 1 πείθοντες 3 καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐαυτῶν συντελοῦντες ἀνέχονται. ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς δυναστείαισι τὸ τε ἀρχον πάντως μόνον ὡς καὶ υπερπλουτοῦν ἄξιοι δαπανᾶσθαι, τὰς μὲν προσόδους αὐτῶν ἐποίμως ἐξερευνώμενοι, τὰ δ᾽ ἀναλόμματα οὐκέθ᾽ ὡμοίως ἐκλογιζόμενοι καὶ οὕτ᾽ ἰδία ἤδεως ἡ καὶ ἐκόντες ἐπιδιδόσι τι, οὕτε τὰς

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

"To begin first with the least important consideration, it will be necessary that you procure a large supply of money from all sides; for it is impossible that our present revenues should suffice for the support of the troops, not to speak of the other expenses. Now this need of funds, to be sure, exists in democracies also, since it is not possible for any government to continue without expense. But in democracies many citizens make large contributions, preferably of their own free will, in addition to what is required of them, making it a matter of patriotic emulation and securing appropriate honours in return for their liberality; or, if perchance compulsory levies are also made upon the whole body of citizens, they submit to it both because it is done with their own consent and because the contributions they make are in their own interests. In monarchical governments, on the other hand, the citizens all think that the ruling power alone, to which they credit boundless wealth, should bear the expense; for they are very ready to search out the ruler's sources of income, but do not reckon his expenses so carefully; and so they make no contributions from their private means gladly or of their own free will, nor are the public levies they make

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4 κοινὰς συντελείας αὐθαιρέτους ποιοῦνται. ἐκεῖνο
μὲν γὰρ οὔτ' ἂν ἐθελήσει τις (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὀμολογήσειν ἂν ῥαδίως πλούτειν) οὔτε συμφέρει
τῷ κρατοῦντι γυνεσθαι αὐτίκα γὰρ ἂν δόξαν
παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὡς καὶ φιλόπολις ἔχων ὀγκωθεῖν καὶ νεοτέρεσθαι. τὸ δ' ἔτερον πάνυ
τοὺς πολλοὺς βαρύνει, καὶ μάλιστ' ὅτι τὴν μὲν
ζημίαν αὐτοῖς ὑπομένουσι, τὸ δὲ ὅτι κέρδος ἔτεροι
5 λαμβάνουσιν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις καὶ
στρατεύονται ὡς πλήθει οἱ τὰ χρήματα συνεσ-
φέροντες, ὥστε τρόπον τινὰ αὖθις αὐτὰ ἀπο-
λαμβάνουσιν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς μοναρχίαις ἄλλοι μὲν ὡς
τὸ πολὺ καὶ γεωργοῦσι καὶ δημοουργοῦσι καὶ
ναυτίλλονται καὶ πολιτεύονται, παρ' ὄντερ καὶ
αἱ λήψεις μάλιστα γίγνονται, ἄλλοι δὲ τὰ ὅπλα
ἔχουσι καὶ τὸν μισθὸν φέρουσιν.

7 "Ἐν μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τοιοῦτον ὅν πράγματά σοι
παρέξει, ἔτερον δὲ ἐκεῖνο. πάντως μὲν τίνα δεῖ
δίκην τὸν ἂεὶ κακουργοῦντα διδόναι οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ
νουθεσίας οὔτε ἐκ παραδειγμάτων οἱ πολλοὶ
σωφρούνται, ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκη πᾶσα αὐτοὺς καὶ
ἀτιμία καὶ φυγὴ καὶ θανάτῳ ζημιοῦσθαι, οὐαὶ ἐν
τε ἀρχῇ τηλικαύτῃ καὶ ἐν πλήθει ἀνθρώπων
τοσοῦτῳ, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ἐν μεταβολῇ πολιτείας,
2 φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν. τούτοις δ' ἂν μὲν ἐτέρους
δικαστὰς καθίζεις, ἀπολύουσι τε ἂν διασπευδό-
μενοι, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσους ἃν ἐχθραίνειν νομισθῆς:
καὶ γὰρ προσποιοῦσιν τινὰ ἐξουσίας οἱ δικάζοντες
λαμβάνουσιν, ὅταν τι παρὰ τὸ δοκοῦν τῷ
3 κρατοῦντι ποιήσωσι κἂν ἁρὰ τινὲς ἄλλοκωταί;"
voted of their own free choice. As for the voluntary contributions, no citizen would feel free to make one, any more than he would readily admit that he was rich, and it is not to the advantage of the ruler that he should, for immediately he would acquire a reputation for patriotism among the masses, become conceited, and incite a rebellion. On the other hand, a general levy weighs heavily upon the masses, the more so because they suffer the loss while the others reap the gain. Now in democracies those who contribute the money as a general rule also serve in the army, so that in a way they get their money back again; but in monarchies one set of people usually engages in agriculture, manufacturing, commerce, and politics,—and these are the classes from which the state's receipts are chiefly derived,— and a different set is under arms and draws pay.

"This single circumstance, then, which is as I have described it, will cause you trouble. But here is another. It is by all means essential that whoever from time to time commits a crime should pay some penalty. For the majority of men are not brought to reason by admonition or by example, but it is absolutely necessary to punish them by disfranchisement, by exile, or by death; and such punishments are often administered in an empire as large as this is and in a population as great as ours, especially during a change of government. Now if you appointed other men to judge these wrongdoers, they would vie with each other in acquitting the accused, and particularly all whom you might be thought to hate; for judges, you know, gain an appearance of authority when they act in any way contrary to the wish of the ruler. And if an
Διὰ σὲ δόξουσιν ἐκ κατασκευάσματος κατεψηφίσθαι. ἂν δ’ αὐτὸς δικάζῃς, πολλοὺς ἀναγκασθήσῃ καὶ τῶν ὁμοτίμων κολάζειν (τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ εὔτυχες), καὶ πάντως τιώς αὐτῶν ὅργῃ μᾶλλον ἡ δικαιώσει δόξεις ἐυθύνειν τοὺς γὰρ βιάζεσθαι δυναμένους οὔδεις δικάζοντας δικαιοπραγεῖν πιστεύει, ἀλλ’ οἶονται πάντες αὐτοὺς σχῆμα καὶ σκιαγραφίαν πολυτείας αἰσχύνῃ πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας προπετανύντας, ὄνοματι ἐννόμῳ δικαστηρίου τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀποτιμηπλάναι. ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς μοναρχίαις ταῦθ’ οὕτω γίγνεται: ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις, ἂν τ’ ἱδία τις ἀδικεῖν αἰτίαν λάβῃ, ἰδίαν δίκην παρὰ δικασταί ἱσοῖς φεύγει, ἀν τε δημοσίᾳ, καὶ ἐκεῖνῳ δικασταὶ καθίζουσιν ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων οὐς ἂν ὁ κλήρος ἀποδείξῃ, ὡστε βάου τὰ ἀποβαίνειν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φέρειν, μή’ ἵσχυ δικαστοῦ μήτε χάριτι ἀναγκαστῇ νομίζοντάς τι πεποιθέναι.

8 "Ἐτὶ τοῖνυν πολλοὶ χωρὶς τῶν τὴν ἀδικοῦντων, οἱ μὲν γένει, οἱ δὲ πλοῦτῳ, οἱ δὲ ἐτέρῳ τινὶ ἐπαιρόμενοι, ἀλλὰς μὲν οὐ κακοὶ ἀνδρεῖς, τῇ δὲ δὴ προαιρέσει τῇ τῆς μοναρχίας ἐναντίοι φύονται καὶ αὐτοὺς οὔτ’ αὐξεσθαί τις εὖν ἀσφαλῶς δύναται εἶν, οὔτ’ αὐ κολούειν ἐπιχειρῶν δικαίως 1 δόξεις L’, δόξης V. 2 ἐννόμῳ Naber, ἐννόμου VL. 3 καθίζουσιν Rk., καθίζοσιν VL’. 4 οὖς ἂν Xyl., οὖσαν VL’. 5 ἀναγκαστῇ L’, ἀναγκασθῇ V.
occasional criminal is in fact convicted, it will be thought that he has been condemned deliberately, in order to please you. But if, on the other hand, you sit in judgment yourself, you will be obliged to punish many also of your peers—an unfortunate situation—and you will certainly be thought to be calling some of them to account through resentment rather than through a sense of justice. For no one believes that those who have the power to use compulsion are acting honestly when they give judgment, but all men think they are led by a sense of shame to spread out before the truth a mere semblance and illusive picture of a constitutional government, and under the legal name of a court of justice are but satisfying their own desires. This, then, is what happens in monarchies. In democracies, on the other hand, when any one is accused of committing a private wrong, he is made defendant in a private suit before a jury of his equals; or, if he is accused of a public crime, in his case also a jury of his peers, men whom the lot shall designate, sits in judgment. It is therefore easier for men to bear the decisions which proceed from such juries, since they think that any penalty dealt out to them has been inflicted neither by a judge's power nor as a favour which a judge has been forced to grant.

"Then again, apart from those who are guilty of wrongdoing, there are many men who pride themselves, some on their birth, others on their wealth, and still others on something else, who, though in general not bad men, are yet by nature opposed to the principle of monarchy. If a ruler allows these men to become strong, he cannot live in safety, and if, on the other hand, he undertakes to impose a
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2 τούτο ποιεῖν. τί ποτ' οὖν τούτοις χρήσῃ; πῶς αὐτοὺς μεταχειρίσῃ; ἃν μὲν γὰρ τά τε γένη σφῶν καθέλησαι καὶ τοὺς πλοῦτους ἐλαττώσῃς τά τε φρονήματα ταπεινώσῃς, οὐδεμιᾶν ἂν εὐνοοι παρὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων λάβοις. πῶς γάρ, εἰ μὴν γεννηθήναι τῷ καλῶς μήτε πλουτίσαι δικαίως, μήτ' ἵσχυρῷ μήτ' ἀνδρείῳ μήτε συνετῷ γενέσθαι ἐξεῖν;

3 ἄν δὲ εάσῃς ταύθ' ὡς ἐκαστὰ αὐξεῖν, οὐκ ἂν ῥαδίως αὐτὰ διάθοι. καὶ γὰρ εἰ αὐτὸς μόνος πρὸς τε τὸ 1 τά πολιτικά καὶ πρὸς τὸ τά πολεμικά καλῶς καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν πράττειν ἐξήρκεις, καὶ μηδενὸς συνεργοῦ πρὸς μηδὲν αὐτῶν ἔρχηξες,

4 ἔτερος ἄν ἦν λόγος· νῦν δὲ πᾶσα σε ἀνάγκη συναγωνιστάς πολλοὺς, ἀπὸ τοσαῦτῆς οἰκουμένης ἄρχοντα, 2 ἐχεῖν, καὶ προσήκει που πάντας αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνδρείους καὶ φρονίμους εἶναι. οὐκοῦν ἄν μὲν τοιούτοις τισὶ τά τε στρατεύματα καὶ τάς ἀρχὰς ἐνχειρίζεις, κίνδυνος ἑσται καὶ σοὶ καὶ τῇ

5 πολιτείᾳ καταλυθῆναι· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν οὕτ' ἄνευ φρονήματος ἄξιόλογον ἄνδρα φύναι, οὐτ' αὖ φρόνημα μέγα λαβεῖν εἰ δουλοπρεποῦς ἐπιτηδεύσεως, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ φρονηματίαν γενόμενον μὴ οὐκ ἐλευθερίας ἐπιθυμήσαι καὶ πάν τὸ δε- 

6 σπόζον μισῆσαι. ἄν δὲ δὴ τούτοις μὲν μηδὲν ἐπιτρέπῃς, τοῖς δὲ δὴ φαύλοις καὶ τοῖς τυχόνσι τὰ πράγματα προστάσσῃς, τάχιστα μὲν ἂν ὁργὴν παρ' ἑκείνων ὡς ἀπιστομένων λάβοις, τάχιστα

7 δ' ἄν ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις πταίσεις. τὶ μὲν γὰρ ἄν ἀγαθὸν ἀμαθῆς ἢ ἀγεννῆς 3 ἀνθρώπος ἐργάσατο; τίς δ' οὖκ ἂν καταφρονήσειεν αὐτοῦ τῶν πολεμίων;

1 td supplied by Bs. 2 ἄρχοντα Leuncl., ἄρχοντας VL'. 3 ἀγεννῆς V, ἀγεννῆς L'.
check on them, he cannot do so justly. What, then, will you do with them? How will you deal with them? If you root out their families, diminish their wealth, and humble their pride, you will not have the good-will of your subjects. How could you have it, if no one is permitted to be born to noble rank, or to grow rich honestly, or to become strong or brave or intelligent? Yet if you allow these various classes to grow strong, you will not be able to deal with them easily. True, if you alone were equal to carrying on the business of the state and the business of warfare successfully and in a manner to meet the demands of each situation, and needed no assistant for any of these matters, it would be a different matter. As the case stands, however, since you would be governing this vast world, it would be quite essential for you to have many helpers; and of course they ought all to be both brave and high-spirited. Now if you hand over the legions and the offices to men of such parts, there will be danger that both you and your government will be overthrown. For it is not possible either for a man of any real worth to be naturally lacking in spirit, or on the other hand for a man sprung from a servile sphere of life to acquire a proud spirit; nor, again, if he proves himself a man of spirit, can he fail to desire liberty and to hate all mastery. If, on the other hand, you entrust nothing to these men, but put affairs in charge of common men of indifferent origin, you will very soon incur the resentment of the first class, who will think themselves distrusted, and you will very soon fail in the greatest enterprises. For what good thing could an ignorant or low-born person accomplish? Who of our enemies would not hold him in con-
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τίς δ' ἂν πειθαρχήσειεν 1 οἱ τῶν συμμάχων; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπαξιώσειεν ὑπὸ τοιούτου τινὸς ἄρχεσθαι; καὶ μὴν ὃσα ἐκ τούτου κακὰ γίγνεσθαι πέφυκε, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα

8 οὖν ἰδομαί σοι σαφῶς εἰδότι διηγεῖσθαι, ἐκεῖνο δὲ δὴ μόνον ἀναγκαῖος ἔρω, ὅτι ἄν μὲν μηδὲν δέον ὁ τοιοῦτος πράττῃ, πολὺ πλεῖω ἂν σε τῶν πολεμίων βλάψειειν, ἄν δὲ τὶ τῶν προσηκόντων ποιῆ, καὶ ἄν τὸν σοὶ φοβηρὸς ἐκφρονήσας ὑπ’ ἀπαιγευσίας γένοιτο.

9 “Ὅυ μέντοι καὶ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις τοιοῦτο τὰ πρόσεστιν, ἀλλ’ ὅσῳ ἂν πλείους καὶ πλουτῶσι καὶ ἄνδρὶζωνται, τόσῳ μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ τε φιλοτιμοῦνται καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐξουσί, καὶ σφίσι καὶ ἐκεῖνη κέχρηται καὶ χαίρει, πλὴν ἂν τὶς τυραννίδος ἐπιθυμήσῃ τούτων γὰρ ἱσχύρως κολάζοισι.

2 καὶ ὅτι ταῦθ’ οὕτως ἐχει καὶ πολλῷ κρείττους αἰ δημοκρατίαι τῶν μοναρχῶν εἰσὶ, δηλοὶ μὲν καὶ τὸ 'Ελληνικὸν τέως μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἐπολυτεύοντο, οὔτεν μέγα κατέπραξαν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκείνως 2 ἦν

3 ἡρξαντο, ὀνομαστότατοι ἐγένοντο· δηλοὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἐν τυραννίσι καὶ νῦν ἔτι διαγόμενοι οὖν τε δούλευον καὶ οὐ τοῖς ἀρχοῦσιν ἐπιβολεύουσιν, οἱ δὲ δὴ προστατείαις ἐπετησίοις ἦ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖω τινὰ χρόνον χρῶμενοι καὶ ἑλέσθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι διατελοῦσιν

4 ὁντες. ἀλλὰ τὶ δεῦ ήμᾶς ἀλλοτρίας παραδείγμασιν οἰκεῖα ἔχοντας χρῆσθαι; ἡμεῖς γὰρ αὐτοὶ οἱ 'Ῥωμαῖοι ἄλλως τὸ πρῶτον πολιτεύομενοι,

1 πειθαρχήσειεν (πιθαρχήσειεν) L', πιθαρχησεν V.
2 ἐκείνως L', ἐκείνος V.

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tempt? Who of our allies would obey him? Who even of the soldiers themselves would not disdain to be ruled by such a man? And yet I need not explain to you all the evils that naturally result from such a condition, for you know them thoroughly; but this one thing I shall say, as I am constrained to do—that if a minister of this kind failed in every duty, he would injure you far more than the enemy, while if he met with any success in the conduct of his office, his lack of education would cause him to lose his head and he as well would prove formidable to you.

“Such a situation, however, does not arise in democracies, but the more men there are who are wealthy and brave, so much the more do they vie with each other and upbuild the state, and the state, on its part, rejoices in them, unless one of them conceives a desire for tyrannical power; for the citizens severely punish such an one. That this is so, now, and that democracies are far superior to monarchies, is shown by the experience of Greece. For as long as the people had the monarchical form of government, they accomplished nothing of importance; but when they began to live under the democratic system they became most renowned. It is shown also by the experience of the other races of mankind. For those which still live under tyrannies are always in slavery and are always plotting against their rulers, whereas those which have governors chosen for a year or a longer period continue to be both free and independent. But why should we resort to examples furnished by other peoples when we have examples here at home? We Romans ourselves at first had a different form of government, then later, after we
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ἐπειτα ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐπάσχομεν, τῆς τε ἐλευθερίας ἐπεθυμήσαμεν καὶ λαβόντες αὐτὴν
5 πρὸς τοσοῦτον ὄγκον προῆλθομεν, οὐκ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἢ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἀγαθοῖς ἵσχύσαντες, εἴ δὲν ἢ τε1 γερουσία προεβούλευε καὶ ὁ δήμος ἐπεκύρου τὸ τε στρατευόμενον προεθυμεῖτο καὶ τὸ στρατηγοῦν ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο. ἂν οὕδεν ἄν ἐν τυραννίδι πραξθείη.2 ἀμέλει τοσοῦτον αὐτῆς διὰ ταῦτα μίσος οἱ πάλαι Πρωμαίοι ἐσχὼν ὡστε καὶ ἐπάρατον τὸ πολέτεμα πολῆσασθαι.

10 "Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, εἰ δεῖ τι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱδία σοι αὐτῷ συμφερόντων εἰπεῖν, πῶς μὲν ἂν υπομείνειας τοσαῦτα καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ διοικῶν, πῶς δ' ἂν μὴ ὑγιαινῶν ἐξαρκέσειας; τίνος δ' ἂν τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀπολαύσειας, πῶς δ' ἂν στερόμενος αὐτῶν εὐδαιμονήσειας; τίνι δ' ἂν ἀκριβῶς ἡσθείης, πότε δ' οὐκ ἂν ἰσχυρῶς λυπηθείης; πᾶσα γὰρ ἀνάγκη τῶν τηλικαύτην ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα καὶ φροντίζειν πολλὰ καὶ δεδιέναι πολλά, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἡδίστων ἐλάχιστα ἀπολαύειν, τὰ δὲ δυσχερότατα ἄει καὶ πανταχοῦ καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ ὀρᾶν καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν. ὥθεν, οἶμαι, καὶ Ἑλληνες καὶ βάρβαροι τινες οὐδὲ διδομένας σφίσι βασιλείας ἐδεξαντο.

2 ἂν ἰσχυρῶς λυπηθείης; πᾶσα γὰρ ἀνάγκη τῶν τηλικαύτην ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα καὶ φροντίζειν πολλὰ καὶ δεδιέναι πολλά, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἡδίστων ἐλάχιστα ἀπολαύειν, τὰ δὲ δυσχερότατα ἄει καὶ πανταχοῦ καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ ὀρᾶν καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν. ὥθεν, οἶμαι, καὶ Ἑλληνες καὶ βάρβαροι τινες οὐδὲ διδομένας σφίσι βασιλείας ἐδεξαντο.

3 "Ταῦτ' οὖν προϊδόμενος3 προβοῦλευσαι πρὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι αἰσχρὸν γὰρ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀδύνατόν ἐστι παρακύψαντά τινα ἀπαξ ἐς αὐτὰ

1 ἢ τε Λ', ἢ τε ἢ Υ.
2 πραξθεῖη Υ', προαχθεῖη Λ'.
3 προϊδόμενος Βκ., προειδόμενος ΒΛ'.

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

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

"Therefore I would have you foresee all these disadvantages and take counsel before you become involved in them. For it is disgraceful, or rather it is quite impossible, for a man to withdraw when
ἀναδύναι. μηδὲ σε ἐξαπατήσῃ μήτε τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐξουσίας μήθ’ ἢ περιουσία τῶν κτημάτων, μὴ τὸ στίφος τῶν σωματοφυλάκων, μὴ ὁ δ’ ὄχλος τῶν θεραπεύοντων. οἱ τε γὰρ πολὺ δυνάμενοι πολλὰ πράγματα ἔχουσι, καὶ οἱ συχνὰ κεκτημένοι συχνὰ ἀναλίσκειν ἀναγκαζόνται, τὰ τε πλῆθη τῶν δορυφόρων διὰ τὰ πλῆθη τῶν ἐπιβουλεύοντων ἀθροίζεται, καὶ οἱ κολακεύοντες ἐπιτρίψειαν ἀν τινα μᾶλλον ἡ σώσειαν. ὡσθ’ ἐνεκα μὲν τούτων οὐδ’ ἂν εἰς εὗρον αὐταρχήσατε ἐπιθυμήσειν εἰ δ’ ὅτι καὶ πλουτίζειν καὶ σώζειν τινὰς ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ δρᾶν οἱ τοιούτοι δύνανται, καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ ὑβρίζειν σφίσει καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν ὅν ἂν ἐθελήσωσιν ἐξεστίν, ἀξίαν τις διὰ ταῦτα σπουδῆς τὴν τυραννίδα εἰναι νομίζουσιν εἰς, τοῦ παντὸς ἀμαρτάνει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀσέλγειαν καὶ κακὸν τι ποιεῖν οὐθ’ ὡς αἰσχρὰ οὐθ’ ὡς σφαλερὰ καὶ μεμισθημένα καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ, δέομαι σοι λέγειν οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως τοιούτος εἰ, οὔτ’ ἂν διὰ ταῦτα μοναρχῆσαι ἔλοιπον. προήρημαι τε ἐγὼ νῦν οὐ πάνθ’ ὡσα ἂν τις κακῶς τὸ πράγμα μεταχειρίζομενος ἐξεργάσασαι εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ’ ὡσα καὶ οἱ πάνυ ἀριστα αὐτῷ χρώμενοι καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν ἀναγκαζόνται. τὸ δ’ ἔτερον, τὸ τινὰ ἀφθόνιος εὐεργετεῖν ἔχειν, ἀξιοσπούδαστον μὲν, ἀλλ’ ἐν μὲν ἰδιώτῃ γιγνόμενον καὶ καλὸν καὶ σεμνὸν καὶ εὐκλεές καὶ ἀσφαλές ἐστὶν, ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς μοναρχίαις πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ ἀντ

1 δ supplied by Bk.
2 ἐπιτρίψειαν . . . σώσειαν Dind., ἐπιτρίψαει . . . σώσαειν VL. ΤΟΟ
once he has entered upon the position. And do not be deceived, either, by the greatness of its authority or the abundance of its possessions, or by its array of bodyguards, or by its throng of courtiers. For men who have much power have many troubles; those who have large possessions are obliged to spend largely; the multitude of bodyguards is gathered merely because of the multitude of conspirators; and as for the flatterers, they would be more likely to destroy you than to save you. Consequently, in view of these considerations, no sensible man would desire to become supreme ruler. But if the thought that men in such a station are able to enrich others, to save their lives, and to confer many other benefits upon them—yes, by heaven, and even to insult them and to do harm to whomsoever they please—leads anyone to think that tyranny is worth striving for, he is utterly mistaken. I need not, indeed, tell you that the life of wantonness and evil-doing is disgraceful or that it is fraught with peril and is hated of both gods and men; for in any event you are not inclined to such things, and you would not be led by these considerations to choose to be sole ruler. And, besides, I have chosen to speak now, not of all the mischief one might work who managed the task badly, but only of what even those who make the very best use of the position are obliged both to do and to suffer. But as to the other consideration,—that thus one is in a position to bestow favours in profusion,—this is indeed a privilege worth striving for; yet however noble, august, glorious, and safe it is when enjoyed by a private citizen, in a king's position it does not, in the first place, counterbalance the other considerations.
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αξίων τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀτοπωτέρων, ὡστε τινὰ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐλέσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ μέλλοντα τὴν μὲν ἐκ τούτου ἀπόλαυσιν ἔτεροις ἐδώσειν τὴν δὲ ἐξ ἐκεῖνων ἁγίαν αὐτὸν ἔξειν, ἐπειτα δ' οὐδ' ἀπλούν, ὡς τις οἴεται. οὔτε γὰρ ἀν πᾶσι τοῖς δεομένοις τινὸς ἐπαρκέσει τις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀξιοῦντες τι παρ' αὐτοῦ λαμβάνειν πάντες ὡς εἰπεῖν εἰσιν ἀνθρώποι, κἂν μηδεμία εὐθὺς εὐεργεσία αὐτοῖς οφείληται πᾶς γὰρ τις φύσει καὶ αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ἀρέσκει, κἀγαθόν τι ἐπαυρέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ δοῦναι δυναμένου βούλεται. ἀ δὲ ἐνδέχεται αὐτοῖς δίδοσθαι (τιμᾶς τε καὶ ἄρχας λέγω, καὶ ἐστὶν ὅτε καὶ χρήματα) πάνω ἀν ευαρίθμητα ὡς πρὸς τοσοῦτο πλῆθος εὐρεθείη. τούτοι τε οὕτως ἔχοντος ἔχθος ἀν αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν διαμαρτανόντων ὧν χρήζονοι μᾶλλον ἡ φιλία παρὰ τῶν τυγχανόντων ὑπάρ.

3 ξείειν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ, ὡς καὶ οφειλόμενον τι λαμβάνοντες, οὐτ' ἄλλως μεγάλην οἴονται δεῖν τῷ διδόντι αὐτῷ χάριν ἔχειν ἢ τε μηδὲν παρὰ δόξαν εὐρίσκομενοι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὁκνοῦσι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἀνάξιος ἐν τούτῳ σφᾶς τοῦ

4 καλῶς πάσχειν ἀποφήγωσιν οἱ δὲ ὥς ἐπιζουσιν ἀτυχοῦντες λυποῦνται κατ' ἀμφότερα, τοῦτο μὲν ὡς οἰκείον τινὸς στερισκόμενοι (πάντες γὰρ ἔχειν ἦδη νομίζουσιν ὡς ἄν ἐπιθυμήσωσι), τοῦτο δὲ ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐστῶν ἄδικιάν τινὰ

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

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of a less agreeable nature, so that a man should be induced for the sake of gaining this advantage to accept those disadvantages also, especially when the sovereign is bound to bestow upon others the benefit to be derived from this advantage and to have for himself alone the unpleasantness that results from the disadvantages. In the second place, this advantage is not without complications, as people think; for a ruler cannot possibly satisfy all who ask for favours. Those, namely, who think they ought to receive some gift from the sovereign are practically all mankind, even though no favour is due to them at the moment; for every one naturally thinks well of himself and wishes to enjoy some benefit at the hands of him who is able to bestow it. But the benefits which can be given them,—I mean titles and offices and sometimes money,—will be found very easy to count when compared with the vast number of the applicants. This being so, greater hostility will inevitably be felt toward the monarch by those who fail to get what they want, than friendliness by those who obtain their desires. For the latter take what they receive as due them and think there is no particular reason for being grateful to the giver, since they are getting no more than they expected; besides, they actually shrink from showing gratitude for fear they may thereby give evidence of their being unworthy of the kindness done them. The others, when they are disappointed in their hopes, are aggrieved for two reasons: in the first place, they feel that they are being robbed of what belongs to them, for invariably men think they already possess whatever they set their hearts upon; and, in the second place, they feel that, if they are
καταγγυγώσκοντες, ἂν ῥαδίως ἔπι τῷ μὴ τυχεὶν
5 ὅν ἂν προσδοκήσωσι φέρωσι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ ὀρθῶς
dιδοὺς τὰ τοιαύτα τὸ τε κατ’ ἀξίαν ἐκάστον δῆλον
ὅτι πρὸ πάντων προσκοπεῖ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τιμᾶ τοὺς
de παρορᾷ, ὡστε καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης τοὺς μὲν
φρόνημα τοῖς δ’ ἀγανάκτησιν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ συνει-
dότος σφῶν προσγίγυνεσθαι. ὡς ἂν γέ τις τούτ’
eνλαβούμενος ἀνωμάλως αὐτὰ διανέμειν ἐθελήσῃ,
6 τὸ σύμπαν ἀμαρτήσεται. οἳ τε γὰρ πονηροὶ παρὰ
tὸ προσήκον τιμώμενοι χείρους ἂν, ἦτοι καὶ
eπαινεῖσθαι ὡς ἄγαθοί ἢ πάντως γε θεραπεύεσθαι
ὡς φοβεροὶ δοκοῦντες, γίγνοιτο, καὶ οἱ χρηστοὶ
μηδέν πλεῖον αὐτῶν εὐρισκόμενοι, ἀλλ’ ἔξ ἑσοῦ
σφίσιν ἂγόμενοι, μᾶλλον ἂν ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους
ἰσομοιρίας λυπούντο ἢ τῷ* καὶ αὐτοὶ τίνος ἄξιον-
7 σθαί χαίροιεν,2 κάκε τοῦτοι τῆν τε ἐπιτήδευσιν
τῶν κρειττώνων ἔφειν ἂν καὶ τὴν ζήλωσιν τῶν
χειρόνων μετέρχοιτο, καὶ οὗτο κἂν3 ἔξ αὐτῶν
τῶν τιμῶν οὐθ’ οἱ διδόντες αὐτᾶς ἄγαθον τι
καρποῦντο καὶ οἱ λαμβάνοντες κακίους γίγνοιν-
το. ὡστε σοι τοῦτο, ὃ μάλιστα ἂν τισιν ἐν
ταῖς μοναρχίαις ἄρεσει, δυσμεταχειριστότατον
συμβῆναι.
13 “Ταὐτά τε οὖν καὶ τάλλα ἄ μικρὸ πρόσθεν

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

"Reflecting upon these considerations and the
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eίπον ἐνθυμηθεὶς φρόνησον ἐως ἔξεστί σοι, καὶ ἄπόδοσ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ χρήματα. ἂν μὲν γὰρ ἦδη τε καὶ ἐκὼν αὐτὸ ποιήσης, ἐνδοξότατος τε ἁμα ἀνθρώπων ἔσῃ καὶ ἄσφαλέστατος. ἂν δ' ἀναμείνῃς βιῶν τινὰ σοι προσαχθήναι, τάχ' ἂν τι 2 δεινὸν μετὰ κακοδοξίας πάθοις. τεκμηρίων δὲ, Μάριος μὲν καὶ Σύλλας καὶ Μέτελλος, καὶ Πομπήιος τὸ πρῶτον, ἐν κράτει τῶν πραγμάτων γενόμενοι οὔτ' ἠθέλησαν δυναστεύσιν οὔτ' ἔπαθον παρὰ τούτο δεινὸν οὐδέν. Κίννας δὲ δὴ καὶ Στράβων, ὁ τε Μάριος ὁ ἐτερος καὶ ὁ Σερτώριος, ὁ τε Πομπήιος αὐτὸς μετὰ ταύτα, τῆς δυναστείας ἐπι-θυμήσαντες κακῶς ἀπόλοιπο. δυσχερές γὰρ ἐστὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην, τοσοῦτοι τε ἐτεσί δεδη-μοκρατημένη καὶ τοσούτων ἀνθρώπων ἀρχουσαν, δούλευσαι τινι ἐθελήσαι. καὶ ἀκούεις μὲν ὦτι τὸν Κάμιλλον ὑπερώρισαν, ἐπειδή λευκοῖς ὑποῖς 3 θυμήσαντες κακῶς ἀπώλοιπο. δυσχερές γὰρ ἐστὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην, τοσοῦτοι τε ἐτεσί δεδη-μοκρατημένη καὶ τοσούτων ἀνθρώπων ἀρχουσαν, δούλευσαι τινι ἐθελήσαι. καὶ ἀκούεις μὲν ὦτι τὸν Κάμιλλον ὑπερώρισαν, ἐπειδή λευκοῖς ὑποῖς 4 ἐς τὰ ἐπινίκια ἐχρήσατο, ἀκούεις δὲ ὦτι τὸν Σκι-πίωνα κατέλυσαν, ἐπειδὴ τινα πλεονεξίαν αὐτοῦ κατέγυνσαν, μέμνησαι δὲ ὦτως τῷ πατρὶ σου προσηνέχθησαν, ὦτι τινὰ ὑποψίαν ἐς αὐτὸν μοναρ-χίας ἐσχον. καίτοι τούτων μὲν ἀμείνους ἄνδρες οὐδένες ἀλλοι γεγόνασιν. 5 "Οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀπλῶς οὕτω συμβουλεύω σοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφεῖναι, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ συμφέροντα τῷ δημοσίῳ προπράξαι καὶ δόγμασι καὶ νόμοις ἀ προσήκει κατακλεῖσαι, καθάπερ ποι καὶ ὁ Σύλ-λας ἐποίησε· καὶ γὰρ εἶ τινα αὐτῶν μετὰ ταύτα

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others which I mentioned a little while ago, be prudent while you may and duly place in the hands of the people the army, the provinces, the offices, and the public funds. If you do it at once and voluntarily, you will be the most famous of men and the most secure; but if you wait for some compulsion to be brought to bear upon you, you will very likely suffer some disaster and gain infamy besides. Consider the testimony of history: Marius and Sulla and Metellus, and Pompey at first, when they got control of affairs, not only refused to assume sovereign power but also escaped disaster thereby; whereas Cinna and Strabo, the younger Marius and Sertorius, and Pompey himself at a later time, conceived a desire for sovereign power and perished miserably. For it is a difficult matter to induce this city, which has enjoyed a democratic government for so many years and holds empire over so many people, to consent to become a slave to any one. You have heard how the people banished Camillus just because he used white horses for his triumph; you have heard how they deposed Scipio from power, first condemning him for some act of arrogance; and you remember how they proceeded against your father just because they conceived a suspicion that he desired to be sole ruler. Yet there have never been any better men than these.

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

1 Cf. xlv. 28, 1.
ἀνετράπη, ἀλλὰ τὰ γε πλεῖστον καὶ μείζων διαμένει.

6 καὶ μὴ εἶπης ότι καὶ ὡς στασιάσουσι τινες, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐγὼ αὐθίς εἴπω ότι πολλῷ μᾶλλον οὐκ ἂν ἀνάσχοιντο μοναρχοῦμενι. ὡς εἴγε πάνθ᾽ ὅσα ἐνδέχεται τισι συνενεχθῆναι προσκοποίμεθα, ἄλογοτάτα ἂν τὰς διχοστασίας τὰς ἐκ τῆς δημοκρατίας συμβαινούσας φοβηθεῖμεν ἂν μᾶλ-λον ἢ τὰς τυραννίδας τὰς ἐκ τῆς μοναρχίας

7 ἐκφυομένας. περὶ δὲν τῆς δεινότητος οὔδε ἐπε-χείρησά τι εἴπειν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ¹ καὶ καταδραμεῖν ἄλλως εὐκατηγόρητον οὔτω πράγμα ἥθελησα, ἀλλὰ δεῖξαί σοι τοῦτ' ὅτι τοιούτων ἐστί τῇ φύσει ὥστε μηδὲ τοὺς χρηστοὺς ἄνδρας ² ἃ...”

14 "(... οὔτε πείσαί τι παρθώς ὑπὸ παρρησίας τοὺς ὀφθ. ὄμοιον δύνανται) κὰν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἄτε μὴ ὄμογρωμονοντων σφῶν καταρθοῦσιν. ὡστε εἰ τι κῆδη τῆς πατρίδος, ύπέρ ἢς τοσοῦτος πολέμους πεπολέμηκας, ύπέρ ἢς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἥδεως ἂν ἐπιδοιχῆ, μεταρρύθμισον αὐτὴν καὶ κατακόσμησον

2 πρὸς τὸ σωφρονέστερον. τὸ γὰρ ἐξείναι τισι

¹ δὴ R. Steph., δὲi VL'.

² L' indicates a lacuna at this point, V does not. In their common archetype L one folio was lost, containing some sixty lines. Zonaras' epitome at this point is as follows: ὁ δὲ Μακιήνας τούναντιν συνεβούλευεν, ἄταν εἴπων ἥδη τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐπὶ πολὺ διουσίησα αὐτὸν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι δυοῦν δότερον, ἢ μεῖναι ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἢ ἀπολέσθαι ταῦτα προέμενον, κ.τ.λ.

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yet the majority of them and the more important still remain. And do not say that even then some men will indulge in factional quarrels, and thus require me, on my part, to say once more that the Romans would be much more apt to refuse to submit to the rule of a monarch. For if we should undertake to provide against all possible contingencies, it would be utterly absurd for us to be more afraid of the dissensions which are but incidental to democracy than of the tyrannies which are the natural outgrowth of monarchy. Regarding the terrible nature of such tyrannies I have not so much as attempted to say anything; for it has not been my wish idly to inveigh against a thing that so readily admits of condemnation, but rather to show you that monarchy is so constituted by nature that not even the men of high character. . . ." ¹

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

¹ The conclusion of Agrippa's speech is missing in our MSS., as is also the earlier portion of that of Maecenas together with the introduction to it. Zonaras' brief résumé (down through chap. 17) is as follows: "But Maecenas advised the contrary course, declaring that he (Caesar) had already for a long time been directing the monarchy, and that he must inevitably do one of two things—either remain in the same position or abandon his present course and perish."
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πάνθ' ἀπλῶς ὤσα ́1 βουλοῦνται καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν, ἂν μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν εὐ φρονούντων ἑξετάζης, εὐδαίμονίας ἀπασιν αὕτην ἴδενται, ἂν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγοήτων, συμφορᾶς καὶ διὰ τούτῳ ὁ μὲν τοῖς τοιούτοις τήν ἐξουσίαν διδοὺς παίδη δή τινι καὶ μανωμένῳ ἔφος ὅρεγε, ὡ δ' ἐκείνοις τά τε ἄλλα καὶ αὐτοὺς τούτους καὶ μὴ βουλομένους σώζει.

3 διόπερ καὶ σὲ ἄξιω μὴ πρὸς τὰς εὑπρεπείας τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀποβλέψαντα ἀπατηθήναι, ἀλλὰ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἐξ αὐτῶν προσκόπησαντα τὴν τὶς θρασύτητα τοῦ ὀμίλου πάντως καὶ τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν κοινῶν ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἁριστοῖς προσθείναι, ἢν βουλεύσωσι ² μὲν οἱ φρονιμώτατοι, ἄρχωσι δὲ οἱ στρατηγικῶτατοι, στρατεύονται δὲ καὶ μισθοφορῶσιν οὐ τε ἰσχυρότατοι καὶ οἱ πενε-στατοὶ. οὐτω γὰρ τὰ τὲ ἐπιβάλλουντα σφισιν ἐκαστὸι προθύμως ποιοῦντες, καὶ τὰς ὠφελίας ἀλλήλως ἐτοίμως ἀντιδιδόντες, οὔτε τῶν ἔπαινως ἐμάτων, ἐν οἷς καταδεόντοι τινως, ἐπαισθήσονται, καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν τὴν ἀληθὴ τὴν τε ἐλευθερίαν 5 τὴν ἀσφαλὴ κτῆσονται· ἐκείνη μὲν γὰρ ἡ τοῦ ὀχλου ἐλευθερία τοῦ τὲ βελτίστου δουλεία πικροτάτη γίγνεται καὶ κοινῶν ἀμφοῖν ὁλεθρον φέρει, αὐτὴ δὲ τὸ τε σώφρον πανταχοῦ προτιμῶσα καὶ τὸ ἱσον ἀπασι κατὰ τὴν ἄξιαν ἀπονέμουσα πάντας ὀμοίως εὐδαιμονίας τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτὴ ποιεῖ.
the privilege of doing and saying precisely what one
pleases becomes, in the case of sensible persons, if you
examine the matter, a cause of the highest happiness
to them all, yet in the case of the foolish it becomes
a cause of disaster. For this reason he who offers
this privilege to the foolish is virtually putting a sword
in the hands of a child or a madman; but he who
offers it to the prudent is not only preserving all their
other privileges but is also saving these men them-
selves even in spite of themselves. Therefore I ask
you not to fix your gaze upon the specious terms
applied to these things and thus be deceived, but to
weigh carefully the results which come from the
things themselves and then put an end to the
insolence of the populace and place the management
of public affairs in the hands of yourself and the
other best citizens, to the end that the business of
deliberation may be performed by the most prudent
and that of ruling by those best fitted for command,
while the work of serving in the army for pay is left to
those who are strongest physically and most needy. In
this way each class of citizens will zealously discharge
the duties which devolve upon them and will readily
render to one another such services as are due, and
will thus be unaware of their inferiority when one
class is at a disadvantage as compared with another,
and all will gain the true democracy and the freedom
which does not fail. For the boasted freedom of the
mob proves in experience to be the bitterest servitude
of the best element to the other and brings upon both
a common destruction; whereas this freedom of which
I speak everywhere prefers for honour the men of
prudence, awarding at the same time equality to all
according to their deserts, and thus gives happiness
impartially to all who enjoy this liberty.
15 "Μὴ γάρ τοι οἴητής ὅτι τυραννῆσαι σοι, τὸν τε δήμον καὶ τὴν βουλὴν δουλωσαμένῳ, παραινώ. τούτο μὲν γάρ οὔτ' ἄν ἐγώ ποτὲ εἰπεῖν οὔτ', ἀν σὺ πρᾶξαι τολμῆσαις: ἔκεινα δὲ δὴ καὶ καλὰ καὶ χρήσιμα καὶ σοι καὶ τῇ πόλει γένοιτο ἂν, τὸ τε πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα αὐτὸν σε μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν νομοθετεῖν, μηδενὸς τῶν πολλῶν μῆτ' ἀντιλέγοντος αὐτοῖς μῆτ' ἕναντιουμένου, 2 καὶ τὸ τοὺς πολέμους πρὸς τὰ ὑμέτερα βουλή- ματα διοικεῖσθαι, πάντων αὐτίκα τῶν ἄλλων τὸ κελευόμενον ποιοῦντων, τὸ τὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων αἱρέσεις ἐφ' ὑμῖν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ τὰς τιμὰς τὰς τε τιμωρίας ὑμᾶς ὀρίζειν, ὰνα καὶ νόμος εὐθὺς ἢ πᾶν ὃ τι ἄν βουλευσαμένῳ σοι μετὰ τῶν ὁμοτίμων 3 ἄρεσθ, καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι κρύφα καὶ κατὰ καἰρὸν πολεμῶνται, οἳ τε τὴ έγχειριξόμενοι ἀπ' ἅρετὴς ἄλλα μὴ κλήρῳ καὶ στουδαρχίᾳ ἀποδεικνύονται, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἁγαθοὶ ἄνευ φθώνοι τιμῶνται, οἳ δὲ 4 κακοὶ ἄνευ συστάσεως κολάζονται. οὕτω γὰρ ἄν μᾶλιστα τὰ τὰ πραττόμενα ὀρθῶς διοικηθεῖν, μῆτε ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀναφέρομενα μῆτε ἐν τῷ φανερῷ βουλευόμενα μῆτε τοῖς 2 παρακελευστοῖς ἐπιτρεπόμενα μῆτε ἐκ φιλοτιμίας κινδυνευόμενα, καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμῖν ἁγαθῶν ἥδεως ἀπο- λαυσαμένει, μῆτε πολέμους ἐπικινδύνους μῆτε

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

1 Probably a reference to the tribunes.
5 στάσεις ἀνοσίους ποιούμενοι. ταῦτα γὰρ πᾶσα μὲν δημοκρατία ἔχει· οἱ γὰρ δυνατότεροι, τῶν τε πρωτεῖων ὁ δρεγόμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους μισθούμενοι, πάντα ἁνω καὶ κάτω φύρουσιν πλείστα δὲ δή παρ’ ἡμῖν γέγονε, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν
6 ὅπως ἀλλος παύσεται. τεκμήριον δὲ, πάμπολυς εἴς οὐ χρόνος καὶ πολεμοῦμεν καὶ στασιάζομεν, αὐτίνον δὲ τὸ τε πλήθος τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκεῖνοῖ τε γὰρ παντοδαποὶ καὶ τὰ γένη καὶ τὰς φύσεις οὕτε καὶ ποικίλας καὶ τὰς ὀργάς καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἔχουσιν, καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τοσοῦτον προῆκται ὡστε καὶ πάνω δυσχερῶς ἄν διοικηθήναι.

16 "Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα ἀληθῆ λέγω, μαρτυρεῖ τὰ γεγονότα. τέως μὲν γὰρ οὕτε πολλοὶ ἦμεν οὕτε μεγάλω τινὶ τῶν πλησιοχώρων διεφέρομεν, καλῶς τε ἐπολιτευόμεθα καὶ πᾶσαν ὀλύγου τὴν Ἰταλίαν
2 κατεστρεψάμεθα· ἀφ’ οὗ δὲ ἔξω αὐτῆς ἐξῆκλημεν, καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ καὶ τῶν ἡπείρων καὶ τῶν νῆσῶν ἐπεραιώθημεν, καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν θάλασσαν πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν γῆν καὶ τοῦ ὅνυματος καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἡμῶν ἐνεπλήσαμεν, οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ μετεσχήκαμεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἶκοι καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους κατὰ συντάξεις ἐστασιάσαμεν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰ στρατόπεδα τὸ νόσημα τούτο
3 προηγάγομεν. καὶ διὰ ταῦθ’ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν, ὁσπερ ὅλκας μεγάλη καὶ πλήρης ὁχλον παντοδαπὸν χωρίς κυβερνήτου, πολλὰς ἡδυ γενεὰς ἐν κλάδων πολλῷ φερομένῃ σαλευει τε καὶ ἀττεί δεῦρο κάκεισε, καθάπερ ἀνερματιστὸς οὔσα. μήτ’ οὖν
4 χειμαζομένην ἐτ’ αὐτῆν περίοδῆς, ὦρᾶς γὰρ ὡς

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

"Witness to the truth of my words is borne by our past. For while we were but few in number and differed in no important respect from our neighbours, we got along well with our government and subjugated almost all Italy; but ever since we were led outside the peninsula and crossed over to many continents and many islands, filling the whole sea and the whole earth with our name and power, nothing good has been our lot. At first it was only at home and within our walls that we broke up into factions and quarrelled, but afterwards we even carried this plague out into the legions. Therefore our city, like a great merchantman manned with a crew of every race and lacking a pilot, has now for many generations been rolling and plunging as it has drifted this way and that in a heavy sea, a ship as it were without ballast. Do not, then, allow her to be longer exposed to the tempest; for you see that she
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υπέραντλός ἦστι, μήτε περὶ ἔρμα περιρραγῆναι ἐάσης, σαθρὰ γὰρ ἦστι καὶ οὐδένα ἐτὶ χρόνον ἀντισχεῖν δυνήσεται· ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ περὶ θεοὶ ἐλεήσαντες αὐτὴν καὶ ἐπιγνώμονά σε καὶ ἐπιστάτην αὐτῆς ἐπέστησαν, μὴ προδός τὴν πατρίδα, ἵν’ ὦσπερ νῦν διὰ σὲ μικρὸν ἀναπέπνευκεν, οὕτω καὶ τὸν λουπὸν αἰῶνα μετ’ ἀσφαλείας διαγάγῃ.

17 "Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ὃρθῶς σοι παραίνω, μοναρχεῖσθαι τὸν δήμον ἀξίων, πάλαι σε ἡγούμαι πεπείθθαι: τούτου δὲ δὴ οὕτως ἔχοντος καὶ ἐτοίμως καὶ προθύμως τὴν προστασίαν αὐτοῦ ἀναδείξαι, μᾶλλον δὲ μὴ προῇ. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ’ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαβεῖν τι βουλευόμεθα, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀπολέσαι καὶ

2 προσέτι καὶ κινδυνεύσαι. τὶς γὰρ σου φείσεται, ἃν τε ἐσ τὸν δήμον τὰ πράγματ’ ἀνώσης, ἃν τε καὶ ἑτέρῳ τινὶ ἐπιτρέψῃς, παμπόλλων μὲν ὄντων τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ λευτημένων, πάντων δ’ ὡς εἰπέιν τῆς μοναρχίας ἀντιποιησάμενοι, δὲν οὐδές ὀὔτε μὴ ἀμύνασθαι σε ἐφ’ ὄσ πεποίηκας οὔτ’ ἀντί-

3 παλὸν ὑπολεπέσθαι ἐθελήσεις. τεκμίριον δὲ ὅτι καὶ ὁ Πομπῆιος ἐκκατά τῆς δυναστείας καὶ κατεφρονήθη καὶ ἐπεβουλεύθη, κἀκε τούτου μῆκέτ’ αὐτὴν ἀναλαβεῖν δυνήσεις ἐφθάρη, καὶ ὁ Καϊσαρ ὁ πατὴρ ὁ σὸς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιήσας προσπαθεῖτο. πάντως δ’ ἄν καὶ ὁ Μάριος καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ὁμοία αὐτοῖς ἐπεπόθεσαν, εἰ μὴ προετε-

1 πράγματ’ ἀνώσης ἂν τε Βκ., πράγματα ὃς ἦσαν τε VL’.
2 ποιήσας V, ποιήσαι ἠθελήσας L’.
is waterlogged. And do not let her be pounded to pieces upon a reef; for her timbers are rotten and she will not be able to hold out much longer. But since the gods have taken pity on her and have set you over her as her arbiter and overseer, prove not false to her, to the end that, even as now she has revived a little by your aid, so she may survive in safety for the ages to come.

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

1 Cf. Thucydides vii. 25, a passage which Dio seems to be imitating.
4 θυήκεσαν. καίτω τῶν Σύλλαν φασί τινες αὐτὸ
tούτῳ φοβηθέντα φθήναι καὶ ἐαυτὸν ἀναχρή-
σασθαι. συχνὰ γοῦν τῶν νομοθετήθεντων ὑπ'
αὐτοῦ ζῶντος ἔτ' αὐτοῦ λύσθαι ἥρξατο. ὡστε
καὶ σὺ πολλοὺς μὲν Λεπίδους πολλοὺς δὲ Σερ-
tωρίους Βροῦτος Κασσίους γενήσεσθαι σοι προσ-
δόκα.

18 "Ταύτα τε οὖν ἰδὼν καὶ τάλα πάντα λογισά-
μενος, μὴ προῇ καὶ σεαυτόν καὶ τὴν πατρίδα,
用水α1 μὴ δοξης τισὶν ἑθελούσιος τῆς ἀρχῆς
ἐφείσθαι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ, ἄν καὶ τούτῳ τις
ὑποπτεύσῃ, οὔτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπου τὸ
ἐπιθυμήμα ἐστὶ, καὶ καλὸς ὁ κίνδυνος αὐτοῦ;
ἐπειτα δὲ τίς οὐκ οἴδε τὴν ἀνάγκην ύφ' ἡς ἐς τὰ
2 πράγματα ταύτα προχθῆς; ὡστε εἰπερ2 τι
ἀιτίαμα αὐτῆς ἐστι, τοῖς τοῦ πατρός σου σφα-
γεύσι δικαίωτα ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐγκαλέσειν. εἰ γὰρ
ἐκείνου μὴ1 ἀδίκως μὴ1 οἰκτρῶς οὕτως αὐτοῦ
ἀπεκτόνεσαν, οὔτ' ἄν τα ὁπλα ἀντήρω, οὔτ' ἄν τὰ
στρατεύματα συνελέξω, οὔτ' ἄν3 Ἀντώνιῳ καὶ
Λεπίδῳ συνέδου, οὔτ' ἄν αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ἡμῶν.

3 καὶ ὃτι μὲν ὅρθῶς καὶ δικαίως πάντα ταῦτ' ἐποίησας, οὐδὲις ἄγνοεῖ; εἰ δ' οὖν τι καὶ πεπλημ-
μέληται, ἀλλ' οὔτι4 καὶ μεταθέσθαι ἐτ' ἀσφαλῶς
dυνάμεθα. ὡστε καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς
πόλεως πεισθῶμεν τῇ τύχῃ τῇ τὴν μοναρχίαν σοι
4 διδούσῃ. καὶ χάριν γε μεγάλῃ αὐτῇ ἐχωμεν,
ὅτι μὴ μόνον τῶν κακῶν τῶν ἐμφυλῶν ἀπέλυσεν5

1 Ίνα L', Ἰνα δὲ V.
2 ὡστε εἰπερ R. Steph., ἡσπερ VL'.
3 ἂν supplied by St.
4 οὔτι Dind., οὔ τοι VL'.
5 ἀπέλυσεν Bk., ἀνέπλησεν VL'.

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first. And yet some say that Sulla, fearing this very fate, forestalled it by making away with himself;¹ at any rate, much of his legislation began to be undone while he was yet alive. Therefore you also must expect that there will be many a man who will prove a Lepidus to you and many a man who will prove a Sertorius, a Brutus, or a Cassius.

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

¹ This tradition is found here only.
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ημᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κατάστασιν τῆς πολιτείας ἐπὶ συν πεποίηται, ἵν' ἐπιμεληθεῖσα αὐτής ὤσπερ προσήκει, δεῖξις ἀπασίν ἀνθρώπῳ ὡτι ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἄλλοι καὶ ἑτάραξαν καὶ ἑκακούργησαν, σὺ δὲ δὴ χρήστος εἶ.

5 "Καὶ μὴ μοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς φοβηθῆς. ὅσον τε γὰρ πλεῖον ὑπάρχει, τόσο πλεῖον καὶ τὰ σώζοντα ἔχει, καὶ μακρῷ τὸ φυλάξαι τι τοῦ κτήσασθαι ράβδι ἐστι: πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ τάλλοτρια προσποιήσομαι καὶ πόνων καὶ κινδύνων δεῖ, πρὸς δὲ τὸ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα σῶσαι βραχεία φροντὶς ἀρκεῖ. μὴ μέντοι μηδὲ δείσῃς ὅτι σὺχι καὶ ἀσφαλεστάτα ἐν αὐτῇ βιώσῃ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἄγαθῶν ἀπολαύσεις, ἃς ἐνεκείμης αὐτῷ ὡς παραιτεῖς οὐ διοικήσαι. καὶ με μὴ νομίσῃς ἀπαρτάν ἀπὸ τῆς παρούσῃς ὑποθέσεως τὸν λόγον, ἂν ἐπὶ πλεῖόν σου περὶ αὐτῆς διαλεξῆς· οὐ γὰρ ποι ὑπ' ἀδολεσχίας τινὸς ἄλλως τούτο ποιῆσαι, ἀλλ' ἴνα ἀκριβῶς καταμάθῃς ὅτι καὶ δυνατὸν καὶ ῥᾴδιον τὸ γε ἐμφρού τὸ καὶ καλὸς καὶ ἀκινδύνως ἀρξάτε ἐστί.

6 λεξιθῷ οὐ γὰρ ποι ὑπ' ἀδολεσχίας τινὸς ἄλλως τούτο ποιῆσαι, ἀλλ' ἴνα ἀκριβῶς καταμάθῃς ὅτι καὶ δυνατὸν καὶ ῥᾴδιον τῷ γε ἐμφρού τὸ καὶ καλὸς καὶ ἀκινδύνως ἀρξάτε ἐστί.

7 "Φημὶ τοῖνυν χρήναι σε κατὰ πρώτας ευθὺς τὸ βουλευτικὸν πάν καὶ φυλοκρινήσαι καὶ διαλέξαι, ἐπειδὴ τινὲς οὐκ ἐπιτήδευοι διὰ τὰς στάσεις βεβουλεύκασι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀρετῆς τίνα αὐτῶν ἔχοντας κατασχέω, τοὺς δὲ λουποὺς ἀπαλείψαι.

2 μὴ μέντοι καὶ διὰ πενίαν τινὰ ἄγαθὸν γε ἄνδρα ὅντα ἀπαλλάξῃς, ἄλλα καὶ χρήματα αὐτῷ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δός. ἀντὶ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς τε γενναιοτάτους καὶ τοὺς ἀριστούς τοὺς τε πλού-

1 πλεῖον V, πλεῖον L'. 2 ἀπαρτάν L', ἀπαρτάν V. 3 φυλοκρινήσαι V, φιλοκρινήσαι L'.
your hands the organisation of the state, to the end that you, by bestowing due care upon it, may prove to all mankind that those troubles were stirred up and that mischief wrought by other men, whereas you are an upright man.

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

"I maintain, therefore, that you ought first and foremost to choose and select with discrimination the entire senatorial body, inasmuch as some who have not been fit have, on account of our dissensions, become senators. Such of them as possess any excellence you ought to retain, but the rest you should erase from the roll. Do not, however, get rid of any good man because of his poverty, but even give him the money he requires. In the place of those who have been dropped introduce the noblest,
σιωτάτους ἀντεσάγαγε, μὴ μόνον ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων τῶν τε ὑπηκόων

3 ἐπιλεξάμενος· οὔτω γὰρ σὺ τε πολλοῖς συνεργοῖς χρήσῃ, καὶ τοὺς κορυφαίους ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν ἑθνῶν ἐν ἀσφαλεὶ ποιήσῃ, καὶ οὔτε ἐκεῖνα νεοχρώσει τι μηδένα ἐλλόγιμον προστάτην ἔχοντα, καὶ οἱ προτεύοντες παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς φιλήσουσί σε ἀτέ καὶ κοινωνοὶ σοι τῆς ἀρχῆς γεγονότες.

4 «Τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππεων ποίησον. τοὺς γὰρ τὰ δευτερεῖα ἐκασταχθὲν καὶ γένει καὶ ἀρέτῃ καὶ πλούτῳ φερομένους ἐς τὴν ἱππάδα κατάλεξον, τοσοῦτος ἐκατέρους ἀντεγγράψαι ὡςοι ποτ᾽ ἄν ἄρεσον σε, μηδὲν περὶ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτῶν ἀκριβολογούμενος· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἄν πλείους εὐδόκιμοι ἄνδρες συνώσι σοι, τοσοῦτῳ ῥάνον αὐτὸς τε ἐν δέοντι πάντα διοικήσεις, καὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους πείσεις ὅτι οὔτε ὡς δούλους σφίσιν οὐθ᾽ ὡς χείροσι πη ἡμῶν οὐσί χρῆ, ἀλλὰ τά τε ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν ἴγεμονίαν αὐτοῖς κοινοῖ, ὅπως ὡς οἰκεῖαι αὐτὴν

5 σπουδάζωσι. καὶ τοσοῦτον γε δὲ καὶ τοῦθ᾽ ὡς οὐκ ὁρθῶς εἰρημένον ἀναθέσθαι, ὥστε καὶ τῆς πολιτείας πᾶσι σφισι μεταδοθῆναι φημι δεῖν, ἵνα καὶ ταύτης ἱσομοιορουχῆς πιστοὶ σύμμαχοι ἡμῶν ὡσιν, ὥσπερ τινὰ μίαν τὴν ἴμετέραν πόλιν οἰκούντες, καὶ ταύτην μὲν ὄντως πόλιν τά δὲ δὴ σφέτερα ἄγρευς καὶ κώμας νομίζουντες εἶναι.

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

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

2 ταμεύσαντες τε καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντες ἡ δημαρχής σαντες στρατηγεῖτωσαν, τριακοντοτάτους γενόμενοι. ταῦτας τε γὰρ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς τῶν ὑπάτων μόνας οἰκοῖ, τῆς τε τῶν πατρίων μνήμης ἔνεκα καὶ τοῦ μὴ παντελῶς τὴν πολιτείαν μεταλλάττειν δοκεῖν, ἀποδεικνύναι σὲ φημὶ χρῆναι.

3 αὐτὸς μὲντοι σὺ πάντας αὐτούς αἴροι, καὶ μήτε ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει ἢ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἐτέ τινὰ αὐτῶν ποιήσῃ, στασιάσουν γάρ, μήτε ἐπὶ τῷ συνεδρίῳ, διαστουδάσονται γάρ. μὴ μέντοι καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις σφῶν τὰς ἀρχαίας τηρήσῃ, ἵνα μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ αὐθίς γενήται, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν τιμὴν φύλαξον, τῆς δ' ἱσχύος παράλυσον τοσοῦτον ὅσον μήτε τοῦ ἀξιώματος τι αὐτῶν ἀφαιρῇσθαι καὶ τοῖς νεωτέροις 4 τι ἐθελήσουσι μὴ ἐπιτρέψει. ἐσται δὲ τοῦτο, ἀν

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

1 i.e. to the concilium plebis or to the comitia.
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tά τε ἄλλα καὶ ἐνδήμους αὐτοὺς ἀποφήμησι, καὶ μήτε ἐν τῷ τῆς ἄρχης καρπῷ ὅπλα τινὶ αὐτῶν ἐγχειρίσις μήτε εὐθὺς, ἀλλὰ χρόνου διελθόντος, ὅσον ἂν αὐτάρκη ἐκάστῳ σφῶν νομίζῃ εἶναι. οὕτω γὰρ οὕτε τινὲς νεοχμόσουσι, στρατοπέδων κύριοι ἐν τῷ τῶν ὄνομάτων φρονήματι γενόμενοι, καὶ χρόνου τινὰ ἰδιωτεύσαντες πεπανθήσονται.

καὶ οὕτω μὲν τὰς τε πανηγύρεις, οὔ γε καὶ προσήκουσας σφισίν, ἐπιτελεῖτοσαν, καὶ τὰς δίκας πάντες ὡς ἐκαστοι, πλὴν τῶν φοικῶν, ἐν τῷ τῆς ἐνδήμου ἄρχης χρόνῳ δικαζότοσαν. συναγερέσθω μὲν γὰρ δικαστήρια καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων βουλευτῶν τῶν τε ἱππέων, τὸ δ' ὅλον ἐς ἑκείνους ἀνακείσθω.

21 "Πολιάρχοι δὲ δὴ τις ἐκ τε τῶν προηκόντων καὶ ἐκ τῶν πάντα τὰ καθήκοντα προπεπολιτευμένων ἀποδεικνύτω, οὐχ ἢνα ἀποδημησάντων που τῶν ὑπάτων ἄρχη, ἀλλ' ἢν τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀεὶ τῆς πόλεως προστάτη, καὶ τὰς δίκας τὰς τε παρὰ πάντων δὲν εἶπον ἄρχοντων ἐφεσίμους τε καὶ ἀναπομπίμους καὶ τὰς τοῦ θανάτου τοῖς τε ἐν τῇ πόλει, πλὴν δὲν ἂν εἶποι, καὶ τοῖς ἔξω αὐτῆς μέχρι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐπτακοσίων ἱ σταδίων οἰκούσι κρίνῃ.

3 "Ἐτερος τὲ τις ἐκ τῶν ὄμοιων καὶ αὐτὸς αἰ- ρείσθω ὡστε τὰ τε γένη καὶ τὰς σύσιας τοὺς τε 1 ἐπτακοσίων Casaub., ἐξακοσίων VM.

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

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

"Let still another magistrate be chosen, this man also from the class described, whose duties shall be to pass upon and supervise all matters pertaining to
τρόπους καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἵππεων, ἀν- δρῶν τε ὄμως καὶ παίδων γυναικῶν τε τῶν προσ-

ηκουσῶν αὐτοῖς, ἔξετάζειν τε καὶ ἐπισκοπεῖν, καὶ
tὰ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐπανορθῶν ὅσα μήτε τινὸς τιμωρίας
ἀξιά ἐστι καὶ παρορώμενα πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων
κακῶν αἰτία γίγνεται, τὰ δὲ δὴ μείζω σοὶ ἐπικοι-

νοοῦσθαι. Βουλευτῇ γὰρ τινι, καὶ τῷ γε ἀρίστῳ
μετὰ τὸν πολίαρχον, μᾶλλον ἢ τινι τῶν ἵππεων

5 προστετάχθαι τοῦτο δεῖ. καὶ τὸ γε ὄνομα ἀπὸ
tῆς σῆς τιμαρχίας (πάντως γὰρ σε προεστάναι
tῶν τιμήσεων προσήκει) εἰκότως ἄν λάβοι, ὡστε

ὑποτιμητὴς καλεῖσθαι. ἀρχέτωσαν δὲ δὴ οἱ δύο
οὕτωι ¹ διὰ βίου, ἃν γε μὴ κακυνθῇ τις αὐτῶν

τρόπων τινὰ ἢ καὶ νοσώδης ἢ καὶ ὑπεργήρως

6 γένηται. ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τῆς χρονίου ἀρχῆς οὔθεν

ἄν δεινόν, ἀτε ὁ μὲν παντελῶς ἀστόρων ὄν, ὁ δὲ

ὁλίγους τε στρατιώτας ἔχων καὶ ἐν τοῖς σοῖς

7 ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸ πλεῖστον ἀρχῶν, ἐργάσαντο· ἐκ δὲ

δὴ τοῦ ἐτείου ² καὶ ὀκνὴσειαν ³ ἀν προσκρούσαι

tινι καὶ φοβηθεὶειν ἐρρωμένως τι πράξαν, τὴν τε

ἐαυτῶν ἴδιωτειάν καὶ τὴν ἄλλων ⁴ τινῶν δυνα-

στείαν προσφέρομενοι. καὶ μισθῶν γε τινα φερέ-

τωσαν καὶ τῆς ἀσχολίας ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς ἀξιόσεως.

8 "Περὶ μὲν δὴ τούτων ταύτην σοι τὴν γυνώμην

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

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

\(^1\) Cf. Suetonius, \textit{Aug.} 37. In practice there were six of them—three to nominate senators and three to hold a review of the knights.
δίδωμι, οἵ δὲ δὴ στρατηγήσαντες ἀρχέτωσάν τινα ἀρχὴν ἐν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις (πρὶν γὰρ στρατηγησάλ ὁφας οὐχ ἡγούμαι δεῖν τοῦτο γίγνεσθαι· ἐκεῖνοι δ᾽ ὑποστρατηγεῖτωσαν οἷς δὲν εἶπον, καὶ ἀπαξ καὶ δεύτερον), εἰδ᾽ οὖτως ὑπατευέτωσαν, ἂν γε καὶ ὀρθῶς διάρξωσι, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς μείζους

22 ἡγεμονίας λαμβανέτωσαν. ὥδε γὰρ συμβουλεύοντων 

σοι διατάξαι. τὴν τε Ἰταλίαν πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπὲρ 

πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίους ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως 

σταδίους οὐθᾶν, καὶ τάλλα πάντα τὰ τε ἐν ταῖς 

νήσοις καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἡπείροις ὄμολογοντα 

ἡμῖν, κατάνειμον ἐκασταχόθη κατὰ τε γένη καὶ 

ἐθνη, τὰς τε ἡπείρα ἀπάσας, ὅσα γε καὶ 

αὐταρκέσ ἐστιν υφ᾽ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς αὐτοτελοῦσ ἄρχε- 

2 σθαν. κανταύθα στρατιώτας ἐγκατάστησον, καὶ 

ἀρχοντας καθ᾽ ἐκάστους ἑνά μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὑπατ- 

τευκότων ἐπὶ πᾶσι πέμπε, δύο δὲ ἐκ τῶν 

ἐπιστρατηγηκότων, τοῦ μὲν ἄρτι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως 

ἐξίοντα, καὶ αὐτῷ τὰ τε ἱδιωτικὰ πράγματα καὶ 

ἡ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παρασκευὴ προσκείσθω, τὸν δὲ 

ἐκ τῶν τούτων πεποιηκότων, ὅς τά τε κοινὰ τῶν 

πόλεως διοικήσει καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἄρξει, 

3 πλὴν ὅσα ἀτιμίας ἡ θανάτου ἔχεται. ταῦτα γὰρ 

ἐς μόνον τὸν ὑπατευκότα ἀρχοντα ἀνηκέτω, πλὴν 

περὶ τῶν ἐκατοντάρχων τῶν ἐν τοῖς καταλόγοις 

ὄντων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱδιωτῶν τῶν παρ᾽ ἐκάστοις 

πρώτων· τούτοις γὰρ δὴ ἐκατέρους μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ

1 ταῖς R. Steph., τοῖς VM. 2 τε supplied by Oddey. 

3 εἰπὶ πάσιν—ἐπιστρατηγηκότων M, om. V.
to these officials. As for those who have served as praetors, let them hold some office among the subject nations (before they have been praetors I do not think they should have this privilege, but they ought first to serve for one or two terms as lieutenants to the ex-praetors just mentioned); then they should next hold office as consuls, provided that they have proved satisfactory officials to the end of their terms, and after that they should receive the more important governorships. I advise you, namely, to arrange these positions as follows. Take Italy as a whole (I mean the part of it which is more than one hundred miles from the city), and all the rest of the territory which owns our sway, the islands and the continents, and divide it into districts, in each case according to races and nations, and take also all the cities that are strong and independent enough to be ruled by one governor with full powers. Then station soldiers in them and send out as governor to each district or independent city one of the ex-consuls, who shall have general charge, and two of the ex-praetors. One of the latter, fresh from the city, should be put in charge of all matters pertaining to persons in private life and of the commissary; the other, a man who has had special training for this work, will administer the public business of the cities and will have command of the soldiers, except in cases that involve disfranchisement or death. Such cases, of course, should be referred to the ex-consul who is governor, and to him alone, except where the persons involved are centurions recruited from the levies or private persons of prominence in their respective communities; as for both these classes, do not allow anybody but yourself to punish them,
kolveras eπιτρέψης, ἵνα μὴ οὕτω τινὰ αὐτῶν

4 φοβοῦνται ὡστε ποτὲ καὶ κατὰ σοῦ τι πράξαι. ὃ 

δ' εἶπον, ὅτι τὸν ἔτερον τῶν ἐστρατηγικῶν ἐπὶ 

τοῖς στρατιωταῖς ἐπιτετάχθαι δεῖ, τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν. 

ἀν μὲν ὁλίγοι τινὲς ἐν ξενικοὶς τείχεσιν ἥ καὶ ἐν 

ἐνὶ πολιτικῷ στρατεύονται, καλῶς ἔχει τοῦτο 

γίγνεσθαι. ἃν δὲ δύο πολιτικὰ στρατεύματα ἐν 

tαυτῷ ἐθνὲς χειμάζῃ (πλείω γὰρ τούτων οὐκ ἀν 

συμβούλευσαι σοι τῷ αὐτῷ ἄρχοντι ἐπιτρέψαι),

5 δεῖσθε ποι τοὺς δύο τοὺς ἐστρατηγικότατος καὶ 

ἐκείνων, ἰδία ἐκατέρου, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τε 

πολιτικῶν καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν ὁμοίως προϊστασθαι. 

ὁ δ' οὖν ὑπατεικὸς ταυτά τε ... 1 καὶ προσέτι καὶ 

tὰς δίκας τὰς τε ἐκκλήτους καὶ τὰς ἀναπομπίμους 

tὰς ἀπὸ 2 τῶν στρατηγῶν αὐτῶ 3 φιλότως κρινέ- 

tω. καὶ μὴ θαυμάσῃς εἰ καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τοιαῦτα 

μέρη νείμαι σοι παραίνον τολλῆ τε γὰρ καὶ 

πολυάνθρωπος ὤσα ἀδύνατός ἐστιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν 

tῷ ἀστεὶ ἄρχοντων καλῶς διοικεῖσθαι. δεὶ γὰρ 

tοῖς τε δήμοις τὸν ἄρχοντα ἀεὶ παρεῖναι καὶ τοῖς 

ἄρχοντι τὰ δυνατὰ προστάσσεσθαι.

6 “Αμβατότωσαν δὲ μισθοῦ πάντες οὔτοι οἱ τὰς 

ἐξω τῆς πόλεως ἄρχας ἐπιτρεπόμενοι, πλεῖος μὲν 

οἱ μείζονες, ἐλάττω δὲ οἱ καταδεέστεροι, μέσον δὲ 

οἱ μέσοι. ὥστε γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀικείων ὦν τε ἐστιν 

αὐτός ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ ἀποζήν, ὦτ' ἀορίστω καὶ 

2 ἀσταθμῆτω ἀναλώματι ὅσπερ νῦν χρησθαι. καὶ 

ἀρχέτωσαν μῆτε ἐλαττῶν ἐτῶν τριῶν, εἰ μὴ τις 

ἀδικήσει τι, μῆτε πλείον πέντε, τὸ μὲν ὅτι αἱ

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

"Let all these men to whom the commands outside the city are assigned receive salaries, the more important officers more, the less important less, and those between an intermediate amount. For they cannot live in a foreign land upon their own resources, nor should they indulge, as they do now, in unlimited and indefinite expenditure. They should hold office not less than three years, unless they are guilty of misconduct, nor more than five. The reason is that
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εναύσιοι καὶ ὀλυγοχρόνιοι ἀρχαὶ διδάσασαί τινας τὰ ἁναγκαία ἀποπεμποῦσι πρὸν τι αὐτῶν ἀποδειχθῆναι, τὸ δὲ ὅτι αἱ μακρότεραι καὶ πολυχρονώτεραι ἐπαίρουσί ποὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἦς νεωτεροποιῶν

3 ἕξαγονοι. διότερ οὖν ἐπαλλήλας τὰς μείζους ἡγεμονίας οἴμαι τίσι προσήκειν ἑδοσθαί. οὕτε γὰρ διαφέρει τι ἄν τε ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔθνει ἄν τε καὶ ἐν πλείστων ἐφεξῆς ἐπὶ μακρότερον τοῦ δέοντος ἀρχῶσι καὶ ἀμείνονες γίγνονται, ἐπειδὰν διαλίπωσι τῷ τινὰ χρόνον καὶ οἴκαδε ἐπανέλθωσι καὶ ιδιωτεύσωσι.

“Τοὺς μὲν δὴ οὖν βουλευτὰς ταῦτα τε καὶ οὖτω 24 διέπειν φημὶ χρῆναι, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἰπτέων δύο τοὺς ἀρώστους τῆς περὶ σὲ φρουρᾶς ἀρχεῖν τὸ τε γὰρ ἐν αὐτὴν ἐπιτρέπεσθαι σφαλερὸν καὶ τὸ 2 πλείοσι ταραχώδες ἐστὶ. δύο τε οὖν ἐστώσαν οἱ ἐπαρχοὶ οὕτω, ἢν ἄν καὶ ὁ ἐτερος αὐτῶν ἐπαισθησαί τι τῷ σώματι, μήτη 4 γε καὶ ἐνδεχὸς τοῦ φυλάξοντός σε εἰς καὶ καθιστάσθωσαν ἐκ τῶν πολλάκις τε ἐστρατευμένων καὶ πολλά καὶ ἄλλα 3 διωκηκότων. ἀρχέτωσαν δὲ δὴ 5 τῶν τε δορυφόρων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν στρατιωτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πάντων, ὡστε καὶ θανατοῦν τοὺς ἄδικοῦντας αὐτῶν πλὴν τῶν τέ ἐκατοντάρχων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ ἀρχουσι προστετα-γμένων. τοῦτοις μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι δικαίου-

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

"As regards the senators, therefore, I declare that they ought to discharge the duties named and in the way described. Of the knights the two best should command the bodyguard which protects you, for it is hazardous to entrust it to one man, and sure to lead to confusion to entrust it to more than two. Therefore let the number of these prefects be two, in order that, if one of them feel indisposed, you may still not lack a person to guard you. And men should be appointed to this office who have served in many military campaigns and have, besides, held many administrative positions. And they should have command both of the Pretorians and of all the other soldiers in Italy, with power even to put to death any of them who do wrong, with the exception of the centurions and of those in general who have been assigned to the staffs of magistrates of senatorial rank. For these soldiers should be tried by the
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tωσαν, ἵνα ἀπροφασίστως σφίσι χρήσθαι, ἀτε καὶ κολάσαι καὶ τιμήσαι σφας ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες, δύνωνται τῶν δ' ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ στρατιωτῶν οἱ ἐπαρχοὶ ἐκεῖνοι προστατεύσαν, ὑπάρχους ἔχοντες, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῶν Καίσαρείων τῶν τε ἐν τῇ θεραπείᾳ σου οὖντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν λόγου τινὸς ἀξίων. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ προσήκοντα καὶ αὐτάρκη αὐτοίς διάγειν ἔσται, ἵνα μὴ καὶ πλείω πράγματα διν καλῶς φέρειν δυνήσονται ἐπιταχθέντες ἀσχολοῦ πρὸς τὰ ἄναγκαια ἢ καὶ ἀδύνατοι πάντων αὐτῶν προστασθαί γένωνται.

καὶ οὖντοι μὲν διὰ βίου, ὡσπερ που καὶ ὁ πολιαρχὸς ὁ θ' ὑποτιμητὴς, τὴν ἄρχὴν ἐχέτωσαν νυκτοφύλαξ δὲ ἔτερος, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ σύτου τῆς τε ἁγορᾶς τῆς λοιπῆς ἔτερος ἐκ τε τῶν ἱππέων τῶν πρώτων μετ' ἐκείνους καὶ ἐς τακτόν χρόνον ἀποδεικνύσθωσαν, καθάπερ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ

25 προχειρίζομενοι. τὰς τε διοικήσεις τῶν χρημάτων, τῶν τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς λέγω, καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ τὰς ἐξω πάσας οἱ ἱππῆς διαχειρίζετωσαν, καὶ μισθὸν οὖν τοὺς τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τέλους διοικοῦντες τι, οἱ μὲν πλείονα οἱ δὲ ἐλάττωνα, πρὸς τε τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς

3 πράξεως φερέτωσαν, τούτῳ μὲν ὦτι οἰνὸν τέ

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

\(^1\) Praefectus vigilum. \(^2\) Praefectus annonae.
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ἐστιν αὐτοὺς, ἀτέ καὶ πενεστέρους τῶν βουλευτῶν ὄντας, ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων, οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ 'Ρώμῃ τι πράττοντας, ἀναλίσκεων, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ὅτι μῆτε δυνατὸν μῆτε συμφέρον ἐστὶ σοι τοὺς αὐτοὺς τῶν τε τὸν χρημάτων κυρίους γίγνεσθαι.

4 πρὸς δ' ἐτι καὶ καλῶς ἔχει διὰ πλειόνων πάντα τὰ τῇ ἁρχῇ προσήκοντα διάγνεσθαι, ὡπως καὶ ὡφέλωνται ἀμα συχνοὶ καὶ ἐμπείροι τῶν πραγμάτων γίγνωνται· οὕτω γὰρ οἶ τε ἁρχόμενοι μᾶλλον εὐνοῆσον σοι, πολυειδῆ ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν κοινῶν ἄγαθῶν καρποῦμενοι, καὶ σὺ ἄφθονώτατα τοῖς ἀεὶ ἄριστοι πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαία χρήση.

5 ἀπόχρη δὲ ἐν μὲν τῇ πόλει καθ' ἐκαστὸν χρηματίσεως εἶδος, ἔξω δὲ καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἔθνος, εἰς τις ἐκ τῶν ἰππέων, ὑπομείνας ὡςον ἂν ἡ χρεία ἀπαιτή 3 ἐκ τε τῶν ἰππέων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων σου ἐχὼν· δεὶ γὰρ καὶ τοιούτους τινὰς συζευγνύναι σφίσιν, ἵνα ἡ τε θεραπεία σου ἀθλὸν τι ἀρετής ἐχῇ, καὶ σὺ μὴ ἀπορῆς παρ' ὧν καὶ ἀκόντων τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀν γέ τι πλημμεληθῇ, μαθεῖν δυνήσῃ.

6 "Ὅστις δ' ἂν τῶν ἰππέων διὰ πολλῶν διεξελθῶν ἐλλόγιμον ὡςτε καὶ βουλεύσαι γένηται, μηδὲν αὐτὸν ἡ ἡλικία ἐμποδιζέτω πρὸς τὸ μὴ οὐ καὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον καταλεχθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἐσγραφέσθωσαν καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνων, καὶ λευχαγγύτητες τινὲς ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς στρατοπέδοις ὦς, πλὴν τῶν ἐν τῇ τῇ τεταγμένῳ ἐστρατευμένων. τούτων μὲν γὰρ τῶν

7 τὸ τὰ τῇ Ἡράκλειον, τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἡράκλειον.

1 τὸ Μ', om. V. 2 τὰ τῇ Μ', τὰ ἐν τῇ V. 3 ἀπαιτῇ V, ἀπαιτεὶ Μ.
for the knights, since they are poorer than the senators, to meet their expenditures out of their own means, even when their duties keep them in Rome, and for the first point, that it is neither practicable nor to your interest that the same men should be given authority over both the troops and the public funds. And, furthermore, it is well that the whole business of the empire should be transacted by a number of agents, in order that many may at the same time receive the benefits and gain experience in public affairs; for in this way your subjects, reaping a manifold enjoyment of the common blessings, will be more favourably disposed towards you, and you will have at your disposal in the largest measure those who are at any particular time the best men for all urgent needs. One official of the equestrian order is sufficient for each branch of the fiscal service in the city, and, outside the city, for each province, each one of them to have as many subordinates, drawn from the knights and from your own freedmen, as the needs of the case demand; for you need to associate with the officials such assistants in order that your service may offer a prize for merit, and that you may not lack those from whom you may learn the truth, even contrary to their wishes, in case any irregularity is committed.

"If any of the knights, after passing through many branches of the service, distinguishes himself enough to become a senator, his age ought not to hinder him at all from being enrolled in the senate. Indeed, some knights should be received into the senate, even if they have seen service only as company commanders in the citizen legions, except such as have served in the rank and file. For it is both a shame
26 "Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν βουλευτῶν τῶν τε ἱππεῶν ταῦτα σοι συμβουλεύειν ἔχω, καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ ἐκεῖνα, 1 ὑπὸ ἔως τε ἐτὶ παῖδες εἶσιν, ἐς τὰ διδασκαλεῖα συμφοιτῶσι, καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἐς μειράκια ἐκβαλῶσιν, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱπποὺς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ὀπλα τρέπωνται, διδασκάλους ἑκάτερον δημοσιεύοντας ἐμμίσθους ἔχοντες. οὕτω γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐκ παῖδων πάνθ᾽ ὡσα χρή ἀνδρας αὐτοὺς γενομένους ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ μαθόντες καὶ μελετήσαντες ἐπιτη- δεῖς τοῦτοι σοι πρὸς πάν ἔργου γενήσονται. τὸν γὰρ ἁρχοντα τοῦ ἁριστον, οὗ τέ τι ὀφελός ἐστιν, δεῖ 2 μὴ μόνον αὐτὸν πάνθ᾽ ἃ προσήκει ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν, ὅπως ὡς ὅτι βέλτιστοι γίγνονται, προνοεῖν. τοῦτο δ᾽ ὑπάρξειν ἂν σοι οὐκ ἂν εἶσας 3 αὐτοὺς ὡσα βούλονταν πράττειν, ἐπειτὶ ἐπιτιμὰς τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἂν πρὸς τι πλημμελεῖσθαι, προδιδάσκης πάνθ᾽ ὡσα ἀσκή- σαντες χρησιμώτεροι καὶ ἐἀντοῖς καὶ σοι γενή- σονται, καὶ μηδενὶ γε τὸ παράταν πρόφασιν 4 παρέχεις, 4 μήτε διὰ πλοῦτον μήτε δι᾽ εὐγένειαν μήτε δι᾽ ἄλλο τὰ ἁρετὰς ἐχόμενον, ραθυμίαν ἢ μαλακίαν ἢ καὶ ἐπιτηδευσίν τινα κέβδηλον προσ- ποιεῖσθαι. πολλοὶ γὰρ φοβοῦμενοι μὴ καὶ διὰ

1 καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ ἐκεῖνα M, om. V.
2 δεὶ flor., δεῖν VM.
4 παρέχεις R. Steph., παρέχοις VM.
and a reproach that men of this sort, who have carried faggots and charcoal, should be found on the roll of the senate; but in the case of knights who began their service with the rank of centurion, there is nothing to prevent the most notable of them from belonging to the senate.

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

\[1\] The Greek term indicates approximately the age of fourteen.
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τοιούτο τι καὶ φθονηθῶσι καὶ κινδυνεύσωσι, πολλὰ καὶ ἀνάξια ἐαυτῶν ποιοῦσιν ὡς καὶ ἀσφα-

5 λέστερον ἀπ' αὐτῶν βιωσόμενοι· κάκ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἔλεοῦνται ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἄδικοῦ-

μενοι, τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν ἐξεῖναι σφισιν ὀρθῶς ξῆν, τῷ τ' ἀρχοντί αὐτῶν καὶ ξημὰ ἀμα ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν

στερομένῳ καὶ κακοδοξία τῆς αἰτιάσεως συμβαίνει. μὴν οὖν περιῆδης ποτὲ τοῦτο πραξθέν, μὴ τ' αὖ

dείσης ὅτι τραφείς τέ τις καὶ παιδευθεὶς ὡς ἐγὼ

6 λέγω 1 νεώτερον τι τολμήσει. πάν γὰρ τούναντίον τοὺς τε ἀμαθεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀσελγεῖς ὑποτοπεῖν δει· 2

οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοιοῦτοι πάντα ἀπλῶς καὶ τὰ αὐσχύστα καὶ τὰ δεινότατα, πρῶτον μὲν ἐς σφᾶς αὑτοὺς

ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους, ῥάδιως ποιεῖν προ-

ἀγονται, οἱ δὲ δὴ καλῶς τραφέντες τε καὶ παιδευ-

θέντες οὔτ' ἄλλον τινὰ ἄδικεῖν προαιροῦνται, καὶ

πάντων ἥκιστα τὸν τῆς τε τροφῆς καὶ τῆς παι-

7 δείας αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθέντα. ἄν δ' οὖν τις καὶ

κακὸς καὶ ἀχάριστος γένηται, μηδὲν αὐτῷ τοιο-

τον ἐπιτρέψῃς ἐξ οὗ δεινὸν τὶ δράσαι δυνήσεται·

κἂν γε καὶ ὃς νεοχμώσῃ τί, καὶ ἑλεγχθῆτω καὶ

κολασθῆτω. μὴ γὰρ δὴ φοβηθῆς ὅτι σὲ αἰτιάσεται
tίς ἐπὶ τοῦτο, ἂν γε πάνθ' ὃσα εἰρήκα πρᾶττῃς.

8 σὺ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀμαρτήσῃ τὸν ἀδικήσαντα

τιμωρησάμενος, ὕστερ οὖδὲ ὁ ἰατρὸς καῦσας τινὰ

καὶ τεμών· ἐκεῖνον δὲ δὴ πάντες δικαιώσουσιν,

1 λέγω R. Steph., λέγων VM. 2 δεί M, δὴ V.

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some such advantage, they may incur jealousy or danger, do many things that are unworthy of themselves, expecting by such behaviour to live in greater security. As a consequence, not only do they, on their part, become objects of pity as being victims of injustice in precisely this respect, that men believe that they are deprived of the opportunity of leading upright lives, but their ruler also, on his part, suffers not only a loss, in that he is robbed of men who might have been good, but also ill-repute, because he is blamed for the others' condition. Therefore never permit this thing to happen, and have no fear, on the other hand, that anyone who has been reared and educated as I propose will ever venture upon a rebellion. On the contrary, it is the ignorant and licentious that you should suspect; for it is such persons who are easily influenced to do absolutely any and every thing, even the most disgraceful and outrageous, first toward themselves and then toward others, whereas those who have been well reared and educated do not deliberately do wrong to any one else and least of all to the one who has cared for their rearing and education. If, however, one of these does show himself wicked and ungrateful, you have merely to refuse to entrust him with any position of such a kind as will enable him to do any mischief; and if even so he rebels, let him be convicted and punished. You need not, I assure you, be afraid that anyone will blame you for this, provided that you carry out all my injunctions. For in taking vengeance on the wrongdoer you will be guilty of no sin, any more than the physician is who resorts to cautery and surgery; but all men will assuredly say that the offender has got his deserts,
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"Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοὺς Βουλευτὰς τοὺς τε ἰππέας
27 ταύτα γυγνεῖθω τοὺς δὲ δὴ στρατιώτας ἀθανάτους, ἐκ τε τῶν πολιτῶν κακῶν ύπηκόων τῶν τε συμμάχων, τῇ μὲν πλείους τῇ δὲ ἐλάττους, καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἔθνος, ὅπως ἁν ἡ χρεία τῶν πραγμάτων
2 ἀπαίτη, τρέφεσθαι προσήκει, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ τε ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἁσκησιν τῶν πολεμικῶν διὰ παντὸς ποιεῖσθαι δεῖ, χειμάδια τε ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαιροτάτοις χωρίοις κατεσκευασμένους καὶ χρόνον τακτὸν στρατευόμενους, ὡστε τι αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸ 3 τοῦ γῆρως τῆς ἡλικίας περεύναι. οὕτε γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν καιρῶν βοηθείας τισὶν ἐτὶ χρήσθαι δυνάμεθα, αὐτοὶ τε τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς ἁρχῆς ἐσχατιῶν ἀπηρτημένου καὶ πολεμίων ἐκασταχόθη προσοικουντας ἑχοντες' ἀν τε ἐπιτρέψωμεν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ οὕσι καὶ τὰ ὅπλα κεκτήσθαι καὶ τὰ ἐμπολέμια ἁσκεῖν, στάσεις καὶ πόλεμοι
4 ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐμφύλιοι ἀεὶ γενήσονται. καὶ μέντοι καὶ κολύσαντές σφαι ταύτα ποιεῖν ἔπειτα συμμαχίας τινὸς παρ' αὐτῶν δεηθῶμεν, κινδυνεύσομεν ἅπειροις τε καὶ ἀγημνόστοις στρατιώταις ἀεὶ χρώμενοι. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταύτα γνώμην ποιοῦμαι τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους πάντας ἄνευ τε ὅπλων καὶ ἄνευ τειχῶν ξῆν, τοὺς δὲ ἔρρωμενεστάτους καὶ βίον μάλιστα δεομένους καταλέγεσθαι τε καὶ ἁσκεῖν.
5 αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ ἁμεινον πολεμήσουσι τούτω μόνῳ

1 κινδυνεύσομεν R. Steph., κινδυνεύσωμεν VM.

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

"Let this be your procedure, then, in the case of the senators and the knights. A standing army also should be supported, drawn from the citizens, the subject nations, and the allies, its size in the several provinces being greater or less according as the necessities of the case demand; and these troops ought always to be under arms and to engage in the practice of warfare continually. They should have winter-quarters constructed for them at the most advantageous points, and should serve for a stated period, so that a portion of life may still be left for them between their retirement from service and old age. The reason for such a standing army is this: far removed as we are from the frontiers of the empire, with enemies living near our borders on every side, we are no longer able at critical times to depend upon expeditionary forces; and if, on the other hand, we permit all the men of military age to have arms and to practise warfare, they will always be the source of seditions and civil wars. If, however, we prevent them from all making arms their profession and afterwards need their aid in war, we shall be exposed to danger, since we shall never have anything but inexperienced and untrained soldiers to depend upon. For these reasons I give it as my opinion that, while in general the men of military age should have nothing to do with arms and walled camps during their lives, the hardiest of them and those most in need of a livelihood should be enlisted as soldiers and given a military training. For they will fight better if they devote their time to this one
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τῷ ἔργῳ σχολάζοντες, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ράον γεωργῆσουσι καὶ ναυτιλούνται τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ τῇ εἰρήνῃ προσήκοντα πράξουσι μήτε ἐκβοηθεῖν ἀναγκαζομενοι καὶ προφύλακάς σφων ἔτερους ἔχουντες, τὸ τε ἀκμαίοτατον καὶ ἰσχυρότατον καὶ ἐκ ληστεῖας μάλιστα ξῆν ἀναγκαζόμενον ἀλώτως τραφῆσεται, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πᾶν ἀκινδύνως βιώσεται.

28 "Πόθεν οὖν χρήματα καὶ ἐς τούτους καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἀναγκαῖας ἀναλωθησόμενα ἔσται; ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο διδάξω, σμικρὸν ἐκεῖνο ὑπειπών, ὅτι κἀν δημοκρατησόμεν, πάντως ποὺ χρημάτων δεσῳμεθα, οὐ γὰρ οἶον τε οὔτ' ἀνευ στρατιωτῶν ἧμας σώζεσθαι οὔτ' ἀμισθι ἁρματεύ-σθαι. μὴ οὖν ὡς καὶ τῇ μοναρχίᾳ μόνῃ τῆς ἀναγκαίας τῶν χρημάτων ἄθροίσεως προσηκούσης βαρυνώμεθα, μηδὲ δι' αὐτὴν καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἀποτρεπώμεθα, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ πάντως ἀναγκαῖον ὅν ἡμῖν, ὅπως ποτ' ἀν πολιτευόμεθα, καὶ ἄργυρῳ πίζεσθαι τινα, οὔτω 4 Βουλευόμεθα. φημὶ τοίνυν χρήματι σε πρῶτον μὲν ἀπάντων τὰ κτήματα τὰ ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ὑντα (πολλὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὅρω διὰ τῶν πολέμων γεγονότα) πωλήσαι, πλὴν ὀλίγων τῶν καὶ πάνω χρησίμων σοι καὶ ἀναγκαίων, καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον τοῦτο πᾶν ἐπὶ μετρίους τις τόκος ἐκδανεῖσαι. οὔτω γὰρ ἢ τε γη ἐνεργὸς ἔσται, δεσπόταις αὐτουργοῖς δοθέεσα, καὶ ἐκείνοι ἀφορμὴν λαβόντες εὑπορώτεροι γενήσονται, τὸ τε

1 δεσῳμεθα Dind., δεσῳμεθα VM.
2 ἀμισθι St., ἀμισθεῖ VM.
3 tinas M, tina V.
4 οὔτω M, οὔτως V.

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business, and the rest will find it easier to carry on their farming, seafaring, and the other pursuits appropriate to peace, if they are not compelled to take part in military expeditions but have others to act as their defenders. Thus the most active and vigorous element of the population, which is generally obliged to gain its livelihood by brigandage, will support itself without molesting others, while all the rest will live without incurring dangers.

"From what source, then, is the money to be provided for these soldiers and for the other expenses that will of necessity be incurred? I shall explain this point also, prefacing it with a brief reminder that even if we have a democracy we shall in any case, of course, need money. For we cannot survive without soldiers, and men will not serve as soldiers without pay. Therefore let us not be oppressed by the idea that the necessity of raising money belongs only to a monarchy, and let us not be led by that consideration to turn our backs upon this form of government, but let us assume in our deliberations that, under whatever form of government we shall live, we shall certainly be constrained to secure funds. My proposal, therefore, is that you shall first of all sell the property that belongs to the state,—and I observe that this has become vast on account of the wars,—reserving only a little that is distinctly useful or necessary to you; and that you lend out all the money thus realized at a moderate rate of interest. In this way not only will the land be put under cultivation, being sold to owners who will cultivate it themselves, but also the latter will acquire a capital and become more prosperous, while the treasury will gain a permanent revenue that will
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δημόσιου διαρκῆ καὶ ἀθάνατον πρόσοδον ἔξει. εἶτα συλλογίσασθαι ταύτα τε καὶ τάλλα ὡσα ἐκ τε μεταλλείας καὶ εἰ δὴ ποθὲν ἄλλοθεν βεβαιῶς
5 δύναται προσιέναι, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀντιλογίσασθαι μὴ μόνον τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἄλλα καὶ τάλλα πάντα δὲ ὅν καλῶς πόλις ὀικεῖται, καὶ προσέτει καὶ ὡσα ἐς ταὶς αἰφνιδίους στρατείας καὶ ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ ὡσα εἰσθὲν ἐπὶ καίροι συμβαίνειν, ἀναγ-
6 καίον ἔσται δαπανᾶσθαι· κάκ τοῦτον πρὸς πᾶν τὸ λείπον φόρον τε ἐπιτάξαι πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς τοῖς ἐπικαρπίαιν1 τινὰ τῷ κεκτημένῳ αὐτὰ παρέχουσι, καὶ τέλη καταστήσαται παρὰ πᾶσιν δὲν ἄρχομεν (καὶ γὰρ καὶ δίκαιον καὶ προσήκον ἐστὶ μηδένα αὐτῶν ἀτελῆ εἶναι, μὴ ἰδιώτην, μὴ δήμον, ἀτε καὶ τῆς ὁφελίας τῆς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις
7 ἀπολαύσοντας2), καὶ σφων ἐκλογέας τοὺς ἐπι-
τροπεύοντας ἐκασταχόθι ποιῆσαι, ὡστε αὐτοὺς πᾶν τὸ τῷ τῆς ἐπιτροπείας αὐτῶν χρόνῳ προσῆ-
κον εὖ ἀπασχῶν τῶν προσόδων ἐσπράττειν. τούτο γὰρ καὶ ἐκείνοις ράχω τὴν ἐσπράττων ποιὴσει καὶ
toῖς διδούσι τι ὁφελίαν οὐκ ἐλαχίστην παρέξει·
8 λέγω δὲ τὸ3 κατ' ὅλιγον σφας ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν ὡσα ὀφείλουσιν ἐσφέρειν, καὶ μὴ, βραχὺν ῥαθυ-
μήσαντας χρόνου, ἐπικεφαλαϊωθέντα πάντα ἐσά-
παξ ἀπαιτεῖσθαι.

29 "Καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μὲν ὅτι τινὸς τῶν τε φόρων καὶ
toῖς τελῶν καθισταμένων ἁχθεσθῆσονται· ἄλλα καὶ ἐκεῖνο ὑδα ἰτι, ἂν μήτε προσεπηρεάζωνται καὶ τῷ ἐργῷ πεισθῶσιν ὅτι πάντα ταύτα καὶ

1 ἐπικαρπίαν M, ἐπὶ καρπίαν V.
2 ἀπολαύσοντας R. Steph., ἀπολαύσαντας VM.
3 τὸ R. Steph., τοῦ VM.

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

"I am not unaware that some will object if this system of assessments and taxes is established. But I know this, too,—that if they are subjected to no further abuses and are indeed convinced that all these contributions of theirs will make for their own
ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας σφῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ λοιπὰ
2 ἀδεώς καρπούσθαι συνεσούσοναι, καὶ προσέτι
τὰ πλεῖον αὐτῶν οὐχ ἐτεροί τινες ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ
ἐκεῖνοι, οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες οἱ δὲ ἐπιτροπεύοντες οἱ
dὲ στρατευόμενοι, λήψονται, καὶ πάνυ πολλὴν
χάριν εἰσούνταί σοι, βραχέα ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὄντα ἂν
μηδὲν ἐπηρεαζόμενοι καρπῶνται διδόντες, ἄλλως
tε καὶ ὀρῶσί σε σωφρόνως τε διαίσθαμεν καὶ
3 μηδὲν μάτην παραναλίσκοντα. τίς γάρ οὐκ ἂν
ιδῶν σε πρὸς μὲν τὰ οἰκεία φειδωλότατον πρὸς δὲ
tὰ κοινὰ ἀφειδεστάτον ὄντα, ἐθελοῦντι συντελεσεῖ
tι, καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ εὐπορίαν ἐαυτοῦ τὸ σὲ
πλούτειν εἶναι νομίζον;
security and for their fearless enjoyment of the rest of their property, and that, again, the larger part of their contributions will be received by none but themselves, as governors, procurators, or soldiers, they will be exceedingly grateful to you, since they will be giving but a slight portion of the abundance from which they derive the benefit without having to submit to abuses. Especially will this be true if they see that you live temperately and spend nothing foolishly. For who, if he saw that you were quite frugal in your expenditures for yourself and quite lavish in those for the commonwealth, would not willingly contribute, believing that your wealth meant his own security and prosperity?

"So far as funds are concerned, therefore, a great abundance would be supplied from these sources. And I advise you to conduct as follows the administration of such matters as have not yet been mentioned. Adorn this capital with utter disregard of expense and make it magnificent with festivals of every kind. For it is fitting that we who rule over many people should surpass all men in all things, and brilliance of this sort, also, tends in a way to inspire our allies with respect for us and our enemies with terror. The affairs of the other cities you should order in this fashion: In the first place, the populace should have no authority in any matter, and should not be allowed to convene in any assembly at all; for nothing good would come out of their deliberations and they would always be stirring up a good deal of turmoil. Hence it is my opinion that our populace here in Rome, for that matter, should not come together either as a court or to hold the elections, or indeed in any meeting whose object is.
3 σθήναι δεί, συνιέναι φημὶ χρήμαι. ἔπειτα δὲ μῆτ′ οἰκοδομημάτων πλήθεσιν ἢ καὶ ¹ μεγέθεσιν ὑπὲρ τάναγκαια χρήσθωσαν, μῆτ′ ἀγώνων πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἀναλώμασι δαπανᾶσθωσαν, ἵνα μῆτε ὁπούδαίς ματαίαις ἔκτρυχωνται μῆτε φιλοτιμίαις
4 ἀλόγοις πολεμῶνται. ἐχέτωσαν μὲν γὰρ καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ θεωρίας τινάς, χωρὶς τῆς ἱπποδρομίας τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ποιουμένης, μὴ μέντοι ὅστε καὶ τὸ δημόσιον ἢ καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους οἴκους λυμαίνεσθαι, ξένου τέ τινα ἀναγκάζεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁτιοῦν ἀναλίσκειν, καὶ σήτησιν ἀθάνατον πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς τοῖς ἀγώνα τινά νικήσασι δίδοσθαι.
5 τοὺς τε γὰρ εὐπόρους ἀλογόν ἐστιν ἔξω τι τῶν πατρίδων ἀναγκαστοὺς δαπανᾶν, καὶ τοῖς ἀγώνισταίς ἀπόχρη τὰ ἄθλα τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις τιθέμενα, χωρὶς ἢ εἴ τις αὐτῶν Ὀλύμπια ἢ
6 Πύθια ἢ τινα ἐνταῦθα ἀγώνα ἀνέλοιτο; ² τοὺς γὰρ τοιούτους μόνους σιτείσθαι δεί, ἵνα μὴτε αἰ πόλεις μάτην ἐπιτρίβωνται μήτε ἔξω τις τῶν ἀξιονίκων ἀσκῆ, δυνάμενος ἀλλο τι χρησιμότερον καὶ ἐαυτῷ καὶ τῷ κοινῷ μετιέναι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων
7 ταύτα γιγάντωσκω, τὰς δ' ἱπποδρομίας τὰς ἀνεν τῶν γυμνικῶν ἀγώνων ἐπιτελουμένας οὐχ ἔγοιμαι δεῖν ἀλλὰ τινὶ πόλει ποιεῖν ἐπιτρέπειν, ὅπως μήτε χρήματα παμπληθῇ εἰκῇ παραπολλύνηται μήθ'

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

1 He has reference to the Circensian games in Rome.
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οἱ ἀνθρώποι κακῶς ἐκμαίνονται, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ἵν’ ὁ οἱ στρατευόμενοι τοὺς ἄριστους ὑποίσια ἀφθόνως χρῆσθαι ἔχωσι. τούτο μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτ’ ἀπαγορεύων παντάπασι μηδαμῶθι ἀλλοθι πλὴν ἐνταῦθα γίγνεσθαι, τὰ δὲ δὴ λοιπὰ ἐμετρίασα, ὲν εὐδαπάνους τὰς ἀπολαύσεις καὶ τῶν θεωρημάτων καὶ τῶν ἀκουσμάτων ὡς ἐκαστοί ποιοῦμενοι καὶ σωφρονέστερον καὶ ἀστασιαστότερον διάγωσι.

9 "Μήτε δὲ νομάσματα ἡ καὶ σταθμὰ ἡ μέτρα ἱδίᾳ τις αὐτῶν ἐχέτω, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντες χρῆσθωσαν μήτε πρεσβείαν τινὰ πρὸς σέ, πλὴν εἰ πράγμα τι διαγγώσεως ἐχόμενον εἰη, πεμπέτωσαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τέ ἀρχούτι σφών δηλούτωσαν ὡσα βούλονται, καὶ δὶ ἐκεῖνον¹ σοι² τὰς ἄξιώσεις, ὡσας ἄν δοκιμάσῃ, προσφερέτωσαν.

10 οὕτω γὰρ οὕτ’ ἀναλώσουσί τι οὕτ’ αἰσχρῶς διαπράξονται, ἀλλ’ ἀκεραίους τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἄνευ δαπάνης ἢ καὶ πραγματείας τινὸς λήψονται.

31 "Καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὰλλα ὅδ’ ἂν μοι δοκεῖς³ ἀριστα διατάξαι, ἄν πρῶτον μὲν τὰς πρεσβείας τὰς τε παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἐνσπόνδων καὶ βασιλέων καὶ δήμων ἀφικνουμένας ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἔσάγης (τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ σεμνὸν καὶ ἄξιολογοῦν ἐστὶ τὸ τε τῆν βουλήν πάντων κυρίαν δοκεῖν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ πολλοὺς τοὺς

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

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

"Moreover (to pass to other matters), it seems to me that you would be adopting the best arrangement if you should, in the first place, introduce before the senate the embassies which come from the enemy and from those under treaty with us, whether kings or democracies; for, among other considerations, it is both awe-inspiring and calculated to arouse comment for the impression to prevail that the senate has full authority in all matters and for all men to be fully aware that those envoys who are unfair in their
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αὐτυπάλους τοῖς ἀγνωμονοῦσιν αὐτῶν φαίνεσθαι), 2 ἐπειτα δὲ ἂν πάντα τὰ νομοθετοῦμενα δι' αὐτῶν ποτῇ, καὶ μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἄλλο ἐπὶ πάντας ὅμοιως φέρῃ πλὴν τῶν ἐκείνης δογμάτων· οὕτω γὰρ τὸ τε ἀξίωμα τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς μᾶλλον ἂν βεβαιοῖτο, καὶ τὰ δικαίωματα τὰκ τῶν νόμων καὶ ἀναμφίλογα καὶ διάδηλα πάσιν ἀμα γίγνοιτο. 1

3 τρίτον, ἂν τοὺς τε Βουλευτὰς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς γεροῦσίας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τὰς τε γυναικὰς αὐτῶν, ἂν ποτὲ τινα αἰτίαν βαρυτέραν, ὡστε τὸν ἄλοντα σφῶν ἀτιμίαν ἢ φυγῆν ἢ καὶ θάνατον ὡφλεῖν, λάβωσιν, ὑπὸ τε τὸ Βουλευτήριον ὑπάγης μηδὲν προκαταγνούσι ταῖς τε παῖσιν τῆν περὶ αὐτῶν διαψήφισιν ἀκέραιον ἐπιτρέπτης, ἵνα ὧδ' τε ἀδικοῦν τες τί ἐν πάσι τοῖς ὀμοτίμοις ἔλεγχόμενοι κολάζωνται χωρὶς τοῦ σοῦ φθόνου, καὶ ὥδε ταῦθ' ὄρωντες βελτίους γίγνωσται φόβῳ τοῦ μὴ καὶ αὐτοῖ ἐκδημοσιευθῆναι.

4 “Καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι περὶ ἐκείνων τῶν ἀδικημάτων, περὶ δὲν ὃι τε νόμοι κεῖται καὶ αἱ κρίσεις αἱ κατ' αὐτοὺς γίγνονται, λέγοι. τὸ γὰρ ὃτι τις ἐλοιδόρησε τὲ ἑκαὶ ἔτερον τι ἀνεπιτήδειον ἐπε, μήτ' ἀκούσης ποτὲ κατηγοροῦντος τίνος μήτε ἐπεξέλθῃς, αἰσχρὸν μὲν γὰρ τὸ πιστεύειν ὃτι τις μήτε τι ἀδικοῦντα σε καὶ εὐεργετοῦντα πάντας

5 ἵτοι γίγνοτο St., γίγνοιτο VM.

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

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

¹ As distinguished from those of the senatorial order who have not yet gained admission to the senate.
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προεπηλάκισε, καλ μόνοι τούτο ποιοῦσιν οἱ κακῶς ἀρχοντες· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ συνεδότος καὶ τὸ πιστὸν τῶν λεγομένων εἰρήσθαι τεκμαίρονται· δεινὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ χαλεπάνειν ἐπὶ τοὺς τοιούτους, ἂ εἰ μὲν ἀληθῆ εἴη, κρείττον ἄστι μὴ ποιεῖν, εἰ δὲ ψευδῆ, μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι, ὡς πολλοὶ γε ἡδη διὰ τοῦτο πολὺ πλεῖον καὶ χαλεπώτερα λογοποιεῖσθαι καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐποίησαν. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν λόγων τι προπηλακίζειν αἰτιαζομένων ταῦτ' ἐγὼ φρονῶ· κρείττω τε γὰρ καὶ ψηλότερον πάσης ὑβρεως εἶναι σε χρή, καὶ μὴν ἐσε νυοίν ποτὲ μὴν' αὐτὸν ἀφικνεῖσθαι μὴτε τοὺς ἄλλους προάγειν ότι δύναται τις ἀσελγᾶνα τι ἐς σὲ, ἵν' ὡς περὶ τῶν θεῶν, οὕτω καὶ περὶ σοῦ φρονώσειν ὦτι σεπτὸς εἰ. ἀν δὲ δὴ τις ἐπιβουλεύειν σοι αἰτίαν λάβῃ (γένουτο γὰρ ἀν τι καὶ τοιούτου), αὐτὸς μὲν μηδὲ περὶ ἐκείνου τι μὴτε δικάσης μὴτε προδιαγροφα (ἀποτοῦ γὰρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ κατήγορον καὶ δικαστὴν γίγνεσθαι), ὑπὸ 2 δὲ δὴ τὴν βουλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀγαγῶν ἀπολογήσασθαι τε ποίησον, καὶ ἐλεγχῇ, κόλασον μετρίασας ὡς οἶδον τε ἐστὶ τὸ τιμῶρημα, ἱνα καὶ πιστευθῇ τὸ ἀδίκημα. χαλεπώτατα γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ πείθονται ὡτι τις ἀστιλο ὧν ἐπιβουλεύει τῷ ὑπελειμένῳ καὶ μόνως ἀν οὕτως αὐτῶν τύχοις, εἰ μήτε πρὸς ὅργην μὴτ' ἀνηκέστως, ἐφ' ὅσον γε καὶ εὐδεχεται, τὴν τιμωρίαν αὐτοῦ ποιοῦν. λέγω δὲ ταῦτα χωρὶς ἀεὶ τις στράτευμα τι ἔχωι

1 οὕτω M, om. V. 2 ὑπὸ Bs., ἐπὶ VM.
wrong and are but conferring benefits upon all, and it is only those who are ruling badly who believe such things; for they draw evidence from their own conscience of the credibility of the alleged slanders. And it is, furthermore, a dangerous thing even to show anger at such imputations (for if they are true, it were better not to be angry, and if they are false, it were better to pretend not to be angry), since many a man in times past has, by adopting this course, caused to be circulated against himself scandals far more numerous and more difficult to bear. This, then, is my advice concerning those who are accused of calumniating you; for you should be superior to any insult and too exalted to be reached by it, and you should never allow yourself even to imagine, or lead others to imagine, that it is possible for any one to treat you with contumely, since you desire that men shall think of you, as they do of the gods, that your sanctity is inviolable. If, however, any one is accused of plotting against you (and such a thing might also happen), refrain, in his case also, from either giving judgment yourself or prejudging the charge (for it is absurd that the same man should be both accuser and judge), but bring him before the senate and let him plead his defence there, and, if he is convicted, punish him, moderating the sentence as far as possible, in order that belief in his guilt may be fostered. For most men are very reluctant to believe that an unarmed man is plotting against one who is armed; and the only way you can win them to the belief is by showing, so far as possible, neither resentment nor the desire to exact the utmost when you inflict the penalty. But I make an exception to this rule in
ΔΙΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΝΗ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ

32 "Ταῦτα τε ὅνων οὕτω, καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν τῷ δημοσίῳ προς ἡκόντων, τῇ γεροντία ἀνατίθει τὰ τε γὰρ κοινὰ κοινῶς διοικεῖται δεῖ, καὶ ἐστὶ ποὺν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔμφυτον καὶ τὸ χαίρειν ἐφ’ οἷς ἂν παρὰ τοῦ κρείττονος ὡς καὶ ἰσότιμοι αὐτῷ ὄντες ἄξιωθωσί, καὶ τὸ πάντα τὰ μετὰ σφῶν τινὶ γνωσθέντα καὶ ἐπαίνειν ὡς οἴκεια καὶ ἀγαπᾶν ὡς αὐθαίρετα.

2 ἐς μὲν οὖν τὸ βουλευτήριον τὰ τουαῦτα ἐσφέρεσθαι φημὶ χρήναι, καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων πάντας ὀμοίως τοὺς παρόντας γνώμην διδόναι, ὅταν δὲ δὴ κατηγορήτα τις αὐτῶν, μὴ πάντας, πλὴν ἂν τις ἡ μηδέπω βουλεύῃ ἢ καὶ εὖ τοῖς 3 τεταμενυκοσιν ἔτι ὄν κρίνηται. ἄτοστοι γὰρ τὸν μηδέπος δεδημαρχικότα ἡ ἡγορανομικότα ψήφων κατὰ τίνος τῶν τοιοῦτων φέρειν, ἢ νὴ Δία τούτων τινα κατὰ τῶν ἐστρατηγικῶν, ἢ καὶ ἐκείνων κατὰ τῶν ὑπατευκότων. ἀλλ’ οὕτω μὲν ἐπὶ πάντας τὴν τοῦ τι ἀποφήνασθαι ἐξουσίαν ἐχέωσαν, οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τε τοὺς ὀμοίους καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους.

33 "Δίκαζε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ τὰ τε ἐφέσιμα καὶ τὰ ἀναπόμπιμα, ὅσα ἂν παρὰ τοῦ μειζόνων
the case of a commander of an army who openly revolts; for of course it is fitting that such an one should not be tried at all, but chastised as a public enemy.

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

"But do you judge by yourself alone the cases which come to you on appeal or reference from the higher
ἀρχόντων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων, τοῦ τε πολιάρχου καὶ τοῦ ὑποτιμητοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐπάρχων τοῦ τε τῶν σίτων ἐπισκοποῦντος καὶ τοῦ νυκτοφυ- 
λακούντος, ἀφικνήται, μήτε γὰρ αὐτόδικος μὴ ἀὐτοτελὴς οὕτω τις τὸ παράπαν. ἐςτω ὅστε μὴ

2 οὐκ ἐφέσιμον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δίκην γίγνεσθαι. ταὐτά 

3 μετὰ γὰρ δὴ σοῦ αἰὲ μὲν όι ἐντιμότατοι καὶ τῶν 

4 ἡγεμονίας ἔξισοι. τὰς μέντοι γυνώμας αὐτῶν μὴ 

5 σοφων ἐφεπόμενοι κατοκυνώσαν παραρμησῖςεθαι, 

6 ἔωτερ τοῦ μηδεν ἀλλὰ ἐκλήσιςς αὐτῶν 

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

1 Praefectus annonae and praefectus vigilum.
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βώσειας, εἰ ἀνέλεγκτον αὐτὴν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις πιστεύσειν ἔσεσθαι.

5 "Καὶ μέντοι καὶ πρὸς τὰς δίκας τὰς τε ἐπιστολὰς καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τῶν πόλεων τὰς τε τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἀξιώσεις, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς διοικήσει προσήκει, συνεργοῦσ τε τινας καὶ ὕπηρέτας ἐκ τῶν ἵππεων ἔχει ῥᾴδιν τε γὰρ οὕτως ὡς ἕκαστα διαχωρίσει, καὶ σὺ οὐτ' αὐτογνω-

6 μονὸν σφαλήσῃ οὔτ', αὐτοιργῇ ἐκκαμῇ. τὴν τε παρρησίαν παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ καὶ ὅτιοιν συμβούλευσαι σοι μετὰ ἀδείας νέμει· ἂν τε γὰρ ἀρεσθῆς τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, πολλὰ ὄφελήσῃ,1 ἂν τε καὶ μὴ πεισθῇς, οὐδὲν βλαβήσῃ.

7 καὶ τοὺς μὲν τυχόντας τῆς γνώμης καὶ ἐπαίνει καὶ τίμα (τοῖς γὰρ ἐκεῖνων ἐξευρήμασιν αὐτῶς εὐδοκιμήσεις), τοὺς δ' ἀμαρτόντας μὴ' ἀτιμάσῃς ποτὲ μὴ' αἰτιάσῃ· τὴν γὰρ διάνοιαν αὐτῶν δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν οὐκ ἐπιτυχίαν μέμψεσθαι.

8 τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τούτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν φύλαττε, καὶ μὴτε ἐπὶ δυστυχία ἀκούσῃ ἐκεῖνων καὶ ἠδὲως πάντες ὑπὲρ σοῦ κινδυνεύωσι, πιστεύοντες ὅτι οὔτε παλαιστές τι κολασθῆσονται

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

1 ὄφελήσῃ R. Steph., ὄφελήσει VM, ὄφεληθήσῃ flor.
precise opinion would be to give him the certainty that his vote cannot be detected among the rest.

"Moreover, for your judicial work and your correspondence, to help you attend to the decrees of the states and the petitions of private individuals, and for all other business which belongs to the administration of the empire, you must have men chosen from the knights to be your helpers and assistants. For all the details of administration will move along more easily in this way, and you will neither err through relying upon your own judgment nor become exhausted through relying upon your own efforts. Grant to every one who wishes to offer you advice, on any matter whatever, the right to speak freely and without fear of the consequences; for if you are pleased with what he says you will be greatly benefited, and if you are not convinced it will do you no harm. Those who win your favourable opinion for their suggestions you should both commend and honour, since you yourself will gain credit through their discoveries; but do not treat with disrespect or criticise those who fail of your approval, since it is their intentions that you should consider, and their lack of success should not call forth your censure. Guard against this same mistake in matters of warfare, also; give way neither to anger against a man for an unintentional misfortune nor to jealousy for a piece of good fortune, that all may zealously and gladly incur danger for your sake, confident that if they meet with any reverse they will not be punished for it and that if they gain success they will not have snares laid for them. There have been many, at any rate, who through fear of jealousy on the
34. "Πάντως" ὡσα τοὺς ἀρχομένους καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ πράττειν βούλει, καὶ λέγε καὶ ποιεῖ. οὕτω γὰρ ἄν μᾶλλον παραέσειας αὐτοὺς ἢ ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίαις 2 ἐπιμακάμεας· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ζήλον τὸ δὲ φόβον ἔχει, καὶ ῥᾴδι τις μιμεῖται τὰ κρεῖττο, ὅρων ἔργῳ γιγνόμενα, ἢ φυλάττεται τὰ
2 χείρω, ἀκούον λόγῳ κεκωλυμένα. καὶ αὐτῶς μὲν ἀκριβῶς πάντα πράττε, μηδεμιᾶν συγγνώμην σεαυτῷ 3 νέμων, ὡστε καὶ εὐ εἰδώς ὅτι παρα-χρήμα πάντες καὶ ὡσα ἄν εὐπῆς καὶ ὡσα ἄν ποιήσης μαθήσονται. καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν ἑνὶ τοῖς ὅλης οἰκουμένης θεάτρῳ ζήσῃ, καὶ οὐχ οἷον τέ σοι ἐσται οὔδε βραχύτατον ἀμαρτόντι δια-
3 λαθεῖν οὕτε γὰρ κατὰ μόνας ποτὲ ἄλλα καὶ μετὰ συγχὸν ἄει τι πράξεις, καὶ πολυπραγμονοῦσι πως τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχώντων γιγνόμενα καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ήδιστα, ὡστ' ἄν ἀπαξ κατα-
μάθωσι σε ἄλλα μὲν αὐτοῖς προαγορεύοντα ἄλλα δὲ αὐτῶν ποιοῦντα, οὐ τὰς ἀπειλάς σου φοβηθή-
σονται 4 ἄλλα τὰ ἐργὰ μιμῆσονται.
4. "Τὸν δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων βίον ἐπισκόπει μὲν, μὴ μέντοι καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐξέταζε, ἄλλ' ὡσα μὲν ἄν ύφ'
part of those in power have chosen to accept defeat rather than achieve success, and as a result have gained safety for themselves while inflicting the loss upon their rulers. Therefore, since you yourself stand to reap the major part of the fruits of both outcomes, the failures as well as the successes, you should never consent to become jealous, nominally of others, but really of yourself.

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

“You should, of course, supervise the lives of your subjects, but do not scrutinise them with too much rigour. Sit in judgment upon all offences reported
ἐτέρων τινών ἔσάγηται, κρίνε, ὡσα δ' ἂν ὑπὸ μηδενὸς αἰτιάζηται, μηδὲ προσποιοῦ εἰδέναι, ἐξω τῶν ἔσ τὸ δημόσιον πλημμελουμένων. ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπιστροφῆς, καὶ μηδεὶς ἐγκαλῇ, τυχάνειν ὥφείλειν· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τὰ ἰδιωτικὰ ίσθι μὲν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ σφαλῆς ποτε ἀνεπιτηδεύω τινὶ ὑπηρέτη πρὸς τι χρησάμενος,

6 μὴ μέντοι καὶ ἐξέλεγχε. πολλὰ γὰρ ἡ φύσις καὶ παρὰ τῶν νόμων πολλοὺς ἀμαρτάνειν ἔξαγει, οἷς ἄν μὲν ἀκριβῶς τις ἐπεξῆ, ἢ τινὰ ἢ οὐδένα ἄν αὐτῶν ἀτιμώρητον καταλίπω, ἀν δ' ἀνθρωπίνως τὸ ἐπιεικὲς τῷ νεομισμένῳ παραμιγνύῃ, τάχ' ἄν καὶ σωφρονίσειν αὐτοὺς. ὃ μὲν γὰρ νόμος, καὶ τοι ἰσχυρὰ τὰ κολάσματα ἀναγκαίως ποιούμενος, οὐ δύναται τῆς φύσεως ἀεὶ κρατεῖν· τῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων τινὲς λανθάνειν μὲν δόξαντες ἢ καὶ μετρίως πως νοουθετήσαντες ἀμέίνους γίγνονται, οἱ μὲν αἰσχυνόμενοι ἐλεγχθήναι οἱ δὲ αἰδοῦμένοι

8 πάλιν σφαλῇναι, φανερωθέντες δὲ καὶ ἀπερυθριάσαντες ἢ καὶ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου κολασθέντες τά τε νεομισμένα πάντα συγχέουσι καὶ καταπατοῦσι, καὶ μόναις ταῖς τῆς φύσεως ὅρμαις δουλεύουσι. κακὸ τοῦτον οὔτε τὸ πάντας αὐτοὺς κολάζειν ῥάδιον, οὔτε τὸ περιορὰν φανερὸς τινας ἀσελγαὶ-νυντας εὐπρεπεῖς γίγνεται.

9 "Τὰ μὲν δὴ οὖν ἀμαρτήματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων τούτων σοι τὸν τρόπον, πλὴν τῶν πάντω ἀνηκέστων,"

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

"Now this is the way I advise you to deal with men's shortcomings, with the exception of those
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μεταχειρίζεσθαι παραίνω, τὰ δ' ὀρθῶς ὑπ' αυτῶν γνωμομενα καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίων τῶν ἔργων τιμᾶν· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα ποιήσεις αὐτοὺς τῶν τε χειρόνων ἀπέχεσθαι, τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, καὶ τῶν

10 βελτίων ἐφίεσθαι, τῇ μεγαλοδορίᾳ. μὴ γὰρ τοι καταδείξῃς μὴν ὅτι ἐπιλείψει σε ποτε ἡ χρήματα ἡ τάλλα οἷς τοὺς ἀγαθῶν τι ποιουντας ἀμείψη (πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐγγὺς ἐλάττους αὐτῶν τοὺς εὑ τι παθεῖν ἁξίους οἷαι γενήσεσθαι, τοσαῦτης σοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ δαλάτης ἀρχοντός), μὴν ὅτι τινές

11 εὐεργετηθέντες ἀχαριστώς τι πράξουσιν οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω καὶ δούλοι καὶ οἰκειοῦτα τινα, κἂν ἀλλότριος κἂν ἄθρος ὅν τύχῃ, ὡς τὸ μητ' ἀδικείσθαι καὶ προσέτι καὶ εὑ πάσχειν.

35 "Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τόις ἄλλοις οὕτω σοὶ προσφορασθεὶς γνώμην δίδωμι· σαντῷ δὲ δὴ μητὴ ἐξαλλὸν τι μητ' ὑπερήφανο χρήμα παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων μητὶ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἡ ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ δοθέν περι.

2 ἒδης. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις κόσμου ἡ παρὰ σοῦ τιμὴ φέρει, σοὶ δ' αὐτῷ μεῖζον μὲν τῶν ὑπαρχοντων οὐδὲν ἂν δοθεῖν, ὑποψία δ' ἂν κιβδηλίας πολλῆ προσγένωτοι· καὶ γὰρ τοῦ μὲν ἄλλων οὐδείς κέκών τοιοῦτο τι τῷ κρατοῦντι ψυχιζείσθαι δοκεῖ, πάντα δὲ δὴ τῶς αὐτὰ αὐτῶς παρε ἐαυτοῦ λαμβανῶν οὐχ οὐκ ἐπαίνου ἁσχεί, ἄλλα καὶ

3 γέλωτα προσφοράσκαινε. την τε οὖν ἄλλην λαμπρότητα σαντῷ1 διὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργων παρασκεύασε, καὶ εἰκόνας σοι χρυσάς μὲν ἡ καὶ ἀργυράς μιθήσετε ἐπιτρέψης γενέσθαι (οὐ γὰρ μόνον δαπανηραὶ ἄλλα καὶ εὐστήβοιλευτοί καὶ

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

"As regards your subjects, then, you should so
conduct yourself, in my opinion. So far as you your-
self are concerned, permit no exceptional or prodigal
distinction to be given you, through word or deed,
either by the senate or by any one else. For whereas
the honour which you confer upon others lends
glory to them, yet nothing can be given to you
that is greater than what you already possess, and,
besides, no little suspicion of insincerity would
attach to its giving. No subject, you see, is ever
supposed to vote any such distinction to his ruler
of his own free will, and since all such honours as
a ruler receives he must receive from himself, he
not only wins no commendation for the honour but
becomes a laughing-stock besides. You must there-
fore depend upon your good deeds to provide for
you any additional splendour. And you should
never permit gold or silver images of yourself to be
made, for they are not only costly but also invite
4 εξ ευρεγεσίων δημιουργεί. μη μέντοι μηδὲ ναὸν
ποτε περιέδης σαυτῷ γενόμενον. μάτην γὰρ
παμπληθῇ χρῆματα ἐσ τὰ τοιαύτα ἀναλίσκεται,
α κρειττόν ἐστιν ἐς τὰ ἀναγκαία δαπανᾶσθαι
(πλοῦτος γὰρ ἀκριβῆς ὧν σύνεσιν ἐκ τοῦ πολλὰ
λαμβάνειν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ μὴ πολλὰ ἀναλίσκειν ἄθροι-
ζεται), καὶ ἐς εὐκλειαν οὐδὲν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν προσγί-
γεται. ἀρετὴ μὲν γὰρ ἰσόθεους πολλοὺς ποιεῖ,
χειροτενητὸς δ’ οὐδεὶς πόποτε θεὸς ἐγένετο, ὡστε
σοὶ μὲν ἀγαθῷ τε ὑπτὶ καὶ καλῶς ἄρχοντι πᾶσα
μὲν γῆ τεμένισμα ἐστιν, πᾶσα δὲ πόλεις ναοὶ,1
πάντες δὲ ἀνθρωποῖς ἀγάλματα (ἐν γὰρ ταῖς γρά-
μαις αὐτῶν ἀεὶ μετ’ εὐδοξίας ἐνιδρυθῆσῃ), τοὺς δ’
ἀλλος πως τὰ κράτη διέπονται οὐ μόνον οὐ
σεμνύει τὰ τοιαύτα, κἂν ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς πόλεισι
ἐξαιρεθῇ, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσδιαβάλλει, τρόποια τὲ
tivn tis kakias autōn kai mnimesia tis adikias
gnynemv. ὅσῳ γὰρ ἄν ἐπὶ πλείον ἀνταρκέσῃ,
tosoūtō māllon kai h kakodoxia autōn diamevēi.
36 ὅστ’ εἴπερ ἀθάνατος οὖντως ἐπιθυμεῖς γενέσθαι,
tauta te outw prētte, kai prosētī to mev theiōn
pantē pantōs autōs te sēbou kata tα pātria
kai tous allous timān anāγkazē, tous dē dē xevi-
2 xontas ti peri autō kai mīsei kai kolazē, mē
mōnon tōn theōn ēnēka, dων ο2 katafroνήσας ouδ'

1 vaoi M, om. V. 2 ο supplied by St.
destruction and last only a brief time; but rather by your benefactions fashion other images in the hearts of your people, images which will never tarnish or perish. Neither should you ever permit the raising of a temple to you; for the expenditure of vast sums of money on such objects is sheer waste. This money would better be used for necessary objects; for wealth which is really wealth is gathered, not so much by getting largely, as by saving largely. Then, again, from temples comes no enhancement of one's glory. For it is virtue that raises many men to the level of gods, and no man ever became a god by popular vote. Hence, if you are upright as a man and honourable as a ruler, the whole earth will be your hallowed precinct, all cities your temples, and all men your statues, since within their thoughts you will ever be enshrined and glorified. As for those, on the contrary, who administer their realms in any other way, such honours not only do not lend holiness to them, even though shrines are set apart for them in all their cities, but even bring a greater reproach upon them, becoming, as it were, trophies of their baseness and memorials of their injustice; for the longer these temples last, the longer abides the memory of their infamy. Therefore, if you desire to become in very truth immortal, act as I advise; and, furthermore, do you not only yourself worship the Divine Power everywhere and in every way in accordance with the traditions of our fathers, but compel all others to honour it. Those who attempt to distort our religion with strange rites you should abhor and punish, not merely for the sake of the gods (since if a man despises these he will not pay
Τῇ μὲν οὖν γνώμῃ καὶ τῷ μηδενὸς πλείονος τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐπιθυμεῖν εἰρηνικώτατον εἶναι σε χρή, ταῖς δὲ παρασκευαῖς πολεμικώτατον, ὅπως μάλιστα μὲν μῆτε ἐθελήσῃ μῆτε ἐπιχειρήσῃ τις ἀδικήσαι σε, εἰ δὲ μῆ, ῥαδίως καὶ παραχρῆμα

2 κολασθῇ. καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε ἀναγκαῖον ἔστι καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τάλλα καὶ ὅταν αὐτος τινας καὶ διοπτεύειν πάντα τὰ τῇ ἤμερονίᾳ σου προσήκοντα, ἵνα μηδὲν τῶν φυλακῆς τινος καὶ ἐπανορθώσεως

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

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

¹ For Areius see li. 16, 4; for Athenodorus, lvi. 43, 2.
dio's roman history

δεομένων ἀγνοῆς, μέμνησο ὅτι οὐ χρὴ πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν πιστεῦειν, ἀλλ' 3 ἀκριβῶς αὐτὰ διασκοπεῖν. συχνοὶ γὰρ, οἱ μὲν μισοῦντες τινας, οἱ δ᾽ ἐπιθυμοῦντες ὃν ἔχουσιν, ἄλλοι χαριζόμενοί τισιν, ἄλλοι χρήματα αἰτήσαντες τινας καὶ μὴ λαβόντες, ἑπηρεάζουσιν αὐτοὺς ὡς νεωτερίζοντας ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἀνεπιτή- δειον κατὰ τὸν αὐταρχόντος ἢ φρονοῦντας ἢ

4 λέγοντας. οὐκοιν εὐθὺς οὐδὲ ῥαδίως προσέχειν αὐτοῖς δεῖ, ἄλλα καὶ πάνυ πάντα διελέγχειν. βραδύνας μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ πιστεῦσαι τινα οὐδὲν μέγα ἀδικηθήσῃ, σπεύσας δὲ τάξιν ἃν τι καὶ ἐξαμάρτος, δὴ μὴ δυνηθῇ ἀνακέσασθαι.

5 "Τιμᾶν μὲν οὖν σε τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συνόντων σοι καὶ δεὶ καὶ ἀναγκαίον ἐστι· καὶ γὰρ κόσμου καὶ ἀσφαλείαν σοι μεγάλην τοῦτο ὤσει. μὴ μέντοι καὶ ὑπέροχον τι ἱσχυέτωσαν, ἄλλα ἀκριβῶς πάντες σωφρονεύτωσαν, ὅστε σε μηδὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν

6 διαβληθήναι: πάντα γὰρ ὅσα ἢν ἢ καλῶς ἢ κακῶς πράξωσι, σοι προστεθήσεται, καὶ τοιούτος αὐτὸς ὑφ' ἀπάντων νομισθήσῃ ὅποια ἢν ἐκεῖνοι ποιεῖν ἐπιτρέπῃς.

"Τούς μὲν δὴ οὖν δυνατοὺς μὴ πλεονεκτεῖν τινα μηδὲ αὐτοφαντεῖσθαι ἐα' μηδὲ ἔστω τινὶ αὐτῶν 176
any situation that requires measures of precaution or correction, you should have such agents, but remember that you should not believe absolutely everything they say, but should carefully investigate their reports. For there are many who, from various motives,—either because they hate others or covet their possessions, or because they want to do a favour to some one else, or because they have demanded money from some one and have not obtained it,—bring false charges against the persons concerned, pretending that they are engaged in sedition or are planning or saying something prejudicial to the ruler. Therefore one ought not to give heed to them forthwith or readily, but rather should prove everything they say. For if you are too slow in placing your trust in one of these men, you will suffer no great harm, but if you are too hasty you may possibly make a mistake which you cannot repair.

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

"As regards the men of power and influence, then, you should not permit them to overreach others, nor yet, on the other hand, to be blackmailed by others; neither let the mere fact that a man
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αὐτὸ¹ τοῦτο ἐγκλῆμα, ὅτι δύναται, καὶ μηδὲν

7 ἀμαρτάνη. τοῖς δὲ δὴ πολλοῖς ἁμμυε μὲν ἰσχυρῶς ἄδικομένοις, μὴ πρόσεχε δὲ ῥάδιως αὐτίω-

μένοις, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα καθ' έαυτὰ ἐξέταξε, μήτε ἐς τὸ προέχον πάν ὑποπτεύων μήτε τῷ

8 καταδεστέρῳ παιτὶ πιστεύων. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐργαζόμενους χρήσιμόν τε τι τεχνωμένους τίμα,

τοὺς δ' ἄργοντας ἢ καὶ φλαύρον τι πραγματευο-

μένους μέσει, ἵνα τῶν μὲν διὰ τὰς ὀφελίας ὀριγνώ-

μενοι, τῶν δὲ διὰ τὰς ξημίας ἀπεχόμενου, πρὸς τε τὰ οἰκεία ἁμείνους καὶ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ συμφορώ-

τεροὶ σοι γίγνωνται.

9 "Καλὸν μὲν οὖν ἔστι καὶ τὸ τὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἀμφισβητήματα ὡς ἠλάχιστα ποιοῦντα τὰς δια-

λύσεις αὐτῶν ὡς τάχιστα καθιστάναι, κάλλιστον

dὲ τὸ τὰς τῶν δήμων ὀρμᾶς κολούειν, καὶ ἐπευχό-

μενοί τινα τῇ τῇ ἄρχῇ καὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τῇ τῇ τύχῃ

σον ἐκβιαξεσθαί τινας ἢ πράξαι τῇ ἣ ἀναλώσαι

10 παρὰ δύναμιν ἐπιχειρῶσι, μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν, τὰς τε

ἐχθρὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς φιλοτιμίας τὰς πρὸς ἄλλῃ-

λοις παντάπασιν ἐκκόπτειν, καὶ μήτε ἐποιυμίας

τινὰς κενὰς μὴτ' ἄλλο τι έξ οὔ διενεχθήσονται

τισιν ἐφίεναι σφίσι ποιεῖσθαι. ῥάδιως δὲ σοι

πάντες καὶ ἐς ταύτα καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα καὶ ἰδία καὶ

κοινὴ πειθαρχήσουσιν, ἄν μηδὲν παρὰ ταύτα

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

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

38 "Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ ἐκεῖνων λέγω, καθ’ ἀπάντων δέ σοι συμβουλεύω μὴ τ’ ἀποχρῆσασθαί ποτε τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ, μὴ τ’ οἰδήματι μείωσιν τίνα αὐτῆς εἶναι ἐὰν μὴ πάντα ἀπαξιωτέρως ὡσα δύνασαι καὶ ποιήσῃς· ἀλλ’ ὡσῳ μᾶλλον πάνθ’ ὡσα ἂν βουλήθης καὶ δυνήσῃ πράξαι, τόσῳ μᾶλλον προθυμοῦ πάνθ’ ὡσα προσήκει βούλεσθαι. καὶ ἀεὶ γε αὐτός παρὰ σαυτῷ ἐξέταζε, εἰτε ὅρθως τι ποιεῖς εἰτε καὶ μὴ, τί τε πράττοντά σε φιλήσουι τινες καὶ τί μὴ, ἵνα τὰ μὲν ποιής αὐτῶν τὰ δὲ ἐκκλίνῃς. μὴ γὰρ δὴ ἡγήσῃ δεόντως τι παρὰ τοῦτο πράττειν δόξειν, ἂν μηδενὸς αἰτιωμένου σε ἀκούσῃς· μηδ’ ἀναμείνῃς οὕτω τινὰ ἐκφρονῆσαι ποτε ὡστε

3 σοι φανερῶς τι ἐξονειδίσαι. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ οὐδεῖς ἂν ποιήσεις, οὐδ’ εἰ σφόδρα ἀδικηθεῖς πᾶν γὰρ τοῦνατιον καὶ ἐπαινεῖν πολλοὶ ἐν γε τὸ φανερὸν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας σφᾶς ἀναγκάζονται, ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι μὴ δοκεῖν ὀργίζεσθαι. τὸν δ’ ἄρχοντα χρὴ μὴ ἐξ δὲν λέγουσι τινες τεκμαίρεσθαι τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ’ ἐξ δὲν φρονεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰκός ἔστι.

39 "Ταῦτα σε καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα βούλομαι πράττειν·

1 τίν R. Steph., τὶ VM. 2 δὴ ἡγήσῃ Μ, διηγήσῃ Ἑ. 180
whatever to this rule as a concession to anybody; for the uneven application of laws nullifies even those which are well established. Consequently you ought not to allow your subjects even to ask you, in the first place, for what you are not going to give them, but should compel them strenuously to avoid at the outset this very practice of petitioning for what is prohibited.

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

"These are the things I would have you do—these and others of like nature; for there are many which
πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ παραλείπω διὰ τὸ μὴ ὦλον τε εἶναι πάντα αὐτὰ καθάπαξ συλλαβόντα εἰπεῖν. ἐν δὲ οὖν ἐν κεφαλαίῳ καὶ κατὰ τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ 2 κατὰ τῶν λοιπῶν φράσω. ἀν γὰρ ὦσα ἀν ἔτερον τινα ἀρξαντά σοι ποιεῖν ἔθελήσῃς, ταῦτα αὐτὸς αὐτεπάγγελτος πράσοσης, οὔτε τι ἁμαρτησῇ καὶ πάντα κατορθώσεις, κἂν τούτου καὶ ἡδίστα καὶ 3 ἀκινδυνώτατα βιώσῃ, πῶς μὲν γὰρ οὖχ ὡς πατέρα, πῶς ὦ γὰρ ὃς σωτῆρα καὶ προσόψυντα σε ἀπαντεῖς καὶ φιλήσουσιν, ὅταν σε ὀρὸς κόσμου εὐβίοτον εὐπόλεμον εἰρηναῖον οὖντα, ὅταν νὴ ὑβρίζῃς τι μήτε πλεονεκτῆς, ὅταν ἐκ τού 4 ὁμοίων σφίσι προσφέρῃ, καὶ μὴ αὐτὸς μὲν πλουτὴς τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀργυρολογῆς, μὴ δ' αὐτὸς μὲν τρυφᾶς τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ταλαιπωρῆς, μὴ δ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἀκολασταίνης τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους νουθετῆς, ἀλλ' ἐς πάντα δὴ πάντως ὁμοιοτροπώτατα αὐτοῖς ξῆς; ὡστ' αὐτὸς παρὰ σαντῷ μέγα φυλακτήριον ἐν τῷ μηδένα ποτὲ ἀδίκησαι ἔχων θάρσει, καὶ πίστευε μοι λέγοντι ὅτι οὔτε μισθησίης ποτὲ οὔτε 5 ἑπιβουλευθῆσῃ. τούτου δὲ ἐγ᾽ οὕτως ἔχοντος πᾶσα σε ἀνάγκη καὶ ἡδέως βιώναι τί μὲν γὰρ ἡδιον, τί δὲ εὐδαιμονέστερον ἔστι τοῦ πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἄγαθῶν μετ' ἀρετῆς ἀπολαύοντα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὰ διδόναι δύνασθαι;

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

"Think upon these things and upon all that I have told you, and be persuaded of me, and let not this fortune slip which has chosen you from all mankind and has set you up as their ruler. For, if you
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ei' ge to mev prágma to tis monarχías aírh, to d' ónoma tò tis basileías ós kai épáratos foβh, touto mev μh prósλάβh, tì de dh toû Kaisaros

2 prosiηgoriá chρómenos autárchei. ei' d' oyn kai ̓alla tìwv éπiklísēwv prosdeh, ówsoûi mev soi tìn toû autokrátov, ósper kai tò patrí sou éiðàkav, sēβiouši de se kai étéra tìw pros-
rišei, óoste se pān to tìs basileías èρgon anev
tò tìs èpouμiás autís èpιfθáνου karπoúsbaì.

41 Μαικήνας mev tauta eîtpwv épautóto, ὁ de dh Kaisar amφotérous mev sφas kai épì tì polυvοια kai éptì tì polυvοlgìa tì te pαρrhìa ἵσχυρωs èπήνευε, tà de dh touto Mαιkýnou màllv èîlētò. ou méntoi kai pánta èυθύς ósper úpetéðeitò èπραζε, φoβhθèiς μh kai σφαλη tì, àðhρwòs

2 metarρυμώsai toûs ànðhρwvòs èthelí̄sas: ἀλλά tâ mev paraχρήma metekósñµeò tâ d' ûsētov, kai tìna kai toîs metâ tauta àρξουσì poîñsaì kateξìtpen òs kai kata kαιρόu màllv èn tì χρόνω γενησόμεν. kai autî kai ὁ 'Aγρìptas

3 Tauta te ὁ Kaisar, kai 1 òsa aìw moi tou lòγou ëirhetai, èπραξεν èn tò ëtei èkeînò èn q tò péμπtov ùpàteuose, kai tìn touto autokrά-

1 ο Kaisar kai R. Steph., kai ο Kaisar VM.

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

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

These and all the rest that I have recorded earlier in this narrative were the acts of Caesar in the year in which he was consul for the fifth time; and he of the word-play, is from the same root as ἡβαστός, the usual term for Augustus (cf. liii. 16, 8). Dio, however, regularly transliterates the Roman title, when he uses it; but he generally refers to Augustus as Caesar.

¹ Dio generally refers to Augustus as Caesar.
τορος ἐπίκλησιν ἐπέθετο. λέγω δὲ οὗ τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον διδομένην τις ἢ (ἐκείνην γὰρ πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ὑστερον ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἔλαβεν.

4 ὡστε καὶ ἀπαξ καὶ εἰκοσάκις ¹ οὖν αὐτοκρατορος σχεῖν) ἀλλὰ τὴν ἔτεραν τὴν τὸ κράτος διασημαίνουσαν, ὡστε τῷ τε πατρὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς τε ἔγγονοις ² ἐψήφιστο.

42 Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τιμητεύσας (σὺν τῷ Ἁγρίππα ἀλλὰ τέ τινα διώρθωσε καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἔξηγασε. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἦπερ πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πεξοῖ παρὰ τὴν ἄξιον ἢ τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων ἐβούλευον, ὡστε καὶ ἐς χίλιους τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς γερουσίας

2 αὐξηθῆναι. τούτους οὖν ἐκκρίναι βουληθείς αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδένα αὐτῶν ἀπῆλεψα, προτρεψάμενος δὲ σφάς ἐκ τοῦ συνειδότος τοῦ τε γένους καὶ τοῦ βίου δικαστὰς ἑαυτοῖς γενέσθαι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πεντηκοντά που ἔπεισεν ἐθελοντάς ἐκοτήραι τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλους ἑκατὸν καὶ τεσ-

3 σαράκοντα μιμήσασθαί σφας ἡνάγκασε. καὶ αὐτῶν ἥτιμωσε μὲν οὐδένα, τὰ δ' ὄνοματα τῶν ἐνετέρων ἔξεδηκε: τοῖς γὰρ πρωτέροις, ὅτι μὴ ἐχρόνισαν ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐπειθάρχησαν οἱ, ἀφήκε τὸ ὀνείδισμα, ὡστ' αὐτοὺς μὴ ἐκδημοσιευθῆναι. οὔτοι μὲν οὖν ³ ἐκούσιοι δῆθεν ἴδιωτευσαν, Κύντον δὲ δὴ Στατήλιον καὶ πάνυ ἀκοντα τῆς

¹ ἀπαξ καὶ εἰκοσάκις Reim., ἐν εἰκόσιν VM.
² ἔγγονοι VM, ἐγγόνοι Xiph.
³ οὖν M, om. V.

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assumed the title of imperator. I do not here refer to the title which had occasionally been bestowed, in accordance with the ancient custom, upon generals in recognition of their victories,—for he had received that many times before this and received it many times afterwards in honour merely of his achievements, so that he won the name of imperator twenty-one times,—but rather the title in its other use, which signifies the possession of the supreme power, in which sense it had been voted to his father Caesar and to the children and descendants of Caesar.

After this he became censor with Agrippa as his colleague, and in addition to other reforms which he instituted, he purged the senate. For as a result of the civil wars a large number of knights and even of foot-soldiers were in the senate without justification in merit, so that the membership of that body had been swollen to a thousand. Now though it was his wish to remove these men, he did not erase any of their names himself, but urged them rather, on the strength of their own knowledge of their families and their lives, to become their own judges; he thus first persuaded some fifty of them to withdraw from the senate voluntarily, and then compelled one hundred and forty others to imitate their example. He disfranchised none of them, but posted the names of the second group only; for he spared the members of the first group the reproach of the publication of their names, because they had not delayed but had straightway obeyed him. So all these men returned to private life of their own free will, so far as appearances were concerned; but Quintus Statilius was deposed, decidedly against his will, from the
4 δημαρχίας, ἐς ἴν ἀπεδέδεικτο, εἶρξεν. ἐτέροις τὲ τινὰς βουλεύειν ἐποίησε, καὶ ἔσ ἐν τούς ὑπατευκό-
τας δύο ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν βουλευόντων. Κλούουνον τὲ τινὰ καὶ Φουρνιον Γαῖον, ἐγκατέλεξεν, ὅτι προσαποδεδειγμένοι οὐκ ἤδυνήθησαν, ἀλλὰς τινῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτῶν προκαταλαβόντων, ὑπατεύσαι.

5 τὸ τε τῶν εὐπατριδῶν γένος συνεπλήθυσε, τῆς βουλῆς οἱ ἠθέθον ἐπιτρεψάσης τοῦτο ποίησαν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ τε πλεῖστὸν σφών ἀπολάλει 1 (οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ὡς τὸ γεγονὸς ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις πολέ-
μοις) ἀναλίσκεται) καὶ (ἐς τὴν ποίησιν τῶν πατρίων ἀναγκαῖοι ἂν εἶναι νομίζονται. ταύτα τε οὐν ἐπραξε, καὶ προσαπεῖπε πᾶσι τοῖς βου-
λεύοντι μὴ ἐκδημεῖσιν ἐξώ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἀν μὴ αὐτὸς τινι κελεύσῃ ἢ καὶ ἐπιτρέψῃ. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ δεύο ἂν φυλάσσεται πλην γὰρ ὅτι ἐς τε τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν περὶ Νάρβωνα, οὐδαμόσε ἀλλοσε βουλευτῇ ἀποδη-

6 μήσαι ἐξεστίν. ἐκείσε γὰρ διὰ τε τὸ σύνεγγυς καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀσπλον τὸ τε εἰρηναίον τῶν ἁνθρώπων δέδοται τὸς γε τι κεκτημένως αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνευ παραιτήσεως, ὅσας ἂν ἐθελήσωσιν, ἀπιέναι.

7 ἐπειδὴ τε πολλοὺς ἔτι καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου σπουδασάντων ὑπόπτως πρὸς αὐτὸν διακειμένους ἑώρα, καὶ ἐφοβήθη μὴ νεοχιμώσωσι τι, πάντα ἐφι τὰ γράμματὰ τὰ ἐν τοῖς κιβωτίοις αὐτοῦ εὑρέθεντα ατακεκαινέναι. καὶ ὅς ἀληθῶς γε διεφθάρκει τινᾶ τὰ γὰρ ἀν πλείω καὶ πάνυ ἔτηρει, ὡς τε μηδ' ἀκωσαί ὑστερον αὐτῶς χρήσασθαι.

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

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

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

Τάδε ἐνεστὶν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ὀρμαϊκῶν

α. Ὅσο τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ναὸς ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ καθιερώθη.
β. Ὅσο Καίσαρ ἐδημηγάρθην ἐν τῇ γερουσίᾳ ὡς τῆς μοναρχίας ἀφιστάμενος καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἔθνη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνείματο.
γ. Περὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν ἐς τὰ ἔθνη πεπομενένων.
δ. Ὅσο Καίσαρ Ἀβγουστος ἐπεκλήθη.
ε. Περὶ τῶν ὄνομάτων δὲ τῶν αὐτοκράτωρ δομοβάνουσιν.
ζ. Ὅσο τὰ σέπτα καθιερώθη.
η. Ὅσο Καίσαρ Ἀστυρσι καὶ Καντάβροις ἐπολέμησεν.
θ. Ὅσο Γαλατία ὑπὸ Ὀρμαϊων ἀρχέσθαι ἤρξατο.
ι. Ὅσο ἦ στοὰ ἡ τοῦ Ποσειδώνος καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον τοῦ Ἀγρίππου καθιερώθη.
κ. Ὅσο τὸ Πάνθειον καθιερώθη.
λ. Ὅσο Ἀβγουστος ἀρείθη τῆς ἀνάγκης τοῦ τοῖς νόμοις πελεσθαι.
μ. Ὅσο ἐπὶ Ἀραβίαν τὴν εὐδαίμονα στρατεία ἐγένετο.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἐτῆς ἔτη, ἐν οἷς ἀρχόντες οἱ ἄριθμοῦμενοι ὀδῇ ἐγένοντο

Καίσαρ τὸ 5'
M. Οὐψάνιος Λ. ιἱ. 'Ἀγρίππας τὸ β' ὑπ.
Καίσαρ τὸ 5'
M. Οὐψάνιος Λ. ιἱ. 'Ἀγρίππας τὸ γ' ὑπ.
Καίσαρ Αβγουστος τὸ η'
T. Στατίλιος Τ. ιἱ. Ταύρος τὸ β' ὑπ.
Αβγουστος τὸ β'
M. Ἰουνίος Μ. ιἱ. Σιλανύς ὑπ.
Αβγουστος τὸ ι'3
G. Ναρβανός Γ. ιἱ. Γ. ἔγγ. Φλάκκος ὑπ.4
Αβγουστος τὸ ια'
Γν. Καλκούριος5 Γν. ιἱ. Γν. ἔγγ. Πίσων6 ὑπ.6

Τότε μὲν ταύτ' ἐγένετο, τῷ δὲ ἔξης ἐτεί ἐκτον ὁ Καίσαρ ἤρξε, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα κατὰ τὸ νομιζό-
BOOK LIII

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

How the temple of Apollo on the Palatine was dedicated (chap. 1).
How Caesar delivered a speech in the senate, as if he were retiring from the sole rulership, and afterwards assigned to that body its provinces (chaps. 2-12).
About the appointment of the governors sent to the provinces (chaps. 13-15).
How Caesar was given the title of Augustus (chap. 16).
About the names which the emperors receive (chaps. 17, 18).
How the Saepta were dedicated (chap. 23).
How Caesar fought against the Astures and Cantabri (chap. 25).
How Galatia began to be governed by Romans (chap. 26).
How the Basilica of Neptune and the Baths of Agrippa were dedicated (chap. 27).
How the Pantheon was dedicated (chap. 27).
How Augustus was freed from the obligation of obeying the laws (chap. 28).
How an expedition was made against Arabia Felix (chap. 29).

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

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

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

5 Καλπούρνιος Χυλ., καλπούρνιος VM.
6 Πίσων Dind., πείσων VM.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

μενον ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντων ἀρχαίων ἐποίησε, καὶ τοὺς
φακέλους τῶν βάθδων τῷ Ἀγρίππα συνάρχοντι
οἱ κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον παρέδωκεν, αὐτὸς τε ταῖς
ἐτέραις ἐχρήσατο, καὶ διάρξας τὸν ὄρκον κατὰ
2 τὰ πάτρια ἐπήγαγε. καὶ εἰ μὲν καὶ αὕτης ταύτ
ἐποίησεν, οὐκ οἶδα· τὸν γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν ἐς ὑπερ-
βολὴν ἐτύμα· ἀμέλει τὴν τε ἀδελφίδην 1 αὐτῷ
συνφοίκει, καὶ σκηνὴν, ὅποτε συστρατεύοιντο,
ὁμοίαν τῇ ἐαυτοῦ παρεῖχε, τὸ τε σύνθημα παρ'
3 ἀμφοτέρων σφῶν ἐοίδοτο. ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ τότε
παρόντι τὰ τὰ ἄλλα ὡσπερ εἶδοστο ἐπραξε, καὶ
τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἐξετέλεσε, καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς προ-
κριτος τῆς γερονισίας ἐπεκλήθη, ὡσπερ ἐν τῇ
ἀκριβεί δημοκρατία ἐνενόμιστο. τὸ τε Ἀπολ-
λώνιον 2 τὸ 3 ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ καὶ τὸ τεμένουμα
τὸ περὶ αὐτό, τὰς τὲ ἀποθήκας τῶν βιβλίων,
4 ἐξεποίησε καὶ καθιέρωσε· καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν
τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῇ πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ γενομένη
ψηφισθεὶσαν ἤγαγε μετὰ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου, καὶ
ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν ῥυποδρομίαν διὰ τε τῶν παίδων
5 καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν εὐγενῶν ἐποίησε. καὶ
αὐτῇ μὲν διὰ πέντε ἄεὶ ἐτῶν (μέχρι του 4 ἐγι-
γενο, ταῖς τέσσαριν ἀριθμοὺς ἐκ περιτροπῆς
μέλουσα, 5 λέγω δὲ τοὺς τε ποιήματα καὶ τοὺς
οἰωνικαῖς τῶν τε ἐπτα καὶ τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα
ἀνδρας καλουμένους· τότε δὲ καὶ γυμνικὸς ἁγὼν

1 ἀδελφίδην M (ἀδελφίδην), ἀδελφήν V Xiph. Zon.
2 Ἀπολλώνιον St., ἀπολλώνιον VM. 3 τὸ Bk., τὸ τε VM.
4 μέχρι του v. Herw., μέχρις οὗ VM.
5 μέλουσα R. Steph., μέλλουσα VM.
handed down from the earliest times, and, in particular, he delivered to Agrippa, his colleague, the bundles of rods as it was incumbent upon him to do, while he himself used the other set, and on completing his term of office he took the oath according to ancestral custom. Whether he ever did this again, I do not know, for he always paid exceptional honour to Agrippa; thus he gave him his niece in marriage, and provided him with a tent similar to his own whenever they were campaigning together, and the watchword was given out by both of them. At this particular time, now, besides attending to his other duties as usual, he completed the taking of the census, in connection with which his title was princeps senatus, as had been the practice when Rome was truly a republic. Moreover, he completed and dedicated the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, the precinct surrounding it, and the libraries. He also celebrated in company with Agrippa the festival which had been voted in honour of the victory won at Actium; and during this celebration he caused the boys and men of the nobility to take part in the Circensian games. This festival was held for a time every four years and was in charge of the four priesthoods in succession—I mean the pontifices, the augurs, and the septemviri and quindecimviri, as they were called. On the present occasion, moreover, a gymnastic contest

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

2 Ὁ δ' οὖν Καίσαρ ἐς τε τὰς θεωρίας ἐκ τῶν
ἰδίων δήθεν ἀνήλποκε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ χρημάτων τῷ
dημοσίῳ ἐδέχσαν, ἐδανείσατο τινὰ καὶ ἐδωκεν
αὐτῷ, πρὸς τῇ διοίκησιν σφων δύο κατ’ ἐτοὺς
ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγικῶν αἱρεῖσθαι ἐκέλευσε. καὶ
tῷ πλῆθει τετραπλάσιον τοῦ σῖτου ἔνειμε, βου-

2 λευταίᾳ τε τισὶ χρήματα ἐχαρίσατο· οὕτω γὰρ
ὅτι πολλοὶ σφων πέντες ἐγεγόνεσαν ὡστε μηδὲ
ἀγορανομήσαι τινὰ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἀναλω-
mάτων ἐθελῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τα τα ἄλλα καὶ τὰ δικα-
στήρια τὰ τῇ ἀγορανομίᾳ προσήκοντα τοῖς στρα-
tηγοῖς, καθάπερ εἶθετο, τὰ μὲν μείζω τῷ
ἀστυνόμῳ τὰ δὲ ἔτερα τῷ ἕξινῳ προσταγθῆναι.

3 πρὸς δὲ δὴ τοῦτοις τῶν ἀστυνόμουν αὐτὸς ἀπέ-
δειξεν· ὥς καὶ αὖθις πολλάκις ἐποίησε. καὶ τὰς
ἐγγύας τὰς πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον πρὸ τῆς πρὸς τῷ
Ἀκτίῳ μάχης γενομένας, πλὴν τῶν περὶ τὰ ὀἰκο-
dομήματα, ἀπηλλαξε, τὰ τε παλαιὰ συμβόλαια
4 τῶν τῶν κοινῶ τὶ ὀφειλόντων ἔκασε. καὶ τὰ μὲν
ἱερὰ τα Ἀγύπτια οὐκ ἐσεδέξατο εἴσῳ τοῦ πωμη-
ρίου, τῶν δὲ δὴ ναὸν πρόνοιαν ἐποιήσατο· τοὺς
μὲν γὰρ ὑπ’ ἰδιωτῶν τινῶν γεγενημένους τοῖς τῇ
παισίν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἐγκόνοις, εἴγε τινές περιήσαν,
ἐπισκευάσαι ἐκέλευσε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς αὐτὸς ἀνε-

1 καὶ Μ, om. V.

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

Now Caesar allowed it to be understood that he was spending his private means upon these festivals, and when money was needed for the public treasury, he borrowed some and supplied the want; and for the management of the funds he ordered two annual magistrates to be chosen from among the ex-praetors. To the populace he distributed a quadruple allowance of grain and to some of the senators he made presents of money. For so many of them had become impoverished that none was willing to hold even the office of aedile because of the magnitude of the expenditures involved; indeed, the functions which belonged to that office, and particularly the judicial functions, were assigned to the praetors, as had been the custom, the more important to the praetor urbanus and the rest to the praetor peregrinus. In addition to all this, Caesar himself appointed the praetor urbanus, as, indeed, he often did subsequently. He cancelled all obligations which had been given to the public treasury previous to the battle of Actium, except those secured by buildings, and he burned the old notes of those who were indebted to the state. As for religious matters, he did not allow the Egyptian rites to be celebrated inside the pomerium, but made provision for the temples; those which had been built by private individuals he ordered their sons and descendants, if any survived, to repair, and the rest
5 κτήσατο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῆς οἰκοδομής, ἰός σφών ἐσφετερίζατο, ἀλλά ἀπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς τοῖς κατασκευάσαιν αὐτούς. ἐπειδὴ τε πολλὰ πάνυ (κατά τε τὰς στάσεις καὶ τοῖς πολέμοις, ἀλλωσ τε καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ τε Δεπίδου συναρχία, καὶ ἀνόμως καὶ ἄδικως ἐτετάχει, πάντα αὐτὰ δι’ ἐνὸς προγράμματος κατέλυσεν, ὅρον τὴν
6 ἐκτην αὐτοῦ ὑπατείαν προθείς; εὐδοκιμὼν τε οὐν ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ἐπαινούμενος ἐπεθύμησε καὶ ἐτέραν τινὰ μεγαλοψυχίαν διαδείασθαι, ὅπως καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου μᾶλλον τιμηθείη, καὶ παρ’ ἐκόντων δὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν μοναρχίαν βεβαιώσασθαι τοῦ μή δοκεῖν ἀκούσας αὐτοὺς βεβαιώσασθαι.) καὶ τοῦτοι τοὺς μάλιστα ἐπιτηδείους οἱ τῶν βουλευτῶν παρασκευάσας ἐσ ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν ἐς ἥλθεν ἐβδομον ὑπατεύω, καὶ ἀνέγνω τοιάδε.

3 "Ἀπιστα μὲν εὐ οἶδ’ ὅτι δόξω τισιν ὑμῶν, ὅ πατέρες, προκρηῆσθαι, ἃ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐκαστος τῶν ἀκουόντων οὐκ ἂν ἐθελήσεις ποιῆσαι, ταύτ’ οὐδὲ ἐτέρον λέγοντος πιστοῦσ ὑμέλεται, καὶ μάλισθ’ ὅτι πᾶς παντὶ τῷ ὑπερέχοντι φθονῷ ἐτοιμότερον
2 ἀπιστεῖ τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτὸν λεγομένοις. καὶ προσέτι καὶ γιγνώσκω τοῦ’ οτι οἱ τὰ μή πιστὰ δοκοῦντα εἶναι λέγοντες οὐχ ὅσον οὐ πείθον ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κόβαλοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν τι τοιούτων ἑπηγαγελλόμην ὅ μή παραχρῆμα ποιήσειν ἐμελλὼν, σφόδρα δὲν ἀπώκυνσα αὐτῷ ἐκφηναι, μή καὶ αἰτίαν τινὰ μοχθηρὰν ἀντὶ χάριτος λάβων.

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

"I am sure that I shall seem to some of you, Conscript Fathers, to have made an incredible choice. For what each one of my hearers would not wish to do himself, he does not like to believe, either, when another claims to have done it, especially as everyone is jealous of anybody who is superior to him and so is more prone to disbelieve any utterance that is above his own standard. Besides, I know this, that those who say what appears to be incredible not only fail to persuade others but also appear to be impostors. And indeed, if it were a question of my promising something that I was not intending to put into effect immediately, I should have been exceedingly loath to proclaim it, for fear of gaining, instead of gratitude, some grievous im-
3 νῦν δ’ ὁπότε εὐθὺς καὶ τῇ μεροῦ ἐπακολουθήσει τὸ ἔργον αὐτῷ, πάνω θαρσοῦντως ἔχω μὴ μόνον μηδεμίαν αἰσχύνην ψευδολογίας ὑφιστάσειν, ἄλλα καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους εὐδοξία νικήσειν. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ πάρεστι μοι διὰ παντὸς ὕμων ἀρχεῖν, καὶ αὐτὸς ὀράτε· τὸ τε γὰρ στασίασαι πᾶν ἦτοι δικαίωθεν πέπαυται ἢ καὶ ἐλεηθεὶς σεσωφρόνιστα, καὶ τὸ συναράμενόν μοι τῇ τε ἀμοιβῇ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ἴκεϊται καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν πραγμάτων ὑφίσταται, ὅστε μήτε ἐπιθυμήσαι τινα νεωτέρων ἔργων, κἂν ἄρα τι καὶ τοιοῦτο γένηται, τὸ γοῦν ἴσχυσιν ἠμῶν ἔτοιμον ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον εἶναι. τὰ τε στρατιωτικὰ ἀκμάζει μοι καὶ εὐνοία καὶ ῥώμη, καὶ χρήματα ἐστὶ καὶ σύμμαχος, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ὁ δὴμος διάκεισθε πρὸς με ὅστε καὶ πάνυ ἄν προστατεύεσθαι.

2 ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ θελῆσαι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖου ὑμᾶς ἐξηγήσομαι, οὔτε ἔρει τις ὃς ἐγὼ τῆς αὐταρχίας ἑνεκα πάντα τὰ προκατειργασμένα ἐπραξά: ἀλλὰ ἀφίμυ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπασαν καὶ ἀποδίδωμι ὑμῖν πάντα ἀπλῶς, τὰ ὁπλα τοὺς νόμους τὰ ἐθνεῖ, οὐχ ὅπως ἔκεινα ὅσα μοι ὑμεῖς ἐπετρέψατε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα αὐτὸς μετὰ ταῦθ’ ὑμῖν προσεκτησάμην, ἱνα καὶ ἐξ ἀυτῶν τῶν ἔργων καταμάθητε τοῦθ’, ὅτι οὐδ’ ἀπ’ ἀρχὴς δυναστείας τινὸς ἐπεθύμησα, ἀλλ’ ὅντος τῷ τε πατρὶ δεινῶς σφαγέντι τιμωρήσαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ μεγάλων καὶ ἐπαλλήλων κάκων ἐξελέσθαι ἢθε-λήσα. ὁφελοῦν μὲν γὰρ µηδὲ ἐπιστήμαντο ποτε οὕτω τοῖς πράγμασι τοῦτ’ ἔστιν, ὁφελοῦν µὴ

1 ἐλεηθεὶς σεσωφρόνισται Μ, ἐλεηθεύτες σωφρόνισται V.
2 προστατεύεσθαι Μ, προστατεύεσθε V.
But as it is, when the performance will follow the promise this very day, I feel quite confident, not only that I shall incur no reproach of falsehood, but that I shall surpass all mankind in good repute. You see for yourselves, of course, that it is in my power to rule over you for life; for every factious element has either been put down through the application of justice or brought to its senses by receiving mercy, while those who were on my side have been made devoted by my reciprocating their friendly services and bound fast by having a share in the government. Therefore none of them desires a revolution, and if anything of the sort should take place, at least the party which will stand by me is even more ready than it was before. My military is in the finest condition as regards both loyalty and strength; there is money and there are allies; and, most important of all, you and the people are so disposed toward me that you would distinctly wish to have me at your head. However, I shall lead you no longer, and no one will be able to say that it was to win absolute power that I did whatever has hitherto been done. Nay, I give up my office completely, and restore to you absolutely everything,—the army, the laws, and the provinces,—not only those which you committed to me, but also those which I myself later acquired for you. Thus my very deeds also will prove to you that even at the outset I desired no position of power, but in very truth wished to avenge my father, cruelly murdered, and to extricate the city from great evils that came on unceasingly. Indeed, I would that I had not gone so far as to assume charge of affairs as I did; that is, I would that the city had not
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δεδεήσθαι μον πρὸς τοιούτῳ τι τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὀμονοίᾳ, καθάπερ ποτὲ καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἤμων, καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐν τῇ τῇ ἥλικιᾳ

2 ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς βεβιωκέναι. ἔπει δὲ εἰμαρμένη τις, ός ἔοικεν, ἐς τοῦτο προήγαγεν ὑμᾶς ὡστε καὶ ἐμοῦ, καίπερ νέου ἐτί τότε ὅντος, καὶ χρείαν σχεῖν καὶ πείραν λαβεῖν, μέχρι μὲν οὐ1 τὰ πράγματα τῆς παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἐπικουρίας ἔχρηζε, πάντα τε προθύμωσι καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἥλικιαν ἔποιήσα καὶ πάντα εὐτυχῶς καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἑστάσειν κατέπραξα.

3 καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ τι τῶν πάντων ἀπέτρεψε µε κινδυνεύουσιν ὑµῶν ἐπικουρήσα, οὐ πόνος, οὐ φόβος, οὐκ ἔχθρῶν ἀπειλαί, οὐ φίλων δεήσεις, οὐ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συνεστηκότων, οὐχ ἡ ἀπόνοια τῶν ἀντιτεταγµένων, ἀλλὰ ἐπέδωκα ἀφειδῶς ὑµῶν ἐµαυτόν ἐς πάντα τὰ περιστηκότα, καὶ ἐπράξα

4 καὶ ἔπαθον ἀπέρ ἱστε. ἔξ δὲν αὐτὸς µὲν οὐδὲν κεκέρδαγκα πλήν τοῦ τὴν πατρίδα περιπετευκαθαίρεται, ὑµεῖς δὲ καὶ σώζεσθε καὶ σωφρονεῖτε. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καλῶς ποιοῦσα ἡ τύχη καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄδολον καὶ τὴν ὀμόνοιαν ἀστασίαστον δι᾽ ἐµοῦ ὑµῶν ἀποδεδωκεν, ἀπολάβετε καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν δηµοκρατίαν, κοµίσασθε καὶ τὰ ὁπλα καὶ τὰ ἑθνη τὰ υπόκοια, καὶ πολιτεύεσθε ὅσπερ εἰώθετε.

6 “Καὶ μήτε2 θαυµάσθετε εἰ ταῦθ’ οὕτω φρονῷ, τὴν τε ἄλλην ἐπιεἰκείαν μου καὶ πραότητα καὶ ἀπραγμοσύνην ὄρωντες, καὶ προσεκληγξοµενοὶ ὃτι οὐδὲν πῶς τοτε οὐδ’ ὑπέροχουν οὐδ’ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς, καίπερ πολλὰ πολλάκις ψηφισµένων

2 ὑµῶν, ἐδεξάµενσ’ μήτ’ αὐ µωρίαν μου καταγρωτέ,

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

"You should not be surprised at this purpose of mine, when you see my reasonableness in other respects, my mildness, and my love of quiet, and when you reflect, moreover, that I have never accepted any extraordinary privilege nor anything beyond what the many might gain, though you have often voted many of them to me. Do not, on the
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"Τι γὰρ ἂν τις καὶ παρεξετάσεις αὐτῶ; τὴν Γαλατίας ἄλοσιν ἢ τὴν Παννονίας δούλωσιν ἢ τὴν Μυσίας χείρωσιν ἢ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων κατα-στροφὴν; ἀλλὰ τὸν Φαρνάκην τὸν Ἰουβαν τὸν Φραάτην, τὴν ἐπὶ τὸς Βρέτανος στρατείαν,
other hand, condemn me as foolish because, when it is in my power to rule over you and to hold so great a sovereignty over this vast world, I do not wish it. For, if one looks into the merits of the case from the point of view of justice, I regard it as most just for you to manage your own affairs; if from the point of view of expediency, I consider it most expedient, both that I should be free from trouble and not be the object of jealousy and intrigue, and that you should have a government based upon liberty and conducted with moderation and friendly feeling; and if, finally, from the point of view of glory, to win which many men are often found ready to choose war and personal risk, will it not add most to my renown to resign so great an empire, will it not add most to my glory to leave so exalted a sovereignty and voluntarily become a private citizen? Therefore, if there is any one of you who believes that no man except me can really and sincerely hold to such ideals and give them utterance, at least let him believe it of me. For, though I could recite many great benefits conferred upon you both by me and by my father, for which we beyond all other men could reasonably claim your affection and your honour, I could single out no other act in preference to this, nor could I feel a greater pride in any other thing than in this,—that he refused the monarchy although you offered it to him, and that I, when I hold it, lay it aside.

"What achievement, indeed, could one compare with these acts of ours? The conquest of Gaul, the enslavement of Pannonia, the subjugation of Moesia, the overthrow of Egypt? Or Pharnaces, or Juba, or Phraates, or the campaign against the Britons, or
τὴν τοῦ 'Ῥήνου διάβασιν; καίτοι τοσαῦτα καὶ
tοιαῦτα ταῦτα ἔστιν ὅσα καὶ οἷα οὐδὲ σύμπαντες
οἱ πατέρες ἥμων ἐν παντὶ τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ
2 πεποιήκασιν. ἀλλ' ὁμοις οὔτε τούτων τι τῷ
παρόντι ἑργῷ παραβαλεῖν ἔστιν ἄξιον, οὐθ' ὅτι
τοὺς ἐμφυλίους πολέμους καὶ μεγίστους καὶ ποι-
κιλωτάτους διὰ πάντων γενομένους καὶ διεπολε-
μήσαμεν καλῶς καὶ διεθέμεθα φιλανθρώπως, τοῦ
μὲν ἀντιστάντος ὡς καὶ πολεμίου παντὸς 1 κρατή-
σαντες, τὸ δ' ὑπείξαν ὡς καὶ φίλιον πᾶν περίσω-
σαντες, ὡστ' εἰπερ ποτὲ καὶ αὕθις πεπρωμένοι
 eius τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν 2 νοσήσαι, τούτων αὐτὴν τὸν
τρόπον εὐξασθαί τινα στασιάσαι τὸ γάρ τοι
τοσοῦτον τε ἵσχυσαντας ἡμᾶς καὶ οὗτῳ καὶ τῇ
ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ τύχῃ ἀκμάσαντας ὡστε καὶ ἐκόντων
καὶ ἀκόντων ὑμῶν αὐταρχῆσαι δυνηθῆναι, μήτε
ἐκφρονῆσαι μήτε τῆς μοναρχίας ἐπιθυμῆσαι,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνον διδομένην αὐτὴν ἀπώσασθαι
καὶ ἐμὲ δεδομένην ἀποδίδοναι, υπὲρ ἀνθρωπὸν
4 ἔστιν. λέγω δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ ἄλλωσ ἐπικομπῶν
(οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄν εἴπον αὐτὰ ἀρχὴν, εἰ καὶ ὅτι οὐ
πλεονεκτήσειν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἡμέλλον), ἀλλὰ ἦν
ἐιδήτε ὅτι πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἐς τὸ τοῦ κοινὸν
ἐνεργετημάτων καὶ ἐς τὰ οἰκεία σεμνολογημάτων
ἡμῶν ὄντων, ἐπὶ τούτω μᾶλιστα ἀγαλλόμεθα ἵτι,
ὅν ἔτεροι καὶ βιαξόμενοι τινὰς ἐπιθυμοῦσι, ταύθ'
8 ἡμεῖς οὖν ἀναγκαζόμενοι προσιέμεθα. τίς μὲν
γὰρ ἄν μεγαλοπυχότερός μοι, ἢν μὴ καὶ τὸν
πατέρα τὸν μετηλλαχότα αὕθις εἴπω, τίς δὲ δαι-
μονιώτερος εὐρεθείη; ὡστὶς, ὃ Ζεὺς καὶ Ἡρακλες,
the crossing of the Rhine? Yet these are greater
and more important deeds than even all our fore-
fathers together performed in all previous time.
Nevertheless, no one of these exploits deserves a
place beside my present act, to say nothing of our
civil wars, of all which have ever occurred the
greatest and most varied in its changing fortunes,
which we fought to an honourable conclusion and
brought to a humane settlement, overpowering as
enemies all who resisted, but sparing as friends all
who yielded; therein setting an example, so that if
it should be fated that our city should ever again be
afflicted, one might pray that it should conduct its
quarrel in the same way. Indeed, I will go further:
that we, when we possessed a strength so great, and
when we so clearly stood at the summit of prowess
and good fortune, that we could exercise over you,
with or without your consent, our arbitrary rule, did
not lose our senses or conceive the desire for sole
supremacy, but that he thrust that supremacy aside
when it was offered him and that I return it after it
has been given me,—that, I say, transcends the
deeds of a man! I say this, not by way of idle
boasting,—indeed, I should not have said it at all, if
I were going to derive any advantage whatever from
it,—but in order that you may see that, although we
can point to many benefits conferred upon the state
at large and to many services rendered to individuals
of which we might boast, yet we take the greatest
pride in this, that what others so desire that they are
even willing to do violence to gain it, this we do not
accept even under compulsion. Who could be found
more magnanimous than I,—not to mention again
my deceased father,—who more nearly divine? For
στρατιώταις τοσούτους καὶ τοιούτους, καὶ πολίτας καὶ συμμάχους, φιλονυτάς με ἔχων, καὶ πάσης μὲν τῆς ἐντὸς τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν θαλάσσης πλήν ὅλην κρατῶν, ἐν πάσαις δὲ ταῖς ἔπειροις 2 καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη κεκτημένοις, καὶ μὴ ἀλλο- φύλου τινὸς ἐτί προσπολεμοῦντός μοι μὴτ' οὐκείον στασιάζοντος, ἀλλὰ πάντων ὑμῶν καὶ εἰρημοῦν- των καὶ ὁμονοοῦντων καὶ εὐθενοῦντων1 καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἐθελουντὴν πειθαρχοῦντων, ἐπειθ' ἐκου- σίος αὐτεπάγγελτος καὶ ἀρχῆς τηλικαύτης ἀφι- σταμαι καὶ οὐσίας τοσαύτης ἀπαλλάττομαι.

3 ὡστ' εἶπερ ὁ Ὄρατιος ὁ Μοῦκιος ὁ Κούρτιος ὁ Ῥήγουλος οἱ Δέκιοι καὶ κινδυνεύσαι καὶ ἀπο- θανεῖν ὕπερ τοῦ μέγα τι καὶ καλὸν πεποιηκέναι δόξαι ηθέλησαν, πῶς οὔκ ἄν ἐγὼ μᾶλλον ἐπι- θυμήσαιμι τούτῳ πράξαι εξ οὐ κάκεινος καὶ τούς ἄλλους ἁμα πάντας ἀνθρώπους εὐκλεία κατών

4 ὑπερβαλὼ; μὴ γάρ τοι νομίζῃ τις ὑμῶν2 τοὺς μὲν πάλαι Ἡρωμάιοι καὶ ἁρετῆς καὶ εὐδοξίας ἐφείσθαι, νῦν δὲ ἐξίτηλον ἐν τῇ πόλει πᾶν τὸ ἀνδρόδες γεγονέναι. μὴ μέντοι μηδ' ὑποπτεύσῃ ὅτι προέσθαι τε ὑμᾶς καὶ ποιηροὶς τις ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτρέψαι, ἢ καὶ όχλοκρατίᾳ τινί, εξ ἡς οὖ μόνον οὐδὲν χρηστόν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τὰ δεινότατα ἂεὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις γίγνεται, ἐκδοῦναι βούλομαι.

5 ὡμοῖς γάρ, ὡμοῖς τοῖς ἀρίστοις καὶ φρονιμωτάτοις πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ἀνατίθημι. ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ οὐ- δέποτ' ἄν ἐποίησα, οὔτ' εἰ μυριάκις ἀποθανεῖν ἢ καὶ μοναρχησάει με ἐδει τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ

6 ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ποιῶ. αὐτὸς τε

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1 εὐθενοῦντων Dind., εὐθηνοῦντων Rk., εὐσθενοῦντων VM.
2 ὑμῶν M, ἡμῶν V.
I,—the gods be my witnesses!—who have so many gallant soldiers, both Romans and allies, who are devoted to me, I, who am supreme over the entire sea within the Pillars of Hercules except for a few tribes, I who possess both cities and provinces in every continent, at a time when there is no longer any foreign enemy making war upon me and no one at home is engaged in sedition, but when you are all at peace, are harmonious and strong, and, greatest of all, are content to yield obedience, I, in spite of all this, voluntarily and of my own motion resign so great a dominion and give up so vast a possession. So then, if Horatius, Mucius, Curtius, Regulus, and the Decii were willing to encounter danger and to die to win the fame of having done a great and noble deed, why should not I desire even more to do this thing, whereby, without losing my life, I shall excel both them and all the rest of mankind in glory? In truth no one of you should think that the ancient Romans sought to win fair fame and reputation for valour, but that in these days every manly virtue has become extinct in the state. And further, let no one suspect that I wish to betray you by delivering you into the hands of a group of wicked men, or by giving you over to government by the mob, from which nothing good ever comes, but rather in all cases and for all mankind nothing but the most terrible evils. Nay, it is to you senators, to you who are the best and wisest, that I restore the entire administration of the state. The other course I should never have followed, even had it been necessary for me to die a thousand deaths, or even to assume the sole rule; but this policy I adopt both for my own good and for that of the city.
γάρ καὶ πεπόνησαι καὶ τεταλαύπωρησαι, καὶ οὔκετον ous tή νυχή ous tο δώματι ἀντέχειν δύναμαι καὶ προσέπτω καὶ τὸν φθόνον καὶ τὸ μίσος, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρίστους ἀνδρας ἐγγίγνεται τις, τάς τε εξ αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλᾶς προορῶμαι. 7 καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἰδιωτεύσαι μᾶλλον εὐκλεῶς ἢ μοναρχῆσαι ἐπικινδύνως αἱρόμαι. καὶ τὰ κοινά κοινῶς ἀν πολὺ βέλτιον ἂτε 1 καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀμα διαγόμενα καὶ μὴ ἐς ἕνα τινὰ ἀνερτημένα διοικοῖτο.

9 "Δ' ὅπων ταῦτα καὶ ἱκετεύω καὶ δέομαι πάντων ὑμῶν ὁμοίως καὶ συνεπαινέσαι καὶ συμπροθυμηθήσαι μοι, λογισμένους πάνθρωπος καὶ πεπολεμηκήθη ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ πεπολεμύμαι, κἂν τούτῳ πᾶσιν μοι τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν θάρσης ἀποδοῦνας, ἐὰν τῷ συγχωρηθῆσαι μοι ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ἡδὴ ποτὲ καταβιώναι, ἵνα καὶ ἐκείνο εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὗ μόνον ἄρχειν ἄλλα καὶ ἄρχεσθαι επίσταμαι, καὶ πάνθρωπος ἁλλοις ἐπέταξα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀντεπευχθῆναι δύναμαι. 2 μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄσφαλῶς ζῆσει καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ μηδενὸς μῆτε ἐργῳ μήτε λόγῳ κακὸν πείσεσθαι προσδόκῳ τοσοῦτον πον τῇ εὐνοίᾳ ὑμῶν, εξ 3 ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐμαυτῷ σύνοιδα, πιστεύω. ἂν δὲ τι καὶ πάθω, οἴα πολλοῖς συμβαίνει (οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁδὸν τε ἐστι πᾶσι τινα, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τοσοῦτοις πολέμοις, τοῖς μὲν θυνείοις τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐμφυλίοις, γενόμενοι καὶ τηλικαῦτα πράγματα ἐπιτραπέντε, ἀρέσαι), καὶ πάνυ ἐτοίμως καὶ πρὸ τοῦ εἰμαι-

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

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

4 ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ εὐκλειαν καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐσεῖ ὅτι οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐφόνευσά τινα ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν ἄρχην κατασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσαπέθανον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ μοναρχήσαι· ὁ δὲ δὴ τολμήσας ἀποκτεῖναι μὲ πάντως που καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου καὶ ύφ'

5 ύμῶν κολασθήσεται. ἀπερ που καὶ ἑπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς μου γέγονεν· ἐκείνως μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἱσόθεος ἀπεδείχθη καὶ τιμῶν ἀιδίων ἔτυχεν, οἱ δ' ἀποσφάζαντες αὐτὸν κακῶς ἀπώλοντο. ἀθάνατοι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἀν δυνηθέντες γενέσθαι, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ καλῶς ξῆσαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καλῶς τελευ-

6 τῆσαι καὶ τοῦτο τρόπον τινά κτόμεθα. ἂφ' οὕτερ καὶ ἔγώ τὸ μὲν ἣδη ἔχων τὸ δὲ ἔξειν ἐλπίζων, ἀποδίδωμι ύμῖν καὶ τὰ ὁπλα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τάς τε προσόδους καὶ τοὺς νόμους, τοσοῦτον μόνον ὑπειπῶν, ἵνα μήτε τὸ μέγεθος ἢ καὶ τὸ δυσμετα-

χείριστον τῶν πραγμάτων φοβηθέντες ἀθυμήσητε, μήτ' αὐτ καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν ὑπὸ καὶ ῥάδιως διοικεῖσθαι δυναμένων ἀμελήσητε.

10 "Καίτοι καὶ καθ' ἐκαστον τῶν μειζόνων οὐκ ἀν ὀκνήσαιμι ύμῖν ἐν κεφαλαίοις ὅσα χρή πράττειν ὑποθέσθαι. τίνα δὲ ταὐτά ἐστι; πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς κειμένους νόμους ἱσχυρῶς φυλάττετε, καὶ μηδένα αὐτῶν μεταβάλλητε· τὰ γὰρ ἐν ταὐτῷ μένοντα, κἀν χεῖρω ᾧ, συμφορώτερα τῶν ἀεὶ καίνοτομομυμένων, κἀν βελτίω εἰναι δοκῇ, ἐστίν.

2 ἐπειτα δὲ, ὅσα προστάττουσιν ύμῖν οὕτοι ποιεῖν

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

"And yet, after all, I feel no hesitancy about suggesting to you in a summary way what ought to be done in each of the leading departments of administration. And what are these suggestions? In the first place, guard vigilantly the established laws and change none of them; for what remains fixed, even though it be inferior, is more advantageous than what is always subject to innovations, even though it seem to be superior. Next, pay strict heed to do whatever these laws enjoin upon
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καὶ ὅσων ἀπαγορεύουσιν ἀπέχεσθαι, μὴ τῷ λόγῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, μὴ δὲ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑδίᾳ ἀκριβῶς παρατηρεῖσθε, 1

3 ὅπως μὴ τιμωρίας ἀλλὰ τιμῶν τυγχάνῃ. τάς τε ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς εἰρημικὰς καὶ τὰς πολεμικὰς τοῖς ἅει ἀρίστους τε καὶ ἐμφρονεστάτους ἐπιτρέπετε, μὴτε φθονοῦντες τισι, 2 μὴθ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοῦ δεῖνα ἢ τὸν δεῖνα πλεονεκτῆσαι τι, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν πόλιν καὶ σώζεσθαι καὶ εὐπραγεῖν

4 φιλοτιμοῦμενοι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν τοιούτους τιμᾶτε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους πως πολιτευμένους κολάζετε. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἱδία κοινὰ τῇ πόλει παρέχετε, τῶν δὲ δημοσίων ὡς ἀλλοτρίων ἀπέχεσθε. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπάρχονθ' ὑμῖν ἀκριβῶς φυλάττετε, τῶν δὲ μὴ

5 προσηκότων μηδαμῶς ἐφίεσθε. καὶ τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους καὶ τοὺς ὑπηκόους μήθ' ὑβρίζετε μήτε ἐκχρηματίζεσθε, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους μήτ' ἀδικεῖτε μήτε φοβείσθε. τὰ μὲν ὅπλα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἅε τέχετε, μὴ μέντοι μήτε κατ' ἄλληλων

6 μήτε κατὰ τῶν εἰρημονυτῶν αὐτοῖς χρῆσθε. 3 τοὺς τε στρατιώτας τρέφετε μὲν ἀρκοῦντως, ὡστε μηθ' δενὸς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων δ' ἀπορίαν ἐπιθυμήσαι, συνέχετε δὲ καὶ σωφρονίζετε, ὡστε μηθ' δεν κακῶν διὰ θρασύτητα δράσαι.

7 "Ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ μακρολογεῖν, πάνθ' ἀ προσήκει ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐπεξίοντα; καὶ γὰρ τὰ λοιπὰ ῥαδίως ἄν ἐκ τούτων ὡς χρῆ πράττεσθαι συνίδοιτε. 4 ἐν όυν ἐτί τοῦτο εἰπὼν παύομαι, ὅτι ἀν μὲν οὕτω πολιτεύσησθε, αὐτοὶ τὲ εὐδαιμονίσετε καὶ ἑμοὶ

1 παρατηρεῖσθε R. Steph., παρατηρεῖσθαι VM.
2 τισι M, τινι V. 3 χρῆσθε M, χρῆσθαι V.
4 συνίδοιτε Pflugk, συνελδοῖτε VM.
you and to refrain from whatever they forbid, and do this not only in word but also in deed, not only in public but also in private, that you may obtain, not penalties, but honours. Entrust the offices both of peace and of war to those who are the most excellent and the most prudent, harbouring no jealousy of any man, and indulging in rivalry, not to advance the private interests of this or that man, but to keep the city safe and make it prosperous. Honour men who show this spirit, but punish those who act otherwise in political life. Treat your private means as the common property of the state, but refrain from the public funds as belonging to others. Guard strictly what you already have, but never covet that which does not belong to you. Do not treat the allies and subject nations insolently nor exploit them for gain, and in dealing with the enemy, neither wrong him nor fear him. Have your arms always in hand, but do not use them either against one another or against those who keep the peace. Maintain the soldiers adequately, so that they may not on account of want desire anything which belongs to others; keep them in hand and under discipline, that they may not become presumptuous and do harm.

"But why make a long speech by going through everything in detail which it behooves you to do? For you may easily understand from these hints how all other matters should be handled. I will close with this one further remark, that if you will conduct the government in this manner, you will both enjoy
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χαριείσθε, ὡστις ὑμᾶς στασιάζοντας κακῶς λαβὼν
8 τοιούτους ἀπέδειξα, ἂν δ' ἀδυνατήσῃ καὶ ὅτιοι
αὐτῶν πράξαι, ἐμὲ μὲν μετανοήσαι ποιήσετε, τήν
δὲ δὴ τόλμων ἐς τε πολέμους πολλοὺς καὶ ἐς κινδύ-
νους μεγάλους αὕτες ἐμβαλεῖτε."

11 (Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀναλέγοντος) ποικίλον
tι πάθος τούς βουλευτὰς κατελάμβανεν. Ὅλοιοι
μὲν γὰρ τὴν τε διάνοιαν αὐτὸν ἱδεσαν κἂν τοῦτον
καὶ συνεσποῦδαξον αὐτῷ τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ μὲν
ὑπώπτευν τὰ λεγόμενα οἱ δὲ ἐπίστευν σφισι, καὶ
diὰ tαῦτα καὶ ἐθαύμαζον ὀμοίως ἀμφότεροι,
2 οἱ μὲν τὴν περιτέχνησιν αὐτοῦ οἱ δὲ τὴν γνώμην,
καὶ ἥχωντο οἱ μὲν τῇ πραγματείᾳ αὐτοῦ οἱ δὲ τῇ
μετανοίᾳ. τὸ τε γὰρ δημοκρατικὸν ἡδὴ τινὲς ὡς
καὶ στασιώδες ἐμίσουν, καὶ τῇ μεταστάσει τῆς
πολιτείας ἴρέσκοντο, τῷ τε Καίσαρι ἔχαιρον.
καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τοῖς μὲν παθήμασι διαφόροις τοῖς
3 δὲ ἐπινοήμασιν ὀμοίως ἔχρωντο. οὕτε γὰρ πι-
στεύσαντες ἀληθῶς αὐτὰ λέγεσθαι χαίρειν ἐδύ-
ναντο, οὐθ' οἱ βουλόμενοι 1 τοῦτο διὰ τὸ δέος, οὐθ'
οἱ ἑτεροὶ διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας' οὐτ' ἀπιστήσαντες
diαβαλεῖν τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἑλέγξαι ἐτόλμων, οἱ μὲν
4 ὁτι ἐφοβοῦντο, οἱ δ' ὁτι οὐκ ἐβούλουντο. Ὁθενπερ
καὶ πιστεύειν αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ μὲν ἡγαγκάζοντο
οἱ δὲ ἐπλάττοντο. καὶ ἑπανεῖν αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν οὐκ
ἐθάρσουν οἱ δ' οὐκ ἥθελον, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ
μεταξὺ ἀναγγελώσκοντος αὐτοῦ διεβόων πολλὰ
dὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο, μοναρχείσθαί τε δεόμενοι καὶ

1 Βουλόμενοι R. Steph., βουλευόμενοι VM.
BOOK LIII

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

While Caesar was reading this address, varied feelings took possession of the senators. A few of them knew his real intention and consequently kept applauding him enthusiastically; of the rest, some were suspicious of his words, while others believed them, and therefore both classes marvelled equally, the one at his cunning and the other at his decision, and both were displeased, the former at his scheming and the latter at his change of mind. For already there were some who abhorred the democratic constitution as a breeder of strife, were pleased at the change in government, and took delight in Caesar. Consequently, though they were variously affected by his announcement, their views were the same. For, on the one hand, those who believed he had spoken the truth could not show their pleasure,—those who wished to do so being restrained by their fear and the others by their hopes,—and those, on the other hand, who did not believe it did not dare accuse him and expose his insincerity, some because they were afraid and others because they did not care to do so. Hence all the doubters either were compelled to believe him or else pretended that they did. As for praising him, some had not the courage and others were unwilling; on the contrary, both while he was reading and afterwards, they kept shouting out, begging for a monarchical government and urging
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πάντα τὰ ἐς τοῦτο φέροντα ἐπιλέγοντες, μέχρις
5 οὐ κατηγόραζαν δὴθεν αὐτὸν αὐταρχῆσαι. καὶ
παρανύκτικα γε τοῖς δορυφόροις συν αὐτὸν διπλά-
σιον τὸν μισθὸν τοῦ τοῖς ἀλλοίς στρατιώταις
διδομένου ψηφισθῆναι διεπράξατο,1 ὅπως ἀκριβῆ
τὴν φρουρᾶν ἔχῃ. οὕτως ὃς ἀληθῶς καταθέσθαι
τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐπεθύμησε.

12 Ἡν μὲν οὖν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦτο τῷ ἑτοῦ τρόπῳ καὶ
παρὰ τῆς γερουσίας τοῦ τε δήμου ἐβεβαιώσατο,
βουληθεὶς δὲ δὴ καὶ ὡς δημοτικὸς τις εἶναι δόξαι,
τὴν μὲν φροντίδα τὴν τε προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν
πᾶσαν ὡς καὶ ἐπιμελείας τινὸς δεομένων ὑπεδε-
ξατο, οὕτε δὲ πάντων αὐτῶς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἄρξειν,3
2 οὐθέν δὲ ἄρξην, διὰ παντὸς τοῦτο ποιήσειν
ἐφι, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἁσθενεστέρα ὡς καὶ εἰρηναῖα
καὶ ὑπόλεμα ἀπεδωκε τῇ βουλῇ,4 τὰ δ’ ἰσχυρότερα
ὡς καὶ σφαλερὰ καὶ ἐπικάνδυνα καὶ ἦτοι πολε-
μίους τινὰς προσοικοὺς ἔχοντα ἢ καὶ αὐτὰ καθ’
3 ἐαυτὰ μέγα τι νεωτερίσαι δυνάμενα κατέσχε, λόγῳ
μὲν ὅπως ἢ μὲν γερουσία ἁδεὸς τὰ κάλλιστα τῆς
ἀρχῆς καρπῆτο, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τε πόνους καὶ τοὺς
κινδύνους ἔχῃ, ἐργῷ δὲ ἵνα ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει
ταύτῃ ἑκεῖνοι μὲν καὶ ἀοπλοὶ καὶ ἀμαχοὶ ὅσιν,
αὐτὸς δὲ δὴ μόνος καὶ ἄπλα ἔχῃ καὶ στρατιώτας
4 τρέφῃ, καὶ ἐνομίσθη διὰ ταύτα ἢ μὲν Ἄφρικη
καὶ ἡ Νομιδία ἢ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ ἡ Ἑλλάς· μετὰ
tῆς Ἡπείρου, καὶ τὸ Δελματικὸν τὸ τε Μακε-
δονικὸν καὶ Σικελία, Κρήτῃ τε μετὰ Διβύθης τῆς

1 διεπράξατο Bk., διεπράξαντο VM Xiph.
2 τῷ Xiph., τε VM.
3 ἄρξεὼν Bk., ἀρχεὼν VM Xiph.
4 τῇ βουλῇ Xiph. Zon., om. VM.
every argument in its favour, until they forced him, B.C. 27
as it was made to appear, to assume autocratic power.
His very first act was to secure a decree granting to
the men who should compose his bodyguard double
the pay that was given to the rest of the soldiers, so
that he might be strictly guarded. When this was
done, he was eager to establish the monarchy in
very truth.

In this way he had his supremacy ratified by the
senate and by the people as well. But as he wished
even so to be thought democratic, while he accepted
all the care and oversight of the public business, on
the ground that it required some attention on his
part, yet he declared he would not personally govern
all the provinces, and that in the case of such pro-
vinces as he should govern he would not do so
indefinitely; and he did, in fact, restore to the
senate the weaker provinces, on the ground that
they were peaceful and free from war, while he
retained the more powerful, alleging that they were
insecure and precarious and either had enemies on
their borders or were able on their own account to
begin a serious revolt. His professed motive in this
was that the senate might fearlessly enjoy the finest
portion of the empire, while he himself had the
hardships and the dangers; but his real purpose was
that by this arrangement the senators should be
unarmed and unprepared for battle, while he alone
had arms and maintained soldiers. Africa, Numidia,
Asia, Greece with Epirus, the Dalmatian and Mace-
donian districts, Crete and the Cyrenaic portion of
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peri Kyroynv kai Bivinia metà tov prosekpeirmeon oi Pountou, Sarbo te kai Bautikhe tov te deimou
5 kai tis georou siai einai, tov de di Kaistoros h te
loiphe 'Ibheria, h te peri Tarrakowa kai h Luvi-
tania, kai Galatai pantes, oii te Narpwntisi kai
oi Dounyounhtsiou 'Akuitanoi te kai Volkikoii.¹
6 autoi te kai oi etoikoi sforw Kelton gar tines,
ois di Germaunous kaloumen, pasan tivn pro tiv
'Rhyw Volkikhe ² kataschoentes Germaunian ono-
mazesthai epoinesan, tivn men anw tivn metà tas
tov potamou pignas, tivn de kata tivn mechi tov
7 okeanov tov Breatnaviko ouxan. taunt te ouv
kai h Syria h koili kaloumeni h te Fovikes kai
Kelixia kai Kupros kai Aignptiou en tiv tov
Kaistoros meride tote ³ egenvontov wssteron gar tivn
men Kuproun kai tivn Galatian tivn peri Narpwva
tov deimw apodiweven, autos de tivn Deltamian
8 antelabhe. kai touto mev kai ep alloe evoun
metà taunt epirakhthe, ois pou kai h diekdos tiv
logon delowsei taunt de ouw katelexa, oti vuv
xoris ekastou autov hgemoneiatai, epel to ge
arkaion kai epil polu kai sunduo kai sundria tâ
9 evn enima etxeto. tivn de di loipton ouk evny-
moneusa, oti ta mev wssteron autovn prosekthi,
ta de, ei kai tote hedi ekexieroto, alla outi ge
kai upo tivn 'Romaivn etxeto, alla' h autonoma
afeito h kai basilieias tisiv etettrapto kai

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

1 See note on xxxviii. 34.
2 Dio's name for Germany proper is Κελτική; when he uses the name Ἑρμανία, as here, he refers to the provinces of that name, Germania Superior and Germania Inferior, both lying west of the Rhine.
3 Cf. chap. 26 and liv. 9.
The details of the earlier legislation of Augustus (cf. liv. 16, 1 ; Iv. 2, 6) in the interest of more marriages and larger families are not clear; but as finally embodied in the *Lex Julia et Papia Poppaea* (cf. Ivi. 10), the special privileges of a father of three legitimate children (the *ius trium liberorum*)
of them which came into the Roman empire after this period were added to the provinces of the one who was emperor at the time.

Such, then, was the apportionment of the provinces. And wishing, even then, to lead the Romans a long way from the idea that he was at all monarchical in his purposes, Caesar undertook for only ten years the government of the provinces assigned him; for he promised to reduce them to order within this period, and boastfully added that, if they should be pacified sooner, he would the sooner restore them, too, to the senate. Thereupon he first appointed the senators themselves to govern both classes of provinces, except Egypt. This province alone he assigned to a knight, the one we have already named, for the reasons mentioned there. Next he ordained that the governors of senatorial provinces should be annual magistrates, chosen by lot, except when a senator enjoyed a special privilege because of the large number of his children or because of his marriage. These governors were to be sent out by vote of the senate in public meeting; they were to carry no sword at their belt nor to wear military uniform; the name of proconsul was to belong not only to the two ex-consuls but also to the others who had merely served as praetors or who held at least the rank of ex-praetors; both classes were to employ as many lictors as were usual in the capital; and they were included the right to receive inheritances left to bachelors (who could not inherit), preference in standing for the various offices, including the right to be a candidate before the regular age or without the usual interval between offices, precedence before equals and colleagues, and exemption from certain civic obligations.
Die Legaten Augusti pro praetore.

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

All the editions previous to that of Boissevain gave "six lictors," an error corrected by Mommsen (Römisches Staatsrecht, i 8, p. 369, note 4).
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ἀριθμὸν τούτου. τά τε τῆς ἡγεμονίας κοσμήματα, ὅταν τε ἐς τὴν προστεταγμένην σφίσι χώραν ἐσέλθωσιν, ἐκάτεροι ὁμοίως ἀναλαμβάνοντο, καὶ ἐπειδὰν διάρξωσιν, εὐθὺς κατατίθενται.

14 Οὕτω μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔκ τε τῶν ἐστρατηγικῶτων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἀρχοντες ἀμφοτέρωσε πέμπεσθαι ἐνομίσθησαν. καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν αὐτοκράτωρ ὅποι τε τινα καὶ ὅποτε ἦθελεν ἐστελλε, καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ στρατηγοῦντες καὶ ὑπατεύοντες ἡγεμονίας ἔθνων ἔσχον, δ καὶ 1 νῦν

2 ἔστιν ὅτε γίγνεται τῇ δὲ δὴ δῆθεν ἠδίᾳ μὲν τοῖς τέτοιοι ὑπατευκόσι τῇ τε Ἀφρικῆν καὶ τῆς Ἀσίαν καὶ τοῖς ἐστρατηγικόσι τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ἀπένειμε, κοινῇ δὲ δὴ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ἀπηγόρευσε μηδένα πρὸ πέντε ἐτῶν μετὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀρξαί

3 κληροῦσθαι. καὶ χρόνῳ μὲν τινὶ πάντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι, εἰ καὶ πλείουσ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἦσαν, ἐλάγχανοι αὐτάς υστερον δέ, ἐπειδὴ τινες αὐτῶν οὐ καλῶς ἦρξον, τῷ αὐτοκρατορὶ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι προσετέθησαν, καὶ οὕτω καὶ τούτοις αὐτῶς τρόπον

4 τινὰ τὰς ἡγεμονίας διδωσιν. ἱσαρίθμους τε γὰρ τοῖς ἐθνεσι, καὶ οὕς ἄν ἐθελήσῃ, κληροῦσθαι κελεύει. αἱρετοὺς τε τινες καὶ ἐκεῖσε ἐπεμψαν, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω ἐνιαυτοῦ χρόνον ἐστὶν οἷς ἀρξαὶ ἐπέτρεψαν καὶ τινες καὶ ἐπεπέτυσιν (ἄντι τῶν βουλευτῶν) ἔθνη τινὰ προσέταξαν.

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

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

1 This was merely a renewal of the decree of 52 B.C. which had remained in force. Cf. xl. 46, 2, and lii. 20, 4.
5 Ταύτα μὲν οὕτω τότε (περὶ τοῦς Βουλευτὰς τοὺς) γε καὶ θανατοῦν τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἐξουσιάν ἔχοντας ἐνομίσθη. πέμπονται γὰρ καὶ οἷς οὐκ ἔξεστι τούτο, ἐς μὲν τὰ τοῦ δήμου τῆς τε Βουλῆς λεγόμενα ἔθνη οὐ τε ταμεύοντες, οὔς ἄν ὁ κλῆρος ἀποδείξῃ, καὶ οἱ παρεδρεύοντες τοῖς τὸ κύρος τῆς
6 ἀρχῆς ἔχουσιν. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ὀρθῶς αὐτοῖς, οὐ πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν πράξιν, ὡσπερ εἰπον, καλέσαμι, ἐτεὶ οὐ γε 1 ἄλλοι πρεσβευτάς καὶ τούτους ἐλληνίζοντες ὀνομάζουσι. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ταύτης ἀρκούντως εν τοῖς
7 ᾠνὸς λόγοις εὐρῆται, τοὺς δὲ δὴ παρέδρους αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ἔκαστος αἱρεῖται, ἕνα μὲν οἱ ἐστρατηγικότες ἐκ τῶν ὅμοιων σφίσιν ἢ καὶ τῶν ὑποδεστέρων, τρεῖς δὲ οἱ ὑπατευκότες καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὁμοτίμων, οὖς ἀν καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ δοκιμάσῃ. ἐκαινοτομήθη μὲν γὰρ τὶ καὶ κατὰ τούτους ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ταχὺ ἐπαύσατο, ἀρκέσει τότε αὐτὸ λεχθῆναι.

15 (Περὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ τοῦ δήμου ἔθνη) ταῦθ' οὕτω γίγνεται. πέμπονται δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἔτερα, τὰ τοῦ τε αὐτοκράτορος ὀνομαζόμενα καὶ πολιτικὰ στρατόπεδα πλεῖω ἐνὸς ἔχοντα, οἱ ὑπάρξοντες σφῶν, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖνου τὸ μὲν πλείστον ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγικῶν ἦδη δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν τεταμενικῶν ἢ καὶ ἂλλην τινὰ ἀρχὴν τῶν διὰ μέσου ἀρξάντων αἱροῦμενοι.

1 γε Η. Steph., τε VM.

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

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

1 Legati. Cf. I. v. 27, 6.
2 πρεσβευται. This, the literal translation of legati, was in fact the ordinary Greek term.
3 See chap. 13, 5.
Τῶν μὲν δὴ οὖν βουλευόντων ταῦτα ἔχεται, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἱππέων τούς ἡ χηλαρχόν, καὶ τοὺς βουλεύοντας, ὧν περὶ τῆς διαφορὰς ἄνω μοι τοῦ λόγου προείρηται, αὐτὸς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τοὺς μὲν ἐς τὰ πολιτικὰ τεῖχη μόνα τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἕξενικα ἀποστέλλει, ὡσπερ τότε

3 πρὸς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐνομίσθη καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους (οὗτο γὰρ τοὺς τάς τε κοινᾶς προσόδους ἐκλέγοντας καὶ τὰ προστεταγμένα σφίσιν ἀναλί- σκοντας ὀνομάζομεν) ἐς πάντα ὀμοίως τὰ ἔθνη, τὰ τε ἐαυτοῦ δὴ καὶ τὰ τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων πέμπει, πλήν καθ’ ὅσον τοὺς φόρους οἱ ἀνθύπατοι παρ’

4 δὲν ἄρχουσιν ἐσπράσσουσιν. ἐντολάς τε τίνας καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις καὶ τοῖς ἀνθυπάτοις τοῖς τε ἀντιστρατηγοῖς δίδωσιν, ὡς ἐπὶ ρητοῖς ἐξίσωσιν. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ ἔμμοσθοφόραν καὶ ἐκείνοις

5 καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις δίδοσθαι τότε ἐνομίσθη. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πάλαι ἐργολαβοῦντες τίνες (παρὰ τοῦ δημο- σίου) πάντα σφίσι τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν φέροντα παρείχον· ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος πρῶτων αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι τακτὸν τι λαμβάνειν ἥρξαντο. καὶ τούτο 4 μὲν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἰσου πᾶσι σφίσιν, ἀλλ’ ὡς που καὶ ἡ χρεία ἀπήτει, ἔταχθη καὶ (τοῖς γε ἐπιτρό- ποις) καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τοῦ 5 ἀξίωματος ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν διδομένων αὐτοῖς χρημάτων προσ-

1 βουλεύοντας Dind., βουλεύοντας VM.
2 τοῦ Βς., αὐτοῦ τοῦ VM.  3 τὸ Βκ., τὴν VM.
4 τοῦτο R. Steph., τοῦ VM.  5 τὸ τοῦ Βκ., τοῦτο VM.
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These positions, then, appertain to the senators. Passing now to the knights, the emperor himself selects knights to be sent out as military tribunes (both those who are prospective senators and the others; concerning their difference in rank I have already spoken), despatching some of them to take command of the garrisons of purely citizen-legions, and others of the foreign legions as well. In this matter he follows the custom then instituted by Caesar. The procurators (for this is the name we give to the men who collect the public revenues and make disbursements according to the instructions given them) he sends out to all the provinces alike, to those of the people as well as to his own, and to this office knights are sometimes appointed and sometimes even freedmen; but the proconsuls may exact the tribute from the people they govern. The emperor gives instructions to the procurators, the proconsuls, and the propraetors, in order that they may be under definite orders when they go out to their provinces. For both this practice and the giving of salaries to them and to the other officials was established at this time. In former times, of course, certain persons had made a business of furnishing the officials with all they needed for the conduct of their office, drawing upon the treasury for the money; but under Caesar these officials now for the first time began to receive a fixed salary. This was not assigned to them all on the same basis, but approximately as their needs required; and the procurators, indeed, get the very title of their rank from the amount of the salaries assigned to them.

1 In lii. 25, 6 f.
2 i.e. centenarii, ducenarii, and trecenarii, receiving one hundred, two hundred, and three hundred thousand sesterces respectively.
6 γίγνεται. ἐκείνα δὲ ἐπὶ πάσιν ὄμοιως ἐνομοθετήθη, μήτε καταλόγους σφᾶς πουεῖσθαι, μήτε ἀργύριον ἔξω τοῦ τεταγμένου ἑστράπσειν, εἰ μὴ ἑτοὶ ἡ ἴδια ἡ ψηφισιάτῳ ἡ 1 αὐτοκράτωρ κελεύσειν· ὅταν τέ τω ὁ διάδοχος ἔλθῃ, ἐκ τε τοῦ ἐθνοῦς αὐτίκα αὐτῶν ἐξορμᾶσθαι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀνακομιδῇ μὴ ἐγχρονίζειν, ἀλλὰ ἐντὸς τριῶν μηνῶν ἐπανέναι.

16. Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω τότε ὡς γε εἰπεῖν διετάχθη· τῷ γὰρ ἔργῳ καὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ παντὸς αὐτῶς ὁ Καίσαρ, ἀτε καὶ τῶν χρημάτων κυριεύων (λόγῳ μὲν γὰρ τὰ δημόσια ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου ἀπεκέκριτο, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἀνηλίσκετο) καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κρατῶν, αὐταρ-

2 χῆσειν ἐμελλε. τῆς γοῦν δεκατίας ἐξελθοῦσης ἄλλα ἔτη πέντε, εἶτα πέντε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δέκα καὶ ἑτέρα αὕθες δέκα καὶ ἄλλα δέκα, 2 πεμπτάκις 3 αὐτῶ ἐνεφίσθη, ὡστε τῇ τῶν δεκατερίδων 4 δια-

3 δοξῇ διὰ βίου αὐτῶν μοναρχῆσαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοκράτορες, καὶ τῶν μηκέτ' ἐς τακτὸν ὁμονοια ἄλλα ἔστων καθάπαξ τῶν βίων ἀποδεικνύμενοι, ὦμος (διὰ τῶν δέκα ἄει ἑτῶν ἑωρτασαν ὡς καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὕθες τότε ἀνα-

νεούμενοι καὶ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν γίγνεται.

4 Ὁ δ' οὖν Καίσαρ πολλὰ μέν καὶ πρότερον, 5 ὡς τῇ περὶ τῆς ἐξωμοσίας τῆς μοναρχίας καὶ τῇ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν διανομῆς διελέξθη, 6 ἔλαβε· καὶ γὰρ τὸ τε τὰς δάφνας πρὸ τῶν βασιλείων

1 o supplied by R. Steph.
2 καὶ ἄλλα δέκα supplied by Mommsen.
3 πεμπτάκις Zon., πεμπτάκις & VM.
4 δεκατερίδων Xiph., δεκατερίδων Zon., δεκατερίδων VM.
5 πρότερον Rk., πρότερα VM. 6 διελέξθη M, διελέγχθη V.

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The following regulations were laid down for them all alike: they were not to raise levies of soldiers or to exact money beyond the amount appointed, unless the senate should so vote or the emperor so order; and when their successors arrived, they were to leave the province at once, and not to delay on the return journey, but to get back within three months. These regulations were established at that time, to speak generally; for in reality Caesar himself was destined to have absolute control of all matters for all time, because he was not only master of the funds (nominally, to be sure, he had separated the public funds from his own, but as a matter of fact, he always spent the former also as he saw fit), but also commanded the soldiers. At all events, when his ten-year period came to an end, there was voted to him another five years, then five more, after that ten, and again another ten, and then ten for the fifth time, so that by the succession of ten-year periods he continued to be sole ruler for life. And it is for this reason that the subsequent emperors, though no longer appointed for a specified period, but for their whole life once for all, nevertheless always held a celebration every ten years, as if then renewing their sovereignty once more; and this is done even at the present day.

Now Caesar had received many privileges and honours even previously, when the question of declining the sovereignty and that of apportioning the provinces were under discussion. For the right to place the laurel trees in front of the royal residence
αὐτοῦ προτίθεσθαι, καὶ τὸ τῶν στέφανων τῶν δρύινων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀρτᾶσθαι, τότε οἱ ως καὶ ἄει τοὺς τε πολεμίους νικῶντι καὶ τοὺς πολίτας

5 σώζοντι ἐγκυρίσθη. (καλεῖται δὲ τὰ βασίλεια παλατίων, οὔχ ὅτι καὶ ἐδοξὲ ποτε οὕτως αὐτὰ ὄνομάζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐν τε τῷ Παλατίῳ ο Καῖσαρ ὥκει καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸ στρατήγιον εἶχε, καὶ τινὰ καὶ πρὸς τῇ τοῦ 'Ῥωμύλου προενόκησιν φήμην ἡ οἰκία αὐτοῦ. ἀπὸ τοῦ παντὸς ὄρους.)

6 ἔλαβεν καὶ διὰ τούτο κἂν ἄλλοθι ποῦ ὁ αὐτο-κράτωρ καταλύῃ, τὴν τοῦ παλατίου ἐπίκλησιν ἡ καταγωγὴ αὐτοῦ ξέρει). ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ αὐτὰ ἐπετέλεσεν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀὐγούστου ὄνομα καὶ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου

7 ἐπέθετο. βουληθέντων γὰρ σφων ἰδίως τῶν αὐτῶν προσεπείθω, καὶ τῶν μὲν τῶν δὲ τὸ καὶ ἐσηγούμενων καὶ αἱρουμένων, ο Καῖσαρ ἐπεθύμει μὲν ἰσχυρῶς 'Ῥωμύλου ὄνομασθῆναι, αἰσθάμενος δὲ ὅτι υποπτεύεται (ἐκ τούτου τῆς βασιλείας

8 ἐπιθυμεῖν, οὐκετ' αὐτοῦ ἀντιποιήσατο, ἀλλὰ Ἀὐγούστος ὡς καὶ πλεῖόν τι ἦ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ἄν ἐπεκλήθη πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἐντιμότατα καὶ τὰ ἱερώτατα ἀνιχνεύτηκαν ἐπαγορεύεται. ἐξ οὐπερ καὶ σεβαστὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐλληνίζοντες πως, ὅσπερ τινὰ σεπτὸν, ἀπὸ τοῦ σεβάζεσθαι, προσεῖπον.

17 οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὸ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὸ τῆς γερου-σίας κράτος πάνες τῶν Ἀὐγούστος μετέστη, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκριβῆς μοναρχία κατέστη μοναρχία γὰρ, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἀμα τὸ κύρος ποτε ἔσχον, ἀληθεύτως ἄν νομιζούσι.  

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

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

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

2 Cf. liii. 40.
2 τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄνωμα αὐτὸ τὸ μοναρχικὸν οὔτω δὴ τι ὁ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐμέβησαν ὅστε μῆτε δικτάτορας μῆτε βασιλέας μῆτ’ ἄλλο τι τοιούτοτροπον τοὺς αὐτο-κράτορας σφων ὄνομάζειν τοῦ δὲ δὴ τῆς πολιτείας τέλος ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀνακειμένου οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐ
3 βασιλεύονται. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαὶ αἱ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ὡς πλήθει γενόμεναι καὶ νῦν πλὴν τῆς τῶν τιμητῶν καθίστανται, διάγεται δὲ καὶ διοικεῖται πάντα ἀπλῶς ὅπως ἄν ὁ ὁκεὶ κρατῶν ἐθέληση. καὶ ἔνα γε μη ἐκ δυναστείας ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν νόμων τοῦτ’ ἐχεῖν δοκῶσι, πάνθ’ ὥσα ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ μέγα (παρ’ ἐκουσί σφισίν ἀσχύσειν, αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὄνομασι χωρίς τοῦ τῆς δικτατορίας προσεποι- σαντο. ὑπατοὶ τε γὰρ πλειστάκις γίγνονται, καὶ ἀνθυπατοὶ ἀεὶ, ὡσεὶς ἂν ἐξω τοῦ πωμηρίου ὡσιν, ὄνομαζονται τῇ τε τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πρόσφησιν ἀπλῶς τοῦτος οὐ μόνον οἱ νικήσαντες τινας ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, πρὸς δήλωσιν τῆς αὐτοτε- λοὺς σφων ἄξουσιας, ἀντὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ
4 τε δικτάτορος ἐπικλήσεως ἔχουσιν. αὐτὰς μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνας οὐ τίθενται, ἐπειδὴ πέρ ἀπὰξ ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ἐξέπεσον, τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐργον αὐτῶν τῇ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος προσγορίᾳ βεβαιοῦσται. καὶ ἐκ μὲν τούτων τῶν ὄνομάτων καταλόγους τε ποιεῖ- σθαι καὶ χρήματα ἄθροίζειν πολέμους τε ἀναί-
5 τοῦτος αἰ καὶ πανταχοῦ ὄρμις ἀρχεῖν, ὡστε καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ πωμηρίου καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς θανατοῦν δύνασθαι
6 καὶ ἐιρήνην σπένδεσθαι. (τοῦ τε ἕξενον καὶ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ ὄρμις ἀρχεῖν, ὡστε καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ πωμηρίου καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς θανατοῦν δύνασθαι,
same time.\footnote{See note on § 8 \textit{inf.}} The name of monarchy, to be sure, the Romans so detested that they called their emperors neither dictators nor kings nor anything of the sort; yet since the final authority for the government devolves upon them, they must needs be kings. The offices established by the laws, it is true, are maintained even now, except that of censor; but the entire direction and administration is absolutely in accordance with the wishes of the one in power at the time. And yet, in order to preserve the appearance of having this power by virtue of the laws and not because of their own domination, the emperors have taken to themselves all the functions, including the titles, of the offices which under the republic and by the free gift of the people were powerful, with the single exception of the dictatorship. Thus, they very often became consuls, and they are always styled proconsuls whenever they are outside the pomerium. The name of "\textit{imperator}" is held by them all for life, not only by those who have won victories in battle, but also by those who have not, in token of their independent authority, and this has displaced the titles "king" and "dictator." These last titles they have never assumed since the time they first fell out of use in the conduct of the government, but the functions of those offices are secured to them under the appellation of "\textit{imperator}". By virtue of the titles named they secure the right to make levies, to collect funds, declare war, make peace, rule foreigners and citizens alike everywhere and always,—even to the extent of being able to put to death both knights and senators inside the pomerium,—and all the other
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τὰ τὲ ἄλλα ὡς τοὺς τὲ ὑπάτους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς αὐταρχήσασι ποτὲ ποιεῖν ἔζην, λαμβάνουσιν. 7 ἡ δὲ ἡ τοῦ τιμητεύειν ποτὲ τῶν τε βίους καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἡμῶν ἔξετάζουσιν, καὶ ἀπογραφὰς ποιούνται καὶ τοὺς μὲν καταλέγουσι καὶ ἐς τὴν ἱππάδα καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτικὸν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπα-

8 λείψουσιν, ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς δόξη. ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἱεροσύναις ἱερῶθαι καὶ προσέτη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τὰς πλείους σφῶν διδόναι, ἄρχιέρεων τε τινα αὐτῶν, κἂν δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἀμα ἄρχωσιν, εἰναι, πάντων αὐτοῖ καὶ τῶν ὁσίων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν 1

9 κυριεύουσιν, ἡ τε ἑξουσία ἡ δημαρχικὴ καλουμένη, ἂν ἡ πάνυ ποτὲ ἄνθησαντες ἐσχον, δίδωσι σφὶ τὰ τε ἐπιγγυνόμενα (ὑφ' ἐτέρον τινός ἂν μὴ συνεπανώσι, παύειν, καὶ μὴ ὑβρίζεσθαι, κἂν ἢ ἐπὶ τὶ καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον μὴ ὅτι ἐργῇ ἄλλα καὶ λόγῳ ἀδικεῖσθαι δόξωσι, καὶ ἀκριτον τὸν ποιή-

10 σαντα αὐτὸ ὡς καὶ ἐναγῇ ἀπολλύναι. δημαρχεῖν μὲν γὰρ, ἂτε καὶ ὅτι τοὺς εὐπατρίδας πάντως τελοῦντες, οὐχ ὁσιον νομίζουσιν εἰναι τὴν δὲ δὴ δύναμιν τὴν τῶν δημάρχων πάσαιν, ὁσπέρ τὰ μάλιστα ἐγένετο, προστίθενται, καὶ δι' αὐτης καὶ ἡ ἐξαρίθμησις τῶν ἐτῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ (κατ' ἐτος) αὐτὴν (μετὰ τῶν ἀεὶ δημαρχοῦντων)

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

1 Up to the time when Dio wrote these words it was true that when two or more jointly held the imperial power (as Marcus Aurelius with L. Verus, and Septimius Severus with
privileges once granted to the consuls and other officials possessing independent authority; and by virtue of holding the censorship they investigate our lives and morals as well as take the census, enrolling some in the equestrian and senatorial classes and erasing the names of others from these classes, according to their will. By virtue of being consecrated in all the priesthoods and of their right to bestow most of these positions upon others, as well as from the fact that, even if two or three persons hold the imperial office at the same time, one of them is high priest,¹ they hold in their own hands supreme authority over all matters both profane and sacred. The tribuniciam power, as it is called, which used to be conferred only upon men of the greatest influence, gives them the right to nullify the effects of measures taken by any other official, in case they do not approve it, and makes them immune from scurrilous abuse ²; and if they appear to be wronged in even the slightest degree, not merely by deed, but even by word, they may destroy the guilty party, as one accursed, without a trial. The emperors, it should be explained, do not think it right to be tribunes, inasmuch as they belong altogether to the patrician class, but they assume the power of the tribunes to its full extent, as it was when it was greatest; and in numbering the years they have held the imperial office they use the tribuniciam power to mark the stages, the theory being that they receive it year by year along with those who are regularly

¹ Cf. vol. i. p. 127 ff., xlix. 15, 5–6.
11 λαμβανόντων, προβαίνει. ταύτα μὲν (ἐκ τῆς
dημοκρατίας) ὃς ποι καὶ ἐκαστα ἐνομίσθη, οὔτω
τε καὶ διὰ τούτων τῶν ὑπομάτων εἰλήφασιν, ὅπως

18 μηδέν ἄνευ δόσεώς τινος ἐξείν δοκῶσιν. ἦδη δὲ
καὶ ἐτερὸν τι, δὲ (μηδενὶ τῶν πάλαι Ῥωμαίων) ἐσ-
pάντα) ἀντικρυς ἐδόθη, προσεκτήσαντο, ὃν' οὕτε
καὶ μόνον καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἄν καὶ τάλλα αὐτοῖς πράτ-
tein ἔξειν. λέλυνται γὰρ δὴ τῶν νόμων, ὡς αὐτὰ
τὰ Δατίνα ῥήματα λέγειν τοῦτ' ἔστων ἐλεύθεροι
(ἀπὸ πάσης ἀναγκαίας νομίσεως) εἰσὶ καὶ οὕδεν
2 τῶν ἑγεραμμένων ἐνέχονται. καὶ οὗτως (ἐκ
τούτων τῶν δημοκρατικῶν ὑπομάτων) πᾶσαν τὴν
τῆς πολιτείας ἴσχυν περιβέβληνται ὡστε καὶ τὰ
τῶν βασιλέων, πλὴν τοῦ φορτικοῦ τῆς προση-
γορίας αὐτῶν, ἐχειν. ἦ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἦ
τε τοῦ Αὐγούστου πρόσρησις δύναμιν μὲν οὐδε-
mίαν αὐτοῖς οἶκείαν προστίθησαι, δηλοῦ δὲ ἄλλως
τὸ μὲν τὴν τοῦ γένους σφῶν διαδόχην, τὸ δὲ τὴν
3 τοῦ ἀξιώματος λαμπρότητα. καὶ ἦ γε τοῦ
πατρὸς ἐπωνυμία τάχα μὲν καὶ ξευτοῖαν τινὰ
αὐτοῖς, ἦν ποτὲ οἱ πατέρες ἐπὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐσχόν,
(κατὰ πάντων ἡμῶν δίδωσιν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ (ἐπὶ
tοῦτο) ἀρχὴν ἐγένετο ἀλλ' ἐς τε τιμῆν) καὶ ἐς
παραίνεσιν, ἵν' αὐτοὶ τε τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὡς καὶ

1 That is, they measured the length of their reign by
tribunician years, dating either from the very day when the
tribunician power was conferred upon them (even if before

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

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

2 Prinçeps legibus solutus est. Ulpian (Digest, i. 3, 31); cf. Mommsen, Staatsrecht, ii. 728 ff.
παίδας ἀγαπᾷ ἐν καὶ ἐκείνῳ σφαῖρας ὡς καὶ πατέρας ἀιδώνται.

4. Τοσαῦταί τε καὶ τοιαῦταί ἂν προσηγορίαί εἴσιν· αὐς οἱ το κράτος ἔχουσε κατὰ τὴν πατρίου νομον· καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἡδή πατρίου νομίζομεν. καὶ νῦν μὲν πᾶσαι ἄμα αὐτοῖς ὡς τὸ πολὺ, πλὴν τῆς τῶν τιμητῶν, δίδονται, τοῖς δὲ δὴ πάλαι κατὰ χρόνους

5. ὡς ἔκασται ἐπήφιζοντο. τὴν γὰρ δὴ τιμητεῖαν ἐλάβον μὲν τινες καὶ τῶν αὐτοκράτορῶν κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαιόν ἐλαβεὶ δὲ καὶ Δομιτιανὸς ἡμῖν διὰ βιοῦ· οὐ μέντοι καὶ νῦν ἐτὸ τούτο γίγνεται· τὸ γὰρ ἔργον αὐτῆς ἔχουσεν οὔτε αἴρονται ἐπ' αὐτῆς, οὔτε τῇ προσκλήσει ² αὐτῆς πλὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς χρώνται.

19. Ἡ μὲν οὖν πολιτεία οὕτω τότε (πρὸς τε τὸ βέλτιον) καὶ πρὸς τὸ σωτηριωδέστερον μετεκοσμῆθη· καὶ γὰρ ποὺ καὶ πανταπασίων ἀδύνατον ἢν δημοκρατουμένους αὐτοὺς σωθηναι. οὐ μεντοι καὶ ὁμοίως τοῖς πρόσθεν τὰ (μετὰ ταῦτα προ-2

2. χθέντα λεχθήναι δύναται. πρὸτερον μὲν γὰρ ἐσ τῇ ἄτοι καὶ ἐς τὸν δήμον πάντα, καὶ εἰ πόρῳ που συμβαίη, ἐσεφέρετο· καὶ διὰ τούτο πάντες τε αὕτα ἐμάνθανον καὶ πολλοί τυγχαροι, κάκ τούτο καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια αὐτῶν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ φόβω τινὰ καὶ χάριτι φιλία τε καὶ ἔχθρα τισιν ἐρρήθη, παρὰ γοῦν τοῖς ἀλλοίς τοῖς αὕτα γραψαὶ τοῖς τε ὑπομνήμασι

3. τοῖς δημοσίοις πρῶτον τινὰ εὑρίσκετο. ἐκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου ἐκεῖνου τὰ μὲν πλεῖστον κρύφα καὶ δι ἀπορρῆτων γίγνεσθαι ἡρξατο, εἰ δὲ τοῦ τινὰ καὶ

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

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

In this way the government was changed at that time for the better and in the interest of greater security; for it was no doubt quite impossible for the people to be saved under a republic. Nevertheless, the events occurring after this time can not be recorded in the same manner as those of previous times. Formerly, as we know, all matters were reported to the senate and to the people, even if they happened at a distance; hence all learned of them and many recorded them, and consequently the truth regarding them, no matter to what extent fear or favour, friendship or enmity, coloured the reports of certain writers, was always to a certain extent to be found in the works of the other writers who wrote of the same events and in the public records. But after this time most things that happened began to be kept secret and concealed, and
δημοσιευθείη, ἄλλα ἀνεξέλεγκτα γε⁠1 ὄντα ἀπε-στειται. καὶ γὰρ λέγεσθαι καὶ πράττεσθαι πάντα
πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἀεὶ κρατοῦντων τῶν τε παραδυνα-
4 στενόντων σφίσι βουλήματα ὑποτεύνεται. καὶ
κατὰ τοῦτο πολλὰ μὲν ὡς γεγονόμενα ἐπιλεῖται,
pολλά δὲ καὶ πάντα συμβαίνοντα ἀγνοεῖται,
pάντα δὲ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀλλὰς πως ἢ ὡς πράττεσθαι
dιαθροεῖται. καὶ μεντοι καὶ τὸ τῆς ἁρχῆς μέγε-
θος τὸ τε τῶν πραγμάτων πλῆθος δυσχερεστάτην
5 τὴν⁠2 ἀκρίβειαιν αὐτῶν παρέχεται. ἐν τε γὰρ τῇ
Ῥώμῃ συνή καὶ παρὰ τὸ ὑπηκόων αὐτῆς πολλά,
πρὸς τε τὸ πολέμιον ἀεὶ καὶ καθ’ ἡμέραν ὡς εἰπεῖν
gίγνεται τε,⁢3 περὶ ὅν τὸ μὲν σαφὲς οὐδεὶς ῥαδίως
ἐξώ τῶν πραττόντων αὐτὰ γεγονόσκει, πλείστοι δ’
6 ὅσοι οὐδ’ ἀκούονσι τὴν ἁρχήν ὅτι γέγονεν. ὃθεν-
περ καὶ ἐγὼ πάντα τὰ ἐξῆς, ὅσα γε⁠4 καὶ ἀναγ-
καίον ἐσται εἰπεῖν, ὡς ποι καὶ δεδήμωται φράσω,
eἰτ’ ὄντως οὕτως εἴτε καὶ ἐτέρως πως ἔχει. προσ-
ἐσται μέντοι τι αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς δοξασίας, ἐς
ὁσον ἐνδέχεται, ἐν ὅις ἀλλο τι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ ἅρμα-
λούμενον ἥδυσθην ἐκ πολλῶν ὃν ἀνέγνων ἢ καὶ
ἥκουσα ἢ καὶ εἴδον τεκμήρασθαι.
20 Ἀὔγουστος μὲν δὴ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡσπερ εἰπον,
ἐπωνομάσθη, καὶ αὐτῷ σημεῖον ὃ σμικρὸν εὔθὺς
τότε τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπεγενετο· ὁ γὰρ Τίβερις πελαγί-
σας πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις Ῥώμην κατέλαβεν
ὡςτε πλείσθαι, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ οἱ μάντεις ὥστε τε

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⁠1 γε R. Steph., τε VM Xiph. ⁡2 τὴν Xiph., om. VM. ⁢3 τι VM, τῶν Xiph. ⁣4 γε H. Steph., τε VM.

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

Caesar, as I have said, received the name of Augustus, and a sign of no little moment to him occurred that very night; for the Tiber overflowed and covered all of Rome that was on low ground, so that it was navigable for boats.
2 χειρίαν ἔξω προέγραψαν. (χαρτιζομένων δ' αὐτῷ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἄλλων ἄλλα) Σέξτος τις Πακούνιος. ὡς δ' ἐτεροι λέγουσιν Ἀπούδιος, πάντας ἐξεύκῃσεν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἐαυτὸν τέ οῖ τὸν τῶν Ἰβήρων τρόπον καθωσίσασε καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις συνεβούλευε τούτο ποιήσαι. ἔπειδὴ τε ὁ Ἀὐγουστος ἐμποδών οἱ ἐγένετο, (πρὸς τε τὸ πλῆθος τὸ προσεστὸς ἐξεύκῃσεν (ἐδημάρχει γὰρ) καὶ ἐκεῖνοις τε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς λοιπούς, κατὰ τε τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ κατὰ τοὺς στενω- ποὺς περινοστήσασ, καθιερώσας σφας τῷ Αὐ-

4 γούστῳ κατηγάκασεν ἀφ' οὕτερ καὶ νῦν προσ- τετέρομενοι τὸν κρατοῦντα λέγειν εἰώθαμεν ὅτι "σοι καθωσιώμεθα." Καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ θύσαι ἔπι τούτῳ παντας ἐποίει, ἐν τε τῷ ὠμίλῳ ποτὲ κληρονόμου εἶπῃ τὸν Ἀὐ-

21 γουστον ἐξ ὑπὲρ τοῖς καταλείψειν, οὐχ ὅτι τι εἰχέν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ προσλαβεῖν ἥσθελησεν, δ' καὶ ἐγένετο· Ἀὐγουστος δὲ τὰ τα ἄλλα τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα προθυμότερον, ὡς καὶ ἐθελοῦντι δὴ παρὰ πάντων αὐτὴν εἰληφώς, ἔπραττε, καὶ ἐνο- μοθέτει πολλά. οὐδὲν δὲ δέομαι καθ' ἐκαστον) ἀκριβῶς ἐπεξείναι, χωρίς ἢ ὅσα τῇ συγγραφῇ 2 προσφορά ἐστι. τὸ δ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ καὶ (ἐν τοῖς ἐπειτα πραξθεῖσι) ποιήσω, ἵνα μὴ καὶ δ' ὄχλον

1 ἀλλὰ M, ἄλλα V. 2 Πακούνιος Bk., πακούνιος VM. 3 προστετέρομενοι Bk., προτετείςτοι VM.
soothsayers prophesied that he would rise to great heights and hold the whole city under his sway. And while various persons were trying to outbid one another in different kinds of flattery toward him, one Sextus Pacuvius, or, as others say, Apudius,\(^1\) surpassed them all. In the open senate, namely, he dedicated himself to him after the fashion of the Spaniards\(^2\) and advised the others to do the same. And when Augustus hindered him, he rushed out to the crowd that was standing near, and, as he was tribune, compelled first them and then the rest, as he went up and down the streets and lanes, to dedicate themselves to Augustus. From this episode we are wont even now to say, in appealing to the sovereign, "We have dedicated ourselves to you."

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

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

\(^2\) According to Valerius Maximus (ii. 6, 11), the Celtiberians thought it wrong to survive a battle when the leader for whose preservation they had vowed their life (spiritum devoverant) had perished. Cf. Caesar, B.G. iii. 22.
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γενωμαι πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπεσφέρων ἃ μηδε
3 αὕτω δὲι πάνω αὕτα μελετῶντες ἀκριβοῦσιν, οὐ
μέντοι καὶ πάντα ἰδιογραμμοῦν ἐνομοθέτει, ἀλλ' ἐστὶ μὲν ἂ καὶ ἐστὶ τὸ δημόσιον προεξετίθει, ὅπως,
ἀν τι μὴ ἀρέσῃ τινά, προμαθῶν ἐπανορθώσῃ προετρέπτῃ τε γὰρ πάνθ᾽ ὄντινοι συμβουλεύειν οὶ, εἰς τὸι ἁμενον αὕτων ἐπινοήσειν, καὶ παρ-
ρησίαν σφίσι τολῆν ἐνεμε, καὶ τινα καὶ μετε-
γραφε. (τὸ δὲ δὴ πλείστῳ τοὺς τε ὑπάτους ἢ
τὸν ὑπατοῦν, ὅπτε καὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπατεύοι, κακὸς
ἀλλων ἀρχόντων ένα παρ' ἐκάστων, ἐκ τε τοῦ
λοιποῦ τῶν βουλευτῶν πλήθους πεντεκαίδεκα
τοὺς κλήρῳ λαχοντασ, συμβουλους (ἐσ ἕξαμήνου
παρελάμβανεν, ὅστε δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
πᾶσι κοινοῦσθαι (τρόπον τινὰ τὰ νομοθετούμενα
5 νομίζεσθαί. ἐσέφερε μὲν γὰρ τινα καὶ ἐστὶν
τὴν γερουσίαν, βέλτιον μέντοι νομίζων εἴναι τὸ
(μετ' ὀλίγων καθ' ἴσνυίαν τὰ τε πλείω καὶ τὰ
μεῖξί προσκοπεῖσθαι, τοῦτο το ἐποίει καὶ ἐστὶν
6 ὅτε καὶ ἐδίκασε μετ' ἀυτῶν. ἐκρινε μὲν γὰρ καὶ
καθ' ἐαυτὴν ἡ βουλή πᾶσα ὡς καὶ πρότερον, καὶ
τισι καὶ προσβείαις καὶ κηρυκείαις καὶ δήμων
καὶ βασιλέων ἔχρηματις, ὅ τε δῆμος (ἐς τῶν
ἀρχαιοσιάς) καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτ ὑπελεγέτο: οὐ
μέντοι καὶ ἐπιτάττετο τι ὃ μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἡρεσκε.
7 τοὺς ἡγοῦν ἀρξοντας τοὺς μὲν αὐτός ἐκλεγόμενος
προεβάλλετο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ δῆμῳ τῷ τε

1 κλήρῳ Xiph., κλήρουs VM.
2 ἡρεσκε Xiph. Zon., ἡρεσκε VM.
by introducing all that kind of detail that even the men who devote themselves to such studies do not know to a nicety. He did not, however, enact all these laws on his sole responsibility, but some of them he brought before the public assembly in advance, in order that, if any features caused displeasure, he might learn it in time and correct them; for he encouraged everybody whatsoever to give him advice, in case any one thought of any possible improvement in them, and he accorded them complete liberty of speech, and actually changed some provisions of the proposed laws. Most important of all, he took as advisers for periods of six months the consuls (or the other consul, when he himself also held the office), one of each of the other kinds of officials, and fifteen men chosen by lot from the remainder of the senatorial body, with the result that all legislation proposed by the emperors is usually communicated after a fashion through this body to all the other senators; for although he brought certain matters before the whole senate, yet he generally followed this plan, considering it better to take under preliminary advisement most matters and the most important ones in consultation with a few; and sometimes he even sat with these men in the trial of cases. The senate as a body, it is true, continued to sit in judgment as before, and in certain cases transacted business with embassies and heralds, from both peoples and kings; and the people and the plebs, moreover, continued to meet for the elections; but nothing was done that did not please Caesar. It was he, at any rate, who selected and placed in nomination some of the men who were to hold office, and though in the case of others he adhered


22. Τὸ μὲν οὖν σύμπαν ὅτως τὴν ἀρχήν διώκησε, λέξω δὲ καὶ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ὅσα ἀναγκαῖον ἦστι μετὰ τῶν ὑπότων, ἐφ’ ὑπ’ ἐγένετο, μνημονεύ- σαθαυ. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῦ προειρημένου ἐτεί σὸς ὅδους τὰς (ἐξω τοῦ τεῖχους) δυσπορεύτους ὑπ’ ἀμελείας ὀρῶν οὖσας τὰς (μὲν) ἀλλὰς ἀλλοις τισὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐπισκευάσαι τοῖς οἰκείοις τέλεσε προσέ- ταξε, τὸς δὲ δὴ Φλαμινίας οὗτος, ἐπειδήπερ ἐκστρατεύσειν (δ’ αὐτῆς) ἤμελλεν, ἐπεμελήθη.

2 καὶ ἡ μὲν εὐθὺς τὸτε ἐγένετο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ εἰκόνες αὐτῶν οἷ’ ἀψίδων ἦν τῇ τοῦ Τι- βέριδος γεφύρα καὶ ἐν Ἀριμνῷ ἐποιήθησαν αἱ δ’ ἀλλαὶ ύπτερον, εἰτ’ οὖν πρὸς τοῦ δημοσίου, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς τῶν βουλευτῶν ἴδεος ἀνήλισκεν, εἰτε καὶ πρὸς τοῦ Αὐγοῦστου τις εἰπεῖν ἐθέλει.

3 ἐπεσκευάσθησαν. οὐ γὰρ δύναμαι διακρίναι τοὺς θησαυροὺς αὐτῶν, οὐδ’ εἴ τὰ μάλιστα ο Αὐ- γουστος καὶ ἀνδριάντας τινὰς ἐαντὸν ἀργυρός, πρὸς τε τῶν φίλων καὶ (πρὸς δήμων τινῶν) γε- γονότας, ἐς νόμισμα κατέκοψε τοῦ δὴ καὶ οἴκοθεν 4 πάντω δ’ οὖσα γε καὶ ἐλευθεραί δαπανάν δοκεῖν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐτ’ εἰ ποτε ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων τι χρημάτων ὁ ἀεὶ κρατῶν ἔλαβεν, οὐτ’ εἰ ποτὲ αὐτὸς ἐδώκε, γνώμην ἔχω συγγράψαι. πολλάκις τε γὰρ ἐκα- τερον αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, καὶ τὶ ἄν τις ἐς δανείοσμα ἡ καὶ δωρεὰς τὰ τοιαῦτα καταλέγοι, ὁπότε καὶ

1 ἀποδεικνύωνται R. Steph., ἀποδεικνύνται VM Xiph. Zon.
2 ἐφ’ St., υφ’ VM. 3 Φλαμινίας R. Steph., φλαμηνίας VM.
3 ἐδώκε R. Steph., ἠλαβε VM.
4 καταλέγοι Reim., καὶ λέγοι VM.

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

It was in this way, broadly speaking, that he administered the empire. I shall now relate in detail also such of his acts as call for mention, together with the names of the consuls under whom they were performed. In the year already named, perceiving that the roads outside the walls had become difficult to travel as the result of neglect, he ordered various senators to repair the others at their own expense, and he himself looked after the Flaminian Way, since he was going to lead an army out by that route. This road was finished promptly at that time, and statues of Augustus were accordingly erected on arches on the bridge over the Tiber and at Ariminum; but the other roads were repaired later, at the expense either of the public (for none of the senators liked to spend money upon them) or of Augustus, as one chooses to put it. For I am unable to distinguish between the two funds, no matter how extensively Augustus coined into money silver statues of himself which had been set up by certain of his friends and by certain of the subject peoples, purposing thereby to make it appear that all the expenditures which he claimed to be making were from his own means. Therefore I have no opinion to record as to whether a particular emperor on a particular occasion got the money from the public funds or gave it himself. For both courses were frequently followed; and why should one enter such expenditures as loans or as gifts respectively, when both the people and the emperor
Τούτως καὶ ἐκείνοις καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἔπικοινων ἄει χρῶνται;
5 Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὁ Ἄγουστος ἔπραξε, καὶ ἐξώρισε μὲν ὡς καὶ ἐσ τὴν Βρεττανίαν στρατεύσων, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰς Γαλατίας ἐλθὼν ἐνταῦθα ἐνδιέτριψεν ἐκεῖνοι τε γὰρ ἐπικηρυκεύσεσθαι οἱ ἐδόκουν, καὶ τὰ τούτων ἀκατάστατα ἔτι, ἀτε τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων ἐυθὺς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀλώσει σφῶν ἐπιγενεμένων, ἤν. καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπογραφὰς ἐποιῆσατο καὶ τὸν βίον τὴν τε πολιτείαν διεκόσμησε. καὶ τεῦθεν ἐς τε τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ κατεστησάτο καὶ ἐκείνην.

23 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ τούτο αὐτὸς τε τὸ ὄγδοον σὺν τῷ Ταύρῳ τῷ Στατιλίῳ ὑπάτευσε, καὶ ὁ Ἀργίππας
2 τὰ Σέπτα ὄνομασμένα καθιέρωσεν ὁδὸν μὲν γὰρ ὁδεμέλαν ἐπισκευάζειν ὑπέσχετο, ταῦτα δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ στοαῖς πέριξ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λεπίδου πρὸς τὰς φυλετικὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας συμφοροδομημένα καὶ πλαξί λιθίναις καὶ ἕωραφήμασιν ἐπεκόσμησεν, Ἰούλια αὐτὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἄγουστον προσ-
3 αγορεύσας. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὖν ὅπως φθόνον τινα ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ὕφλισκανεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐκείνον καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἀπαντῶν
4 ἐτιμάτω (αὐτίον δὲ ὅτι τὰ φιλανθρωπότατα καὶ τὰ εὐκλεότατα τα τῇ συμφορώτατα καὶ συμβου-
λεύσις οἱ καὶ συμπράττουν οὕδ’ ἐπὶ βραχὺ τῆς δόξης αὐτῶν ἀντεποιεῖτο, ταῖς τε παρ’ αὐτοῦ τιμαῖς οὔτε ἐσ πλεονεξίαν οὔτε ἐσ ἀπόλαυσιν ἰδίαν ἐχρήτο, ἀλλ’ ἐς τε τὸ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἐς τὸ

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

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

After this he became consul for the eighth time, together with Statilius Taurus, and Agrippa dedicated the structure called the Saepta; for instead of undertaking to repair a road, Agrippa had adorned with marble tablets and paintings this edifice in the Campus Martius, which had been constructed by Lepidus with porticos all around it for the meetings of the comitia tributa, and he named it the Saepta Iulia in honour of Augustus. And Agrippa not only incurred no jealousy on this account, but was greatly honoured both by Augustus himself and by all the rest of the people. The reason was that he consulted and coöperated with Augustus in the most humane, the most celebrated, and the most beneficial projects, and yet did not claim in the slightest degree a share in the glory of them, but used the honours which the emperor bestowed, not for personal gain or enjoyment, but for the benefit of the donor himself and
5 τῷ 1 δημοσίω συμφέρουν), ὁ δὲ δὴ Γάλλος Κορνήλιος καὶ εξύβρισεν ὑπὸ τῆς τιμῆς. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ μάταια ἐς τὸν Ἀγγουστοῦ απελήρει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπαίτια παρέπραττε· καὶ γὰρ καὶ εἰκόνας ἐαυτοῦ ἐν ὀλη ὡς εἰπεῖν τῇ Ἀγγύπτῳ ἐστησε, καὶ τὰ ἔργα ὅσα ἐπεποίηκει ἐς τὰς πυρα-
6 µίδας ἐσέγραψε. 2 κατηγορήθη τε ὅυν ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Οὐαλερίου Λάργου ἔταρκον τε οἱ καὶ συµβιωτὸν ὁντος, καὶ ἡτιμώθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγγουστοῦ, ὡστε καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐθνεσιν αὐτοῦ κωλυθῆναι διαματά-
θαι. (γενομένου δὲ τούτου) καὶ ἄλλοι αὐτῷ συχνοὶ ἐπέθεντο καὶ γραφᾶς κατ’ αὐτοῦ πολλὰς
7 ἀπήνεγκαν, 3 καὶ ἡ γέρουσία ἀπασά ἀλώναι τε αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις καὶ φυγεῖν τῆς συσίας στερηθέντα, καὶ ταύτην τε τῷ Ἀγγουστῷ δοθῆναι καὶ ἐαυτοὺς βουθυθῆσαι ἐγκηφίσατο. καὶ ὁ µὲν περιλείψας ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐαυτὸν προκατεχρήσατο,
24 τὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν πολλῶν κίβδηλου καὶ ἐκ τούτου δηλέξθη ὅτι ἐκεῖνον τε, ὅν τέως ἐκολάκευον, οὕτω τότε διέθηκαν ὡστε καὶ αὐτοχειρὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἀναγκάσας, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Λάργου ἀπε-
κλιναν, ἐπειδήπερ αὐξεῖν ἥρχετο, μελλοντές ποὺ καὶ κατὰ τούτου τὰ αὐτά, ἀν γε τι τοιούτων οἱ
2 συμβῆ, ψηφιεῖσθαι. οἱ µέντοι Προκουλέιοις 4 οὕτω πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔσχεν ὡστ’ ἀπαντήσας ποτὲ αὐτῷ τὴν τε ρίνα καὶ τὸ στόμα τὸ ἐαυτοῦ τῇ χειρὶ ἐπισχεῖν, ἐνδεκυμένους τοῖς συνοδοῖς ὅτι µηδ’ ἀναπνεύσαι τινι παρόντος αὐτοῦ ἀσφάλεια

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

4 οὔτω δ' οὖν οἱ πολλοὶ τὰ ἔργα τινῶν, καὶ ποιηματές ἤ, μᾶλλον ξηλοῦσιν ἥ τα παθήματα φυλάσσουνται, ὥστε καὶ τότε Μάρκος Ἐγνάτιος Ῥοῦφος ἀγορανομήσας, καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλά καλῶς πράξαι καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις ταῖς (ἐν τῷ ἐτεί ἐκείνῳ ἐμπρησθείσαις ἐπικουρίαις μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δούλων καὶ μεθ' ἐτέρων τινῶν μισθωτῶν ποιησάμενος, καὶ διὰ τούτῳ τά τε ἀναλώματα τά τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ προσήκοντα παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαβὼν καὶ στρατηγός παρανόμους ἀποδειχθεῖς, ἐπήρθη τε ὑπὶ αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ τὸν Αὐγουστόν ὑπερφρόνησεν, ὥστε καὶ προγράψαι ὅτι ἄθραυστον καὶ οὐκ ὁλόκληρον τῷ διαδόχῳ τῷ πόλιν παρέδωκεν. ἐπ' οὖν τούτῳ οἱ τε ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι μάλιστα ὁ Αὐγουστός ὅργῃν ἐσχε, καὶ ἐκείνου μὲν ἐκδιδαξεῖν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐμελλε τὸ μὴ ὑπερτοὺς πολλοὺς φρονεῖν, τοῖς δὲ ἀγορανόμοις παραχρῆμα ἐπιμελείσθαι τε ὅπως μηδὲν ἐμπύρηται, καὶ ἄρα τῷ τοιούτῳ συμβῇ, κατασβηνύναι τὸ πῦρ προσέταξε.

25 Καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐτεὶ τούτῳ ὁ τε Πολέμων ὁ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ βασιλεύων ἐς τε τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους τοῦ δήμου ἀνεγράφη, καὶ προεδρία τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ ἐς πάντα τὰ θέατρα ἐδόθη· τοῦ τε Αὐγουστοῦ ἐς τὴν

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

In this same year Polemon, the king of Pontus, was enrolled among the friends and allies of the Roman people; and the privilege was granted the senators of occupying the front seats in all the theatres of his realm. Augustus was planning an
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Βρεττανίαν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἠθέλησαν ὀμολογῆσαι, στρατευσεῖοντα κατέσχον οἱ τε Σάλλασσοι ἐπανα-
στάντες αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ Κάνταβροι οἱ τε "Ἀστυρε
πολεμωθέντες. οἴκοισι δὲ ἐκείνοι μὲν (ὑπὸ τὰς
Ἀλπεὺς, ὡσπερ ἐιρηταὶ μοι, οὗτοι δὲ ἐκάτεροι τούτοι
τε Πυρηναίου τοῦ 1) πρὸς τῇ Ἱβηρίᾳ τὸ καρτέρο.
3 τατοῦ καὶ τῇ πεδιάδα τῇ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὐσαν. (διὸ
οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Αὐγουστος (ἡδὴ δὲ ἐνατον (μετὰ
Μάρκου Σιλανοῦ ὑπάτευν) ἔπι μὲν τοὺς Σα-
λάσσους) Τερενίτιον Οὐάρρωνα ἐπέμψε. καὶ δὲ
πολλαχῇ ἀμα, ὡς μὴ συστραφέντες δυσχερο-
τότεροι γέγοναται, ἐμβαλὼν Ράστα τε αὐτούς, ἀτε
καὶ κατ' ὀλύνους προσπίπτοντάς σφίσω, ἐνίκησε,
4 καὶ συμβήναι καταναγκάσασα ἀργύριον τε τι
ῥητόν, ὡς καὶ μηδὲν δεινὸν ἄλλο δράσων, ἰτησε,
(κακὸς τούτος 2) πανταχῇ πρὸς τὴν ἐσπραξίν δήθεν
αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας διαπέμψας συνέλαβε τοὺς
ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ ἀπέδοτο, ἐφ' ὃ μηδείς σφών
5 ἐντὸς εἰκοσίν ἐτῶν ἔλευθερωθέν. καὶ αὐτῶν ἡ
ἀρίστῃ (τῆς γῆς) τῶν τε δορυφόρων τισὶν ἔδοθη,
καὶ πολίν τὴν Ἀὐγουσταν πρατοτιριανῶν ἄνομα-
σμένην ἔσχεν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Αὐγουστος πρὸς τοὺς
Ἀστυρας καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Καντάβρους ἀμα ἐπολέ-
μησε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μήτε προσεχόρων οἱ ἀτε 3 ἔπι
6 τοῖς ἐρυμνοῖς ἐπαίρομενοι, μήτε ἐς χεῖρας διά τε
τὸ τῶν πλήθει ἐλαττοῦσθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀκοντιστάς
tὸ πλείστον εἶναι ἠσαν, 4 καὶ προσέτι καὶ πρά-

1 τοῦ Reim., τοῦ τε VM.
2 τούτου R. Steph., τούτου τοῦ M, τούτου τε V.
3 οἱ ἀτε Dind., ἀτε Bk., οἱ τε VM. 4 ἠσαν Dind., ἠσαν VM.
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expedition into Britain, since the people there would not come to terms, but he was detained by the revolt of the Salassi and by the hostility of the Cantabri and Astures. The former dwell at the foot of the Alps, as I have stated, whereas both the other tribes occupy the strongest part of the Pyrenees on the side of Spain, together with the plain which lies below. For these reasons Augustus, who was now consul for the ninth time, with Marcus Silanus as colleague, sent Terentius Varro against the Salassi. Varro invaded their country at many points at the same time, in order that they might not join forces and so be more difficult to subdue; and he conquered them very easily, inasmuch as they attacked his divisions only in small groups. After forcing them to come to terms he demanded a stated sum of money, as if he were going to impose no other punishment; then, sending soldiers everywhere ostensibly to collect the money, he arrested those who were of military age and sold them, on the understanding that none of them should be liberated within twenty years. The best of their land was given to some of the Pretorians, and later on received the city called Augusta Praetoria. Augustus himself waged war upon the Astures and upon the Cantabri at one and the same time. But these peoples would neither yield to him, because they were confident on account of their strongholds, nor would they come to close quarters, owing to their inferior numbers and the circumstance that most of them were javelin-throwers, and, besides, they kept causing him a

1 Probably in a lost portion of the work, perhaps Book xxii. Cf. Frag. 74 and Book xlix. 34. 2 The modern Aosta.
γιματα αυτον πολλα, ει που κινηθηση, τα τε υπερ-
δεξια αει προκαταλαμβανοντες και εν τοϊς κοιλοις
tois τε υλωδεσιν ενεδρευοντες παρειχου, εν απορω
7 πανταπασιν εγενετο. και ο μεν έκ τε του
καματου και έκ των φροντιδων υσησας ες Ταρρα-
kωνα ανεχωρησε και έκει ήρρωσεν. Γαios δε
'Αντιστοις προσεπολημησε τε αυτοις εν τουτω και
συχνα κατειργασατο, ουχ ότι και αμεινων του
8 Αυγουςτον στρατηγον ην, αλλ οτι καταφρονη-
santes αυτων οι Βαρβαροι ομοσε τε τοις Ρωμαιοις
εχωρισαν και ενικηθησαν. Και ουτως εκεινος τε
τυα ελαβε, και Τίτος μετα ταυτα Καρισιος ην
τε Δαγκιαν το μεγιστον των Αστυρων πολισμα
εκλειφθεν ειλε και άλλα πολλα παρεστισατο.
26 Παυσαμενου δε του πολεμου τουτου ο Αυγου-
στος τους μεν αφηλικεστερους των στρατιωτων
αφηκε, και πολιν αυτως εν Λυσιτανια την Αυγου-
σταν Ημερισαν καλουμενην κτισαι εδωκε, τοις δε
την στρατευσμου ηλικιαν ετε έχουσι θεας τωνδια
tε του Μαρκελλου και δια του Τιβεριου ως
και αγορανομοντων εν αυτοις τοις στρατοπεδοις
2 εποιησε. και του μεν Ιουβα της τε Γαιουλιας
tina αντι της πατρως αρχης, επειπερ ες τον των
'Ρωμαιων κοσμον οι πλειους αυτων εσεγεγραφατο,
3 και τα του Βοκχου του τε Βογουου εδωκε. του δε
'Αμυντου τελευτησατο ου τοις παισιν αυτω την
αρχην επετρεφει, αλλ ες την υπηκουν εσηγαγε,
και ουτω και η Γαλατια μετα της Αυκαινιας
'Ρωμαιου αρχοντα έσχε, τα τε χωρια τα εκ της
Παμφυλιας προτερον το 'Αμυντα προσνεμη-

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

Upon the conclusion of this war Augustus discharged the more aged of his soldiers and allowed them to found a city in Lusitania, called Augusta Emerita.\(^2\) For those who were still of military age he arranged some exhibitions in the very camps, under the direction of Tiberius and Marcellus, since they were aediles. To Juba he gave portions of Gaetulia in return for the prince's hereditary domain, the most of whose inhabitants had been enrolled in the Roman state, and also the possessions of Bocchus and Bogud. On the death of Amyntas he did not entrust his kingdom to the sons of the deceased, but made it part of the subject territory. Thus Galatia together with Lycaonia obtained a Roman governor, and the portions of Pamphylia formerly assigned to Amyntas were restored to their own

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1 Possibly this praenomen is an error for Publius.
2 The modern Merida.
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4 θέντα τῷ ἰδίῳ νομῷ ἀπεδόθη. (ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦτον χρόνου Μάρκος Οὐνίκιος Κελτῶν τινας μετελθὼν, ὅτι Ὀρμαίοις ἀνδρας ἐς τὴν χώραν σφῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιμεῖξιν ἐσελθόντας συλλαβοῦντες ἐφθείραν, τὸ ὄνομα καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ τοῦ

5 αὐτοκράτορος τῷ Δύναυστῷ ἔδωκε. καὶ ἐψηφίσθη μὲν τοῦ καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτῶ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τότε γενομένοις ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἠθέλησεν αὐτὰ πέμψαι, ἀφίς τε ἐν ταῖς Ἀλπείοι τροπαιοφόροις οἱ ψυχομυθήθη, καὶ ἐξουσία ἐδόθη τοῦ τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρα καὶ τῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ τῇ ἐσθήτῃ τῇ νικηθηρίᾳ αἰει χρήσθαι.

Δύναυστος μὲν ταύτα τε ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐπράξε, καὶ τοῦ τοῦ Ἰανοῦ τεμεύσμα ἀνοιχθεν (δι') 27 αὐτοὺς ἐκλείσεν, ἀρίστππας δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἅστυ τοῖς ἱδίοις τελεσίν ἐπεκόσμησε. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὴν στοὰν τὴν τοῦ Ποσειδώνος ὠνομασμένην καὶ ἐξωκοδόμησεν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυκρατίαις καὶ τῇ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν γραφῆ ἐπελάμπρυνε, τοῦτο δὲ τὸ πυριατῆριον τὸ Δακονικὸν κατεκύσας. Δακωνικὸν γὰρ τὸ γυμνᾶσιν, ἐπειδήτερ οἱ Δακεδαίμονοι γυμνούσθαι τε ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ καὶ λίπα ἄσκειν μάλιστα 2 ἐδόκουν, ἑπεκάλεσε. τὸ τε Πάνθειον ὠνομασμένον ἐξετέλεσε. προσαγορεύεται δὲ οὕτω τάχα μὲν ὅτι πολλῶν θεῶν εἰκόνας ἐν τοῖς ἀγάλμασι, τῷ τε τοῦ Ἄρεως καὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ἐλαβεν, ὥς δὲ ἐγὼ νομίζω, ὅτι θολοείδες ὅν τῷ οὔρανῷ προσέοικεν.

3 ἡ βουλήθη μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἀρίστππας καὶ τῶν Δύναυ-

1 ταῖς Βκ., τοῖς VM.  2 τροπαιοφόροις M, τροπαιοφόροις Β.  3 τῷ Ρκ., τῷ τέ ΒΜ.  4 ἐκλείσεν M, om. Β.  5 οὐν M, om. Β.
district. About this same time Marcus Vinicius b.c. 25 took vengeance upon some of the Germans because they had arrested and slain Romans who entered their country to trade with them; and thus he, too, caused the title of imperator to be bestowed upon Augustus. For this and his other exploits of this period a triumph, as well as the title, was voted to Augustus; but as he did not care to celebrate it, a triumphal arch was erected in the Alps in his honour and he was granted the right always to wear both the crown and the triumphal garb on the first day of the year.

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

1 The present Pantheon, as is now recognized, dates from the reign of Hadrian. The vast rotunda is surmounted by a dome, in the centre of which there is a circular opening nearly thirty feet in diameter for the admission of light.
στον ἐνταῦθα ἱδρύσαι, τῇν τε τοῦ ἔργου ἐπικλησιν αὐτῷ δοῦναι μὴ δεξαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ μηδέτερον ἐκεῖ μὲν τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος, ἐν δὲ τῷ προναῷ τοῦ τε Ἀγνουστοῦ καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνδριάντας ἐστησε. καὶ ἐγίγνετο γὰρ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῷ Ἀγρίππα πρὸς τὸν Ἀγνουστον φιλοτιμίας, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνου λιπαροὺς εὐνοίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον ἐνδελεχοὺς σπουδῆς, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀγνουστὸς ἠτιάσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον ἐτίμη. 5 μησε. τοὺς τε γὰρ γάμους τῆς τε θυγατρὸς τῆς 'Ἰουλίας καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου μὴ δυνηθείς ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου ἐν τῇ 'Ῥώμῃ τότε ποιήσαι δὲ ἐκείνου καὶ ἀπὸν ἑωρτασε’ καὶ ἔπειδὴ ἦ οἰκία ἦ ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ορεί, ἦ πρότερον μὲν τοῦ Ἀντονίου γενομενή ύστερον δὲ τῷ τε Ἀγρίππα καὶ τῷ Μεσσάλα δοθείσα, κατεφλέξθη, τῷ μὲν Μεσσάλα αργύριον ἐχαρίσατο, τὸν δὲ Ἀγρίππαν σύνοικον ἐποιήσατο. οὕτως τε οὖν ἐκ τούτων οὐκ ἀπεικότως ἐγαυρύτω, καὶ τὶς Γάιοις Θοράνιοις αἴτιαν ἄγαθην ἐσχεν, ὅτι δημαρχῶν τὸν πατέρα, καίστερ ἐξελεύθερον τινὸς ὄντα, ἐς τοῦ θεάτρου ἐσῆγαγε καὶ ἐν τῷ δημαρχικῷ βάθρῳ παρεκαθίσατο. Πούπλιος τε τὸν εὐερείον ὄνομα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλαβεν, ὅτι στρατηγῶν ἄρκτους τε τριακοσίας καὶ Λιβυκὰ ἐτερὰ θηρία ἴσα ἐν πανηγύρει τινὶ ἀπέκτεινεν.

28 Ἐκ δὲ τοῦτον δέκατον ὁ Ἀγνουστὸς μετὰ Γαίου Νωρβανοῦ ἤρξε, καὶ ἐν τῇ νομηνίᾳ ὄρκους ἡ βουλή βεβαιοῦσα τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ

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

Augustus now became consul for the tenth time, with Gaius Norbanus as colleague, and on the first day of the year the senate confirmed his acts by
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ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλησιάζειν τε ἢδη τῇ πόλει ἡγγελθή (ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς ἀρρωστίας ἔχρωσε) καὶ τῷ δήμῳ καθ’ ἐκατὸν δραχμὰς δῶσειν ὑπέσχετο,

2 τὸ τε γράμμα τὸ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀπηγόρευσε μὴ πρότερον ἐκτεθήναι πρὶν ἂν καὶ ἐκείνη συνδόξη, πάσης αὐτοῦ τῆς τῶν νόμων ἀνάγκης ἀπήλλαξαν, ἵν’ ὦσπερ εἰρηταὶ μοι, καὶ αὐτοτελὴς ὄντως καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἐαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν νόμων πάντα τε ὁσα βουλοῖτο ποιοῖς καὶ πάνθ’ ὁσα ἄβουλοιν. 1

3 μὴ πράττῃ. ταῦτα μὲν ἀποδημοῦντε ἐτ’ αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσθη, ἀφικομενῷ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἅλλα τινὰ ἐπὶ τε τῇ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνακομιδῇ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο. τῷ τε Μαρκέλλῳ βουλεύειν τε ἐν τοῖς ἑστρατηγικοῖς καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν δέκα θάττον ἔτεσιν ἢπερ ἑνενόμιστο αἰτήσαι, καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ πέντε (πρὸ ἐκάστης ἀρχῆς) ἔτεσι τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο

4 ποιῆσαι ἔδοθη· καὶ παραχρήμα γε οὕτως μὲν ταμίας ἐκείνους δὲ ἀγορανόμος ἀπεδείχθησαν. τῶν τε ταμειεύσοντων ἐν τοῖς ἑθνεσιν ἑπιλειτόντων ἐκληρώθησαν ἐς αὐτὰ πάντες οἱ μέχρι δέκα ἄνω ἔτων ἄνευ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου τεταμεικότες.

29 Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ πόλει ταῦτα τότε ἄξια μνήμης ἐγένετο· οἱ δὲ δὴ Κάνταβροι οἱ τε Ἀστυρες, ὡς τάχιστα ὁ Ἀὐγουστος ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, Λούκιον Ἀιμίλιον ἀρχοῦτα αὐτῆς καταληψῖν, ἀπηλλάγη, ἐπανεστήσαν, καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς τὸν Ἀιμίλιον, πρὶν καὶ ὄτιον ἐκφηναί οἱ, σίτον τε καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ χαρίσασθαι τῷ στρατεύματι βουλεσθαί

1 ἄβουλοιν Dind., ἄ βουλοιν VM.

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

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

\(^1\) See chap. 18.
2 ἔφασαν, κάκ τούτοι στρατιώτας συνχούσ τοις και κομμιούντας αὐτά λαβόντες ἐς τε χώρα ἀυτοὺς ἐπιτήδεια σφισάν ἐσήγαγον καὶ κατεφώνευσαν. οὔ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἱσθήσαν· τῆς τε γὰρ χώρας αὐτῶν δῆμαθείσας καὶ τεῖχος τινῶν καυ-θέντων, τὸ τε μέγιστὸν τὸν χειρὸν τοῖς ἀεί ἀλισκομένοις ἀποκοπτομένων, τάχεως ἐχειρώθησαν.

3 Ἐν δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγέγυνετο, καὶ ἄλλης τις στρατείᾳ καινή ἄρχην τε ἅμα καὶ τέλος ἔσχεν· ἐπὶ γὰρ Ἁραβίαν τὴν εὐδαίμωνα καλουμένην, ἢς Σαβὼς ἐβασίλευεν, Ἀξίλιος Γάλλος ὁ τῆς Λίγυπτου ἄρχων ἐπεστράτευσε. καὶ ἐς μὲν όψιν ὀυδές αὐτῷ τὴν γε πρώτην ἴλθεν, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἀπόνως προεχώρειν· ἢ τε γὰρ ἐρημία καὶ ὁ ἥλιος τά τε ὑδάτα φύσιν τινὰ ἀτοποὺ ἔχοντα πἀνυ αὐτοὺς ἐταλαιπώρησεν, ὡστε τὸ πλεῖον τοῦ στρατοῦ 4

5 βῇρυναι. τὸ δὲ δὴ νόσημα ὀυδεὶς τῶν συνήθων ὀμοιον ἐγέγυνετο, ἄλλ' ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐνσκῆψαν ἐξήρανεν αὐτήν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς αὐτικὰ ἀπώλλυ, τῶν δὲ δὴ περιγυγμομένων ἐς τα σκέλη κατῆλε, πὰν τὸ μεταξὴ τοῦ σώματος ὑπερβὰν, καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐλυμαίνετο, ἀμά τε αὐτοῦ ὀυδὲν ἵν χωρίς ἢ εἰ τις ἑλαίουν οἶνῳ μεμνυμένου καὶ ἐπὶ 6 καὶ ἡλείψατο. ὡπερ ποὺ πἀνυ ὀλίγοις σφῶν ὑπήρξε ποιήσαν· οὔτε γὰρ ἡ χώρα ὀυδέτερον αὐτῶν φέρει ἀυτὲ ἐκεῖνοι ἀφθονα αὐτὰ προπαρεσκευάδατο. καὶ τῷ πόνῳ τοῦτῳ καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι

3 ἐκεῖνα Rk., ἐκεῖνά τε VM.
4 προπαρεσκευάδατο Bk., προπαρεσκευάσαντο VM, (ἐκεῖνοι) προπαρεσκευάσατο Zon.

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after securing a considerable number of soldiers, b.c. 24
ostensibly to take back the presents, they conducted them to places suitable for their purpose and murdered them. Their satisfaction, however, was short-lived; for their country was devastated, some of their forts burned, and, worst of all, the hands of all who were caught were cut off, and so they were quickly subdued.

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

30 Ὁ δ' Ἀὔγουστος ἐνδέκατον μετὰ Καλπουρνίου Πίσσωνος ἀρξας ἠρρώστησεν αὖθις, ὡστε μηδεμίαν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας σχείν· πάντα γοῦν ὡς καὶ τελευτῆσιν διέθετο, καὶ τὰς 2 ἀρχὰς τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς πρῶτους καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἰππέων ἀθροίσας διάδοχον μὲν οὐδένα ἀπέδειξε· καὶ αὐτοῖς τῶν Μάρκελλων πάντων προκριθῆσεθαί ἐς τούτο προσδοκόντων, διαλεχθείς δὲ τινα αὐτῶς περὶ τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων τὸ μὲν Πίσσωνος τὰς τε δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς προσόδους τὰς κοινὰς ἐσ βιβλίον ἐσγραφας ἐδωκε, τὸ δ' Ἁγρίππα τὸν 2 δακτύλιον ἐνεχείρισε· καὶ αὐτὸν μηδὲν ἤττος. ἐτι 3 μηδὲ τῶν πάνω ἀναγκαῖων ποιεῖν δυνάμενον Ἀυτόνιος τις Μούσας καὶ ψυχρολογίαις καὶ ψυχροποσίαις ἀνέσωσε· καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ χρή-ματα παρὰ τε τοῦ Ἀὔγουστου καὶ παρὰ τῆς Βουλῆς πολλὰ καὶ τὸ χρυσὸς δακτυλίους (ἀπε-λεύθερος γὰρ ἤν) χρησθαι τήν τε ἀτέλειαν καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς ὀμοτέχνοις, οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς τότε οὖσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἑπειτα ἐσομένοις, ἐλαβεν.

4 ἄλλ' ἐδει γὰρ αὐτὸν τᾶ τῆς τύχης καὶ τὰ τῆς

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

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

¹ The place has not been identified; Strabo (xvi. 4, 24) calls it Athrula.
Ταῦτα μὲν ὦστερον ἐπραξε, τότε δὲ σωθεὶς τὰς διαθήκας ἐσήνεγκε μεν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ ἀναλέξασθαι θέλησεν, ἐνδεικνύμενος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅτι οὐδένα τῆς ἁρχῆς διάδοχον καταλελυπό ἦν, οὐ μεντοὶ καὶ ἀνέγνωσί οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐπέτρεψεν. ἑθαύμαζον μέντοι καὶ πάνυ πάντες αὐτοῦ ὅτι τὸν Μάρκελλον καὶ ὡς γαμβρόν καὶ ὡς ἀδελφίδουν ἀγαπῶν, καὶ ἀλλὰς τε αὐτοῦ τιμᾶς δίδουσι καὶ τὴν ἐορτὴν ἦν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορανομίας ἐπετέλει συνδιαθέσει λαμπρῶς, ὡστε τὴν τε ἁγορὰν ἐν παντὶ τῷ θέρει 2) παραπετάσμασι κατὰ κορυφῆν διαλαβεῖν καὶ ὀρχηστὴν τινα ἵπτεα γυναῖκα τε ἐπιφανῆ ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν ἐσαγαγεῖν, ὁμος τὴν μοναρχίαν οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν 'Αγρίππαν αὐτοῦ προετίμησεν. οὕτως, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐδέπω τῇ τοῦ μειρακίου γνώμη ἐθάρσει,

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

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

1 Suetonius (Aug. 29, 4) names this theatre among various other buildings which Augustus "nomine alieno . . . fecit."
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ἀλλ’ ἦτοι τὸν δῆμον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν κομίσασθαι ἢ καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τὴν ἤγερον παρ’ ἐκείνου λαβεῖν ἠθὲλησεν εὐ τε γὰρ ἦπεστατο προσφιλὴ σφίσιν ἐσ τὰ μάλιστα αὐτὸν οὖντα, καὶ οὐκ ἐβούλετο παρ’ ἐαυτοῦ ἡ δοκεῖν αὐτὴν ἐπιτρέπε-32 σθαι. ῥαίσας δ’ οὐν, καὶ μαθὼν τὸν Μάρκελλον οὐκ ἐπιτηδείως τῷ Ἀγρίππα διὰ τούτ’ ἔχοντα, ἐς τὴν Συρίαν εὐθὺς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν, μὴ καὶ διατριβὴ τις καὶ ἀψιμαχία αὐτοῖς ἐν ταύτῳ οὐσι συμβῆ, ἔστειλε. καὶ δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς ἐξώρμησεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἀφίκετο, ἀλλ’ ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον μετριάζων ἐκεῖσε μὲν τοὺς ὑποστρατήγους ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν Λέσβῳ διήτριψε.

2 Ταῦτά τε οὕτως ὁ Ἀὔγουστος ἔποιήσε, καὶ στρατηγοὺς δέκα, ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι πλείονον δεόμενος, ἀπέδειξε καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐτῇ ἐγένετο. ἔμελλον δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὰ αὐτὰ ἀπερ καὶ πρόσθεν ποιήσειν, δύο δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει ὤσα 3 ἐτῇ γενήσεσθαι. διατάξας δὲ ταῦτα ὡς ἐκαστα, ἀπείπε τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐς τὸν Ἀλβανὸν ἐλθόνων ἐπεὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς, ἐξ οὕτε τὰ πράγματα κατέστη, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ πλείους δὲ ἄγον ἥρξαν, ἐπισκέιν τε τοῦτο αὖθις, ὅπως ὦτὶ πλεῖστοι ὑπατεύωσιν, ἥθελησε, καὶ ἔξω τοῦ ἀστεώς αὐτὸ

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

Besides doing all these things in the manner related, Augustus appointed ten praetors, feeling that he no longer required a larger number; and this happened for several years. Most of them were to perform the same duties as formerly, but two were to be in charge of the financial administration each year. Having arranged these matters in detail, he went to the Alban Mount and resigned the consulship. For ever since conditions had become settled, both he himself and most of his colleagues had held the office for the whole year, and he now wished to end this practice, in order that as many as possible might become consuls; and he resigned outside the Augustus on a diplomatic mission calling for secrecy—nothing less, in fact, than for the purpose of inducing Phraates to return the captured Roman standards and receive in return his son. Cf. chap. 33, 2 inf.

2 Cf. liv. 11, 6.
3 Under Julius Caesar the number had been as high as sixteen; see xliii. 49, 1, and 51, 4.
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4 ἐποίησεν, ἵνα μὴ κωλυθῇ. καὶ ἐπὶ τὲ τοῦτο ἐπαινὸν ἔσχε, καὶ ὅτι Δούκιον ἀνθ' ἐαυτοῦ Σή- στιον ἀνθείλετο, ἀεὶ τὸν Βροῦτό συσπουδά- σαντα καὶ ἐν πάσι τοῖς πολέμοις συντρατεύ- σαντα, καὶ ἔτι καὶ τὸτε καὶ μνημονεύοντα αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνας ἔχοντα καὶ ἐπαίνους ποιούμενον τὸ τε γὰρ φιλικὸν καὶ τὸ πιστὸν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἔμισσεν ἄλλα καὶ ἔτίμησε.

5 καὶ διὰ ταύθ' ἡ γερουσία δήμαρχόν τε αὐτοῦ διὰ βίου εἶναι ἐψηφίσατο, καὶ χρηματίζεων αὐτῷ (περὶ ἐνός τινος ὅπου ἂν θελήσῃ καθ' ἐκάστην βουλήν, κἂν μὴ ὑπατεύῃ, ἔδωκε, τὴν τε ἀρχὴν τὴν ἀνθόπατον ἐσαεί καθάπαξ ἔχειν ὡστε μήτε ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ τῇ εἰσῳ τοῦ πωμηρίου κατα- τίθεσθαι αὐτὴν μήτ αὐθις ἀνανεοῦσθαι, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπηκόῳ τὸ πλεῖον τῶν ἐκασταχθῆ ἀρχῶν- τῶν ἱσχύειν ἐπέτρεψεν. (ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ αὐτοκράτορες εἰς νόμοι δὴ την τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τῇ δημαρχικῇ ἐχρη- σαντο· τὸ γὰρ τοῦ ὅνομα αὐτὸ τὸ τῶν δημάρχων σοῦ' ὁ Αὐγουστος οὐτ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς αὐτοκράτωρ ἔσχε.

33 Καὶ μοι δοκεῖ ταύθ' οὕτω τότε οὐκ ἐκ κολα- κείας ἄλλ' ἐπ' ἄληθείας τιμηθεὶς λαβεῖν. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα ὡς ἐλευθέρως σφίσι προσεβερτο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Τιριδάτης ἕναυτός, παρὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Φραάτου πρέσβεις, ἐφ' οἷς ἀντικελόουν ἄλλῃ- λοις ἀφίκοντο, ἐς τὴν βουλὴν αὐτοὺς ἐσήγαγε.

2 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐπιτραπεῖς παρ' αὐτῆς τὴν διά-

1 Τιριδάτης Dind., τειριδάτης VM (and similarly just below).
city, to prevent being hindered from his purpose. b.c. 23

For this act he received praise, as also because he chose in his stead Lucius Sestius, who had always been an enthusiastic follower of Brutus, had fought with him in all his wars, and even at this time kept alive his memory, had images of him, and delivered eulogies upon him. Augustus; it would appear, so far from disliking the man's devotion and loyalty, actually honoured these qualities in him. And because of this the senate voted that Augustus should be tribune for life and gave him the privilege of bringing before the senate at each meeting any one matter at whatever time he liked, even if he were not consul at the time; they also permitted him to hold once for all and for life the office of proconsul, so that he had neither to lay it down upon entering the pomerium nor to have it renewed again, and they gave him in the subject territory authority superior to that of the governor in each instance. As a result both he and the emperors after him gained a certain legal right to use the tribunician power as well as their other powers; for the title of tribune itself was taken neither by Augustus nor by any other emperor.¹

And it seems to me that he then acquired these privileges as related, not by way of flattery, but because he was truly honoured; for in most ways he comported himself toward the Romans as if they were free citizens. Thus, when Tiridates in person and envoys from Phraates came to settle their mutual recriminations, he brought them before the senate; and afterwards, when the decision of the question had been referred to him by that body, he did not

¹ Cf. chap. 17, 10.
γνωσιν τὸν μὲν Τιρεδάτην τῷ Φραώτη οὐκ ἐξέδωκεν, τὸν δ' υἱὸν αὐτῶ, δυνά, πρότερον (παρ' ἐκείνου ἐλαβὼν εἶχεν, ἀπέσεμψεν ἐπὶ τῷ τούς τε αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τὰ στρατιωτικὰ τὰ ἔν τε τῇ τοῦ Κράσσου καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου συμφόρα ἀλόντα κομίσασθαι.

3 Καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ έτει ἀγορανόμου τέ τινα τῶν καταδεστέρων ἀποθανόντα Γάιος Καλπούρνιος, καὶ τοῖς προηγορομοικὼς ἐν τοῖς ἀμείνοσι, διεδέξατο, ὅπερ ἐπὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλον μηνιοεύεται γενόμενον· κἀν ταῖς ἀνοχαίς δύο καθ' ἐκάστην ἤμέραν ἐπολιαρχησαν, καὶ ἔις γέ τις αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἐς μειράκια 1 πω τελῶν ὅμως ἠρξεν.

4 Αὐτίαν μὲν οὖν ἡ Διονύσια τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ Μαρκέλλου ἔσχεν, ὅτι τῶν υἱῶν αὐτῆς προσετήμητο· ἐς ἀμφιβολοῦ δ' οὖν ἡ ὑποψία αὐτῇ καὶ ὕπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ ἐτούς καὶ ὕπο τοῦ ἐπείτα, οὗτο νοσῶδων γενομένων 2 ἄστε πάνυ πολλοὺς ἐν αὐ-

5 τοῖς ἀπολεύσθαι, κατέστη, καὶ φιλεὶ γάρ πως ἄει τι πρὸ τῶν τοιούτων προσημαίνεσθαι, τότε μὲν λύκος τε ἐν τῷ ἀστεί συνελήφθη, καὶ πῦρ χειμῶν τε πολλοῖς οἰκοδομήμοσιν ἐλυμήνατο, ὡ τῷ Τίβεριος αὐξηθεῖσι την τε γέφυρα την ἐξυλίνην κατέσυρε καὶ την πόλιν πλωτὴν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐποίησε.  

1 μειράκια v. Herw., μειράκιον VM.  
2 νοσῶδων γενομένων Bk., νοσώδους γενομένου VM.
surrender Tiridates to Phraates, but sent back to the latter his son whom he had once received from him and was keeping,\(^1\) on condition that the captives and the military standards taken in the disasters of Crassus and of Antony should be returned.

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

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

\(^1\) Cf. li. 18, 3.
\(^2\) By "minor" and "major" aediles Dio means the plebeian and curule aediles respectively.
Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαίων

α. Ὅσ' ἐπιμελήται τῶν ὅδων ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγικῶν κατέστησαν.

β. Ὅσ' ἐπιμελήτας τοῦ σιτηρείου ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγικῶν κατέστησαν.

γ. Ὅσ' Νάρικον ἐέλαω.

δ. Ὅσ' Ρατία ἐέλαω.

ε. Ὅσ' Αἰλπεις αἱ παραθαλάσσιοι Ῥωμαίων ἀκούειν ἱρέαντο.

ζ. Ὅσ' τὸ 3 τοῦ Βάλβου θέατρον καθιερώθη.

η. Ὅσ' τὸ 3 τοῦ Μαρκέλλου θέατρον καθιερώθη.

θ. Ὅσ' Ἀγρίππας ἀπέθανε καὶ τὴν Χερρόνησον Ἀὐγουστος ἐκτήσατο.

ι. Ὅσ' τὰ Ἀὐγουστάλια κατέστη.

Χρόνῳ πλῆθος ἐτή τρία καὶ δέκα, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμοῦμενοι οἴδε ἐγένοντο

M. Κλαύδιος ⁴ M. vi. Μάρκελλος Ἀισερίνος ⁵

Α. Ἀρρούντιος Λ. vi.

Μ. Λάλλιος ⁶ M. vi.⁷

Κ.⁸ Αὐμέλλιος Μ. vi.⁹ Λέπιδος

Μ. Ἀπουλείος ¹⁰ Σεγιον vi. ⁵υπ.

Π. Σίλλιος ¹¹ Π. vi. Νέρονας

Γ. Σέντιος Γ. vi. Σατουρνίνος

Κ.¹² Λουκρήτιος Κ. vi. Οὐισπίλλαυν ¹³ ⁵υπ.

Γν. Κορνήλιος Λ. vi. Λεντούλος

Π. Κορνήλιος Π. vi. Λεντούλος Μαρκέλλοιν ⁵υπ.

Γ. Φούρνιος Γ. vi.¹⁴

Γ. Ἰούνιος ¹⁵ Γ. vi. Σιλανδὸς ⁵υπ.

¹ ἐστρατηγικῶν M, ἐστρατηγικῶν V.

² Νάρικον Bs., Νάρικον VM. ³ τὸ supplied by Bs.

⁴ Κλαύδιος H. Steph., κα' VM.

⁵ Αἰσερίνοι Xyl., αἰσερίνοι M, δισερίνοι V.

⁶ M. Λάλλιος supplied by Xyl.

⁷ M. vi supplied by Bs. ⁸ K. supplied by Xyl.

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BOOK LIV

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

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

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

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

9 Αἰμίλιος M. vi. supplied by Bs.
10 Ἀπούλιος Bs., ἀπούλιος VM.
11 Σίλιος Xyl., σειλ VM. 12 K. Reim., λ VM.
13 οὐσιππίλαν Dind., οὐσιππίλαν M, οὐσιππίλαν V.
14 vi. M, ὅτι V.
15 Γ. Ἰούνιος Xyl., π οὖνιος VM.
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Τῷ δ’ ἐπιγυμνομένῳ ἦτει, ἐν οἱ Μάρκος τε Ἔρρκελλος καὶ Δούκιος 'Αρρούντιος ὕπάτευσαν, ἢ τε πόλις πελαγίσαντος αὐθῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπικεύσθη, καὶ κεραυνοὶς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐβλήθη καὶ οἱ ἀνδριάντες οἱ ἐν τῷ Πανθεῷ, ἄστε καὶ τὸ δόρυ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Αὐγοῦστου χειρὸς ἐκπεσεὶν. πονοῦμενοι οὖν ὑπὸ τε τῆς νόσου καὶ ύπὸ τοῦ 2 λιμοῦ (ἐν τε γὰρ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πάση ὁ λοιμὸς ἐγένετο καὶ τὴν χώραν οὗδεις εἰργάσατο· δοκῶ δ' ὅτι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐξω χωρίοις τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο συμψυχήθη) νομίσαντες οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι οὖν ἄλλος σφίσι ταῦτα συμβεβηκέναι, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ καὶ τότε υπά- 3 τευνόντα τὸν Αὐγοῦστον ἔσχον, δικτάτορα αὐτοῦ ἠθέλησαν προχειρίσασθαι, καὶ τὴν τε βουλήν

1 Γν. vi. R. Steph., λυ vi. VM.
2 Ἀπνόβαρβος R. Steph., ἀπνόβαρβος Μ, ἀννόβαρβος V.
3 ὑπ. supplied by Bs.
4 Δούκιος Leopard, λ ἰούνιος Μ, λ ὦνιος V.
5 Φρούγι (Φρυγί) R. Steph., φούρτιος VM.
6 vi. Κράσσος supplied by Xyl.
7 Τιβ. Κλάβδιος Η. Steph., τ β κλ V, τιβ. κλ. Μ.
8 Κυντίλιος Xyl., κ vi VM.
The following year, in which Marcus Marcellus and Lucius Arruntius were consuls, the city was again submerged by the overflowing of the river, and many objects were struck by thunderbolts, especially the statues in the Pantheon, so that the spear even fell from the hand of Augustus. The pestilence raged throughout all Italy so that no one tilled the land, and I suppose that the same was the case in foreign parts. The Romans, therefore, reduced to dire straits by the disease and by the consequent famine, believed that these woes had come upon them for no other reason than that they did not have Augustus for consul at this time also. They accordingly wished to elect him dictator, and
κατακλείσαντες (ἐς τὸ συνedReader text here...
shutting the senators up in their meeting place, they forced them to vote this measure by threatening to burn down the building over their heads. Next they took the twenty-four rods and approached Augustus, begging him to consent both to being named dictator and to becoming commissioner of the grain supply, as Pompey had once done. He accepted the latter duty under compulsion, and ordered that two men should be chosen annually, from among those who had served as praetors not less than five years previously in every case, to attend to the distribution of the grain. As for the dictatorship, however, he did not accept the office, but went so far as to rend his garments when he found himself unable to restrain the people in any other way, either by argument or by entreaty; for, since he was superior to the dictators in the power and honour he already possessed, he properly guarded against the jealousy and hatred which the title would arouse. He took the same course also when they wished to elect him censor for life; for, declining to take the office himself, he immediately appointed others to be censors, namely Paulus Aemilius Lepidus and Lucius Munatius Plancus, the latter a brother of that Plancus who had been proscribed, and the former a man who had himself been condemned to die at that same time. These were the last two private citizens to hold the censorship together, which was no doubt the meaning of the sign given to them; for the platform, on which they were to perform one of the functions devolving upon them,

1 The fasces; the dictator was regularly attended by twenty-four lictors. Cf. liii. 1, n. 1.
2 Curator annonae. 3 Cf. xxxix. 9.
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...
collapsed as they ascended it on the first day of their holding the office, and was shattered in pieces, and after that no others of the same rank as these became censors together. Even at this time, in spite of their having been chosen to the position, Augustus performed many of the duties belonging to their office. Of the public banquets, he abolished some altogether and limited the extravagance of others. He committed the charge of all the festivals to the praetors, commanding that an appropriation should be given them from the public treasury, and also forbidding any one of them to spend more than another from his own means on these festivals, or to give a gladiatorial combat unless the senate decreed it, or, in fact, oftener than twice in each year or with more than one hundred and twenty men. To the curule aediles he entrusted the putting out of fires, for which purpose he granted them six hundred slaves as assistants. And since knights and women of rank had given exhibitions on the stage even then,¹ he forbade not only the sons of senators, who had even before this been excluded, but also their grandsons, so far, at least, as these belonged to the equestrian order, to do anything of the sort again.

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

¹ Cf. liii. 31.
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λέγοντος τοτε μὲν τῇ τοῦ Αὔγουστου τοτε δὲ τῇ Μαρκέλλου γνώμη τούτο πεποιηκέναι, ἂς τε τὸ δικαστήριον αὐτεπάγγελτος ἦλθε, καὶ έπερωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ εἰ προστάξειν οἱ πολε- 3 μῆσαι, ἔξαρνος ἐγένετο. τοῦ τε συναγορεύοντος τῷ Πρίμω Λικινίου Μουρήνου ἄλλα τε ἐς αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια ἀπορρίψατο, καὶ πυθομένου "τί δὴ ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖς, καὶ τίς σε ἐκάλεσεν," τοσοῦτον μόνον ἀπεκρίματο ὅτι "τὸ δημόσιον." ἐπὶ οὖν τούτοις ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν εὗ φρονοῦντων ἐπηνεῖτο, ὥστε καὶ τὸ τὴν βουλὴν ἀθροίζειν ὡς ἀν ἐθελήσῃ λαβεῖν, τῶν δ’ ἄλλων τινὲς κατεφρό- 4 νῆσαν αὐτοῦ. ἀμέλει καὶ τοῦ Πρίμου οὐκ ὅλιγοι ἀπεψηφίσατο, καὶ ἐπιβουλὴν ἔτερον ἐπ’ αὐτὸ συνετήσαν. Φάννιος ἡμᾶς Καυτίων ἀρχηγὸς αὐτῆς ἐγένετο, συνεστελάβοντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ σφίσι καὶ οἱ Μουρήνας συνωμομέναν, εἰτ’ οὖν ἀληθῶς εἶτε καὶ ἐκ διαβολῆς, ἐλέγχη, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἀκράτῳ καὶ κατακορεῖ τῇ παρρησίᾳ πρὸς πάντας 5 ὁμοίως ἔχρητο. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμεναν τὸ δικα- στήριον, ἔρημην μὲν ὡς καὶ φεύξομενοι ἠλώσαν, ἀπεσφάγησαν δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον, οὔδε ἐπιρ- κεσαν τῷ Μουρήνα οὔτε ο Προκουλέιος ἄδελφος ὅν οὔτε ο Μαικήνας τῇ ἄδελφῃ αὐτοῦ συνοικῶν, καίπερ ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὔγουστου τιμώ- 6 μενοι. ὡς δ’ οὖν καὶ τούτους τῶν δικαζόντων τινές ἀπέλυσαν, ἐνομοθέτησε μῆτε κρύφα τὰς ψήφους ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμως δίκαιας φέρεσθαι, καὶ πάσαις αὐταῖς τὸν εὐθυνομένον ἀλήσκεσθαι. καὶ ὅτι γε ταῦτ’ οὖν ὑπ’ ὀργῆς ἀλλ’ ὡς καὶ συμφέ-

1 Λικινίου M, λικινίου V. 2 Φάννιος Λευνκλ., φάννιος VM. 3 ἐλέχθη M, ἐλέγχθη V. 4 Προκούλειος Βς., προκούλιος VM.
one moment that he had done it with the approval of Augustus, and at another with that of Marcellus, Augustus came of his own accord to the courtroom; and upon being asked by the praetor whether he had instructed the man to make war, he denied it. And when the advocate of Primus, Licinius Murena, in the course of some rather disrespectful remarks that he made to him, enquired: “What are you doing here, and who summoned you?” Augustus merely replied: “The public weal.” For this he received praise from the people of good sense and was even given the right to convene the senate as often as he pleased; but some of the others despised him. At all events, not a few voted for the acquittal of Primus, and others formed a plot against Augustus. Fannius Caepio was the instigator of it, but others also joined with him. Even Murena was reported to be in the conspiracy, whether truly or by way of calumny, since he was immoderate and unrestrained in his outspokenness toward all alike. These men did not stand trial, and so were convicted by default, on the supposition that they intended to flee; and a little latter they were slain. Murena found neither Proculeius, his brother, nor Mace- cnas, his sister’s husband, of any avail to save him, though these men were most highly honoured by Augustus. And inasmuch as some of the jurymen voted to acquit even these conspirators, the emperor made a law that in trials at which the defendant was not present the vote should not be taken secretly and the defendant should be convicted only by a unanimous vote. Now that he took these measures, not in anger, but as really conducive to
7 rovta tō δημοσίω διέταξεν, ἵσχυρός διέδειξε· τοῦ γοῦν πατρὸς τοῦ Καπιτώνος τοῦ μὲν ἔτερον τῶν δούλων τῶν συμφυγόντων τῷ νιεὶ ἐλευθερώσαντος, ὅτι ἀμύναι οἱ θυσίκοντι ἡθέλησε, τὸν δὲ ἔτερον τὸν προδότα αὐτοῦ διὰ τῇ ἁγορᾶς μέσης μετὰ γραμμάτων τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς θανατώσεως αὐτοῦ ἁδιλούντων διαγαγόντος καὶ μετὰ ταύτα ἁνα-
8 σταυρώσαντος, οὐκ ἠγανάκτησε. καὶ ἐξηκέσατο πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν οὐκ ἀρεσκομένων τοῖς πραχθεῖσι μέμψιν, εἰ μή καὶ θυσίας ὡς 2 καὶ ἐπὶ νίκη τινὶ καὶ ψηφισθεὶσας περιείδε καὶ γενομένας.

4 Τότε δ᾿ οὖν καὶ τὴν Κύπρον καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν Ναρβωνησίαν ἀπέδωκε τῷ δήμῳ ὡς μηδὲν τῶν ὄπλων αὐτοῦ δεομένας· καὶ οὕτως ἀνθύπατοι 2 καὶ ἐς ἐκείνα τὰ ἑθνη πέμπεσθαι ἡξαντο. καὶ τὸν τοῦ Δίος τοῦ Βροντόντος ἐπικαλουμένου ναὸν καθερώσε: περὶ οὐ δύο ταύτα παραδέδοται, ὅτι τότε τε ἐν τῇ Ιερουργίᾳ Βρονταὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ μετὰ ταύτα ὄναρ τῷ Ἁγιοῦστῳ τοιόνδε ἐπέστη. τῶν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων, τὸ μέν τι πρὸς τὸ ἔξον καὶ τοῦ ὄνοματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ εἴδους, τὸ δὲ καὶ ὅτι 3 ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἁγιοῦστου ἱδρυτο, μέγιστον δὲ ὅτι πρώτῳ οἱ ἀνιόντες ἐς τὸ Καπετώλιον ἐνετύχανον, προσερχομένων τε αὐτῷ 3 καὶ σεβόντων, ἐδοξε τὸν Δία τὸν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ ναῷ ὁντα ὀργῆν ὡς καὶ τὰ δεύτερα αὐτοῦ φερόμενον ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐκείνῳ τε εἰπεῖν ἐλεγεν ὅτι προφύλακα 4 τὸν Βροντόντα ἐχοι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, κῶδωνα αὐτῷ περιῆψε, βεβαιῶν τὴν ὑνειρωξίν. 4

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

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

5 Ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ 'Ρώμῃ ταύτ' ἐγίγνετο, ὅποι δὲ δὴ τούς αὐτοὺς τούτους χρόνους καὶ οἱ Κάνταβροι.

οὶ τε 'Αστυρες ἐπολέμησαν αὖθις,2 οὕτω μὲν διὰ τε τρυφὴν καὶ δὴ ὁμότητα τοῦ Καρισίου, οἱ δὲ δὴ Κάνταβροι, ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνοι τὲ νεωτερίζοντας ἤσθοντο καὶ τοῦ ἀρχοντός σφών Γαίου Φουρνίου κατεφρόνησαν, ὅτι τὸ νεωστὶ ἄφικτο καὶ ὅτι ἀπείρον αὐτὸν τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῖς πραγμάτων εἶναι

2 ἐδοξαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐργῷ τοιοῦτός σφισὶν ἰφήνη, ἀλλ' ἤττηθέντες ἀμφότεροι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (καὶ γὰρ τῷ Καρισίῳ προσήμενεν) ἐδουλώθησαν, καὶ τῶν μὲν Καντάβρων οὐ πολλοὶ ἐδώκασαν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀνέλπιστον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἔσχου, οὐδὲ ξῆν

3 ἡθέλησαν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τὰ ἐρύματα προεμπροή-σαντες οὔαυτος ὑπέσφαξαν, οἷς καὶ ἐκείνους ἔθελοντας συγκατεκαύθησαν, ἀλλοὶ δημοσίᾳ φαρ-μάκων ἐνεπλήσθησαν, ὡστε τὸ τε πλεῖστον καὶ τὸ ἀγριωτάτον αὐτῶν φθαρήναι· οἳ δ' 'Αστυρες ὡς τάχιστα χωρίον τέ τι πολιορκοῦτες ἀπηλά-θησαν καὶ μάχῃ (μετὰ τούτ') ἐνυκήθησαν, οὐκέτ' ἀντήραν ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐξερώθησαν.

4 Τοῦ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων χρόνων οἱ Αἰδίοπες οἱ ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου οἰκούντες προεχώρησαν μὲν μέχρι τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ελεφαντίνης ὄνομασμένης, πάντα τὰ ἐν ποσὶ πορθοῦντες, ἡγουμένης σφίσιν Κανδάκης· πυθόμενοι δὲ ἐνταῦθα ποιοῦ Γαίον Πετρώνιον τὸν τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀρχοντα προσίεναι,

1 δεηθῶσι: Dind., συνθέσαν VM.
2 αὖθις Xyl., αὐτοῖς VM.
vision. For those who guard communities at night carry a bell, in order to be able to signal to the inhabitants whenever they need to do so.

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

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

1 Pliny (Nat. Hist. vi. 181) calls him Publius.
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προατηλθούν μὲν ὃς καὶ διαφευγόμενοι, καταλη-
φθέντες δὲ ἐν τῇ ὅδῷ ἦττηθησαν, κἀκε τοῦτον καὶ
5 ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν αὐτὸν ἐπεσπάσαντο. καὶ καλὸς
καὶ ἐκεῖ ἁγωνισάμενος πόλεις ἄλλας τε ἡ καὶ τὴν
Ναπάτην τὸ βασίλειον αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν. καὶ ἐκείνη μὲν κατεσκάψη, ἐν ἐτέρῳ δὲ τῶν χωρῶν
φρουρὰ κατελείφθη. ὥς γὰρ Πετρώνιος μήτε
περατέρω διὰ τῆς ἄμυνος καὶ διὰ τὸ καθά
προελθὲν μὴτε κατὰ χώραν μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ
στρατοῦ μείωται καὶ καλὸς δυνηθείς ἀνεχόμενος, τὸ
6 πλεῖον αὐτοῦ ἐπαγόμενον. (καὶ τοῦτο) τῶν Ἁἰ-
νιδίων τοῖς φρουροῖς ἐπιθεμένων αὐθίς τε ἔπ
αυτοῦ) ἔστρατευσε, καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους ἐρρύσατο,
καὶ τὴν Κανδάκην συμβῆναι οἱ ἤμαγκασεν.

6 Ἔν δὲ ταῦτα ἐγυγμένο, ὁ Ἀὐγοῦστος εἰς
Σκικελίαν ἔλθεν, ὡς καὶ ἐκείνη καὶ τάλλα τὰ
6 μέχρι τῆς Σκυρίας καταστῆται. καὶ αὐτοῦ
ἐντάθα ἐτ' ὄντος ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ῥωμαίων τοὺς
ὑπάτους χειροτονῶν ἑστασίασεν, ὡςτε καὶ ἐκ
τοῦτον διαδειχθῆναι ὅτι ἄδυνατον ἤν δημοκρατο-
2 μένους σφάς σωθῆναι. μικροῦ γοῦν τινος ἐν τῇ
te ταῖς ἀρχαιοσίαις καὶ (ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς αὐταῖς)
kυριεύσαντες ἑθορύβησαν. ἐτηρεῖτο μὲν γὰρ ἡ
ἐτέρα χώρα τῷ Ἀὐγοῦστῳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Μάρκος
Δόλλιος (καὶ ἀρχαῖς τοῦ ἐτους μόνος ἦρξεν ἐκλεί-
νυν) δὲ μὴ δεξαμένον αὐτὴν. Κυντὸς τοῦ Δέπιδος
καὶ Δούκιος Σιλουανὸς ἑστονδαρχίσαν, καὶ
οὔτω γε πάντα συνετάραξαν ὡστε καὶ τῶν Ἀὐγο-
3 στοῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμφρόνοις ἀνακάληθηναι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ

1 te supplied by Rk. 2 Ναπάτην Dind., τανάτην VM Xiph.
3 βασιλείου αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν Xiph., βασιλείον ἄπελαβεν VM.
4 κατελείφθη Xiph., κατελήφθη VM. 5 δὲ M, δὲ δὴ V.
he arrived, hoping to make good their escape. But being overtaken on the road, they were defeated and thus drew him after them into their own country. There, too, he fought successfully with them, and took Napata, their capital, among other cities. This place was razed to the ground, and a garrison left at another point; for Petronius, finding himself unable either to advance farther, on account of the sand and the heat, or advantageously to remain where he was with his entire army, withdrew, taking the greater part of it with him. Thereupon the Ethiopians attacked the garrisons, but he again proceeded against them, rescued his own men, and compelled Candace to make terms with him.

While this was going on, Augustus went to Sicily in order to settle affairs in that island and elsewhere as far as Syria. While he was still there, the Roman populace fell to quarrelling over the election of the consuls. This incident showed clearly that it was impossible for a democratic government to be maintained among them; at any rate, although they had but little authority either in the matter of the elections or of the offices themselves, they fell to rioting. One of the consulships, it seems, was being kept for Augustus, and accordingly at the beginning of the year Marcus Lollius alone entered upon office; but when the emperor would not accept the position, Quintus Lepidus and Lucius Silvanus became rival candidates and threw everything into such turmoil that Augustus was summoned home by those who retained their senses. He
οἷς ὑπέστρεψε μὲν, ἐλθόντας δὲ αὐτοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέπεμψεν ἐπιτιμήσας σφίσι καὶ κελεύσας ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἀπόντων τὴν ψήφον δοθῆναι, οὔδεν μᾶλλον ἥσυχασαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ αὐθίς διηνέχθησαν, ὡστε τὸν Δέπιδον ὅψε ποτε αἴρεθηναι. ἀγανακτήσας οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Αὐγοῦστος, καὶ μήτε μόνῃ τῇ Ρώμῃ σχολάζειν δυνάμενος μήτ' αὐν ἀναρχον αὐτὴν καταλπείν τολμῶν, ἐξήτει τινὰ αὐτῇ ἐπιστήσασι, καὶ ἔκρινε μὲν τὸν Ἀγρίπ- 

4 παν ἐπιτηδειότατον ἐς τούτῳ εἶναι, βουληθεῖς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀξίωμα αὐτῷ μείζον περιθείναι, ἵνα καὶ ἐκ τούτου βὰ οὐν αὐτῶν ἀρχῃ, μετεπέμψατο αὐτόν, καὶ καταναγκάσας τὴν γυναῖκα, καίπερ ἀδελφίδην αὐτοῦ οὖσαν, ἀπαλλάξαντα τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ συνοικήσαι, ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην παραχρῆμα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς πόλεως διαχειρίσει ἔπεμψε, διὰ τὰ τάλλα καὶ ότι ὁ Μαυρήνας συμβουλευμένως οἱ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων ἐπείδη λέγεται ὅτι "τηλικοῦτον αὐτὸν πεποίηκας ὡστ' ἡ γαμβρόν σου 

5 6 γενέσθαι ἡ φονευθῆναι." καὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ οἰδοῦντα ἐτὶ εὐρὸν κατεστῆσατο, τὰ τε ἱερὰ τὰ Ἀιγύπτια ἐπεσίθνα ταύτις ἐς τὸ ἀστυ ἀνέστειλεν, ἀπειτῶν μηδένα μηδὲ ἐν τῷ προαστεῖον αὐτὰ ἐντὸς ὑγίου ἡμισταδίου ποιεῖν· ταραχῆς δὲ τίνος περὶ τὴν 1 τοῦ πολιάρχου τοῦ διὰ τὰς ἀνοχὰς αἰρομένου χειροτονίαι συμβάσεις οὐκ ἐπεκράτησεν αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ ἀνευ τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης τοῦ ἐναυτοῦ ἑκείνου διεγένυτο.

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

1 Cf. note on li. 19, 6.
2 The prefect of the city was appointed to have charge of the city during the absence of the two consuls in attendance upon the celebration at the Alban Mount.
7. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ’ ἐπραττεν, ὁ δὲ Αὐγοῦστος τά τε ἄλλα τά ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ διουκήσας, καὶ τάς Συρακούσας ἐτέρας τέ τινας πόλεις ἀποίκους 'Ρωμαίον ἀποδείξας ἐς τήν 'Ελλάδα ἐπεραιώθη.

2 καὶ Δακεδαιμονίους μὲν τοῖς τε Κυθήροις καὶ τῇ συσσιτίᾳ ἐτίμησεν, ὅτι ἡ Διούα, ὥστε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας σὺν τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ σὺν τῷ νείπ ἐφυγεν, ἐκεῖ διετριψεν. Ἀθηναίων δὲ τήν τε Αἴγιναν καὶ τήν Ἐρέτριαν (ἐκαρπούντο γὰρ αὐτᾶς), ὡς τινές φασίν, ἀφείλετο, ὅτι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐσπούδασαν, καὶ προσέτει καὶ ἀπηγόρευσέ σφισι μηδένα πολίτην

3 ἀργυρίῳ ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐς ταῦτα ἐδοξε τὸ τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγάλματι συμβαν ἀποσκήψαι ἐν γάρ τῇ ἀκρόπολει πρὸς ἀνατολῶν ἰδρυμένων πρὸς τε τὰς δυσμᾶς μετεστράφη καὶ αἶμα ἀπέ- 4 πτυσσεν. ὁ δ’ οὖν 4 Αὐγοῦστος τὸ τε Ἑλληνικὸν διήγαγε καὶ ἐς Σάμον ἐπέλυσεν, ἐνταῦθα τε ἐχεῖ- μασε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῷ ἡρί ἐν φι Μάρκος τε Ἀπολλείος 5 καὶ Πούπλιος Σίλιος ὑπάτευσαν κομισθεῖς πάντα τά τε ἐκεῖ καὶ τά ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ

5 διεταξεν, οὗτος ὅτι τοῦ δήμου καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰ πρότερα ἐδόκει εἶναι ἐν ἁλγορία αὐτὰ ποιησάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνω πάντων σφόν ὡς καὶ ἐαυτῶν ὀντων ἐπιμεληθεῖς· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα ὡσαπέρ καὶ προσήκον ἦν ἐπηνώρθωσε, καὶ χρη- ματα τοῖς μεν ἐπέδωκε τοῖς δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν φόρον

6 ἐσενεγκεῖν προσέταξε. τοὺς τε Κυζικηνοὺς, ὅτι 'Ρωμαίους τινὰς ἐν στάσει μαστιγώσαντες ἀπέκτειναν, ἐδουλώσατο. καὶ τούτῳ καὶ τοὺς Τυρίους

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

1 Cf. xlviii. 15.
toûς τε Σιδωνίους διὰ τὰς στάσεις ἑποίησεν, ἐν 
τῇ¹ Συρία γενόμενος.²

8 (Κἀν τούτῳ) ὁ Φραάτης φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐπι-
στρατεύσῃ οἱ, ὅτι μηδέπο τῶν συγκεκιμένων
ἐπεποίηκεν τι, τά τε σημεῖα αὐτῶ³ καὶ τοὺς
ἀιχμαλώτους, πλὴν ὀλίγων οἱ ὑπ' ἄισχύνης σφᾶς
ἐφθειραν ἢ καὶ κατὰ χώραν λαθόντες ἔμειναν,

2 ἀπέπεμφε. καὶ αὐτοῦς ἐκείνοις ὡς καὶ πολέμῳ
τινὶ τὸν Πάρθον νευκηκὼς ἔλαβε· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ
tοῦτοις⁴ ἐφρόνει μέγα, λέγων ὅτι τὰ πρῶτον
ποτε ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπολομένα ἀκοντί ἐκεκό-

3 μιστο. ἀμέλει καὶ θυσίας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ νεὼν
Ἄρεως Τιμωροῦ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, κατὰ τὸ τοῦ
Δίδω τοῦ Φερετρίου ναὸς, πρὸς τὴν τῶν
σημείων ἀνάθεσιν καὶ ψηφισθῆναι ἐκέλευσε καὶ
ἐποίησε, καὶ προσέτε καὶ ἐπὶ κέλητος ἐς τὴν
πόλιν ἔσηλασε καὶ ἄψετε τροπαιοφόρῳ ἐτιμήθη.

4 ταύτα μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ὑπάρχῃ τότε δὲ
αὐτός τε προστάτης τῶν περὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ὡδὼν
ἀιρεθεὶς καὶ τὸ χρυσὸν μέλιον κεκλημένον
ἔστησε, καὶ ὀδοτοιούς αὐτῶς ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγι-
κῶν, ῥαβδούχους δύο χρωμένους, προσέπετε.

5 καὶ ἡ Ιουλία τὸν Γάιον ὄνομασθέντα ἐτεκε, βού-
θυσά τε τις τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ ἄδιος ἐδόθη·
cαὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ ψηφίσματος, ὦσπερ πον καὶ

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

¹ That is, he celebrated an ovatio. ² Curator viarum.
³ The milliarium aureum stood at the north end of the
Forum near the Temple of Saturn, marking the point where
300
in the case of the people of Tyre and Sidon on account of their factious quarrelling.

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

9 'Εν μὲν οὖν τῇ πόλει ταῦτ' ἔπραττετο, ὁ δὲ
Αὐγούστος τὸ μεῖν υπῆκοιν κατὰ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων
ἦθη διότι, τὸ δὲ ἔνσπονδον τῷ πατρῷ σφίσι
τρόπῳ εἰα ἄρχεσθαι· οὐδ' ἥξιωσεν οὔτε ἔκεινοι τι
προσθέσθαι οὔτε ἔτερον τι προσκτήσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἄκριβώς ἀρκεῖσθαι τοῖς υπάρχοσιν ἐδι-

2 καίος, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἐπέστειλεν. ὡστε
πολέμου μὲν οὐδὲν τότε γ' ἐφήματο, δυναστείας
de δὴ Ἰαμβλίχω τοῦ Ἰαμβλίχου τῆς τῶν
Ἀραβίων τὴν πατρώαν καὶ Ταρκενδιμότο τῷ
Ταρκενδιμότου τῆς Κιλικίας, ἢν ο πατὴρ αὐ-
tοῦ ἔσχε, πλὴν παραθαλασσιδῶν τινῶν ἔδωκεν: ἐκεῖνα γὰρ τῷ Ἀρχελάω μετὰ τῆς σμικροτέρας
Ἀμενίας ἔχαρισατο, ὅτι ο Μήδος ὁ πρὶν αὐτῆς

3 βασιλεῶν ἐσταμήκει. τῷ τῇ Ἡρώδῃ Ζηνοδώρου
τῶν τετραρχίαν, καὶ Μιθριδάτη ταῦτα τῆς Κοι-

mαγνητῆς, ἐπειδὴ τόν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ὁ βασιλεὺς
αὐτῆς ἀπεκτόνει, καίτοι παιδίσκω ἐτ' ὑπε-

4 τρέψε. τῶν τῶν Ἀμενίων τῶν ἐτέρων του τοῦ
Ἀρτάξου κατηγορησάτω καὶ τὸν Τιγράνη
τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ εὐ τῆς Ρώμη ὅταν μεταπεμψα-

μένων, ἐστειλε τοῦ Τιβέριου, ὅπως τοὺς μὲν
ἐκβάλη τῆς βασιλείας, τὸν δὲ ἐσ αὐτῆς ἀποκατα-

5 στησαν καὶ ἐπράξεθα μὲν οὐδὲν τῆς παρασκευῆς
αὐτοῦ ἄξιον· οἱ γὰρ Ἀμενίωι τῶν Ἀρτάξεω
προαπέκτειναι· ὁ δ' οὖν Τιβέριος, ἂλλως τε καὶ

1 εἰα Leuncl., ἄει Μ. 2 εκείνῳ Βκ., εκείνων Μ.
3 'Ἀρτάξου St., ἀρτάξου M (and similarly just below).
4 ἐστείλε Βκ., μετέστειλε Μ.
of a decree; on their own initiative, however, the aediles gave games in the Circus and a slaughter of wild beasts on Augustus' birthday.

This is what was going on in the city. Augustus administered the subject territory according to the customs of the Romans, but permitted the allied nations to be governed in their own traditional manner; and he did not regard it as desirable either to make any additions to the former or to extend the latter by any new acquisitions, but thought it best to be satisfied with precisely what they already possessed, and he communicated this opinion to the senate. Therefore he undertook no war, at any rate for the time being, but actually gave away certain principalities—to Iamblichus, the son of Iamblichus, his ancestral dominion over the Arabians, and to Tarcondimotus, the son of Tarcondimotus, the kingdom of Cilicia, which his father had held, except for a few places on the coast. These latter together with Lesser Armenia he granted to Archelaus, because the Mede, who previously had ruled them, was dead. To Herod he entrusted the tetrarchy of a certain Zenodorus, and to one Mithridates, though still a mere boy, he gave Commagene, inasmuch as its king had put the boy's father to death. And since the other Armenians had preferred charges against Artaxes and had summoned his brother Tigranes, who was in Rome, the emperor sent Tiberius to drive Artaxes out of the kingdom and to reinstate Tigranes. And although nothing was accomplished by Tiberius commensurate with his preparations, since before his arrival the Armenians slew Artaxes, yet he assumed a lofty bearing, especially after sacrifices had been
ἐπειδὴ θυσίαί ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐψηφίσθησαν, ἐσεμνύ.-
6 νετο ὡς καὶ κατ' ἀρετὴν τι ποιήσας. καὶ ἤδη γε καὶ περὶ τῆς μοναρχίας ἐνενέι, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τοὺς
Φιλίππους αὐτοῦ1 προσέλαυνοντος θόρυβός τε τις ἐκ τοῦ τῆς μάχης χωρίου ὡς καὶ ἐκ στρατο-
πέδου ἥκοσθη, καὶ πῦρ ἐκ τῶν βωμῶν τῶν ὑπὸ
tοῦ 'Αὐγοῦστον ἐν τῷ ταφρεύματι ἱδρυθέντων αὐτὸ-
7 ματον ἀνέλαμψε. Τιβέριος μὲν δὴ ἐκ τούτων ἐγαυρύτο, ὃ δὲ Ἀὐγοῦστος ἐς τῇ τὴν Σάμον
ἐπανήλθε κανταῦθα ἄθις ἐχείμασε, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τε ἐλευθερίαν μισθὸν τῆς διατριβῆς ἀντέδοκε,
8 καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ὅλιγα προσδιόκησε. πάμπολλαι
γὰρ δὴ πρεσβεύα τρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίκοντο, καὶ οἱ
Ἰνδοὶ προκηρυκευσάμενοι πρότερον φιλιάν τότε
ἐσπείσαντο, δῶρα πέμψαντες ἄλλα τε καὶ τίγρεις,
πρῶτον τότε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, νομίζω δὴ ὅτι καὶ
tοῖς Ἑλλησίων, ὀφθείσας. καὶ τι καὶ μειράκιον
οἱ ἀνευ ὁμον, οίους τοὺς Ἐρμάς ὅρῳμεν, ἔδωκαν.
9 καὶ μέντοι τοιοῦτον ὅν ἐκείνῳ ἐς πάντα τοῖς ποσιν
ἀτε καὶ χερσὶν ἔχριτο, τόξον τε αὐτοὺς ἐπέτευεν
καὶ βέλη ἤφει καὶ ἑσάλπηξεν, οὔκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως-
10 γράφω γὰρ τὰ λεγόμενα. εἰς δ᾽ οὖν τῶν Ἰνδῶν
Ζάρμαρος, εἶτε δὴ τοῦ τῶν σοφιστῶν γένους ὁν,
καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας, εἶτε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ
γῆρως κατὰ τοῦ πάτριον νόμον, εἶτε καὶ ἐς ἐπὶ-
deιξίν τοῦ τε Αὐγοῦστον καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων (καὶ
γὰρ ἐκείσε ἡλθεν) ἀποθανεῖν ἑθελήσας ἐμνήθη τε
τὰ τοὺς θεοῖν, τῶν μυστηρίων καίπερ οὐκ ἐν τῷ

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

\(^1\) Demeter and Korê.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

καθήκοντι καίρῳ, ὡς φασι, διὰ τὸν Αὐγουστον καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ μεμνημένον γενομένων, καὶ τυρι ἐαυτὸν ἦθοντα ἐξέδωκεν.

10 Ὑπάτευε μὲν ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἐτεὶ ἐκείνῳ ¹ Γάλιος Σέντιος· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν συνάρξοντα αὐτῷ προσ-ἀποδειχθῆναι ἔδει (ὁ γὰρ Αὐγουστος οὐδὲ τότε τηρηθείσαν οἱ τὴν ἁρχὴν ἐδέξατο), στάσις τε αὐθις ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη συννεχθῆ καὶ σφαγά συνεβησαν, ὡστε τοὺς θουλευτας φορουρᾶν τῷ Σεντίῳ ²

2 ψηφίσασθαι. ἐπειδὴ τε ³ μὴ ἠθέλησεν αὐτῇ χρή-σασθαι, πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν Αὐγουστον, μετὰ δύο ῥαβδούχων ἕκαστον, ἐπεμψαν. μαθὼν οὖν ταύτ ἐκείνος, καὶ συνεδρών ὅτι οὐδὲν πέρας τοῦ κακοῦ γεννήσωτο, οὐκέτι αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως ὠσπερ καὶ πρὶν προσνέχθη, ἀλλ' ἐκ τε τῶν πρεσβευτῶν αὐτῶν Κύστων Λουκρήτιον, καίτερ ἐν τοῖς ἐπικηρυ-χθείσιν ἀναγραφέντα, ὑπατον ἀπεδείξε, καὶ αὐτός

3 ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείχθη. καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τε τούτοις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ πραχθεῖσι πολλά καὶ παντοῖα ἐψηφίσθη· ὅν οὕδεν προσή-κατο, πλὴν Ῥώμην τῇ Ἑπαναγώγῳ (οὗτῳ γὰρ πῶς αὐτὴν ἐκάλεσαν) βομον ἰδρυθῆναι καὶ τὴν ἑμέραν ἢν ἀφίξουτο ἐν τε ταῖς ἱερομηνίαις ἀριθμεῖσθαι

4 καὶ Αὐγουστάλια ὀνομάζεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὅσ αἱ τε ἀρχαὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι προσπαντῆσαι οἱ προ-παρεσκευάσατο, νῦκτωρ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσεκο-μίσθη, καὶ τῇ υστεραίᾳ τῷ τε Τιβερίῳ ταῦ τῶν ἑστρατηγικῶτων τιμᾶς ἐδώκε, καὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ πέντε ἔτεσι θάσσουν παρὰ τὰ νομιζόμενα τάς

¹ αὐτῶν supplied by Rk. ² γενομένων Rk., γενομένων M.
³ ἐκείνω Reim., ἐν δι M.
⁴ Σεντίω R. Steph., γεντίωι M.
⁵ τε supplied by Bs. ⁶ μὴ Dind., μήτε M.
out of season on account, they say, of Augustus, who also was an initiate, and he then threw himself alive into the fire.

The consul that year was Gaius Sentius; and when it became necessary for a colleague to be elected (for Augustus on this occasion, also, did not accept the position after it had been kept open for him), factious quarrelling again took place and murders occurred, so that the senators voted a guard for Sentius; and when he was unwilling to use it, they sent envoys to Augustus, each with two lictors. Now when the emperor learned of these things, realizing that there would be no end to the evil, he did not this time deal with the matter as he had before, but appointed one of the envoys themselves, Quintus Lucretius, to the consulship, though this man's name had been posted in the list of the proscribed; and he hastened to Rome himself. For this and the other things he had done while absent from the city many honours of all sorts were voted him, none of which he would accept, save the founding of an altar to Fortuna Redux (for this was the name they gave to her), and the provision that the day on which he arrived should be numbered among the holidays and be called Augustalia. Since even then the magistrates and the rest made preparations beforehand to go out to meet him, he entered the city by night; and on the following day he gave Tiberius the rank of an ex-praetor and allowed Drusus to stand for the various offices five years earlier than was the practice.
5 ἀρχὰς αἰτήσαι ἐπέτρεψεν. ἔπειδὴ τε μηδὲν ὀμολογεῖ ὅσα τε ἄποντος αὐτοῦ στασιάζοντες καὶ ὅσα παρόντος φοβοῦμενοι ἐπρασσοῦν, ἐπιμελητής τε τῶν τρόπων ἐσ πέντε ἐτη 1 παρακληθεὶς δὴ ἐχειροτονήθη, καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν μὲν τῶν τιμητῶν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τὴν δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων διὰ βιὸν ἔλαβεν, ὥστε καὶ ταῖς δώδεκα ράβδοις ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ χρῆσαί, καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀεὶ 2 ὑπατεύοντων ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ δίφρου καθίζεσθαι.  

6 ψηφισάμενοι δὲ ταῦτα διορθοῦν τε πάντα αὐτῶν 3 καὶ νομοθετεῖν ὅσα βουλοῦσθαι ἥξιον, καὶ τοὺς τε νόμους τοὺς γραφησόμενους ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ Ἀγούστους ἐκείθεν ἦδη προσηγόρευν, καὶ ἐμμενεῖν 4 σφισιν ὀμόσαι 5 ῥθελούν. ὦ δὲ τα μὲν ἀλλὰ ὡς 6 καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἐδέξατο, τοὺς δ’ ὄρκους ἀφῆκεν 7 αὐτοῖς· καὶ γὰρ εὐ ἦδει ὅτι, εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ γνώμης τι ψηφίσαμος, τηρήσουσίν 7 αὐτὸ καὶ μὴ ὀμόσωσίν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ, καὶ μυρίας πίστεως ἐπαγάγωσι, προτιμήσουσιν. 9  

11 Ἀγούστους μὲν δὴ ταῦτ’ ἐποίει, καὶ τις τῶν ἀγορανύμων ἐθελοντῆς ὑπὸ πενίας ἀπείπε τὴν ἀρχὴν· Ἀγρίππας δὲ ὡς τότε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκ τῆς Σικέλιας πεμφθεὶς διἀκεφήτη τὰ κατεπείγοντα, 2 ταῖς Γαλατίαις προσετάχθη ἐν τε γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἐστασίαξον καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν Κελτῶν ἐκακοῦντο. καταστήσας δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐς Ἰβηρίαν μετέστη· οἱ γὰρ Κάνταβροι οἱ ἄργον ἡμέρας τε ἐν τῷ πο-  

1 ἐτη supplied by Xyl. (cf. Zon: els penteixele).  
2 ἀεί Bk., ἀεί M. 3 αὐτὸν Rk., αὐτὰ M.  
4 ἐμμενεῖν Dind., ἐμμενεῖν M.  
5 ὀμόσαι Xyl., ὀμοσε M. 6 ὡς Bk., ὡς ἀτε M.  
7 τηρήσουσιν Reim., τηροῦσιν M.  
8 ὀμολογησοῦν Rk., ὀμολογήσουσιν M. 9 προτιμήσουσιν Rk., προξενίσουσιν M.  

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

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

1 Praefectus moribus.  
2 See chap. 6, 5.
Λέμω καὶ πραθέντες τούς τε δεσπότας σφῶν ὡς ἔκαστοι ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν ἔπαυσεν, ελθόντες πολλοὺς συναπέστησαν, καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν χωρία καταλαβόντες καὶ ἐντείχισάμενοι τοῖς τῶν

3 ἩΡωμαίων φρουροῖς ἐπεβούλευον. ἐπ᾽ οὖν τούτοις ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἐπιστρατεύσας ἔσχε μὲν τι καὶ πρὸς τούς στρατιώτας ἔργον πρεσβύτεροι γὰρ οὐκ ὁλίγοι αὐτῶν οὔτε καὶ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῶν πολέμων τετρυχωμένου, τούς τε Καντάβρους ὡς καὶ δυσπο-

4 λεμίτους δεδιότες, οὐκ ἐπείθοντο αὐτῷ. ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνοις μὲν, τὰ μὲν νουθετήσας τὰ δὲ παραμυθη- σάμενοι τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπελπίσας, διὰ ταχέων πειθ- αρχῆσαι ἐποίησε, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τοὺς Καντάβρους πολλὰ προσέπτασεν καὶ γὰρ ἐμπειρία πραγμά-

των, ἀτε τοῖς Ἡρωμαίοις δεδουλευκότες, καὶ ἀπο-

5 γινώσκετι τοῦ μὴ ἄν ἔτι σωθῆναι ἄλοντες ἐχρόντο

6 καὶ ἐσ τὰ πεδία ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ ἐπείθοντο τῶν ἐρυμῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ

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

1 Nothing of this sort is recorded elsewhere. The passage may be corrupt; it has been proposed to read προ for διπρο, "ahead of the consul's brother," i.e. out of his turn.
Τοιούτος μὲν δὴ οὗτος ὁ ἀνήρ ἦν τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων τινὲς οὐχ ὦτι τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτῷ πράσσοντες, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ληστάς συναλλαβάνοντες οἱ δὲ πόλεις στασιαζόοντας καταλλάσσοντες, καὶ ἐπωρέγοντο τῶν νικηθηρίων καὶ ἔπεμπον αὐτά. ὁ γὰρ Ἀὐγουστος καὶ ταῦτα ἀφθόνως τις τὴν γε πρώτην ἐχαρίζετο, καὶ δημοσίαις ταφαίς πλείστους ὄσον ἐτίμα. τοιγαροῦν ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἐλαμπρύνουσα, ὁ δὲ Ἀγρίππας ἐς τὴν αὐταρχίαν τρόπον. 

3 τινὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προηχθ. ὁ γὰρ Ἀὐγουστος, ὡς τὰ τε κοινὰ θεραπείας ἀκριβοὺς ἐδείπτο, καὶ ἐδείκνυ ἡ, οία ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν, ἐπι-βουλευθή (βραχὺ γὰρ τε καὶ σμικρόν τὸν θόρακα, ὅν ὑπὸ τῇ στολῇ) πολλάκις καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ συνε-δριον ἐσιων εἴχεν, ἐπικουρίσθειν οἴνομίζει), πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς πέντε τῆς προστασίας ἔτη, ἐπειδήτερόν οὔ δεκέτης χρόνος ἐξήκων ἦν, προσέθετο (ταῦτα γὰρ Ποντιλίου τε καὶ Γναίου Λεντούλων ὑπατεύοντον ἐγένετο), ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἀγρίππα ἀλλὰ τε ἐξ ἱσον τη ἐαντῷ καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἔτη τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐδώκε. τοσαύτα γὰρ σφίσων ἔτη τὸτε ἐπάρκεσεν ἐφ' ύστερον γὰρ οὐ πολλῷ.
his own expense he brought into the city the water-supply known as the Aqua Virgo, and named it the Augusta. The emperor took such great delight in this that once, when there was a great scarcity of wine and people were loudly complaining, he declared that Agrippa had in a most competent manner seen to it that they should never perish of thirst.

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

13 Πράξας δὲ ταῦτα τὸ βουλευτικὸν ἐξήτασε: πολλοὶ τε γὰρ καὶ ὃς ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ εἶναι (πλήθει δὲ οὖν δὲ ὑγίες ἐνεώρα), καὶ διὰ μῆκους οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς κακία τινὶ ἐπιρρήτους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς κολακεία ἐκφανεῖς ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ ἐπειδῆ μήτε τις ἑκὼν ὡσπερ πρότερον ἀπηλλάττετο, μήτ' αὐτὸν μόνον ἐν αἰτία τινὶ γενέσθαι ἐβούλετο, αὐτὸς τε τριάκοντα ἄνδρας τοὺς ἀρίστους, ὡσπερ ποὺ καὶ ὅρκῳ ἐπιστῶσατο, ἐξελέξατο, καὶ ἐκείνους ἐκέλευσε προομόσαντας τὸν αὐτὸν ὅρκον κατὰ πέντε, πλὴν τῶν συγγενῶν, ἐς πινάκια γράψαντας ἐλέσθαι.

3 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰς πεμπόδας ἐκλήρωσεν, ὡςθ' ἐνα καθ' ἐκάστην τὸν λαχόντα αὐτὸν τε βουλεύσαι καὶ ἑτέρους πέντε ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐγγράψαι. ἔδει ποὺ καὶ τοὺς τριάκοντα ἐν τε τοῖς αἱρουμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν ἑτέρων καὶ ἐν τοῖς κληρουμένοις γενέσθαι. ἐπειδῆ τε τίνες αὐτῶν ἀπεδήμουν, ἀλλοι αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνων λαχόντες τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντά σφισιν ἐπραξαν.

4 τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ταῦτ' οὕτως ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας ἐγένετο: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκακουργήθη τινά, οὕτε ἐπὶ τοῖς ταμαίς τὰ γραμματεῖα ἐτ' ἐποιήσατο οὕτε ἐτ' τὸ κλήρῳ τὰς πεμπόδας ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλ' αὐτός τε τὰ λοιπὰ ἀνελέξατο καὶ αὐτὸς τοὺς ἐνδέοντας προσέλετο, ὡστε ἐς ἐξακοσίους τοὺς πάντας ἀποδειχθῆναι. ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν γὰρ τρια-

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1 ἄλλα πέντε Rk., πέντε ἄλλα Reim., τολλά M.  
2 ἐνεώρα Rk., ἐωρά M.  
3 ποὺ Pflugk, πο M.  
4 ὕπτ τῶν Capps, ὑφ' M.

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

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

1 Cf. liii. 42.
κοσίους αὐτοὺς (κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον) ποιῆσαι, καὶ πάνιν ἀγαπητὸν νομίζων εἶναι τοσοῦτους ἁξίους τοῦ συνεδρίου σφῶν εὑρεθῆναι δυσχερανήτων δὲ πάντων ὁμοίως (τῷ γὰρ πολὺ πλείους τῶν ἐμμε-
νοῦντων ἐν αὐτῷ τοὺς διαγραφησομένους ἔσεσθαι, φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς μὴ ἱδωτεύσωσιν ἢ προσδοκᾶν ὦτι καὶ Βουλευτοῦσιν συνεβαινε) τοὺς
2 ἐξακοσίους κατελέξατο. καὶ οὔδε ἐνταῦθα ἔστη, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο, ἐπειδὴ τινες οὐκ ἐπιτηδείων καὶ τότε ἐγγεγραμμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ Δικαίως τῆς Ῥήγουλος, ἀγανακτήσας, ὅτι τοῦ τε νεόσ καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν, ὅν 1 κρείσσων εἶναι ζέιου, διει-
λεγμένων ἀπαλήπτῳ, τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ
3 Βουλευτηρίῳ κατερρήξατο, καὶ τὸ σῶμα γυμνώσας τάς τε στρατείας κατηρμίζατο καὶ τὰς οὐλὰς προσεπεδειξές σφισι, καὶ Ἁρτικυλέος 2 Παῖτος 3 ἐν μὲν τοῖς Βουλευτοῦσιν ὅν τῷ δὲ δὴ πατρὶ ἐκ-
πεπτοκότι παραχωρήσατ (τῆς Βουλείας ἁξίων ἰκέτευν, ἐξετασμὸν ἀνθίς σφῶν ἐποηήσατο, καὶ
4 τινὰς ἀπαλάξας ἄλλους ἀντικατέλεξαν. ἐπειδὴ τέ 
πολλοὶ καὶ ὄς διεγεράφατο, καὶ τινὲς αὐτὸν ὅπερ 
αἰτίας, ὅπερ ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν, ὅς καὶ ἀδίκως ἀπεληλαμένου εἶχον, τότε τε 
αὐτοῖς καὶ συνθέασασθαι καὶ συνεστάσασθαι τοῖς Βουλευτοῦσι, τῇ αὐτῇ σκευῇ χρωμένοις, συνε-
χώρησε, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐπειτα τάς ἀρχὰς αὐτείν ἐπέ-
5 τρεψε. καὶ αὐτῶν οί μὲν πλεῖους ἐπανῆλθον

1 ὅν supplied by R. Steph.
2 Ἁρτικυλέος Cargy, Ἁρτικυλήος M.
3 Παῖτος Bk., πέτος M.
4 αὐτὸν δι’ αἰτιάς Bk., αὐτῶν αἰτιάς M.
5 τε Bk., γε M.
plan to limit the senators to three hundred, as in the early times, and he thought he ought to be well content if that number of men were found who were worthy of the senate. But the number he actually enrolled was six hundred, since all alike were displeased with the other arrangement; for it turned out that those whose names would be stricken off the roll would be much more numerous than those who kept their places, so that the present senators were more afraid of being reduced to the ranks than hopeful of being in the new senate. Indeed, he did not stop even when this was done, but subsequently took other measures. It seems that certain unsuitable persons were even then found on the lists; and one Licinius Regulus, indignant because his name had been erased, whereas his son and several others to whom he thought himself superior had been selected by the lot, rent his clothing in the very senate, laid bare his body, enumerated his campaigns, and showed them his scars; and Articuleius Paetus, one of those who were to remain senators, earnestly begged that he might retire from his seat in the senate in favour of his father, who had been rejected. Consequently Augustus purged the senate again, removing some and choosing others in their places. And since, even so, the names of many had been stricken out, and some of them, as usually happens in such a case, found fault with him on the ground that they had been unjustly expelled, he at that time accorded them the right to attend spectacles and celebrate festivals along with the senators, wearing the same garb as they, and for the future he allowed them to stand for the various offices. The majority of them came back in the course of time into the senate;
15 Τούτων οὖν οὕτω γενομένων συχνοὶ μὲν εὐθὺς συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τούτο καὶ ἐκεῖνο καὶ τῶν 'Αγρίππα ἐπιβουλεύσαι, εἰτ' οὖν ἄληθὸς εἴτε καὶ

2 ψευδώς, αἰτίαν ἔσχον. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἀκριβῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῖς ἄξω αὐτῶν οὕσιν εἰδέναι. τολλὰ γὰρ ὃν ἄν ὁ κρατῶν πρὸς τιμωρίαν, ὡς καὶ ἐπιβεβουλευμένοι, ἥτοι δὲ ἐαυτοῦ ἡ καὶ διὰ τῆς γερουσίας πράξη, ὑποπτεύεται κατ᾽ ἐπήρειαν, κἂν ὅτι μάκτα δικαίωτα συμβῆ, γεγονέναι. καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ ἐγὼ γνώμην ἔχω περὶ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων τρόπων αὐτὰ τὰ λεγόμενα συγγράψαι, μηδὲν ὑπὲρ τὰ δεδημοσιευμένα, πλὴν τῶν πάνω φανερῶν, μητὲ πολυτραγμονῶν μήθ᾽ ὑπολέγων, μὴτ᾽ εἴ δικαίως μὴτ᾽ εἴ ἄδικώς τι γέγονε, μὴτ᾽ εἴ

4 ψευδώς μήτε εἴ ἄληθὸς εἰρηταί. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν μοι καὶ κατὰ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα γραφημομένων εἰρήσθων ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ τότε παρόντι ο Ἀὐγουστος ἄλλως μὲν τινας ἐδικαίωσε, τῶν δὲ δὴ Δέσποινον ἐμύσει μὲν διὰ τὰ τάλλα καὶ ὅτι ὁ νῦν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπεφώρατο ἐπιβουλεύων αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκεκόλαστο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀποκτείναι ἡθέλησεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τρόπῳ 5 τινὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλῳ προεπηλάκιζεν. (ἐς τε γὰρ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἄκοντα αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ἄγρῶν κατιέναι ἐκέλευε, καὶ ἐς τὰς συνόδους ἅεὶ ἐσήγειν, ὅπως ὅτι πλείστην καὶ χλευασίαν καὶ ύβριν πρὸς τε τὴν
but some few were left in an intermediate position, being regarded as belonging neither to the senate nor to the people.

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

1 At Circeii.
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τῆς ὀσχύος καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀξιώσεως μεταβολὴν ὀφλισκάνη καὶ οὔτε ἐς ἄλλο τι ὡς καὶ ἄξιοι οἱ λόγου ἔχρητο, τότε δὲ καὶ τὴν ψῆφου ὑστάτω τῶν 6 ὑπατευκότων ἐπῆγε. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους ἐν τῇ καθηκούσῃ τάξει ἐπεψήφιζε, τῶν δ' ὑπατευκότων πρῶτον τέ τινα καὶ δεύτερον τρίτον τε ἐτερον καὶ τέταρτον, τοὺς τε λοιποὺς ὅμοιος, ως ποι καὶ ἐβούλετο καὶ τούτο καὶ οἱ ὑπατοὶ ἐποίουν. οὖτω

7 μὲν δὴ τὸν Λεπίδου μετεχειρίζετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε Ἀντίστοιος Λαβέδων ἐς τοὺς Βουλεύσοντας 1 αὐτῶν, ὅτε ἡ διαγνώμη 2 ἐκείνη ἐγήγεντο, ἐσεγράφατο, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιωρκηκέναι τε αὐτῶν ἐφη καὶ τιμω-ρῆσεσθαι ἥπειλησεν, ἐπειτα δὲ εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ "καὶ τί δεινὸν πεποίηκα κατασχὼν εὖ τῷ συνε-δρίῳ ἀνδρα δὴ σὺ ἄρχιερειν ἐτι καὶ νῦν περιορᾶς 8 ὅντα;" οὔκετ' οὐδεμίαν ὅργην ἑποιήσατο. πολ-λάκις γὰρ καὶ ἴδια καὶ κοινὴ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ταύτης ἀξιούμενοι οὖκ ἐδικαίωσε ξόντος τοῦ Λεπίδου λαβεῖν αὐτὴν. Ἀντίστοιος μὲν οὖν τούτῳ τε οὐκ ἀπὸ καιροῦ εἰπέιν ἐδοξε, καὶ ποτε λόγων ἐν τῇ Βουλῇ γιγνομένων ὡς χρεῶν ἐγί τὸν Άγγουστον ἐκ διαδοχῆς σφας φρουρεῖν, ἐφη, μήτ' ἀντεπεῖν τολ-μῶν μήτε συγκαταθέσθαι ὑπομένων, ὃτι "ῥέγκω καὶ οὐ δύναμαι αὐτοῦ προκοιτῆσαι."

16 Ὁ δ' οὖν Άγγουστος ἄλλα τε ἑνομοθέτησε, καὶ τοὺς δεκάσαντας τινας (ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς) ἐς

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

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

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1 Presumably because of the oath the thirty men had taken that they would select the best men.
2 Cf. xlix. 15, 3, and chap. 27, 2 inf.
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πέντε ἐτη αὐτῶν εἴρξε.1 τοῖς τε ἀγάμοις καὶ ταῖς ἀνάνδροις βαρύτερα τὰ ἐπιτίμια ἐπέταξε, καὶ ἐμπαλιν τοῦ τε γάμου καὶ τῆς παιδοποιίας ἀθλα

2 ἑθηκεν. ἐπειδή τε πολὺ πλεῖον τὸ ἀρρεν τοῦ θῆλεος τοῦ εὐγενοῦς ἦν, ἐπέτρεψε καὶ ἐξελευθέρα, τοῖς ἐθέλουσι, πλὴν τῶν βουλευόντων, ἁγνεθαι, ἐννομον τὴν τεκνοποιίαν αὐτῶν εἶναι κελεύσας.

3 (Κάν τοῦτό) καταβοήσεως2 ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ περί τε τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν νεανίσκων ἀκοσμίας, πρὸς ἀπολογίαν δὴ τινά τοῦ μὴ ῥᾳδίως δι' αὐτήν τὰς τῶν γάμων συναλλαγάς ποιεῖσθαι, γενομένης, καὶ ἐναγόντων αὐτῶν καὶ ἑκείνην ἑπανορθώσαι χλευασμῷ ὅτι πολλαῖς γυναιξὶν ἔχρητο.

4 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαίοτά τα διόριστα, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἀδύνατῶν ἐστὶν ὡμοίως παραδοθῆναι, ἐπεὶτα δὲ ἐκβιασθεῖς εἶπεν ὅτι "αὐτοὶ ὁφείλετε ταῖς γαμεταῖς καὶ παραίνειν καὶ κελεύειν ὅσα βούλεσθε:" ὅπερ πον

5 καὶ ἐγὼ ποιῶ." ἀκούσαντες οὖν ταῦτ᾽ ἔκεινοι πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐνέκειντο αὐτῶ, βουλόμενοι τὰς παραινέσεις δὲ τῇ Διούη παραίνειν ἐφη μαθεῖν. καὶ ὅς ἄκων μὲν, εἶπε δ' οὖν τινα καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐσθήτος καὶ περὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ κόσμου τῶν τε ἐξόδων καὶ τῆς σωφροσύνης αὐτῶν, μηδ' ὅτι οὖν φροντίσας ὅτι μὴ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ αὐτὰ ἐπιστοῦτο. 6 καὶ ἑτερον δὲ τῇ τοιοῦτῃ τιμητεύον ἐπετοιήκεν: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ προσήγαγε τις αὐτῷ νεανίσκον γυναίκα (ἐκ μοιχείας) γεγαμηκότα, καὶ πλείστα ὅσα κατη-

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

Meanwhile a clamor arose in the senate over the disorderly conduct of the women and of the young men, this being alleged as a reason for their reluctance to enter into the marriage relation; and when they urged him to remedy this abuse also, with ironical allusions to his own intimacy with many women, he at first replied that the most necessary restrictions had been laid down and that anything further could not possibly be regulated by decree in similar fashion. Then, when he was driven into a corner, he said: "You yourselves ought to admonish and command your wives as you wish; that is what I do." When they heard that, they plied him with questions all the more, wishing to learn what the admonitions were which he professed to give Livia. He accordingly, though with reluctance, made a few remarks about women's dress and their other adornment, about their going out and their modest behaviour, not in the least concerned that his actions did not lend credence to his words. Another instance of such inconsistency had occurred while he was censor. Some one brought before him a young man who had taken as his wife a married woman with whom he had previously committed adultery, and made ever so many accusations against the
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γόρησεν αὐτοῦ, διηπορήθη μήτε παριδεῖν τὸ πράγμα μήτ’ ἐπιτιμήσαι τι τολμήσας, καὶ μόλις¹ ποτὲ ὡς ἀνενεγκὼν “πολλά,” ἔφη, “καὶ δεινὰ αἱ στάσεις ἤγεγκαν, ὡστε ἐκεῖνοὺς μὲν ἄμυνμονῷ-μεν, τοῦ δὲ δὴ λοιποῦ προνοῶμεν ὅπως μηδὲν τοι-οῦτο γίγνυται.” ὡς δ’ οὖν βρέφη τινὲς ἐγγυώμενοι τὰς μὲν τιμὰς τῶν γεγαμηκότων ἐκαρποῦντο, τὸ δὲ ἔργον αὐτῶν οὐ παρείχοντο, προσέταξε μηδε-μιὰν ἐγγύην ᾿ισχύειν μεθ’ ἣν οὐδὲ δυνὼν ἔτοιν διελθόντων γαμήσει² τις, τοῦτ’ ἐστι δεκέτιν πάντως ἐγγυᾶσθαι τὸν γε τι ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ἀπολαύ-σοντα· δώδεκα γὰρ ³ ταῖς κόραις ἐς τὴν τοῦ γάμου ὀραν ἐτη πλήρη, καθάπερ ἐπιοῦν, νομίζεται.

17 Ταῦτα τε οὖν ὃς ἐκαστα διενομοθέτει, καὶ ἵνα ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ σιτου διαιδόσει προβάλλωνται οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἀεὶ διντεὶ ἐνα ἐκαστος⁴ ἐκ τῶν πρὸ τριῶν ἐτῶν ἑστρατηγικῶν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τέσ· ² σαρες οἱ λαχώντες σιτοδοτῶσιν ὡκ διαιδοχῆς. τὸν τε πολίαρχον τοῦ ἐς τὰς ἀνοχὰς καθύσταμενν ἐνα ἀεὶ αἱρεῖσθαι, καὶ τὰ ἔπτη τὰ Σιβύλλεα ἐξι-τὴλα ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου γεγονότα τοὺς ἰέρεας αὐτο-χειρία ἐγκράψασθαι ἐκέλευσεν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἐτερος

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

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

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

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

3 Suetonius (Aug. 37) names among the new offices established by Augustus the “curam... frumenti populo dividundi.”
4 See note on chap. 6; and cf. xli. 14, 4, and xlix. 16, 2.
3 αυτά ἀναλέξηται. τάς τε ἀρχὰς ἀπασί τοῖς δέκα μυριάδων οὐσίαν ἔχουσι καὶ ἀρχεῖν ἐκ τῶν νόμων δυναμένοις ἐπαγγέλλειν ἐπέτρεψε. τοσότον γὰρ τὸ βουλευτικὸν τίμημα τὴν πρώτην εἶναι ἔταξεν, ἐπειτὰ καὶ ἐς πέντε καὶ εἶκοσι μυριάδας αὐτὸ προήγαγεν. καὶ τισί τῶν εὐ βιούντων ἔλαττω, τοτε μὲν τῶν δέκα, αὕθις δὲ τῶν πέντε καὶ εἶκοσι,
4 κεκτημένοις ἐχαρίσατο ὅσον ἐνέδει. καὶ διὰ ταύτα τοῖς βουλομένοις τῶν στρατηγῶν τριπλά-
σιον τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ δημοσίου σφίσιν ἐς τὰς πανη-
γύρεις διδομένου προσαναλίσκειν ἐφῆκεν. ὥστε εἰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοῦ νομο-
θετημάτων ἡχθοντο τινες, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ τούτου,
καὶ ὅτι Πυλάδην τινὰ ὀρχιστὴν διὰ στάσιν ἐξελ-
λαμένον κατήγαγεν, οὐκὲν ἔκεινων ἐμέμηντο.
5 ὁθενπερ πάνυ σοφῶς ο Πυλάδης, ἐπιτιμώμενος
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπειδή Βαβύλλων ὅμοτέχυν τέ οἱ ὄντι καὶ τῷ Μακεδόνα προσήκοντι διεστασίαζεν, εἰπεῖν
λέγεται ὅτι "συμφέρει σοι, Καίσαρ, περὶ ἡμᾶς τὸν δήμου ἀποδιατρίβεσθαι."
18 Ταύτα μὲν ἐν ἔκεινω τῷ ἔτει ἐγένετο· ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ
Γαίου 2 τε Φουρνίου καὶ Γαίου Σιλανοῦ ὑπάτων
υίον αὕθις ὁ 'Αγρίππας ἀνείλετο τῶν Δούκιον
ὁμομασθέντα, καὶ αὐτὸν εὐθὺς ὁ Ἁγιουστος μετὰ
τοῦ ἄδελφοῦ τοῦ Γαίου ἐπούμαστο, μὴ ἀναμείνας
σφᾶς ἀνδροθηναί, ἀλλ' αὐτοθεν διαδόξους τῆς
2 ἀρχῆς ἀποδείξας, ἵν ἂττον ἐπιβουλεύτηται. τὴν
τε τῆς Τιμῆς καὶ τῆς 'Αρετῆς πανήγυριν ἐς τὰς
νῦν ἡμέρας μετέτητησε, καὶ τοῖς τὰ ἐπινίκια πέμ-
PΟΤΟΥΝ ἔργον ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ἐς τὴν τῶν πράξεων
1 κεκτημένοις Bk., κεκτημένων M.
2 Γαίου Bk., τοῦ γαίου M.
else might read them. He permitted all to stand for office who possessed property worth four hundred thousand sestertes and were eligible by the laws to hold office. This was the senatorial rating which he at first established; but later he raised it to one million sestertes. Upon some of those who lived upright lives but possessed less than the four hundred thousand sestertes in the first instance, or the million in the second, he bestowed the amount lacking. And because of this he allowed the praetors who so desired to spend on the public festivals three times the amount granted them from the treasury. Thus, even if some were vexed at the strictness of his other regulations, yet by reason of this action and also because he restored one Pylades, a dancer, who had been exiled on account of sedition, they remembered them no longer. Hence Pylades is said to have rejoined very cleverly, when the emperor rebuked him for having quarrelled with Bathyllus, a fellow-artist and a favourite of Maecenas: "It is to your advantage, Caesar, that the people should devote their spare time to us."

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

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1 Cf. Tac. Ann. i. 54.
μνήμην ποιεῖν προσέταξε, τά τε σαικουλάρια τά πέμπτα ἐπετέλεσε. καὶ τοὺς ῥήτορας ἀμισθιὸν συναγορεύειν, ἢ τετραπλάσιον ὅσον ἄν λάβωσιν

3 ἐκτίνευς, ἐκέλευσε. (τοὺς δὲ δικαίως αἰὲν λαγχάρνουσιν ἀπείπευς ἐς μηδὲνοι οὐκαδὲ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐσιέναι. ἐπειδὴ τε ἀσποῦδεῖ ὦ  βουλευταῖς ἐς τὸ συνεδρίον συνεβολτῶν, ἐπηνύξεσε ταῖς ξημίαις τοῖς οὖκ ἔξ εὐλόγοι τινὸς αἰτίας ὑπερίζουσι.

19 Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν, Δουκίον τε Δομιτίου καὶ Ποντίου Σκυπίωνος ὑπατεύοντων, ὀρμήσε, πρόφασιν τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς κατ’ ἐκεῖνον

2 κυνθέντας λαβῶν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐπαρχῆς πολλοῖς ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει χρονίων διατριβῆς ἐγεγόνει, καὶ συχνοὺς μὲν ἔξω τι τῶν τεταγμένων πράττοντας δικαιῶν ἐλύπη, συχνῶν δὲ καὶ φειδόμενος τὰ νενομοθετημένα ύψ’ ἐαυτοῦ παραβαίνειν ἡμαρκάζετο, ἐκδημήσαι τρόπον τινά κατὰ τὸν Σόλωνα

3 ἔγνω. καὶ τινές καὶ διὰ τὴν Τερεντίαν τὴν τοῦ Μαικήνου γυναίκα ἀποδημήσαι αὐτὸν ὑπετόπτησαν, ἵν’ ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐλογοποιεῖτο, ἀνευθυρευόμενος τὸ τὸν ἀλλοδημιαν αὐτὴν συνή: οὕτω γὰρ ὅν πάντα αὐτῆς ἢ ὥστε καὶ ἀγωνίσασθαι ποτὲ αὐτῆς περὶ τοῦ κάλλους

4 πρὸς τὴν Διονυσίαν ποιήσαι. πρῶν δὲ ἡ ἀφορμᾶσθαι, τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου ναὸν καθιέρωσεν ἐκ καινῆς οἰκοδομῆς. εἰτὸν δὲ τοῦτο ὅτι ἔξ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα κλεῖσον αὐτὸν ἐκοσμήσεν, ὡσπερ τὰ πάντα ἐπὶ 3 διεβίω, καὶ τοῦτον λόγον τισι παρέσχεν ὡς καὶ ἐξεπέπηδες αὐτὸ ἀλλ’ οὐ (κατὰ τύχην ἄλλως

5 πράξας. ἐκείνον τε οὖν τότε ἐθελώσε, καὶ μονο-

1 ἀμισθὶ St., ἀμισθὲλ M. 2 oi supplied by Rk. 3 ἔτη Dind., ἔτη τις VM.
spoils some monument to commemorate their deeds, B.C. 17 and held the fifth celebration of the Ludi Saeculares. He ordered the orators to give their services as advocates without pay, on pain of a fine of four times the amount they received; and he forbade those who were drawn as jurymen from time to time to enter any person's house during their year of service. And since the members of the senate showed a lack of interest in attending its sessions, he increased the fines for those who were late without a good excuse.

Next he set out for Gaul, during the consulship of Lucius Domitius and Publius Scipio, making the wars that had arisen in that region his excuse. For since he had become disliked by many as a result of his long stay in the capital, and now was offending many who committed some act contrary to his decrees by the punishments he was inflicting, and at the same time, by sparing many others, was being compelled to transgress his own enactments, he decided to leave the country, somewhat after the manner of Solon. Some even suspected that he had gone away on account of Terentia, the wife of Maecenas, and intended, inasmuch as there was much talk about them in Rome, to live with her abroad free from all gossip. So great, indeed, was his passion for her that he once made her enter a contest of beauty against Livia. Before setting out he dedicated the temple of Quirinus, which he had rebuilt. I mention this for the reason that he adorned it with seventy-six columns, which was the exact number of the years he lived, and thus caused some to declare that he had chosen this number deliberately and not by mere chance. So he dedicated this temple at that time, and also exhibited
μαχίας ἄγνως διὰ τε τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ διὰ τοῦ Δρούσου, συγχωρηθέν ὅτι σφισίν ὑπὸ τῆς Βουλής,
6 ἔθηκε. καὶ οὕτω τὸ μὲν ἄστυ τῷ Ταύρῳ μετά τῆς Ἀλλης Ἰταλίας διοικεῖν ἐπιτρέπασι (τὸν τε γάρ Ἀγρίππαν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν αὕτης ἐστάλκει, καὶ τῷ Μαικήνα (διὰ τὴν γυναικά οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἔχαρε), τὸν δὲ δὴ Τιβέριον καῖτοι στρατηγοῦντα παραλαβῶν ἐξώρμησεν. ἐστρατηγήσε γὰρ καйтερ τᾶς στρατηγικᾶς τιμᾶς ἔχων καὶ τὴν γε ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ὁ Δρούσος ἐκ δόγματος δύσγαγεν.
7 ἔξελθόντων δ' οὖν αὐτῶν τὸ τῆς Νεότητος μέγαρον ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιουσάν νῦκτα κατεκαύθη, καὶ διὰ τε τούτο καὶ διὰ τάλλα τὰ προγενόμενα (ὐύκος τε γάρ διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὀδοῦ ἐς τὴν ἀγοράν ἐσπεσῶν ἀνθρώπους ἐφθείρε, καὶ μύρμηκες οὐ 1 πόρρῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐκφανέστατα 2 συνεστράφησαν, λαμπάς τε τῆς ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ἐπὶ τὴν ἄρκτον διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς ἡμέρῃ) εὐχὰς υπὲρ τῆς ἐπανόδου τοῦ
8 Ἀὐγοῦστον ἐποιήσαντο. (καὶ τούτῳ καὶ τὴν πενταετηρίδα τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ διεῴρτασαν, τοῦ Ἀγρίππαν (ἐν γὰρ τοῖς πεντεκαίδεκα αἰώνασιν, οἷς ἐκ τῆς περιτροπῆς ἡ διοίκησις αὐτῆς ἐπέβαλ- λεν, ἱέρωτο) διὰ τῶν συνιερέων ἀναλώσαντος.
20 Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἐκείνους ἐταράχθη, καὶ γὰρ Καμμούνοι καὶ Οὐ- ἐνυσι, Ἀλπικὰ γένη, ὅπλα τε ἀντήραιτο καὶ μυκηθέντες ὑπὸ Ποντικῶν Σιλίου ἐχειρώθησαν. 2 καὶ οἱ Παννόνοι τὴν τε Ἰστριῶν μετὰ Νορίκων
1 οὗ supplied by Leuncl. 2 ἐκφανέστατα Μ, ἐμφανέστατα V.
gladiatorial combats, Tiberius and Drusus representing him in the matter after the senate had granted them permission. Then he committed to Taurus the management of the city together with the rest of Italy (for he had sent Agrippa again to Syria and no longer looked with equal favour upon Maecenas because of the latter's wife), and taking Tiberius, though praetor at the time, along with him, he set out on his journey. Tiberius, it appears, had become praetor in spite of his already holding the rank of a praetor; and Drusus now performed all the duties of his office in pursuance of a decree. The night following their departure the temple of Iuventus was burned to the ground. Other portents also had occurred: a wolf had rushed into the Forum by the Sacred Way and had killed people, and not far from the Forum ants were conspicuously swarming together; moreover, a flame like a torch had shot from the south towards the north all night long. Because of all these signs prayers were offered for the return of Augustus. Meanwhile they held the quadrennial celebration of his sovereignty, Agrippa, represented by his fellow-priests, bearing the expense; for he had been consecrated as one of the quindecimviri, upon whom the management of the festival devolved in regular succession.

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

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1 *Aedes Iuventutis.*

2 Other forms of this name are Vennones, Vennontes, and Venostes.
κατέδραμον, καὶ αὐτὸι τε πρὸς τε τοῦ Σιλίου καὶ
tῶν ὑποστρατήγων αὐτοῦ κακωθέντες αὖθις ὁμο-
λόγησαν, καὶ τοῖς Νωρίκοις αὖτιοι τῆς αὐτῆς
3 δουλείας ἐγένοντο. τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Δελματίᾳ καὶ τὰ
(ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ) νεοχωμάσαντα δι’ ὀλίγον κατέστη,
καὶ ἡ Μακεδονία ὑπὸ τε τῶν Δευθελτῶν καὶ ὑπὸ
tῶν Σκορδίσκων ἐπορθήθη. ἐν τε τῇ Θράκη πρό-
tερον μὲν Μάρκος Δόλλιος Ἰρυμητάλκης Ἰθείῳ τε
tῶν τοῦ Κότυος παῖδων καὶ ἐπιτρόπῳ ὄντι βοηθῶν
Βησούς κατεστρέψατο, ἔπειτα δὲ Λούκιος Γάμος
Σαυρομάτας ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας κρατήσας ὑπὲρ
4 τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἀπεώσατο. ὁ δὲ δὴ μέγιστος τῶν τότε
συμβάντων τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πολέμων, ὅσπερ πον
καὶ τὸν Ἀὐγουστού ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξήγαγε, πρὸς
tοὺς Κελτοὺς ἐγένετο. Σύγκυβροι τε γὰρ καὶ
Οὔσιπεταὶ καὶ Τέγκτηροι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν τῇ
σφετέρᾳ τινάς αὐτῶν συλλαβόντες ἀνεσταύρωσαν,
5 ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὸν Ρήνου διαβάντες τὴν τε Γερ-
μανίαν καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν ἐλεηλάτησαν, τὸ τε
ἵππικον τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπελθὸν σφίσσων ἐνη-
δρευσαν, καὶ θεύγουσιν αὕτως ἐπιστρέψοντο τὸ τε
Δολλίῳ ἀρχοντὶ αὐτῆς ἐνέτυχον ἀνελπιστοὶ καὶ
6 ἐνίκησαν καὶ ἐκείνον. μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτα οἱ Ἀὐ-
γουστος ὀρμησε μὲν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦς οὐ μέντοι καὶ
ἐργον τι πολέμου ἔσχεν· οὶ γὰρ βάρβαροι τὸν τε
Δολλίου παρασκευαζόμενον καὶ ἐκείνον στρατεύ-
οντα πυθόμενοι ἐς τε τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ
σπουδᾶς ἐποιήσατον, ὡμήρους δόντες.

21 Τῶν μὲν οὖν ὁπλῶν οὐδὲν διὰ ταῦθ’ ὁ Ἀὐγου-
στος ἐδείξε, τὰ δὲ δὴ ἄλλα καθιστάμενος τοῦτον

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

For this reason Augustus had no need of arms, but in arranging other matters he consumed the
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τε τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν κατανάλωσε καὶ τὸν ὕπτερον, ἐν ὁ γάρ Μάρκος τε Δίβον καὶ Καλπούρνιος Πίσων

2 ὑπάτευσαν. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὕπτὸ τῶν Κελτῶν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ὕπτὸ Δικωνίου τινὸς ἐπετόγηντο. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τοῦθ᾽ ὅτι κατελιστὰ τὸ κῆτός σφισι προσημήναι: πλάτος μὲν γὰρ ποδῶν εἰκοσι μῆκος δὲ τριπλάσιον ἔχων, καὶ γυναικὶ πλὴν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐοικὸς, ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐαυτὸ ἐκ τοῦ ὁκεανοῦ ἐξώκει- λευν. ὦ δὲ ὁ Δικωνίος τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον Γαλάτης ἡν, ἀλὸς δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ρωμαίους καὶ δουλεύσας τῷ Καίσαρι ὕπτὸ μὲν ἐκεῖνον ἥλευθερώθη, ὕπτὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀγώνου ἑπίτροπος τῆς Γαλατίας κατέστη.

3 οὐτός οὖν πλεονεξία μὲν βαρβαρικὴ ἄξιόσει δὲ Ρωμαϊκὴ χρώμενος, πᾶν μὲν τὸ κρεῖττον ποτὲ αὐτοῦ νομοθέτει καθήρει, πᾶν δὲ τὸ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἵσχυρὸν ἡφάνιζε, καὶ συχνὰ μὲν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀναγκαία τῆς προστεταγμένης οἱ διακονίαι ἐξε- πόριζε, συχνὰ δὲ καὶ έαυτῷ τοῖς τε οἰκείοις παρεξ- δέ τοι οὔτω, γαὶ τὰ δεσμοὺς γε κακοτροπίας ἐχώ- ρησεν ὡς τε, ἐπειδὴ τινὲς ἐσφοραὶ κατὰ μῆνα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐγίγνοντο, τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα αὐτοὺς ποιη- ςαί, λέγων τὸν μῆνα τοῦτον τὸν Δεκέμβριον καλού- μενον δέκατον ὡς τοις εἶναι, καὶ δεῖν διὰ τούτο αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς δύο τοὺς ὑστάτους, διὰ τὸν μὲν ἐνδέκατον τὸν δὲ δωδέκατον ἄνωμαζε, νομίζεις, καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτοῖς ἐσφέρεις.

6 διὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τὰ σοφίσματα ἐκινδύνευσεν οἱ γὰρ Γαλάται τοῦ Ἀγώνου τοῦ λαβόμενοι δεινὰ

1 Δικωνίου Xiph., λικινίου VM (and similarly just below).
2 ἐπετόγηντο Rk., ἐπετόγηντο VM.
3 οἱ M cod. Peir., αὐτὰ V.
4 αὐτοὺς Reim., αὐτὰ V, αὐτὰς M cod. Peir., τοὺς μὴνas Xiph.
5 ὑστάτους Dind., ἀγώοντους VM cod. Peir.

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

1 Licinus appears to be the proper spelling of the name, although we find Licinius even in some Roman writers.

2 Bekker plausibly suggested ἔνδεκέμβριον and δώδεκέμβριον, i.e. Undecember and Duodecember.
ἐποίησαν, ὡστε καὶ ἐκεῖνον (τὰ μὲν) συνάχθεσθαι 1 σφίσι (τὰ δὲ) καὶ παρατείνας ἄγνοειν τε τινα ἐλεγε, καὶ προσεποιεῖτο ἐτέρα μὴ πιστεύειν, καὶ ἔστιν ἀ καὶ συνέκρυπτεν, αἰσχυνόμενος ὅτι τοιούτως ἐκέχρησεν ἄλλο δὲ τοιόν τε τι τεχνασάμενος καὶ πάνυ πάντως αὐτῶν κατεγέλασεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ χαλεπῶς οἱ τὸν Ἀὐγοῦστον ἔχοντα ὑσθετο καὶ κολασθήσεθαι ἐμελλέν, ἐσε ὑπὲρ την οἰκίαν αὐτῶν ἐσήγαγε, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν καὶ ἀργυρίον καὶ χρυσίον θησαυροὺς πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τάλλα σωρηδὸν συννενημένα 2 αὐτῷ δεῖξας, "ἐξεπίτηδες," ἐφη, "ταύτα, ὃ δέσποτα, καὶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἅλλων Ῥωμαίων ἡθουσα, ἵνα μὴ τοσοῦτον χρημάτων ἑγκρατεῖς οἱ ἐπιχώροι θύτες ἀποστόσιν. ἀμέλει καὶ ἐτήρησά σοι πάντα αὐτὰ καὶ δίδωμι."

Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὔτως, ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀὐγοῦστον τὴν τῶν Βαρβάρων ἱσχύν ἐκνευρικός, ἐσώθη, 22 Δρούσος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Τιβέριῳ τάδε ἐπραξάς. Ῥαῖτοι οἰκούντες μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Νωρίκου καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας, πρὸς ταῖς Ἀλπεσι ταῖς πρὸς τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ταῖς Τριδευτῖναις, τῆς τε Γαλατίας τῆς προσόρου σφίσι πολλὰ κατέτρεχον καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας 3 ἱππαγός ἐποιοῦντο, τοὺς τε ὅδὸν τῶν Ῥωμαιῶν ἢ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας. 2 σφετέρας γῆς ἡρμενεύειν ἐλυμαίνοντο. καὶ ταύτα μὲν καὶ συνήθη τῶν τοῖς οὐκ ἐναπόδοις ποιεῖν ἐδόκουν, πάν ὃ ὅ τὸ ἄρρεν τῶν ἀλισκομένων, οὕχ οτί (τὸ φαινόμενον ἄλλα καὶ (τὸ ἐν ταῖς

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

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

Thus Licinus was saved, by pretending that he had sapped the strength of the barbarians in order to serve Augustus. Drusus and Tiberius in the meantime were engaged in the following exploits. The Rhaetians, who dwell between Noricum and Gaul, near the Tridentinae Alps \(^1\) which adjoin Italy, were overrunning a large part of the neighbouring territory of Gaul and carrying off plunder even from Italy; and they were harassing such of the Romans or their allies as travelled through their country. Now these acts of theirs seemed to be about what was to be expected of nations which had not accepted terms of peace; but they went further and destroyed all the males among their captives, not only those who had already come into the world, but also those who were still in the women's wombs, the sex of

\(^1\) The Alps around Tridentum (Trent).
3 ἀνευρίσκοντες, ἐφθειρον. (δι' οὗν ταῦτα) ὁ Αὔγουστος πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Δρούσου (ἐπ' αὐτοῦς ἐπεμψε· καὶ δς τοὺς προσαπαντῆσαντάς οἱ αὐτῶν περὶ τὰ Τριδεντῖνα ὅρη διὰ ταχέων ἐτρέψατο. ὡστε καὶ τιμᾶς στρατηγικὰς ἐπὶ τούτῳ λαβεῖν. ἐπείτα δὲ ἐπείδη τῆς μὲν Ἰταλίας ἀπεκρούσθησαν, τῇ δὲ Ἡ Ἐλλάδος καὶ ὡς ἐνέκειντο, τὸν

4 Τιβέριον προσαπαντησείεν. ἐσβαλόντες 1 οὖν ἐς τὴν χώραν πολλαχόθεν ἀμαμφότεροι, αὐτοὶ τε καὶ διὰ τὸν ὑποστράτηγον, καὶ οὖς Ἡ Τιβέριος καὶ διὰ τῆς λίμνης) πλοίοις κομισθεῖσι, ἀπὸ τὸ τούτου κατέπληξαν αὐτούς ὡς ἐκάστους σφίζει συμμεγίνυτες, τοὺς τε ἀεὶ ἐς χειρας ἀφικνομένους οὐ χαλεπῶς, ἀτε διεσπασμένας ταῖς δυνάμεσι χρωμένως, κατειργάσαστο, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀσθενεστέρους τε ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἀθυμοτέρους γενομένους

5 εἶλον. ἐπειδῆ τε ἐπολυανδροῦν καὶ ἐδόκουν τι νεωτερεῖν, τὸ τε κράτιστον καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτῶν ἔξηγαγον, καταλιπόντες τοσοῦτος ὧσοι τὴν μὲν χώραν οἰκεῖν ἰκανοὶ νεοχμόδωσι δὲ τι ἀδύνατον ἦσαν.

23 Ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ τούτῳ ἐτεὶ Οὐήδεσ Πολῖων ἀπεθανεν, ἀνήρ ἄλλως μὲν οὐδὲν μνήμης ἄξιον παρασχόμενος (καὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἀπελευθέρων 2 ἐγεγόνει καὶ εὗ τοῖς ὑπεύθυνοι ἐξητάζετο καὶ λαμπρῶν οὐδέν εἰργάσατο), ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῷ πλούτῳ τῇ τε ὁμότητι ὀνομαστοτάτοις γεγομένους, ὡστε καὶ ἐς ἱστορίας

2 λόγον ἐσελθεῖν. οὕτως γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὅσα ἔπραττε, δι' ὅχλου ἄν λεγόμενα γένουτο, μυραῖνας

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

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

1 The Lacus Venetus (Lago di Garda).
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δὲ δεδιδαγμένας ἀνθρώπους ἐσθείν ἐν δεξαμεναῖς τρέφων τοὺς δούλους αὐταῖς οὕς ἔθανάτου παρέβαλλε.¹ καὶ ποτὲ τὸν Ἀὐγοῦστον ἔστιοι, εἰτ ἔπειδὴ ὁ ὅινοχός κύλικα κρυσταλλίνην κατέαξεν, ἐς τὰς μυραίνας αὐτῶν, μηδὲ τὸν δαιτυμόνα αἴδηθείς, ἐμβληθῆναι προσέταξεν. ὡς οὖν Ἀὐγοῦστος, προσπεσόντος οἱ τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ ἱκετεύσαντος αὐτῶν, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πείθειν τὸν Πωλίωνα ἐπειρᾶτο μηδὲν τοιούτον ὅρασαι, ὡς δ΄ οὐκ ὑπηκοούσεν αὐτῷ, "φέρε," ἐφη, "πάντα τάλλα ἐκτῶματα, δόσα² ποτὲ τοιουτότροπα ἢ καὶ ἐτερὰ τινὰ ἔντιμα κέκτησαι, ἣν αὐτοῖς χρήσωμαι." καὶ αὐτὰ κομισθέντα συντριβίθηναι ἐκελεύσεν. ἴδον δὲ τούτ’ ἔκεινος ἄλλως μὲν ἡσχαλλεν, οὔτε δὲ τοῦ ἔνος ἔτι ποτήριον πρὸς τὸ πλήθος τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀπολωλότων ὄργην ἔχων, οὔτ’ αὖ τὸν διάκονον οὖν γε καὶ ὁ Ἀὐγοῦστος ἐπετοιμήκει τιμωρῆσασθαι

5 δυνάμενος, ἡσυχίαν καὶ ἄκων ἡγαγε. τοιοῦτος οὖν δὴ τῆς ὁ Πωλίων ὄν ἐτελεύτησεν ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς πολλά καὶ τῷ Ἀὐγοῦστῳ τοῦ τε κλήρου συχνὸν μέρος καὶ τὸν³ Παυσίλυπον, τὸ χωρίον τὸ μεταξύ τῆς τε Νέας πόλεως καὶ τῶν Πούτελλων οὖν, καταλιπὼν, τῷ τε δήμῳ περικαλλές ἔργον

6 οἰκοδομηθῆναι κελεύσασ. ὁ οὖν Ἀὐγοῦστος τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἐς ἐδαφὸς προφάσει τῆς ἐκείνον κατασκευῆς, ὃπως μηδὲν μνημόσυνον ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔχη, καταβαλὼν περίστροφον οἰκοδομήσατο, καὶ οὐ

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

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

7 Τούτῳ μὲν οὐν ὑστερον ἐποίησε, τότε δὲ πόλεις ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ συχνὰς ἀπώκισε, καὶ Κυζικηνοῖς τὴν ἔλευθεριαν ἀπέδωκε. Παφίοις τε σεισμὸ πονήσασι καὶ χρήματα ἐχαρίσατο καὶ τὴν πόλιν Αὐγουσταν καλεῖν κατὰ δόγμα ἐπέτρεψε. ταύτα δὲ ἐγραψά ὅχ ὅτι οὐ καὶ ἄλλαις πόλεσι πολλαῖς καὶ (πρότερον) καὶ (μετὰ τοῦτο) καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐφ’ ομοίας συμφοραῖς καὶ οἱ Βουλευταὶ ἐπεκούρησαν, ὡν ἐπὶ τις ἀπάντων μονομονεύοι, ἀπέραντον ἄν τὸ ἔργον τῆς συγγραφῆς γένοιτο: ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡ γερουσία (ἐν μέρει) τιμῆς ἔνεμε, καὶ οὐχ ὡσπερ νῦν αὐτοὶ ἐαυτοῖς ἐκαστοὶ καταλόγους ἰνομάτων οὐς ἄν ἐθελήσωσιν ὡς πλήθει ποιοῦνται.

24 Τῷ δ’ ἐπιγγυμομένῳ ἦτε Μάρκος μὲν Κράσσος καὶ Γναῖος Κορωθίλος ὑπάτευσαν, οἱ δ’ ἀγορανόμοι ὁι κουροῦλοι, ἀπειπώντες τὴν ἀρχήν ὅτι ἔξαισινοι σφία τῶν ὀρνίθων γενομένων ἦρπνοτο, αὕτης αὐτὴν ἔξω τῶν πατρίων ἐν ἑτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἄνελαβον. ἦ τε στοὰ ἡ Παύλεως ἐκαύθη, καὶ τὸ τῷ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸ Ἑστιαίιον ἀφικετο, ὡςτε καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐς τε τὸ Παλάτιον ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀειπαρθένων (ἡ γὰρ προσβεύονσα αὐτῶν ἐτέτυφλωτο) ἀνακομισθήσην καὶ ἐς τὴν τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ Διὸς οἰκίαν τεθήναι. ἦ μὲν οὖν στοὰ μετὰ τοῦτο ὄνοματι μὲν (ὑπ’ Αἰμιλίου), ἐς δυ τοῦ τοῦ

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

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

The next year Marcus Crassus and Gnaeus Cornelius were consuls; and the curule aediles, after resigning their office because they had been elected under unfavourable auspices, received it again, contrary to precedent, at another meeting of the assembly. The Basilica of Paulus was burned and the flames spread from it to the temple of Vesta, so that the sacred objects there were carried up to the Palatine by the Vestal Virgins,¹—except the eldest, who had become blind,—and were placed in the house of the priest of Jupiter. The basilica was afterwards rebuilt, nominally by Aemilius, who was

¹ Cf. xliv. 31, 3.
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ποιήσαντός ποτε αυτὴν γένος ἐληλύθει, (τὸ δὲ ἔργῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀὐγοῦστον) καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Παῦλου φίλων ἀνωκοδομῆθη· τότε δὲ οἱ τοῦ Παν-

νόνου νεωτερίσαιτες αὕτης ἔχειρώθησαν, καὶ αἱ Ἀλπεῖς αἱ παραθαλασσίδιοι ὑπὸ Λιγῴων τῶν κομητῶν καλομένων ἔλευθέρως ἐτι καὶ τότε νε-

4 μόμεναι ἐδουλώθησαν. τά τε ἐν τῷ Βοσπόρῳ τῷ Κιμμερίῳ νεοχωμάσαντα κατέστη. Σκριβώνιος
gάρ τις τοῦ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἔγγονος εἶναι καὶ
(παρά τοῦ Ἀὐγοῦστον) τὴν βασιλείαν, ἐπειδῆπερ
ὁ 'Ασανδρός ἔτεθηκε, εἰληφέναι λέγων, τὴν
gυναῖκα αὐτοῦ Δύναμὶν τε καλουμένην καὶ τὴν
ἀρχὴν (παρὰ τοῦ ἄνδρος ἐπιτετραμμένην, ἣ τοῦ
tε Φαρνάκου θυγάτηρ καὶ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἔγγονος
ἀληθῶς ἤν, ἦγάγετο, καὶ τὸν Βοσπόρον διὰ χειρὸς
5 ἐποιεῖτο. πυθόμενος οὖν ταῦτα ὁ 'Αγρίππας τῶν
Πολέμωνα ἐπ' αὐτῶν, τὸν τοῦ Πόντου τοῦ πρὸς
tῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ οὖντος βασιλεύοντα, ἐπεμψε· καὶ
ὅς Σκριβώνιος μὲν ὅθ' ὁκέτι περιόντα κατέλαβε
(μαθόντες γὰρ οἱ Βοσπόροι τὴν ἐπιβολήν αὐτῶν
προαπέκετειναν αὐτὸν), ἀντιστάντων δὲ οἱ ἐκείνων
dει τοῦ μὴ βασιλεύεσθαι αὐτῶ δοθῆναι, ἐς χειρᾶς
6 σφίσιν ἦλθε. καὶ ἐνίκησε μὲν, οὐ μὴν καὶ παρε-
στήσατο σφας πρὶν τῶν Ἀγρίππαν ἐς Σιωπὴν
ἐλθεῖν ὡς καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶς στρατεύσων. οὔτω δὲ
τά τοῦ πολα κατέθετο καὶ τῷ Πολέμωνι παρεδο-
θησαν· ἦ τε γυνὴ ἡ Δύναμις συνήκησεν αὐτῷ τοῦ
7 Ἀὐγοῦστον ἔδηλον ὅτι ταῦτα δικαιώσαντος· καὶ
(ἐπ' αὐτῶς θυσία τοῦ τοῦ Ἀγρίππαν ὄνοματι
ἐγένοντο, οὐ μεντοι καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια καίτοι ψηφι-
σθέντα αὐτῷ ἐπέμψθη· οὔτε γὰρ ἔγραψεν ἀρχήν
1 ἐπιβολήν Rk., ἐπιβολήν Μ.
the descendant of the family of the man who had formerly erected it, but really by Augustus and the friends of Paulus. At this time the Pannonians revolted again and were subdued, and the Maritime Alps, inhabited by the Ligurians who were called Comati, and were still free even then, were reduced to slavery. And the revolt among the tribes of the Cimmerian Bosporus was quelled. It seems that one Scribonius, who claimed to be a grandson of Mithridates and to have received the kingdom from Augustus after the death of Asander, married Asander's wife, named Dynamis, who was really the daughter of Pharnaces and the granddaughter of Mithridates and had been entrusted with the regency by her husband, and thus he was holding Bosporus under his control. Agrippa, upon learning of this, sent against him Polemon, the king of that part of Pontus bordering on Cappadocia. Polemon found Scribonius no longer alive, for the people of Bosporus, learning of his advance against them, had already put him to death; but when they resisted Polemon through fear that he might be allowed to reign over them, he engaged them in battle. But although he conquered them, he was unable to reduce them to submission until Agrippa came to Sinope with the purpose of conducting a campaign against them. Then they laid down their arms and were delivered up to Polemon; and the woman Dynamis became his wife, naturally not without the sanction of Augustus. For these successes sacrifices were offered in the name of Agrippa, but the triumph which was voted him was not celebrated. Indeed, he did not so much

1 i.e. the "long-haired." Ct. Gallia Comata, xlvi. 55, 5.
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(ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ὑπὲρ τῶν πραχθέντων οὐδὲν, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα, νόμῳ τινὶ τῷ ἐκείνου τρόπῳ χρώμενοι, οὐδ' αὐτοὶ τῷ κοινῷ ἐτ' ἐπέστελλον, οὔτε τὴν πέμψιν τῶν νυκτηρίων
8 ἐδέξατο. 1 καὶ διὰ τούτο οὔδ' ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἔτι τῶν ὁμοίων αὐτῷ, ὡς γε καὶ ἐγὼ κρίνω, ποιήσαε τούτῳ ἔδοθη, ἀλλὰ μόναις ταῖς ἐπινικίοις τιμαῖς ἐγαυροῦτο.

25 'Ὁ δ' οὖν 2 Ἀὔγουστος ἐπειδὴ πάντα τά τε ἐν ταῖς Γαλατίαις καὶ τά ἐν ταῖς Γερμανίαις ταῖς τ' Ἰβηρίαις, πολλὰ μὲν ἀναλώσας ὡς ἐκάστους πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' ἐτέρους λαβών, τὴν τε ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν τοῖς μεν δοὺς τοὺς δ' ἀφελόμενος, διωκήσατο, τὸν μὲν Δρούσου ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ κατέλυτεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν 'Ῥώμην ἐπὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ ἐπὶ Κυντιλίου 3 Οὐάρου ὑπάτου

2 ἀνεκομίσθη, καὶ ἐτυχε γὰρ ἡ ἀγγελία τῆς ἀφίξεως αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἐλθοῦσα ἐν αἷς Κορυνήλιος Βάλβος τὸ θέατρον τὸ καὶ νῦν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ καλούμενον καθιερώσας θέας ἐπετέλει, ἐπὶ τε τούτω ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν Ἀὔγουστον ἐπανάξων ἐσμμύνετο, καὶ τοι ὕπο τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ ὑδατος, ὅπερ ὁ Τίβερις πλεονάσας ἐπετούχει, μηδὲ ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ θέατρον εἰ μὴ πλοῖο δυνηθεὶς, καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ θεάτρου

3 τιμὴ ἐπενήσισεν. ἢ τε γὰρ βουλὴ ἡθροίσθη, καὶ ἐδοξέ σφισιν ἄλλα τε καὶ βωμὸν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Ἀὔγουστον ἐπανόδου ποιή-

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

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

1 Literally, "in the Gauls, in the Germanies, and the Spains." "Germany" here and just below refers to the provinces of Upper and Lower Germany, west of the Rhine. See note on liii. 12, 6.
σασθαί, τοῖς τε ἱκετεύσασιν αὐτὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ πώ·
μηρίου ὄντα ἀδειαν εἶναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐδέξατο
οὐδέτερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀπάντησιν τοῦ δήμου καὶ
4 τότε ἐξέστην νυκτὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν πόλιν ἐσεκομίσθη,
ὅπερ ποὺ καὶ ἀεὶ ὃς εἰπεῖν, εἰτε ἐς τὰ προάστεια
ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλοσε' ποι ἐκδημοῦ, καὶ ἀφορμώμενος
καὶ ἐπανιδο ὁμοίως ἐποίει, ἵνα μηδενὶ αὐτῶν
ὁχληροῦ εἰη. (τῇ δ' ὑστεραῖα ἐν τῇ παλατίῳ
τοῦ δήμου ἡσπάσατο, καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνελ-
θοῦν τῇν ἐν δάφνῃ ἀπὸ τῶν ῥάβδων περιείλε καὶ
ἐς τὰ τοῦ Δίως γόνατα κατέθετο, τῷ τε 1 δήμῳ
προῖκα τὰ τῇ λουτρᾶ καὶ τοὺς κουρέας τῇν ἠμέραν
5 ἐκεῖνην παρέσχε. συναγαγὼν δὲ ἐκ τοῦτον τῷ
βουλευτήριον αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν εἰπεν ὑπὸ βράγχου,
τῷ δὲ δῆ βιβλίον 2 τῷ ταμίᾳ 3 ἀναγνώσαι δοὺς τὰ
τε πεπραγμένα οἱ κατηρίθμησατο, καὶ διέταξε τὰ
τε ἐτῇ ὅσα ὑπὸ τοὺς πολῖτα στρατεύσοντο, καὶ τὰ χρή-
ματα ὅσα παυσάμενοι τῆς στρατείας, ἀντὶ τῆς
χώρας ἦν αἰεὶ ποτε ὑτον, λήψωμο, ὅπως ἐπὶ
ῥητοῖς ἐκεῖθεν ἢδυ καταλεγόμενοι μηδὲν τοῦτον γε
6 ἐνεκα νεωτερίζωσιν. ἦν δὲ ὁ τε ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἐτῶν
τοῖς μὲν δορυφόροις δώδεκα τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἐκκαί-
deka, καὶ τῷ 4 ἀργύριον τοῖς μὲν ἐλαττον τοῖς δὲ
πλείον. ταῦτα δὲ ἐκείνους μὲν οὐθήν ἢδονήν οὐτ' ὀργήν ἐν γε τῷ τότε παρόντοι ἐνποίησε διὰ τὸ ἡμή
to πάντων ὃν ἑπεθύμουν τυχεῖν ἡμή πάντων δια-
martiēn, τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἄλλοις ἀγαθάς ἐλπίδας τοῦ
μηκετὶ τῶν κτημάτων ἀφαίρεθησθαι.

26 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ ταῦτα τὸ τε θέατρον τὸ τοῦ Μαρ-
κέλλου καλοῦμενον καθιέρωσε, κἂν τῇ πανηγύρει

1 τῇ Bk., δὲ VM. 2 βιβλίον V, βυβλίον M.
3 ταμίι Bk., ταμιέλαι VM. 4 τῷ Bk., τὸ μὲν VM.
tus, and also voted that those who approached him as suppliants while he was inside the pomerium should not be punished. Nevertheless, he accepted neither of these honours, and even avoided encountering the people on this occasion also; for he entered the city at night. This he did nearly always whenever he went out to the suburbs or anywhere else, both on his way out and on his return, so that he might trouble none of the citizens. The next day he welcomed the people in the palace, and then, ascending the Capitol, took the laurel from around his fasces and placed it upon the knees of Jupiter; and he also placed baths and barbers at the service of the people free of charge on that day. After this he convened the senate, and though he made no address himself by reason of hoarseness, he gave his manuscript to the quaestor to read and thus enumerated his achievements and promulgated rules as to the number of years the citizens should serve in the army and as to the amount of money they should receive when discharged from service, in lieu of the land which they were always demanding. His object was that the soldiers, by being enlisted henceforth on certain definite terms, should find no excuse for revolt on this score. The number of years was twelve for the Pretorians and sixteen for the rest; and the money to be distributed was less in some cases and more in others. These measures caused the soldiers neither pleasure nor anger for the time being, because they neither obtained all they desired nor yet failed of all; but in the rest of the population the measures aroused confident hopes that they would not in future be robbed of their possessions.

He next dedicated the theatre named after Marcellus. In the course of the festival held for this
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τῇ διὰ τούτο γενομένη τήν τε Τροίαν οἱ παῖδες οἱ εὐπατρίδαι οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὁ ἐγγονος αὐτοῦ ὁ Γάιος ἦπενσαν, καὶ θηρία Διβυκᾶ ἔξακοσία

2 ἀπεσφάγη τὰ τε γενέθλια τοῦ Ἀὐγοῦστον ὁ Ἰουλλος ὁ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου παις στρατηγῶν καὶ ἰπποδρομία καὶ σφαγαις θηρίων ἐωρτάσε, καὶ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ καὶ ἔκεινον καὶ τὴν Βουλὴν (κατὰ δόγμα αὐτῆς εἰστίασεν.

3 'Εκ δὲ τούτου ἔξετασις αὐθίς τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐγένετο. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον δέκα μυρίαδων τὸ τίμημα αὐτοῖς ὁριστὸ διὰ τὸ συχνοῦν τῶν πατρῴων ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμων ἐστερῆσθαι, προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων περιουσίας κτωμένοι ἐς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι προῆξθη, οὐκέτι

4 οὕδεις ἠθέλοντι βουλεύσαν εὐρίσκετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ παῖδες εἰσὶν οἱ καὶ ἐγγονοι βουλευτῶν, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς πενόμενοι οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκ συμφορῶν προγονικῶν τεταπεινωμένοι, οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἀντεποιούντο τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ ἀξιώματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσ-

5 κατεφλεγμένοι ἦδη ἐξώσμυντο. καὶ διὰ τούτῳ πρότερον μὲν ἀποδημοῦντος ἐτὶ τοῦ Ἀὐγοῦστον, δόγμα ἐγένετο τοὺς εἰκοσὶ καλουμένους ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ἰππέων ἀποδείκνυσθαι. ὅθεν οὐκέτι οὕδεις αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσεγράφη, μὴ καὶ ἔτερῳ τινὰ ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσάγειν δυναμένων λαβόνων.

6 οἱ δὲ δὴ εἰκοσιν οὕτῳ ἄνδρες ἐκ τῶν εἰς καὶ εἰκοσίν εἰσιν, οἱ τε τρεῖς οἱ τας τοῦ θανάτου δίκας προστεταγμένοι, καὶ οἱ ἐτεροὶ τρεῖς οἱ τὸ τοῦ

1 ἠθέλοντι R. Steph., ἠθέλοντι VM.
2 οἱ δὲ δὴ Rk., εἶτε δὴ V, οἱ τε δὴ M.
B O O K  L I V

purpose the patrician boys, including his grandson
Gaius, performed the equestrian exercise called
"Troy," and six hundred wild beasts from Africa
were slain. And to celebrate the birthday of
Augustus, Iullus, the son of Antony, who was
praetor, gave games in the Circus and a slaughter
of wild beasts, and entertained both the emperor
and the senate, in pursuance of a decree of that
body, upon the Capitol.

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

1 See xliii. 23, 6, and note.  2 Tresviri capitales.  3 Tresviri monetales.
νομίσματος κόμμα μεταχειρίζομενοι, οί τε τέσσαρες οί τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀστεί όδον ἐπιμελούμενοι, καὶ οί δέκα οί ἐπὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων τῶν (ἐσ τοὺς ἐκατὸν)

7 ἀνδρας κληρουμένων ἀποδεικνύμενοι: οί γὰρ δὴ δύο οί τὰς ἐξω τοῦ τείχους όδοὺς ἐγχειρίζομενοι, οί τε τέσσαρες οί (ἐσ τὴν Καμπανίαν) πεμπόμενοι, κατελέυντο. τούτο τε οὖν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀὐγοῦστου ἐκδημία ἐπιφίλησθη, καὶ ἵν, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς ἔτι βαδίως τὴν δημαρχίαν ἦτε, 1 κλήρῳ τινὲς 2 ἐκ τῶν τεταμενοκότων καὶ μήπω τεσσαράκοντα ἐτή γεγονότων

8 καθιστώνται. τὸτε δὲ αὐτὸς πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐξήτασε, καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν ὑπὲρ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἐτῆ γεγονότων οὐκ ἐπολυπραγμόνησε, τοὺς δὲ (ἐντὸς τε τῆς ἥλικίας ταύτης) ὄντας καὶ τὸ τίμημα ἐχοντας Βουλεύσαι κατηγώγασε, χωρὶς ἡ εἰ τις

9 ἀνάπτυρος ἦν. καὶ τὰ μὲν σώματα καὶ αὐτὸς ποὺ αὐτῶν 3 ἐώρα, περὶ δὲ δὴ τῶν οὐσιῶν ὅρκοις ἐπιστούτο αὐτῶν τε ἐκείνων καὶ ἔτερων συνομυντῶν σφίσι καὶ λογισμὸν τῆς τε ἀπορίας ἅμα καὶ τοῦ βίου διδόντων.

27 Καὶ οὐκ ἐν μὲν τοῖς κοινοῖς τοιούτος ἦν, τῶν δ’ ἰδίων 4) παρημέλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Τιβέριῳ ἐπετυμησέν ὅτι τὸν Γάιον ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τῇ εὐκταίᾳ, ἢν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπανόδῳ αὐτοῦ διετίθει, παρεκαθίσατο, καὶ (τῷ δήμῳ) ὅτι καὶ κρότους καὶ ἔπαινοις αὐτῶν

2 ἐτίμησαν. ἐπειδὴ τε τοῦ Δεπίδου μεταλλάξαντος

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

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

\(^1\) Quatuorviri viis in urbe purgandis; cf. chap. 8, 4.
\(^2\) Decemviri stlitibus indicandis.
\(^3\) Duoviri viis extra urbem purgandis.
\(^4\) Quatuor praefecti Capuam Cumas.
\(^5\) Cf. Suet., Aug. 56.
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άρχιέρεως ἀπεδείχθη καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἡ Βουλή Ψηφισθαί . . . 1 αὐτῷ 2 ἦθέλησεν, οὔτε τι αὐτῶν προσήφεσθαι ἐφ' ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου. καὶ οὔτε ἔκεινα ἐτ' ἐκυρώθη οὔτ' οἰκίαν τινὰ δημοσίᾳ ἔλαβεν, ἀλλὰ μέρος τι τῆς έαντοῦ, ὅτι τὸν ἀρχιέρεων (ἐν κοινῷ) πάντως οἴκειν ἔχειν, ἐδημοσίωσεν. τὴν μέντοι τοῦ Βασιλέως τῶν ιερῶν 3 ταῖς ἀειπαρθένους ἐδωκεν, ἐπειδὴ 4 ὁμότοιχος ταῖς οἰκήσεσιν αὐτὸν ἦν.

4 Κορυνηλίου τε Σισέννου 5 αἰτίαν (ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς γυναικὸς βίῳ) σχόντος, καὶ (ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ) εἰπόντος ὅτι καὶ εἰδότος καὶ συμβουλεύσαντός οἱ αὐτῶν ἡγαγέτο αὐτὴν, περιοργῆς τε ἐγένετο καὶ εἴπε μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἔπραξε δεινόν, ἐκπρῆμισας δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἐπειτα (μετ' ὀλίγον) ἐπανήλθεν, ἐλο- μενος, ὡς γε καὶ τοῖς φίλοις μετά ταῦτα ἐφή, τοῦτο μᾶλλον καίπερ οὐκ ὅρθως ἔχον ποιήσαι ἦ κατὰ χώραν μείνας ἀναγκασθήναι τι κακὸν δρᾶσαι.

28 Καὶ τούτῳ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν (ἐκ τῆς Συρίας) ἐλθόντα (τῇ τε δημαρχικῇ ἐξουσίᾳ) αὐθίς ἐστὶ ἀλλὰ ἐτή πέντε ἐμεγάλυκεν καὶ ἐστὶν τὴν Παννονίαν πολεμήσειον ἐξέπεμψε, μεῖζον αὐτῷ τῶν ἐκαστα-χόδι ἐξω τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀρχόντων ἰσχύς ἐπιτρέ-

2 ψας. καὶ ὅς τὴν μὲν στρατείαν καίτοι τοῦ χειμῶνος, ἐν ψ̄ Μάρκος τε Ουαλέριος καὶ Πούπλιος Σουλ-πίκιος ύπάτευον, ἐνεστηκότος ἐποιήσατο, ἐκπλα-γέντων δὲ τῶν Παννονίων πρὸς τὴν ἐφοδοῦ αὐτοῦ

1 Lacuna recognized by Elsner. 2 αὐτῷ V, αὐτῶν M.
3 ἱερῶν Leunc., ἱερῶν VM.
4 ἐπειδὴ H. Steph., ἐπει δὲ VM.
5 Σισέννου Glandorp, σισεντίου VM.
Lepidus he was appointed high priest and the senate accordingly wished to vote him [other honours (?)]; but he declared that he would not accept any of them, and when the senators urged him, he rose and left the meeting. That measure, therefore, now failed of passage, and he also received no official residence; but, inasmuch as it was absolutely necessary that the high priest should live in a public residence, he made a part of his own house public property. The house of the rex sacrificulcus, however, he gave to the Vestal Virgins, because it was separated merely by a wall from their apartments.

When Cornelius Sisenna was censured for the conduct of his wife, and stated in the senate that he had married her with the knowledge and on the advice of the emperor, Augustus became exceedingly angry. He did not, to be sure, say or do anything violent, but rushed out of the senate-house, and then returned a little later, choosing to take this course, though it was not the correct thing to do, as he said to his friends afterward, rather than to remain where he was and be compelled to do something harsh.

Meanwhile he increased the power of Agrippa, who had returned from Syria, by giving him the tribunician power again for another five years, and he sent him out to Pannonia, which was eager for war, entrusting him with greater authority than the officials outside Italy ordinarily possessed. And Agrippa set out on the campaign in spite of the fact that the winter had already begun (this was the year in which Marcus Valerius and Publius Sulpicius were the consuls); but when the Pannonians became terrified at his approach and gave up their
καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι νεωτερισάντων ἐπανῆλθε, καὶ ἐν
3 Καμπανία γενόμενος ἐνόσησε. πυθόμενος δὲ τοῦ-
το ὁ Αὐγοῦστος (ἐτυχὲ δὲ ἐν τοῖς Παναθηναίοις
ὀπλομαχίας ἀγώνας τῷ τῶν παῖδων ὄνοματι
τιθείσ) ἐξωρμῆθη, καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτὸν τεθηκό-
τα ἐς τὸ ἁστυ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐσεκόμισε καὶ ἐν
τῇ ἀγορᾷ προέθηκε, τὸν τε λόγον τὸν (ἐπ' αὐτοῦ
εἰπε, παραπέτασμα τι πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ παρατείνας.
4 ὅπερ ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα διὰ τὶ ἐποίησεν, εἰρήται δὲ
ὀμοιο τοῖς μὲν ὅτι ἀρχιέρεως ἦν, τοῖς δὲ ὅτι τὰ τῶν
tιμητῶν ἐπραττεν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς φρονοῦσιν οὕτε γὰρ
τῷ ἀρχιέρεω ἀπείρηται νεκρόν ὅραν οὕτε τῷ τι-
μητῇ, πλὴν ἄν τὸ τέλος ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς μέλλῃ
ἐπάξειν· ἂν γὰρ τινα πρὸ τοῦ καθαρσίου ἴδη,
ἀνάδαστα τὰ πραξθέντα αὐτῷ πάντα γίγνεται.
5 τοῦτό τε οὖν οὕτως ἔδρασε, καὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν αὐτοῦ
ἐν τῷ τρόπῳ ἐν φ' καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξηνέχθη
ἐποίησαι, καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐαυτοῦ μνημείῳ
ἔθαψε, καίτοι ἵδιον ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ λαβόντα.1
29 Ἀγρίππας μὲν οὖν οὕτως μετήλλαξε, τά τε
ἀλλὰ ἀριστός τῶν καθ’ ἐαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων δια-
φανῶς γενόμενος, καὶ τῇ τοῦ Αὐγοῦστον φιλία
πρὸς τε τῷ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῷ κοινῷ
2 συμφορώτατον χρησάμενος. ὅσον τε γὰρ τοὺς
ἀλλοὺς ἀρετῆ κατεκράτει, τοσοῦτον ἐκείνῳ ἐθε-
λοντῆς ἤτταστο, καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ καὶ
σοβίαν καὶ ἀνδρείαν ἐς τὰ λυσιτελέστατα παρέ-

1 λαβόντα Μ, ὄντα V.
plans for rebellion, he returned, and upon reaching Campania, fell ill. Augustus happened to be exhibiting, in the name of his sons, contests of armed warriors at the Panathenaic festival,¹ and when he learned of Agrippa's illness, he set out for Italy; and finding him dead, he conveyed his body to the capital and caused it to lie in state in the Forum. He also delivered the eulogy over the dead, after first hanging a curtain in front of the corpse. Why he did this, I do not know. Some, however, have stated that it was because he was high priest, others that it was because he was performing the duties of censor. But both are mistaken, since neither the high priest is forbidden to look at a corpse, nor the censor, either, except when he is about to complete the census; but if he looks upon a corpse then, before his purification, all his work has to be done over again. Now Augustus not only did what I have recorded, but also had the funeral procession of Agrippa conducted in the manner in which his own was afterward conducted, and he buried him in his own sepulchre, though Agrippa had taken one for himself in the Campus Martius.

Such was the end of Agrippa, who had in every way clearly shown himself the noblest of the men of his day and had used the friendship of Augustus with a view to the greatest advantage both of the emperor himself and of the commonwealth. For the more he surpassed others in excellence, the more inferior he kept himself of his own free will to the emperor; and while he devoted all the wisdom and valour he himself possessed to the highest interests of Augustus, he lavished all the

¹ In Athens.
3 ἐς τὸ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐνεργετεῖν ἀνεύλισκεν. ἀφ’ οὗ δὴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα οὔτ’ αὐτῷ ποτὲ τῷ Ἀγνοῦστῳ ἐπαχθῆς οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπίφθονος ἐγένετο, ἀλλ’ ἐκείνῳ τε τὴν μοναρχίαν ὡς καὶ δυναστείας ὄντως ἐπιθυμητῆς ἁ συνέστησε, καὶ τὸν δήμον εὐεργε-
4 σίας ὡς καὶ δημοτικώτατος προσεποιήσατο. καὶ τότε γοῦν κήπους τέ σφισι καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον τὸ ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν, ὡστε προῖκα αὐτοῦς λούσας, χωρία τινὰ ἐς τὸντῷ Ἀγνοῦστῷ δοὺς. καὶ ὃς οὐ μόνον ταύτ’ ἐδημοσίευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ’ ἐκατον ἀ δραχμὰς (τῷ δήμῳ ὡς καὶ ἐκείνου
5 κελεύσαντος διένεμε. τῶν τε γὰρ πλείστων αὐτοῦ ἐκληρονόμησεν, ἐν οἷς ἄλλα τε καὶ Ἡ Χερσόνησος ἤν ἢ πρὸς τῷ Εὐληστόντω, οὐκ οἷς ὁπως ἐς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐλθόνσα: καὶ πάνυ (ἐπὶ πολὺ) αὐτοῦ ἐπάθησεν, καὶ (διὰ τοῦτο) καὶ ἐντιμον παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ ἐποίησε, τὸν τε νῦν τὸν τελευτήσαντι οἱ γεννηθέντα Ἀγρίππαν προση-
6 γόρευσεν. οὐ μέντοι οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκλείπειν τι τῶν πατρίων, καίπερ μηδενὸς τῶν πρῶτων ἐς τὰς πανηγύρεις ἀπαντήσαι ἐθέλοντος, ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰς μονομαχίας διετέλεσεν τολάκισ τε
7 καὶ ἀπόντος αὐτοῦ ἐποιοῦντο. οὔτω γοῦν οὐκ ἰδιον τούτῳ τὸ πάθος τῇ τοῦ Ἀγρίππαν οἰκίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινὸν (πᾶς τοῖς Ἐρωμαῖοις) ἐγένετο, ὡστε καὶ σημεία ὡς (πρὸ τῶν μεγίστων συμφορῶν

1 ἐπιθυμητῆς Xyl., ἐπιθυμητῇ VM cod. Peir.
2 ἐκατόν M, ἐκαστὸν V cod. Peir.
3 ἤν supplied by Bs. 4 τε Bs., γε VM.
honour and influence he received from him upon benefactions to others. It was because of this in particular that he never became obnoxious to Augustus himself nor invidious to his fellow-citizens; on the contrary, he helped Augustus to establish the monarchy, as if he were really a devoted adherent of the principle of autocratic rule, and he won over the people by his benefactions, as if he were in the highest degree a friend of popular government. At any rate, even at his death he left them gardens and the baths named after him, so that they might bathe free of cost, and for this purpose gave Augustus certain estates. And the emperor not only turned these over to the state, but also distributed to the people four hundred sesterces apiece, giving it to be understood that Agrippa had so ordered. And, indeed, he had inherited most of Agrippa's property, including the Chersonese on the Hellespont, which had come in some way or other into Agrippa's hands. Augustus felt his loss for a long time and hence caused him to be honoured in the eyes of the people; and he named the posthumous son born to him Agrippa. Nevertheless, he did not allow the citizens at large, although none of the prominent men wished to attend the festivals, to omit any of the time-honoured observances, and he in person superintended the gladiatorial combats, though they were often held without his presence. The death of Agrippa, far from being merely a private loss to his own household, was at any rate such a public loss to all the Romans that portents occurred on this occasion in such numbers as are wont to happen

1 For the baths, see liii. 27, 1. The estates here mentioned were to provide an income for the maintenance of the baths.
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συμβαίνειν σφίσιν εἶωθε, καὶ τότε συνενεχθήναι. Βύαι τε γὰρ τῇ πόλει διεφοίτησαν, καὶ κεραυνὸς ἐς τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ οὐκίαν, ἐς ἢν οἱ ύπατοι ἐν

8 ταῖς ἑρωργίαις καταλύουσιν. ἐνέσκηψε. τὸ τε ἀστρον ὁ κομῆτις ἡμομασμένος ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀστεως αἰώρηθε ἐς λαμπάδας διελύθη. καὶ πυρὶ ἄλλα τε τῆς πόλεως συχνὰ καὶ ἢ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου σέκην ἐκαύθη, κοράκων κρέα (ἐς αὐτὴν) ἐκ βωμοῦ τινος ἐμπυρα ἐμβαλόντων.

30 Οὕτω μὲν τὰ κατὰ Ἀγρίππαν ἑγένετο· μετὰ δὲ δὴ τούτο ὁ Ἀὐγοῦστος ἐπιμελητής τε καὶ ἐπανορθωτὴς τῶν τρόπων ἐς ἐτερα ἐτή πέντε αἰρεθεὶς (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο κατὰ προθεσμίας, ὡσπερ πον καὶ τὴν μοναρχίαν, ἐλάμβανε) θυμῶν τις τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ, ὅσικυς ἂν ἔδρα αὐτῶν ἢ, καὶ τὴν ἀφίξιν πρὸς ἐαυτὸν μὴ ποιεῖσθαι, τὸ μὲν ἦνα θεοσεβώσι, τὸ δὲ ἦν ἀπονητὶ 3 συνίσωσιν,

2 ἐκέλευσε. τὴν δὲ δημαρχίαν ὅληνν σφόνδρα διὰ τὸ τὴν ἱσχὺν σφων καταλεύθησαι αἰτοῦντως, ἐνομοθέτησεν ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν μὴ ἐλαττον πέντε καὶ εἰκοσὶ μυριάδας κεκτημένων προβάλλοντας τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀργαῖς ἐνα ἐκαστοῦ, κὰκ τοῦτον τὸ πλῆθος τοὺς ἐνδεότας αἰρεῖσθαι ἐφ’ ὃ τε, 4 εἰ μὲν καὶ βουλευέων μετὰ τοῦτ’ ἐθέλοιεν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐς τὴν ἱππάδα αὐτῆς ἐπανεῖναι ἐξεῖναι.

3 Ἔπειδὴ τε ἡ Ἀσία τὸ ἔθνος ἐπικουρίας τινὸς (διὰ σεισμοῦς μάλιστα ἐδείτο, 5 τὸν τε φορον αὐτῆς

1 δὴ V, om. M.
2 μὴ supplied by Bk., following Casaubon.
3 ἀπονητί R. Steph., ἀπονητὶ VM.
4 ἐφ’ ὃ τε Bk., σφισιν VM.
5 ἐδείτο Dind., ἐδέθη VM.

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to them before the greatest calamities. Owls kept flitting about the city, and lightning struck the house on the Alban Mount where the consuls lodge during the sacred rites. The star called the comet hung for several days over the city and was finally dissolved into flashes resembling torches. Many buildings in the city were destroyed by fire, among them the hut of Romulus, which was set ablaze by crows which dropped upon it burning meat from some altar.

These were the events connected with Agrippa's death. After this Augustus was chosen supervisor and corrector of morals for another five years; for he received this office also for limited periods, as he did the monarchy. He ordered the senators to burn incense in their assembly hall whenever they held a session, and not to pay the usual visit to him, his purpose being, in the first instance, that they should show reverence to the gods, and, in the second, that they should not be hindered in convening. And inasmuch as extremely few candidates sought the tribuneship, because its power had been abolished, he made a law that the magistrates in office should each nominate one of the knights who possessed not less than one million sesterces, and that the plebs should then fill the vacancies in the tribuneship from this list, with the understanding that, if the men desired to be senators later, they might do so, or otherwise they should return again to the equestrian order.

When the province of Asia was in dire need of assistance on account of earthquakes, he paid into

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1 At the Feriae Latinae.
2 i.e. the "hairy" star.
3 Cf. xlviii. 43, 4.
4 Praefectus moribus.
καὶ ἀρχοῦτα οἱ ἐκ τοῦ κλῆρου, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἀἱρετοὺς, ἐπὶ δύο ἐτη̜ν προσέταξε.

4 Κακῶς τέ ποτε τοῦ Ἀπουλείου 1 καὶ τοῦ Μαῖ-κήνου ἐν δικαστηρίῳ τινὶ μοιχείας, οὐχ ὅτι τι 2 καὶ αὐτὸι ὑβρίκεσαν ἀλλ' ὅτι τῷ κρινόμενῳ σπούδῇ συγνέτο, ἀκούοντων ἕλθε τε (ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον), καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐδρα καθιζότας δεινῶν μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπράξεν, ἀπειπῶν δὲ τῷ κατηγόρῳ μήτε τοὺς συγγενεῖς μήτε τοὺς ἰδίους φίλους αὐτοῦ προπηλακίζειν ἀνέστην. καὶ αὐτὸν διὰ τε ταύτα καὶ διὰ τὰ ἄλλα ἀνδραῖς τε τέ συντελείας ἐπίμηταν, καὶ τῶ τοῖς τε ἄγνωσι και ταῖς 3 ἀνάνδροις καὶ συνθεὰςαυτοῖς τοὺς ἄλλους) καὶ συνδεπνεῖν (ἐν τοῖς γενεβλίοις) αὐτοῦ δούναι, οὐ γὰρ ἔξην οὐδέτερον.

31 Ὡς δ' οὖν 4 ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ὁνπερ που (δι') ἀρετὴν ἀλλ' οὐ (δι') ἀνάγκην τινὰ ἐγκατα, ἐτεθνηκεί, καὶ συνεργοῦν πρὸς τὰ πράγματα πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τῇ τιμῇ καὶ τῇ δυνάμει προφέροντος, ὥστε καὶ (ἐν καιρῷ) καὶ άνευ φθόνου καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς πάντα διάγεσθαι, ἔδειτο, τὸν Τιθέριον καὶ ἀκοὸν προσε-εἰλετο. οἱ γὰρ ἐγγονοι αὐτοῦ ἐν παισιν ἐτι καὶ 2 τότε ἦσαν. καὶ προαποστάσαις καὶ ἐκείνου τῆς γυναίκας, καίτοι τοῦ τῆς Ἀγρίππου θυγατέρα (ἐξ ἄλλης τινὸς γαμετῆς) οὔταν, καὶ τέκνων τὸ μὲν ἑδρ θέφουσαν τὸ δὲ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχοσαν, τῆν τε Ἰουλίαν οἱ ἡγγύσει 5 καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Παννονίους αὐτὸν ἐξέπεμψε: τέως μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Ἀγρίππαν

1 Ἀπουλείου M, Ἀπουλίου V Χιφ.
2 τί M, om. V.
3 ταῖς V, τοῖς M.
4 δ' οὖν Pflugk., γοῦν VM.
5 ἡγγύσει V, ἐγγύσει M.

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the public treasury from his private funds the amount of its annual tribute and assigned to it for two years a governor chosen by lot and not appointed.

On one occasion, when Apuleius and Maecenas were subjected to abuse in court when a case of adultery was being tried, not because they had behaved wantonly themselves, but because they were actively aiding the man on trial, Augustus entered the court-room and sat in the praetor's chair; he took no harsh measures, but simply forbade the accuser to insult either his relatives or his friends, and then rose and left the room. For this action and others the senators honoured him with statues, paid for by private subscription, and also by giving bachelors and spinsters the right to behold spectacles and to attend banquets along with other people on his birthday; for neither of these things had been permitted previously.

When now Agrippa, whom he loved because of his excellence and not because of any kinship, was dead, Augustus felt the need of an assistant in the public business, one who would far surpass all the others in both rank and influence, so that he might transact all business promptly and without being the object of envy and intrigue. Therefore he reluctantly chose Tiberius; for his own grandsons were still boys at this time: He first made him, as he had made Agrippa, divorce his wife, though she was the daughter of Agrippa by a former marriage and was bringing up one child and was about to give birth to another; and having betrothed Julia to him, he sent him out against the Pannonians. This people had for a time been quiet through fear of
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φοβηθέντες ἡσύχασαν, τότε δὲ τελευτήσαντος
3 αὐτοῦ ἐπαιεστήσαν, καὶ σφας ὁ Τιβέριος, πολλὰ
μὲν τῆς χώρας πορθήσας πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς
ἀνθρώπους κακώσας, ἐχειρώσατο, τοῖς Σκορδί-
σκοις, ὁμόροις τε αὐτῶν καὶ ὁμοσκεύοις ὅσι, συμμάχοις ὅτι μάλιστα χρησάμενος. καὶ τά τε
ὅπλα σφῶν ἀφείλετο, καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας τοῦ πλείον
4 ἐπ’ ἐξαγωγῆ ἀπέδοτο, καὶ αὐτῶ διὰ ταῦτα ἡ
μὲν βουλή τά γε ἐπινίκα ἐψηφίσατο, ὁ δ’ Αὐ-
γουστος ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν ἑορτάσαι, τὰς
dὲ τιμᾶς τὰς ἐπινίκιας ἀντέδωκε.

32 Τὸ δ’ αὗτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ Δρούσῳ συννέβη. τῶν
τε γὰρ Συγάμβρων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτῶν διὰ
τε τὴν τοῦ Ἀυγούστου ἀπουσίαν καὶ διὰ τὸ3 τοὺς
Γαλάτας, μὴ ἐθελοδουλείν πολεμωθέντων σφίσι, τὸ τε ὑπῆκοον προκατέλαβε, τοὺς πρώτους αὐτοῦ,
προφάσει τῆς ἐορτῆς ἢν καὶ νῦν περὶ τὸν τοῦ
Ἀυγούστου βωμὸν ἐν Δουνδούνῳ τελοῦσι, μετα-
πεμψάμενος, καὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς τηρήσας τὸν
2 Ῥήνου διαβαίνοντας ἀνέκοψε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
ἐς τε τὴν τῶν Οὐσίπτετῶν κατ’ αὐτὴν τὴν τῶν
Βατάουων4 νήσου διέβη, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Συγαμβρίδα
ἐκείθεν ἐπιπαρελθὼν συχνὰ ἐπόρθησεν. ἐς τε
τὸν ὦκεανοῦ διὰ τοῦ Ῥήνου καταπλεύσας τοὺς τε
Φρισίους5 ὀκειώσατο, καὶ ἐς τὴν Χαυκίδα διὰ
τῆς λίμνης ἐμβαλῶν ἐκινδύνευσε, τῶν πλοίων
ὑπὸ6 τῆς τοῦ ὦκεανοῦ παλιρροιας ἐπὶ τοῦ ξηροῦ

1 σκορδίσκοις Μ, κορδίσκοις V.
2 γε Η. Steph., τε VM.
3 τὸ supplied by R. Steph.
4 Βατάουων Leunel., Πατάουων VM.
5 Φρισίους Bk., φρεισίους VM.
6 ὑπὸ Rk., ἐπὶ VM.

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Agrippa, but now after his death they had revolted. Tiberius subdued them after ravaging much of their country and doing much injury to the inhabitants, making as much use as possible of his allies the Scordisci, who were neighbours of the Pannonians and were similarly equipped. He took away the enemy's arms and sold most of the men of military age into slavery, to be deported from the country. For these achievements the senate voted him a triumph, but Augustus did not permit him to celebrate it, though he granted him the triumphal honours instead.

Drusus had this same experience. The Sugambri and their allies had resorted to war, owing to the absence of Augustus and the fact that the Gauls were restive under their slavery, and Drusus therefore seized the subject territory ahead of them, sending for the foremost men in it on the pretext of the festival which they celebrate even now around the altar of Augustus at Lugdunum. He also waited for the Germans to cross the Rhine, and then repulsed them. Next he crossed over to the country of the Usipetes,\(^1\) passing along the very island of the Batavians, and from there marched along the river to the Sugambrian territory, where he devastated much country. He sailed down the Rhine to the ocean, won over the Frisians, and crossing the lake,\(^2\) invaded the country of the Chauci, where he ran into danger, as his ships were

\(^1\) The Usipetes or Usipii dwelt at this time just east of the Rhine and north of the Lupia (Lippe).

\(^2\) Some have taken this to be the Zuyder Zee (Lacus Flevo), others the bay at the mouth of the Ems, east of which the Chauci lived. Presumably he would already have sailed through the Zuyder Zee to reach the Frisians.
3 γενομένων. καὶ τότε μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Φρισίων ἡ πεζὴ συνεστρατευκότων αὐτῷ σωθεὶς ἀνεχώρησε (χειμῶν γὰρ ἦν), καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἄρμην ἔλθων ἀστυνόμοις ἐπὶ τε Κυίντου Δίλιου καὶ ἐπὶ Παύλου Φαβίου υπάτων, καὶ περὶ τὰς στρατηγικὰς τιμὰς 33 ἔχων, ἀπεδέλθη άμα δὲ τῷ ἤρι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον αὐθεὶς ὄρμησε, καὶ τὸν τε Ἄρμην ἐπεραιώθη καὶ τοὺς Οὐσιτέτας κατεστρέψατο, τὸν τε Δουπίαν ἔξευξε καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν Συγάμβρων ἐνέβαλε, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς καὶ ἐς τὴν Χερουσκίδα προεχώρησε 2 μέχρι
2 τοῦ Οὐσιουργοῦ. 3 ἡδυνήθη δὲ τοῦτο ποιήσατι, ὅτι οἱ Συγάμβροι τοὺς Χάττους, μόνους, τῶν προσοίκων, ἡ ἐθελήσατάς 4 σφιοὺς συμμαχήσαι, ἐν ὁργῇ σχόντες πανδημεῖ ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἔξεστρατευσάν, καὶ 5 τῷ καὶρῷ τοῦτῳ ἐλαθε 6 τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν διέξελθων. καὶ διέβη ἂν καὶ τὸν Οὐσιουργοῦ, εἰ μὴ τῶν τε ἐπιτηδείων ἐστάσαι καὶ οἱ χειμῶν ἐνέστη καὶ τι καὶ σμήνος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτοῖς 3 ὀφθη. οὕτ' οὖν περαιτέρῳ διὰ ταῦτα προεχώρησε, καὶ ἐς τὴν φίλιαν ἀνακομιζόμενος δεινὸς ἐκινδύνευσεν οἱ γὰρ πολέμιοι ἄλλως τε ἐνεδραίς αὐτῶν ἐκάκωσαν, καὶ ποτε ἐς στενὸν καὶ κοῖλον χώριον κατακλείσαντες ὀλίγῳ διέφθειραν, καὶν πασοῦδι ἂν 7 ἀπώλεσαν, εἰ μὴ καταφρονήσαντες σφών ὡς καὶ ἐαλωκότων καὶ μίᾶς ἐπικοπῆς 8

1 φρισίων Μ, φρεισίων V.
2 προεχώρησε Leuncl., προσεχώρησε VM.
3 Οὐσιουργοῦ Leuncl., οὐσιουργοῦ VM. (and similarly just below).
left high and dry by the ebb of the ocean. He was saved on this occasion by the Frisians, who had joined his expedition with their infantry, and withdrew, since it was now winter. Upon arriving in Rome he was appointed praetor urbanus, in the consulship of Quintius Aelius and Paulus Fabius, although he already had the rank of praetor. At the beginning of spring he set out again for the war, crossed the Rhine, and subjugated the Usipetes. He bridged the Lupia,¹ invaded the country of the Sugambri, and advanced through it into the country of the Cherusci, as far as the Visurgis.² He was able to do this because the Sugambri, in anger at the Chatti, the only tribe among their neighbours that had refused to join their alliance, had made a campaign against them with all their population; and seizing this opportunity, he traversed their country unnoticed. He would have crossed the Visurgis also, had he not run short of provisions, and had not the winter set in and, besides, a swarm of bees been seen in his camp. Consequently he proceeded no farther, but retired to friendly territory, encountering great dangers on the way. For the enemy harassed him everywhere by ambuscades, and once they shut him up in a narrow pass and all but destroyed his army; indeed, they would have annihilated them, had they not conceived a contempt for them, as if they were already captured and needed only the finishing stroke, and so come

¹ The Lippe. ² The Weser.

4 ἑθῆσαντάς Bk., ἑθῆσαντάς VM. ⁶ καὶ Rk., καὶ VM.
⁵ ἐλαθεῖ M, διέλαθε V. ⁷ ἀν M, om. V.
⁸ ἐπικοπής M, ἐπισκοπής V.
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4 οντων ομοσε αυτους ασυντακτοι ἐχώρησαν. νυκηθέντες γαρ έκ τούτου ουκεθ’ ομοίως έθρασύνοντο, ἀλλα πόρρωθεν μεν σφας παρελύποισ, ἐγγυς δε ου προσήσαν, ὡστε των Δρούσου ἀντικαταφρονήσαντα αυτῶν εκεῖ τε ν' ὁ τε Λουπίας καὶ ο Ελίσου συμμίγνυνται φρούριον τι σφισιν ἐπιτείχισαι, καὶ ἔτερον εν Χάττοις παρ’ αὐτῷ τοῦ

5 Ρήμψ. διὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τάς τε ἐπινικίους τιμᾶς καὶ τό ἐπὶ κέλητος ες τό ἀστυ ἐσελάσαι, τῇ τε τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου έξουσία, ἐπειδὰν διαστρατηγήσῃ, χρήσασθαι ἐλαβε. το γαρ οὐνομα το τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐπεφημίσθη μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ἐκείνῳ τότε καὶ τῷ Τιβέριῳ πρότερον, οὐ μέντοι παρὰ τοῦ Ἀνγούστου ἔδοθη, καὶπερ αὐτοῦ ἀπ’ ἀμφότερων τῶν ἐργών τοῦ ἄριθμον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως αὐξήσαντος.

34 'Εν φ’ δ’ οὖν ο Δρούσους ταῦτ’ ἐπραττεν, ἦ τε πανήγυρες ἦ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ αὐτοῦ προσήκουσα πολυτελεστάτη ἐποιήθη, καὶ τὰ γενέθλια τὰ τοῦ Ἀνγούστου καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀλλή

2 πόλει πολλαχόθι θηρίων σφαγαῖς ἐτιμήθη. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, καίτοι μὴ ψηφισθέν, εν πᾶσιν ὡς εἰπεῖν τοῖς ἔτεοι πρὸς τίνος τῶν ἀεὶ στρατηγοῦντον ἐγίγνετο; τὰ δὲ δὴ Ἀνγουστάλια, ἀ καὶ νῦν ἀγεται, τότε πρῶτον ἐκ δόγματος ἐτελέσθη.

3 "Ο τε Τιβέριος τοὺς τε Δελμάτας νεοχωρώσαντας καὶ τοὺς Παννονίους μετὰ τοῦτο πρός τε τὴν ἐκείνου καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πλείονος στρατοῦ ἀπουσίαν νεωτερίσαντας ἐχειρώσατο, πολεμοῦν τε ἀμα

1 ασύντακτοι M, ασύντακτον V.
2 ἦ M, ἦν V.
3 πρότερον οὐ Leuncl., οὐ πρότερον VM.

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to close quarters with them in disorder. This led to their being worsted, after which they were no longer so bold, but kept up a petty annoyance of his troops from a distance, while refusing to come nearer. Drusus accordingly conceived a scorn of them in his turn and fortified a stronghold against them at the point where the Lupia and the Eliso unite, and also another among the Chatti on the bank of the Rhine. For these successes he received the triumphal honours, the right to ride into the city on horseback, and to exercise the powers of a proconsul when he should finish his term as praetor. Indeed, the title of imperator was given him by the soldiers by acclamation as it had been given to Tiberius earlier; but it was not granted to him by Augustus, although the number of times the emperor himself gained this appellation was increased as the result of the exploits of these two men.

While Drusus was thus occupied, the festival belonging to his praetorship was celebrated in the most costly manner; and the birthday of Augustus was honoured by the slaughter of wild beasts both in the Circus and in many other parts of the city. This was done almost every year by one of the praetors then in office, even if not authorised by a decree; but the Augustalia, which are still observed, were then for the first time celebrated in pursuance of a decree.

Tiberius subdued the Dalmatians, who began a rebellion, and later the Pannonians, who likewise revolted, taking advantage of the absence of himself and the larger part of his army. He made war

1 The Alme, uniting with the Lippe at Paderborn. The usual classical form of the name is Aliso.
2 That is, to celebrate an ovatio.
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ἀμφοτέροις, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν τῇ τοτὲ δὲ τῇ μεθιστάμενος, ὡστε καὶ τῶν ἄθλων τῶν αὐτῶν τῷ Δροὺσῳ 4 τυχεῖν. κάκ τούτου καὶ ἡ Δελματία 2 τῇ τοῦ Ἀγούστου φρουρᾶ, ὡς καὶ ὅπλων τινῶν ἂεὶ καὶ δι' ἑαυτὴν καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν Παννονίων γειτονίαν δειμένη, παρεδόθη.

5 Οὕτω μὲν δὴ ταύτ' ἐπρασσόν ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις χρόνοις Οὐσολογαίσης 3 Ῥαξιθ Βησσάρους, ἱερεύς τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς Διονύσου, προσεποιήσατο τίνας πολλά δειμάσας, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἀποστάς τον τε 'Ρασκύπορων τοῦ τοῦ Κότους υἱὸν μικήσας ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὸν θείον αὐτοῦ τὸν 'Ρυμητάλκην μετὰ ταύτα ἀμαχεὶ γυμνώσας τῶν δυνάμεων τῇ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ 5 δόξῃ φυγεῖν ἐποίησε, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιδιώκων ἐς τε τὴν Χερσόνησον ἐνέβαλε

6 καὶ δεινῶς αὐτὴν ἐλυμήματο. ὡς οὖν οὗτος τε ταύτ' ἐποίη καὶ οἱ Σιαληταὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐκακούργοιν, Λούκιος Πίσον ἐκ Παμφυλίας, ἡς ἰρχε, προσετάχθη σφίς καὶ προαναχωρησάντων οἰκατε τῶν Βησσάρων ἐπειδή ἐπυνθάνοντο αὐτὸν προσίοντα, ἐς τε τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἀφίκετο, καὶ ἡπτήεις τὸ πρῶτον ἀντεπεράτης, καὶ ἐκεῖνην τε καὶ τὴν τῶν προσχώρων τῶν συνεπαναστάτων

7 σφίσιν ἐπόρθησε. καὶ τότε τοὺς μὲν ἑθελοντὰς προσθέμενος 6 τοὺς δ' ἄκοντας ἐκπλήξας, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐκ παρατάξεως συνενεχθεις, πάντας αὐτοὺς ὑπηγάγετο, καὶ μετὰ τούτο νεοχμώσαντας τινὰς αὐτῶν αὕριος κατεδουλώσατο. καὶ αὐτῷ διὰ ταύτα καὶ ἱερομηνίαι καὶ τιμαὶ ἐπιφάνειαν ἐδόθησαν.

1 ἄθλων Βκ., ἄλλων ΒΜ. 2 Δελματία St., δαλματία VM. 3 Οὐσολογαίσης Reim., βουλογαίσης ΒΜ. 4 Βησσάρος V, βεσσόσ M. 5 θεόν Βκ., θείον ΒΜ. 6 προσθέμενος Oddey, προσθεμένους ΒΜ.

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upon both of them at once, shifting now to one front and now to the other. As a result of his success he gained the same prizes as Drusus. After this Dalmatia was given over into the keeping of Augustus, because of the feeling that it would always require armed forces both on its own account and because of the neighbouring Pannonians.

These men, then, were thus engaged. At this same period Vologaesus, a Bessian from Thrace and a priest of the Dionysus worshipped by that people, gained a following by practising many divinations, and with these adherents revolted. He conquered and killed Rhascyporis, the son of Cotys, and afterwards, thanks to his reputation for supernatural power, he stripped Rhoemetalces, the victim's uncle, of his forces without a battle and compelled him to take flight. In pursuit of him he invaded the Chersonese, where he wrought great havoc. Because of these deeds of his and because of the injuries the Sialetae were causing to Macedonia, Lucius Piso was ordered to proceed against them from Pamphylia, where he was governor. The Bessi, now, when they heard that he was drawing near, retired homeward ahead of him. So he came into their country, and though defeated at first, vanquished them in turn and ravaged both their land and that of the neighbouring tribes which had taken part in the uprising. At this time he reduced all of them to submission, winning over some with their consent, terrifying others into reluctant surrender, and coming to terms with others as the result of battles; and later, when some of them rebelled, he again enslaved them. For these successes thanksgivings and triumphal honours were granted him.
35 Ἐν ὧδ' οὖν ἐκεῖνα ἐγίγνετο, οἱ Αὐγουστοὶ ἀπογραφάς τε ἔποιήσατο, πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα οἱ καθάπερ τις ἱδιώτης ἀπογραψάμενοι, καὶ τὴν Βουλὴν κατελέξατο. ὅρων δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἄει συχνοὶ συνελέγοντο, ἐκέλευσε τὰ δόγματα αὐτῆς καὶ ἔν ἐλάττοσιν ἡ τετρακοσίας γέγραφαι· οὐ γὰρ ἔξην
2 τινα ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν ἀλλως κυροῦσθαι. ἐπειδὴ τε ἀργύριον αὕτης ἐς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ ¹ καὶ ἐκεῖνη καὶ ὁ δήμος συνεσήγεγκαι, ἐαυτοῦ μὲν οὐδεμίαν, Τιμείας δὲ δημοσίας καὶ προσέτη καὶ Ὀμονοίας Εἰρήνης τε ἔστησεν. ἵνα τε γὰρ ὡς ἐπείν καὶ ἐπὶ πάση προφάσει τοῦτ' ἐποίον, καὶ τέλος καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἑτούς ἡμέρα οὐκέτι ἰδία που κατέβαλ- 
3 λον αὐτὸ, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ προσώπους ὁ μὲν πλεῖον οἱ δὲ ἐλαττον οἴκιδοσαν. καὶ ὁς προσθείς ἄν ἐπερον τοσοῦτον ἥ καὶ πλέον ἀντεδίδου, οὐχ ὅπως τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοίς. ἡδη δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνο ἦκονα, ὅτι καὶ ἄλλο τι ἀργύριον ἐκ λογίου τινὸς ἕ καὶ ὅνειρατος παρά τῶν προστυχον- 
των οί, ὡς καὶ προσαιτών, ἐν μιᾷ τοῦ ἑτος ἠμέρα ἐλάμβανε.
4 Καὶ τούτῳ μὲν, εἰ γε τῷ πιστῶν, οὔτω παραδέ- 
δοται· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτεί ἐκείνῳ τὴν τε Ἰουλίαν τῷ 
Τιβερίῳ συνφίκεσε, καὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν τὴν ἄδελ-
φὴν ἀποθανόσαν προέθετο (ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰουλιείου ² 
ἡρῶν, παραπετάσατο καὶ τότε (ἐπὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ)
5 χρησάμενος. καὶ αὐτὸς τε ἐκεῖ τὸν ἑπτάφιον εἶπε, καὶ ὁ Δρούσος ἐπὶ τοῦ βῆματος· δημόσιον γὰρ τὸ πένθος ἀλλαξαμένων τὴν ἐσθήτα τῶν 
βουλευτῶν ἐγένετο. καὶ τὸ μὲν σώμα αὐτῆς οἱ

¹ αὐτοῦ Zon., ἐαυτοῦ VM.
² Ἰουλιείου Dind., Ιουλιου VM.
While these events were occurring, Augustus b.c. 11 took a census, making a list of all his own property like any private citizen; and he also made a roster of the senate. As he saw that sometimes there were not many present at the meetings of that body, he ordered that its decrees should be passed even when less than four hundred were present; for hitherto no decree could have validity if passed by a smaller number. When the senate and the people once more contributed money for statues of Augustus, he would set up no statue of himself, but instead set up statues of Salus Publica, Concordia, and Pax. The citizens, it seems, were nearly always and on every pretext collecting money for this same object, and at last they ceased paying it privately, as one might call it, but would come to him on the very first day of the year and give, some more, some less, into his own hands; and he, after adding as much or more again, would return it, not only to the senators but to all the rest. I have also heard the story that on one day of the year, following some oracle or dream, he would assume the guise of a beggar and would accept money from those who came up to him.

This is the tradition, whether credible to any one or not. That year he gave Julia in marriage to Tiberius, and when his sister died, he caused her body to lie in state in the shrine of Julius; and on this occasion also he had a curtain over the corpse. He himself delivered the funeral oration there, and Drusus delivered one from the rostra; for the mourning was publicly observed and the senators had changed their dress. Her body was carried in

1 Cf. chap. 28, 3.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

γαμβροὶ ἐξήνεγκαν, τὰ δὲ δὴ ψηφισθέντα αὐτῇ οὐ πάντα ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐδέξατο.

36 Καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ ὅ τε ἱερεύς τοῦ Δίως πρῶτον μετὰ τὸν Μεροῦλαν ἀπεδείχθη, καὶ τοὺς ταμίας τὰ δόγματα τὰ ἑκάστοτε γιγνόμενα διὰ φυλακῆς ποιοῦσθαι ἐκελεύσθη, ἐπειδὴ οὐ τε δὴ-

μαρχοὶ καὶ οἱ ἀγορανόμοι οἱ πρότερον αὐτὰ ἐπι-

tεταμμένοι ἃ διὰ τῶν υπηρετῶν τούτῳ ἐπράττον, καὶ τις ἐκ τούτου καὶ διαμαρτία καὶ ταραχὴ ἐγένετο.

2 Ἔψηφίσθη μὲν οὖν τὸν Ἰανῶν τὸν Γέμινων ὡς καὶ πεπαυμένων τῶν πολέμων (ἀνέκωτο γάρ) κλεισθῆραι, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκλείσθην· οὐ τε γάρ Δακοὶ τὸν Ἰστρον πεπηγότα διαβὰντες λείαν ἐκ τῆς Παννονίας ἀπετέμοντο, καὶ οἱ Δελμάται 3

πρὸς τὰς ἐσπραξίς τῶν χρημάτων ἐπανέστησαν.

3 καὶ τούτους μὲν ὁ Τιβέριος ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας, ἐς ἣν μετὰ τοῦ Αὐγοῦστου ἐσεληλύθει, καταπεμφθεῖς ἀνεκτήσατο, 4 τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν Κελτῶν τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ τῶν Χάττων (πρὸς γάρ τοὺς Συγάμβρους

μετέστησαν, καὶ τῆς 5 χώρας αὐτῶν, ἥν οἰκεῖν παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἰλήφεσαν, ἐξανέστησαν) ὁ Δροῦσος

4 τὰ μὲν, ἐκάκωσε τὰ (δὲ) ἐχειρώσατο... καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ ἐς τῆς Ῥώμης σὺν τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἀνεκο-

μίσθησαν (ἐν γάρ τῇ Δούνγουνίδι 6 τὰ πολλὰ ὦτος 7 ἐγγυθέν τοῖς Κελτοῖς ἐφεδρεύων διέτριβε), καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις ἐψηφίστῳ ἡ καὶ ἄλλως καθήκοντα ἡν γενέσθαι, ἐπετέλεσαν.

1 τὰ supplied by Rk.
2 ἐπιτεταμμένοι R. Steph., ἐπιγεγραμμένοι VM.
3 Δελμάται St., δαλμάται VM.
4 ἀνεκτήσατο Pflugk, ἀνεστήσατο VM.
BOOK LIV

the procession by her sons-in-law; but not all the B.C. 11
honours voted for her were accepted by Augustus.

At this same period the priest of Jupiter was
appointed for the first time since Merula,¹ and the
quaestors were ordered to preserve the decrees
passed at various times, inasmuch as the tribunes
and aediles, who had previously been entrusted with
this duty, were performing it through their assistants,
and in consequence some mistakes and confusion
occurred.

It was voted that the temple of Janus Geminus,
which had been opened, should be closed, on the
ground that the wars had ceased. It was not closed,
however, for the Dacians, crossing the Ister on the
ice, carried off booty from Pannonia, and the Dalmatians rebelled against the exactions of tribute.
Against these people Tiberius was sent from Gaul,
whither he had gone in company with Augustus;
and he reduced them again to submission. The
Germans, particularly the Chatti, were either
harassed or subjugated by Drusus. The Chatti, it
seems, had gone to join the Sugambri, having
abandoned their own country, which the Romans
had given them to dwell in. ¹ Afterwards Tiberius
and Drusus returned to Rome with Augustus, who
had been tarrying in Lugdunensis much of the time,
keeping watch on the Germans from near at hand;
and they carried out whatever decrees had been
passed in honour of their victories or did whatever
else devolved upon them.

¹ See vol. ii. 477, and note.

² ῥῆς Rk., ῥῆς τε VM.
³ λουγδούνιδα R. Steph., λουγδούνιδα VM.
⁴ οὐτος Reim., οὗτος VM.
BOOK LV

Τάδε ἐνεστὶν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν Διώνος Ρωμαϊκῶν

a. Ὡς Δροῦσος ἀπέθανεν.
b. Ὡς τὸ Διονίας τέμενος καθιεράθη.
c. Ὡς τὸ Ἀγρίππου πέδιον καθιεράθη.
d. Ὡς τὸ διηρβιτάριον1 καθιεράθη.
e. Ὡς Τιβέριος ἐς Ρόδων ἀνεχώρησεν.
f. Ὡς ἡ Ἀὔγουστου ἀγορὰ καθιεράθη.
g. Ὡς ὁ τοῦ Ἀρεως νάδος ὤν αὐτῇ ὥν καθιεράθη.
h. Ὡς Λαύκιος Καίσαρ καὶ Γάιος Καίσαρ ἀπέθανον.
i. Ὡς Αὔγουστος Τιβέριος ἐποιήσατο.
j. Ὡς Διολία παρῆνεσεν Αὔγουστῳ φίλανθρωπότερον ἀρχεῖν.
k. Περὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ ὡς οἱ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ χρῆματα
dιοικήσωντες κατέστησαν.
'l. Ὡς οἱ νυκτοφύλακες κατέστησαν.
v. Ὡς Δελμάταις καὶ Παννονίοις Τιβέριος ἐπολέμησεν.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἐτη ἐπτακαίδεκα, ἐν ὃις ἁρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμοῦμενοι
οἶδε ἐγένοντο

Νέρων Κλαύδιος Τίβ. ν. Δροῦσος ὑπ.
Τ.2 Κυλλικτός Τ. ν. Κριστίνος
Γ. Μάρκιος Δ. ν.3 Κηνσωρίνος ὑπ.
Γ. Ἀσίνυνοι4 Γ. ν. Γάλλος
Τίβ. Κλαύδιος5 Τιβ. ν. Νέρων τὸ β’ ὑπ.9
Γν.6 Καλπούρνιος Γν.7 ν. Πίσιων8
Δέκιμος Λαλίλιος Δέκιμος ν. Βάλβος ὑπ.
Γ. Ἀντίστιος Γ. ν. Οὐέτερ

---

1 διηρβιτάριον Bs., δειρβιτάριοι M.
2 T. Bs., Ti M. 3 Α. ν. supplied by Bs.
4 'Ασίνυνοι Bs., ἀσινυνοι M. 5 Κλαύδιος Xyl., κλ’ M.
6 Γν. supplied by H. Steph. 7 Γν. H. Steph., γ M.
BOOK LV

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

How Drusus died (chaps. 1, 2).
How the Precinct of Livia was dedicated (chap. 8).
How the Campus Agrippae was dedicated (chap. 8).
How the Diribitorium was dedicated (chap. 8).
How Tiberius retired to Rhodes (chap. 9).
How the Forum of Augustus was dedicated (lacking).
How the Temple of Mars therein was dedicated (chap. 10).
How Lucius Caesar and Gaius Caesar died (chap. 10 a).
How Augustus adopted Tiberius (chap. 13).
How Livia urged Augustus to rule more mercifully (chaps. 14–21).

About the legions and how men were appointed to manage the military funds (chaps. 23–25).
How the night-watchmen were appointed (chap. 26).
How Tiberius fought against the Dalmatians and Pannonians (chaps. 29–34).

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

B.C.
9 Nero Claudius Ti. F. Drusus, T. Quinctius T. F. Crispinus.
8 C. Marcius L. F. Censorinus, C. Asinius C. F. Gallus.
7 Ti. Claudius Ti. F. Nero (II), Cn. Calpurnius Cn. F. Piso.
6 Decimus Laelius Decimi F. Balbus, C. Antistius C. F. Vetus.

Πίσων Βοργχησί, πίσων τὸ δεύτερον Μ.
9 βπ. supplied by Bs.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Ἀγγουστος τῷ ιβ'

Λ. Κορνήλιος Π. υ. Σύλλασ "π.

Γ. Καλοβίσιος Γ. υ. Σαβίνος

Δ. Πασσάντος ... υ. Ρούφος 1 "π.

Λ. Κορνήλιος Δ. υ. Λεντούλος

Μ. Ουαλέριος Μ. υ. Μεσσάλας Μεσσαλίνος 3 "π.

Ἀγγουστος τῷ ιγ' "π.

Μ. Πλαύτιος Μ. υ. Σιλουανός

Κόσσως Κορνήλιος Γ. υ. Λεντούλος "π.

Λ. Καλπούρνιος Γ. υ. Πίσων

Γ. Καϊσάρ Αὐγούστου 4 "π.

Δ. Αιμίλιος Δ. υ. Παύλος

Π. Ουινίκιος 5 Μ. 6 "π. 8

Π. 'Αλφῆνος 7 "π. υ. Οὐάρος

Λ. Αὐλίος 9 Λ. υ. Λαμίλας 10 "π.

Μ. Σερούλιος 11 Μ. υ.

Σέξτος Αὐλίος 12 Κ. υ. Κάτως

Γ. Σέντιος Γ. υ. Σατουρνίνος 13 "π.

Δ. Ουαλέριος Ποίτου υ. Μεσσάλας Οὐάλαισιος 14 "π. 15

Γ. Κορνήλιος Δ. υ. Κίννας Μάγνους

Μ. Αιμίλιος Δ. υ. Λέπιδος "π.

Λ. Ἀρραύντιος Δ. υ. "π.

Ἀδλ. 16 Δικήνιος Ἀδλ. υ. 17 Νέρους 18 Σιλιανός 19 "π. 22

Κ. Κακίλιος 20 Κ. υ. 21 Μετέλλος Κρητικός

Μ. Φούριος 23 Μ. 24 υ. Κάμιλλος

Σέξ. Νάνιος 25 Γ. υ. 26 Κυηντιλιανός "π.

Ταύτα μὲν ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Ἰούλλου 27 Ἀυτωνίου καὶ ἐπὶ Φαβίου Μαξίμου ὑπάτων ἐγένετο, 28 τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἐτεί δῷ Δροῦσος μετὰ Τίτον Κριστίνου

1 Λ. Κορνήλιος ... υ. Ρούφος supplied by Xyl. and Bs.
2 Λ. supplied by R. Steph.
3 Μεσσαλίνος Mommsen, ἂς Μεσσαλίνος Μ.
4 Αὐγούστου Reim., ἄγουστος τοῦ Μ.
5 Οὐινίκιος Bs., οὐινίκιος ἂς μινικιος Μ. 8 Μ. Xyl., υ. Μ.
6 'Αλφῆνος Bs., ἀλφῆνος ἂς ἀλφῆνος Μ.
7 Οὐάρος υ. Μ., υ ὄραρος Μ.
8 Λ. Αὐλίος R. Steph., λαίλιος Μ. 10 Λαμίας R. Steph., ταμίας Μ.
9 Σερούλιος R. Steph., σερούλιος Μ. 12 Αὐλίος Bs., αἰμίλιος Μ.
10 Σατουρνίνος Leuncel., σατουρνίνος Μ.
11 ὑπ. supplied by Bs. 16 Ἀδλ. Bs., αδλος Μ.
12 378
BOOK LV

B.C.
5 Augustus (XII), L. Cornelius P. F. Sulla.
4 C. Calvisius C. F. Sabinus (II), L. Passienus . . . F. Rufus.
2 Augustus (XIII), M. Plautius M. F. Silvanus.
1 Cossus Cornelius Cn. F. Lentulus, L. Calpurnius Cn. F. Piso.

A.D.
1 C. Caesar Augusti F., L. Aemilius L. F. Paulus.
2 P. Vinicius M. F., P. Alfenus P. F. Varus.
3 L. Aelius L. F. Lamia, M. Servilius M. F.
4 Sextus Aelius Q. F. Catus, C. Sentius C. F. Saturninus.
5 L. Valerius Potiti F. Messalla Volesus, Cn. Cornelius L. F. Cinna Magnus.
6 M. Aemilius L. F. Lepidus, L. Arruntius L. F.
7 A. Licinius A. F. Nerva Silianus, Q. Caecilius Q. F. Metellus Creticus.
8 M. Furius M. F. Camillus, Sex. Nonius C. F. Quintilianus.

The events related happened in the consulship of B.C. 9
Lullus Antonius and Fabius Maximus. In the follow-
ing year Drusus became consul with Titus Crispinus,
1 Or P., if we follow the form given in the Fasti Capitolini.

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17 Ἀβλ. vi. supplied by Bs. 18 Νέρωνας R. Steph., οὔερνας M.
19 Σιλιανὸς Bs., σιλιανὸς M. 20 K. Καικιλίος Χυλ., κ’ καικίλιος M.
21 K. vi. supplied by Bs. 22 ζπ. supplied by Bs.
23 φοῦρνος Χυλ., φοῦρνος M.
24 Instead of M. vi. Bs. would read Π. vi. See Fasti Capitol.
25 Νόνιος H. Steph., νόνιος M.
26 Λ. vi. Leucel., γ. vi. M. 27 Ιουλλους Bs., Ιουλλου M.
28 The words ταύτα . . . ἐγένετο appear at the end of liv. in VM; Bk. placed here. V breaks off at this point; cf. pref. to vol. i. p. xxv.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

υπάτευσε, καὶ αὐτῷ σημεία οὐκ ἀγαθὰ συνηνέχθη: πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα καὶ χειμώνι καὶ κεραυνοίς, πολλοί δὲ καὶ ναοὶ ἐφθάρρησαν, ὡστε καὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τῶν τε συννάων αὐτοῦ κα-
κωθῆναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐφρούτισε τι αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐς τε τῆν τῶν Χάττων ἐσέβαλε καὶ προῆλθε μέχρι τῆς Σουνθίας, τὴν τε ἐν ποσὶν ὄνκ ἀταλαπάρως χειρούμενος καὶ τοὺς προσμυνῶντας οἱ οὐκ ἀναι-
μωτὶ κρατῶν. κάντεθεν πρὸς τε τὴν Χερουσκίδα 1 μετέστη, καὶ τὸν Οὐίσουργον 2 διαβάζεις ἡλάσε
3 μέχρι τοῦ Ἀλβίου, πάντα πορθῶν. ἐκεῖνον γάρ
(ῥεῖ καὶ ἐκ τῶν Οὐανδαλικῶν ὅρων, καὶ ἐς τὸν ὁκεανοῦ τὸν προσάρκτιον πολλῷ μεγέθει ἐκδι-
dωσιν) ἐπεχείρησε μὲν περαιώθηραι, οὐκ ἡδυνήθη
de, ἀλλὰ τρόπαια στήσας ἀνεχώρησε· γυνὴ γάρ
tis meições ἡ κατὰ αὐθρόπου φύσιν ἀπαντήσασα
αὐτῷ ἐφή "ποί δήτα ἐπείγη, Δροῦσε ἀκόρεστε; οὐ
πάντα σοι ταύτα ἰδεῖν πέπρωται. ἀλλ’ ἀπίθι-
καὶ γάρ σοι καὶ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τοῦ βίου τελευτὴ
4 ἡδὴ πάρεστι." θαυμαστὸν μεν οὖν τὸ τινα φωνήν
[παρὰ -οὐ δαιμονίου] ουκάυτην τῷ γενέσθαι, οὐ
μέντοι καὶ ἀπιστεῖν ἡξω· παραχρῆμα γὰρ ἀπέβη,
σπουδὴ τε ὑποστρέψαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ ὀδῷ
νόσῳ τινί, πρῶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥήγον ἐλθεῖν, τελευτή-
5 σαντος. καὶ μοι τεκμηριωθὲν τὸ λεχθὲν ὅτι καὶ
λύκοι περί τὸ στρατές ὑπὸ τὸν θάνατον
αὐτοῦ περιστρέφοντες ὀφνύστο, καὶ ναυνίσκοι δύο
diὰ μέσου τοῦ ταφρεύματος διυππεύνοντες ὀφθη-
san, τρηνός τε τῆς γυναικείως ἥκουσθη, καὶ ἀστε-
ρων διαδρομαῖ ἐγένοντο.

1 Χερουσκίδα Βκ., χερουσκίαν Μ.
2 Ούίσουργον Reim., οὐίσουργον Μ.
and omens occurred that were anything but favourable to him. Many buildings were destroyed by storm and by thunderbolts, among them many temples; even that of Jupiter Capitolinus and the gods worshipped with him was injured. Drusus, however, paid no heed to any of these things, but invaded the country of the Chatti and advanced as far as that of the Suebi, conquering with difficulty the territory traversed and defeating the forces that attacked him only after considerable bloodshed. From there he proceeded to the country of the Cherusci, and crossing the Visurgis, advanced as far as the Albis,\(^1\) pillaging everything on his way. The Albis rises in the Vandalic Mountains,\(^2\) and empties, a mighty river, into the northern ocean. Drusus undertook to cross this river, but failing in the attempt, set up trophies and withdrew. For a woman of superhuman size met him and said: “Whither, pray, art thou hastening, insatiable Drusus? It is not fated that thou shalt look upon all these lands. But depart; for the end alike of thy labours and of thy life is already at hand.” It is indeed marvellous that such a voice should have come to any man from the Deity, yet I cannot discredit the tale; for Drusus immediately departed, and as he was returning in haste, died on the way of some disease before reaching the Rhine. And I find confirmation of the story in these incidents: wolves were prowling about the camp and howling just before his death; two youths were seen riding through the midst of the camp; a sound as of women lamenting was heard; and there were shooting stars in the sky. So much for these events.

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\(^1\) The Elbe. \(^2\) The Riesengebirge.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

2. Ταύτα μὲν οὖν ἐσχέ, προπυθόμενος δ' ὁ Αὔγουστος ὧτι νοσεῖ (οὐ γὰρ ἦν πόρρῳ), τὸν Τιβέριον κατὰ τάχος ἔπεμψε· καὶ δὴ ἐμπνευσάν τε αὐτὸν κατέλαβε καὶ ἀποθανόντα ἐσ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκόμισε, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα μέχρι τοῦ χειμαδίου τοῦ στρατοῦ διὰ τῶν ἐκατοντάρχων καὶ διὰ τῶν χιλιάρχων, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ διὰ τῶν καθ' ἐκάστην πόλιν πρῶτων

2 βασιστάσας. καὶ αὐτοῦ (ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ) προτεθέντος διπλοῦς ὁ ἐπιτάφιος ἐλέχθη· ὁ τε γὰρ Τιβέριος ἐνταύθα αὐτὸν ἐπήνευσε, καὶ ὁ Αὔγουστος ἐν τῷ Φλαμίνιῳ ἱπποδρόμῳ ἔξεστράτευσε γὰρ, καὶ οὐκ ἦν οἱ ὄσιοι μὴ οὐ τὰ καθήκοντα (ἐπὶ τούς κατειρ- γαμένους) παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν εἰσοδο τοῦ πομηρίου

3 ἐσοδον ἐπιτελέσας. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔστε τὸ Ἀρείου πεδίου ὑπὸ τῶν ἰππέων, τῶν τε (ἐς τὴν ἱππάδα ἀκριβῶς τελοῦντων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βούλευτικοῦ γένους ὄντων, ἰμέχθη, κανταύθα πυρὶ δοθεῖς ἐς τὸ τοῦ Αὔγουστου μνημείου κατετέθη, Γερμανικὸς τε (μετὰ τῶν παίδων) ἐπονομασθεῖς, καὶ τιμᾶς καὶ εἰκόνων καὶ ἀψίδος κενοταφίου τε πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ Ῥήμον) λαβών.

4. Ὁ δὲ ὁ Τιβέριος τῶν τε Δελματῶν καὶ τῶν Παννονίων ὑποκινησάντων τι ἄθις ξύντος ἐτι αὐτοῦ κρατήσας, τὰ τε ἐπὶ τοῦ κέλητος ἐπινίκα ἐπεμψε, καὶ τοῦ δύμου τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ τοὺς δ' ἀλλοθι πολλαχόθι ἐδείπνυσε. καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἡ Λιονία μετὰ τῆς Ἰουλίας τᾶς ἡγναίκας εἰστὶ.
Augustus, upon learning of Drusus' illness before it was far advanced (for he was not far off), had sent Tiberius to him in haste. Tiberius found him still breathing, and on his death carried the body to Rome, causing the centurions and military tribunes to carry it over the first stage of the journey,—as far as the winter quarters of the army,—and after that the foremost men of each city. When the body had been laid in state in the Forum, two funeral orations were delivered: Tiberius pronounced a eulogy there in the Forum, and Augustus pronounced one in the Circus Flaminius. The emperor, of course, had been away on a campaign, and it was not lawful for him to omit the customary rites in honour of his exploits at the time of his entrance inside the pomerium.\(^1\) The body was borne to the Campus Martius by the knights, both those who belonged strictly to the equestrian order and those who were of senatorial family;\(^2\) then it was given to the flames and the ashes were deposited in the sepulchre of Augustus. Drusus, together with his sons, received the title of Germanicus, and he was given the further honours of statues, an arch, and a cenotaph on the bank of the Rhine itself.

Tiberius, while Drusus was yet alive, had overcome the Dalmatians and Pannonians, who had once more begun a rebellion, and he had celebrated the equestrian triumph,\(^3\) and had feasted the people, some on the Capitol and the rest in many other places. At the same time Livia, also, with Julia, had given a dinner to the women. And the same

\(^1\) He could not return the customary thanks to the gods at this time because he was in mourning; hence he remained outside the pomerium until his period of mourning should be at an end. \(^2\) Cf. liv. 2, 5. \(^3\) The ovatio.
5 ase. τὰ δ' αυτὰ ταύτα καὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ ἡτοιμάζετο· καὶ γε αἱ ἀνοχαὶ δεύτερον τὴν χάριν αὐτοῦ, πρὸς τὸ τὰ νικητήρια ἐν ἑκείναις αὐτὸν ἐορτάσαι, γεννήσεσθαι ἐμελλὼν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν προαπώλετο, ἢ δὲ δὴ Διονία εἰκόνων τε ἐπὶ παραμυθία ἐτυχε, καὶ ἐς
6 τὰς μητέρας τὰς τρὶς τεκούσας ἐσεγράφη. οἷς γὰρ ἄν τὸ δαίμονον, εἰτ' οὖν ἀνδρῶν εἰτε γυναικῶν, μὴ δὴ τοσαντάκις τεκνώσας, τούτων τισὶν ὁ νόμος, πρότερον μὲν διὰ τῆς βουλῆς νῦν δὲ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ταῦτα τρὶς διεγενηκότων δικαιώματα χαρίζεται, ὥστε σφᾶς μήτε τοῖς τῆς ἀπαιδίας ἐπιτιμίων ἐνέχεσθαι καὶ τὰ τῆς πολυπαιδίας
7 ἀθλα πλήν δλίγουν τινῶν καρποῦσθαι. καὶ αὐτὰ οὖν ἀνθρωποι μονὸν ἄλλα καὶ θεοὶ εὑρίσκονται, ἵν' ἂν τίς τι αὐτοῖς τελευτῶν καταλήπτη λαμβάνωσι.
3 Τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τοιούτῳ ἔστω, ὁ δ' Λύγουστος τάς τε τῆς γερουσίας ἐδρας ἐν ῥηταῖς ἡμέραις γίγνεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν (ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐδὲν πρότερον ἀκριβῶς περί αὐτῶν ἐτέτακτο καὶ τινες διὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις ὑστεριξον, δύο τούτων κατὰ μήνα κυρίας ἀπέδειξεν, ὥστε ἐς αὐτῶν ἐπάναγκες, οὕς γε καὶ ὁ νόμος
2 ἐκάλει, συμφωνοῦν· καὶ ὅτι βραγμὲν. μηδὲν ἠλλὰ μηδεμία σκῆψις τῆς ἀπουσίας αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχῃ, προσταγείες μήτε συνεπαρτήριον μὴ' ἅλλο μηδὲν τῶν προσηκοντῶν σφίσιν ἐν ἑκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ (γίγνεσθαι), τόν τε ἄριθμον τούτων ἐς τὴν κύρωσιν τῶν δογμάτων)

1 τρὶς Leuncl., τε τρὶς M. 3 ὁ δὲ supplied by Xyl. 2 τρὶς supplied by Xyl.
festivities were being prepared for Drusus; even the Feriae were to be held a second time on his account, so that he might celebrate his triumph on that occasion. But his untimely death upset these plans. To Livia statues were voted by way of consoling her and she was enrolled among the mothers of three children. For in certain cases, formerly by act of the senate, but now by the emperor's, the law bestows the privileges which belong to the parents of three children upon men or women to whom Heaven has not granted that number of children. In this way they are not subject to the penalties imposed for childlessness and may receive all but a few of the rewards offered for large families; and not only men but gods also may enjoy these rewards, the object being that, if any one leaves them a bequest at his death, they may receive it.

So much for this matter. As to Augustus, he ordered that the sittings of the senate should be held on fixed days. Previously, it appears, there had been no precise regulation concerning them and it often happened that members failed to attend; he accordingly appointed two regular meetings for each month, so that they were under compulsion to attend,—at least those of them whom the law summoned,—and in order that they might have no other excuse for being absent, he commanded that no court or other meeting which required their attendance should be held at that time. He also fixed by law the number of senators necessary for

1 See liii. 13, 2 and note.

2 Certain gods and goddesses (see Ulpian xxii. 6) might legally be named as heirs, but it appears that they had to fulfil the same conditions as the other heirs.
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ἀναγκαίον καθ' ἐκαστόν εἶδος αὐτῶν, ὡς γε ἐν κεφαλαίοις εἰπεῖν, διενομοθέτησε, καὶ τὰ ξημιώματα τοῖς μη δι' εὐλογοῦν τινα αἰτίαν τῆς συνε-
3 δρείας ἀπολειπομένοις ἐπημύξησεν. ἐπειδὴ τε πολ-
lὰ τῶν τοιούτων ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν ὑπευθύνων ἀτιμώρητα εἰσάχθη ἥγενεσθαι, κληροῦσθαὶ τε αὐτοὺς εἰ συχνοὶ τοῦτο ποιήσειαν, καὶ τὸν ἀεὶ πέμπτον λαχύντα ὀφλισκάνειν αὐτὰ ἐκέλευσε. τὰ τε ὀνο-
mατα συμπάντων τῶν Βουλευόντων ἐς λεύκωμα ἀναγράψας ἐξέθηκεν καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ νῦν κατ' ἐτος τοῦτο ποιεῖται. ταύτα μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς συμ-
φοιτήσεως αὐτῶν ἀνάγκη ἐπραξεν· εἰ δ' οὖν ποτε ἐκ συντυχίας τῶν μὴ συλλεχθείσων ὡσοῦ ἡ χρεία ἐκάστοτε ἐκάλει (πλὴν γὰρ ὅτι ὁσάκις ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ παρῇ, ἐν γε 1 ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡμέραις ἐς πάντα ὅλιγον τὸ τῶν ἄθροιζομένων πλῆθος καὶ τότε καὶ μετὰ ταύτα ἀκριβῶς ἐξητάζετο), ἐβου-
λεύνοντο μὲν καὶ ἤ γε γνώμη συνεγράφετο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τέλος τι ως κεκυρομένη ἐλάμβανεν, ἀλλὰ αὐκτῶρτας ἐγγύνετο, ὅπως φανερὸν τὸ βού-
5 λῆμα αὐτῶν ἤ τοιοῦτον γὰρ τὶ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦτον δηλοῖ ἐλληνίσαι γὰρ αὐτὸ καθ-
ἀπαξ ἀδύνατον ἐστὶ. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ εἰ ποτε ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ μὴ νεομισμένῳ ἡ ἡμέρα μὴ καθηκούσῃ, ἢ καὶ ἔξω νομίμων παραγγέλματος, ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἡθοποίησαν, ἢ καὶ ἐναντιωθέντων τινῶν δημάρχων τοῦ μὲν δόγμα oὐκ ἡδυνήθη γενέ-
σθαι, τὴν δὲ δὴ γνώμην σφῶν οὐχ ὑπέμεινον ἀπο-

1 γε Rk., τε Μ.
passing decrees, according to the several kinds of B.C. 9 decrees,—to state only the chief points of the matter; and he increased the fines of those who without good excuse stayed away from the sessions. And since many such offences had regularly gone unpunished owing to the large number of those who were liable to punishment, he commanded that if many were guilty, they should draw lots and one out of every five, according as the lot should fall, should incur the fine. He had the names of all the senators entered on a tablet and posted; and this practice, originating with him, is still observed each year. Such were the measures he took to compel the attendance of the senators; but if on any occasion, as the result of some accident, fewer assembled than the occasion demanded,—and it should be explained that at every session, except when the emperor himself was present, the number of those in attendance was accurately counted, both at that time and later; for practically every matter of business,—the senators would proceed with their deliberations and their decision would be recorded, though it would not go into effect as if regularly passed, but instead, their action was what was termed auctoritas, the purpose of which was to make known their will. For such is the general force of this word; to translate it into Greek by a term that will always be applicable is impossible. This same custom prevailed in case they ever assembled in haste at any but the usual place, or on any but the appointed day, or without a legal summons, or if by reason of the opposition of some of the tribunes a decree could not be passed and yet they were unwilling that their opinion should remain unknown;
κρυφθήναι, ἐνομίζετο· καὶ αὐτῇ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἡ κύρωσις κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπήγαγε καὶ ἡ ἐπίκλησις
6 ἡ τοῦ δόγματος ἐπεφέρετο. τούτῳ τε οὖν ἱσχυρῶς ἔπι πλείστον τοῖς πάλαι τηρηθέν ἐξήτησιν τρόπον τινά ἦδη γέγονε, καὶ τὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνου ἀγανακτισάντες ὅτι μηδεμίαν γυώμην,
καίτοι τῶν δημάρχων προτετιμημένου, ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐσέφερον, παρὰ μὲν τοῦ Ἀὐγοῦστου ἔλαβον αὐτὸ ποιεῖν, ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου ἀφηρέθησαν.

4 Ταῦτα τε οὖν καὶ τάλλα ἕντε ἐνομοθέτησεν, ἐς τέ το συνεδριόν ἐν λευκώμασι γεγραμμένα προεθῆκε πρὶν χρηματίσαι τι περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς μεθ’ ἐνὸς ἐτέρου ἐσελθοῦσιν ἀναγνώσαι ἐπέτρεψεν, ὅπως ἄν τι μὴ ἀρέσῃ αὐτῶς ἥ καὶ ἐτέρον τι βέλτιον συμβουλεύσαι δυνηθῶσιν εὗρω-2 σιν. οὕτω γάρ που δημοκρατικὸς ἡξίου εἶναι ὥστε τινὸς τῶν συστρατευσαμένων ποτὲ αὐτῷ συνηγορήματος παρ’ αὐτοῦ διεθέντος τὸ μὲν πρῶ-τον τῶν φίλων τινά, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἀσχολίᾳ οὖν, συνειπεῖν αὐτῷ κελεύσαι, ἔπειτ’ ἐπείδῃ ἐκεῖνος ὁργισθεῖς ἐφ’ “ἔγὼ μέντοι, ὀσάκις ἐπικουρίας χρείαν ἔσχες, οὐκ ἄλλον τινὰ ἀντ’ ἐμαυτοῦ σοι ἐπεμψα, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς πανταχὸ προεκινδύνευσά σου,” ἐς τε τὸ δικαστήριον ἐσελθεῖν καὶ συνηγορή-3 σαὶ οἶ. φίλῳ τέ τινι δίκην φεύγοντι συνεξητάσθη, προεπικοινώσας αὐτὸ τούτῳ τῇ γεροντίᾳ· καὶ ἐκεί-νόν τε ἐσώσε, καὶ τὸν κατήγορον αὐτοῦ οὖχ ὅπως

1 A supplied by Rk.
afterwards the resolution would be ratified according to established precedent and would receive the name of a decree. This method, strictly followed for a long period by the men of old time, has in a way already become null and void, as has also the special privilege of the praetors. For they, becoming indignant that they could bring no proposal before the senate, though they outranked the tribunes, received from Augustus the right to do so, but in the course of time were deprived of it.

These and the other laws which Augustus enacted at this time he had inscribed on tablets and posted in the senate before bringing them up for consideration, and he allowed the senators to enter the chamber in groups of two and read them, so that if any provision did not please them, or if they could advise anything better, they might speak. He was very desirous indeed of being democratic, as one or two incidents will illustrate. Once, when one of those who had campaigned with him asked him for his assistance as advocate, though he at first pretended to be busy and bade one of his friends speak in the man's behalf, yet when the petitioner became angry and said, "But I, whenever you had need of my assistance, did not send some one else to you in place of myself, but personally encountered dangers everywhere in your behalf," the emperor then entered the court-room and pleaded his friend's cause. He also stood by a friend who was defendant in a suit, after having first communicated his purpose to the senate; and he saved his friend, but was so far from being angry with the friend's ac-

1 It was now a senatus consultum, and no longer merely senatus auctoritas.
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δι' ὄργης ἐσχε καὶ περ πάνυ πολλῇ παρρησίᾳ Χρησάμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐθυνόμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς τρότοις ἀφήκεν, εἰπὼν ἀντικροσ 1 ὅτι ἀναγκαίᾳ σφίσιν ἡ παρρησία αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν πονηρίαν εἰη. Ἀλλούς γε μὴν ἔπιβουλεύειν οἱ μηνυθέντας 4 ἐκόλασε. καὶ ταμίας (ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ τῇ πρός τῇ πόλει) καὶ ἐν ἐτέρους τισὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας χωρίως ἀρχεῖν ἐποίησε· καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον ἔτη ἐγένετο.

Τότε μὲν οὐν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸν 5 τοῦ Δρούσου θάνατον, ὡσπερ εἶπον, ἐσελθεῖν, τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἔτει, ἐν ὃ Ἀσίνιώς τε Γάλλος καὶ Γάιος Μάρκιος ὑπάτευσαν, τὴν τε ἄφιξιν ἐποιήσατο καὶ τὴν δάφνην ἐς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Φερετρίου παρὰ τὸ 2 νομιζόμενον ἐσήνεγκε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδεμῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐφοτήν ἤγαγε, πολὺ πλεῖον ἐν τῷ τοῦ Δρούσου ὀλέθρῳ ἐξημώσθαι ἢ ἐν ταῖς νίκαις ὡφελήσθαι νομίζων: οἱ δὲ δὴ ὑπατοί τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις γίγνεται ἐποίησαν, καὶ ἐκ 3 τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τινὰς ἄλληλοις συνεβαλόν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' ὁ Λύγουστος, αὐτιαθέτων καὶ ἐκείνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁρχόντων ὡς ἐκ δεκασμοῦ τινος ἀποδεδειγμένων, τοῦτο μὲν οὔτε ἔξηλεγξεν οὔτ' ἁρχὴν προσεποιήσατο εἰδέναι. οὔτε γὰρ κολάσαι τινὰς οὔτ' αὐτ' συγγνώναι ἐλεγχθεῖσιν ἡθέλησεν τοὺς δὲ δὴ σπουδαρχιῶντας χρήματα (πρὸ τῶν ἁρχαιρεσίῶν ὡσπερ τι ἐνέχυρον) προὔητεσεν, ἐπὶ τῷ μηδὲν τοιούτῳ αὐτοῦς ποιῆσαι ἢ στερηθῆναι.

1 ἀντικροσ is omitted in M, but has been added in the margin by an early corrector who indicates its place as between εἴπων and ὅτι.

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cuser, though this man had indulged in the utmost frankness in his speech, that later on, when the same man appeared before him, as censor, for a scrutiny of his morals, the emperor acquitted him, saying openly that the other's frankness was necessary for the Romans on account of the baseness of the majority of them. However, he punished others who were reported to be conspiring against him. He also caused quaestors to serve along the coast near the city and in certain other parts of Italy; and this practice was followed for many years.

At the time in question he was unwilling, as I have stated,\(^1\) to enter the city because of Drusus' death; but the next year, when Asinius Gallus and Gaius Marcius were consuls, he made his formal return and carried the laurel, contrary to custom, into the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. He himself did not celebrate any festival in honour of the achievements mentioned, feeling that he had lost far more in the death of Drusus than he had gained in his victories; but the consuls performed the ceremonies usual on such occasions, among other things exhibiting combats between some of the captives. And later, when both they and the rest of the officials were accused of having secured their election by bribery, Augustus failed to investigate the matter, and furthermore pretended not even to know of it at all; for he was unwilling either to punish any of them or yet to pardon them if they were convicted. In the case of candidates for office, however, he demanded of them in advance of the elections a deposit of money on the understanding that they should forfeit this money in case they resorted to

\(^1\) In chap. 2.
4 τῶν δεδομένων. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν πάντες ἐπήνευσαν· ὅτι δὲ αὐτὶ ἐξὸν ὅν δούλον κατὰ δεσπότου βασανισθηναι ἐκέλευσεν, ὡσάκις ἂν χρεία τοιούτου τινὸς γένηται, τῷ δὴ δημοσίῳ αὐτὸν ἢ καὶ ἑαυτῷ πιπράσκεθαι, ὅπως ὡς ἀλλότριος τοῦ κρινομένου ὃν ἐξετάζηται, οἱ μὲν ἡτίωντο, ὅτι ὁ νόμος τῇ τοῦ δεσπότου μεταλλαγῇ καταλύεσθαι ἐμελλεν, οἱ δὲ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτὸ ἐφασκον εἶναι, ὅτι πολλοὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῶ ἐκεῖνο καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς συνίσταντο.

6 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ ταύτα τὴν τε ἡγεμονίαν, καὶ περ ἀφιεῖς, ὡς ἐλεγεν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ δέκα ἔτη τὰ δεύτερα ἐξεληλυθεῖ, ἀκὼν δὴθεν αὕτης ὑπέστη, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἐστράτευσε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τῇ ὁικείᾳ ὑπέμεινεν, ὃ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος τὸν Ῥήμον διεβη. φοβηθέντες οὖν αὐτοὺς οἱ βάρβαροι πλὴν τῶν Συγάμβρων ἐπεκηρυκεύσαντο, καὶ οὔτε τότε ἐτυχόν τινος (ὁ γὰρ Ἀὔγουστος οὐκ ἔφη σφίσιν ἄνευ ἐκείνων σπείσεσθαι) οὐθ' ὕστερον. ἐπεμψαν

2 καὶ αὐτοῦς μὲν ἐν τῇ ὁικείᾳ ὑπέμεινεν, ὃ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος τὸν Ῥήμον διεβη. φοβηθέντες οὖν αὐτοὺς οἱ βάρβαροι πλὴν τῶν Συγάμβρων ἐπεκηρυκεύσαντο, καὶ οὔτε τότε ἐτυχόν τινος (ὁ γὰρ Ἀὔγουστος οὐκ ἔφη σφίσιν ἄνευ ἐκείνων σπείσεσθαι) οὐθ' ὕστερον. ἐπεμψαν

3 μὲν γὰρ καὶ οἱ Σύγαμβροι πρέσβεις, τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐδέσσαν διαπράξασθαι τί ὡστε καὶ ἐκείνους πάντας, καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ ἐλλογόμοις ὄντας, προσαπολέσθαι· ὃ τε γὰρ Ἀὔγουστος συλλαβῶν αὐτοὺς ἐς πόλεις τινὰς κατέθετο, καὶ ἐκείνοι δυσανασχέτησαντες ἑαυτοὺς κατεχρήσαντο. καὶ τούτῳ χρόνον μὲν τινὰ ἤσύχασαν, ἐπειτ' ἐπὶ πολλῷ τὸ πάθημα σφῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀνταπε-
any illegal methods. This action of his was approved by all; but it was otherwise with another of his laws. As it was not permitted that a slave should be tortured for evidence against his master, he ordered that, as often as the necessity for such a course should arise, the slave should be sold either to the state or to him, in order that, being now no longer the property of the defendant, he might be examined. Some found fault with this, on the ground that the change of masters would in effect nullify the law; but others declared it to be necessary, because many were taking advantage of the old arrangement and conspiring against both the emperor himself and the magistrates.

After this, now that his second period of ten years had expired, Augustus once more accepted the supreme power,—though with a show of reluctance,—in spite of his oft-expressed desire to lay it down; and he made a campaign against the Germans. He himself remained behind in Roman territory, while Tiberius crossed the Rhine. Accordingly all the barbarians except the Sugambri, through fear of them, made overtures of peace; but they gained nothing either at this time,—for Augustus refused to conclude a truce with them without the Sugambri,—or, indeed, later. To be sure, the Sugambri also sent envoys, but so far were they from accomplishing anything that all these envoys, who were both many and distinguished, perished into the bargain. For Augustus arrested them and placed them in various cities; and they, being greatly distressed at this, took their own lives. The Sugambri were thereupon quiet for a time, but later they amply requited the Romans for their calamity.
4 δοσαν. ο' ούν Αὐγουστός τοῦτό τε οὔτως ἐποίησε, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀργύριον, οὕχ ὡς καὶ κεκρατηκόσι, καίτοι τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα καὶ αὐτὸς λαβὼν καὶ τῷ Τιβέριῳ δοῦσ, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸν Πάιον ἐν ταῖς γυμνασίαις τῶν πρῶτων συνεξεταξόμενον σφίσιν ἔσχον, ἐχαρίσατο.

5 τὸν δ' ούν Τιβέριον ἐς τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἀρχὴν ἀντί τοῦ Δρούσου προαγαγὼν τῇ τε ἐπικλήσει ἐκείνη ἐγαύρωσε καὶ ὑπατον αὐθίς ἀπεδείξε, γράμματά τε κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔθος, καὶ πρὶν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐσελθείν, ἐκθείναι πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἐποίησε, καὶ προσετέ καὶ τοὺς ἐπινικίοις ἐσέμυνεν' αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐκείνα μὲν οὔκ ἥθελησε πέμψαι, ἔς δὲ δὴ τὰ γενέθλια ἵπποδρόμιαν ἀιδίου ἔλαβε. τὰ τε τοῦ πωμηρίου ὁρία ἐπηύξησε, καὶ τὸν μῆνα τὸν Σεξτίλιον ἐπικαλούμενον Αὐγου-

6 στὸν ἀντωνόμασε'. τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων τὸν Ἀεττόμ- βριον οὕτως, ἐπειδήπερ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐγεγένητο, προσαγορεύσαι ἐθελησάντων ἐκείνων αὐτῶν προ-

7 Επὶ μὲν οὖν τούτως ἐγαύρωτο, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Μαικήνου τελευτήσαντος ἠλήσε. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπώγητο, ὅθεν καίπερ ἰππεῖ αὐτῷ ὄντι καὶ τὸ ἀστυ (ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐπέτρεψε, μάλιστα δὲ ὀσκάς ἀκρατότερῳ τῷ θυμῷ ἐχρήτο· τῆς τε γὰρ ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ ἀεὶ παρέ-

2 λυε καὶ ἐς τὸ ἥπιωτέρον μεθίστη. τεκμήριον δὲ, δικαζοῦντι ποτὲ αὐτῷ προσσατάς, καὶ ἰδῶν ὅτι

1 μῆνα R. Steph., μὲν μῆνα M.
2 ἀεὶ omitted by M, but added in margin by early corrector.
Besides doing this, Augustus granted money to the soldiers, not as to victors, though he himself had taken the title of imperator and had also conferred it upon Tiberius, but because then for the first time they had Gaius taking part with them in their exercises. So he advanced Tiberius to the position of commander in place of Drusus, and besides distinguishing him with the title of imperator, appointed him consul once more, and in accordance with the ancient practice caused him to post up a proclamation before entering upon the office. He also accorded him the distinction of a triumph; for he did not wish to celebrate one himself, though he accepted the privilege of having his birthday permanently commemorated by Circensian games. He enlarged the pomerium and changed the name of the month called Sextilis to August. The people generally wanted September to be so named, because he had been born in that month; but he preferred the other month in which he had first been elected consul and had won many great battles.¹

All these things filled him with pride; but he was grieved at the death of Maecenas. He had received many benefits at his hands, for which reason he had entrusted him, though but a knight, with the oversight of the city for a long period; but he had found him of especial service on occasions when his own temper was more or less uncontrollable. For Maecenas would always banish his anger and bring him to a gentler frame of mind. Here is an instance. Maecenas once came upon him as he was holding court, and seeing that he was on the point

πολλοὺς θανατώσεν μέλλοι, ἐπεχείρησε μὲν διώσασθαι τοὺς περιεστηκότας καὶ ἐγγύς οἱ προσελθεῖν, μὴ δυνηθεὶς δὲ ἐγραψεν ἐς γραμματεῖον "ἀνάστηθι ἢδη ποτέ, δήμιε," καὶ αὐτὸ ὡς καὶ ἔτερον τι ἐχον (ἐς τὸν κόλπον αὐτοῦ ἔρριψεν, ὡστ' ἐκεῖνον μήτ' ἀποκτεῖναι τινα καὶ

3 εὐθὺς ἐξαναστήναι. οὐ γὰρ ὅπως ἦγανάκτει τοῖς τοιούτοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔχαρεν ὅτι ὅσα αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τε τῆς ἐαυτοῦ φύσεως καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνάγκης καὶ παρὰ τὸ προσήκον ἐθυμοῦτο, ταῦτα

4 τῇ τῶν φίλων παρρησία διωρθοῦτο. μέγιστον δ' οὖν καὶ ἐκείνο τῆς τοῦ Μαικήνου ἀρετῆς δεῦμα ἦν, ὅτι τῷ τε Αὐγοῦστῳ, καὶ τοῖς πρὸς τὰς ὁμᾶς αὐτοῦ ἀνθιστάμενοι, ἥκειοτο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ἥρεσκετο, πλείστον τε παρ' αὐτῷ δυνηθεὶς, ὥστε πολλοῖς καὶ τιμᾶς καὶ ἄρχας δοῦναι, οὖν ἐξεφρώνησεν ἄλλα ἐν τῷ τῶν ἱππέων τέλει κατε-

5 βίῳ. τούτων τε οὖν ἔνεκα ἰσχυρῶς αὐτοῦ ὁ Αὐγοῦστος ἐπόθησε, καὶ ὅτι καὶ κληρονόμον αὐτὸν, καὶ περ ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικὶ δυσκολαίνων, κατελπε, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ πλὴν ἐλαχίστων ἐποιήσατο ἀν τὲ τινὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ δοῦναι τι ἐθελήσῃ ἄν τε καὶ μή. τοιούτως μὲν ὁ Μαικήνας ἐγένετο, καὶ

6 οὕτω τῷ Αὐγοῦστῳ ἔχρητο. πρῶτος τε κολυμβήθραν θερμοῦ ύδατος ἐν τῇ πόλει κατεσκεύασε, καὶ πρῶτος σημεῖα τινα γραμμάτων πρὸς τάχος

1 ἐν supplied by Reim. (and so Zon. cod. B).
of condemning many people to death, he attempted to push his way through the bystanders and get near him. When he was unable to do this, he wrote on a tablet, "Pray rise at last, executioner!" Then he threw the tablet into the lap of Augustus, as if it contained some indifferent matter, and the emperor imposed no death sentences, but arose and departed. Indeed, he not only was not displeased at such liberties, but was actually glad of them, because whenever he was led into unseemly outbursts of passion by his natural disposition or by the stress of his affairs, these were corrected by the frank speech of his friends. This also was a supreme proof of Maecenas' excellence, that he not only made himself liked by Augustus, in spite of resisting his impulsiveness, but also pleased everybody else, and though he had the greatest influence with the emperor, so that he bestowed offices and honours upon many men, yet he did not lose his poise, but was content to remain in the equestrian order to the end of his life. Not only for these reasons, then, did Augustus regret his loss exceedingly, but also because Maecenas, although vexed at the emperor's relations with his wife, had left him as his heir and had empowered him to dispose of all his property, with very few reservations, in case he wished to make gifts to any of his friends or otherwise. Such was the character of Maecenas and such was his treatment of Augustus. He was the first to construct a swimming-pool of warm water in the city, and also the first to devise a system of symbols to give speed in writing,¹ and

¹ This invention is usually ascribed to Tiro, Cicero's freedman; and Aquila is said to have made improvements upon his system.
8 Τιβέριος δὲ ἐν τῇ νομηνίᾳ ἐν ἡ ὑπατεύειν μετὰ Γναίου Πίσιωνος ἢξατο ἐσ τὸ Ἐκταυνίειον τῇ βουλήν ἠθροεῖ διὰ τὸ ἔξω τοῦ πρωμῆρου αὐτὸ ἐίναι, καὶ τὸ Ὀμυνόειον αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἐπισκεύασαί προστάξας, ὅπως τὸ τε ἱδιον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δρούσου ὄνομα αὐτῷ ἐπιγράψῃ, τὰ τε νικηθήρα ἔγγυε καὶ τὸ τεμένισμα τὸ Δίουνον ἄνομασμένου καθιέρωσε μετὰ τῆς μητρός. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν γερουσίαν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, ἐκείνη δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας ἰδία που εἰσίτισε. καὶ οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον κινηθέντων τινῶν ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ ἐξωρμήθη· τὴν δὲ δὴ πανήγυριν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑπανόδου τοῦ Ἀὐγοῦστον γενομένην ὃ Γάιος ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ σὺν τῷ Πίτωνι διέθηκε. τὸ τε πεδίου τὸ Ἀγριππειον, πλὴν τῆς στοὰς, καὶ τὸ διρβιτάριον αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀὐγοῦστος ἐδημοσίευσε. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ (ὑν δὲ οἷκος μέγιστος τῶν πώποτε μᾶν ὅροφὴν σχῶντων νῦν γὰρ δὴ πάσης τῆς στέγης αὐτοῦ καθαίρεθείς, ὅτι οὐκ ἡδυνήθη αὖθις συστήναι, ἀχανής ἐστιν) ὁ τε Ἀγρίππας οἰκοδομούμενον κατέληπε, καὶ τὸτε συμετελεῖσθη. ἦ δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ στοὰ, ἦν Ἡ Πόλλα ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ ἢ καὶ τοὺς δρόμους διακοσμήσασα ἔποιες, οὐδέπω ἐξείργαστο. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ αἱ ἐπιτάφιοι ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀγριππα ὀπλομαχίαι, φαινὴν ἐσθήτα τῶν τε ἄλλων πλῆς τοῦ Ἀὐγοῦστον καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν νιέων αὐτοῦ λαβόντων,
he used Aquila, a freedman, to train a considerable number in the system.

Tiberius on the first day of the year in which he was consul with Gnaeus Piso convened the senate in the Curia Octaviae, because it was outside the pomerium. After assigning to himself the duty of repairing the temple of Concord, in order that he might inscribe upon it his own name and that of Drusus, he celebrated his triumph, and in company with his mother dedicated the precinct called the precinct of Livia. He gave a banquet to the senate on the Capitol, and she gave one on her own account to the women somewhere or other. A little later, when there was some disturbance in the province of Germany, he took the field. The festival held in honour of the return of Augustus was directed by Gaius, in place of Tiberius, with the assistance of Piso. The Campus Agrippae and the Diribitorium were made public property by Augustus himself. The Diribitorium was the largest building under a single roof ever constructed; indeed, now that the whole covering has been destroyed, the edifice is wide open to the sky, since it could not be put together again. Agrippa had left it still in process of construction, and it was completed at this time. The portico in the Campus, however, which was being built by Polla, Agrippa's sister, who also adorned the race-courses, was not yet finished. Meanwhile the funeral combats in honour of Agrippa were given, all except Augustus putting on black clothing and even Agrippa's sons doing the same. There were not

1 The Diribitorium was used for the sorting (diribere) of the ballots used in voting. Pliny (Nat. Hist. xvi. 201 and xxxvi. 102) speaks of its remarkable roof; this was destroyed by fire in 80 A.D. (cf. Dio, lxvi. 24).
καὶ ένὸς πρὸς ἑνα καὶ πλείονων πρὸς ἱσούς, ἐν τοῖς σεπτοῖς διὰ τὴν ἐς τὸν 'Αγρίππαν τιμὴν καὶ διὰ τὸ πολλά τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν οἰκοδομημάτων κε-
6 καύσθαι, ἑγένοντο. καὶ τὸ μὲν τοῦ πυρὸς αἴτιον ἐς τοὺς χρεωφείλας ἀνεφέρετο, ὡς καὶ ἐπίτηδες αὐτὸ παρασκευάσαντας ἵνα ἀποκόψωσι τι τῶν χρεῶν, συνήνά δόξαντες ἐξημιωθῆσθαι ἐτυχον δὲ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐδενός, οἱ δὲ δή στενωτοὶ ἐπιμελητῶν τινων ἐκ τοῦ δῆμου, οὕς καὶ στενωπάρχους καλοῦ-
7 μεν' καὶ σφισι καὶ τῇ ἐσθήτῃ τῇ ἀρχικῇ καὶ ῥαβδούχοις δύο, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς χωρίοις ὅποι ἁν ἄρχωσιν, ἡμέραις τισὶ χρῆσθαι ἐδόθη, ἡ τε δου-
λεία ἡ τοῖς ἀγορανόμοις (τῶν ἐμπιμπραμένων ἐνεκα συνούσα ἐπετράπη, κατοί καὶ ἐκεῖνων καὶ τῶν δημάρχων τῶν τε στρατηγῶν πάσαν τὴν πόλιν, δεκατέσσαρα ἡ μέρη νεμθείσαν, κλήρῳ προσταχθέντων· δ καὶ νῦν γίγνεται.

9 Τοσαύτα μὲν ἐν τῷ ἐτεί τούτῳ ἐπράξθη· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῇ Γερμανίᾳ οὐδὲν ἀξίων μνήμης συνέβη· τῷ δὲ ὑστέρῳ, ἐν χ Γαίος τε Ἀντίστιος καὶ Δαίλιος Βάλβος ὑπάτευσαν, ἵδων ὁ Ἀὐγουστος τόν τε Γαίον καὶ τὸν Δούκιον αὐτοὺς τε μὴ πάνυ, οἰα ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ τρεφομένους, τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἡθῆ ἥξιούντας (οὐ γὰρ ὅτι ἀβρότερον διήγης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐθρα-
σύνοντο· ἐς γοὺς τὸ θεάτρον ποτε καθ' ἑαυτὸν
2 ὁ Δούκιος ἐσήλθε) καὶ πρὸς πάντων τῶν (ἐν τῇ

1 δεκατέσσαρα R. Steph., δεκατέσσερα M.
only combats between single champions but also between groups of equal numbers on either side; and they were held in the Saepta both as an honour to Agrippa and because many of the structures around the Forum had been burned. The blame for the fire was laid upon the debtor class, who were suspected of having contrived it on purpose, in order that they might have some of their debts remitted when they appeared to have lost heavily. They, for their part, however, gained nothing from the fire; but the streets were put in charge of supervisors, chosen from the people, whom we call street commissioners. These men were allowed to use the official dress and two lictors, but only in the regions under their administration and on certain days, and they were given control over the force of slaves which had previously been associated with the aediles to save buildings that caught fire. The aediles, however, together with the tribunes and praetors, were still assigned by lot to have charge of the whole city, which was divided into fourteen wards. This is also the present arrangement.

These were all events of that year, for nothing worthy of mention happened in Germany. The next year, in which Gaius Antistius and Laelius Balbus were consuls, Augustus was vexed when he saw that Gaius and Lucius were by no means inclined of their own choice to emulate his own conduct, as became young men who were being reared as members of the imperial house. They not only indulged in too great luxury in their lives, but were also inclined to insolence; for example, Lucius on one occasion entered the theatre unattended. They

1 Curatores viarum.
πολεί, τὰ μὲν γνώμη τὰ δὲ θεραπεία, κολακευομένους 1 κάκ τούτου ἐτι καὶ μᾶλλον θρυπτομένους 1 (τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ὑπατον τὸν Γάιον μηδὲ ἐς ἑφήσους πω τελοῦντα προεχειρίσαντο 2), ἠγανάκτησε, καὶ προσεπθύσατο μηδεμίαν τοιαύτην καιρῶν ἀνάγκην ὅποια ποτὲ 3 αὐτὸν κατέλαβε γενέσθαι, ὡστε τινὰ νεώτερον εἰκοσιετοὺς ὑπατεύσαι. ἔπειδη τε καὶ ὦς ἐνέκειντό ὦ, τότε ἐφὶ Χρη- ναὶ τινὰ τὴν ἀρχήν ταύτην λαμβάνειν, ὅταν μῆτε τι αὐτὸς ἀμαρτάνειν καὶ ταῖς τοῦ δήμου σπουδαῖς ἀνθιστασθαι δύνηται, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ’ ἱερωσύνην μὲν τινὰ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ὦς τὸ συνέδριον συμφοίτησιν τὸ τε συνθεᾶσθαι καὶ τὸ συνεστίασθαι τῇ βουλῇ ἐδώκει. βούληθεις δὲ δὴ τρόπον 4 τινὰ 5 μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς σωφρονίσαι, τῷ Τιβερίῳ τὴν τε ἐξουσίαν τὴν δημαρχικὴν ὦς πέντε ἐτῆ ἐνειμε 6 καὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀλλοτριουμένην μετὰ τὸν τὸν Τιγράνου θάνατον προσέταξε. 7 συνέβη δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ μάτην προσκρούσαι, τοῖς μὲν ὦτι παρεωρᾶσθαι ἐδοξαῖν, τῷ δὲ ὦτι τὴν ὄργην αὐτῶν ἐφοβήθη. ἀμέλει καὶ ἐς Ὁρὸν ὦς καὶ παιδεύ- σεως τινος δέομενοι ἑστάλη, μῆτ’ ἄλλους τινὰς μῆτε τὴν θεραπείαν πᾶσαν ἐπαγόμενος, ἵν’ ἐκ- ποδῶν σφισι καὶ τῇ ὀψει καὶ τοῖς ἐργοῖς γένηται. 6 καὶ τὴν τε ὄδον ἰδιωτικῶς ἐποιήσατο, πλὴν καθ’

1 κολακευομένους, θρυπτομένους Pflugk, κολακευόμενος, θρυπτό- μενος M.
2 προεχειρίσαντο Rk., προεχειρίσατο M.
3 ποτὲ Xiph., τότε M.
4 Between τρόπον and ὥτ’ (chap. 10, 2) two folios have been lost in M. The text here given is a combination of the epitomes of Zon., Xiph., and the Excerpta Valesiana (see Introd. to Vol. I. xviii ff.).

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were being flattered by everybody in the city, sometimes sincerely and sometimes to curry favour, and consequently were being spoiled more and more. Among other things of this sort, the people had elected Gaius consul before he was as yet of military age. All this, as I have said, vexed Augustus, and he even prayed that no compelling circumstances might arise, as had once occurred in his own case, such as to require that a man less than twenty years old should become consul. When even so the people insisted, he then said that one ought not to receive the office until one was able not only to avoid error oneself but also to resist the ardent impulses of the populace. After that he gave Gaius a priesthood and also the right to attend the meetings of the senate and to behold spectacles and be present at banquets with that body. And wishing in some way to bring Gaius and Lucius to their senses still more sharply, he bestowed upon Tiberius the tribunician power for five years, and assigned to him Armenia, which was becoming estranged since the death of Tigranes. The result was that he needlessly offended not only his grandsons but Tiberius as well; for the former felt they had been slighted, and Tiberius feared their anger. At any rate he was sent to Rhodes on the pretext that he needed incidentally a bit of instruction; and he did not even take his entire retinue, to say nothing of friends, the object being that Gaius and Lucius should be relieved both of the sight of him and of his doings. He made the journey as a private citizen, though he

5 τινὰ supplied by scribe of L'.
6 ἐνεῖμε Xiph. ἀπένεῖμε Zon.
7 προσέτασε Rk., προσήξε Xiph., προσεκλήρωσεν Zon.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ὅσον τοὺς Παρίους τὸ τῆς Ἐστίας ἄγαλμα πω-
λῆσαι οἱ ἡνάγκασεν, ὡς ἐν τῷ Ὀμονοεῖο
ἰδρυθῇ καὶ ἐστὶ τὴν νήσου ἐλθὼν οὐδὲν ὑγιηρὸν.
7 οὔτε ἐπραττεν οὔτε ἔλεγεν. ἦ μὲν οὖν ἀλη-
θεστάτη αὕτη τῆς ἐκδημίας αὐτοῦ τοιαύτη ἐστί,
λόγον δὲ τινὰ ἔχει καὶ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν
Ἰουλίαν, ὃτι μηκέτι αὐτὴν φέρειν ἐδύνατο, τούτῳ
ποιήσαι: κατέλιπε γούν αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ Ὀρμῷ. οἱ
δὲ ἐφασαν χαλεπὴν ἀυτὸν ὃτι μὴ καὶ Καίσαρ
ἀπεδέιχθη οἱ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν Αὐγούστον ὡς καὶ
τοῖς παισιν αὐτοῦ ἐπιβουλεύοντα ἐκβιληθῆναι.
8 ὃτι μὲν γὰρ οὔτε παιδείας ἔνεκα οὔτ' ἀβουλήσας
τὰ δεδογμένα ἀπεδήμησε, δῆλον ἐκ τε τῶν ἄλλων
ὅν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπραξέ, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τὰς διαθήκας
αὐτοῦ εὐθὺς τότε καὶ λύσαι καὶ τῇ μητρὶ τῷ τε
Ἀὐγούστῳ ἀναγνώσας, ἐγένετο: κατεικάζετο πάνθ' ὡς
ἔνεδεχετο.—Xiph. 100, 18–30, Exc. V. 177
(p. 662 sq.), Zon. 10, 35.
9 Τῷ δ' ἐφεξῆς ἦτε δωδέκατον ὑπατεύων ὁ Ἀὐ-
γουστος εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους τὸν Γαϊον ἔταξε καὶ
ἔσ τὸ βουλευτὴριον ἠμα εἰσήγαγε καὶ πρόκριτον
ἀπέφημε τῆς νεότητος ἑλαρχὸν τε φυλῆς γενεσθαι
ἐπέτρεψε.—Zon. 10, 35.
10 Ὅταν (μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν) καὶ ὁ Δούκιος τὰς τιμάς
ὅσι τῷ Γαϊῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἐδέωντο ἐλαβεν.
(ἀθροισθέντος δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἐπανορθώθηναι
τινὰ ἄξιοντο καὶ τοὺς δημάρχους διὰ τοῦτο
πρὸς τὸν Αὐγούστον πέμψαντο,) ἦλθεν ἐκείνος
καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐδέοντο σφίσει συνδισκεύατο καὶ
ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὡς ἠθησαν ἀπαντε.—Zon. 10, 35.

1 τοιαύτη cod. Peir., toiaude Val.
2 τότε Val., τὸ τότε cod. Peir.
3 τότῳ ABCe, τούτῳ E.

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exercised his authority by compelling the Parians to sell him the statue of Vesta, in order that it might be placed in the temple of Concord; and when he reached Rhodes, he refrained from haughty conduct in both word and deed. This is the truest explanation of his journey abroad, though there is also a story that he took this course on account of his wife Julia, because he could no longer endure her; at any rate, she was left behind in Rome. Others said that he was angry at not having been designated as Caesar, and yet others that he was expelled by Augustus himself, on the ground that he was plotting against Augustus' sons. But that his departure was not for the sake of instruction nor because he was displeased at the decrees passed, became plain from many of his subsequent actions, and particularly by his opening his will immediately at that time and reading it to his mother and Augustus. But all possible conjectures were made.

The following year Augustus in the course of his twelfth consulship placed Gaius among the youths of military age, and at the same time introduced him into the senate, declared him princeps iuventutis, and permitted him to become commander of a division of cavalry.

And after the lapse of a year Lucius also obtained all the honours that had been granted to his brother Gaius. On one occasion, when the people had gathered together and were asking that certain reforms be instituted and had sent the tribunes to Augustus for this purpose, the emperor came and consulted with them about their demands; and at this all were pleased.
10 'Ο δὲ Αὐγοῦστος τὸ τοῦ σιτοδοτουμένου ¹ πλήθος ἀόριστον ὅν ἐς εἴκοσι μυριάδας κατέκλεισεν, καὶ ὡς γέ τινες λέγουσιν, καθ' ἑνα ἑξῆκοντα δραχμὰς ἔδωκεν—Xiph. 100, 30–101, 1.

1a 'Ως ἡ Αὐγοῦστον ἀγορὰ καθιερώθη.—Index to Bk. LV. 1. 6.

1b 'Ως ὁ τοῦ "Αρεώς ναὸς ὁ ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ ἐν καθιερώθη.
—Index to Bk. LV. 1. 7.

2 . . . "Αρει, ² ἐαυτὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους, ὀσάκες ἄν ἑθελήσωσιν, τοὺς τε ἐκ τῶν παίδων ἔξιόντας καὶ ἐκ τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐγγραφομένους ἐκείσε πάντως ἀφικνεῖσθαι, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς ἐκδήμους

3 στελλομένους ἐκείθεν ἀφορμᾶσθαι, τάς τε γνώμας τάς περὶ τῶν νικητηρίων ἐκεί τὴν βουλὴν ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τοὺς πέμψαντας αὐτὰ τῷ "Αρεί τούτῳ καὶ τὸ σκῆπτρον καὶ τὸν στέφανον ἀνατιθέναι, καὶ ἐκείνους ταῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοὺς τοὺς τὰς ἐπιυπνίκοις τιμᾶς λαμβάνοντας ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ χαλκοῖς

4 ἰστασθαι, ἂν τὲ ποτε σημεία στρατιωτικὰ ἐς πολεμίους ἀλόντα ἀνακομισθῇ, ἐς τὸν ναὸν αὐτὰ τίθεσθαι, καὶ πανηγυρὶν τινα πρὸς τοῖς ἀναβασμοῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀεὶ ἱλαρχούντων ³ ποιεῖσθαι, ἤλθον τὲ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῶν τιμητευσάντων

5 προσπήγγυσθαι, καὶ τὴν τε παράσχεσιν τῶν ἵππων τῶν ἐς τὴν ἱπποδρομίαν ἀγωνιουμένων

1 σιτοδοτουμένου L', σιτοδοτουμένου VC.
2 Ἀρεί Morell, ἱπ M.
3 ἱλαρχούντων Bk., εἰλαρχούντων M.
Augustus limited the number of people to be supplied with grain, a number not previously fixed, to two hundred thousand; and, as some say, he distributed a largess of sixty denarii to each man.

[How the Forum of Augustus was dedicated.]

[How the Temple of Mars therein was dedicated.]

... to Mars, and that he himself and his grandsons should go there as often as they wished, while those who were passing from the class of boys and were being enrolled among the youths of military age should invariably do so; that those who were sent out to commands abroad should make that their starting-point; that the senate should take its votes there in regard to the granting of triumphs, and that the victors after celebrating them should dedicate to this Mars their sceptre and their crown; that such victors and all others who received triumphal honours should have their statues in bronze erected in the Forum; that in case military standards captured by the enemy were ever recovered they should be placed in the temple; that a festival should be celebrated beside the steps of the temple by the cavalry commanders of each year;¹ that a nail should be driven into it by the censors at the close of their terms;² and that even senators should have the right of contracting to supply the horses that were to compete in the Circensian games, and also to take

¹ The seviri equitum.
² This custom is not elsewhere recorded in the case of the censors. In early times a nail was driven each year into the side of the cela of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, for the purpose of keeping official count of the years. After the practice had lapsed for a time, it was again revived on the occasion of great disasters or dangers, as a propitiatory rite, and a dictator was sometimes chosen for this sole purpose in the absence of both consuls.
καὶ τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ φυλακὴν καὶ βουλευταίς ἐργολαβεῖν ἐξείναι, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Δίως τοῦ Κατιστωλίου ἐνευμοθέτητο.

6 Ἐπὶ μὲν τούτωι τὸ μέγαρον ἐκεῖνο ὁ Αὐγοῦστος ἐθείωσε, καὶ τοῖς τῷ Γαίῳ καὶ τῷ Δοῦκῳ πάντα καθάπαξ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἱερῶν ἐπιτρέψας ὑπατικῇ τινι ἀρχῇ (κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν χρωμένοις. καὶ τὴν γε ἵπποδρομίαν αὐτοὶ τότε διέθεσαν, τὴν τε Τροίαν καλομένην οἱ παῖδες οἱ πρῶτοι μετὰ τού.

7 Ἀγρίππου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῶν ἑπτεσθαι. καὶ λέοντες ἐξήκοντα καὶ διακόσια ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ ἐσφάγησαν. ὅπλομαχία τε ἐν τοῖς σέπτοις καὶ ναυμαχία ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐν δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐτι σημεία τινα αὐτὴς δείκνυται Περσῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐποιῆθη· ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ ὅνομα τοῖς ναυμαχοῦσιν ἐτέθη, καὶ ἐνίκων καὶ τότε οἱ Ἀθηναίοι. καὶ μετὰ τούτο ἐς τὸν Φλαμίνιον ἵπποδρόμον ὕδωρ ἐσφάγηθη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κροκόδειλοι ἑξαὶ καὶ τρίακοντα κατεκόπησαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ διὰ πασῶν τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων ὁ Αὐγοῦστος ὑπάτευσεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ὅλιγον ἄρξας ἄλλῳ τὸ ὅνομα τῆς ὑπατείας ἔδωκε.

8 Ὅτῳ μὲν οὖν Ὅρει ταῦτ', ἐγένετο, αὐτῷ δὲ δὴ τῷ Αὐγοῦστῳ ἄγων τὸ ἱερὸς ἐν Νέα πόλει τῇ Καμπανίδι, λόγῳ μὲν ὃτι κακωθεῖσαν αὐτὴν καὶ ὑπὸ σεισμὸν καὶ ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἀνέλαβεν, τὸ δ' ἄλθεῖς ἐπείδη τὰ τῶν Ἐλλήνων μόνοι τῶν προσχώρων τρόπον τινα ἐξῆλθουν, ἐψηφίσθη, καὶ ἡ ἐπωνυμία ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀκριβῶς ἐδίδθη· πρότερον γὰρ ἄλλως.

1 αὐτῶν Morelli, αὐτοῦ M.
2 κροκόδειλοι R. Steph., κροκόδειλοι M.
3 Νέα πόλει Bk., νεαπόλει M.

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general charge of the temple, just as had been provided by law in the case of the temples of Apollo and of Jupiter Capitolinus.

These matters settled, Augustus dedicated this temple of Mars, although he had granted to Gaius and Lucius once for all the right to consecrate all such buildings by virtue of a kind of consular authority that they exercised in the time-honoured manner. And they did, in fact, have the management of the Circensian games on this occasion, while their brother Agrippa took part along with the boys of the first families in the equestrian exercise called "Troy." Two hundred and sixty lions were slaughtered in the Circus. There was a gladiatorial combat in the Saepta, and a naval battle between the "Persians" and the "Athenians" was given on the spot where even to-day some relics of it are still pointed out. These, it will be understood, were the names given to the contestants; and the "Athenians" prevailed as of old. Afterwards water was let into the Circus Flaminius and thirty-six crocodiles were there slaughtered. Augustus, however, did not serve as consul during all these days, but after holding office for a short time, gave the title of the consulship to another.

These were the celebrations in honour of Mars. To Augustus himself a sacred contest was voted in Neapolis, the Campanian city, nominally because he had restored it when it was prostrated by earthquake and fire, but in reality because its inhabitants, alone of the Campanians, tried in a manner to imitate the customs of the Greeks. He also was given the strict right to the title of "Father"; for hitherto he had

1 Cf. li. 1, 2.
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ἀνευ ὕσσαματος ἐπεφημίζετο. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐπάρχουσι τῶν δορυφόρων τότε πρῶτον Κύωντον τε Ὀστώριον Σκαπούλαν καὶ Πούπλιον Σάλουιον Ἀπρον ἀπέδειξεν· οὕτω γάρ τοι αὐτούς καὶ ἐγὼ μόνους τῶν ἐπαρχόντων τινός, ἐπειδήπερ ἐκνευ-κηκέν, ὄνομάζω. ἐποίησε μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ Πυλάδης ὁ ἄρχητης πανηγυρίων τινα, οὔκ αὐτῷς κειρουρ-

γῆς ἀτε καὶ ὑπέργηρως οὖν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε σκέψι
tῇ ἀρχικῇ καὶ τοῖς ἀναλώμασιν, ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ Ἐκτος Κριστῖνος στρατηγὸς. λέγω δὲ οὐ τούτο ἀλλ’ ὅτι ἃνδρες τε ἰππῆς καὶ γυναῖκες οὐκ ἀφανεῖς ἐς τὴν ὄρχηστραν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐσήχθησαν.

ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν (ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ) ὁ Αὐγοῦστος ἐτίθετο, τὴν δὲ Ἰουλίαν τὴν θυγατέρα ἀσελ-

gαίνουσαν οὕτως ὡστε καὶ (ἐν τῇ ἄγορᾷ καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ γε τοῦ βήματος καὶ κομάζειν υύκτωρ καὶ συμπίνειν ὑψὲ ποτὲ φωράσας ὑπερφοργίσθη.

κατέικαζε μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρότερον οὐκ ὁρθῶς αὐτὴν βιοῦν, οὗ μέντοι καὶ ἐπίστευεν· οἱ γάρ τοι τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἐχοῦσες πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ σφέτερα 

γυνώσκουσι, καὶ οὕτ’ αὐτοὶ τι τοὺς συνόντας ὅν ποιοῦσι λανθάνουσιν οὔτε τὰ ἐκείνων ἀκρι-

βούςι. τότε δ’ οὖν μαθὼν τὰ πραττόμενα τοσοῦ-

τῳ θυμῷ ἐχρῆσατο ὡστε μηδ’ οἶκοι αὐτὰ 1 κατα-

σχεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ κοινώσαι. (κακὶ 

τοῦτον) ἐκείνη μὲν ἐς Πανδατερίαν τὴν πρὸς 

Καμπανίαν 2 νήσου ὑπερωρίσθη, καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ ἦ

1 αὐτὰ Rk., αὐτὸν M, αὐτὸν cod. Peir. Xiph.
2 Καμπανία Xiph., καμπανίαν M.
merely been addressed by that title without the formality of a decree. Moreover, he now for the first time appointed two prefects over the Praetorians, Quintus Ostorius Scapula and Publius Salvius Aper, —for I, too, apply this name “prefect” solely to them, of all who exercise a similar office, inasmuch as it has won its way into general use. Pylades, the dancer, gave a festival, though he did not perform any of the work himself, since he was very old, but merely wore the insignia of office and provided the cost of the entertainment; and the praetor Quintus Crispinus also gave one. I mention this only because it was on this occasion that knights and women of distinction were brought upon the stage. Of this, however, Augustus took no account; but when he at length discovered that his daughter Julia was so dissolute in her conduct as actually to take part in revels and drinking bouts at night in the Forum and on the very rostra, he became exceedingly angry. He had surmised even before this time that she was not leading a straight life, but refused to believe it. For those who hold positions of command, it appears, are acquainted with everything else better than with their own affairs; and although their own deeds do not escape the knowledge of their associates, have no precise information regarding what their associates do. In the present instance, when Augustus learned what was going on, he gave way to a rage so violent that he could not keep the matter to himself, but went so far as to communicate it to the senate. As a result Julia was banished to the island of Pandateria, lying off Campania, and her mother Scribonia

1 Praefecti praetorio.
2 The modern Ventotene, between the Ponza islands and Ischia.
15 Σκριβωνία ἡ μήτηρ ἐκοῦσα συνεξέπλευσε τῶν δὲ δὴ χρησαμένων αὐτῇ ὁ μὲν Ἰουλλὸς ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ὡς καὶ ἔπι τῇ μοναρχίᾳ τούτῳ πράξας, ἀπέθανεν μετ' ἄλλων τινῶν ἐπιθανόν ἀνδρῶν, οἷς δὲ λοιποῖ εἰς νῆσους ύπερωρίσθησαν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ δήμαρχος τις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἦν, οὐ πρότερον πρὶν διάργαι ἐκρίθη. πολλῶν δὲ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἄλλων γυναικῶν ἐφ' ὁμοίως τινῶν αἰτίαν λαβοῦσών οὐ πάσας τὰς δίκας ἐδέξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἀφώρίσεν ὅστε τὰ πρὸ ἐκείνων πραξάθεντα μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖσθαι. ἔπὶ γὰρ τῆς θυγατρὸς μηδὲν μετράσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ φῆσας ὦτι Φοίβης πατὴρ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνης γεγονέναι ήθελε, τῶν ἄλλων ἐφεδετο. η δὲ δὴ Φοίβη ἐξελευθέρα τε τῆς Ἰουλίας καὶ συνεργὸς οὕσα προσπέθανεν ἐκουσία, διότερ καὶ ὁ Ἀὐγουστος αὐτὴν ἐπήνευσε. —Χιφ. 101, 21–32, Exc. V. 178b, 179 (p. 665).

16 "Οτι Γάιος τὰ στρατόπεδα τά πρὸς τῷ Ἰστρῷ εἰρημικῶς ἔπηεν τόλεμον γὰρ οὐδένα ἐπολέμησεν, οὐχ ὦτι οὐκ ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ὦτι ἐκείνος μὲν ἐν τῇ ἁρσυχίᾳ καὶ ἀσφαλείᾳ ἁρχεῖν ἐμάνθανεν, οἱ δὲ δὴ κίνδυνοι ἄλλοι προσετᾶσσοντο.—Exc. V. 180 (p. 665).

18 Τῶν Ἀρμενίων δὲ νεωτερισάντων καὶ τῶν Πάρθων αὐτοῖς συνεργοῦστων ἄλγων ἔπι τούτοις ὁ Ἀὐγουστος ἦπορεί τι ἀν πράξῃ οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς στρατεύσαι ὅτος τε ἧν διὰ γῆρας, ὦ τε Τιβέριος, ὃς εἰρηταὶ, μετέστη ἡδη, ἄλλον δὲ τινα πέμψαι

1 "Ιουλλὸς Bs., ἱούλιος M. cod. Peir. Χιφ.
2 ὦ supplied by Bk.
3 Between ὡς καὶ and ἐτέρους (10 a, 1) two folios are lacking in M. 4 διάργαι Val., διαρπάσαι cod. Peir.
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voluntarily accompanied her. Of the men who had enjoyed her favours, Iullus Antonius, on the ground that his conduct had been prompted by designs upon the monarchy, was put to death along with other prominent persons, while the remainder were banished to islands. And since there was a tribune among them, he was not tried until he had completed his term of office. As a result of this affair many other women, too, were accused of similar behaviour, but the emperor would not entertain all the suits; instead, he set a definite date as a limit and forbade all prying into what had occurred previous to that time. For although in the case of his daughter he would show no mercy, remarking that he would rather have been Phoebe’s father than hers, he nevertheless was disposed to spare the rest. This Phoebe had been a freedwoman of Julia’s and her accomplice, and had voluntarily taken her own life before she could be punished. It was for this that Augustus praised her.

Gaius assumed command of the legions on the Ister with peaceful intent. Indeed, he fought no war, not because no war broke out, but because he was learning to rule in quiet and safety, while the dangerous undertakings were regularly assigned to others.

When the Armenians revolted and the Parthians joined with them, Augustus was distressed and at a loss what to do. For he himself was not fit for campaigning by reason of age, while Tiberius, as has been stated, had already withdrawn, and he did not

5 ἐκ τούτου Exc. Val., om. Xiph.
6 μηδὲν Xiph., μη cod. Peir.
7 πατὴρ μᾶλλον Xiph., μᾶλλον πατὴρ cod. Peir.
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tον δυνατῶν οὐκ ἐτόλμα, ὁ Γάιος ἐπὶ καὶ ὁ Δούκιος νέοι καὶ πραγμάτων ἐτύγχασαν ἀπειρόι. (ἀνάγκης δ' ἐπικεφήνης) τόν Γάιον εἴλετο, καὶ τὴν τε ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ τὴν αὐθάπατου καὶ γυναίκα ἔδωκεν, ἵνα κἀκεῖ τοῦτο τι προσλάβη ἄξιωμα, καὶ οἱ καὶ 19 συμβούλους προσέταξε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀφορμήθη ἐντύμως παρὰ πάντων ὑποδεχόμενος ὦν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐγγονος ἦ καὶ παῖς νομιζόμενος, καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος ἐς Χίου ἐλθὼν αὐτὸν ἐθεράπευσε, τάς ὑποψίας ἀποτριβόμενος· ἐταπείνων τε γὰρ ἑαυτὸν καὶ ὑπέπιπτεν οὖχ ὅτι τῷ Γαϊῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ 3 τοῖς μετ' αὐτῷ οὖσι· ἀπελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν Συρίαν καὶ μηδὲν μέγα κατωρθωκός ἔτρωθη.—Zon. 10, 36, Xiph. 101, 32–102, 4.

20 ὁτι ὣς ἀπέβοητο οἱ βάρβαροι τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τοῦ Γαϊοῦ, Φρατάκης 4 ἐπεμψε πρὸς τὸν Ἀὔγουστον, ὑπὲρ τῶν γεγονότων ἀπολογούμενος καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐπὶ εἰρήνη ἀπαιτῶν· καὶ αὐτῷ ἑκείνους Φρατάκης 4 ἀπλῶς 5 ἀνευ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπικλήσεως, ἀντεπιστείλας, τὸ τε ὅνομα τὸ βασιλικὸν καταθέσαι καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἀποστήμαι προσέταξεν. (ἐφ' ὁ) δὴ ὁ Πάρθος οὐχ ὦς οὐ κατεπτίξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντεγραψεν οἱ τὰ τε ἀλλα ὑπερφρόνως, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν βασιλεὰ βασιλεῶν ἑκείνου δὲ Καλσαρὰ μόνον ὁμομᾶς. ὃ δὲ δὴ Τιγράνης εὐθὺς μὲν οὐκ ἐπρεσβεύσατο, τοῦ δὲ Ἀρταβάζου νόσῳ ὑστερον τελευτήσαντος δώρα τε

1 οἱ καὶ AE, οἱ BCc.
2 νομιζόμενος ABC, λογιζόμενος Ε.
3 καὶ supplied by Bs.
4 Φρατάκης, Φρατάκη Bs., Φρατάκης, Φρατάκη (but corrected by first hand to Φρατάκη) Exc. Urs. cod. A, Φρατάκην Xiph. VL, Φρατάκην Xiph. C, Φρατάκη Xiph. VCL.

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dare send any other influential man; as for Gaius and Lucius, they were young and inexperienced in affairs. Nevertheless, under the stress of necessity, he chose Gaius, gave him the proconsular authority and a wife,—in order that he might also have the increased dignity that attached to a married man,—and appointed advisers to him. Gaius accordingly set out and was everywhere received with marks of distinction, as befitted one who was the emperor's grandson and was even looked upon as his son. Even Tiberius went to Chios and paid court to him, thus endeavouring to clear himself of suspicion; indeed, he humiliated himself and grovelled at the feet, not only of Gaius, but also of all the associates of Gaius. And Gaius, after going to Syria and meeting with no great success, was wounded.

When the barbarians heard of Gaius' expedition, Phrataces sent men to Augustus to explain what had occurred and to demand the return of his brothers on condition of his accepting peace. The emperor sent him a letter in reply, addressed simply to "Phrataces," without the appellation of "king," in which he directed him to lay aside the royal name and to withdraw from Armenia. Thereupon the Parthian, so far from being cowed, wrote back in a generally haughty tone, styling himself "King of Kings" and addressing Augustus simply as "Caesar." Tigranes did not at once send any envoys, but when Artabazus somewhat later fell ill and died, he sent gifts to Augustus, in view of the

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1 See note on liii. 13, 2.

5 ἀπλῶς Xiph., om. Exc. Urs.
6 ὑπερφάνως Exc. Urs., ὑπερηφάνως Xiph.
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τῷ Διόγοντῷ, δυς καὶ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου ὑπεξηρη-
21 μένου οἱ, ἐπεμψε, τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄνομα ἐς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν μὴ ἐγγράψως, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν δῆθεν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἠτησε. τούτοις τε ὅν ὑπαχθεῖς καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀμα τὸν Παρθίκον φοβηθεῖς τὰ τε δῶρα ἐδέξατο, καὶ μετ' ἐλπίδων αὐτὸν χρηστών ἐς τὴν Συρίαν πρὸς τὸν Γάιον ἐλθεῖν ἐκέλευσεν.—

Exc. U 36 (p. 390), Xiph. 102, 4—11.

10a . . . ἐτέρους ἐκ τῆς Διόγυπτου ἐπιστρατεύσαν-
tάς σφίσει ἀπέωσαντο, οὐ πρότερον τε ἐνδοσαν πρὶν χιλίαρχον τίνα ἐκ τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ ἐπ' αὐ-
tοὺς πεμφθήναι. καὶ ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐν χρόνῳ τὰς καταδρομὰς αὐτῶν ἐπέσχεν, ὡστε ἐπὶ πολὺ μη-
δένα βουλευτὴν τῶν ταύτῃ πόλεων ἀρξαί.

2 Ταύτα τε οὖν ἁμα καὶ τὰ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐκαίνωθη, ὃ γὰρ Δομίτιος πρότερον μὲν, ἔως ἐτι τῶν πρὸς τῷ Ἱστρῷ χωρίῳ ἤρχε, τοὺς τε Ἕρμουνδούρους ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως ἐξαναστάντας καὶ κατὰ ζήτησιν ἐτέρας γῆς πλανομένους ὑπολαβὼν ἐν μέρει τῆς Μαρκομαννίδος κατόκισε, καὶ τὸν Ἀλβίαν μηδενὸς οἱ ἐναντιομένου διαβὰς φιλίαν τε τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάροις συνέθετο καὶ βωμὸν ἐπ᾽

3 αὐτοῦ τῷ Διόγουστῳ ὕδρυσατο. τότε δὲ πρὸς τε τῶν Ῥήνου μετελθῶν, καὶ ἐκπεσόντας τίνας Χε-
ρούσκων καταγαγεῖν δι᾽ ἐτέρων ἐθελήσας, ἐδυστύ-
χησε καὶ καταφρονήσας σφων καὶ τοὺς ἅλλους 

βαρβάρους ἐποίησεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πλέον τι τῷ ἐτει ἐκείνῳ ὧτ' αὐτοῦ ἐπράξῃ; διὰ γὰρ τὸν 
Παρθίκον πόλεμον ὑπόγνου ὑνταν ὑδεμία αὐτῶν 
ἐπιστροφὴ τότε ἐγένετο.

1 τε Α (B ? V ?).
2 τῶν Παρθίκον Βς., τῶν Πάρθων Υρι., τῶν Παρθῶν Α (B ? V ?).

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fact that his rival had been removed, and though he did not mention the name "king" in his letter, he really did petition Augustus for the kingship. Influenced by these considerations and at the same time fearing the war with the Parthians, the emperor accepted the gifts and bade him go with good hopes to Gaius in Syria.

... others who marched against them from Egypt, and did not yield until a tribune from the pretorian guard was sent against them. This man in the course of time checked their incursions, with the result that for a long period no senator governed the cities in this region.

Coincident with these events there was an outbreak on the part of the Germans. Somewhat earlier Domitius, while still governing the districts along the Ister, had intercepted the Hermunduri, a tribe which for some reason or other had left their own land and were wandering about in quest of another, and he had settled them in a part of the Marcomannian territory; then he had crossed the Albis, meeting with no opposition, had made a friendly alliance with the barbarians on the further side, and had set up an altar to Augustus on the bank of the river. Just now he had transferred his headquarters to the Rhine, and in his desire to secure the return of certain Cheruscan exiles through the efforts of other persons had met with a reverse and had caused the other barbarians likewise to conceive a contempt for the Romans. This was the extent, however, of his operations that year; for in view of the Parthian war which was impending no attention was paid to the Germans at this time.
4. Οὐ μὴν οὖδὲ τοῖς Πάρθοις ἐπολεμήθη. ὁ γὰρ Φρατάκης τῶν Γάιων ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ὄντα καὶ ὑπατεύοντα ἀκούσας, καὶ προσείτι καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα μηδὲ πρότερον εὐνοῖκως οἱ ἔχοντα ὑποτοπῆσας, προκατηλλάγη ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτός τε τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἀποστηναί καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ πέραν θαλάσσης εἰναι. οὐ γε μήν Ἀρμένιοι, καίπερ τοῦ τε Τιγράνου ἐκ πολεμοῦ τινὸς βαρβαρικοῦ φθαρέντος καὶ τῆς Ἐρατοῦ τῆν ἀρχήν ἀφείσης, ὡμος ἐπειδή Ἀριαβαρζάνει τινὶ Μήδῳ, ὡς ποτε μετὰ τοῦ Τιριδάτου πρὸς τοὺς Ρωμαίους ἀφίκτω, παρεδίδοντο, ἐπολέμησαν σφισι τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει, ἐν φι Πούπλιος τε Οὐινίκιος καὶ Παυτίλιος Οὐάρος ὑπάρχειν καὶ ἄλλο μὲν οὖν ἀξιόλογον ἔδρασαν, Ἀδδών δὲ τὰς Ἀρτάγειρα κατέχον ὑπηγάγετο τὸν Γάιον ὑπὸ τὸ τείχος ὡς καὶ τῶν τοῦ Πάρθου τι ἀπορρήτων αὐτῶν φράσων, καὶ ἐτρωσεν αὐτὸν, καὶ τούτου πολιορκηθεὶς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀντέσχειν.

5. ἀλόντος δὲ οὖν ποτε αὐτοῦ τὸ τε ὅνομα τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος οὐχ ὁ Ἀὐγουστος μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Γάιος ἐπέθετο, καὶ τῇ Αρμενίᾳ τότε μὲν ὁ Ἀριαβαρζάνης, ἀποθανόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐ πολλῷ ὑστέρων Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ νῖος παρὰ τε τοῦ Ἀὐγουστοῦ στὸν καὶ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἔλαβεν. ὁ δὲ οὖν Γάιος ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἥρροστησε, καὶ ἐπείδη μηδὲ ἄλλως ὑγειευός ἦν, ὑφ οὔπερ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐξελέυσε, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἀπημβλύνθη. καὶ τέλος ἰδιωτεύει σφεῖ τῇ Συρίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ποι στὸν Ἀὐγουστον περιαλγήσαντα τῇ τε γεροντίᾳ τὸ βούλημα αὐτοῦ

6. τιμιδάτου Dind., τειμιδάτου Μ.
Nevertheless, war did not break out with the Parthians, either. For Phraates, hearing that Gaius was in Syria, acting as consul, and, furthermore, having suspicions regarding his own people, who had even before this been inclined to be disloyal to him, forestalled action on their part by coming to terms with the Romans, on condition that he himself should renounce Armenia and that his brothers should remain beyond the sea. The Armenians, however, in spite of the fact that Tigranes had perished in a war with barbarians and Erato had resigned her sovereignty, nevertheless went to war with the Romans because they were being handed over to a Mede, Ariobarzanes, who had once come to the Romans along with Tiridates. This was in the following year, when Publius Vinicius and Publius Varus were consuls. And though they accomplished nothing worthy of note, a certain Addison, who was holding Artagira, induced Gaius to come up close to the wall, pretending that he would reveal to him some of the Parthian king's secrets, and then wounded him, whereupon he was besieged. He held out for a long time; but when he was at last captured, not only Augustus but Gaius also assumed the title of imperator, and Armenia was given by Augustus and the senate first to Ariobarzanes and then upon his death a little later to his son Artabazus. Gaius became ill from his wound, and since he was not robust to begin with and the condition of his health had impaired his mind, this illness blunted his faculties still more. At last he begged leave to retire to private life, and it was his desire to remain somewhere in Syria. Augustus, accordingly, grieved at heart, communicated his wish to the senate, and
κοινώσαι καὶ ἔκεινον ἐς γοῦν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐλθόντα
9 πράττειν ὁ τι βουλικτὸ προτρέψασθαι. πάντ' ὦν εὐθὺς τὰ τῆς ἄρχῆς ἀφεῖς ἐς Δυνκίαν ἐν ὅλκαί

παρέπλευσε, κανταύθα ἐν Διμύροις μετήλλαξε.

πρὶν δὲ ἡ τελευτήσαι αὐτὸν ὁ Δούκιος ἐν Μασ-

σαλίᾳ προαπέσβη, πολλαχῇ γὰρ τοι καὶ ἐκεῖνος

ἀλλοτε ἄλλῃ πεμπόμενος ἥσκειτο, καὶ τὰς γε τοῦ

ガイοῦ ἐπιστολὰς αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, δοσίκες ἃν

παρείη, ἀνεγλυφώσκειν. ἠπέθανε δὲ ἐξαίρθυνε νοση-

σας, ὡστε ἐπ' ἀμφότεροις σφίσι τὴν Διούιαν,

ἄλλως τε καὶ ὦτι ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τοῦτῳ ὁ Τιβέριος

ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκ τῆς Ῥόδου ἀφικετώ, ὑποτευ-

θήναι. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἐμπειρότατος τῆς διὰ τῶν

ἀστρον μαντικῆς ὅν, καὶ Ὁράσυλλον ἄνδρα

πάσης ἀστρολογίας διαπεφυκότα ἔχων, πάντα καὶ τὰ ἐαυτῷ καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνοι πεπρωμένα ἄκριβῶς

2 ἡπίστατο· καὶ λόγον γε ἔχει ὦτι μελλήσας ποτὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ τὸν Ὁράσυλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους,

ἐπειδὴ μόνος αὐτῷ πάνθ' ὀσα ἐνενείς συνήθει,

ὥσειν, οὐκέτ' αὐτὸ 1 ἐποίησε σκυθροπάσαντα

αὐτὸν ἱδών, οὕτι γε καὶ διὰ τούτο, ἀλλ' ὦτι ἐπε-

ρωτηθεῖς διὰ τὰ συννέοφε, κίνδυνον τινα ὑπο-

πτενεῖν οἱ γενήσεσθαι ἐφ' θαυμάσας γὰρ ὦτι

καὶ τὴν μέλλησιν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς 2 προειδεῖν, 3 φυ-

λάξαι αὐτὸν ἐαυτῷ διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἡθέλησεν.—

Zon. 10, 36.

3 Ὅστο γὰρ ποὺ πάντα ἐκεῖνοι σαφῶς ἤδει ὦστε

καὶ τὸ πλοῖον τὸ τῆς ἀγγελίαν τῷ Τιβέριῳ τῆς ἐς

τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνακομιδῆς παρὰ τε τῆς μητρὸς καὶ

1 αὐτῷ Xiph., αὐτῷ M.

2 Between ἐπιβουλῆς and Τιβέριῳ (13, 2) two more folios are lacking in M.

3 προειδεῖν supplied by Bs.

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urged him to come at least to Italy and then do as he pleased. So Gaius resigned at once all the duties of his office and took a trading vessel to Lycia, where, at Limyra, he passed away. But even before Gaius' death the spark of life in Lucius had been quenched at Massilia. He, too, was being trained to rule by being despatched on missions to many places, and it was his custom personally to read the letters of Gaius in the senate, whenever he was present. His death was due to a sudden illness. In connexion with both deaths, therefore, suspicion attached to Livia, and particularly because it was just at this time that Tiberius returned to Rome from Rhodes. Tiberius, it seems, was extremely well versed in the art of divination by means of the stars, and had with him Thrasyllus, who was a past-master of all astrology, so that he had full and accurate knowledge of what fate had in store both for him and for Gaius and Lucius. And the story goes that once in Rhodes he was about to push Thrasyllus from the walls, because he was the only one who shared all his own thoughts; but he did not carry out his intention when he observed that Thrasyllus was gloomy,—not, indeed, because of his gloom, but because, when asked why his countenance was overcast, the other replied that he had a premonition that some peril was in store for him. This answer made Tiberius marvel that he could foresee the mere project of the plot, and so he conceived the desire to keep Thrasyllus for his own purposes because of the hopes he entertained.

Thrasyllus had so clear a knowledge of all matters that when he descried, approaching afar off, the ship which was bringing to Tiberius the message from his
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παρὰ τοῦ Ἀυγοῦστου φέρον πόρρωθεν κατιδὼν προσπλέον, προειπεῖν αὐτῷ ἀ ἀγγέλλειν ἔμελλε.1

12 Τοῦ δὲ Δουκίου τοῦ τε Γαίου τὰ σώματα διὰ τε τῶν χιλιάρχων καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐφ’ ἐκάστης πόλεως πρώτων ἐς τὴν Ἐρώμην ἐκομίσθη, καὶ αἱ πέλται τά τε δόρατα, ἢ παρὰ τῶν ἦπεόων ἐς τοὺς ἐφηβοὺς ἐσιόντες χρυσὰ εἰλήφεσαν, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀνετέθη.—Xiph. 102, 25–103, 3.

2 Νευτότης2 δὲ ποτε3 ὁ Ἀυγοῦστος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ὄνομασθεὶς οὐχ ὅπως ἀπείπη μηδένα τούτως πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τῷ προσφήματι χρήσασθαι, ἄλλα καὶ πάνω διὰ φυλακῆς αὐτῷ ἐποιήσατο. πληρωθείσης δὲ οἱ καὶ τῆς τρίτης δεκαετίας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τότε τὸ4 τέταρτον, ἐκβιασθεὶς δῆδεν, ὑπεδέχατο, πραότερος τε καὶ ὀκνηρότερος ὑπὸ τοῦ γῆρως πρὸς τὸ τῶν βουλευτῶν τισιν ἀπεχαθάνεσθαι γεγονός οὐδενὶ ἐτ’ αὐτῶν προσκρούειν ἦθελεν.—Xiph. 103, 3–11, Zon. 10, 36.

3α Χιλίας τε καὶ πεντακοσίας μυριάδας δραχμῶν ἀτόκων τοῖς δεσμένοις δανείσας ἐπ’ ἔτη τρία, ἐπηνεῖτο παρὰ πάντων καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο.—Zon. 10, 36.

4 Ἐμπρησμοῦ δὲ ποτε τὸ παλάτιον διαφθείραντος, καὶ πολλῶν αὐτῷ πολλὰ διδόντων, οὐδὲν ἐλάβεν ἦ μόνον παρὰ μὲν τῶν δήμων χρυσοῦν παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἱδιωτῶν δραχμήν. χρυσοῦν γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸ νόμισμα τὸ τὰς πέντε καὶ εἰκοσὶ δραχμᾶς δυνάμενον κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχώριον ὄνομάζω καὶ τῶν Ἐλλήνων δὲ τινες, ὅν τὰ βιβλία ἐπὶ τὸ ἀττικὸ ἀναγινώσκομεν, οὕτως αὐτὸ ἐκάλεσαν.—Xiph. 103, 11–18, Zon. 10, 36.

1 ἔμελλε V, ἦμελλε CL'. 2 Νευτότης VC, καὶ Νευτότης L'.

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mother and Augustus to return to Rome, he told him in advance what news it would bring.

The bodies of Lucius and Gaius were brought to Rome by the military tribunes and by the chief men of each city. And the golden targes and spears which they had received from the knights on entering the class of youths of military age were set up in the senate-house.

When Augustus was once called "master" by the people, he not only forbade that any one should use this form of address to him, but also took very good care to enforce his command. And now that his third ten-year period was completed, he accepted the leadership for the fourth time, though ostensibly under compulsion. He had become milder through age and more reluctant to incur the hatred of any of the senators, and hence now wished to offend none of them.

For lending sixty million sesterces for three years without interest to such as needed it he was praised and magnified by all.

Once, when a fire destroyed the palace and many persons offered him large sums of money, he accepted nothing but an aureus from entire communities and a denarius from single individuals. I here use the name aureus, according to the Roman practice, for the coin worth one hundred sesterces. Some of the Greeks, also, whose books we read with the object of acquiring a pure Attic style, have given it this name.

3 ροτε VC, τοτε L'.  9 τοτε τδ CL', τδ V.
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Παρὰ δὲ τοῖς "Ελλησιν εἰκοσι δραχμῶν ὁ Δίων φησι τὸ χρυσοῦν ἀλλάσσεσθαι νόμισμα.—Zon. 10, 36.

'Ο δὲ Αὐγούστος τὴν οίκίαν οἰκοδομήσας ἔδημόσιως πᾶσαν, εἰτε δὴ διὰ τὴν συντέλειαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ δῆμου οἱ γενομένην, εἰτε καὶ ὅτι ἀρχιέρεως ἦν, ἵν’ ἐν τοῖς ἱδίοις ἀμα καὶ ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς οἰκοί.

13 Τοῦ δὲ δῆμου σφόδρα ἐγκειμένου τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἐνα καταγάγη τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ, θάσσων ἐφὶ πῦρ ὑδατί μιχθήσεται ἡ ἐκείνη καταχθήσεσθαι. καὶ ὁ δῆμος πυρὰ ἔστε τὸν Τίθεριν πολλὰ ἐνέβαλε· καὶ τότε μὲν οὐδὲν ἦνυσεν, ὑστερον δὲ ἐξεβιάσατο ὥστε ἐς γοὺς τὴν ἥπειρον αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς νῆσου κομμουσθήναι.—Xiph. 103, 19–28.

1a Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κελτικοῦ πολέμου κεκινημένου αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τε γῆρως καὶ νόσος κεκμηκὸς ἔχον τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἐκστρατεύσαι μὴ οἶός τε ὄν, πὴ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναγκασθεὶς πῆ δ’ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἰουλίας ἀνάπτευσθεὶς (ἡδὴ γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς ὑπορρίας κατηχθῆ), [Zon. 10, 36]. τὸν Τίθεριον καὶ ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἐξέπεμψε, τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ τὴν δημαρχίαν ἐς δέκα ἐτὸς. καὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ὑποπτεύσας πη ἐκφρονήσειν, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ νεοχωρήσῃ τι, τὸν Γερμανικὸν οἰ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν καίτοι καὶ 3 αὐτῷ ὑδῶν ἔχοντες ἐσεποίησε. καὶ τούτων ἐπιθαρσήσας ὡς καὶ διαδόχους καὶ βοηθοῦς ἔχων, διαλέξαι τὴν γερουσίαν αὐτὸς ἡθέλησε, καὶ δέκα

1 παρὰ Λ’, ἐπὶ τὰ VC.
2 γῆρως E (w corrected from ou), γῆρους ABCs.
3 αὐτὴ BCs, καὶ αὐτὴ AE. 4 τὸν supplied by Bs.

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Among the Greeks, Dio says, the aureus is exchanged for twenty drachmas.\footnote{That is, for the equivalent of eighty, instead of a hundred, sesterces.}

When Augustus had built his house, he made it all state property, either on account of the contributions made by the people or because he was high priest and wished to live in apartments that were at once private and public.

The people urged Augustus very strongly to restore his daughter from exile, but he answered that fire should sooner mix with water than she should be restored. And the people threw many firebrands into the Tiber; and though at the time they accomplished nothing, yet later on they brought such pressure to bear that she was at least brought from the island to the mainland.

Later, when a German war broke out and Augustus was worn out in body, by reason of old age and illness, and incapable of taking the field, he yielded, partly to the force of circumstances and partly to the persuasions of Julia, who had now been restored from banishment, and not only adopted Tiberius, but also sent him out against the Germans, granting him the tribuniciam power for ten years. Yet suspecting that he also would lose his poise somehow or other, and fearing that he would begin a rebellion, he made him adopt his nephew Germanicus, though Tiberius had a son of his own. After this he took courage, feeling that he had successors and supporters, and he desired to reorganize the senate once more. So he nominated the ten senators whom he most highly

\footnote{\textit{ξηπεμψε} supplied by Xyl.} \footnote{\textit{ἐκείνων} Xyl., \textit{ἐκείνων} M. cod. Coisl.}
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βουλευτάς οὖς μάλιστα ἐτίμα προβαλόμενος τρεῖς ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἔξεταστάς ἀπέδειξεν, οὗς ὁ κλήρος ἐἵλετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πολλοὶ οὔτε προκατέγνωσάν σφών ἐξουσίας αὐτοῖς δοθεῖσης, ὡσπερ καὶ πρότερον, οὔτ' ἀκοντες ἀπηλίψαν.

4 Τούτῳ μὲν δὴ δι’ ἐτέρων ἐπραξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπογραφὰς τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατοικοῦντων καὶ μὴ ἐλάττω πέντε μυριάδων οὐσίαν κεκτημένων ἐποιήσατο τοὺς γὰρ ἀσθενεστέρους τοὺς τε ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας οἰκούντας οὐκ ἴναγκασέν ἀπογράψαταί, δεῖσαν μὴ νεοτερίσωσι τι ταραχθέντες.

5 καὶ ὅπως γε μὴ δόξειν ὡς τιμητὴς αὐτὸ ποιεῖν, δι’ ὅπερ εἶπον πρότερον, ἀνθύπατον ἔξουσιαν πρὸς τε τὸ τέλος τῶν ἀπογραφῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ καθαρσίου ποίησιν προσέθετο. ἔπειδὴ τε συχνοὶ τῶν νεανίσκων ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ γένους κἀκ τῶν ἄλλων ἵππεών ἐπένοιτο μηδὲν ἐπαίτιον ἔχοντες, τοῖς μὲν πλεῖοι τὸ τεταγμένον τίμημα ἀνεπλήρωσεν, ὁγδοῖκοντα δὲ τισὶ καὶ ἐς τριάκοντα αὐτὸ μυριάδας ἐπηύξησε. πολλῶν τε πολλούς ἀκρίτως ἔλευθερούντων, δίεταξε τὴν τε ἡλικίαν ἣν τὸν τε ἔλευθερώσοντα τινα καὶ τὸν ἀφεθησόμενον ὦτ' αὐτοῦ ἔχειν δεῖσοι, καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα ὅσ' οἱ τε ἄλλοι πρὸς τοὺς ἔλευθερομένους καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ δεσπόται σφῶν γενόμενοι χρήσοιτο.
honoured and appointed three of them, selected by lot, to examine the qualifications of senators. There were not many, however, who were affected, either by declaring themselves disqualified when permission was given them to do so, as had been done on the previous occasion, or by having their names erased against their will.

Now Augustus caused others to carry through this business for him; but he himself took a census, but only of the inhabitants of Italy who possessed property worth at least two hundred thousand sesterces, for he did not compel the poorer citizens or those living outside of Italy to be listed, fearing lest if they were disturbed, they would become rebellious. And in order that he might not appear to be acting herein in the capacity of censor, for the reason I mentioned before, he assumed the proconsular power for the purpose of completing the census and performing the purification. Inasmuch, moreover, as many of the young men of the senatorial class and of the knights as well were poor through no fault of their own, he made up to most of them the required amount, and in the case of some eighty increased it to one million two hundred thousand sesterces. Since also many were freeing their slaves indiscriminately, he fixed the age which the manumitter and also the slave to be freed by him must have reached and likewise the legal principles which should govern the relations of both citizens in general and the former masters toward slaves who were set free.

While he was thus occupied, various men for plots against him, notably Gnaeus Cornelius, a son

1 Cf. l ii. 42, 2, and liv. 26, 4. 2 Cf. liv. 1, 5–2, 1.

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Πομπηίου ὃν, ὡςτε ἐν μεγάλῃ αὐτοῦ ἀμηχανίᾳ χρόνον τινὰ γενέσθαι, μήτ' ἀποκτείναι σφας, ὅτι οὐδὲν πλέον πρὸς ἁσφάλειαν ἐκ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἔωρα οἱ γιγνόμενοι, μήτ' ἀπολύσαι, μή καὶ ἑτέρους ἐκ τούτου ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπισπάσηται, ἔθελοντα.

2 ἀποροῦντι τε ὁν αὐτῶ ὃ τι πράξῃ, καὶ οὔτε μεθ' ἥμεραν ἀφροντιστεῖν οὔτ' ἀπ' ἕνως ἄτρεμειν ὑμνημένῳ ἐφ' ποτὲ ἦ Διονίαν: "τί ἐστι τούτῳ, ὦ ἄνερ; διὰ τι ὁ καθεύδεις;"

Καὶ ὁ Αὐγοῦστος: "καὶ τίς ἄν;" εἶπεν, "ὁ γύναι, κἂν ἐλάχιστον ἀπομερμηρίσειε τοσούτους τε ἀεί ἑχθροὺς ἔχων καὶ συνεχῶς οὕτως ἄλλοτε

3 ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐπιβουλεύομενος; ἢ οὖν ὁρᾶς ὅσοι καὶ ἔμοι καὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἡμῶν ἐπιτίθενται; καὶ αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ αἱ τιμωρίαι τῶν δικαιομένων ἀναστέλλοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν τοῦναντίον, ὡσπερ ἐπ' ἁγαθόν τι ἐπειγόμενοι, σπεύδουσι καὶ οἱ λοποὶ προσαπόλλυσθαι."

4 Ἀκούσασα οὖν τούτων ἦ Διονία: "τὸ μὲν ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι σε," ἐφ' ὁ θαυμαστὸν οὔτε ἔξω τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπον ἐστὶ· καὶ γὰρ πρόσεις πολλά ἀτε τηλικαύτην ἀρχὴν ἔχων, καὶ λυπείς, ὡσπερ εἰκός, συχνοὺς. οὐ γὰρ ποι ἡ ἄπαν ὅλον τοῦ ἄρχοντα τινὸς ἄρεσκειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπεχανέσθαι πολλοῖς καὶ τοῦ πάνυ ὀρθῶς

5 βασιλεύουσα ἀνάγκη. πολλῷ τε γὰρ πλεῖος τῶν δίκαιων τὰ πραττόντων οἱ ἀδικεῖν ἑθέλοντες εἰσίν, δὲν ἀδύνατον ἐστὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἀποπιμπλάναι καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀρετῆς τινὰ ἐχόντων οἱ μὲν καὶ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων, δὲν οὐ δύνανται
of the daughter of Pompey the Great. Augustus A.D. 4 was consequently in great perplexity for some time, since he neither wished to put the plotters to death, inasmuch as he saw that no greater safety would accrue to him by their destruction, nor to let them go, for fear this might induce others to conspire against him. While he was in doubt what to do and was finding it impossible either to be free from apprehension by day or from restlessness by night, Livia one day said to him: "What means this, husband? Why is it that you do not sleep?"

And Augustus answered: "What man, wife, could even for a moment forget his cares, who always has so many enemies and is so constantly the object of plots on the part of one set of men or another? Do you not see how many are attacking both me and our sovereignty? And not even the punishment of those who are brought to justice serves to check them; nay, quite the opposite is the result—those who are left are as eager to accomplish their own destruction also as if they were striving for some honourable thing."

Then Livia, hearing this, said: "That you should be the object of plotting is neither remarkable nor contrary to human nature. For you do a great many things, possessing so large an empire as you do, and naturally cause grief to not a few. A ruler can not, of course, please everybody; nay, it is inevitable that even a king whose rule is altogether upright should make many men his enemies. For those who wish to do wrong are far more numerous than those who do right, and it is impossible to satisfy their desires. Even among such as possess a certain excellence, some covet many great rewards which they
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tυχείν, ἐπορέγονται, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἑτέρων ἐλαττωθέντες ἄχθονται, καὶ οὕτως ἀμφότεροι τὸν κρα-
6 τοῦτα αἰτιῶνται. ὡστε ἐκ τοῦτων μὴ εἶναι κακοῦ ἀμαρτάνειν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτυ-
θεμένων οὕτι γε καὶ σοὶ ἀλλὰ τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ. σὲ μὲν γὰρ ἰδιωτεύνοντα οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ἐθελοντὴς κακοῦ
τι, μηδὲν γε προπαθῶν, ἔποιησε· τῆς δὲ δὴ ἀρχῆς καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πάντες, καὶ οἱ γε
ἐν δυνάμει τινὶ οὕτως πολὺ μᾶλλον τῶν ὑποδει-
7 στέρων, ὀργιγώνται. τούτῳ γὰρ ἔστι μὲν ἄδικων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἥκιστα νοῦν ἔχοντων ποιεῖν, οὐ
μὴν ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ φύσει αὐτῶν καθάπερ τι καὶ ἀλλο ἐνεστι, καὶ οὐχ οἶνον τέ ἔστι τὰ τοιαῦτα οὔτε
πείθοντα οὔτ' ἀναγκάζοντα ἐξελέσθαι τινῶν
οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτε νόμος οὕτε φόβος κρείττων τῶν
8 φύσει πεφυκότων γίγνεται. ταῦτ' οὖν λογιζόμενος
τὰς μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀμαρτίας μὴ δυσχέρανε, φυλακὴν δ' ἀκριβῆ καὶ σεαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς μοναρχίας
ποιοῦ, ἵνα αὐτὴν μὴ ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα κολάζειν τινὰς
ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα φυλάσσει ἀσφαλῶς ἑξωμεν.

15 Πρὸς οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Ἀὐγοῦστος: "ἀλλ' οἶδα μὲν καὶ ἐγὼ, δ' γύναι, ὅτι οὐτ' ἀλλο τοῦ μεγάλων
ἐξω φθόνου καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς καθέστηκεν, ἥκιστα
2 δὲ αὐταρχίας καὶ γὰρ ἄν καὶ ἰσόθεοι ἦμεν, εἰ μὴ
καὶ πράγματα καὶ φροντίδας καὶ φόβους ὑπὲρ
πάντας τοὺς ἰδιωτεύνοντας ἑξομεν. ἐμὲ δὲ δὴ καὶ
αὐτὸ τοῦτο λυπεῖ, ὅτι καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἔστι ταῦθ' οὕτως γίγνεσθαι, καὶ ἀδύνατον θεραπεῖαν τινὰ
ἀυτῶν εὐφρήναι."
3 "Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ γε τινες τοιοῦτοι εἰσιν οἷοι

1 πράγματα Xiph., πράγμα M.
BOOK LV

can not obtain, and some chafe because they are less honoured than others; hence both these classes find fault with the ruler. Therefore it is impossible to avoid meeting with mischief, either at the hands of these or, in addition, at the hands of those who attack, not you personally, but the monarchy. For if you were a private citizen, no one would willingly have done you any harm, unless he had previously received some injury; but all men covet the office of ruler and the good things that office affords, and those who already possess some power covet much more than those who are lacking in this respect. It is, indeed, the way of men who are wicked and have very little sense to do so; in fact, it is implanted in their nature, just like any other instinct, and it is impossible either by persuasion or by compulsion to destroy such instincts in some of them; for there is no law and no fear stronger than the instincts implanted by nature. Reflect on this, therefore, and do not be vexed at the shortcomings of the other sort of men, but as for your own person and your sovereignty, keep close guard of them, that we may hold the throne securely, not by the strictness of the punishments you inflict upon individuals, but by the strictness with which you guard it."

To this Augustus replied: "But, wife, I, too, am aware that no high position is ever free from envy and treachery, and least of all a monarchy. Indeed, we should be equals of the gods if we had not troubles and cares and fears beyond all men in private station. But precisely this is what causes my grief,—that this is inevitably so and that no remedy for it can be found."

"Yet," said Livia, "since some men are so con-
πάντως ἀδικεῖν ἔθελεν," εἶπεν ἡ Διονία, "ἡμεῖς
γε αὐτούς φυλαττόμεθα. ἔχομεν δὲ καὶ στρατιώτας πολλοὺς, ὥστε
οἱ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀντιτεταγμένοι οἱ δὲ καὶ περὶ σὲ ὄντες φρουροῦσιν
ἡμᾶς, καὶ θεραπειάν πολλὴν, ὡστε καὶ οίκοι καὶ
ἐξώ δι' αὐτοὺς ἀσφαλῶς ξῆνη.

4 Ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀὐγουστος: "ὅτι μὲν πολλοὶ
πολλάκις καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν συνόντων ἐφθάρη-
σαν, ουδέν," ἐφῄς, "δεόμαι λέγειν. πρὸς γὰρ
τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ τούτ' ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις χαλεπώ-
tατόν ἐστιν, ὅτι μὴ μόνον τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡσπερ
οἱ ἄλλοι, ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἱφθαρήμεθα.

5 καὶ πολὺ γε πλείους ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων, ἄτε καὶ
ἀεί, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ, καὶ γυμνουμένους
σφίσι καὶ καθεύδουσι σιτία τε καὶ ποτὰ ὑπ'
αὐτῶν παρεσκευασμένα λαμβάνουσι συγγενο-
μένων, ἐπεβουλεύθησαν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν μηδὲν προση-
κόντων· τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα, καὶ πρὸς μὲν ἐκεῖνους
ἐστι τούτους ἀντιτάξαι, πρὸς δὲ τούτους αὐτοὺς

6 οὐκ ἐστὶν ἄλλῳ τινι συμμάχῳ χρήσασθαι. ὡσθ'
ἡμῖν διὰ πάντων δεινοῦ μὲν τὴν ἐρημίαν δεινὸν
dὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ φοβερὸν μὲν τὴν ἀφυλαξίαν
φοβερωτάτους δὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς φύλακας, καὶ χαλε-
ποὺς μὲν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς χαλεπωτέρους δὲ τοὺς
φίλους εἶναι: φίλους γὰρ ἀνάγκῃ πάντας σφάς,

7 καὶ μὴ ὡςι, καλείσθαι. εἰ δ' ὅτι τὸς καὶ χρηστῶν
αὐτῶν τύχῃ, ἄλλα οὕτω πιστεύσεις ἀν
σφίσιν ὡστε καὶ ἱφθαρήμεθα καὶ ἁπροντίστω καὶ
ἀνυπόπτῳ τῇ ψυχῇ προσομιλεῖν. τούτῳ τε οὖν

1 φίλους M, φίλους Xiph.
2 καὶ added (between lines) by corrector in M, om. Xiph. flor.

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stituted as to want to do wrong in any event, let us guard against them. We have many soldiers who protect us, some arrayed against foreign foes and others about your person, and also a large retinue, so that by their help we may live in security both at home and abroad."

"I do not need to state," Augustus answered and said, "that many men on many occasions have perished at the hands of their immediate associates. For monarchies have this most serious disadvantage in addition to all the rest, that we have not only our enemies to fear, as have other men, but also our friends. And a far greater number of rulers have been plotted against by such persons than by those who have no connexion with them at all, inasmuch as his friends are with the ruler both day and night, when he takes his exercise, when he sleeps, and when he takes the food and drink which they have prepared. For the ruler labours under this special disadvantage as regards his friends, that, although he can protect himself from his enemies by arraying his friends against them, there is no corresponding ally on whom he may rely to protect him from these very friends. Consequently we rulers find it to be true at all times, that whereas solitude is dreadful, company also is dreadful, that whereas unprotectedness is terrifying, the very men who protect us are most terrifying, and that whereas our enemies are difficult to deal with, our friends are still more difficult. 'Friends,' I say, for friends they must all be called, even if they are not friends. And even if one should find loyal friends, still one could by no means so completely trust them as to associate with them with a sincere, untroubled, and unsuspecting
καὶ τὸ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι ἀμύνεσθαι πάντες ἔστιν. τὸ γὰρ τοῦ τιμωρεῖσθαι τε καὶ κολάζειν ἀεὶ τινὰς ἀναγκαζεσθαὶ μεγάλην ἀχθηδόνα τοῖς γε ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι φέρει.

16 "Ἄλλῳ ὄρθως γε λέγεις," ἀπεκρίνατο ἡ Διονία, "καὶ σοι γνώμην δούναι ἔχω, ἂν γε καὶ προσδέξασθαι αὐτὴν ἐθελήσῃς, καὶ μὴ διαμέμψῃ ὅτι γνυνὶ οὔσα τολμῶ σοι συμβουλέσαι τι οἷον οὐδὲ ἂν εἰς ἄλλος οὐδὲ τῶν πάνω φίλων παρανέσειεν, οὕτω ὅτι οὐκ ἴσασιν αὐτό, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐ θαρσοῦσιν εἰπεῖν."

2 "Δέγγ," ἢ δ' ὅς ὁ Ἀὐγουστος, "ὅ τι δὴ ποτε τούτῳ ἔστιν."

'Ἡ οὖν Διονία "φράσω," ἐφη, "μηδὲν κατοκήσασα, ἀτε καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ κακὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἱσου σοι ἐχοῦσα, καὶ σωζόμενον μὲν σου καὶ αὐτὴ τὸ μέρος ἀρχουσα, δεινὸν δὲ τι παθόντος, ὁ μὴ γένοιτο, συγαπολομένη. εἰ γὰρ τοι ἣ τε φύσις ἢ ἀνθρωπίνη πάντως τι ἀμαρτάνειν τινὰς ἀναπείθει, καὶ ἀμήχανον ἔστιν αὐτὴν πράξαι τι ὄρμημένην ἐπισχεῖν, καὶ ἣδη γε καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ δοκοῦντά τισιν ἄγαθα εἶναι, ἲνα μη τὰς τῶν πολλῶν κακίας εἴπω, καὶ πάνυ συχνοὺς ἁδικεῖν ἑπαίρει (καὶ γὰρ γένοις αὐχὴμα καὶ πλούτου φρονήμα τιμῆς τε μέγεθος καὶ ἐπ' ἀνδρείαν θράσος)

3 ἔξουσιας τε οὖν καὶ πολλῶς ἐξοκέλειν ποιεῖ), καὶ μήτε τὸ γενναῖον δυσγενεῖς μὴτε τὸ ἀνδρείον δειλὸν μήτε τὸ ἐμφρον ἄνουν ἔστι ποιησαι (ἀδύνατον γάρ), μήτε αὐτὰς περιουσίας τινῶν περικόπτειν

1 διαμέμψῃ R. Steph., διατέμψῃ M Xiph.
2 ἐπ' ἀνδρεία Wolf, ἐπ' ἀνδρείας M, ἐπ' ἀνδριαν Xiph.

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heart. This situation, then, and the necessity of taking measures to protect ourselves against the other group of plotters, combine to make our position utterly dreadful. For to be always under the necessity of taking vengeance and inflicting punishments is a source of great sorrow, to good men at least."

"You are indeed right," answered Livia, "and I have some advice to give you,—that is, if you are willing to receive it, and will not censure me because I, though a woman, dare suggest to you something which no one else, even of your most intimate friends, would venture to suggest,—not because they are not aware of it, but because they are not bold enough to speak."

"Speak out," replied Augustus, "whatever it is."

"I will tell you," said Livia, "without hesitation, because I have an equal share in your blessings and your ills, and as long as you are safe I also have my part in reigning, whereas if you come to any harm, (which Heaven forbid!), I shall perish with you. If it indeed be true that man's nature persuades some persons to err under any and all conditions, and that there is no way to curb man's nature when it has once set out upon a course of action, and that even what some men look upon as good conduct (to leave out of consideration the vices of the many) is forthwith with an incentive to wrongdoing to very many men (for example, boasting of high birth, pride of wealth, loftiness of honours, arrogance of bravery, conceit of power—all these bring many to grief); if it be true that one can not make ignoble that which is noble, or cowardly that which is brave, or prudent that which is foolish (for that is impossible); if, on the other hand, one ought not to curtail the abundance
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η τὰς φιλοτιμίας ταπεινοῦν μηδέν γε πλημμελοῦν
των χρῆ (ἄδικον γάρ), τὸ τ’ ἀμυνόμενον ἦ καὶ
προκαταλαμβάνοντὰ τινας καὶ ἀνιάσθαι καὶ
κακοδοξεῖν ἀναγκαίον ἐστί, φέρε μεταβαλώμεθα
5 καὶ τινὸς αὐτῶν φεισώμεθα. καὶ γὰρ μοι ἐδο-
κεῖ πολλῷ πλεῖω φιλανθρωπίᾳ τὴν ὁμότητι
κατορθοῦσθαι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ συγγνώμονας οὐ
μόνον οἱ ἔλεηθέντες ὑπ’ αὐτῶν φιλοῦσιν, ὡστε
καὶ ἀμείβεσθαι σφας σπουδάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ
ἀλλοι πάντες καὶ αἰδοῦνται καὶ σὲβουσιν, ὡστε
6 μὴ εὐτολμεῖν αὐτοὺς ἄδικεῖν· τοὺς δ’ ἀπαραιτή-
τοις ὄργαις χρωμένους οὐκ ἔκεινοι μόνοι οἱ τι
φοβούμενοι μισοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες
dυσχεραίνουσι, καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντον
αὐτοῖς, ἦν μὴ προσπόλωνται.

17 "Ἡ οὐχ ὤρας στί καὶ οἱ ἰατροὶ τὰς μὲν τομὰς
καὶ τὰς καύσεις σπανίωτατὰ τίσι προσφέρουσιν,
ἀνα μὴ ἐξαγριαίνωσιν αὐτῶν τὰ νοσήματα, τοῖς
dὲ αἰονήμασι καὶ τοῖς ἕττοισ φαρμάκοις τὰ πλεῖο
μαλθάσσοντες θεραπεύουσι; μὴ γὰρ, ὅτι ἔκεινα
μὲν τῶν σωμάτων ταῦτα δὲ τῶν ψυχῶν παθή-
ματά ἐστι, διαφέρειν τι νομίσῃς αὐτὰ ἀλλῆλων.

2 πάμπολλα γὰρ ὁμοια τρόπουν τινά καὶ ταῖς γνώ-
μαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κἂν τὰ μάλιστα ἀσώματοι
ἀσίν, καὶ οὐσίων σώμασι συμβάνει· συστέλλονται
tε γὰρ ὑπὸ φόβον καὶ ἐξοιδούσιν ὑπὸ θύμοι, λύπη
tὲ τινας κολούει καὶ θάρσος ὅγκοι, ὡστ’ ὀλίγον
σφόδρα τὸ παραλλάττον αὐτῶν εἶναι, καὶ διὰ
tοῦτο καὶ παραπλησίως ἰαμάτων αὐτὰ δείσθαι.

1 γὰρ μοι Pflugk, μοι γὰρ M.
2 ἀσίν καὶ flor., ἀσίν & καὶ M (but & deleted by corrector).
of others or humble their ambitions, when they are guilty of no offence (for that were unjust); if, finally, the policy of defending oneself or even of trying to forestall the attacks of others inevitably leads to vexation and ill repute—if all this is true, come, let us change our policy and spare some of the plotters. For it seems to me that far more wrongs are set right by kindness than by harshness. For those who forgive are not only loved by the objects of their clemency, who will therefore even strive to repay the favour, but are also respected and revered by all the rest, who will therefore not readily venture to harm them; those, on the other hand, who indulge in inexorable resentment are not only hated by those who have something to fear, but are also disliked by all the rest, and are in consequence even plotted against by them in their desire to avoid meeting with destruction first.

"Do you not observe that physicians very rarely resort to surgery and cautery, desiring not to aggravate their patients’ maladies, but for the most part seek to soothe diseases by the application of fomentations and the milder drugs? Do not think that, because these ailments are affections of the body while those we have to do with are affections of the soul, there is any difference between them. For also the minds of men, however incorporeal they may be, are subject to a large number of ailments which are comparable to those which visit their bodies. Thus there is the withering of the mind through fear and its swelling through passion; in some cases pain lops it off and arrogance makes it grow with conceit; the disparity, therefore, between mind and body being very slight, they accordingly
λόγος τε γὰρ ἦπιος τῷ λεχθεῖς πᾶν τὸ ἁγριαῖνον αὐτοῦ χαλά, καθάπερ τραχὺς έτερος καὶ τὸ ἀνειμένον ὅργιζει· καὶ συγγνώμη δοθεῖσα καὶ τὸν πᾶν θρασύν διαχεῖ, καθάπερ ἡ τιμωρία καὶ τὸν πᾶν πράον χαλεπαίνει. αἱ μὲν γὰρ βίαιοι πράξεις ἂει πάντας, κἂν δικαιόταται ὅσοι, παροξύνουσιν, αἱ δὲ ἐπιεικεῖς ἡμερούσι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πεισθεῖς ἂν τις βάνον καὶ τὰ δεινότατα ἐκῶν ἡ βιασθεῖς ὑπομείνειεν. καὶ οὗτο γε φύσει τινὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν χρῆται, ὡστε καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ξιφῶν τῶν μηδένα νοῦν ἐχόντων πολλὰ μὲν καὶ τῶν ἱσχυροτάτων καὶ ἁγριωτάτων θωπείαις τὲ τισὶ τιθασεύεται καὶ δελεάσμασι χειροῦται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν δειλοτάτων καὶ ἀσθενεστάτων λυπήμασι τε καὶ φόβοις καὶ ἐκταρρατταί καὶ παροξύνεται.

18 "Καὶ οὐ λέγω τούτῳ ὅτι δεῖ πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν ἀδικούντων φείδεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ὅτι τὸν μὲν ἵτν ἕτερον καὶ πολυπράγμονα καὶ κακοθύνη καὶ κακοβουλοῦν καὶ ἀνηκέστῳ τινὶ καὶ διαρκεῶς, ποιηρία συνύντα ἐκκοπτεῖν ὅπερ που καὶ τὰ πάνω ἀνίατα μέρη

2 τῶν σωμάτων, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων ὅσοι τι νεότητι ἡ ἁμαθία ἢ ἁγνοία ἢ καὶ ἐτέρα τινὶ συντυχίᾳ οἱ μὲν ἐκόντες οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀκόντες ἀμαρτάνουσιν, τοὺς μὲν λόγους νοουθετεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπειλαῖς σωφρονίζειν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐτερόν τινα τρόπον μετρίως τως μεταχειρίζεσθαι, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δούλων

1 μὲν ἵτην Χιρῆ., μενίτην Μ.
require cures of a similar nature. Gentle words, for example, cause all one's inflamed passion to subside, just as harsh words in another case will stir to wrath even the spirit which has been calmed; and forgiveness granted will melt even the utterly arrogant man, just as punishment will incense even him who is utterly mild. For acts of violence will always in every instance, no matter how just they may be, exasperate, while considerate treatment mollifies. Hence it is that a man will more readily submit to the most terrible hardships—and gladly, too,—if he has been persuaded, than if compulsion has been put upon him. And so true it is that, in following both these courses, man is subject to a compelling law of nature, that even among the irrational animals, which have no intelligence, many of the strongest and fiercest are tamed by petting and subdued by allurements, while many even of the most cowardly and weak are aroused to fury by acts of cruelty which excite terror in them.

"I do not mean by this that we must spare all wrongdoers without distinction, but that we must cut off the headstrong man, the meddlesome, the malicious, the trouble-maker, and the man within whom there is an incurable and persistent depravity, just as we treat the members of the body that are quite beyond all healing. In the case of the rest, however, whose errors, committed wilfully or otherwise, are due to youth or ignorance or misapprehension or some other adventitious circumstance, we should in some cases merely rebuke them with words, in others bring them to their senses by threats, and in still others apply some other form of moderate treatment, just as in the case of slaves, who commit now
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3 τοὺς δὲ ἐλάττοσι πάντες κολάζουσιν. ὥστε καὶ
tὰ κατὰ τούτους ἀκινδύνως μετριάζειν ἔξεστι σοι,
tοὺς μὲν φυγῇ τοὺς δὲ ἀτιμία τοὺς δὲ χρήματι
ζημιοῦντι, ἐτέρους ἐς χωρία ἐτέρους ἐς πόλεις
tινὰς κατατιθεμένω.

“Καὶ ἢδη γέ τινες καὶ ύπὸ τοῦ μὴ τυχεῖν ὅν
ἡλπιζον καὶ ύπὸ τοῦ διαμαρτεῖν ὅν ἔφειντο ἑσω-
4 φρονίσθησαν. ἔδρα τε ἀτιμοὶ καὶ στάσεις
ἐπονειδίστοι τὸ τε προλυπηθήναι καὶ τὸ προ-
φοβηθήναι συχνοὶ βελτίων ἐποίησε· καίτοι καὶ
ἀποθανεῖν ἔλοιπ' ἀν τις εὖ τε γεγονὼς καὶ ἀνδρεῖος
ὁ τοιοῦτο τι παθεῖν. ἔξις οὖν τούτων ἐκεῖνοι
μὲν οὐδὲν ράων ἡ τιμωρία, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαλεπωτέρα
γίγνουτ' ἀν, ἡμῖν δὲ δὴ τὸ μῆτε τινὰ ἐπηγοριάν
5 ἔχειν καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ζῆν υπάρξειν. ὡς νῦν γε
πολλοὺς μὲν ὅργῃ, τούς δὲ ἐπιθυμία χρη-
μάτων, ἀλλοις ἀνδρείας φόβῳ καὶ μάλα ἀλλοις
ἀρετῆς τινος φθόνῳ κτείνειν δοκούμεν. οὐδεὶς
γὰρ βαθίως πιστεύει ὅτι τις ἐν τε ἐξουσίᾳ
καὶ ἐν δυνάμει τοσαύτη ὅν ὑπ' ἰδιότου τινὸς
ἀόπλου ἐπιθυμεῖν δύναται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν
ταύτα λογοποιοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ὅτι ψευδὴ πολλὰ
ἀκούομεν καὶ πολλοὶς μάτην ὡς καὶ ἀληθεὶς
6 προσέχομεν. τοὺς γὰρ τοῦ διοπτεύοντάς τε καὶ
网约κοστούντας τὰ τοιαῦτα, τοὺς μὲν ἐξῆκαρ

1 δούλων ἀλλων ἀμαρτανόντων ἀλλὰ Capps, τάλλα ἀμαρτανό-
των R. Steph., δούλων timolaris Rk., τάλλα M Xiph.
2 πολλοὺς μὲν ὅργῃ supplied by Bs. M shows a lacuna of
fourteen to sixteen letters.
3 ἀόπλου R. Steph., ἀνόπλου M Xiph.
4网约κοστούντας Xiph. and corrector in M,网约κοστοῦτας M.

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BOOK LV

this and now that offence, all men impose greater penalties upon some and lesser upon others. Hence, so far as these political offenders are concerned, you may employ moderation without danger, punishing some by banishment, others by disfranchisement, still others by a pecuniary fine, and another class you may dispose of by placing some in confinement in the country and others in certain cities.

"Experience has shown that men are brought to their senses even by failing to obtain what they hoped for and by being disappointed in the object of their desires. Many men have been made better by having assigned to them at the spectacles seats which confer no honour, or by being appointed to posts to which disgrace attaches, and also by being offended or frightened in advance; and yet a man of high birth and spirit would sooner die than suffer such humiliation. By such means their plans for vengeance would be made no easier, but rather more difficult, of accomplishment, while we on our part should be able to avoid any reproach and also to live in security. As things are now, people think that we kill many through resentment, many through lust for their money, others through fear of their bravery and others actually through jealousy of their virtues. For no one finds it easy to believe that a ruler who possesses so great authority and power can be the object of plotting on the part of an unarmed person in private station, but some invent the motives I have mentioned, and still others assert that many false accusations come to our ears and that we give heed to many idle rumours as if they were true. Spies, they say, and eavesdroppers get hold of such rumours, and then—actuated sometimes
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tous de oryg, allous argyroion para twn exbropow auton labonta, allous par' auton ekeinon mu' labonta, polla kai yeudhe skenwreisthai fasin, ou monon oti ti deinon epirazin tines h kai pou- seon melloson lezontas, alla kai oti o men efthegzato toionde ti, o de akousas esiwptsev, allhos egelasev, alllos edakrusev.

19 "Mypria an toionotropo eitein exoim, de e kal t'a malista alheth eih, alla outi ge kai prosoikontai estin oute polupragumoneisthai par' eleutheros anbropois. oute sou diagnosthesv. labonta men gar t'a toiauta oudean an se blasev, akoushtenta de paranormal kai akonta.

2 oteriikista chrh allous te kai arxonti tinoyn symbainaiv. syxunous gouv ek tou'tou, touis men akritos touis de kai eskeuorimene tiv kata- gnosei dikasthriou, adikos apollusisthai polllo1 vofixoiv. oute gar tas marturias oute tas basanous outi, allo ti twn toioptwn ws kai

3 allbhes de kai' auton prosiendai. tauta gar ouitos, e kal mu dikaios estin de auton, alla' epi pantaun ge ws2 eitein twn ooutw thatanumewn thurleita. kai dei se, o Arxousti, mu monon mpeden adikein, alla mpede dokein. idiwthi men gar arkhei mpeden plhmmelenv, arxonti de de prosikhei

4 mpede dokeiiv tina auton larmbaneiv. anbropwv gar, alla oti theiion hgemoneivei' kai monos an

1 pollol added by corrector in M, om. Xiph.
2 ws Xiph. V, om. M Xiph. C.

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by enmity and sometimes by resentment, in some cases because they have received money from the foes of their victims, in other cases because they have received none from the victims themselves—concoct many falsehoods, reporting not only that such and such persons have committed some outrage or are intending to commit it, but even that when so-and-so made such and such a remark, so-and-so heard it and was silent, a second person laughed, and a third burst into tears.

"I could cite innumerable instances of such a kind, which, no matter how true they may be, are surely not proper subjects for gentlemen to concern themselves about or to be reported to you. Such rumours, if ignored, would do you no harm, but if listened to, would irritate you even against your will; and that is a thing by all means to be avoided, especially in one who rules over others. It is generally believed, at any rate, that many men are unjustly put to death as the result of such a feeling, some without a trial and others by a prearranged conviction in court; for the people will not admit that the testimony given or the statements made under torture or any evidence of that nature is true or suffices for the condemnation of the victims. This is the sort of talk that does, in fact, go the rounds, even though it is sometimes unjust, in the case of practically all who are put to death by action of the courts. And you, Augustus, ought not only to avoid unjust action, but even the suspicion of it; for though it is sufficient for a person in private station not to be guilty of wrongdoing, yet it behooves a ruler to incur not even the suspicion of wrongdoing. You are ruling over human beings, not wild
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οὔτως εὐνοεῖν σοι αὐτοὺς ἀληθῶς ποιήσειας, ἂν πανταχόθεν σφᾶς καὶ διὰ πάντων ὁμοίως πείσῃ ὃτι μήτε ἐκών τινα μήτε ἀκὼν ἀδικήσεις. 1 φο-βείσθαι μὲν γάρ τινα ἀναγκασθήναι τις δύναται, 5 φίλειν δὲ πεισθῆναι ὀφείλει. πείθεται δὲ ἐξ ὧν ἂν αὐτὸς τε εὗ πάθη καὶ ἔτερους εὐεργετομένους ἰδη. ὦ δ' ὑποτοπῆςας μὴ δικαίως τινὰ ἀπολω-λέναι καὶ φοβεῖται μὴ ποτὲ τι ὁμοίων πάθη καὶ μυσεῖν τὸν δράσαντα αὐτὸ ἀναγκάζεται. τὸ δὲ δὴ μυσεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων, πρὸς τῷ μηδ' 6 ἄλλως καλῶς ἔχειν, ἀλυσιτελέστατόν ἐστι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ νομίζουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἀναγκαίον εἶναι πάντας τοὺς καὶ ὁτιοῦν ἀδικη-σαντάς σφᾶς ἀμύνεσθαι, ἢν μήτε καταφρονώνται μήτε ἐκ τούτου πλεονεκτῶνται, τοὺς δ' ἀρχοντας τοὺς μὲν τὸ κοινὸν ἀδικούσιν ἐπεξίεναι χρὴναι, τοὺς δ' ἴδια τι ἐς αὐτοὺς πλημμελεῖν δοκοῦντας φέρειν μήτε γὰρ ἐκ καταφρονῆσεως μήτ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀδικηθῆναι σφᾶς δύνασθαι διὰ τὸ πολλὰ τὰ προφυλάσσοντα αὐτοὺς εἶναι.

20 ὡστε ἔγωγε ταῦτά τέ ἀκούονσα καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀποβλέπουσα κινδυνεύω καὶ παντελῶς ἀπειπεῖν σοι μηδένα διὰ τοιοῦτό τι ἀποκτινώναι. 2 αἴ τε γὰρ προστασίαι ἐπί τε τῇ τῶν ἀρχομένων σωτηρία καθίστανται, ὅπως μηδὲν μήθ' ὑπ' ἀλλή-λων μήθ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων βλάπτονται, οὐ μὰ Δία ὦν όπως ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνον τι λυπῶνται.

1 ἀδικήσεις flox., ἀδικήσεις M, ἀδικησείς ἀν Xiph.
beasts, and the only way you can make them truly well disposed toward you is by convincing them, by every means and on every occasion consistently, that you will wrong no one, either purposely or unwittingly. A man can be compelled to fear another, but he ought to be persuaded to love him; and he is persuaded not only by the good treatment he himself receives, but also by the benefits he sees conferred on others. The man, however, who suspects that a certain person has been put to death unjustly both fears that he may some day meet a like fate and is compelled to hate the one who is responsible for the deed. And to be hated by one’s subjects, quite apart from its being deplorable in general, is also exceedingly unprofitable. For most people feel that, although all other men must defend themselves against all who wrong them in any way or else become objects of contempt and so be oppressed, yet rulers ought to prosecute only those who wrong the state, tolerating those who are supposed to be committing offences against them privately; rulers, they reason, can not themselves be harmed either by contempt or by direct attack, inasmuch as there are many instrumentalities which protect them from both.

"I, therefore, when I hear such considerations advanced and turn my thoughts to them, am inclined to go so far as to urge you to give up altogether the inflicting of the death penalty in any case for reasons of this kind. For the office of ruler has been established for the preservation of the governed, to prevent them from being injured either by one another or by foreign peoples, and not for a moment that they may be harmed by the rulers themselves;
καὶ εὐκλεέστατον ἦστιν οὗ τὸ πολλοῦς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπολλύναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ πάντας, ἄν οἶον τε ἦ.

3 σώζειν δύνασθαι. παιδεύειν μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ νόμοις καὶ εὐεργεσίαις καὶ νοοθεσίαις δεῖ, ὥσπερ σωφρονίσωσι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τηρεῖν καὶ φυλάττειν, ἵνα κἀν ἀδικεῖν ἐθελήσωσι μὴ δυνηθῶσιν· ἄν δὲ δὴ νοσήσῃ τι, θεραπεύειν τε τρόπον τινὰ αὐτὸ καὶ

4 ἐπανορθοῦν, ἵνα μὴ παντελῶς φθαρῇ. τὸ τε γὰρ φέρειν τὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἀμαρτήματα καὶ πάνω μεγάλης καὶ φρονίσεως καὶ δυνάμεως ἔργου ἐστὶν· ἂν τε τις πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαύτα κατὰ τὴν ἄξιαν κολάζῃ, λήσει τοὺς πλείους τῶν ἀνθρώπων

5 ἀπολέσας. οἴθεν καὶ διὰ ταύτα σοι γνώμην δίδωμι θανάτῳ μὲν μηδένα τῶν τοιούτων τιμορεῖσθαι, ἐτέρως δὲ πως αὐτοὺς, ὡστε μηδὲν ἔτι δεινον δρᾶσαι, σωφρονίζειν. τί γὰρ ἄν ἀδικησεί τις ἐς νήσον κατακλεισθείς, ἢ καὶ ἐν ἄγρῳ πόλει τέ τινι, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἀνευ πλήθους οἰκετῶν ἢ χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ φρουρᾶς ὃν, ἄν γε καὶ τούτου

6 δεήσῃ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγγύς ποι ἐνταῦθα οἱ πολέμοι ἢσαν, ἢ καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης ἀλλότριόν τι ἦν, ὡστε τινὰ αὐτῶν διαδράντα πρὸς ἐκείνους κακὸν τι ἡμᾶς ἐργάσασθαι, πόλεις τέ τινες ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐχυραί καὶ τείχῃ καὶ ὄπλα ἑχουσαι ὑπῆρχον, ὡστε τινὰ καταλαβόντα αὐτὰς. φοβερὸν

7 ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, ἔτερος ἄν ἦν λόγος· ἄσπλων δὲ δὴ πάντων τῶν ταύτῃ καὶ ἀτείχότων ὡς πρὸς πόλει-

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1 ᾿R. Steph., ᾿M.
and the greatest glory is gained, not by putting many citizens to death, but by being in a position to save them all, if that be possible. We must educate the citizens by means of laws and benefits and admonitions, in order that they may be right-minded, and furthermore, we must watch over them and guard them, in order that, even if they wish to do wrong, they may not be able to do so; and if there is any ailment among them, we must find some way to cure it and correct it, in order that the ailing member may not be utterly destroyed. To endure the offences of the multitude is a task demanding at once great prudence and great power; but if any one is going to punish them all without distinction as they deserve, before he knows it he will have destroyed the majority of mankind. Hence and for these reasons I give you my opinion to the effect that you should not inflict the death penalty upon any man for such offences, but should rather bring them to their senses in some other way, so that they will not in future commit any crime. What wrong-doing, indeed, could a man indulge in who is shut up on an island, or in the country, or in some city, not only deprived of a throng of servants and a supply of money, but also under guard, in case this, too, is necessary? Of course, if the enemy were anywhere near here or if some part of our sea belonged to a foreign power, so that one or another of the prisoners might escape to them and do us some harm, or if, again, there were strong cities in Italy with fortifications and armed forces, so that if a man seized them, he might become a menace to us, that would be a different story. But in fact all the places here are unarmed and without walls that
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μον ὄντων, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων παμπληθές ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀφεστηκότων (πολλὴ μὲν γὰρ θάλασσα πολλὴ δὲ καὶ γῆ, καὶ ὅρη καὶ ποταμοὺς δυσδιαβά-
ς τοὺς ἐχοῦσα, διὰ μέσου ἐστὶ), τί ἄν τις φοβηθεὶς τὸν δεῖνα ἢ τὸν δεινα, γυμνοὺς, ἵδιωτεύοντας, ἐν-
tαυτὰ ποὺ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ σῇ ἀρχῇ ὄντας καὶ ἐντὸς τῶν σῶν ὅπλων κατακεκλειμένους; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὔτ' ἂν ἐνυόησαί τινα τοιούτων οὐδὲν, οὔτ' ἂν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μανείη τις, δύνασθαι γέ τι πρᾶξαι νομίζω.

21 "Πείραν οὖν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τούτων ἀρξάμενοι ποιη-
σώμεθα. τάχα γὰρ ἂν καὶ αὐτοὶ μεταβάλοιτο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀμείνους ποιήσειν καὶ γὰρ ὅρὲς ὅτι καὶ ὁ Κορωνίλιος καὶ εὔγενὴς καὶ ὀνο-
μαστὸς ἐστὶ, δεὶ δὲ ποὺ καὶ ταῦτα ἀνθρωπίνως ἐκλογίζεσθαι. οὐ πάντα τοῦ τὸ ξίφος διαπράτ-
tεται (μέγα γὰρ ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂ

1 κατακεκλειμένους Dind., κατακεκλεισμένους M Xiph.
2 ei supplied by Pflugk.
3 μεταβάλοιτο Xiph., μεταβάλλοιτο M.
4 ἂν added by corrector of M (in margin), om. Xiph. flor.
would be of any value in war, and our enemies are separated from them by an immense distance; much sea and much land, including mountains and rivers hard to cross, lie between them and us. Why, then, should one fear this man or that, defenceless men in private station, here in the middle of your empire and hemmed in by your armed forces? For my part, I do not believe that any one could conceive any such plot as I have mentioned, or that the veriest madman could accomplish anything by it.

"Let us make the experiment, therefore, beginning with these very men. Perhaps they may not only be reformed themselves, but also make others better; for you see that Cornelius is both of good birth and famous, and we ought, I presume, to take human nature into account in reasoning out such matters also. The sword, surely, can not accomplish everything for you,—it would indeed be a great boon if it could bring men to their senses and persuade them or even compel them to love a ruler with genuine affection,—but instead, while it will destroy the body of one man, it will alienate the minds of the rest. For people do not become more attached to any one because of the vengeance they see meted out to others, but they become more hostile because of their fears. So much for that side; but as for those who are treated in a forgiving spirit, they not only repent, because they are ashamed to wrong their benefactors again, but also repay them with many services, hoping to receive still further kindesses; for when a man has been spared by one who has been wronged, he believes that his rescuer, if fairly treated, will go

5 ἄντ' εὖ πείσεσθαι Dind., ἄντευπείσεσθαι Rk., ἄνθυποιεσθαι M Xiph.
4 οὐκ εὐφρεντήσειν ἑαυτὸν ἤγείται. πείσθητι οὖν μοι, φίλτατε, καὶ μεταβαλοῦ. 1 οὐτω μὲν γὰρ καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ δυσχερὰ πάντα ἀνάγισθε πεποιηκέναι δόξεις: οὖ γὰρ ἔστι πόλιν τηλικαύτην ἐκ δημοκρατίας πρὸς μοναρχίαν ἀγοντα ἀναίμωτὶ μεταστήσαι ἂν δὲ ἔπι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμένης, καὶ ἐκεῖνα γνώμη δεδρακέναι νομισθῆσαι.

22 Ταῦτα τῆς Διονύσης εἰπούσης ὁ Αὐγοῦστος ἐπείσθη τε αὐτῇ, καὶ ἀφίκε μὲν πάντας τοὺς ὑπατίους λόγους τισὶ νουθετήσας, τὸν δὲ ἴῃ Κορυνῆιον καὶ ὑπατον ἀπέδειξε. 2 κὰς τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνον καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπους οὔτως ὕκειοσκετό ὅστε μηδενά ἐτ' αὐτῷ τῶν ἄλλων μήτ' οὖτος ἐπιβουλεύσαι μήτε δόξαι· ἡ γὰρ ἴῃ Διούσι αἰτιωτάτη τῆς σωτηρίας τῷ Κορυνῆιῷ γενομένη ἤμελλεν αὐτῇ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Αὐγοῦστου λήψεσθαι.

3 Τότε δ' οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦ Κορυνῆιον καὶ ἐπὶ Οὐαλερίου Μεσσάλου ὑπάτων σεισμὸν τε ἔξασιοι συνέβησαν, καὶ ὁ Τίβερις τὴν τε γέφυραν κατέσυρε καὶ πλωτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ ἐπτὰ ἡμέρας ἐποίησε, τοῦ τε ἡλίου τι ἐκλυτεὶς ἐγένετο, καὶ λιμοὶ συνήνεχθησαν. 4 καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐτεὶ τούτῳ ὁ τε Ἀγριππᾶς ἐς ἐφήβους, μηδενὸς τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς τυχών, ἔσεραγάφη καὶ τὰς ἤπποδρομίας χωρίς μὲν οἰ βουλευταὶ χωρὶς δὲ οἱ ἰππησὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ πλῆθους εἰδοῦν, ὁ καὶ νῦν γίγνεται. ἐπειδὴ τε ὅτι οὐ βαδίως οἱ πάνυ εὐγενεῖς τὰς θυγατέρας ἐς τὴν τῆς Ἐστίας ἱερατείαν ἐπεδίδοσαν, ἐνομοθετήθη καὶ ἐξ

1 μεταβαλοῦ Χιφ., μεταβάλλου Μ.
2 ἀπέδειξε Μ Χιφ., προσαπεδείξεν Ζον.
to any lengths in his benefactions. Heed me, therefore, dearest, and change your course; if you do, all your other acts that have caused displeasure will be thought to have been dictated by necessity,—indeed, it is impossible for a man to guide so great a city from democracy to monarchy and make the change without bloodshed,—but if you continue in your old policy, you will be thought to have done these unpleasant things deliberately.”

Augustus heeded these suggestions of Livia and released all the accused with some words of admonition; and he even appointed Cornelius consul. As a result of this course he so conciliated both him and the other persons so treated that neither they nor any one of the rest thereafter either actually plotted against him or was suspected of doing so. It was rather Livia herself, who was chiefly responsible for saving the life of Cornelius, that was to be charged with plotting the death of Augustus.

At this time, in the consulship of Cornelius and Valerius Messalla, violent earthquakes occurred and the Tiber carried away the bridge and made the city navigable for seven days; there was also a partial eclipse of the sun, and famine set in. This same year Agrippa was enrolled among the youths of military age, but obtained none of the same privileges as his brothers. The senators witnessed the Circensian games separately and the knights also separately from the remainder of the populace, as is the case to-day also. And since the noblest families did not show themselves inclined to give their daughters to be priestesses of Vesta, a law was passed that the daughters of freedmen might like-
άπελευθέρων γεγεννημένας ἱερᾶσθαι.\(^1\) καὶ ὁ μὲν κλῆρος αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ πλείους ἡμιφεσβήτησαν,\(^2\) ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρόντων τῶν πατέρων σφῶν, οὕτως γε ἦπτευον, ἐγένετο, οὗ μὲντοι καὶ τοιαύτη τις ἀπεδείχθη.

23 Χαλεπῶς δὲ δὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀθλῶν σμικρότητα διὰ τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς τότε ἐνεστηκότας ὡς ἥκιστα ἐχόντων, καὶ μηδενὸς ἔξω τοῦ τεταγμένου τῆς στρατείας σφίσι χρόνου ὡς Ἰαβεὶν ἑθέλοντος, ἐψηφίσθη τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ δορυ-φορικοῦ πεινακισχίλιας δραχμάς, ἐπειδὰν ἐκκαί-δεκα ἔτη, τοῖς δὲ ἐτέρους τρισχίλιας, ἐπειδὰν\(^2\) εἰκοσι στρατεύσωνται, δίδοσθαι. τρία δὲ δὴ τότε καὶ εἰκοσι στρατόπεδα, ἡ δὲ γε ἐτέρου λέγουσι πέντε καὶ εἰκοσι, πολιτικὰ ἐτρέφετο. \(\nu\)\(\nu\)\(\nu\) μὲν γὰρ ἐννεακαίδεκα ἐξ αὐτῶν μόνα διαμένει, τὸ τε δευ-τερον τὸ Ἀὐγοῦστειον\(^3\) τὸ ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ τῇ ἀνῳ χειμάζον, καὶ τὰ τρία τὰ τρίτα, τὸ τε ἐν Φοινίκῃ τὸ Γαλατικόν, καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ τὸ Κυρηναϊκόν,\(^3\) τὸ τε ἐν Νομιδίᾳ τὸ Ἀὐγοῦστειον τῇ τεταρτον Σκυ-θικὸν ἐν Συρίᾳ, πέμπτον Μακεδονικὸν ἐν Δακίᾳ, ἐκτα δύο, ὅπο τὸ μὲν ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ τῇ κάτω, τὸ τῶν νικητῶν, τὸ δὲ ἐν Ιουδαίᾳ, τὸ σιδηροῦ, τέτα-κται· καὶ οἱ ἐβδομοὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ τῇ ἀνῳ, οἱ \(^4\) καὶ τὰ μάλιστα Κλαυδείοι ὄνομαδαται, οἱ τε \(^5\) ὄγδοοι Ἀὐγοῦστειοι, ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ τῇ ἀνῳ ὅντες· \(^4\) καὶ οἱ δέκατοι ἐκάτεροι, οἱ τε ἐν Παυσονίᾳ τῇ ἀνῳ οἱ δίδυμοι, καὶ οἱ ἐν Ιουδαίᾳ· τὸ τε ἐνδέκατον τὸ

\(^1\) ἱερᾶσθαι R. Steph., ἱερῶσθαι M.
\(^2\) ἡμιφεσβήτησαν Bs., ἀμφεσβήτησαν M (but in margin γρ. ἡμιφεσβήτησαν).
\(^3\) Ἀὐγοῦστειον Xiph., ἀὐγοῦστειο M (and similarly just below).
wise become priestesses. Many vied for the honour, \( a.d. 5 \) and so they drew lots in the senate in the presence of their fathers, so far as these were knights; however, no priestess was appointed from this class.

The soldiers were sorely displeased at the paltry character of the rewards given them for the wars which had been waged at this time and none of them consented to bear arms for longer than the regular period of his service. It was therefore voted that twenty thousand sesterces should be given to members of the pretorian guard when they had served sixteen years, and twelve thousand to the other soldiers when they had served twenty years. Twenty-three, or, as others say, twenty-five, legions of citizen soldiers were being supported at this time.\(^1\) At present only nineteen of them still exist, as follows: the Second (Augusta), with its winter quarters in Upper Britain; the three Thirds—the Gallica in Phoenicia, the Cyrenaica in Arabia, and the Augusta in Numidia; the Fourth (Scythica) in Syria; the Fifth (Macedonica) in Dacia; the two Sixths, of which the one (Victrix) is stationed in Lower Britain, the other (Ferrata) in Judaea; the Seventh (generally called Claudia\(^2\)) in Upper Moesia; the Eighth (Augusta) in Upper Germany; the two Tenths in upper Pannonia (Gemina) and in Judaea; the Eleventh (Claudia) in

\(^1\) The confusion is due to the fact that after the defeat of Varus there were but twenty-three legions left (out of twenty-six); but Augustus later increased the number to twenty-five.

\(^2\) Cf. lx. 15, 4.
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ἐν Μυσίᾳ τῇ κάτω, τὸ Κλαύδιειον· οὔτω γὰρ τὰ δύο στρατόπεδα ἀπὸ τοῦ Κλαύδιου ἐπεκλήθη, ὃτι αὐτὰ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Καμίλλου ἐπαναστάσει μὴ ἀντε-5 πολέμησε· καὶ τὸ δωδέκατον τὸ ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ τὸ κεραυνοφόρον, τὸ τε τρίτον καὶ δέκατον τὸ ἐν Δακίᾳ τὸ δίδυμον, καὶ τὸ τέταρτον καὶ δέκατον τὸ ἐν Παννονίᾳ τῇ ἄνω τὸ δίδυμον, τὸ τε πεντεκαίδε-6 κατον τὸ Ἀπολλώνειον τὸ ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ· καὶ οἱ εἰκοστοὶ οἱ καὶ Οὐαλερίειοι καὶ νικήτορες ὀνομα-σμένοι καὶ ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ τῇ ἄνω ὄντες· οὕστινα ὁ Αὔγουστος, ἐμὸς δοκεῖν, μετὰ τῶν τῆν τε τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἐποιημίαν ἔχοντων καὶ ἐν 3 τῇ Γερμανίᾳ τῇ ἄνω χειμαζόντων, εἰ καὶ τὰ μά-λιστα μὴν ύψι ἄπαντων Οὐαλερίειοι ἐπεκλήθη-σαν μήτε νῦν ἔτι τῇ προσηγορίᾳ ταύτῃ χρώνται, 7 παραλαβῶν ἐπήρησε. ταῦτ’ ἐκ τῶν Αὔγουστεών στρατοπέδων σώζεται· τα γὰρ δή λοιπὰ τὰ μὲν παντελῶς διελύθη, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐτέροις τισὶν ὑπὸ τε αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖνου καὶ ὑπ’ ἄλλων αὐτοκρατόρων ἀνε-μίχθη, ἀφ’ οὔπερ καὶ δίδυμα ὀνομασμένα νεό-μισται.

24 Ἔπειδὴ δὲ ἀπαξ ἐς τὸν περὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων λόγον προήχθην, καὶ τάλλα τὰ νῦν ὄντα, ὥς ποὺ πρὸς τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα αὐταρχησάντων κατελέχθη, φράσω, ἐν’ ἐνι χωρίῳ πάντα γεγραμμένα ραδίως 2 τῶν βουλὸμενον τὶ περὶ αὐτῶν μαθεῖν διδάσκῃ· ὁ τε γὰρ Νέρων τὸ πρῶτον τὸ 4 καὶ Ἰταλικὸν ὄνο-μαζόμενον καὶ ἐν τῇ κάτω Μυσίᾳ χειμάζον, καὶ ο

1 ὁ Αὔγουστος Bk., αὐτοῦς M.
2 δευτέρου καὶ supplied by Mommsen.
3 ἐν supplied by Xyl.
4 πρῶτον τὸ Bs., πρῶτον τὸ M.
Lower Moesia (for two legions were thus named after Claudius because they had not fought against him in the rebellion of Camillus 1); the Twelfth (Fulminata) in Cappadocia; the Thirteenth (Gemina) in Dacia; the Fourteenth (Gemina) in Upper Pannonia; the Fifteenth (Apollinaris) in Cappadocia; the Twentieth (called both Valeria and Victrix) in Upper Britain. These latter, I believe, were the troops which Augustus took over and retained, along with those called the Twenty-second who are quartered in Germany, 2—and this in spite of the fact that they were by no means called Valerians by all and do not use that name any longer. These are the legions that still remain out of those of Augustus; of the rest, some were disbanded altogether, and others were merged with various legions by Augustus himself and by other emperors, in consequence of which such legions have come to bear the name Gemina.

Now that I have once been led into giving an account of the legions, I shall speak of the other legions also which exist to-day and tell of their enlistment by the emperors subsequent to Augustus, my purpose being that, if any one desires to learn about them, the statement of all the facts in a single portion of my book may provide him easily with the information. Nero organized the First Legion, called the Italica, which has its winter quarters in

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1 Cf. lx. 15, 4.
2 Dio is in error here; the Twenty-second (Primigenia) was organized by Claudius and therefore should be in the list of later legions given in chap. 24.
3 Παννονία τῇ κάτω καὶ τὸ ἔβδομον τὸ δίδυμον τὸ ἐν 'Ἰβηρία συνέταξαν, Οὔσπασιανὸς τὸ τε δεύτερον τὸ ἐπικουρικὸν τὸ ἐν Παννονίᾳ τῇ κάτω καὶ τὸ τέταρτον τὸ Φλαουΐειον τὸ ἐν Μυσίᾳ τῇ ἀνω, τὸ τε ἐκκαίδεκατον τὸ Φλαουΐειον τὸ ἐν Συρίᾳ. Δομιτιανὸς τὸ πρῶτον τὸ Ἀθηναῖον τὸ ἐν Γερμανίᾳ τῇ κάτω, Θραῖανος τὸ δεύτερον τὸ Αἰγύπτιον καὶ τὸ τριακόσιον τὸ Γερμανικὸν, ἃ καὶ ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ ἐποιούμασεν, Ἀυτωνίνος ὁ Μάρκος τὸ τε δεύτερον τὸ ἐν Νωρίκῳ καὶ τὸ τρίτον τὸ ἐν Ραττίᾳ, ἃ καὶ Ἰταλικά κέκληται, Σεουάρος τὰ Παρθικά, τὸ τε πρῶτον καὶ τὸ τρίτον τὰ 1 ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ, καὶ τὸ διὰ μέσου τὸ δεύτερον τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ.

5 Νῦν μὲν δὴ τοσαύτα τείχη τῶν ἕκ τοῦ καταλόγου στρατευομένων ἔξω τοῦ τε ἀστικοῦ καὶ τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ ἐστὶ, τὸτε δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀγγοῦστον ταῦτα τε, εἴτε οὖν τρία εἴτε πέντε καὶ εἰκοσιον ὄντα, ἐτρέφετο, καὶ συμμαχία καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ἵππεων καὶ ναυτῶν ὀσιάδηπτο ἤν· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω τὸ ἀκριβῆς εἰπεῖν· οὐ τε σωματοφύλακες μῦριοι ὄντες καὶ δεκαχῆς τεταγμένοι, καὶ οἱ τῆς πόλεως φρουροί ἔξακισχίλιοι τε ὄντες καὶ τετραχῆ νεφελημένοι·

6 Ξένοι τε ἵππης ἐπίλεκτοι, οἷς τοῦ τῶν Βατάονων ἀπὸ τῆς Βατάουας τῆς ἐν τῷ Ῥήνῳ νήσου ὄνομα, ὧν δὴ κράτιστοι ἵππευειν εἰσὶν, κεῖται· οὐ μένυν ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν ἀκριβῆ, ὡσπερ οὐδὲ τῶν ἀνακλήτων, εἰπεῖν δύναμαι. καὶ γὰρ τούτους ἕξατο μὲν νομίζειν ἀφ' οὗ τοὺς συστρατευσάμενος τῷ πατρὶ

1 tà Bk., τὸ M.
Lower Moesia; Galba the First (Adiutrix), with quarters in Lower Pannonia, and the Seventh (Gemina), in Spain; Vespasian the Second (Adiutrix), in Lower Pannonia, the Fourth (Flavia), in Upper Moesia, and the Sixteenth (Flavia), in Syria; Domitian the First (Minervia), in Lower Germany; Trajan the Second (Aegyptia) and the Thirtieth (Germanica), both of which he also named after himself; \(^1\) Marcus Antoninus the Second, in Noricum, and the Third, in Rhaetia, both of which are called Italica; and Severus the Parthicae—the First and Third, quartered in Mesopotamia, and the Second, quartered in Italy.

This is at present the number of the legions of regularly enrolled troops, exclusive of the city cohorts and the pretorian guard; but at that time, in the days of Augustus, those I have mentioned were being maintained, whether the number is twenty-three or twenty-five, and there were also allied forces of infantry, cavalry, and sailors, whatever their numbers may have been (for I can not state the exact figures). Then there were the body-guards, ten thousand in number and organized in ten divisions, and the watchmen of the city, six thousand in number and organized in four divisions; and there were also picked foreign horsemen, who were given the name of Batavians, after the island of Batavia in the Rhine, inasmuch as the Batavians are excellent horsemen. I can not, however, give their exact number any more than I can that of the Evocati.\(^2\) These last-named Augustus began to make a practice of employing from the time when he called again

\(^1\) The Second was called Traiana and the Thirtieth Ulpia.

\(^2\) That is, the "Recalled." Cf. xlv. 12, 3.
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πρὸς τὰ ὅπλα αὐτὶς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνεκάλεσεν, ἐτήρησε δὲ καὶ εἰςὶ καὶ νῦν σύστημα ἰδιόν, ράβδους φέροντες ὡσπερ οἱ ἐκατόνταρχοι.

9 Δι' οὖν ταῦτ' ἀπορῶν χρημάτων, γνώμην ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐσήνεγκε πόρον τινὰ διαρκῆ καὶ ἀείων

1 ἀποδειχθῆναι, ὡπως μηδενὸς ἐξωθεὶς μηδὲν λυπομένου ἀφθόνως ἐκ τῶν τεταγμένων καὶ τὴν τροφῆν καὶ τὰ γέρα λαμβάνοσιν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐξητεῖτο, ἔπειδή τε μηδεὶς ἀγορανομῆσαι ἐκὼν ἰθέλεν, ἱμαγκάσθησαν ἐκ τε τῶν τεταμιευκότων καὶ ἐκ τῶν δεδημαρχηκότων κλῆρῳ τινὲς αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι,

25 καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἅλλοτε πολλάκις ἐγένετο· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὲ Λιμιλίου Λεπίδου καὶ ἐπὶ Λουκίου Ἀρρουντίου ὑπάτων, ἔπειδή μηδεὶς πόρος ἀρέσκων τισὶν εὐρίσκετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνω πάντες ὅτι

2 καὶ ἐξητεῖτο ἐβαρύνοντο, ἐσήνεγκεν ὁ Ἀὐγουστος χρήματα καὶ ὕπερ ἐαυτοῦ καὶ ὕπερ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐς τὸ ταμεῖον, ὦ καὶ στρατιωτικῶν ἐπωνόμασε, καὶ τρισὶ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων τοῖς λαχοῦσιν ἐπὶ τρία ἐτή διοικεῖν προσέταξε, ραβδοῦχοις τ' ἀνὰ δύο καὶ τῇ ἀλλῇ ὑπηρεσίᾳ τῇ προσηκούσῃ χρωμένοις.

3 καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐτῆ κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἐγένετο· νῦν γὰρ καὶ ἀἱροῦνται πρὸς τοῦ αἰεὶ αὐτοκράτορος καὶ χωρὶς ραβδοῦχον περιάσων. αὐτὸς τε ὅνων συνεσήνεγκε τινὰ, καὶ τούτῳ κατ' ἐτος πράξεων ὑπέσχετο, καὶ παρὰ βασιλέων δὴ-

1 ἀείων Dind., ἀείων M.

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into service against Antony the troops who had served with his father, and he maintained them afterwards; they constitute even now a special corps, and carry rods, like the centurions.

Now Augustus lacked funds for all these troops, and therefore he introduced a proposal in the senate that revenues in sufficient amount and continuing from year to year should be set aside, in order that the soldiers might receive without stint from the taxes levied their maintenance and bonuses without any outside source being put to annoyance. The means for such a fund were accordingly sought. Now when no one showed a willingness to become aedile, some men from the ranks of the ex-quaestors and ex-tribunes were compelled by lot to take the office—a thing which happened on many other occasions. After this, in the consulship of Aemilius Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius, when no revenues for the military fund were being discovered that suited anybody, but absolutely everybody was vexed because such an attempt was even being made, Augustus in the name of himself and of Tiberius placed money in the treasury which he called the military treasury, and commanded that three of the ex-praetors, to be chosen by lot, should administer it for three years, employing two lictors apiece and such further assistance as was fitting. This method was followed with the successive incumbents of the office for many years; but at present they are chosen by the emperor and they go about without lictors. Now Augustus made a contribution himself toward the fund and promised to do so annually, and he also

1 Cf. xlix. 16, 2; liii. 2, 2; liv. 11, 1.
2 Aerarium militare.
μεν τε τινῶν ἐπαγγελίας ἐδέξατο· παρὰ γὰρ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, καίπερ συχνῶν ἐθελοντί, ὡς γε ἔλεγον, 4 ἐπιδιδόντων τι, οὖν ἔλαβεν. ὡς δ' οὖν ταύτα τε ἐλάχιστα πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀναλυσκομένων ἤν καὶ ἀθανάτου τινὸς εὐπορίας ἐδείτο, προσέταξε τοῖς βουλευταῖς ζητήσας πόρους ἰδία καὶ καθ’ ἕαυτὸν ἔκαστον, καὶ τούτους ἑς βιβλία γράψατας δούναι οἱ διασκέψασθαι, οὕχ ὅτι οἶκ ἐπενόει τινά, ἀλλ’ ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτοὺς
5 πείσῃ ὅν ἐβούλετο ἐλέσθαι. ἀμέλει ἄλλων ἄλλα ἑσπηγγεσαμένων ἐκείνων μὲν οὔδεν ἕδοκίμασε, τὴν δ’ εἰκοστὴν τῶν τε κληρῶν καὶ τῶν δωρεῶν, ἃς ἂν οἱ τελευτῶντες τισὶ πλὴν τῶν πάνω συγγενῶν ἢ καὶ πενήτων καταλείποις, κατεστήσατο, ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπομνήμασι τὸ τέλος
6 τοῦτο γεγραμμένον εὐρόν· ἔσθεκτο μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρότερον ποτε, καταλυθέν δὲ μετὰ ταύτα αὐθίς τὸτε ἑπανήχθη. τὰς μὲν οὖν προσόδους οὔτως ἑπηνύξησε, τὰ δ’ ἀναλώματα διὰ τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑπατευκότων, οὖς ὁ κλήρος ἀπέφηνε, τὰ μὲν συνεστείλε τὰ δὲ καὶ παντάπασι διέγραψε.

26 Ταῦτά τε οὖν τοὺς 'Ρωμαίους ἐλύπει, καὶ προσέτι καὶ λυμός ἰσχυρός, ὡσθ’ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοὺς τε μονομαχοῦντας καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ ὁνία ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακόσιους σταδίους ἐξωσθῆναι, ἐκ τῆς θεραπείας καὶ τῶν Ἀὔγουστον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τὸ πλείον ἀποπέμψασθαι, καὶ δικῶν ἀνοχὰς γενέσθαι, ἐκδημεῖν τε τοῖς βου-
2 λευταίς ἐνθα ἦν ἐθελήσωσιν ἐπιτραπῆναι. καὶ ὅπως γ’ ἄν μηδὲν ἐκ τούτου τὰ δόγματα ἐμποδί-

1 οὔδεν Reim., οὐδένα M.
BOOK LV

accepted voluntary contributions from kings and certain communities; but he took nothing from private citizens, although a considerable number made offers of their own free will, as they at least alleged. But as all this proved very slight in comparison with the amount being spent and there was need of some permanent supply, he ordered each one of the senators to seek out sources of revenue, each independently of the others, to write them in books, and give them to him to consider. This was not because he had no plan of his own, but as the most certain means of persuading them to choose the plan he preferred. At all events, when different men had proposed different schemes, he approved none of them, but established the tax of five per cent. on the inheritances and bequests which should be left by people at their death to any except very near relatives or very poor persons, representing that he had found this tax set down in Caesar’s memoranda. It was, in fact, a method which had been introduced once before, but had been abolished later, and was now revived. In this way, then, he increased the revenues; as for the expenditures, he employed three ex-consuls, chosen by lot, by whose help he reduced some of them and altogether abolished others.

This was not the only source of trouble to the Romans; for there was also a severe famine. In consequence of this, the gladiators, and the slaves who were for sale, were banished to a distance of one hundred miles, Augustus and the other officials dismissed the greater part of their retinues, a recess of the courts was taken, and senators were permitted to leave the city and to proceed wherever they pleased. And in order that their absence might not
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ζηταί, κύρια πάντα τὰ γιγνωσκόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀεὶ παρόντων εἶναι ἐκελεύσθη. καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἄνδρες ὑπατευκότες ἐπὶ τε τοῦ σίτου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρτου κατέστησαν, ὥστε τακτὸν ἐκάστῳ

3 πιπράσκεσθαι. ἐπέδωκε μὲν γὰρ καὶ προῖκα ὁ Ἀὔγουστος τοῖς σιτοδοτουμένοις τοσοῦτον ἔτερον ὅσον ἀεὶ ἐλάμβανον· ώς δὲ οὔδε ἐκεῖνο σφισιν ἐξήρκεσεν, οὔδὲ ἐς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ γενέθλια δήμοσία ἀυτοὺς ἐστιαθήναι εἰάσεν.

4 Ἐπειδὴ τε ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως πυρὶ διεφθάρη, ἄνδρας τὲ ἐξελευθέρους ἐπταχῇ πρὸς τὸς ἐπικουρίας αὐτῆς κατελέξατο, καὶ ἄρχοντα ἰππέα αὐτοὺς προσέταξεν, ώς καὶ δὴ

5 ολίγου σφᾶς διαλύσων. οὐ μὲντοι καὶ ἐποίησε τούτῳ καταμαθῶν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πείρας καὶ χρησιμοτάτην καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτην τὴν παρ’ αὐτῶν βοήθειαν οὕσαν ἐτήρησεν αὐτοὺς. καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ νῦν οἱ νυκτοφύλακες οὗτοι ἵδιον τῶν τρόπων οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἐτι μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων στρατευόμενοι, καὶ τείχη τε ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔχουσι καὶ μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ δήμοσίου φέρουσιν.

27 Ὁ δ’ οὖν ὦμιλος, οὐα ὑπὸ τε τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ τέλους τοῖς θ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπολωλόσι κεκακωμένος, ἡσχαλλε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ φανερῶς νεωτεροποιὰ 1 διελάλουν, πλείω δὲ δὴ

2 βιβλία νῦκτωρ ἔξετίθεσαν· καὶ ταῦτ’ ἐλέγετο μὲν ἐκ παρασκευής Πουπλίου τινὸς 'Ρούφου γιγνεσθαί, ὑπωππεύετο δὲ ἐς ἄλλους· ο μὲν γὰρ

1 νεωτεροποιὰ Leunel., νεωτεροποιαί (corrected from νεωτεροποιαί) M.

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prevent decrees from being passed, a ruling was made that all decisions reached by those in attendance at any meeting should be valid. Moreover, ex-consuls were appointed to have oversight over the grain and bread supplies, so that only a fixed quantity should be sold to each person. Augustus, to be sure, gave free of cost to those who were receiving doles of corn as much again in every case as they were already getting; but when even that did not suffice for their needs, he forbade even the holding of public banquets on his birthday.

When many parts of the city were at this time destroyed by fire, he organized a company of freed-men, in seven divisions, to render assistance on such occasions, and appointed a knight in command over them, expecting to disband them in a short time. He did not do so, however; for he found by experience that the aid they gave was most valuable and necessary, and so retained them. These night-watchmen exist to the present day, as a special corps, one might say, recruited no longer from the freedmen only, but from the other classes as well. They have barracks in the city and draw pay from the public treasury.

Now the masses, distressed by the famine and the tax and the losses sustained in the fire, were ill at ease, and they not only openly discussed numerous plans for a revolution, but also posted at night even more numerous bulletins. Word was given out that all this had been planned and managed by one Publius Rufus, but suspicion was directed to others;
'Ρούφος ούτη ἐνθυμηθῆναι τι αὐτῶν ούτε πράξαι ἔδύνατο, ἔτεροι δὲ τῷ ἐκείνου ὑνόματι καταχρῶ.

3 μενοὶ καινοτομεῖν ἐπιστεύοντο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ξήτησις τε αὐτῶν ἐψηφίσθη καὶ μὴνυτρα προετήθη, μηνύσεις τε ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ ἡ πόλις καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἐταράττετο, μέχρις οὔ ἦ τε σιτοδεία ἐπαύσατο, καὶ μονομαχίας ἀγώνες ἐπὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ πρὸς τε τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ πρὸς Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Νέρωνος, τῶν νιέων αὐτοῦ, ἐγένοντο. τούτῳ τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Δρούσου μνήμη παρεμυθήσατο, καὶ ὡς τὸ Διοσκόρειον ὁ Τιβέριος καθιερώσας οὐ τὸ ἐαυτοῦ μόνον ὄνομα αὐτῷ, Κλαυδιανὸν ἐαυτὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ Κλαυδίου διὰ τὴν ἐσ τὸ τοῦ Αὐγοῦστου γένους ἐκποίησιν ὑνομάσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου ἐπέγραψε. τὰ τε γὰρ τῶν πολέμων ἀμα διφκει, καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ὅποτε παράσχου, συνεχῶς ἐσεφοίτα, τὸ μὲν τι πραγμάτων τινῶν ἑνεκα, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλειστον φοβοῦμενος μὴ ὁ Αὐγοῦστος ἄλλον τινὰ παρὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν αὐτοῦ προτιμήσῃ.

5 Ταῦτα τε ἐν τῷ ἐτεί τούτῳ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ τῆς Ἀχαίας ἄρχων μεσούσης που τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀπέθανε, τῷ τε ταμίᾳ καὶ τῷ παρέδρῳ αὐτοῦ, διο πρεσβευτὴν, ἀσπέρ εἶπον, καλοῦμεν, τῷ μεν τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ τῷ δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ διοικήσαι προσετάχθη. ὁ τε Ἡρώδης ὁ Παλαιστῖνος, αἰτίαν τινὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν λαβὼν, ὑπὲρ τὰς "Ἀλπείς

1 Διοσκόρειον Dind., διοσκούρειον Μ.
2 ταμία Bk., ταμίεια Μ.

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for as Rufus could neither have devised nor accomplished any of these things, it was believed that others, making use of his name, were planning a revolution. Therefore an investigation of the affair was voted for and rewards for information were announced. Information began to be offered, and this also contributed to the commotion in the city. This lasted until the scarcity of grain was at an end and gladiatorial games in honour of Drusus were given by Germanicus Caesar and Tiberius Claudius Nero, his sons. For this mark of honour to the memory of Drusus comforted the people, and also the dedication by Tiberius of the temple of Castor and Pollux, upon which he inscribed not only his own name,—calling himself Claudianus instead of Claudius, because of his adoption into the family of Augustus,—but also that of Drusus. Tiberius, it should be explained, continued to carry on the wars, and at the same time visited the city repeatedly whenever the opportunity offered; this was partly, to be sure, on account of various business, but chiefly because he was afraid that Augustus might take advantage of his absence to show preference to somebody else.

These were the events in the city that year. In Achaia the governor died in the middle of his term and instructions were given to his quaestor and to his assessor (whom, as I have stated,\(^1\) we call envoy) for the former to administer the province as far as the Isthmus and the other the remainder. Herod\(^2\) of Palestine, who was accused by his brothers of some wrongdoing or other, was banished beyond the

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\(^{1}\) Cf. liii. 14, 6.

\(^{2}\) Archelaus, son of Herod the Great, who used the name Herod on his coinage.
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υπερωρίσθη, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ἐδημοσιώθη.

28 Καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους χρόνους καὶ πόλεμοι πολλοὶ ἐγένοντο. καὶ γὰρ λησταὶ συχνὰ κατέτρεχον, ὡστε τὴν Σαρδῶν μηδ' ἀρχοντα βουλευτὴν ἐτείς τις σχεῖν, ἀλλὰ στρατιώταις τε καὶ στρατιάρχαις ἐπιτραπέζαι· καὶ πόλεις οὐκ ὁλύγαι ἐνεωτερίζον, ὡστε καὶ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτη τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς τοῦ δήμου ἔθνεσι, καὶ αἱρετοῖς γε ἀντὶ τῶν κληρωτῶν, ἀρξαί· τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἄλλως ἐπὶ πλείω χρόνον τοῖς αὐτοῖς προσ-ετάττετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ περὶ πάντων αὐτῶν ἀκριβῶς ἐπεξέρχοντο; 3 πολλά τε γὰρ ὡς ἐκάστοις καὶ οὐκ ἀξίολογα συνηνέχθη, καὶ οὔδεν ἂν

3 λεπτολογηθέντα ὁφελήσει. τὰ γε μὴν μνήμης τινὸς ἡξία κεφαλαιώσας, πλὴν τῶν μεγίστων, ἑρῶ.

Ἰσαυροῖ τε γὰρ ἐκ ληστείας ἀρξάμενοι καὶ ἐς πολέμου δεινότητα προήχθησαν, μέχρις οὐ κατε-δαμάσθησαν· καὶ Γαῖτούλοι τῷ τῷ Ἰουβα τῷ βασιλεὶ ἀχόμενοι, καὶ ἀμα ἀπαξιούντες μὴ οὐ καὶ αὐτοὶ ύπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχεσθαί, ἐπανε-στήσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν τε πρόσχωρον ἐπόρθησαν καὶ συνροής καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιστρατεύσαντις σφισιν ἀπέκτειναν, τὸ τε σύμπαν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπηνυξήθησαν ὡστε Κορηλίου Κόσσον τὸν κατεργασάμενον σφας τιμᾶς τε ἐπινικίους καὶ ἑπο-5 νυμίαν ἀπ' αὐτῶν λαβεῖν. ταῦτα τε ἀμα ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐπὶ τούς Κελτοὺς ἐστράτευσαν μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι

1 μηδ' Βκ., μητ' Μ. 2 τοῖς Reim., ἐν τοῖς Μ. 3 ἐπεξέρχετο Reim., ἐπεξέρχεσται Μ. 4 οὐδὲν ἂν Pflugk, οὐδένα Μ. 5 Γαῖτούλοι (Γαῖτούλοι) R. Steph., γενοῦλε Μ.
Alps and his portion of the domain was confiscated to the state.

During this same period many wars also took place. Pirates overran a good many districts, so that Sardinia had no senator as governor for some years, but was in charge of soldiers with knights as commanders. Not a few cities rebelled, with the result that for two years the same men held office in the provinces which belonged to the people and were appointed instead of being chosen by lot; of course the provinces which belonged to Caesar were, in any case, assigned to the same men for a longer period. But I shall not go into all these matters minutely, for many things not worthy of record happened in individual instances and their recital in detail would serve no useful purpose. I shall give simply the events worthy of some mention and very briefly at that, except in the case of those of greatest importance.

The Isaurians began with marauding expeditions, but were led on into all the horrors of war, until they were utterly subdued. The Gaetulians, also, were discontented with their king, Juba, and scorning the thought that they, too, should be ruled over by the Romans, rose against him. They ravaged the neighbouring territory, slew many even of the Romans who made a campaign against them, and, in fine, gained so great headway that Cornelius Cossus, who subjugated them, received triumphal honours and also a title from them. While these events were occurring, expeditions against the Germans also were being conducted by various leaders,

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1 By Augustus, naturally.
2 Gaetulicus.
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1. Οὐσούργου Reim., σούγρου M.

29 Ταῖς γὰρ ἐσφοραῖς τῶν χρημάτων οἱ Δελμάται βαρυνόμενοι τῶν μὲν ἐμπροσθε χρόνον καὶ ἄκουτες ἡσύχαζον ὡς ὃ τε Τιβέριος ἐπὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς το δεύτερον ἐστράτευσε, καὶ Οὐαλέριος Μεσσαλίνος ο τότε καὶ τῆς Δελματίας καὶ τῆς Παννονίας ἄρχων αὐτὸς τε σὺν ἐκείνῳ ἑστάλη καὶ τὸ πολὺ

2. τοῦ στρατοῦ συνεξήγαγε, καὶ τῶν καὶ σφεῖσ δύναμιν πέμψαι κελευσθέντες συνήλθον τε ἐπὶ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν σφῶν ἀνθοῦσαν εἶδον, οὐκέτι διεμέλλησαν, ἀλλ' ἐνάγωντος αὐτοὺς ὦτ τοίνυν οἰκεῖος τινὸς Δησιδιάτου τὸ μὲν πρώτον ὅλγουν τίνες ἐνεστέρισαν καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπελθόντας σφίσιν ἐσφηλαν, ἐπείτα δὲ ἐκ τούτου

3. καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι προσαπέστησαν. καὶ μετὰ τούτο καὶ Βρεδκοὶ Παννονικὸν ἔθνος, Βάτωνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐτερον προστησήμενοι, ἐπὶ τοῦ Σίρμιου καὶ ἔπει τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίους ὀρμήσαν. καὶ ἐκεῖνο

τινές, ἐστράτευσε δὲ καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος. καὶ μέχρι γε τοῦ ποταμοῦ, πρότερον μὲν τοῦ Οὐσούργου,1 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ Ἀλβίου, προεχόρησεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἄξιομνημόνευτον τι τότε γε ἐπράξθη, 6 καὶ τοῦτοι καὶ αὐτοκράτορος μὴ ὅτι τοῦ Δυναμιτου ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Τιβέριου ἐπ' αὐτοῖς κληθέντος, καὶ τιμᾶς ἐπινικίους Γαίου Σεντίου τοῦ τῆς Περμανίας ἀρχοντός λαβόντος, ἐπειδὴ μὴ μόνον ἄπαξ ἀλλὰ καὶ δεύτερον, φοβηθέντες αὐτοὺς, ἔσπειραν. 7 σαντο. αὐτία δὲ τοῦ καίπερ παρασπονδήσασι σφίσι δὲ οὐλίγου αὐθῖς τὴν εἰρήνην διδάστηκαν τα τῶν Δελματῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν Παννονίων, μειώνωσι τε παραχάντα καὶ ὄξείς ἐπιστροφῆς δειηθέντα, ἐγένετο.
especially Tiberius. He advanced first to the river Visurgis and later as far as the Albis, but nothing noteworthy was accomplished at this time, although not only Augustus but also Tiberius was called imperator because of the campaign, and Gaius Sentius, the governor of Germany, received triumphal honours, inasmuch as the Germans, through their fear of the Romans, made a truce, not merely once, but twice. The reason that peace was granted them a second time, in spite of their having broken their truce so soon, was that the Dalmatians and Pannonians were in a state of great disturbance and required sharp attention.

The Dalmatians, chafing under the levies of tribute, had hitherto kept quiet, though unwillingly. But when Tiberius made his second campaign against the Germans, and Valerius Messallinus, the governor of Dalmatia and Pannonia at the time, was sent out with him, taking most of his army along, the Dalmatians, too, were ordered to send a contingent; and on coming together for this purpose and beholding the strength of their warriors, they no longer delayed, but, under the vehement urging of one Bato, a Desidian, at first a few revolted and defeated the Romans who came against them, and then the rest also rebelled in consequence of this success. Next the Breucians, a Pannonian tribe, put another Bato at their head and marched against Sirmium and the Romans in that town. They did
μὲν οὖν ἔξειλον (αἰσθόμενος γὰρ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως αὐτῶν Καικίνας ἔπειθε τε αὐτοῖς διὰ ταχέων περὶ τοῦ Δράμου ποταμὸν οὕσι καὶ συμβαλῶν ἐνίκησεν), ἀναμαχέσεσθαι ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συχνοὶ ἐπεπτώκεσαν, ἔλπισαντες πρὸς παράκλησιν συμμάχων ἐτράποντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν συνιστῶν ὅσοις ἐδύναντο, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ὁ Βάτων ὁ Δελμάτης ἐπὶ Σάλωνα στρατεύσας αὐτός μὲν λίθῳ χαλεπῶς πληγεὶς οὐδὲν ἔπραξεν, ἑτέρους δὲ τινὰς πέμψας πάντα τὰ παραθαλάσσια μέχρι τῆς Ἀπολλωνίας ἐλυμήνατο, καὶ τινὶ ἐνταῦθα μάχῃ διὰ αὐτῶν τοὺς προσμέ-ξαντάς σφισὶ 'Ῥωμαίους, καίπερ προηγηθεῖς, ἀντεπεκράτησε. πυθόμενος οὖν ταῦθ' ὁ Τιβέριος, καὶ φοβθηεῖς μὴ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβάλωσιν, ἐκ τε τῆς Κελτικῆς ἀνέστρεψε, καὶ τὸν Μεσσα-λίνον προπέμψας αὐτὸς τῷ πλείον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐφείπετο. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τῆς προσόδου αὐτῶν ὁ Βάτων ἀπήντησε τῷ Μεσσαλίνῳ, καίπερ μη-δέπω καλῶς ἔχον, καὶ ἐπικρατέστερος αὐτοῦ ἐν παρατάξει γενόμενος ἐπειτ' ἐξ ἐνδρας ἐνικήθη. κάκ τούτου πρὸς τε τὸν Βάτωνα τὸν Βρείκον ἤλθε, καὶ κοινωσάμενος αὐτῷ τὸν πόλεμον ὅρος τι Ἀλμαν κατέλαβε κανταύθα πρὸς μὲν τοῦ Ῥυμητάλκου τοῦ Ὀρακός, προπεμφθέντος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς υπὸ τοῦ Σεοῦρου, βραχείᾳ των μάχη ἠττήθησαν, πρὸς δ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνουν ἰσχυρῶς ἀντ-έσχον. καὶ μετά ταῦτα τοῦ τε Σεοῦρου ἐς τὴν Μυσίαν διὰ τε τοὺς Δακοὺς καὶ διὰ τοὺς

1 Κακίνας R. Steph., καὶ κίννας M.
2 ἀναμαχέσεσθαι Dind., ἀναμαχέσασθαι M.
not capture the place, however, for Caecina Severus, the governor of the neighbouring province of Moesia, marched rapidly against them, when he heard of their uprising, and joining battle with them near the river Dravus,¹ vanquished them; but hoping in some way to renew the struggle soon, since many of the Romans also had fallen, they turned their attention to summoning their allies and were getting together as many as they could. Meanwhile the Dalmatian Bato marched upon Salonae, where he was badly wounded by a stone missile and so accomplished nothing himself; but he sent out some others, who wrought havoc along the whole sea-coast as far as Apollonia, and at that point, in spite of having been first defeated, won a battle in turn against the Romans who engaged them. Now when Tiberius learned of this, fearing that they might invade Italy, he returned from Germany, sending Messallinus ahead and following himself with most of his army. But Bato learned of their approach, and although not yet well, went to meet Messallinus; and though he proved stronger than Messallinus in open conflict, he was afterward defeated by an ambuscade. Thereupon he went to Bato, the Breucian, and making common cause with him in the war, occupied a mountain named Alma. Here they were defeated by Rhometalces, the Thracian, who had been sent ahead against them by Severus, but resisted Severus himself vigorously. Later, when Severus withdrew to Moesia, because the Dacians and Sarmatians were

¹ The Drave.

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² τινι...μάχη Oddey, τίνα...μάχην M.
³ προητηθείς Polak, ἤτηθείς M.
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Σαυρομάτας πορθούντας αὐτὴν ἀπάραντος, καὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου τοῦ τε Μεσσαλίνου ἐν Σισκία 1 ἔγχρωνισάντων, τὴν τε συμμαχία σφῶν ἐπε-5 δραμούν καὶ συνχούν προσαπέστησαν. καὶ ἐς μὲν χείρας, καὶ περὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου πλησιώσαντός σφισιν, οὐκ ἤλθον αὐτῷ, ἄλλοι καὶ ἄλλοι μεθιστάμενοι πολλὰ ἐπόρθησαν· τῆς τε γὰρ χώρας ἐμπείρως ἔχοντες καὶ κούφως ἐσκενασμένου, ῥαδίως ὅπη ποτε ἐβούλυντο ἔχορον, καὶ ἐπειδῆ γε ὁ χειμών ἐνέστη, πολὺ πλέω ἑκακούργησαν· καὶ 6 γὰρ καὶ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν αὐθίς ἐνέβαλον. καὶ τούτους μὲν ὃ τε Ρυμητάλκης καὶ ὁ ἄδελφος αὐτοῦ 'Ρασκύπορος μάχη κατέλαβον· οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι τῇ μὲν χώρα σφῶν πορθομένη μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τε Κακικίλου Μετέλλου καὶ ἐπὶ Δικινίου 2 Σιλανοῦ ὑπάτου οὐκ ἐπῆμυναν, ἐς δὲ τὰ ἐγκαταναπηγοντες ἐκεῖθεν ὅπη παρεῖκοι καταδρομᾶς ἐποιεύτω.

31 Μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Αὔγουστος, καὶ ὑποπτεύσας ἐς τὸν Τιβέριον ὡς δυνηθέντα μὲν ἂν διὰ ταχέως αὐτοὺς κρατήσῃ, τρίβοντα δὲ ἐξεπείδης ἵν' ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πολέμου προφάσει ἦ, πέμπει τὸν Γερμανικόν καὶ τοῦ ταμιεύοντα, στρατιώτας οἱ οὐκ εὐγενεῖς μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ἐξελευθέρους δοὺς, ἄλλους τε καὶ ὅσους παρὰ τε τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν γυναικῶν δούλους, πρὸς τὰ τιμήματα αὐτῶν, σὺν τροφῇ 2 ἑκμήνῳ λαβὼν ἠλευθέρωσεν. οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου χρείαν ἐπιράξει, ἄλλα καὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῶν ἱππέων τὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ γιγνο- 1 Σισκία Xyl., σεισκίαι Μ. 2 Δικινίου Bk., Δικινίου Μ.

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ravaging it, and Tiberius and Messallinus were tarrying in Siscia, the Dalmatians overran the territory of their allies and caused many more to revolt. And although Tiberius approached them, they would engage in no pitched battle with him, but kept moving from one place to another, causing great devastation; for, owing to their knowledge of the country and the lightness of their equipment, they could easily proceed wherever they pleased. And when winter set in they did much greater damage, for they even invaded Macedonia again. As for these forces, now, Rhoemetalces and his brother Rhascyporis checked them by a battle; and as for the others, they did not come to the defence of their country when it was later ravaged (in the consulship of Caecilius Metellus and Licinius Silanus), but took refuge in the mountain fortresses, from which they made raiding expeditions whenever the chance offered.

When Augustus learned of these things, he began to be suspicious of Tiberius, who, as he thought, might speedily have overcome the Dalmatians, but was delaying purposely, in order that he might be under arms as long as possible, with the war as his excuse. He therefore sent out Germanicus, although he was only a quaeestor, and gave him an army composed not only of free-born citizens but also of freedmen, including those whom he had freed from slavery by taking them from their masters and mistresses on payment of their value and the cost of their maintenance for six months. This was not the only measure he took to meet the need occasioned by the war, but he also postponed the review of the knights, which was wont to occur in the Forum. And he
μένην ἀνεβάλετο. κατὰ τε τῆς πανηγύρεως τῆς μεγάλης ἦνξατο, ὃτι γυνὴ τις ἐσ ὑπὸ τοῦ βραχίωνα
3 γράμματα ἄττα ἐντεμόνσα ἐθείασε τινα. ἤσθετο μὲν γὰρ ὅτι ὅνκ ἐκ θεοῦ κατέσχητο ἀλλὰ ἐκ παρα-
σκευῆς αὐτὸ ἐπετοιήκει. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἀλλος τε καὶ διὰ τοὺς πολέμους τὸν τε λιμόν, ὃς καὶ τότε αὖθις συνέβη, δεινῶς ἐταράττετο, πιστεύειν τε καὶ αὐτὸς τοὺς λεχθεῖσιν ἐπλάττετο, καὶ πάνθρωπα παραμυθήσεσθαι τὸν ὡμὸν ἠμέλ-
λευ ώς καὶ ἀναγκαία ἐπραττε. καὶ ἐπὶ γε τῇ ἱστοδέαιᾳ δύο αὖθις ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἐπι-
μελητὰς τοῦ σίτου σὺν ῥαβδούχοις ἀπέδειξε. προσδοκέομενος δὲ δὴ χρημάτων ἐσ τοὺς πολέμους καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων τροφήν, τὸ τε τέλος τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνδρα-
pόδων πράσει ἐσήγαγε, καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον τὸ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τοῖς τάς ὀπλομαχίας ποιοῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου διδόμενον ἐκέλευσε μηκετέ ἀνα-
λίσκεσθαι.
32 Τὸν δὲ δὴ Γερμανικὸν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸν 'Αγρίππαν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξέπεμψεν, ὅτι δουλοτρεπῆς τε ἐκεῖνος ἦν καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα ἡλικεύτω, ὅθεν περιέ Ἀποστόλων ἐαυτὸν ἐπενόμαζε, τῇ τῇ ὀργῇ προ-
2 πετεῖ ἔχρητο, καὶ τὴν Διονίαν ὡς μητρινὰς διέβαλλεν, αὐτῷ τε τοῖς Ἀγνώστης πολλάκισ ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρών ἐπεκάλει, καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐσωφρο-
νίζεο, ἀπεκηρύχη, καὶ ή τε οὐσία αὐτοῦ τῷ στρατιωτικῷ ταμείῳ ἐδόθη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐσ Πλα-
νασίαν τῇ πρὸς Κύριον νῆσον ἐνεβλήθη.
1 ἦνξατο R. Steph., ἐδέστο M.
2 Διονύσιος Lipsius, Ἰουλίαν M.
3 ταμείῳ Bk., ταμείωi M.
made a vow with reference to the Megalensian games because some woman had cut some letters on her arm and practised some sort of divination. He knew well, to be sure, that she had not been possessed by any divine power, but had done this thing deliberately; but inasmuch as the populace was terribly wrought up over both the wars and the famine (which had now set in once more), he, too, affected to believe the common report and proceeded to do anything that would make the crowd cheerful, regarding such measures as necessary. And in view of the dearth of grain he appointed two ex-consuls commissioners of the grain supply, granting them lictors. And as there was need of more money for the wars and for the support of the night-watchmen, he introduced the tax of two per cent. on the sale of slaves, and he ordered that the money which was regularly paid from the public treasury to the praetors who gave gladiatorial combats should no longer be expended.

The reason why he sent Germanicus and not Agrippa to take the field was that the latter possessed an illiberal nature, and spent most of his time in fishing, by virtue of which he used to call himself Neptune. He used to give way to violent anger, and spoke ill of Livia as a stepmother, while he often reproached Augustus himself for not giving him the inheritance his father had left him. When he could not be made to moderate his conduct, he was banished and his property was given to the military treasury; he himself was put ashore on Planasia, the island near Corsica.
3 Taúta mèn èn τῇ πόλει ἐγένετο· τοῦ δὲ δὴ Γερμανικόῦ ἐς τὴν Παννονίαν ἐλθόντος καὶ στρατευμάτων πολλαχόθεν ἐκεῖσε συνιόντων, τηρήσαντες οἱ Βάτουνες τοῦ Σεισφρον ἐκ τῆς Μυσίας προσιόντα ἐπέπεσον αὐτῷ ἀποσδόκητοι, στρατοπεδευμένως πρὸς τοὺς Οὐολκαίους ἔλεσιν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἔξω τοῦ ταφρεύματος ἐφόβησαν καὶ κατηραζαν ἐὰν αὐτὸ, δεξαμένων δὲ σφας τῶν ἔνδουν ἡττήθησαν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ᾽ οἱ Ἱωμαῖοι νεμηθέντες, ὅπως πολλαχῇ ἀμα τῆς χώρας κατατρέχωσιν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγου τότε γε ἐδρασαν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Γερμανικὸς Μαξαίους Δελματικὸν ἔθνος μάχη νικήσας ἐκάκωσεν.

33 Ἔν μὲν δὴ τῷ ἔτει ἐκεῖνῳ ταύτ᾽ ἐπράξθη, Μάρκου δὲ δὴ Ὑφορίου μετὰ Σέκτου Νωνίου ὑπατεύσαντος ἐπεθύμησαν μὲν καὶ οἱ Δελμάται καὶ οἱ Παννώνιοι συμβήναι διὰ τὸ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λιμῷ, εἰτα καὶ νόσῳ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, πῶς τε τῶν ἄλλωντος καὶ ρίζαις χρώμενοι, πονηθῆναι, οὐκ ἐπεκηρυκεύσαντο δὲ κωλυσάντων τῶν μηδεμίαν παρὰ τῶν Ἱομαῖων ἐπίτιδα σωτηρίας ἐχόντων, ἄλλα καὶ ὃς ἀντεῖχον. καὶ Σκευοβάρδος τε τές προσποιησάμενος μετατησθεσθαι, καὶ πέμψας κατ᾽ αὐτὸ τούτο πρὸς Μάνιον Ἑλύνου φιλόραρχον Σισκίας 1 ὡς ἔτοιμος μὲν ἕν ἀυτομολῆσαι, δεδιώδε δὲ μὴ προπάθῃ 2. . . .

3 Padus, quem Italiae soli fluviorum regem dicunt cognomento Eridanus, ab Augusto imperatore latis-

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1 Σισκίας Bk., σελακίας M.
2 Between προπάθη and μέντοι (chap. 34) four folios are lacking in M.
These were the events in the city. After Germanicus reached Pannonia and armies were assembling there from many sides, the two Batos waited until Severus approached from Moesia and then fell upon him unexpectedly, while he was encamped near the Volcaean marshes. They frightened the pickets outside the ramparts and drove them back inside, but when the men in the camp stood their ground, the attackers were defeated. After this the Romans were divided into detachments, in order that they might overrun many parts of the country at once; most of these detachments did nothing worthy of note, at least not at that time, but Germanicus conquered in battle and harassed the Mazaei, a Dalmatian tribe.

These were the achievements of that year. In the consulship of Marcus Furius and Sextus Nonius, the Dalmatians and Pannonians desired to make terms, because they were afflicted first by famine and then by disease that followed it, since they were using for food roots and strange herbs. They did not, however, make any overtures, being hindered by those who had no hope of being spared by the Romans, but even in their distress still resisted. And one, Scenobardus, who had pretended he was going to change sides and with reference to this very matter had sent to Manius Ennius, the commander of the garrison in Siscia, as if he were ready to desert, became afraid that he might suffer harm beforehand . . . .

The Po, which, under the name Eridanuṣ, they call the king of the rivers that cleave the soil of Italy, had its waters let into a very wide canal by the

1 This is the usual name of the river in Greek.
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simae fossa demissus, qui septima suis alvei parte per mediam influit civitatem, ad ostia sua amoenissimum portum praebens, classem ducentarum quinquaginta navium, Dione referente, tutissima dudum credebatur recipere statione.—Jordanes, Get. 29, 150.

4 Δωφήσαντος δὲ ποτε τοῦ λιμοῦ, ἐπὶ τε τῷ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ ὄνοματι, ὅς ἦν τοῦ Δρούσου παῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἵπποδρομίας ἐποίησε, καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ἐλέφας τε μινοκέρωτα κατεμαχέσατο καὶ ἀνὴρ ἵππεὺς πλοῦτῳ ποτὲ προενεγκών ἐμονομάχησε.

5 Καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ γῆρᾳ καὶ τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενεία ἐκαμνεν, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι πᾶσι τοῖς δεσμέοις τι αὐτοῦ χρηματίζειν, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῶν συνεδρῶν καὶ διεσκόπει¹ καὶ ἐδικαζεν, ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἐπὶ βήματος προκαθήμενοι, τὰς δὲ δὴ² πρεσβείας ταῖς τε παρὰ τῶν δήμων καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἀφικνουμένας τρισὶ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἐπέτρεψεν, ὡστε αὐτούς χωρὶς ἐκαστον καὶ διακούειν τινῶν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν αὐτοῖς διδόναι, πλὴν τῶν ὅσα ἀναγκαίον ἦν τὴν τε βουλὴν καὶ ἑκεῖνον ἐπιδιακρίνειν.—Xiph. 114, 15–30.

34 ... μέντοι καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ὑστάτοις ἀπεφαίνετο, ὡστοι ἰδιοβουλείων ἀπασιν ἐξείη καὶ μηδεὶς αὐτῶν τῆς ἐαυτοῦ γνώμης, ώς καὶ ἀνάγκην τινὰ συμφρονήσαι οἱ ἔχων, ἐξιστάτοι,³

¹ διεσκόπει V, διεσκ... C, διεσκέψατο L'.
² δή V, μη C, om. L'.
³ ἐξιστάτο Bk., ἐξισταται M.

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Emperor Augustus. A seventh part of the stream of this river flows through the centre of the city, affording at its mouth a most attractive harbour, which was formerly believed, according to Dio, to be a thoroughly safe anchorage for a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships.

When at last the famine had abated, he conducted games in the Circus in the name of Germanicus, who was son of Drusus, and in that of Germanicus' brother. On this occasion an elephant overcame a rhinoceros and a knight who had once been distinguished for his wealth fought in single combat.

Now when Augustus was growing weary by reason of old age and the feebleness of his body, so that he could not attend to the business of all those who needed his care, though he continued personally, with his assistants, to investigate judicial cases and to pass judgment, seated on the tribunal in the palace, he entrusted to three ex-consuls the embassies sent to Rome by peoples and kings; these, sitting separately, gave audience to such embassies and made answer to them, except in matters in which the final decision had of necessity to be rendered by the senate and Augustus.

[It had been Augustus' practice hitherto to attend all the meetings of the senate, though he did not,] however, declare his opinion among the first, but among the last, his purpose being that all might be permitted to form their views independently and no one should abandon his own judgment, as though he were under any necessity of agreeing with the emperor; and he would often sit with the magis-

1 Ravenna.
2 Claudius, who later became emperor.
τοῖς τε ἀρχοῦσι πολλάκις συνεδικαζε· καὶ ὁσάκις
γε οἱ παρεδρεύοντές σφισιν ἑδιχογραμόνουν, ¹ καὶ
ἡ ἐκείνου ψήφος ἀπὸ τῆς ἱσης ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων
2 ἡρμημείτο. τότε δὲ τῇ μὲν γερουσίᾳ καὶ ἀνευ
εαυτοῦ τὰ πολλὰ δικαζειν ἐπέτρεπεν, ἐς δὲ τὸν
dήμον οὐκέτι παρήγε, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν προτέρῳ ἔτει
πάντας τοὺς ἀρξοντας αὐτῶς, ἐπειδῆπερ ἐστα-
σιάζετο, ἀπέδειξε, τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἑπετα
γράμματά τινα ἐκτιθεὶς συνίστη τῷ τε πλήθει
3 καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ὅσον ἑσπούδαζε. πρὸς μέντοι τὰς
τῶν πολέμων διαχειρίσεις οὕτως ἔρρωτο ὡσθ',
ιν' ἐγγύθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς Δελμάταις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς
Παννονίοις πᾶν ὁ τι χρὴ συμβουλεῦειν ἔχῃ, πρὸς
'Αρίμμων ἔξωρμησε. καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἔξοδῳ αὐτοῦ
εὐχαὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπανόδῳ αἱ θυσίαι
ὡσπερ ἐκ πολεμίας τινὸς ἀνακομισθέντος ἐτε-
λέσθησαν.
4 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἱρώμη ἐπράξθη, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ
ὁ Βάτων ὁ Βρεύκος, ὁ τόν τε Πίννην προδοὺς καὶ
μισθὸν τούτου τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Βρεύκων λαβὼν,
ἐάλω τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου Βάτωνος καὶ διεφθάρη.
5 ἐπειδῆ γὰρ ὑποπτεύεσας τι ἐς τὸ ὑπῆκον ὁμήρους
καθ' ἐκαστὸν τῶν φρουρίων περιῶν ² ἦτε, μαθῶν
τοῦτ' ἐκείνος ἐνήδρευσε ποὺ αὐτὸν, καὶ μάχη
κρατήσας κατέκλεισεν ἐς τεῖχος, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ'
ἐκδοθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἑνδον λαβὼν παρήγαγέ τε ἐς
τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ καταψυφισθέντα ἄποθανεῖν
6 ἐν χεραῖν ἐποίησε. γενομένου δὲ τούτου συχνοῦ
τῶν Παννονίων ἐπανέστησαν, καὶ αὐτοῖς ³ ὁ

¹ ἑδιχογραμόνου Morell, ἑδιχογράμον M.
² περιῶν R. Steph, περιῶν M.
³ αὐτοῖς Rk., αὐτός M.
brates as they tried cases. Also, whenever those who sat in judgment with him found themselves in disagreement, the emperor's vote was counted as no more than equal to that of any other judge. But at the time to which I refer, Augustus allowed the senate to try most cases without him, and he gave up attending the popular assemblies. Instead, he had the year before personally appointed all who were to hold office, because there were factional outbreaks, and in this and the following years he merely posted a bulletin recommending to the plebs and to the people those whom he favoured. Yet he was so vigorous when it came to directing campaigns against the enemy that he proceeded to Ariminum in order that he might be near at hand to give all necessary advice in regard to both the Dalmatians and the Pannonians. On his departure vows were made, and on his return the sacrifices customary when he came back from the enemy's country were offered.

This was what was done in Rome. Meanwhile, Bato, the Breucian, who had betrayed Pinnes and had received the right to rule over the Breucians as his reward, was captured by the other Bato and put to death. The Breucian, it seems, had been somewhat suspicious of his subject tribes and had gone round to each of the garrisons to demand hostages; and the other, learning of this, lay in wait for him somewhere or other, defeated him in battle, and shut him up in a stronghold. Later, when the Breucian was delivered over by those inside, he took him and brought him before the army, and then, when he had been condemned, put him to death on the spot. After this many of the Pannonians rose in revolt,
Σιλουανὸς ἐπιστρατεύσας τοὺς τε Βρεύκους ἐνικήσε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὰς ἀμαχεὶ προσεποιήσατο. ἰδὼν όμω τὰ ταύτα ὁ Βάτων τῆς μὲν Παννονίας οὐδεμίαν ἐτ' ἐλπίδα ἔσχε, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὴν Δελματίαν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἱσόδους φρουραῖς διαλαβῶν ἐκείνην ἑπόρθει. καὶ οὕτω καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Παννονίων, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς χώρας σφῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σιλουανοῦ κακουμένης, ὁμολογήσαν, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον ληστικὰ τινα οία ἐκ ταραχῆς τοσαῦτης ἐπὶ πλεῖον κακουργοῦντα διεγένετο, ὅπερ ποὺ καὶ ἀεὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν παρά τε τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ παρ' ἐκεῖνοις μᾶλιστα συμβαίνει.
and Silvanus made a campaign against them, conquered the Breucians, and won over some of the others without a battle. Bato, on seeing this, gave up all hope of Pannonia, but occupied the passes leading to Dalmatia with garrisons and ravaged that country. Then at last the remainder of the Pannonians also came to terms, chiefly for the reason that their country was being harried by Silvanus. However, certain bands of brigands continued their forays for a long time, as was natural after so great a disturbance; indeed, this nearly always happens, not only among other peoples, but especially in the case of these tribes.
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